



Manifestos of Pakistan Peoples Party

1970 & 1977

Reproduced by:

Sani Hussain Panhwar

Member Sindh Council, PPP

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BY THE COMPILER

I have reproduced the first two Manifestos of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) which cover the initial period and the promises that were made by the Party to its voters. After 1977 the next Manifesto of PPP came out in 1988 followed by 1990, 1993, 1997, 2002 and 2008. I have not included those Manifestos in this book because they are irrelevant to Shaheed Bhutto's period. I have tried to cover his period and his vision to share with the reader.

I will bring them in book shape separately and post them on this website (www.bhutto.org) for the readers to review and see why after the eleven years of rule by a dictator, the party had to slightly change its stance and direction, but the principle and spirit on which the party was formed reflects in those Manifestos as well.

Many people believe due to propaganda by Zia regime that Federal Security Force was established by Shaheed Bhutto for his own protection and to make it work on his agenda. This is completely incorrect; Bhutto being a very intelligent person knew that Army's intervention in the politics had created the mess in the country. He wanted to keep the army completely away from politics and government affairs. In 1970 the first Manifesto of the party clearly declares that PPP will have a federal force apart from police and army. It is a different story that while selecting the traitors and cowards like Masood Mehmood, Bhutto did not took advice from his sincere workers. He made the same fatal mistake while choosing his Chief of Army Staff.

Bhutto delivered many of the promises which were made in the first Manifesto on 1970, in 1977 he was more focused on the internal affairs and would have brought Pakistan in the main stream as a developing nation, but it is so unfortunate that he was killed by an ungrateful person who for the lust of power snatched a leader from his people which is born in centuries. The mess we see today in Pakistan is all due to policies of Zia regime followed by another dictator Musaraf. Today the enemies realize their mistake for joining hands with Zia to eliminate Bhutto!

*Sani Hussain Panhwar
Member Sindh Council, PPP
October 29, 2009*

Manifesto - 1970

*Islam is our Faith
Democracy is our Policy
Socialism is our Economy
All Power to the People*

INTRODUCTION

Expressing pithily the nature of its ideology, encompasses the whole programme of the Party set out in this Election Manifesto.

The substance and spirit of the Party's programme demands, and activities obey the teachings of Islam. The Party will countenance no laws repugnant to Islam and Qur'an.

The Party's positive proposals derive from the spirit and principles which are contained in the injunctions of the Faith. 'The equality of Muslims enjoined by Islam can be possible only in an economic and social structure so built as to realize it in practice. That can be a better manifestation of Muslim fraternity than institutions based on mutual co-operation. The Party aims to introduce real democracy in the political field, for which the first condition is the abolition of privileges and the transfer of power to the people. Political privileges are inseparably related to economic privileges and inequalities. In calling for a socialistic solution to the country's problems the Party Manifesto proclaims the only correct way to deal with them.

Political parties have been in the habit for decades of emitting, for public consumption at election time, manifestos chock-full of vote-catching promises, fine sentiments and strings of demands. Such manifestos of traditional political parties have had no connection with the real intentions of their leaders. The result has been that, like bad currency, election manifestos have suffered value depreciation in the eyes of the people all too often deceived.

This Manifesto of the Pakistan People's Party is not of the old type of other political parties. It is a solemn pledge to the people that the Party will endeavor

by all means, with or without elections, to fulfill in practice the programme contained therein.

I - THE CRISIS

a) A Nation Betrayed

The general will of the Muslims of this Asian sub-continent founded the State of Pakistan, which stands today as a monument to their unfulfilled hopes and aspirations. They wanted its citizens to live in freedom, a nation progressive and prosperous, powerful and pledged to shield from oppression Muslims in the other part. The new State so resplendent with noble purpose, as it seemed in the beginning, has fallen prey to internal weaknesses, grown forgetful of its own people's welfare, not to speak of its neglected duty towards the Muslims of India.

There is no need to delve into the past history of Pakistan's origin to determine the future shape of the country's society, its economy, its politics its obligations. It is a sovereign nation, a national state; governing themselves democratically, its people will decide what their society's character should be. No people in their right senses can desire the aim of the state's policy to be the increase of poverty, general misery of the masses, rampant corruption, demoralization of all classes. The people must have desired the opposite of the condition to which they have been reduced; they must have desired rapid economic progress, education, good health, social justice, the equitable distribution of wealth, in short, a better way of life than the ancient one of servitude and degradation.

Before going further, we must first understand exactly what Pakistan's condition is, and how Pakistan is situated in the world. She is one of the poorest among nations. Not only poverty but all the attendant consequences of poverty afflict her people to the maximum degree-ignorance, intellectual sterility, ill-health, dishonesty, crime, corruption, superstitions. All the forms of oppression by authority and by those who exercise power on account of their riches are to be found here.

The average life expectation of a Pakistani is only 33 years, a figure which compares unfavorably even with the 45 years for an Indian and is less than half the 70 for a Briton. While poverty may be the indirect cause of high mortality, the health needs of the masses have 'been grossly neglected because every government of this country has followed the policy of concentrating expenditure in the domains that benefit the privileged classes. 'To this same policy must be attributed the very high illiteracy rate-among the highest in the world and not decreasing either-and the steady deterioration of educational standards. If we were to probe deeper into the causes of the iniquitous taxation, the inefficiency of

governmental administration when it is not corrupt also, the prevalence of dishonesty in business, and the other evils which put their specific stamp on life in our country, we shall find that they are connected with the sort of capitalist structure that has been built upon the theory that the concentration of wealth leads to economic progress.

Those classes who know themselves guilty of wrongs done to the nation and the reactionary political parties whose eyes are forever turned backwards, attempt. Now to divert attention by proclaiming themselves champions of fanciful ideologies which they ascribe to the original purpose of Pakistan.

To make matters worse, these are men, some of whom hostile to the very conception of Pakistan, who are now condemning all Pakistani Muslims, except themselves and their followers, as unbelievers, if ' they will not subscribe to the sanctity of economic exploitation and social injustice. This appeal to ignorant fanaticism is dangerous not only to the State but to the unity of Muslims as Muslims.

We, on the other hand, appeal to reason, to the accumulated wealth of human knowledge, to the methods and techniques devised by human ingenuity through the centuries, to show the way out of our national misery towards life worthy of a great people. The real problems that confront the nation are political and economic, but not religious, since both exploiters and exploited profess the same faith--both are Muslims.

Many governments have come and gone, but the trend towards the relative impoverishment of the people, the enrichment of privileged classes and the growth of parasitic vested interests, has proceeded without abatement. All the past governments are certainly to blame for their wrong policies; but they could not act otherwise than they did, being the representatives of class and vested interests. They could not be expected to change the system, when their vocation lay in developing it for the profit of the classes on whose behalf they were in power.

b) Prey to Neocolonialism

Direct colonial rule left behind as its legacy a social and economic order in Pakistan which could be defined as feudal-military-bureaucratic. All the progress since has been its transformation into a dependent capitalist system typical of underdeveloped countries within the imperialist neocolonialist power sphere. We may say with truth that from being the emancipated subject of one imperial colonialist power Pakistan has become the camp-follower of all imperialist-neocolonialist powers.

At the end of the Second World War, the Western colonialist powers proceeded, under American guidance, to adapt their methods of exploitation to new conditions. Direct rule over subject peoples was given up, but the former possessions remained bound by economic, political and military compulsion to the former rulers. The exploitation of the newly independent countries had to continue for the good of all the advanced capitalist countries. In the first stage of expanding capitalism, the need had been for markets and sources of raw material. In the next stage, the capitalist countries were investing capital in underdeveloped regions where labour was cheap and the necessary natural resources present. In the third, the demand for minerals and oil, of which deposits are found in underdeveloped countries, went up enormously in the industrial countries of the West.

Now, industrial capitalist countries must sell their products to underdeveloped countries to buy the necessary raw materials which these can supply, and must invest some capital abroad to exploit such natural resources as oil and minerals. But the neocolonialist sells capital goods wanted in the underdeveloped countries at high prices and buys their products in return at prices for below what they should be. Pakistan is seriously affected by the prices of primary commodities in the world market, which have been falling for years, so that at the present moment they stand at some 25% lower than in the early '50's. The prices of capital goods, which we need to establish industries, have risen considerably and keep rising. An increase of only 5% in prices of the primary commodities would more than offset the sum of private and public capital and of governments' grants to the underdeveloped countries all put together. This difference between the falling prices of primary products and the rising cost of acquiring capital goods is an essential feature of neocolonialist exploitation. If an underdeveloped country bases its development programme on the conditions set by the neocolonialist powers, it will make very slow, if any progress at all. A measure of the exploitation of underdeveloped countries within the neocolonialist sphere is furnished by the fact that the economic gap between them and the industrial countries is widening, whereas the development plans sponsored by the Western capitalist states should have had the effect of narrowing it, if they were not designed simply to preserve the ascendancy of neocolonialist powers. The terms on which economic aid is given betray the underlying neocolonialist policy.

Another course than the one the government of Pakistan always chose to maintain was theoretically possible, a course taking the nation away from the neocolonialist sphere.

Before the Marshall Plan had completed the work of rehabilitating war-damaged West European economy, such a decision could have been implemented with little trouble. The underdeveloped countries outside the neocolonialist power sphere have made spectacular progress, in glaring contrast to the plight of the others. The lesson must be learned from the facts.

c) Internal Colonial Structure

Pakistan is geographically separated in two parts, of which the Eastern was the major producer of exportable wealth at the time of Partition. The Central Government's expenditure, however, was mainly in the Western part. Political power lay also in the West on that account and because of the presence there of an opulent feudal class. The development schemes were so made or implemented by the Central Government that the private sector under these schemes fell into the hands of a small number of businessmen who either had their original homes in West Pakistan or had chosen to settle there.

The politicians of East Pakistan in government, parliament or outside, seemed oblivious of the danger ahead. They accepted the notions of development on capitalistic lines. The result was that East Pakistan was submitted to ruthless exploitation. The decline of East Pakistan began during the life time of the first National Assembly, and the farce of the last one under the dictatorship of a military usurper failed even to disguise the brutal facts.

We must frankly recognize that the unity of the nation has been gravely imperiled. It is no remedy to brand the victims of exploitation as traitors because they are driven to protest against the treatment they receive. Nor does it help to improve matters by insulting them as bad Muslims.

d) Present State Untenable

It should also be acknowledged that development plans on the old pattern, from which our nation has suffered so much, are incapable of making good the harm already done. During the period of all the five-year plans which could effect nothing to prevent the economic gap between the industrial countries and ours from getting wider year by year, the disparity between the two Wings kept growing. It is possible to conceive a separate capitalist-orientated development plan for East Pakistan, but the price of a complete division of Pakistan's economy must then be paid. It is certain that such a plan would only add a few 'sons of the soil' to the handful of non-East Pakistani bankers and industrialists who are at present in control-and who will remain in control in happy partnership.

As a consequence of the misdeeds of our rulers, subservience to neocolonialist powers, the adoption of an economic system permitting outright plunder of the people, the concentration of wealth in a few hands, the sharing out of power, employment and sources of wealth between businessmen, big landlords and the classes that comprise the civil and military hierarchy of government-all these have brought the country to a crisis, another word for general ruin. It should be noted that the corruption of government and other public servants is only a symptom and not the cause of the disease; for the thread of corruption runs right through the social strata. Neither is the world situation the cause of this crisis. Although comparisons can be drawn between what is happening in our country and what has been happening elsewhere in the neocolonialist power sphere, the nature of this present crisis has features specifically Pakistani.

The ruling clique supporting the vested interests of banking industry and commerce, have nothing to offer to save the situation except the same old magical incantations of budgetary formulas and development plans. With rising prices, the working class, the lower middle class, and all sorts of employees with fixed incomes are being rapidly impoverished. The rising cost of living is the weapon for expropriating wage-workers, salary earners, artisans and a good section of the professional class. The value of earnings falls as the cost of living rises-this is the expropriation of the earning power and the savings of the people. The capitalist loses nothing. His invested capital rises in value, he sells at higher prices the goods he manufactures and trades in, and, to crown all, the government rewards him with bonuses, the load of which the rest of the nation must bear. In a desperate attempt to save the capitalist system the government is permitting the wholesale expropriation of the unprivileged people of Pakistan.

The crisis is in the bones of our rotten system. The Pakistan People's Party programme will abolish the system itself, seizing the means of production which in the hands of the privileged few are the means of exploitation. The immediate need, however, as a financial discipline for any government in power at this juncture fraught with danger, is to stop the inflationary trend and do economic justice to the common people. Wages, salaries and pensions must be pegged to the real value of the currency. This will stop the thievery of the capitalists and their accomplice the administration. The government will be compelled to operate within the framework of a stable currency when the attraction of cheating by inflation has gone.

II - THE GENERAL AIMS

a) Main Obstacles

The country is called upon to send representatives to a National Assembly for the purpose of framing a constitution. Important as this task may appear, a constitution of merely democratic form will not meet the needs of this country unless it is so framed as to allow and, indeed, initiate changes in the economic and social system. It is unlikely that so long as the vested interests of capitalists and propertied classes remain unchecked any thing but a constitution tailored to suit them will be the outcome. The crisis will then continue, to be succeeded by another, still graver. The Party will, however, endeavor its best to help in making a really progressive constitution.

The path of Pakistan's progress is blocked by two obstacles: her socio-economic order and her position as underdeveloped country within the neocolonialist power sphere. If progress is not possible, neither will prolonged existence be. The programme, of the Pakistan People's Party therefore aims at removing these obstacles by carrying through the necessary fundamental change demanded by the objective situation.

The true solution lies in adopting a socialist programme, such as outlined in this Manifesto, to transform the economy of the whole of Pakistan, stopping exploitation and utilizing available means to develop the country without capitalist intervention.

In this Manifesto attention has been paid to both conditions:-

- (a) the exploitative capitalist structure of Pakistan, and
- (b) Pakistan's situation as an underdeveloped country within the neocolonialist power sphere.

b) Classless Society

At the Convention in December 1967 in Lahore, the Pakistan People's Party announced the principles for the practical realization of which it was founded. The ultimate objective of the Party's policy is the attainment of a classless society, which is possible only through socialism in our time. This means true equality of the citizens, fraternity under the rule of democracy in an order based on economic and social justice. The aims follow from the political and social ethics of Islam. The Party thus strives to put in practice the noble ideals of the Muslim Faith.

Since its principal aims are unattainable by petty adjustments and so long as the unjust order of society prevails, the Party considers that indulgence in reformist slogans deceives the people with false hopes, while the country sinks deeper into

the morass of present and additional evils, until finally, in a situation of despair, explosive violence will take the upper hand. The Party's endeavor is to bring about peacefully early changes in the economic structure, leading logically to a juster socio-economic order, by opening the gates to progressive change in the direction of the final goal.

III - FOREIGN POLICY

a) Independent Policy

It is generally accepted that an independent foreign policy is an indispensable instrument for safeguarding and promoting national interest in the sphere of international relations. However an independent foreign policy is understood in different senses by different people. We should like to be precise on our part as to what it means for us.

The first step must be to get out of entanglements with imperialist-neocolonialist powers. The ostensible objectives, for the sake of which our governments excused participation in alliances, have either not been fulfilled or have even been frustrated on account of the alliances. On the other hand, Pakistan has been made use of as a pawn in the international game by her neocolonialist allies. The first condition, therefore, for avoiding neocolonialist dictation of policy' is for Pakistan to withdraw from the SEATO and the CENTO pacts. The way will than be swept clean for what is in Pakistan's interest and in the interest of all Asian countries the release from neocolonial interference in their affairs.

Among other harms done, these two pacts have curtailed Pakistan's freedom of action in obtaining the liberation of Kashmir and righting the territorial and other wrongs suffered by her.

b) Relations with Great Powers

The imperialist-neocolonialist war menace in Asia is close at the doors of Pakistan. Pakistan has already had experience of American interference in her internal affairs, and of how dangerous a situation could result from the stationing of American military personnel in her territory, when Pakistan became involved in dispute with the Soviet Union over the U-2 American spy plane. Pakistan will not allow foreign countries to interfere in her internal affairs. No permission to neocolonialist powers will be granted to station any sort of personnel meant for war purposes on, or to overfly for any reason connected with military strategy, any part of the territory of Pakistan.

Pakistan will support the cause of all oppressed peoples in their struggle against imperialist and neocolonialist powers, in particular the cause of the heroic people of Vietnam who have for long years held the imperialist aggressors at bay. We shall join hands with other nations in an effort to bring about the evacuation of Asian soil occupied by the military forces of the United States and other Western colonialist powers. With the great powers Pakistan will maintain good relations on the basis of reciprocity, but will not compromise in any manner her stand supporting liberation movements all over the world and actions to remove neocolonialist encroachments on Asian territory.

Now that the white members of the Commonwealth have all taken the side of the American aggressors against the Vietnamese people, there is one reason more for Pakistan's leaving the Commonwealth. The fact must be recognized that the conception of a multiracial Commonwealth has lost any meaning it might have had at one time. Even its economic advantages have been lost. On the other hand, the commonwealth has been serving the neocolonialist interests of its white members. Pakistan will leave the Commonwealth at the appropriate opportunity.

c) Confrontation with India

Towards India, a policy of confrontation will be maintained until the question of Kashmir, Farakka, Beruberi, and other pending matters are settled. Entirely in consonance with the principle of supporting liberation movements, Pakistan will support the cause of the people of Assam who are fighting for their independence.

Tasbkent: The Tashkent Declaration will be repudiated, being a treaty extorted under duress. No negotiations with India may be conducted under the cover of this invalid treaty.

Farakka: To negotiations on this vital issue a time limit must 'b e set. Pakistan has inalienable riparian rights under recognized international law. That this dispute is not being solved is greatly owing to the patronage India enjoys from the part of neocolonialist powers.

d) Solidarity with Muslim Peoples

Pakistan will follow a positive policy to promote solidarity among Muslim peoples.

Israel: Israel is a colony implanted on Arab soil. The Arabs are the victims of a Zionist aggression aided and abetted principally by Western capitalist powers.

Complete and unreserved support to Arab states and the Palestinian liberation movement in their fight against Israel will be given by Pakistan.

e) Solidarity with other Oppressed Peoples

The Eritrean people fighting for their nationhood have the sympathy of our people and will be afforded Pakistani support.

An active policy will be pursued to combat racialism everywhere. In this connection Pakistan must express her sympathy in practical manner with the coloured population of the United States, against whom discrimination is being practiced and whose manpower is being misused as cannon-fodder to suppress the liberties of Asians in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Pakistan will make what effort she can in the diplomatic sphere to help the oppressed peoples of Latin America in their struggle against neocolonialism. The movement for the solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America will be promoted.

f) Pakistanis Abroad

Pakistanis working abroad for their livelihood are in many places being made to suffer humiliating disabilities. It will be imperative duty of the Pakistan government to protect the rights of all its nationals living in foreign countries, especially the working people whose labour is adding wealth to the employing country but is being rewarded with ingratitude.

g) Counterpart Funds

The counterpart funds that arise from foreign aid must be more strictly controlled than at present. The counter-part funds must be kept with the State Bank and may not be used for any political purpose.

IV - INDUSTRIAL MEASURES

a) Mixed Economy

The party accepts the possibility of a mixed economy – the existence of a private alongside a nationalized sector, sources of the production of wealth will be placed. The private sector will offer opportunities for individual initiative in the areas of production where small enterprises can be efficient. Monopoly

conditions will be abolished, so that private enterprise will function according to the rules of competition.

All production of wealth is the result of human labour. Exploitation in capitalist society depends on the possession of the means of production by the capitalist. In big industries the capitalist plays no nationally useful role, but collects his profit and exploits the labour of others, for his factories are run by technicians, his goods are produced by the labour of the wage-earners, and even the direction of an enterprise need not be the factory owner's. In Pakistan, the concentration of wealth is so excessive that the benefits of industrialization are being passed on neither to the wage-earners nor even to the greater part of the middle classes who constitute the salary earners and professional men with high educational qualifications, such as government officials, except through corruption. The necessary services of education and health, housing and public amenities, are being neglected because the surplus value of production is going into the pockets of the exploiters or spent for administration and defence, and therefore little is available for the general welfare of the nation. The evil is inherent in the system. Taxation tricks, petty reforms, moral exhortation, are subterfuges to deceive the people for preserving the system intact.

b) Nationalization of Industries

On the public sector will be all basic and key industries. The principal ones are:-

1. Iron and steel
2. Non-ferrous metals
3. Heavy engineering
4. Machine Tools
5. Chemicals
6. Ship building
7. Motor car assembly and manufacturing
8. Equipment for electrical power production, distribution and use
9. Electronics
10. Production of arms, ammunition and armaments for defence.
11. Cement
12. Paper

To these will be added the new industries which must be established to enable the autonomous growth of the national economy. For example, it will be necessary to manufacture agricultural machinery and equipment in Pakistan, and the commonly used hand tools.

All major industries will be nationalized. This will mean taking over into the public sector textile and jute mills over a certain production capacity. In private ownership these have been the sources of excessive profits, inefficient production, and wastage of resources and unhindered exploitation of workers.

In the public sector will be not only the large-scale production of electrical power but also all other sources of energy supply - namely, nuclear material, gas, oil and coal.

All exploitation of mineral wealth, both mining and ore-processing, will be in the public sector.

The public sector will completely contain the following major means of public transport, railways, shipping and airways and airways. It will also take over public road transport, whether of passengers or goods, when it is necessary to run it on a large scale. A special concern will be the conveyance of workers and employees between their homes and their places of work.

Large-scale export trading, such as of jute and cotton, will be conducted by- state corporations.

c) Private Sector

In general, the sector of retail and distribution will be left in private hands. Nevertheless the formation of consumer co-operatives, both in urban and rural areas, will be favored as this will help to stabilize retail prices.

All manufacture, whether in the public or the private sector, will be strictly regulated according to quality norms. Manufactured goods will have to fulfill the condition of coming up to at least the minimum norm required by the regulations. Goods that fall short of standard may not be sold. The quality and purity of drugs will be strictly regulated.

Existing laws applicable against the adulteration of foodstuffs appear to be ineffective. Proper food laws have not yet been promulgated in Pakistan such as have been in many other countries. Food laws, in consonance with accepted international standards, will be enforced, covering eatables, natural and processed.

Efficient artisanal production will be encouraged by affording the small enterprises the opportunity of acquiring efficient working tools and machinery. Factory halls, equipped with power, water and other facilities, will be constructed where artisans and small entrepreneurs can rent floor space for their

workshops. This will give the workmen better hygienic conditions of labour and help to separate living quarters from the place of work. This scheme is also likely to reduce the cost of production. Such centers of production will be incorporated in town planning projects.

To encourage artisanal skill, technical institutions will be established for the purpose of imparting education and skill to the artisan class and those who work in small-scale enterprises. A system of apprenticeship and qualification by diploma for grade of master workman will also be introduced.

V - FINANCIAL MEASURES

a) Nationalization Policy

The possession of money institutions in the hands of private parties is the source of exploitation which uses national wealth and private deposits to create money for the financing of monopoly capitalists. All big industries have been set up entirely on bank loans, which means, on the money of the depositors. Such loans can be said to have been the misappropriation of public money by the bankers. To this sort of abuse, which is inherent in any system where banks are in private hands, there has been added the control of banks in cartels belonging to industrial families.

Unless the State takes hold of all the banks by making them national property, it will not be able to check inflation. The State's financial policy is at present a prisoner of the bankers.

All banks and insurance companies will be forthwith nationalized.

b) Investment Policy

Not only to finance industrial development and expansion of the social services but also to pass on to the people a share of accruing prosperity, a system of public investment corporations will be established to attract savings. Direct investment in any national concern will not be possible; therefore the necessity for special institutions, these investment corporations, through which investments will be distributed among the enterprises in their respective sectors. Shares held by non-capitalists in nationalized industries will be converted into investment corporation shares.

A minimum dividend rate will be guaranteed. This policy will help enforce good financial management, guaranteeing at the same time the unhindered flow of

savings into investment. Since the financial policy will be to keep the purchasing power of the currency stable, even a small dividend will have greater value than larger dividends in the chaotic profit system of our present day, under which the investor hardly gets back anything in return, on account of currency depreciation.

The whole policy and dishonest methods of bonus vouchers, tax holidays, and so on, will be unnecessary as more than 80% of the industrial sector will not be in private hands. The self financing of industries will be genuinely from surplus value of production and not, so often as at present, at the expense of the consumer and tax payer.

c) Reform of Taxation System

The establishment of a socialist order will naturally change the present basis of taxation, which being designed for a capitalistic society favors the accretion of wealth with the privileged classes. It is a fallacious belief that taxation methods by themselves in a capitalistic society are cable of equalizing incomes. This belief is sedulously fostered by the vested interests themselves. Seemingly high taxes have not prevented the accumulation of wealth amongst a very small class of people in Pakistan, nor done justice to wither working class or the middle classes with fixed incomes: It must be understood that taxation is merely a way of providing public finances, but the money has to come from the surplus value created in industry, agriculture and the rest of the activities that employ human labour and effort. High taxation has ultimately to be paid for out of the price of commodities and services. The capitalist pays, in fact, least, because the products of his factories carry the taxes. An equitable social structure cannot be built by taxation alone:

However, even in the interim period before large-scale socialist reforms are elected; it will be necessary to introduce immediate reforms of the present iniquitous and inefficient taxation system. The taxation structure must be radically simplified. It should be made easy for the private tax-payer to assess his liability to the state without the help of expert guidance. In the present system the taxes are efficiently collected only from the salaries employees and other classes with fixed income. The burden of this incidence of taxation is unduly high upon such classes because others are able to avoid their tax liabilities.

With the banks being in public ownership, it will not be then so easy to evade taxation, but the real remedy lies in the establishment of an economic system that disallows the growth of a dishonest profiteering class. Another defect of the present taxation system is that it calls for a huge army of officials, most of whom

do not do a full day's work. There will be considerable saving if taxation were simplified.

No tax shall be imposed of which the collection cost is unreasonably high, a principle which is not being honored today. Tax-farming will be prohibited. All public authorities empowered to collect taxes and other dues shall do so only through their proper agencies and not by auctioning collection rights.

Directors and high executives of private and public companies are today being afforded such facilities as enable them to live a princely life at the cost of the shareholders and the public exchequer. Expense account exemptions will be drastically curtailed. In the case of companies that are not nationalized, the state will prescribe norms for housing, transport and other facilities that may be borne in the books of the companies on behalf of their employees. Such measures will have the effect of benefiting the shareholders and the public exchequer, and by reducing overhead costs make the goods produced by the companies cheaper.

d) Wasteful Expenditure of National Wealth

Although Pakistan is a very poor country, her middle classes are behaving as if they were living in an affluent consumer society. Their wasteful expenditure is a national loss. Much of this occurs in the tertiary sector of the economy connected with advertising and the marketing of goods.

All forms of advertising will be restricted on the principle that advertisement should be:

- (a) Truthful, and
- (b) Purely informative, helping the prospective customer to know where to buy the goods or the service advertised, and their nature and quality.

Competition through unfair advertising will be disallowed. Strict norms will be laid down for the advertising of medicines and drugs.

VI - AGRARIAN MEASURES

a) Patterns of Proprietorship

Nearly 80% of the population, which means some 100 million Pakistanis live in the countryside. This ratio between urban and agricultural population is an indication of the backward economic condition of Pakistan. Another fact is still

more revealing: in spite of its large proportion of working population engaged in agriculture, our country has often had to import food-grains and the normal state of affairs is that its agriculture barely supplies the necessities of life for its people. With such a large population engaged in agricultural pursuits, one should have expected Pakistan to produce not only exportable commodities like cotton and jute but at the same time food-grains in ample quantities to feed its own people. The average Pakistani gets too little to Eat, insufficient for human energy requirements for effective work, and, furthermore, his diet is deficient in respect of proteins and fats, substances necessary for health and growth. Thus he is not only underfed but badly fed.

It can be said that the main occupation of Pakistanis, their agriculture is a colossal failure. Even with the cultivation techniques and implements at present in use, it is estimated that about half the agricultural population is virtually unemployed, and therefore redundant. This hidden unemployment is a mighty drag upon the country's economy. The under-or unemployed have to be clothed, housed and fed in any case, and that is being done at the general poverty level. They represent, however, manpower capable of being put to use on works needed to improve agriculture. In this sense, the hands at present idle in our bad economic system are an immense potential wealth waiting to become productive. Agricultural programmes for development must

take into account not only the wasted labour power of the excessive population but the necessity of coping with the over-population of rural areas by the removal to urban complexes of the unwanted excess.

In our great country where physical and climatic conditions exhibit a wide range of variations, agricultural problems do the same. Apart from the physical, natural side of the problems-such as aridity and flooding, property relations, such as landlordism, tenancy, fragmentation, subsistence holdings,-have to be tackled with. The two Wings show different aspects of the agrarian situation. The patterns of crops and irrigation differ greatly between the two Wings, and also the patterns of property relations are not the same. A feudal system of land tenure is prevalent in large parts of West Pakistan, where it can be said to be the dominating feature. In East Pakistan, the small holder at subsistence level is the chief agricultural property owner.

Large estates leased out in lots to tenants present the same pattern of cultivation as areas belonging to peasant proprietors. Generally speaking, the size of an individual holding is small in either case. Unless the estates are cultivated by hired labour and not on tenancy basis, the resulting aspect is no different than where peasants have proprietary rights. But the estate owner takes away a large share of the value produced by his tenants, without performing any service that

cannot be performed by public authority or the cultivators themselves. Since peasant proprietorship exists alongside estates cultivated by tenants, one must conclude that the estate owner is a functional superfluity.

With the reclaiming of land by irrigation schemes, the landlord class has been growing. Under Ayub Khan's regime a systematic policy was being followed of granting fresh lands on easy terms to privileged classes, members of the ruling clique, their relatives and other favorites. For the main part such people have not settled on their estates; they have merely swelled the numbers of absentee landlords and the agricultural economy has been saddled with more consumption-orientated non-producers.

The land reforms introduced by Ayub Khan's regime give the appearance of having broken up the largest estates, although most of the land affected has continued to remain in the possession of the feudal class. Since it was legally permitted, the feudal landowner divided the excess among the members of his family. In the best of circumstances, the dispersal of family interests would require a couple of generations to become effective. The situation is complicated by the fact that in most parts of West Pakistan the feudal owners live in a social system of castes, caste-clans, and surviving traditions of joint families. Thus even with his estate divided in this manner the feudal lord retains his power.

The West Pakistani owners of large estates, the feudal lords, constitute a formidable obstacle to progress. Not only by virtue of their wealth, but on account of their hold over their tenants and the neighbouring peasantry, they wield considerable power and are, even at present, a major political force.

The breaking up of the large estates to destroy the power of the feudal landowners is a national necessity that will have to be carried through by practical measures, of which a ceiling is only a part. The size of the agricultural estate will be limited by the ceiling, the norm being the ownership of a maxi of 50 to 150 acres of irrigated land, the maximum varying from tract to tract and being determined on the basis of quality of soil, present productivity and the availability of irrigation facilities. For what the estate owner surrenders over and above the prescribed ceiling he will be compensated in the form of a terminable life annuity, with a maximum duration of twenty-five years heritable and negotiable within this period. But the best way is to replace the system of agricultural production in isolated units by the creation of social co-operative farms as suggested at "C" below. The estate owner, after he has surrendered his excess holding, will be eligible, like any other farmer, to join the social cooperative farm of his area.

There are many peasants who possess land less than the subsistence unit and must therefore be regarded as a class from whom land revenue cannot be justifiably demanded.

Moreover, the cost of land revenue collection from this class is disproportionately high.

The liability for the payment of land revenue should not be permitted to be passed on to the tenant by the land-lord, whether in whole or in part. The sharing of land revenue payments by tenants will be prohibited.

b) Party's Aims

The Party's policy for dealing with agricultural problems was laid down in the Programmatic Principles accepted in 1967. Article 6 of the Programmatic Principles states that:

“The Party stands for elimination of feudalism and will take concrete steps in accordance with the established principles of socialism to protect and advance the interests of the peasantry”.

Further that:

“The promotion of self help groups and cooperatives is the best way to help the cultivators to improve their lot”

c) Social Cooperative Farms

For efficient utilization of land resources, capital investment in land has to be made. The small holder has not got the means. Moreover, a good deal of the work to improve cultivated areas must be extended over many holdings. In other words, cooperative effort is necessary. This goes beyond the question of proprietary rights and belongs to the organizational aspect of the agricultural system.

There are two main lines of attack which have both to be utilized to raise the level of agricultural economy. Two positive measures are:

- (a) Provision of land to landless peasants and peasants holding land below the subsistence level.
- (b) Social cooperative farms.

All state lands put under irrigation or otherwise reclaimed for cultivation will be reserved for landless peasants or peasants owning less than the subsistence holding.

Social cooperative farms will be created by grouping together of individual holdings on a voluntary basis. Each peasant will be left in possession of his individual holding, but fragmented portions will be consolidated. The farm will supply labour for common purposes. The co-operative will lend out agricultural machinery and implements and regulate the supply of water and distribute fertilizers. The individual farmer will obtain seed, and market his produce, through the social co-operative. An essential function of these social co-operative farms is the utilization of surplus man-power. The policy should be to increase the size of individual holdings to the optimum in the particular area according to the prevailing conditions. As methods of cultivation improve, by greater use of machinery and in other ways, more and more labour will become redundant in the county-side, except at peak periods, such as harvesting and transplantation. In the first instance, the co-operatives will themselves apply the idle manpower available to the work of improving agricultural conditions-canal digging, house building for school, communal purposes an residence, planting of forests, and so on.

d) The Agrovilles

Small towns linked functionally with the rural areas will be founded. Some 200 such urban settlements, which we would call "agrovilles", will be necessary to begin with. Being new urban-settlements they can be planned to offer their inhabitants the maximum of amenities and participation in civic life. We envisage that each agroville will have a main square in which civic life will be focussed. There will be around this centre the town hall, the offices of the cooperatives, the town library, the civic centre with rooms for meetings, festivities, clubs and exhibitions.

The agrovilles will function as market places for the surrounding rural areas and contain establishments for the storage and processing of agricultural produce. Small manufacture can thus be scattered all over the country, utilizing local labour and reducing transport costs. During peak periods, the manpower available in these agrovilles can be sent into the countryside for work. Repair workshops for agricultural machinery in the agroville make machinery maintenance economical for the farms.

The agrovilles will contain hospitals and dispensaries to serve the surrounding villages and from here sanitation teams with doctors and mobile dispensaries will go out to the farms and villages. They will also become educational centres

for the areas. Primary and Secondary Schools with boarding facilities will afford the future generations of peasants' children the opportunities for education of which they are now deprived.

The spread of urbanization is a necessity for Pakistan and it is a fallacious belief that a proportionately large agricultural population is an advantage. National prosperity cannot increase unless agricultural per capita productivity also increases. The goal to be attained, therefore, is the progressive increase of agricultural productivity and the utilization of the surplus labour in the rural areas. The policy logically leads to the spreading of urbanization. What has to be avoided is a drifting of the surplus rural manpower to the large towns and the concentration of industries in a few of them.

e) Animal Husbandry

The deficiency of milk, eggs and meat in their diet seriously affects the health of our people and endangers especially the mental and physical growth of the young. For years meatless days in the week have been imposed in the larger cities of Pakistan and yet the lifting of restrictions on the consumption of the flesh of hoofed animals is now here in sight. The restrictions prove that the demand is there and that our agricultural economy as it is constituted cannot meet it by increased production but only at the cost of destroying its already insufficient cattle stock.

Cattle ranches and dairies will be established in the form of state farms, social co-operative farms and private farms. Since the production of animal proteins is most economical achieved by raising poultry according to modern large-scale standardized methods, poultry farms, either separately or within social co-operatives, will be established in suitable localities all over the country. The manufacture of equipment for cattle raising dairies and poultry farms will be carried out in Pakistan.

Some of the big land owners can be partially compensated by allocation to them of land and facilities for dairies and cattle and poultry breeding. Such ventures are profitable without lending themselves to the exercise of feudal power.

f) Afforestation

It is a fact established by long experience and confirmed by scientific studies that in any sizeable tract containing cultivable land a balance must be kept between the extent of ploughed surface and that under tree cover, that is, between arable and forest lands. If the correct balance is lost, when more land is ploughed at the expense of the wooded part, erosion, loss of top soil blown away by wind,

reduced fertility and, in some places, water-logging and salinity are the result. It has been observed that the climate is adversely affected and rainfall markedly diminished in those regions where the annual rainfall is low, and, conversely, climatic conditions improve in regions where re-afforestation has been done.

In West Pakistan the proportion of forest land is only 2.5% as against the optimum lying between 20% and 25%. For centuries forests were being cut down for timber and fuel without any attempt at re-plantation. The former precious timber wealth of many mountain regions of our country has totally disappeared. Where the plough has not done its destructive work, the habits of pastoral tribes are inimical to the existence of trees.

It should be recognized that forests are as necessary for efficient agriculture as they are valuable in themselves as source of indispensable timber. The planting of forests and woodlands will be scientifically distributed over the country, with the aim of achieving finally the natural balance ratio. In both Wings the destructive exploitation of forests will be stopped and re-plantation of affected areas enforced.

The social co-operative farms will have to contribute towards re-afforestation by setting aside the necessary land for useful trees and supplying the required labour for planting and tending the groves.

In some areas where forests are to be grown and may be given on lease, as compensation, to dispossessed land-owners for planting and tending exploiting the forests.

g) Special Problems

It is recognized that conditions in East Pakistan demand special attention. Being densely populated, the rural areas there have a suburban aspect. Intensive cultivation is therefore a possibility which will have to be kept in view.

It is imperative that irrigation, drainage and flood control works are carried out on a vast scale. Large parts of the province can be permanently protected against devastating floods which take a heavy toll year after year. These areas can also be provided with a permanent system of irrigation. In other areas the entry and exit of annual inundating waters can be regulated through constructing embankments and drainage works and also by scientific regulation of the river channels so that crops can be raised without danger from the presence of unwanted water. Through these means and irrigation works the extent of areas lying under crops during the year, can be doubled.

Large areas in the southern part of East Pakistan can be reclaimed from the sea by the construction of embankments. This will add materially to the agricultural productivity.

In West Pakistan a most serious menace exists in the form of water-logging and salinity. Determined effort is necessary to counter this scourge.

Ways and means on a vast scale, as will be required for these works, will not be available without the introduction of social co-operative farms and utilization through them of the surplus manpower which would remain idle otherwise.

VII - PEOPLES RIGHTS

a) Rights of workers

The principle will be followed of offering work to every able-bodied person according to his abilities and qualifications, irrespective of class or origin when an industry is nationalized, the capitalist may be given the opportunity, if he has that ability, to continue in the enterprise as manager for director, being suitably paid, and even allowed for the duration of his employment a fixed share in the profits. Technical and skilled personnel will not be adversely affected by nationalization. At the present moment, highly qualified Pakistan's are unable to find suitable jobs in industry or, if they are employed, they are badly paid in comparison with poorly qualified foreign technicians. Many a Pakistani has been compelled to emigrate to find a job abroad because he could not earn his living by the work he had learnt, even though highly qualified, in his own country. This 'brain drain' is consequence of the inherent inefficiency of our capitalist-owned industrial system and the high margin of profits permitted to industrial magnates under the protection of government policy.

The problem we shall have to face with the introduction of a socialist policy will be of finding enough qualified personnel to fill the technical posts and man the social services. There will be more than enough work to do. The drive to abolish illiteracy alone will absorb the services of educated men temporarily out of a job, and many other avenues of employment will be open.

The growth of trade-unionism and the rights of trade unions will be promoted in all sectors of industry. ILO standards will be enforced as the minimum necessary for the protection of the workers. Since all the important large-scale industries will be nationalized, it will be possible to offer the workers genuine participation in enjoying the fruits of industrial production. Participation of workers and technicians in factory management will be progressively introduced.

As a necessary part of their employment in factories, the workers must be provided with housing and adequate means of transportation to their places of work. They will be entitled to paid holidays, and recreation camps will be opened where they can spend their holidays in healthy surroundings. They will have the right to training facilities for improving their skills. Hospitals and free medical attention will be incorporated in the system of workers' welfare. Workers' colonies will be provided whilst they are away from home. The education facilities for working class children will include a system of scholarships for higher education in technical colleges and universities. Provisions will be made for old-age pensions and homes for disabled and pensioned workers.

A system of minimum wages, reckoned according to the cost of living, will be enforced both in the public and the private sector.

b) Local Self - Government

By this we mean local self-government in the accepted sense of the management of local affairs by elected representatives of the citizens living within the area. The so-called system of basic democracy introduced by Ayub Khan was a perversion of local self-government, being meant to bolster up the edifice of corrupt dictatorship. Local bodies under the socialist regime will comprise urban municipalities and agglomeration, in convenient sizes. Of rural areas corresponding somewhat to district councils Cooperative farms will be represented in such agrarian local bodies, which will have more or less the same responsibilities as the type of local self-government commonly in vogue in advanced countries. For example, they will look after schools, sanitation, health facilities, drainage, public parks, roads, water supply, and similar responsibilities.

Even before the goal of socialism is attained, the party will have measures of reforms carried through in the existing local self government bodies-municipalities, district councils, etc. The reforms will be orientated towards obtaining the maximum direct participation of citizens in all local self-government bodies. The larger municipalities will be divided into either smaller independent municipalities or sub-municipal with each sub-municipal body having its own town hall. A local body proposing action affecting citizens within its area must consult the majority of the inhabitants and not only the elected members. Rules in various matters requiring consultation will be suitably framed. For example, change of street names will be illegal unless it follows a 6-month notice to the citizens and public discussion of the proposal, not only through the medium of the Press and radio but also in public meetings. All municipal bodies will be compelled to give wide publicity to deliberations of all matters that come before them. Twice annually, each local body must hold a public meeting, open

to all voters within its jurisdiction, to render an account of its actions and to listen to the views of the public. The mandate of members of local bodies shall always be revocable any time by the electors.

In respect of services, such as the supply of water and removal of garbage, no dues may be collected unless the service is rendered. Disputes in respect of local taxation will come under the jurisdiction of administrative courts.

Town planning is much talked of in Pakistan but has been disgracefully neglected. The great city of Karachi is an instance of how corruption has deprived its citizens of the amenities which are a necessary part of civic life. Sites meant for public parks have been given away to private persons. The management of housing societies has been in most instances grossly corrupt.

Lands meant for public amenities which have been wrongfully given away will be resumed and those responsible will be punished according to law. Not only in government administration but also in local bodies and housing societies corruption has to be stamped out. We will not allow persons who have wrongfully acquired property meant for public use to remain in enjoyment of their ill-gotten gains. Special commissions to investigate the affairs of municipalities, autonomous bodies like the KDA and CDA, housing societies and organizations connected with town planning will be appointed and special tribunals to try the guilty.

c) Administrative Reforms

The present system of administration is a legacy of colonial rule, to which it was, in its time, well adopted. Even in respect of honesty the administration was found to function well when it was watched and controlled from outside. Whatever modifications have been introduced they have been done to meet the needs of the rising indigenous capitalist class and to promote the interests of groups that were acquiring wealth by holding the levers of power within government and administration. The administration then became its own master. But this could happen only by forming alliance with the capitalists who were eager to obtain privileges for exploitation.

The socialist measures will cut at the root of the corrupt side of administration. The socialist regime will need a different structure of administration, and the socialist society, when it comes into being, will itself create the necessary structure. The problem of reforms for the present one is only for the interim period; but this is an urgent matter the reforms will have to be made effective as early as possible. One of the necessary measures is to make the official personally more responsible for his actions, especially in matters relating to his dealings

with the public. The present rule of anonymity will have to be drastically modified.

In disputes between departments and the public the Administrative Courts will have jurisdiction; for example, a private party can sue the department in an administrative court for damages caused by official delay; a contractor may sue the government in such a court for obtaining his dues. The administrative courts are, perhaps, the very best method of putting an end to corruption in government and the harassment of the public by government officials. If delay and inefficiency become justiciable, their incidence will decrease.

d) Minorities

All citizen of Pakistan, irrespective of religious belief, race or colour, shall enjoy equal political rights, protection before the law, access to occupation of public office, and shall not be discriminated against in any manner in respect of employment.

e) Administrative Courts and Ombudsmen

For the protection of the citizens against administrative wrongs, a system of administrative courts and administrative law will be established. Furthermore, the functioning of the administration in respect of its contacts with the public will be constantly supervised by Ombudsmen.

f) Jail Reforms

The people's movement of overthrow Ayub Khan's dictatorship resulted in the imprisonment of large numbers of honest men and women, most of whom for the first time saw the interior of Pakistani jail. The prisons were already overcrowded, and the influx of political prisoners made conditions no better. The political prisoners were in many cases subjected to ill-treatment and hardships. They could see for themselves also how inhuman the treatment of other types of prisoners could be in a Pakistani jail. Having had experience of what was happening in the jails, they could reveal to the public, when they were freed, the use of torture, the deaths of prisoners under torture, and the whipping of trade union leaders and political workers.

In the jails corruption flourishes unchecked. All the official regulations about jail inspection were proved to be completely ineffective. The sanitary conditions in the jails are indescribably bad, although it is obligatory on the government to keep up the correct standards in this respect and there is no lack of manpower within the walls. Medical attention is perfunctory. All the cells are infested with

vermin, and nothing is done to get rid of them. The food is inadequate and bad because most of the official grant is misappropriated by the jail officials. The treatment of the common prisoners is based purely upon brutality, with the result that even the first offender comes out a hardened criminal. Besides the use of torture, which is common in such jails, political prisoners have been subjected to solitary confinement extending beyond the prescribed period recognized as humanly permissible.

The jails will be drastically reformed. In respect of treatment of criminals a distinction will be made between hardened criminals, who have committed serious crimes, and first offenders, to make affective the reformatory work. Emphasis will be laid upon teaching prisoners useful and proper habits of living, which means a training in hygiene and self-respect.

g) Abolition of "Jirga" System

Under Ayub Khan's regime, a systematic attempt was made to pervert and destroy the civilized procedures of dispensing justice by spreading the "Jirga" system, a most primitive method of trial, in which the most elementary notions of fairness and legality are disregarded. Its object has been to give the administration a weapon for harassing or convicting innocent people. The Jirga system will be abolished. The normal system of criminal and civil courts will be introduced in the tribal areas also, so that the administration of justice may become uniform throughout the country.

h) Abolition of Honours

All honors and decorations of a civilian nature awarded to Pakistani citizens by all previous regimes will be revoked, and the prevailing system of honours and decorations abolished. Not before 5 years' after a democratic constitution has been brought into force and the basic reforms carried out, shall the question of instituting awards for meritorious achievements be considered.

j) Princely State

No region of Pakistan will be permitted to be governed in the manner of a princely state. All political agencies will be brought in line with the general legal administration of the rest of Pakistan.

Without prejudice to the right of self-determination of the people of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, the government of Pakistan will kept them to abolish princely rule that still exists on their territory in the parts protected by Pakistan.

VIII - EDUCATION AND CULTURE

a) Educational Goals

Under the regime of exploitation which has governed Pakistan all these year, education and culture occupied no place except as adjuncts at the service of the propertied classes. The neglect of education was a logical consequence of the economic policy pursued. Education cannot be put off untill the day when the country becomes prosperous, because general economic prosperity itself depends upon the spread of literacy and the raising of the educational level.

Along with the neglect to expand education, there has been a complete collapse in the functioning of the existing educational institutions. Educational students have steadily declined to the point when today a Pakistani university degree has lost its value as academic qualification. It is a very grave situation. Not only the work of spreading literacy must be carried out, as a basic effort, but the whole educational system has at the same time to be reformed.

Educational goals have to be defined afresh. The basic problem of education is that younger generations have to be prepared not merely to understand the universe around them but to alter it. They must acquire a deep comprehension of the nature of social change and of inexorable process of history. Not only that they must be armed with scientific tools to unravel the mysteries of observable phenomenon but also they must have intellectual integrity and courage to accept the truth as it emerges before their eyes.

In order to create a truly classless society it is imperative that the horizons of the seekers of knowledge should encompass society as a whole. Their vision must not be narrowed down to that of the proverbial frog in the well. We must reject the conception fostered by the capitalist system that higher education must confine itself to narrow specialization. The capitalist system that higher education must confine itself to narrow specialization. The capitalistic system has an interest in this sort of fragmentation of learning because it is able thereby to prevent the intellectuals from questioning the validity of the prevailing system of political and economic values.

In our present society there is a noticeable resistance to learning, the causes of which are complex but lie in the nature of the social system. The curricula of the university and college courses will have to be thoroughly revised and the divorce between the universities and the life of the people ended. Apart from

compulsory military training, which will begin already at the secondary school stage, the student will have to spend a specified period doing national service in labour corps, in fields and towns.

Properly speaking, education should begin in the cradle. The moral collapse and intellectual sterility of our society is greatly due to the repressive environment in which children are brought up. Their minds get no opportunities for exercising the intellectual faculties. The children must be helped. A way in which the State can do it is to provide the opportunities for the children to exercise their minds in play: The Pakistani child does not get enough toys. It is known that toys of certain types contribute to mental development. Toy factories will be established by the state and their products sold cheap at subsidized rates or given free to the children of poor parents. It will be incumbent upon every locality, village or urban, to provide open and sheltered playgrounds for children.

b) Primary and Secondary Education

Education will be free up to matriculation and primary education will be compulsory and free. A 5-year programme will be formulated by the end of which all the necessary schools must be built and the primary school teachers trained. Free housing will be provided for such teachers, and their children will be exempted from secondary school boarding fees if they opt for the profession of teaching.

More secondary schools must also be established, with the aim that in due course education will become compulsory up to a prescribed age and level of secondary school education. The children who do exceptionally well at the top of the primary schools will be granted scholarships for studying in secondary schools, and for this purpose special regard will be paid to the children of working class parents. In the secondary schools, the elements of manual skill must also be taught alongside book learning. There will also be educational institutions classified as secondary schools for various branches of artisan training.

Among the compulsory subjects in school, mathematics will be accorded the place of honour and taught by the most scientific modern methods. Mathematics is the basis of all science and technology and it is necessary that its foundations should be laid early in the minds of the students. Moreover, this discipline more than any other develops the power of rational thinking.

c) Higher Education

The institutions of higher learning, as now constituted and operated, are the product of the ordinances promulgated to enforce the notorious educational

“reforms” hatched by the last regime. The universities of today are in the image of the despotic rule of Ayub Khan. All the evils of his system stand transferred in the educational field in the present shape of the universities. The vice-chancellor, advised by foreign “experts”, assisted by rubber-stamping syndicates, aided by educational bureaucracy and blue-eyed favorites, helped by police, is on a rampage to exploit the students of awarding them worthless degrees and diplomas and impoverishing their parents. This must change. The universities have to be reorganized on the principles enunciated in the foregoing.

The students and teachers must work in full academic freedom. The students must be allowed pertinent choice in the affairs of the university, which in its turn must be answerable to representatives of the people.

The imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist influences must be wiped out from our institutions.

Not only through the schools but also by general effort to bring to the consciousness of the masses the importance of cultural values can the general cultural level be raised. Such an effort must include the protection and promotion of regional languages and local cultures.

d) Freedom of Conscience, Freedom of Thought, Freedom of Expression

Thought cannot be divorced from expression. The freedom of conscience and freedom of thought imply the freedom of expressing in public what one believes and thinks even if what is said or written goes against the beliefs and prejudices of others. There is no meaning in talking of such freedom and at the same time insisting that only accepted beliefs may be expressed. The very basis of toleration is preparedness to bear contrary opinions. Bigotry is an insult to faith and intelligence alike.

It can be shown from the history of Muslim peoples that their civilization declined into intellectual sterility because dogmatic fanaticism obtained ascendancy. This type of insensate intolerance has been imposed upon the people of Pakistan by governments indifferent or hostile to the intellectual welfare of the people. Our governments have too readily yielded to the blackmail of ignorant bigots.

The nation has been intellectually blindfolded by class interests which do not want our people to think for them-selves. The bunkers put upon the nation by dictatorial government will be removed.

No book shall be proscribed merely on the ground that its contents differ from the tenets or beliefs of any religion or faith, liberal policy will be followed with regard to the importation of books. The censorship of true news items will be disallowed; we ought to know not only the pleasant things about ourselves but also the unpleasant facts. We must stop thinking of ourselves as condemned to perpetual immaturity of mind under the tutelage of guardians.

IX - NATIONAL HEALTH

a) The Present State

In respect of public health facilities Pakistan is one of the most backward countries of the world. Diseases, malnutrition, environmental insanitation and squalor take an extraordinarily heavy toll of human life year by year. Microbial diseases, like typhoid, cholera, small-pox, malaria, tuberculosis, which have been wiped out from most of the underdeveloped countries, are still rampant in Pakistan.

Half of the Pakistani population is destined to die before reaching the age of 16. Nowhere else in the world so many mothers die as they do in 'Pakistan during and immediately after childbirth.

The poor are the worst sufferers. For only about 15% of the population are there available any sort of curative or diagnostic facilities. The cost of medicines is beyond the reach of most and even the middle classes are hardly able to pay for essential life-saving drugs.

There are many preventable diseases whose control is easy but which today cause immense suffering and economic harm. Over one per cent of the Pakistani population is blind. Three out of four persons in the region⁵ of Sind and Baluchistan suffer from trachoma; a disease which can lead to blindness is not treated.

Ten per cent of the population suffers from some mental defect, ranging from idiocy and raving madness to loss of mental equilibrium. Malnutrition and inattention at child-birth are causes of much brain damage.

Existing health laws are antiquated and need complete revision or replacement by modern enactment.

b) Health Policy and Targets

The policy of the Pakistan People's Party in matters of national health is guided by the following considerations:

- a. Enjoyment of good health is the fundamental right of every citizen of Pakistan.
- b. The State shall ensure protection of all its citizens from communicable diseases.
- c. The State shall ensure protection of all its citizens, particularly children and youth, against preventable conditions such as environmental pollution, maternal deaths, accidents, etc.
- d. The State shall pay special attention to the health of youth and working population and shall take concrete steps to increase their physical, mental and social efficiency.
- e. The State shall arrange to provide medical care and rehabilitation facilities for all those who are physically disabled.
- f. The State shall pay special attention to the mentally ill and the mentally handicapped.

The following objectives will be aimed at:

1. To increase life expectancy in Pakistan from the present 33 to 60 years within a generation.
2. To reduce within ten years child mortality between the ages of 1 and 5 from the 35% to 7.5%.
3. Complete eradication within ten years of microbial diseases such as TB, cholera, small-pox, typhoid, malaria, typhus, rabies, leprosy.

The health programme will include the provision and improvement of hospitals, the enforcement of measures to improve sanitation in towns and villages, the local manufacture of as many essential drugs as possible, health care of school children and, where malnutrition is present, the supply of balancing diets in the schools.

X - NATIONAL DEFENCE

The shortcomings of our system of military defence must be made good. Since previous governments have not taken the trouble of establishing an infrastructure of heavy industries comprising the production of iron and steel, the manufacture of machine tools and the working of non-ferrous metals, we are dependent today upon foreign countries for the importation of most types of

weapons and military equipment. The greater numbers of weapons used by the defence forces are capable of being manufactured in Pakistan itself.

The socialist regime will establish an armaments industry adequate for national requirements. For this purpose the basic industries will have to be established first. For example, the production of steel of the qualities required facilities for manufacturing machine tools and heavy chemicals, plants for the production of chemicals used in the making of explosives. The manufacture of vehicles and motors will be undertaken. It ought to be possible to meet the military requirements of vehicles, even of armored types, from local production, except for such as axe of special nature and whose production will not repay the trouble. The manufacture of ballistic and guided missiles will form part of the armaments programmes.

Pakistan will develop its nuclear capability to prepare for all eventualities.

The defence of East Pakistan will be strengthened by the establishment there of adequate military installations for ground forces, the air force and the navy, and the stationing in the country of the requisite military personnel so that any attempt at aggression from outside can be both repulsed and punished.

The Party insists upon:

(a) The rights of every man to bear arms to protect his own life and the life and honour of his family;

(b) and his right to defend his against foreign aggression.

A 'Peoples Army' will be created in all regions of the country. This will offer the substitute for the defence in depth which is geographically lacking. The existence of a people's is the best deterrent to foreign aggression.

XI - THE CONSTITUTION

a) The Constitution

The legal framework of a constitution can guarantee no progress if it is made in the interest of the ruling classes. A constitution, even if democratic in form, will remain ineffective unless it promotes the conditions for progress and creates the institutions necessary for the purpose. The Party's conception of a Progressive constitution includes:-

- (a) Full democracy
- (b) Parliamentary Government
- (c) Federal system
- (d) The extension of local self government
- (e) Guarantee of the freedom of conscience.

Under any constitution the unity of the country can be preserved only on the condition that the economy of the country is not fragmented, and a uniformity of the legal system prevails throughout the republic. There must be no privileged and retarded areas. The areas under tribal regime must be absorbed within the general system. Human rights shall be expressly guaranteed in the constitution. Women will have equal rights with men and will be eligible for every post of authority, including the posts of president and prime minister. The minimum age for voting and election to parliament, municipalities and all local self-government bodies will be 18 years for both sexes.

b) Reform of the Electoral System

The existing electoral system is a most efficient mechanism for giving preponderance to the propertied classes in parliament. The cost of fighting an election is high which in no case can be afforded by a poor candidate unless he is supported by rich patrons with ample private means.

Another defect, equally serious, of this system inherited from the British lies in its entire emphasis on the influence and power the candidate personally wields in his constituency and relegation to the background of the political ideas he is supposed to be upholding. The fight, in the rural areas particularly, is between local bosses. In such circumstances a political party's programme loses its meaning. The electoral system has been one of the principal causes of the political failures since the beginning of Pakistan.

The electoral system will be so reformed as to give primacy to political programmes. This will be done by introducing the system of voting for party lists and not for individual candidates. The number of candidates elected in each party will be proportionate to the total number of valid votes cast. In the case of the National Assembly the total valid votes cast means the total in the whole country, both Wings together. In the case of the Provincial Assemblies the total refers, of course, to each province respectively.

In this system it will depend upon the political party concerned how its candidates are placed in respect of priority in its list. If only rich men are at the head, or only men from a certain class, the voters will know at once what class

interests that party actually represents, whatever be its published programme. Since the local boss cannot by merely spending money hope to get elected, unless his name stands high on his party's list, election expenses will quickly be confined to the essentials only. Political conviction will become more important than personal influence.

In order to discourage the presence of splinter and parochial parties in the National Assembly it shall be a law that no political party that has not secured at least five per cent of the total votes cast shall be given a seat. This provision, acting as a goad to the parties to secure a following in each Wing of the country, will help to shape political programmes on national lines. The same 5% rules will apply in the Provincial Assemblies in respect of each Province.

CONCLUSION

The Pakistan Peoples Party came into being in the hour of need and has performed its duty unflinchingly, to overthrow a corrupt dictatorship and to awaken the people to the consciousness of their own power. The Party has acted on what it has preached. It sets up on jumbled list of demands but proposes radical change of the social economic and political structure. The people of Pakistan will themselves will themselves bring this revolution to pass. Hence the Party says.

All Power to the People

Manifesto - 1977

*Islam is our faith
Democracy is our Polity
Socialism is our Economy
All Power to the People*

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FOREWORD

by

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

Chairman, Pakistan People's Party

In our first Manifesto in 1970 we described Pakistan as a nation betrayed a monument to the unfulfilled hopes and aspirations of the Muslims of the sub-continent. We recognized that the existing dispensation between the two wings of Pakistan was unjust and gravely imperiled the unity of the nation. We acknowledged that the existing capitalist structure was incapable of making good the harm already done to the country. We were proved right. It is

universally acknowledged that the country subsequently went through her gravest crisis since Independence; and only the advent of the People's Party Government in December 1971 saved Pakistan.

On December 20, 1971, I became President of a country physically dismembered and partially occupied by the enemy, who also held over 90,000 prisoners of war. Communications and industry were virtually at a standstill. The people were stunned by the sudden defeat and totally demoralized. Not only was the continued physical existence of the remainder of Pakistan in jeopardy, but, even more important, the very ideological concept of Pakistan was cast in doubt both at home and abroad.

In those circumstances, when the survival of the country was the first priority, it would not have been surprising if we had failed to fulfill the promises of our Manifesto. However, we redeemed our pledges. We remained conscious of our promise that the Manifesto was no mere vote-catching device; and, against all human odds, we have fulfilled the programme which we put before the people.

With the support of the people, we have re-forged the nation and given it a constitutional framework. We have revived and restructured the economy by striking off the shackles of feudal and capitalist exploitation. We have given a fresh impetus and new direction to industry. In agriculture, we have attained a level of self-sufficiency in food production which had long eluded the country. In pursuit of our goal of an egalitarian society, we have improved the lot of the common man, both peasant and worker. We have strengthened our national defence. We have held high the banner of Islam in Pakistan; we have made the fullest contribution to the unity of the Muslim world and the cause of Islam throughout the world. We have gained the respect of all nations, particularly those of the Third World whose lot we suffer and whose cause we champion.

What more could we have done in five years? We would certainly like to have done more, especially to alleviate the hardships of the common man. I am fully conscious of the difficult times you face, particularly because of the inflation that has hit Pakistan as indeed it has hit the rest of the world. I am also conscious of our shortcomings. No Government can be perfect. We lay no claim to infallibility. Those who do only deceive the people.

The policy underlying the present Manifesto is to carry forward the task we have undertaken to build on our achievements. We have, in the past five years, restructured the economy; and from this will follow, in the next five years, a qualitative improvement in the living standards of our people. This Manifesto is inspired by the idealism with which we launched the Movement against

dictatorship and the capitalist system; and balanced by realism derived from experience.

In your hands lies the decision as to whether the nation advances under the PPP towards a more prosperous and glorious Pakistan, or reverts to its former confusion ending in self-destruction. I am confident your decision will be correct.

I thank Allah Almighty for His Guidance and Infinite Mercy, and the people of Pakistan for the support they have given the Government during these past five years. Without such guidance and support we would have had the courage to face the difficulties that confronted us our strength to overcome them.

For the challenge of the future, I pray for Divine Guidance and your continued support.

ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

CHAPTER I WHAT WE INHERITED

When the Pakistan People's Party presented its first Manifesto to the people of Pakistan in 1970, we recognized that a grave crisis entailing major changes lay ahead. We believed that the future prosperity of Pakistan lay not only in a change in the political structure but, more important, in the economic structure of the country. The initiation of such change was all the more difficult because a transfer of power had to be effected from military to civilian government, and a constitutional framework had to be evolved taking into account the legitimate aspirations of the people of both wings and' all the Provinces of Pakistan.

To evolve such a constitutional framework for the first time in the history of Pakistan was itself a monumental task fraught with difficulties. It called for the cooperation of all parties to work within a national framework and with the national interest upper most. But the Generals' Junta were reluctant and insincere about transferring power after wielding it for many years; and the leadership of the Awami League did not want to operate within the framework of a united Pakistan. The other parties and cliques in West Pakistan were equally irresponsible in flirting with the military and the Awami League, interested only in their own short-term gain.

The glorious reality of Islam, the basis of Pakistan, became a mere expedient in the hands of unscrupulous politicians and the Military Junta. Abandoned was the unity of Pakistan.

The PPP had already, seen the potential rift between the East and West Wings of the country. We were the only West Pakistani party that had warned in our Basic Foundation Documents and in our first Manifesto that the exploitative economic structure could not continue. Our programme incorporated a solution to the problems. But the solution involved political as well as socio-economic change which the vested interests could not countenance. The dangers of the- status quo were ignored and our warnings disregarded.

On September 29, 1971, the Chairman of the PPP said, "It is our considered opinion that if democracy is not restored before the end of the year, it will be too late to salvage and save Pakistan." Before the year ended, Pakistan was indeed dismembered and defeated.

The 1971 December War with India not only brought about the loss of East Pakistan but also the occupation of over 5,000 square miles of territory in West Pakistan. More than 90,000 Pakistanis, soldiers, sailors, airmen, civilians, women and children, were prisoners in India. Both internally and externally, what was left of Pakistan was in total disarray.

Internally, with the loss of East Pakistan, the balance of the economy based on the complementary nature of the two wings was completely upset. The national exchequer was nearly empty, and foreign exchange reserves drained. Pakistan's currency was a fraction of its official value. Industry was grinding to a halt and the labour situation was explosive. The port of Karachi, and rail and road transportation was severely disrupted. Oil storage pumps had been severely damaged; threatening activity in every sphere, even agricultural production.

Not only was Pakistan thus physically dismembered and shattered but the very concept and ideology of Pakistan seemed to have disappeared over-night. Our people were bewildered as to what had become of the Pakistan for which millions of Muslims had made sacrifices. The cataclysmic change not only brought confusion at home; it also added strength to the attack on the two-nation theory by the section of the people who had opposed the partition of the sub-continent.

The bankruptcy of the previous Government's policy was as much evident externally as at home. Internationally, Pakistan's reputation had plummeted to its lowest depths. Our friends abroad were genuinely, concerned about the future viability of the country after the sudden and shattering defeat. Our

enemies were exultant, waiting to pounce on the remainder of Pakistan. Overseas, Pakistan was depicted as four separate Provinces flying apart in different directions.

Our bruised and sundered nation was facing its greatest ever trial. It was in these circumstances that the PPP Government came into office, on December 20, 1971.

CHAPTER II PROMISES FULFILLED

Perspective

In the circumstances we inherited, it would have been a major achievement of the PPP Government merely to have held together the remainder of the country, and guide it on a stable course. Not only did the PPP Government achieve this remarkable feat; elected by the people and bound by its pledge to them, we were determined to fulfill to the maximum extent possible the terms of our mandate.

The main aim outlined in our 1970 Manifesto was the establishment of an egalitarian society through the transformation of the economy by ending the old exploitative feudal and capitalist structure. In the field of external affairs, it was to establish an independent foreign policy and play a full role in promoting the solidarity of the Muslim peoples and the progress of the Third World. We can, with justifiable pride, look back on our success in fulfilling our election pledges.

Our achievements have indeed been numerous. No doubt we may have made mistakes on this long march of five years. But when one looks back on the obstacles and difficulties we have encountered during this period, it is a source of both wonderment and inspiration that we successfully overcame them, that Pakistan has not only survived but moved forward purposefully in attaining the objectives envisaged by the Founder of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

One of the greatest obstacles to progress lay regrettably in the Opposition parties. They failed the people of Pakistan by hindering the growth of national unity. Already they had contributed to the crisis which led to the dismemberment of Pakistan. Now, after December 1971, despite the enormity of the problems facing the country, they continued to indulge in petty politics in pursuit of their own selfish interests. Whereas national consolidation was the main goal of the people

of Pakistan, the Opposition parties sought to exploit provincialism, parochialism and sectarianism for their own ends. In this they were used wittingly or unwittingly by foreign interests.

In an effort to promote the democratic process, the PPP constantly attempted to establish and maintain a dialogue with the Opposition. As the Government party, with an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly, there was no compulsion to do so. Our motives were based on the need to promote national consolidation through consensus. But our efforts were deliberately frustrated by the Opposition.

After unconditionally withdrawing the ban on the National Awami Party, the PPP initiated political discussions with the National Awami Party (NAP) and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (JUI) in Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP). We went so far as to install their nominees as Governors of those Provinces, which was a novel departure in the history of the subcontinent. Whereas the PPP Federal Government sought to encourage maximum cooperation between the Federal Government and the Provinces, the NAP/JUI Provincial Governments took it upon themselves to defy the Federal authority at every turn.

The NAP fostered open and armed insurrection in Baluchistan, and terrorist and sabotage activities in the NWFP. Not only were members of the armed and security forces killed; even civilians and innocent children were not spared. The Senior Minister of the NWFP Government, Hayat Mohammad Khan Sherpao, was assassinated at Peshawar University in a bomb blast.

In Sindh, attempts were made to revive the Sindhu Desh Movement. The language issue was misrepresented and inflated out of all proportion in order to sabotage the success of the Simla Agreement with India.

In the Punjab, unscrupulous politicians gave a deliberately distorted version of the Government's actions, claiming dishonestly and falsely that they were upholding the rights of the Province. The ugly specter of provincial chauvinism emerged in the largest Province of Pakistan. Had the people been duped by it, the destruction of the country would undoubtedly have followed.

The Opposition parties' threats of civil disobedience, even at a time of national disaster such as the floods of 1973, never found enough popular support to progress beyond words. Their attempts to frustrate the democratic process by boycotting the National and Provincial Assemblies failed through lack of sympathy from the broad masses.

Apart from attempting to cause dissension at home, the Opposition parties also sought to destroy our good relations with foreign powers. On several occasions they showed deliberate discourtesy to visiting dignitaries in an attempt to prove that Pakistan was a divided country. False allegations were made of secret deals with allies to the detriment of the country. Gunrunning was organized. Some of the parties even boasted that they had the support of foreign powers. What greater insult could there have been to the integrity of a sovereign and independent Pakistan.

The problems created by the anti-democratic and anti-national forces of the Opposition parties and the tactics they adopted were serious obstacles. The PPP Government's programme and efforts were further undermined by other vested interests. Big business illegally took its capital overseas, and indulged in large-scale tax evasion, price manipulation, hoarding, black-marketing and smuggling.

In addition to these factors, the country's economic recovery received a serious setback on account of natural disasters. The floods of 1973 and the flood and rain damage in 1976 were the worst ever in the history of Pakistan. The drought of 1974 brought the rivers to their lowest level ever recorded. In a primarily agrarian economy, the loss to the country was incalculable.

The economic crisis in Pakistan was all the more desperate because it was set in the context of a continuing upheaval throughout the world. Even before the PPP assumed the reins of government, the entire world economy was suffering from inflation because of the economic effects of the Vietnam War, the U.S. balance of payments deficit and international monetary instability. A further blow to developing countries like Pakistan was dealt by global inflation, with an unprecedented increase in world prices which appeared in 1973 and continued thereafter. There was a rapid and uncontrolled price spiral affecting goods such as machinery, petroleum products, fertilizers and edible oil which are essential imports for Pakistan. This vicious circle held all countries like Pakistan - which are neither industrially developed nor oil producing - in its grip. What made it more strangulating was that, in rapid succession, inflation was followed by the worst international recession since the 1930s and we had to contend with a shattering decline in the prices of our exports. While the prices of commodities we imported rose dramatically, the value of our exports was seriously affected by the slackness of international demand due to recession and the adverse terms of trade. That we moderated the impact of this economic catastrophe, the causes of which were beyond our control, and maintained our development programme testifies to the success of our stewardship of the nation's economy.

Although we could well have used the immense difficulties we inherited and encountered as justifiable reason for not fulfilling our Manifesto promises, we

rejected that easy way out. Unlike past Governments who ran away from their promises, we run proudly on our record of redeemed pledges. This we could only have achieved with the support of the people.

We have many successes to our credit of which we are justly proud. We shall not recount them here because they are there for all to see. But we will recount the important pledges that we made to the people in our first Manifesto. It was for our promises the people voted, and in our promises they placed their trust. We have faithfully redeemed our pledges and repaid the confidence that the people placed in us.

Islam

The Manifesto of the PPP declared at the outset that "Islam is our Faith". We pledged that our programme would be in accord with the substance and spirit of Islam. The policies of the PPP during the past five years have been inspired by our pledge and implemented for the glory of Islam with a devotion unmatched by any previous Government.

For the first time the provisions of the Constitution faithfully reflect Islamic ideology. Islam has been declared the State religion. We have enshrined in the Constitution our pledge that we will countenance no laws repugnant to the Qur'an and Sunnah.

The PPP Government has by way of concrete measures: -

Resolved the 90 year old Qadiani issue by clearly defining in the Constitution that a person who does not believe in the absolute and unqualified finality of the Prophet-hood of Muhammad (peace be upon him) is not a Muslim.

Convened a Summit Conference of all heads of Muslim States and Governments in Lahore in February 1974.

Declared that, from July 1977, Friday instead of Sunday will be the weekly holiday.

Organized for the first time an International Seerat Congress and arranged visits by the Imams of Ka'aba Sharif and Masjid-i-Nabvi.

Removed restrictions on Hajis imposed by previous regimes, thereby enabling nearly 300,000 Pakistanis to perform Haj during the past five years.

Formulated and adopted a well-planned policy for Ziarat.

Enacted laws to ensure error-free printing of the Holy Qur'an.

Promulgated the Dowry and Bridal Gifts Restriction Act, which, in keeping with the spirit of Islam, spares the common man the crushing burden of expenditure at the time of marriage.

Changed the Red Cross to the Red Crescent Society.

The Constitution

The PPP had promised a Constitution envisaging an Islamic, democratic, parliamentary and federal form of Government. We have redeemed this pledge.

Within months of assuming office, we introduced the Interim Constitution with effect from April 21, 1972. We withdrew Martial Law on that same date although we had a mandate to extend it up to August 14, 1972.

On April 12, 1973, the first permanent Constitution was passed unanimously by the representatives of the people directly elected by adult franchise, and came into force on 14th August, 1973.

The Constitution is federal in structure and has given more autonomy to the Provinces than they ever earlier enjoyed. At the same time the Constitution provides a definite national framework with an effective Federal authority. Thus the issue of provincial autonomy which had defied solution for decades was finally resolved with the agreement of all the Provinces. In keeping with the federal nature of the Constitution, a Senate has for the first time been established, giving equal representation to all the Provinces. Moreover, a Council of Common Interests has been created with equal representation from the Federation and the Provinces to formulate and regulate policies in relation to specific matters of common interest.

The form of Government is parliamentary. All members of the Government must be members of parliament. The Government has been made accountable to Parliament.

For the first time in Pakistan, the constitutional provisions are designed to eliminate all forms of exploitation.

The Constitution has been a major step in national consolidation, and has created a framework for a progressive society.

Economic Direction and Industry

In our 1970 Manifesto we promised that all the vital sectors of industrial production and finance would be put in the public sector. This pledge has been redeemed.

We nationalized, on January 2, 1972, ten basic industries and subsequently the ghee industry. The following industries are now exclusively in the public sector:

- a) Steel and basic metals.
- b) Heavy engineering.
- c) Heavy electrical goods.
- d) Fertilizers.
- e) Automobiles and trucks.
- f) Tractors.
- g) Petroleum refining, petro-chemicals, heavy and basic chemicals.
- h) Cement,
- i) Vegetable ghee.
- j) Public utilities like gas and electricity.

In the fields of light engineering chemicals both the State and the private sector are operating. The public sector is also playing a vigorous role in the sugar and textile industries, particularly in the less developed areas.

We had promised that banks and insurance companies would be nationalized. In March 1972, we nationalized life insurance, and banking on January 1, 1974.

The PPP Government also nationalized shipping and two important petroleum distributing companies.

We promised to end the exploitation of the capitalist system and the monopoly conditions under which it operated. In pursuit of this policy, we abolished, in early 1972, the Managing Agency system, a legacy of the colonial past in South Asia. In addition, control was strengthened over monopolies and the stock exchange. Changes were introduced in the law to provide for greater accountability to, and proper representation for, small shareholders.

We have created a mixed economy in which private enterprise has a defined role to play in national development.

We promised that large scale export trading would be conducted by State Corporations. In pursuance of this promise, we have nationalized the export trade in cotton and rice, our two principal exports.

Reforms were also undertaken in internal trade and processing. All major commodities, cotton, wheat and rice, have been placed exclusively or largely under the control of the State. This important measure has already begun to provide a better return to the agriculturist by eliminating the malpractices of the middle man.

We have done more. We have given a new direction to industry in our effort to achieve self-reliance. Our major industrial thrust is two-fold. Firstly, impetus has been given to basic industries, two decades of procrastination the Steel Mills project has launched in Karachi and major headway made in heavy e Secondly, in the vital field of fertilizers, we have launched a massive programme which will increase domestic production four-fold.

We have vigorously supported the drive to find oil and gas. We have been repaid by the discovery of oil and gas at Dhodak in the Dera Ghazi Khan District. We have undertaken a crash programme of development of the known oil fields at Meyal and Tut.

We have accelerated the search for minerals. As a result, copper and iron ore deposits have been discovered.

In pursuit of our promise to reduce the disparity between the different regions, we have given special attention to less developed areas by setting up industries, exploiting and conserving water resources, providing roads, extending the telecommunications network and generally accelerating the pace of development. While distributing development of resources between Provinces on the basis of population for the first time, we have not lost sight of the special requirements of less developed areas. We have increased the allocations to Baluchistan by 472% from Rs. 51.7 million in 1971-72 to Rs. 296.59 million in 1976-77; to Azad Kashmir and the Northern Areas by 442% from Rs. 35 million to Rs. 190 million; to the Tribal Areas by 1090% from Rs. 20.21 million to Rs. 222 million, and the NWFP by 385% from Rs. 136.35 million to Rs. 660 million.

We have built over 5000 miles of roads; and increased the number of telephone connections 160,000 to 281,000, and the places connected by telephone from 535 to 1166. We have developed the mass communication media; radio services now cover 87% of the population, and television, which was formally confined to three cities, has been extended to all the four Provinces covering 72% of the population.

We have achieved a steady increase in production, employment and consumption. In order to fulfill our pledge to improve the life of the common

man, we have ensured that the per capita consumption of wheat has increased by 10%, pulses 25%, sugar 27%, vegetable ghee 40% and clothing 60%.

We have launched a development effort which has reached a level unprecedented in the history of Pakistan. Every area of Pakistan bears witness to our achievements.

Agriculture

In our 1970 Manifesto we pointed out the sad neglect by past regimes of the all important agricultural sector of the economy and our deplorable dependence on imported food grains. We promised that Pakistan would produce enough food grains to feed its own people apart from exporting cash crops.

In the past five years we have revitalized agriculture by revolutionizing the structure of the rural economy. As witness to our success we have achieved a measure of self-sufficiency in food grains which had merely been talked about in the past two decades. The production of: wheat has gone up from an average of 5.6 million tons in 1965-70 to 8.5 million tons in 1975-76; and rice from 1.7 million tons to 2.6 million tons.

Increased agricultural output has been the result of the rational policies of 'the PPP Government. The following' measures have been taken:-

- (1) Financial allocations have been raised from Rs. 212 million in 1971-72 to Rs. 1,336 million in 1976-77.
- (2) (2) The areas covered by improved seeds have been increased for wheat from 7.7 million acres in 1970-71 to 10 million acres in 1975-76- and for rice from 1.3 million acres to 1.6 million acres.
- (3) Fertilizer off take went; up from 308,000 nutrient tons in 1970-71 to 650,000 nutrient tons.
- (4) Plant protection coverage has been increased from 4.2 million spray acres to over 10 million acres.
- (5) Tractor imports have increased more than three-fold from 4000 in 1971-72; and in addition, power tillers and rice transplanters are being imported.
- (6) The number of tube wells went up from 88,000 in 1971-72 to 145,000.

(7) Institutional credit was raised from Rs. 160 million in 1971-72 to Rs. 1,800 million in 1976-77. The Pass-book system, was introduced to facilitate the flow of credit from the financing institutions to the farmers.

(8) Irrigation water availability at the farm gate was increased from 77 million acre feet in 1970-71 to 101 million acre feet in 1976-77.

(9) The floor prices for all major and several minor agricultural commodities have been revised upward.

(10) To ensure a reasonable return to growers of primary commodities, prices of phutti and paddy have been fixed at Rs. 120-125/- per maund and Rs. 52/- for Basmati, Rs. 30/-- for Irri 6 per maund. All cotton ginning units, all paddy husking units (except single hullers), roller flour mills (6 rollers and above) have been taken under State control.

(11) Agricultural education, extension services and research have been suitably strengthened

Land Reforms & the end of Feudalism

In our 1970 Manifesto we pointed out that feudalism as an economic and political force was a formidable obstacle to progress. We concluded that "to destroy the power of the feudal land owners is a national necessity that will have to be carried through by practical measures of which a ceiling is only a part."

We have kept this pledge by taking a series of measures in the course of the past five years, including a drastic reduction in the ceilings of land holdings. Together they have brought to an end feudalism in Pakistan and ushered in a new era of progress and prosperity for our rural society.

The major landmarks in fulfilling our promise were:

I. March, 1972 : Massive agrarian reforms under which :

- The ceiling on individual holdings was reduced from 500 acres of irrigated or 1,000 acres of un-irrigated land, plus numerous generous exemptions, to 150 acres and 300 acres, plus only one exemption for tractors and tube wells.
- Over 3.2 million acres of land was resumed by the Government including more than half a million acres in the Pat Feeder area of Baluchistan.

- The land was resumed without compensation free to the tenants.
- Over 131,000 tenants were given proprietary rights. In addition, in Swat, Dir and Chitral received land.
- A variety of feudal privileges and exemptions were abolished.

In addition, several concessions were made in favour of the tenants including .

i). Land revenue and other taxes, cusses and levies on land were made payable by lord was also made responsible the provision of seeds.

ii) The cost of fertilizers and pesticides was equally apportioned between the landowner and the tenant,

iii). Begar was made illegal and deterrent punishment provided for arbitrary ejection.

iv). The tenant was given the first right or pre-emption in respect of land in his tenancy.

II. 1973: The feudal levy of Shishak was abolished in Balochistan and other feudal levies were effectively abolished in NWFP.

III. 1975. All small landowners owning 12 acres of irrigated or 24 acres of un-irrigated land were exempted from payment of land revenue and related cusses, development cusses and local rate. This benefited the vast majority of our rural masses,

IV. 1976: (1) The Sirdari system which was a manifestation of the worst aspects of feudalism, particularly in Baluchistan, was abolished.

(2) The Co-operative Farming Law was promulgated, which, while keeping intact the ownership rights of individuals, encouraged the grouping of land holdings in economic units to gain the benefits of the co-operative system.

(3) The Peasants' Charter was promulgated in December, providing for the following:-

a) All culturable waste and cultivated State land, irrigated or un-irrigated, was reserved for landless tenants and small landowners owning less than a subsistence hold-ing.

b) Occupancy tenants on State lands were given full proprietary rights subject to a maximum of a subsistence holding.

c) Occupancy tenants on private lands who had lost the right to acquire proprietary rights by reason of default in payment of dues, were given a grace period of one year to acquire proprietary rights.

d) Grantees of State land were likewise, to the extent of subsistence holding, given one year grace period.

e) Katcha lands in Sind were made disposable on similar lines.

V. January, 1977: Further Land Reforms:

a) The ceiling on individual holdings was reduced further from 150 acres of irrigated land and 300 acres of un-irrigated land to 100 acres and 200 acres on the basis of produce index units. All exemptions to these ceilings were nullified.

b) The tenants will receive free of charge proprietary rights over resumed land.

c) The colonial system of land revenue was totally abolished.

d) Agricultural income tax was introduced for the first time thus removing the privileges of the bigger landlords and the distinction between the urban and rural areas.

e) Holdings upto 25 acres of irrigated and 50 acres of un-irrigated land were exempted from agricultural income tax.

f) Exemptions from income tax were made for investment allowances to promote productive investment in agriculture.

In the past five years we have, through these measures, brought about the end of feudalism in an orderly manner without the social convulsions experienced in other countries and with considerable economic benefit to the nation as a whole.

Labour

We promised that we would keep uppermost the interests of the workers and improve their living and working conditions. Within seven weeks of coming into

office, we announced, on February 10, 1972, a new deal for workers which provided dignity and a fair return to labour.

We have ensured security of employment, making arbitrary dismissal challengeable in Labour Courts. We have given the workers the right of participation in management, and doubled their share in the net profits of factories employing more than 50 workers resulting in the distribution of Rs. 50 million to 200,000 workers in 1974 alone.

We have, for the first time, established an Old Age Benefit Scheme. Similarly, a Group Insurance Scheme has been introduced for all permanent workers and payment of a minimum bonus has been made compulsory. We have expanded the Social Security Programme.

We have ensured rest and recreation for the workers by enhancing the quantum of leave and holidays.

We have compensated the workers three times by allowing cost of living relief totaling Rs. 110/- per month, thus raising the lowest wage by nearly 100%.

We have, as promised, ensured freedom of association and collective bargaining to a degree unknown before in Pakistan, and comparable to the more advanced countries of the world.

By further measures taken on January 4, 1977, we have substantially increased compensation in case of death, injury or disability; enhanced social security benefits for pensions and group insurance by 25%; and made labour litigation cheaper by establishing Labour Appellate Tribunals.

We have streamlined all labour laws and improved their provisions generally to the great advantage of the workers.

Health

The 1970 Manifesto pointed out that the health facilities in Pakistan were among the most backward in the world, and laid major stress on their improvement.

To achieve this end, the PPP Government rapidly increased the number of medical colleges from 6 to 15 and the number of medical students from 976 to over 4000; and also increased the number of medical personnel and established nursing schools.

We promised protection from communicable diseases, and, with this objective, we have undertaken a major programme of vaccination against cholera, typhoid and

polio. We have put an end to small pox; the last reported case being in 1974. A major malaria eradication plan has been launched costing Rs. 890 million over five years. Under the anti-tuberculosis programme, about 30 million BCG vaccinations have been given. Several new clinics for leprosy have established.

We had promised to bring within reach of the common man essential drugs which would be manufactured locally as far as possible. Despite general inflation, the prices of drugs have been effectively controlled and, with Government encouragement, nearly 80% off the country's drug supply is now met by local manufacturers.

We have, in spite of our limited financial resources, increased the health budget six-fold from less than Rs. 200 million in 1971-72 to Rs. 1219 million in 1976-77, and made a considerable advance in redeeming our election promises.

Housing

The PPP considers - housing a fundamental necessity. In the field of housing, both the public sector and the private sector have been active. In the public sector, the Government has, despite severe financial constraints, constructed 13,000 houses for the low income groups and 4,200 houses for labour. Under construction are 1,450 houses for labourers in Sind and 8,000 in Lyallpur for labour' and the residents of Kachi Abadis, and similar schemes are underway in Baluchistan and the NWFP.

We have also, in order to encourage self-reliance, developed and distributed 175,000 plots between 1972 and 1976 and an additional 100,000 plots are being developed in the current financial year. This is in marked contrast to the average of 8,250 plots developed by both the private and public sectors in the two years prior to the PPP Government. The provision of water supplies and adequate sewage and drainage facilities have also been undertaken on a priority basis.

To encourage the private sector, housing has been declared an industry and income tax rebate allowed on investments. The lending procedures of the House Building Finance Corporation have been streamlined and its lending targets increased substantially from Rs. 12 million in 1970-71 to Rs. 500 million in the current financial year. Commercial banks were also directed to lend Rs. 400 million for house construction in the past two years.

As a result, over 135,000 housing units have been built during the period 1972 to 1976, and 80,000 are planned for the current financial year, in addition to those in

the public sector. This is more than four times the level achieved before the PPP Government took office.

While in the past the rural areas were neglected, the 5-Marla Plot Scheme has been introduced under which 700,000 plots have been allotted in the rural areas.

Education & Culture

In 1970 Manifesto we pointed out the past neglect of education and promised that the spreading of literacy would be carried out on a priority basis, and our educational goals redefined.

March 1973, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, as President of Pakistan, announced a progressive education policy with the purpose of meeting our social needs and economic goals.

The Education Budget has been increased nearly fourfold from Rs. 710 million in 1971 to Rs. 2,520 million in 1976.

Enrolment of children in primary schools has increased and with this have been established, in the past five years, 6657 new primary schools, 800 middle schools, 870 secondary schools and 112 colleges.

In order to raise the quality of education, 3,334 privately managed educational institutions were nationalized.

In keeping with our promise to equalise educational opportunity in order to achieve an egalitarian society, we have made education available to those who were poor or came from backward regions. Education was made free upto Class X, concessional bus fares were granted to students, scholarships totaling Rs. 60 million per annum were made available and so also interest-free loans, book banks and residential facilities even in remote areas. In addition, seats were reserved in all the professional and prestigious institutions for students from low income groups and under-developed areas.

School curricula were drawn up afresh to emphasise national ideology and cohesion, and to make our youth useful citizens. A massive teacher training programme has been launched and the salaries and status of teachers improved.

Agro-technical subjects have been introduced in 1,000 middle and 200 high schools ; and six national academies have been established to train teachers in these subjects.

We promised to replace the out-moded university laws. This we have done by legislation, ensuring due representation to teachers and students on University Senates and Syndicates. Apart from the People's Open University at Islamabad, new universities have been established at Multan, Bahawalpur and D. I. Khan. A progressive semester system has been introduced.

Vigorous efforts have been made to revitalise sports activities throughout the country, necessary facilities are being provided, and a major physical education programme has been launched.

For the preservation of our cultural heritage, our museums and historical landmarks, such as the Lahore Fort, Shalimar Gardens, Moenjodaro and Harrappa, have been renovated and improved. The Pakistan National Council of the Arts and the National Institute of Folk and Traditional Heritage have been established.

By the celebration, both at home and abroad, of the centenary of the Founder of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in 1976, we have revived the recollection of our origin and the ideology of our State. Our planned observance in 1977 of centenary of Allama Mohammad Iqbal is meant to galvanize the nation's awareness of the vision which inspired the foundation of the State.

Women

We pledged to give women their rightful place in our society in conformity with the teachings of Islam.

We have redeemed this pledge by providing a Constitutional guarantee that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex. The Constitution also provides a specific bar against any disqualification on the grounds of sex for appointments in the service of Pakistan.

The PPP Government has done more in concrete terms -

We have made specific provision in the Constitution for the representation of women in the National and Provincial Assemblies.

We have appointed women to many prominent positions in the Administration, including a Governor and a Minister of Province, a Secretary to the Federal Government, a Vice-Chancellor of a University, and opened the doors of the Foreign Service to women entrants at all levels.

We have encouraged women to participate in all international and national forums: For the, first time, in 1976, a Women's Week was celebrated throughout Pakistan at the conclusion of which the Declaration of Women's Rights was announced.

Minorities

In our 1970 Manifesto .we promised that all citizens, irrespective of religious belief, race or colour, would enjoy equal rights and protection before the law, have access to public office, and that there would be no discrimination in respect of employment.

We have enshrined all these promises in the form of guarantees the Constitution itself. Moreover, we have made special provision for representation by reserving six seats for the minority communities in the National Assembly and nine seats in the four Provincial Assemblies.

No previous Government has done more for the minorities. In 1973, the first ever Pakistan Minorities Conference was held. After the convening of the second Conference in June 1976, a Declaration on Minorities was announced, which went even beyond our earlier promises.

Some of the measures taken by the PPP Government are -

The establishment of an Advisory Council to assist the Government in matters relating to the welfare of the minorities, and a Cultural Council for the promotion of their cultural activities.

Appointment of Minority Officers and holding of quarterly meetings in all districts for attending to and solving the local problems of the minorities.

Provision of special scholarships for minorities.

Maintaining of non-Muslim evacuee shrines and places of worship.

Provision for special programmes on Radio and Television on their important and festive occasions.

Administrative Reforms

The PPP Manifesto pointed out that the existing system of ad-ministration was a legacy of colonial rule, and promised that the changes necessitated by a socialist society would be introduced.

On August 20, 1973, Prime Minister Bhutto announced major administrative reforms, the main features of which were:

Abolishing the former “classes” among Government officials.

Merging them into a unified graded structure offering equality of opportunity on the basis of professional and specialized competence.

Providing for entry into service at any stage, including the senior-most, for professional and qualified persons from industry, trade and other fields.

The large body of civil servants have been re-organized for better performance, management and control into various professional or occupational groups for different fields of Government activity.

The terms and conditions of employment of civil servants are now governed by Act of Parliament, for speedy redress of their grievances, Service Tribunals have been constituted with appeal lying to the Supreme Court in certain cases.

The pay scales have been reduced in number from 600 to 22, and rationalized. We have decreased the gap between the lowest and highest paid from 1:25 to 1:12. A National Pay Commission was constituted in January 1976 to examine pay structures in the light of inflation, towards which a cost of living allowance has already been given on three occasions.

We have substantially increased pensions for civil servants. The pensions have been more than doubled for the lowest pay group, with a minimum increase of Rs. 45, and increased by 50% for the higher pay groups. The pensionable pay now includes a cost of living allowance, and the percentage has been raised to 70% of pay for pensions upto Rs. 1,000 instead of the former 60% upto Rs. 600, and 50% of pay for any amount of pension over Rs. 1,000, with no upper ceiling as earlier prescribed. Moreover, the period during which family pensions are paid after the death of a Government employee has been extended from five to ten years.

Abolition of Honours

We had promised that the prevailing system of awards of honours and - decorations of a civilian nature to Pakistani citizens would be abolished. To this end, we have provided in the Constitution itself that no title, honour or decoration shall be conferred, except for gallantry, meritorious service or academic distinction and that all awards given in the past shall stand annulled.

Princely States

We promised that no region of Pakistan would be permitted to be governed in the manner of, a princely state. We have redeemed this pledge. Even in the Northern Areas, the remaining two states, namely Nagar and Hunza, were abolished in August 1972 and September 1974, and merged into the district of Gilgit. We have in addition abolished many of the privileges and exemptions enjoyed by all the former rulers of princely states. Besides serving the cause of social justice, this has also been a step towards further consolidating and integrating the nation.

Overseas Pakistanis

The 1970 Manifesto promised that it would be the duty of the Government to protect and promote the legitimate rights and interests of Pakistanis working overseas.

There are, nearly 700,000 Pakistanis living abroad in about different countries. No previous Government paid heed to their aspirations and requirements.

The PPP Government has among other things in the last five years:-

Established for the first time a Ministry for Overseas Pakistanis.

Launched a programme to ascertain and solve their problems and entered into negotiations with foreign governments to ensure proper treatment of Pakistanis living in their countries.

Encouraged and assisted in the formation of their associations to foster unity and a proper ideological orientation among them.

Streamlined the procedure for home remittances and opened branches of Pakistani banks at places convenient for overseas Pakistanis.

Made provision for housing schemes and reserved plots for them in several cities in Pakistan.

Liberalized the imports they can make of various goods into Pakistan.

Opened passport offices throughout the country.

National Defence

In our 1970 Manifesto we pointed out the shortcomings of our system of military defence and deplored the dependence for military equipment on foreign countries. The catastrophic events of 1971 fully justified our criticism.

The needs of the country required the complete overhaul and reorganisation of its defence machinery. Immediate measures were required to rebuild the morale of our gallant Armed -Forces, who had been let down by the Military Junta, and to restore the confidence of the people in the Services. The energies of 'the Armed Forces had to be directed towards mastering their own profession, which thirteen years of military involvement in politics had relegated to a secondary position.

At the same time, as an outcome of the two Wars of 1965 and 1971, and the arms embargo placed by the U.S. Government since 1955, crippling deficiencies and imbalances had, developed in the weapons and equipment of the Armed Forces.

Measures have been introduced to improve morale and discipline, training, organization and planning and conditions of service, including pay and allowances and other amenities, have been improved and rationalised.

While the recommendations of the Pay Commission appointed in 1976 to examine further the pay structure of the Armed Forces are under consideration, the pensions of the Services have been improved. The pension formula and rates of special additional allowances for officers, and the formula for pensions of Junior Commissioned Officers and other ranks have been revised upwards, as also the disability allowances and the special family pension rates.

Goals for the three Services have been reassessed, priorities re-determined and a time-frame established for the progressive achievement of these goals.

To remedy the lack of joint planning and inter-services coordination, a Higher Defence Organization has been established, and its functions and responsibilities clearly defined. The Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee headed by a whole-time Chairman has been made responsible for coordinating and formulating the defence plans, preparing joint strategic and integrated logistic plans, and reviewing periodically the role and equipment of the three Services. Pakistan now, for the first time, has proper machinery for the formulation and pursuit of a coherent and viable defence policy under effective civilian supremacy.

We promised in our first Manifesto to introduce a soldier-citizen force capable of being used in emergencies. A first step towards implementing this promise was taken in 1973 with the introduction of the National Guards. The National Guards, comprising the Mujahid Force, the Janbaz Force, the National Cadet Corps and the Women Guards, will relieve the Regular Army of its secondary roles, such as defence of the country's lines of communications in time of war, and will generate amongst the masses a sense of participation in the defence of the country.

We have taken measures in fulfillment of our pledge to make Pakistan more self-reliant in armaments and ammunition. While in the past tanks and aircraft were returned to their country of manufacture for overhaul and repairs, which involved delay and considerable expenditure in foreign exchange, facilities for this purpose are being provided in the country. Essential spares required for maintenance will also be manufactured locally.

New lines for the manufacture of various types of ammunition, bombs and projectiles have gone, into production. With the completion of additional projects including those for the manufacture of anti-tank and medium and heavy artillery ammunition, the country will be in a position to meet its essential requirements of ammunition through domestic production.

The pre-1972 shortages and imbalances in the arms and equipment of the three Services are being remedied. At the same time, we are acquiring more modern weapons, such as a new anti-tank weapon system, surface to air missiles, naval reconnaissance and antisubmarine aircraft and helicopters, and various components of a more modern air defence system.

Despite the financial constraints, it is a matter of considerable satisfaction for the Party to record that as a result of the wide-ranging measures instituted by its Government during the last five years it has been able to give the Armed Forces and the nation a credible defence capability.

External Relations

After the defeat and dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971, the primary objective of the PPP Government on assuming office was the survival and immediate security of the nation. The Military Junta having surrendered on the battlefield, we had- to rally our people and at the same time turn to the outside world for support in preserving the remainder of Pakistan, regaining our lost territory and securing the return of our prisoners of war. As a virtual outcast from the comity of nations there was little foundation on which to build an effective foreign policy.

Starting from scratch, Chairman Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, as President of Pakistan, set about building anew our foreign policy.

To gain support from the Muslim and Third World countries to ensure Pakistan's independence and sovereignty. Mr. Bhutto visited twenty of these countries within six months of assuming office. While gaining their support, his aim was also to present his vision of a new dynamic Pakistan. He paid an, early visit to Afghanistan in an effort to remove misunderstandings. He went to China

to reaffirm our friendship with this close ally, and to the Soviet Union to improve relations after the events of 1971.

Having thus reasserted her position internationally; and rallied her people, Pakistan was in a position to negotiate effectively with India at Simla. As a result, Pakistan achieved a remarkable agreement with India on July 2, 1972. The PPP Government retrieved at the negotiating table what Pakistan's self-appointed leaders had lost on the battle-field : the evacuation and return of 5,000 square miles of territory occupied by the Indians and the return of over 90,000 civilian and service personnel. That was not all. National honour was vindicated by the agreement to drop trials for alleged war crimes. National interests were upheld by India's formal recognition that Pakistan's position on the Jammu and Kashmir dispute remained unchanged.

At the same time, we re-established relation with our former compatriots in Bangladesh. Despite virulent criticism from many Opposition parties, we proceeded of Bangladesh in order to promote amity with Muslim bothers; and this policy has since been abundantly vindicated.

Besides picking up and reassembling the pieces of our shattered relations in the sub-continent, our foreign policy took a new thrust on the basis of the principles enunciated in our Manifesto.

We promised an independent pursuit c f this we withdrew from the Commonwealth and SEATO. We made Bilateralism the cornerstone of our foreign policy, avoiding the entanglements of Big Power politics. This is a policy which has s the national interest well.

With China we further improved our good relations, and we were greatly helped by her co s ort in arriving at a just settlement in South Asia. China has also generously assisted us in our efforts to attain economic self-reliance.

Our relationship with the U.S. was revitalized, and in 1975 the U.S. Government lifted the 10 year old arms embargo. The U.S. has declared that the independence and integrity of Pakistan is a cornerstone of American foreign policy.

Relations with the Soviet Union had reached a low ebb in 1971. The situation was restored after Mr. Bhutto's two visits to Moscow, and large-scale economic collaboration in the Steel Mill, resulted.

With Britain, France and the Federal Republic Germany, and other countries of Western Europe, and, with Japan, our relations have improved. There has been

greater cooperation with them in all fields, and they have extended us increased financial assistance.

A new impetus was given to our relations with the countries of Eastern Europe, and we recognized the German Democratic Republic. In the case of Romania, State visits have been exchanged resulting in economic collaboration.

In our 1970 Manifesto, we laid stress on our links with the Muslim World. With our RCD partners, Iran and Turkey, relations have never been better. It is in fact at their instance, and in keeping with our national interest following the dramatic change in the sub-continent in 1971, that we have not withdrawn from CENTO. Iran, always a faithful ally, has also given us generous financial assistance.

As we have supported the Muslim World, so they have supported us. Our relations with all the Arab countries are closer than ever before. We are bound by the deepest ties of friendship with Saudi Arabia, which has given us substantial economic assistance; and so too have the UAE, Libya and other Arab countries.

Our friendship with our fellow Muslim countries and the support we have given to all Muslim causes was rewarded by the honour of hosting the Second Islamic Summit in February 1974 at Lahore. The aspirations of all Pakistanis to play a meaningful role in the Muslim World has been amply fulfilled.

In the Manifesto we pledged our support to the cause of the Third World. In pursuance of our policy of supporting revolutionary movements in their struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, we recognized the revolutionary governments of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and so also in Cambodia, Guinea Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique.

We have given a clarion call for a Third World Summit to help bring about a more equitable world economic order and end the exploitation of the developing countries.

We have traveled a long way in five years. In 1971, we were a nation defeated. In 1974, we were playing host to the entire Muslim World, and in 1975 we achieved a significant victory over India in elections to the UN Security Council.

CHAPTER III

THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

Looking Ahead

In the past five years, we have rebuilt the nation. We have restructured the national economy, thereby giving' the country -internal stability. We have gained for Pakistan a position not only of respect but importance in the world.

We have thus set in motion a process which demands continuity. It can be arrested only by imperiling the nation's strength.

In the next five years, we will build upon the base we have established, and consolidate the results .of our endeavours. We shall strengthen the foundations of the progress we have achieved to ensure that the benefits of the various reforms we have made in the economy as a whole, industry, agriculture, education, health, social welfare, housing, land and agrarian reforms, will further improve the quality of the common man's life.

As a progressive Party, we believe in the need for constant development in response to the requirements of a dynamic, and forward moving society. We are reinforced in our resolve to establish an egalitarian society free from feudal and capitalist exploitation. We have never been, and can never be, prisoners of the status quo.

What we, pledge in this Manifesto is based on the experience gained over five years. Unlike other-political, parties, we do not promise in generalities. We promise the specific which we know to be attainable. As in the past, we only promise what we intend to fulfill.

Islam

We shall zealously continue our 'efforts' to make manifest the glorious reality of Islam both at home and abroad.

We shall take-positive steps to -

Ensure that Friday is observed as the weekly holiday instead of Sunday from the beginning of the financial year July 1977, thereby, bringing us in line with the practice prevalent in, the Muslim world.

Make the teaching of the Holy Quran an integral part general education. All students will be properly instructed in the Seerat of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him).

Restore to the mosque its traditional place of eminence as a centre of community life in the true religious, academic and social sense, so that from it radiates all that is good for a modern progressive society. A maktab for children will be attached to every sizeable mosque.

Establish a Federal Lemma Academy and other institutions to educate and train imams and khatibs of mosques to become effective teachers of Islam, and train Muballigheen so that the work of tabligh, at home and abroad can be effectively carried out.

Maintain all historic mosques and keep in a good state of repair all Auqaf masques and shrines.

Make the shrines of the venerated saints and holy personalities centres of Islamic learning and rid them of un-Islamic and irreligious practices.

Pursue the policy of increasing Haj facilities by making it possible for intending Hajjis to fly from Lahore and Peshawar direct to the Hedjaz, and by expanding and improving Haji Camps.

Grant additional facilities to the zaireen, and conduct the operations relating to Ziarat on the lines of the Haj operations.

Take steps to ensure that the Islamic Research Institute at Islamabad is imbued with the spirit of true scholarship and research.

Set up institutions to train both children and adults in the art of qirat and tajweed.

Economic Direction

The Party's economic programme is socialist, in conformity with the sacred and eternal principles of Islam.

We have created an organizational framework in the public sector to manage a wide spectrum of economic activity in industry, banking, insurance, foreign trade, agriculture and many other fields. The organization of the public sector will be strengthened and its efficiency further improved.

While remaining committed to overall State regulation and promotion of economic activity and direct management of key areas, the Party, in keeping

with its philosophy of a mixed economy, assigns an appropriately important role to private enterprise.

The Party will aim to increase national production by 50%.

We shall not be satisfied with achieving overall targets alone. Development and progress will be translated into real terms for the common man. The per capita availability of wheat will be increased by more than 12%, refined sugar by 20%, vegetable ghee by 25%, milk by 25% and cloth by one third.

We shall also introduce a qualitative improvement in the environment and living conditions of the common man. A rapid expansion will be undertaken in all social services, including health, education, housing and -water supplies. We shall accelerate the extension of essential services to the long-neglected rural areas.

We will maintain a high rate of investment for future growth and to provide employment.

We are conscious that inflation is today a major problem, and we will pursue a wage and price policy to combat inflation, protect the real income of the common man and ensure that improvement in the general standard of living is not eroded by inflation. We may not be able to fight the effects of international inflation, but we will counter domestic inflation through increased production and greater self-reliance. We will also undertake programmes and measures to combat this menace by improving distribution and marketing, and making arrangements for all essential commodities to be available at reasonable prices.

We are pledged to strengthen further the base of the economy by achieving self-reliance in steel, fertilizers, petroleum and wheat.

We will continue in our efforts to achieve national consolidation and strengthen the links between all areas by the development of an essential infrastructure and by accelerating progress in the backward areas.

We will continue to give our economy a direction whereby inequalities of opportunity between man and man and region and region are eliminated.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the backbone of the economy and the PPP proposes to make Pakistan the granary of the region.

We aim to strengthen our self-sufficiency in wheat and in the next five years attain the target of 12.5 million tons per annum. Simultaneously, we will step up the production of rice with a target of 3.6 million tons and increase export by 70%. We will increase sugarcane production to 31 million tons.

As a result of the searching inquiry to ascertain the causes of the setback in cotton production, we shall take all necessary remedial measures to provide for a cotton output of 5 million bales.

We will diversify the structure of agricultural output by popularizing through research, experiment and promotion the cultivation of oilseeds, pulses and other new crops taking into account changing weather patterns.

We will continue our efforts to develop along modern lines poultry and livestock production, fisheries and forestry.

The targets for major inputs in the next five years will be:-

Improved seed availability increased from 2.6 million maunds to 3.6 million maunds.

Fertilizer off-take doubled from the present 650,000 nutrient tone.

Plant protection coverage raised from 10 to 25 million spray acre.

Over 100,000 tractors and other essential machinery such as power tillers, rice transplanters and wheat threshers will be made available.

We will endeavour to ensure that:-

Irrigation water availability at the farm gate will go up by 13% to 114 million acre feet.

Tube wells will be increased by almost 40% to 200,000.

Institutional credit availability will be extended by 65% to Rs. 3,000 million.

Food grain and other agricultural produce storage capacity will be doubled.

Co-operative farming will be extended to cover the major portion of agricultural production, processing and marketing activities.

Agricultural education, extension services and research will be made purposeful and field-oriented.

The problems of the special areas, such as the arid and semi arid zones, barani areas, katcha (sailaba) areas, will continue to receive: special emphasis and attention.

Rural Development.

Being the Party of the people, the majority of whom live in the countryside, the PPP has demonstrated its desire to improve the lot of the rural masses by giving them, for the first time, in the past five years, a better and more dignified life. Many measures, including two major land reforms, have already been introduced by us.

We shall continue our strenuous efforts to bring about a radical improvement in the quality of life of the rural inhabitants. The countryside will be transformed and modernised. While the primary emphasis will be on increased agricultural production, an all round development of the rural areas will be a key element in: the PPP's programme.

The thrust in our strategy for improving the quality of rural life will be two-fold:

1. The establishment of a popular representative institutional framework starting from the village level upwards so as to enable the rural community to participate effectively in planning and executing programmes to meet its local socio-economic needs.
2. The organization of farming cooperatives on an ever-increasing scale to give the majority of small farmer's access to economies of scale, modern technology, institutional credit, efficient storage and marketing. In short, to gain sufficient economic strength to resist exploitation by middle men, bigger landlords and industrialists.

The provision of sanitation in villages will be extended, housing standards improved, model villages established, and provision of safe water supplies increased from 17% to 30%. We will undertake a massive programme in the field of public health to bring the facilities of modern health cover within easy reach of every village.

We will ensure that the rural areas get their due share in the field of education and training. The programme aimed at universal primary education will be supplemented by an Adult Literacy Campaign and the expansion of rural

services on radio and television. Primary and secondary education will be given a marked bias towards agriculture.

We will develop farm-to-market roads to facilitate the movement of produce and transport of passengers.

We will undertake a programme of rural electrification to help in the modernisation of agriculture, to encourage the setting up of agro-based and cottage industries and to bring about an improvement in the standard of living of the people.

Water and Land Development

Water logging and salinity, more than anything else, are destroying the richness of our land and threatening the prosperity of the people who depend upon it.

We will in the next five years:-

1. Ensure that protection against water-logging and salinity will be available for almost all fresh ground water areas, totaling 18 million acres.
2. Accelerate measures to protect saline ground water areas.
3. Expand rapidly the exploitation of useable ground water to reach the full potential during the next five years, and increase the number of tube wells by 400%.
4. Accordingly high priority to completing the exploration and development of ground water in Baluchistan and the Tribal Areas, and, through the increased availability of water, expand the cropped acreage by 13%.
5. Achieve permanent control of floods within the shortest possible time, for which purpose a Federal Flood Commission has been established. Substantial progress will be made in the next five years, and a total of 6,000 million cubic feet of protective earth work will be completed.
6. Improve a minimum of 6,000 miles of watercourses.
7. Harness the flow of, the Indus for the maximum development of the agricultural potential of the Indus Basin. Feasibility studies are being initiated for large and small dams on the Indus River system and a programme of construction undertaken.

8. Check the further spread of soil erosion and reclaim affected areas through such measures as a forestation and controlled management of grazing.
9. Undertake a programme for the development of arid areas, including deserts, by employing modern technology to conserve water and encourage vegetation.

Industry

Self-reliance being one of the cardinal principles of the PPP, we have set about building a solid foundation for future industrial growth. We will continue to ensure that the benefits of industrial expansion are distributed justly throughout society; that the common man will have his fair share in the economic progress of the country; and that labour will not be exploited.

In addition to the first integrated steel mill of 1.1 million ton capacity at Karachi which will be completed and in production in the next five years, the PPP proposes to establish upcountry a second steel mill based on indigenous ore. This will make us self-sufficient in steel.

We will continue to accord high priority to the expansion and development of the heavy engineering and heavy electrical industry. We will manufacture textile spindles, sugar and cement plants and a large variety of other capital goods both for domestic use and for export.

The PPP, believing that industry plays an important role in the development and modernisation of agriculture, will increase the domestic production of fertilizers fourfold in the next five years, thus making us self-sufficient in this vital field. We will establish an integrated tractor, plant manufacturing 10,000 tractors a year.

We will develop the petrochemical industry by setting up new and sophisticated petrochemical units.

We will increase the output of the textile industry by over 50%, and the output of cement, sugar and ghee will be nearly doubled.

We will continue our endeavours to promote small industries, improve the quality of products, increase the availability of credit, ensure the easy supply of raw materials and assist small business in finding markets both at home and abroad. We will promote small industries by directing the public sector industries to encourage subcontracting.

The PPP will maintain its policy of giving special attention to the industrialization of backward areas. Not only will new public sector units be located in these areas, but the PPP will also provide encouragement and incentives for private entrepreneurs to set up industries in these regions.

We propose to establish a free processing zone for exports at Karachi.

The PPP will pursue policies aimed at maximizing industrial output by the improved utilization of existing capacity. The key elements in this strategy will be the continued liberal import policy for the promotion of industry, the vigorous expansion of exports of industrial products, reasonable protection against unfair competition from abroad, and the simplification of procedures in dealing with Government agencies.

We will continue our policy of a mixed economy. The private sector will have an appropriately important role to play in industrial development. The PPP will provide all reasonable facilities, to assist entrepreneurs in setting up industries in accordance with national priorities.

Transport and Communications

The objectives of the PPP's programme remain the strengthening of the basic infrastructure for the promotion of national integration, safeguarding national security, opening up backward areas and improving public transport by modernizing and extending transport and communications.

We will:-

Build the 800-mile long Indus Super Highway between Karachi and Peshawar to bring the four Provinces closer together. This will also provide an alternative link between north and south, and facilitate the development of backward areas.

Undertake the construction of a highway linking the coastal settlements in Mekran with Karachi, thus opening the way to the development of one of the poorest areas in the country.

Accelerate the development of roads in the Northern Areas, Tribal Areas and Azad Kashmir.

Widen and improve the existing highways to accommodate a larger flow of traffic and to make road travel safer and more economic. 9,000 miles of road will be constructed or improved. Build and complete a large number of bridges including four major bridges on the Indus.

Undertake a radical improvement in the quality of public sector road transport services, particularly in major urban centres, by adding 6,000 buses in the public sector.

In the railway programme, the emphasis will be on efficiency and modernisation. The volume of traffic carried by the railways and the speed of traffic movement will be substantially increased, to meet public demand, it is proposed to construct a number of new lines and to convert narrow gauge lines to broad gauge.

The port capacity of the country will be more than doubled. The capacity at Karachi Port will be expanded; the construction of basic facilities at Port Qasim including the berths, required for the Steel Mill will be completed, and a port will also be developed on the Mekran coast.

In the telecommunications sphere, the PPP aims to modernise the system and to make fullest use of the latest technology. Greater use of space satellites will be made. Direct dialing will be extended to several cities and also to foreign countries. The number of telephones will be increased from 281,000 to 500,000. Special attention will be given to providing modern telecommunications facilities to remote areas with a view to bringing them closer to the rest of the country and promoting their integration in the national economy.

Energy

The problem of energy lots in the past few years attained worldwide significance and is of paramount importance to those countries of the Third World which are not self-sufficient in oil.

Over the next five years we aim to -

Achieve a substantial measure of self-sufficiency in energy and eliminate the import of petroleum.

Eliminate shortages of energy and power, supply abundant energy to modernize agriculture, transport and industry, and substantially increase domestic consumption.

Increase by 70% the installed capacity for power with special emphasis on hydro and nuclear power. A 600 MW nuclear power station will be set up at Chashma.

Initiate special programmes for the utilization of solar energy.

Step up oil exploration, and raise seven-fold the production of indigenous crude.

Increase the refining capacity from 5 million tons to 7.5 million tons by establishing a refinery at Multan and expanding the refinery at Attock.

Increase the oil storage capacity in the country by 50%.

Lay a pipeline from Karachi to Multan to facilitate the movement of petroleum products.

Develop new gas fields, and provide gas to small towns as well as large cities.

Interconnect the country with a high voltage national grid to enable the optimum utilisation of power and the pooling of hydro and thermal resources.

Accelerate the programme of rural electrification by increasing it three-fold compared to previous periods.

Labour

The PPP will continue to promote the interests of the workers. We have made great strides towards improving conditions and terms of employment for labour. We, intend over the next five years to strengthen the foundations already, laid and to proceed along the path of continued improvement in the quality of the workers' life.

We aim to:-

Encourage workers' participation in management, with the public sector giving the lead.

Extend and make more comprehensive the Old-Age Benefit Scheme. It will include the self-employed.

Federalize the Social Security Scheme, extending its benefits to all four Provinces and to categories of workers not covered at present.

Encourage workers' housing schemes by developing 20,000 plots a year which will be distributed free.

Undertake a massive Workers' Education Programme. We aim to set up 22 Workers' Education Centres and over the next five years, to train some

45,000 trade union leaders, shop stewards and workers' representatives on committees and management boards.

Tackle the problem of industrial safety by cutting down the accident rate in industry and encouraging research into problems of industrial health and pollution.

Strengthen the right of collective bargaining and freedom of association.

Improve the living standards of workers by raising their wages by the introduction of new and realistic wage structures putting a premium on production, efficiency and performance.

Employment

With international economic recession continuing and unemployment a world-wide phenomenon, the provision of gainful and productive jobs to the entire labour force will remain of prime concern to the PPP. The problem is so severe that its solution will take more than a few years but the PPP plans to make major headway in the next five years.

Programmes and policies, such as the maintenance of high investment and growth levels, and special employment programmes, will be pursued to provide job opportunities to those unemployed in addition to the 3.75 million who will be added to the existing labour force in the next five years.

We will seek to provide employment at a living wage, and to increase minimum wages by at least 25% through legislation and other measures.

To deal with the problem of underemployment, which is as important as unemployment particularly in the rural areas, measures to increase cropping intensity and provide cottage industries and off-season public works will be undertaken to counter seasonal troughs.

The problem of the educated unemployed will be effectively tackled through tailoring education to the needs of the economy by imparting a technical and practical bias to the curricula.

We will establish a large number of vocational training schools to meet the domestic demand, for skilled craftsmen. Other modes of skill development such as in-service, and on the job training will also be promoted.

We will locate economic activity in backward areas where people lack employment opportunities.

Efforts will be made to provide job opportunities for women.

Education & Culture

The promotion of education, culture and sports will remain a high priority consideration. We are convinced that an egalitarian society offering opportunity to all citizens cannot be achieved without developing universal education. With this in view we have brought forward our target for achieving universal primary education to 1983 for boys and 1987 for girls; the targets for universal elementary education have also been advanced.

We will ensure that, in the next five years, enrolment in primary schools will increase from 5.1 million to 8.6 million pupils, and in elementary schools from 1.2 million to 1.8 million.

In this modern age of science and technology, where specialised training in technical fields is essential for progress and development, the need for agro-technical training cannot be over-emphasized. In the next five years we will introduce agro-technical subjects in all primary, middle and high schools, and subsequently in the Intermediate colleges; we will establish 500 trade schools adjacent to large industrial projects and technical schools throughout the country.

Teacher training programmes will be expanded, based on the revised content and new techniques of education. For primary schools 120,000 teachers and for elementary schools 25,000 teachers will be trained in the next five years.

In the field of higher education, we will ensure that talent and achievement will be the sole criteria for admission and advancement. Existing scholarship programmes will be further augmented. Centres of Excellence in universities will be improved.

The vigorous campaign for the promotion of adult literacy to raise the present literacy rate from 20% will continue; and within the next five years another 10 million adults will become literate.

We will develop the National Youth Organization. We will reinforce our efforts to promote sports. Sports and cultural facilities will be extended to the Divisional level during the next five years.

In the field of culture, we will further strengthen the institutions established and develop the newly created National Theatre and Academy of Letters.

National Language

Past Governments have paid lip service to the commitment to make Urdu a truly national language. We promise that, as provided in the Constitution and desired by the Quaid-i-Azam, the development and popularization of Urdu will be made an integral part of the PPP's programme. While we believe that regional languages should flourish and develop, it will be our endeavour to maximize the use of Urdu not only as part of our valuable cultural and spiritual heritage but as a vehicle for achieving national identity and unity.

Health

Reaffirming that the prosperity and well being of the people are intimately dependent upon their health, the PPP accords the highest priority to its health programme.

We will in the next five years:-

Seek to provide at least minimum health care to almost the entire population (compared to the present 25%) by setting up a health unfit or dispensary in or within walking distance of each village.

Introduce a three-tier system of medical care consisting of doctors, para-medical staff and community health workers.

Double the number of doctors and para-medical personnel.

Step up the medical programmes for malaria eradication and the control of other specific diseases, including tuberculosis and polio.

Enhance the quality of the environment and living standards, and thereby health.

Provide safe drinking water to 80% of the urban population and 30% of the rural population, double the present figure.

Housing

We are conscious of the fact that over two million people in the rural areas and several hundred thousands in the urban areas are living in sub-standard, if not sub-human, dwellings; that safe drinking water is available only to a limited number of the urban and a fraction of the rural population ; that even the elementary amenities of, modern life are not available to most people in our towns and cities.

We will continue to pursue relentlessly our efforts to overcome the legacy of the acute housing shortage we inherited, and provide housing, sewage and drainage

facilities, especially low-cost housing, in an attempt to improve the quality of life and the general living conditions in, the cities and villages.

The PPP Government will in the next five years:-

Develop 1,000,000 plots in the rural areas and 750,000 in the urban areas.

Provide -credit facilities to ensure construction of 535,000 houses, and provide insurance cover for house-owners to the maximum extent possible.

Create institutions to mobilize capital for house construction.

Provide potable water and sewage and drainage facilities to as many people as possible.

Establish pre-fabricated housing plants, each of which will produce over 30,000 housing units per annum, to meet the great housing shortage.

Urban Development

Our cities and towns have been neglected by past regimes. The quality of life of our urban dwellers remains sub-standard.

The PPP Government have, for the first time, initiated a programme to improve and beautify the federal capital, the four provincial capitals and other towns and cities in the provinces, including Rawalpindi, Multan, Lyallpur, Hyderabad and Mardan.

During the next five years, we shall take further steps to improve the living conditions of the urban areas. Safe water supply will be extended from 59% to 80% of the urban population; and modern sewage facilities will cover 50% as against 22% at present.

Transport services in the urban areas will be augmented and improved. Roads will be widened and made safer.

Town planning schemes will be more vigorously enforced. New urban development authorities will be set up where necessary and a fresh impetus given to existing authorities.

The system of financing cities will be overhauled to ensure that urban, authorities have sufficient funds to carry out their development tasks.

Democratic Institutions

“Democracy is our Polity”, is one of our fundamental principles and in the past five years we have, for the first time, made democracy a reality in Pakistan and given the people a democratic Constitution. We will strengthen the democratic institutions we have established institutions which reflect the will of the people.

Over the next five years we will extend the democratic process. We will:-

1. Introduce adult franchise for the first time in the Tribal Areas of the NWFP. This will be a historic step in line with our policy of developing the backward areas to integrate and consolidate the nation. It will be the final step towards the establishment of a democratic polity throughout Pakistan.
2. Establish local bodies on the basis of adult franchise in both the rural and urban areas. In the rural areas there will be a three-tier council system, at the Village, Halqa and District levels. The urban areas will also have a similar structure at the Mohallah, Town and Municipal or, City Corporation levels.

Law and Order

The maintenance of law and order is today a world-wide problem. It is particularly acute in developing countries which are experiencing rapid socio-economic change accompanied by a population explosion. In our case, the situation has been made more difficult by the fact that previous Governments allowed the old colonial structure of the police force to continue unchanged.

The PPP has, already initiated measures to remedy the situation, which include the organization of a Highway Security Force and the reorganization of traffic police in major cities; the establishment of new First Information Report Offices to facilitate the more effective registration of crimes; and the introduction of women police officers. We have established a Police Research and Development Bureau to provide a forum for the identification and analysis of problems and trends in the field of law and order.

We will take additional steps to ensure the individual the security which is essential to a life of dignity. We will make significant changes in the training methods and curricula followed in the police training institutions to improve the administration of law and order. We will revitalize the police force and imbue in them the spirit of serving the people; to deter the law-breaker and befriend the law-abiding citizen.

Law Reforms

The PPP believes that justice should be made available to the common man both cheaply and speedily. We have already amended the Criminal Procedure Code to help achieve this end. We will take measures to simplify and streamline the procedure in civil cases. We shall increase the numerical strength of the High Courts, and also the number of District Courts, Magistrates, Family Courts and the Rent Control Courts. We shall also speed up the process of litigation by establishing administrative courts to deal with several types of cases which at present clutter up the ordinary civil courts.

Women

We have striven, in accordance with the dictates of Islam, to give women their rightful place in society, which has been denied them in the past. In pursuit of this policy, the historic Declaration on the Rights of Women was announced in October 1976.

We will implement the provisions of the Declaration, the principal features of which are aimed at:-

Taking appropriate measures against discriminatory and prejudicial customs and practices which are contrary to the injunctions of Islam violate the Constitution and cause enormous hardship to the poor.

Ensuring women their rights according to personal and family laws.

Ensuring women their social, legal, education, health and economic rights.

Giving women representation in delegations going abroad, in official bodies, and associating them in the Government's policy making and planning.

Minorities

We will continue to pursue our policy of equality in all respects, including equality of opportunity, for the minority communities. We shall further integrate them as equal partners with the majority community in all spheres of national life, while at the same time allowing them to enjoy to the maximum their individual religious and cultural identities. We promise, in particular, to adopt special measures for the uplift of the educationally backward sections of the minority communities. We will- establish a Cultural Centre for minorities at Karachi.

Overseas Pakistanis

The PPP acknowledges the contribution of overseas Pakistanis to the promotion of national causes and is aware of the problems of our citizens abroad.

The process of solving their' problems will continue and steps will be taken for their welfare and for the protection of their social, economic and cultural interests.

We will, for the first time, hold a convention of the representatives of overseas Pakistanis to give them a sense of participation in the country's affairs and to discuss their problems.

We will encourage them to invest in Pakistan and provide facilities for the import of machinery, equipment and other items. Baggage rules will be relaxed as much as possible.

We will open liaison offices in countries with a reasonably large Pakistani community.

We will provide educational facilities for the children of overseas Pakistanis; and upgrade and expand the existing schools attached to Pakistani Embassies.

To the maximum extent possible, we shall extend to Pakistanis abroad all facilities at home including housing, education and employment prospects.

External Relations

Pakistan has every reason to look forward with confidence to its future. The rules of Bilateralism enunciated by Chairman Zulfikar Ali Bhutto are the compass by which the nation's course will, be steered through the turbulent and treacherous seas of international politics.

Situated as it is, in South Asia, in close proximity to the Soviet Union, as a neighbour of China and with a traditional association with the United States, the only viable foreign policy for Pakistan is Bilateralism which enjoins non-involvement in the differences and tensions between the Super Powers. Despite detente, their global struggle for power and influence remains a fact of international life with which we must continue to reckon. To maintain and further develop our existing relations with each one of them without eroding our ties with any of the other two, while adjusting to movements in their triangular configuration, calls for the exercise of statesmanship and diplomacy of the highest order. It is only the leadership of the Chairman of the Party, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, that will enable Pakistan to remain equal to the challenge.

It is in this global political and economic environment that the immutable objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy must continue to be pursued.

First and foremost Pakistan is an Islamic Republic. We rededicate ourselves to our pledge to remain in the forefront of the movement to strengthen and consolidate the Muslim world. Pakistan's membership of the Islamic Conference and special ties with Iran and Turkey, its indissoluble links with Saudi Arabia as the cradle of Islam, the development of good neighbourly relations with Afghanistan and a special relationship with Bangladesh, will be the dominant features of our foreign policy. The strengthening of these historical bonds is indispensable not only as a counter-balance to any designs against the territorial integrity of Pakistan but also for the promotion of economic development of the country.

We shall devote our continued attention to the maintenance of peace and security in the Indian Ocean region on which Pakistan's own security, national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity depend. We will work with like-minded nations in the region to ensure the establishment of a balanced structure of relationships among the countries of South Asia - a structure based on the sovereign equality of States, irrespective of their size and power, so that the security of none of them is jeopardized by the concentration of power creating dangerous power disequilibrium. The resolution of outstanding disputes including in particular the just and equitable settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute will be essential for the establishment of such a structure of relations in South Asia.

We will continue to support the idea of a Zone of Peace in the Indian Ocean including the security of its non-nuclear weapons States so that all the States in the region enjoy undisturbed peace and stability enabling them to devote their limited resources to the economic development and social welfare of their peoples.

We will continue in our endeavors to consolidate the unity of the Third World including the countries of Latin America on a basis of self-reliance in order to achieve a new equitable world political and economic order based on co-operation with all the countries of the world.

At the same time, it will remain a consistent goal of our foreign policy to strengthen the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other organs, which despite their limitations offer the only universally acknowledged instrument of responsible international effort towards the preservation of global peace, order and development.

Through the pursuit of these aims, we will ensure Pakistan's security, national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and a position of honour and respect in the international community.

Kashmir

The Chairman of the Party has been the foremost champion in Pakistan of the cause of the self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Accordingly, the issue of the liberation of Jammu and Kashmir from alien subjugation was given priority and was the subject of one of the Foundation Documents of the Party.

The Party reaffirms its commitment to uphold the inalienable right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide their own future by their own free will. We declare that, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and Resolutions, an enduring peaceful settlement of the dispute can be achieved only in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, freely exercised and impartially ascertained. We will remain watchful for every opportunity, that offers itself to advance this cause and will use all means, bilateral or multilateral, towards this end. The Party makes a solemn pledge that it will continue to extend all moral and material support to the struggle of the people of the Indian-occupied Areas of the State to achieve their liberation.

In addition to this paramount objective, the Party pledges that it will:-

- a) Take all possible measures for the full rehabilitation of the refugees from Jammu and Kashmir in Pakistan.
- b) Strengthen the representative institutions set up in Azad Kashmir under the agreed Interim Constitution of 1975, and encourage development of such institutions in the Northern Areas.
- c) Continue to attach priority to the modernization of Azad Kashmir territory and the Northern Areas by developing their natural resources, communications, industries, health and education programmes, and employment opportunities.

National Defence

As a nation we have a deep ideological commitment to a peaceful international order. But the policy of peace can only be pursued if it is backed by adequate defence preparedness. While the PPP has already accomplished much, we realize that more remains to be done.

Defence is a field where no responsible ruling Party will disclose all its achievements and plans, or reveal its view of future contingencies. In the next five years, however, we will vigorously pursue our commitment to lessen Pakistan's dependence on foreign supplies, and improve and expand our domestic armaments industry. We will provide the Armed Forces with greater mobility and better communications, augment facilities for the manufacture of artillery and antitank ammunition and guns, establish facilities for the production of missiles and sophisticated electronic equipment, and a base for the manufacture of tanks, fighter aircraft and submarines and other naval craft.

With our enhanced defence potential and an enlightened foreign policy, we -will ensure that Pakistan continues to develop a capability which will deter and thwart aggression against the country.

CONCLUSION

The Pakistan People's Party came into being on the basis of four fundamental principles:

“ISLAM IS OUR FAITH - DEMOCRACY IS OUR POLITY - SOCIALISM IS OUR ECONOMY - ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE”

We waged a successful struggle to overthrow a corrupt dictatorship by awakening the people to the consciousness of their own power. With the support of the people we came into office in December 1971. In the course of the past five years, in spite of the enormous difficulties we encountered, we have steadfastly, and without any deviation, put into practice all our four fundamental principles. It was the only way to save Pakistan.

We are confident that the people of Pakistan, the embodiment of all power, will continue to give us their support and help us, under the leadership of Chairman Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, to translate into reality the programme put forward in this Manifesto. With, the Blessings and Guidance of Allah Almighty, success will be ours.