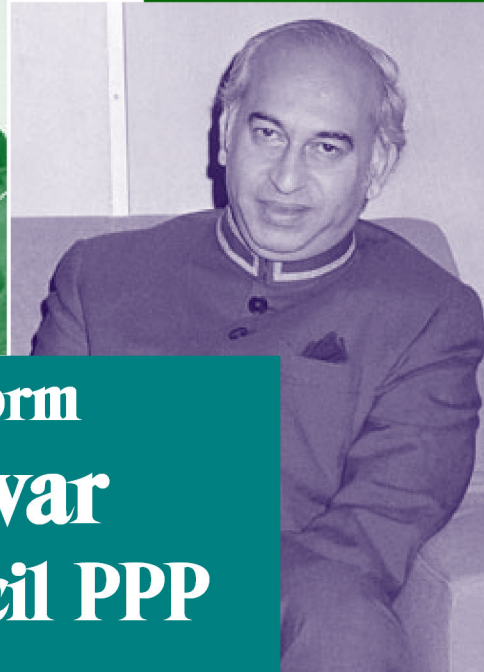




# Pakistan Today

By Khalid Latif



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By Sani Panhwar  
Member Sindh Council PPP

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## PREFACE

This book is based on travels of Mr. Khalid Latif Gauba, who visited Pakistan on the invitation of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in November 1975. This book not only gives account of his stay and meetings with different dignitaries during his brief visit to Pakistan. It also includes his observations about the reforms and changes brought by the great leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The book was first published in Bombay in 1977.

I am reproducing this book with the hope that the new generation of Pakistan will read it to learn about the great services of Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to the country.

Bhutto's government was over thrown by General Zia in July 1977, the year this book was originally published. He was eventually hanged in April 1979 after the Military Junta with the conspiracy of Judges got him convicted first through Lahore High Court and afterwards from Supreme Court. It was a judicial murder of a great leader of a developing nation. Had he been alive things would have looked different.

After his conviction Bhutto wrote the following words from jail to his attorney Yahya Bakhtiar;

*"I did not kill that man. My God is aware of it. I am big enough to admit if I had done it, that admission would have been less of an ordeal and humiliation than this barbarous trial which no self respecting man can endure. I am a Muslim. A Muslim's fate is in the hands of God Almighty I can face Him with a clear conscience and tell Him that I rebuilt His Islamic State of Pakistan from ashes into a respectable Nation. I am entirely at peace with my conscience in this black whole of Kot Lakhpat. I am not afraid of death. You have seen what fires I have passed through."*

Bhutto family have paid a big price for Pakistan first Z. A. Bhutto gave his life by judicial murder, soon after his murder his young son Shahnawaz Bhutto was killed mysteriously in France. His eldest son and a member of parliament was shot down near his home in Karachi and lastly the only hope for the poor masses of Pakistan Ms. Benazir Bhutto was assassinated by a suicide bomber and target killer last year.

I hope and pray that the Bhutto family does not pay any more prices to serve this Nation.

Sani Panhwar

Member Sindh Council PPP

Los Angeles, California, October 2008

## INTRODUCTION

I was born in a tiny hamlet which is note in the heart of Pakistan. I lived most of the first 30 years of my life in that part of the Punjab which went to Pakistan. On partition I lost my home, my friends and my livelihood: came out as a refugee to India. I have little reason to love Pakistan. Yet I have been as emotionally involved in Pakistan as I have been in India. Every time the two have gone to war against each other, my heart has bled within me. I was convinced that there was never any justification for either India or Pakistan to fight over any-thing. I am more than ever convinced today that we have much to gain from fraternal friendship and much to lose from fratricidal wars.

Let the facts speak for themselves. In the last 30 years that we have been independent, we have fought three wars and innumerable skirmishes against each other. In these armed confrontations over 50,000 young men were killed; ten times as many were maimed for life and In incalculable amount of military hardware bought at exorbitant prices in foreign exchange was destroyed; over the years 45 million men, women and children were forced to cross and re-cross frontiers as refugees. Our meagre resources which could have gone into building more schools, hospitals, dams and factories were wasted in buying tanks, fighter aircraft, submarines and other instruments of destruction. It is our mutual distrust of each other which more than anything else has hampered our march to words prosperity. We remain ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed, semi-literate and backward.

Can we afford to go on treading this suicidal path? Obviously not. Many years ago our then prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru wrote: "It is inevitable for India and Pakistan to have close relation -very close relations.....

We can be either hostile or very friendly with each other. Ultimately we can only be really very friendly whatever period of hostility may intervene, because our interests are closely interlinked."

Every patriotic India and Pakistan should by now have realised that friendship between us is more important for us than friendship with other nations and must be given top priority. We must first look each other for succour and afterwards to Soviet Russia, China, the United States, the Arabs or Iranians and other which or Powerful nations. To cultivate friendship we must shed our past inhibitions, fears and prejudices. And in order to do that we must get to now each other better, respect each others sentiments and, when occasion demands, come to each others help.

Thirty years ago we were one people, belonging to the same race, speaking the same languages, eating the same kind of food, observing the same traditions-our way of life was the same. Today we have become strangers. We know more of what is going Europe and America that we know of what is going next door to us. But we still have

enough in common to re-verse that process. What we Indians have to do is to learn more about Pakistan, its leaders, politicians, its artists and literatures, its younger generation, and the progress it has achieved in agriculture and industry.

I have been fortunate in been able to keep up contacts with my Pakistani friends and visiting the country as a journalist. Even so my in counters and visits were always on eye-opener, dispelling many misgivings and misconceptions. I first went to Pakistan when field Marshal Ayub Khan was President and stayed in what had been my own home, then allotted to my friend Manzur Qadir who was foreign Minister. I had instinctive revulsion against military dictators and was convinced that Pakistan must be groaning under the heel of the Marshal's military boots. And I could not visualise the liberal-agnostic Manzur whose integrity I respected immensely being a pillar of Ayub's establishment. Despite the much publicised to the propaganda that all Pakistanis hated Indians. I was in for many surprises. Lahore looked cleaner and neater than when I had left it. All its open sewers were sealed; the stench that pervaded the city in my days was gone. I saw no one urinate or defecate in the streets. People looked happy and relieved after the years of chaos that had preceded Ayub Khan's take-over. Manzur Qadir took me to breakfast with the president. He was an enormous man, a kindly man who more fitted my notion of a father-figure than a tyrant. His wife was a homely looking pathan lady who could have been any of my numerous aunts. The President spoke with conviction of the need to develop the closest ties with India-even common defence. Later that morning I was with on their Independence Day celebrations. While the President was speaking on Pakistan's achievements, a man leapt up and began to shout: "Sub jhoot hai - he is a liar". The man was promptly removed by the police. I was not convinced. There was Mian Anwar Ali, Commissioner of Police who happened to be sitting next to me. I was not convinced. There was more going on under the surface than the peace and prosperity the President was lauding. I realised my error in making quick and facile judgments.

Another jolt awaited me in the evening. The Manzur Qadir's had invited some of my friends for dinner. The party included the two brothers Nawabzada Mahmood Ali Khan and his brother Mazhar (once editor of "Pakistan Times" and today editor of "Viewpoint") and his perennially lovely wife, Tahira, daughter of the late Sir Sikander Hayat Khan. Mahmood had obviously come prepared to nettle Manzur Qadir. He manoeuvred the conversation accordingly. "I believe you have written quite a few books", he said, turning to me. I nodded. "So has our friend Manzur. He has produced one great masterpiece which you must read", he said, slapping a copy of Pakistan's Marshal Law regulations in my hand. Then it was a free for all. Manzur Qadir's projected "basic democracies", came in for as much lambasting as Ayub Khan's regime. I had believed that under Ayub's dictatorship no one dared to speak his mind. That was not so.

Amongst the other people I met on this visit was young Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the President's blue-eyed boy and Minister of Cabinet in his early thirties. I mistook him to be a college student. We spent some time talking to each other. He surprised me with his leaning and urbanity. I then felt that if this young man ever came to the top, there would be less talk of Islam in Pakistan and more on close relation with secular India.

A long time passed before I went to Pakistan again. In these years Bhutto had Manzur ousted from the Cabinet. Much to my dismay, the means he had deployed to do so were most questionable. Although a Hard-drinking, high-living man himself, he had publicized Manzur Qadir's earlier agnosticism (Manzur was a teetotaler) to pillory him. Bhutto had also become the leader of the anti-Ayub movement based on corrupt practices which had made the president's son, Captain Gauhar Ayub, into one of Pakistan's richest industrialists. It was apparent that a man like Bhutto could employ any means available to pedestal himself to power.

For sometime I saw Pakistan from the wrong end of the telescope and through Bangladeshi eyes. General Yahya Khan's besotted speeches and orgies with women of doubtful reputations only confirmed what I heard of the villainies of the Punjabi-Pathan oppressors of what was then East Pakistan. My visits to Bangladesh, interviews with Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, Maulana Bhashani and other Bangladesh leaders gave me a somewhat distorted view of what remained of Pakistan and its new leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. However, at the same time I was fortunate enough to meet many Pakistani prisoners of war. They were a God-fearing bunch of rustics who had neither Contempt for Bengalis nor barred towards India. They had done their duty as soldiers and when the going had become too tough, laid down arms as they were ordered to do. As in all other armies of the world, there were black sheep amongst the Pakistanis who had indulged in rape and wanton killing. But so had the Bangladeshis when they had the upper hand. Truth is never in black or white-it is mostly grey. Bhutto may he was no party to its "pacification" by General Tikka Khan. And all said and done, it was to him had been erected and his grave dug.

A few months after the Simla agreement I found myself in Pakistan as a guest of President (later translated into Prime Minister) Bhutto. It was for many reasons a memorable visit. I was the first Indian journalist after the Indo-Pak war of 1971 to visit the country. Amongst the many celebrities I met apart from Mr. Bhutto were General Tikka Khan, known in India as the "Butcher of Bangladesh" and the "Butcher of Balochistan", but in Pakistan as a devout Muslim and an able military commander; Mustafa Ghulam Khan, then Chief Minister of the Punjab and his cabinet colleague Hanif Ramoy, the poet Faiz and of course Manzur Qadir who after having been Chief Justice was again a practicing lawyer. I was impressed by the speed with which Pakistan had recovered from its disastrous defeat at the hands of the Indians and the enormous popularity of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. I was hardly any industry worth speaking of besides the textile which was inherited from pre-partition India. The roads were full of foreign limousines - Pakistan was not even producing its own motor cycles. Even match-boxes and lavatory paper were of Chinese make. And their priorities were all wrong. They were going in for television in a big way (even talking of colour television) while villages remained un-electrified. There were few tractors to be seen anywhere and the average produce of an acre of land was less than half of an acre in the Indian Punjab. Even at the height of his popularity and assiduous image-building by a controlled press, radio and television. I heard many people strongly critical of Mr. Bhutto.

I was again in Pakistan last year in connection with the Qaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah's centenary. I was dismayed to see that little progress has been made in the intervening three years. Mercedes Benzes and Toyotas raced along bad roads, past mud villages which conquerors from the time of Alexander the Great, Taimur, Babar, Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali down to Lord Dalhousie would recognize as unchanged.

On this last visit I sensed that despite the flamboyant display of power and achievements (they had struck oil and Sui gas was being piped across the country) Mr. Bhutto's popularity had been considerably eroded. Many of the leaders of the Opposition were in goal. Jokes about Bhutto were bandied about freely. Although he still remained the single most popular leader in Pakistan, I could understand why he had to resort to resort to rigging the polls to ensure himself of a majority in the elections that followed. His "downfall" whether genuine or manipulated to catapult him back to the throne did not come as a surprise to me. Mr. Bhutto had himself once said: "A politician is like a spring flower, he blossoms, he blooms, and a time comes for him to fade".

It is not proper for a journalist to indulge in crystal-gazing and make forecasts of events to come. I do not know whether we have seen the last of Mr. Bhutto or whether spring will once more come into his political garden and he re-blossom as leader of Pakistan. It really does not matter whether it is Bhutto, General Zia-ul Haq, Air Marshal Asghar Khan or anyone else who guides the destinies of Pakistan. What really matters is that we should know more about him, his colleagues, their policies and the country they lead. All this we must do in order to understand their point of view on problems of mutual concern.

In recent years positive steps have been taken by the governments of India and Pakistan to normalise relations. Diplomatic relations have been resumed; postal, telephonic, rail and air communications re-established. A trickle of people has begun to flow across the frontiers. But much more remains to be done. There must be more intercourse between us and the frontiers which now divide us with barbed wire and trenches should become no more than lines on a map. Qaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah's dream to make India and Pakistan like Norway and Sweden must be made a reality. This can only be done if the deep rooted suspicion of each other's motives is rooted out of our minds.

The press can also play a more constructive role in dissipating ignorance. Pakistani newspapers have always been controlled. If the rulers of Pakistan really mean to restore democracy, they must not only give full and unqualified freedom to their country's newspapers but also allow foreign journals, especially Indian, to circulate freely in their country. Likewise, we in India should have easy access to Pakistani papers and our pressmen be allowed to function within Pakistan. In India we often have of the Pakistani press mounting anti-Indian propaganda but we seldom hear that Pakistanis likewise accuse us of anti-Pakistani bias. The charge is not fanciful. Many Indian papers indulge in periodically spreading false stories of Pakistani designs of conquest of India.

Pakistan has as little desire of invading India as India has of invading Pakistan. We are a much bigger and stronger nation. And after inflicting a crippling defeat on Pakistan it does not behave us to spread canards about Pakistani designs on India; it will take them many years to re-equip their navy, air force and army and train personnel to handle sophisticated weapons. We are three times as strong as they on land, sea or air. And the Pakistanis know it. Nevertheless, a large section of our press continues to publish stories of a Pakistani plan for a “second round” when it will try to settle scores with us.

No long-term settlement can take place between countries whose people constantly harbour suspicions against each other and flagellate themselves into with hysterical fears of becoming victims of aggression.

Pakistan must also rid themselves of many false assumptions. They have been brought up to believe that India has never accepted the existence of their country as an independent nation and is determined to undo the partition. This suspicion of our motives has been nurtured on misquotations of speeches of Indian leaders who simply regretted the division of the country and the price our two countries have paid in terms of communal bloodshed. Mahatma Gandhi, Acharya Kripalani, Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru have been quoted ad nauseam to prove this point. As early as January 1948, Mr. Liaquat Ali, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, said: “Indian Union leaders who have never accepted the partition of India sincerely, have been making elaborate designs to end Pakistan since its very birth”. President Ayub Khan said the same in his book, *Friends Not Masters*. “The cause of our major problems is India’s inability to reconcile her to our existence as a sovereign independent State...The Indian leaders have a deep hatred for the Muslims.....”

Zulfiqar has also repeated this charge on many occasions. Our government must convince the leaders and through them their fellow countrymen, that this is simply not true; that India has accepted the reality of Pakistan; and India means well by it. It wants to see a stable democratic and prosperous Pakistan as its closest and friendliest neighbour.

The charge of Indian’s hatred for Muslims must be scotched once and for ever. It is malicious slander which is so often circulated by Pakistani papers to poison our relations with Muslim nationals. It cannot be denied that we have had anti-Muslim riots and India’s Muslims continue to suffer from certain discriminations particularly in getting employment. But at no time has the government been a party to such discrimination. On the contrary, despite the hangover of partition and the Indian Muslim’s sympathy for Pakistan, the Government has gone all out to rehabilitate them by preferential treatment in selections to governmental jobs and preferential presentation to legislative bodies. It is for the Indian Muslims to tell the Pakistanis that unlike the Hindus-Christian minorities in Pakistan. They are not treated as second-class citizens.

The position of Indian Muslims has been considerably improved by the establishment of Bangladesh. They can see for themselves that India is not hostile to

Muslim countries. And it is time they faced the fact that any ambivalence in their loyalty to their mother country will only strengthen the hands of Hindu communalists and weaken those of secular friends.

This little book could be treated as a primer on Pakistan. It is written by a man who could be regarded as a child of both countries. His father Lala Harkishan Lal Gauba was a leading banker and industrialist of undivided Punjab.

Kanahya Lal renounced his heritage and his ancestral faith but even on conversion to Islam retained his initials; only his closest associates knew that K.L. now stood for Khalid Latif. No one except himself took his conversion seriously. He made a name for himself as the author of two best-sellers of his time: Uncle Sham and H.H. Though a neo-convert and author of a biography of Prophet Mohammed, He refused to live in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and migrated to secular India. At the same time his affection for the land of his birth never diminished. Gauba is a very much married man but the two wives for whom his affection has never altered are India and Pakistan.

Khushwant Singh  
President  
India-Pakistan Association  
And  
Editor, The Illustrated Weekly of India, Bombay

## CHAPTER I

### A JOURNEY TO PAKISTAN

For years. I have lived life's afternoon. Watching the setting sun, as a happy hermit. I was, therefore, surprised one day last May 1975, after the sad passing of my son, to receive a letter from a least expected quarter---the Prime Minister of Pakistan! It was a warm friendly letter from Mr. Bhutto about some of my writings, and ended with the promise of a welcome, should I care to visit Pakistan any time to see things for myself.

I lost no time in applying for a visa, and some foreign exchange for the visit. Although I had an invitation from the Prime Minister himself it took 5 long months for the visa to materialize. A visa to Pakistan and a visa to India are amongst the most difficult in the world. As for foreign exchange not a dollar could get through the iron curtain between India and Pakistan. The following diary will speak for itself of a memorable thirty-five days in neighboring Pakistan as I found it and as it is today.

#### ***November 25. Frontier Mail***

My "Safari" to Pakistan has at last begun, but not without misgivings. My grandson had been worried: "Why are you going to an enemy country?". I told him the war ended three years ago! My daughters were apprehensive about my intended visit to Peshawar and the tribal areas. "The Pathans are very wild people; do be careful Papa", they said. A dear sister-in-law, frankly disappointed that she was not going with me, went to Sai Baba at Bangalore for consolation. But in spite of every thing, I had a good sendoff at Bombay Central. Among others to wish I a safe journey was my brother Manna, my niece Maya and her very handsome husband Johar. The Frontier Mail dieselled out at 7.30 p.m. sharp.

#### ***November 26. Frontier Mail***

The train has been running to time. I am in one of the new first class compartments, very comfortable, with four toilets per coach---three Indian and one British. God bless the British!

All the passengers are booked for either Delhi or Amritsar. I am the only one for Pakistan. As I have made no secret of my destination, other passengers look at me and talk in whispers: "He is going to Pakistan".

I have been worried all day about the matter of foreign exchange. I have not a rupee in any interchangeable currency. After two millions cogitation, the Reserve Bank of India yesterday, (just before I left) intimated that I was not entitled to any foreign exchange as I was not flying by an Indian carrier! (There are no Indian carriers between Pakistan and India, and rejected a modest request for a mere hundred dollars). I had been warned earlier that for Pakistan the Reserve Bank would not give a single dollar and how right that was although the State Bank of Pakistan allows five hundred dollars by any carrier! I

have brought a few hundred rupees in State Bank of India Travellers Cheques but they are all duly limited: "Valid only in India". The claques, beyond Wagah, would also be useless.

**November 27. Amritsar---A memorable day: A Sardarji to the rescue.**

I had barely alighted from the train when a Sardarji came up and asked whether I needed a taxi for Wagah. As soon as I said 'yes' he shrewdly anticipated my wants.

Sardarji: "You need any Pakistani Money?"

G.: "Good Heavens---Yes!"

Sardarji: "How much you want? I can give you 105 Pakistani rupees for every 100 Indian rupees."

G.: Thanks. Here you are.

And right gladly I made over all my Indian currency for Pakistani currency keeping only sufficient to pay for the taxi to Wagah, which was a more thirty rupees for a sixteen-mile ride.

It did one's heart good for a Punjabi in be once again in Punjab-The Amritsar-Wagah country-side spoke eloquently of the progress, industrial, and agricultural, over the years.

But things were very different now. Years back how often did I drive from Lahore to Amritsar or Amritsar to Lahore-the 35 miles in forty-odd minutes? But then there were no check posts at Wagah only a beautiful bungalow by a beautiful canal, a Shangrila for lovers, including myself!

**Wagah**

The ride from Amritsar to Wagah took about an hour at a leisurely pace. We arrived at the Indian checkpoint barrier at about 9 a.m. By this time, I was famished for want of my breakfast, which I, normally, consume in Bombay at 7 in the morning. On recommendation, the wagah "Hilton" proved to be as good as any "Hilton" anywhere. The eggs were delicious-fried by a good looking Sardarni in a blue kurta and salwar-the arrangements were all that was needed, wooden tables, bricks for sitting on and a misty sky for a canopy, which the wintry sun did little to pierce.

It took two hours to get through the Indian checkpoint. Which maintains a vast complex of ledgers and files, was also through and little passed unchecked. Travellers on Indian passports to Pakistan are few and far between.

It was a long walk through no man's land to the corresponding checkpoint on the other side of the border. But while the Indian post is maintained as if it was a military observation post, drab, cold, friendless, colourless and inhospitable, the checkpoint on the

Pakistani side was in every way the opposite-flowering plants, palms and well metalled roadways. As the now-i-Waqt Pakistan's leading Urdu journal, had announced that I was soon expected in Pakistan, I received a warm welcome from the officers in charge of the checkpoint, tea was served and cleared in five minutes as for a VIP.

I was then kidnapped.

### **November 28. Lahore.**

The "Pakistan Times" this morning reported that although I was expected yesterday, I had been delayed by a few days. And that the arrangements to hold a reception on my honour, which had been made have been made have been cancelled for the time being.

The kidnapping was perfect in every detail. As soon as the car sent to the Wagah border for me had started, I was informed by the driver, a young man, handsome, sturdy and well built, that I was his prisoner and I had better not try and get out of the car.

"You are kidnapped or high jacked whatever you like to call it. A party we don't like was going to receive you at Wagah, but we put them all off and told them you were delayed so that we could get you and keep you where we have made arrangements for you."

"And where is that, pray?"

"The Central Jail. You have been there before." And he gave a nasty little laugh.

The drive to Lahore was thereafter in silence. I asked him his name and he replied "Call me Hussain. My name in full is Syed Hussain Mahmud. I am a brother of Syed Hasan Mahmud and brother-in-law of the Pir of Pagaro, leaders of the United Front Opposition to your friend Mr. Bhutto."

I was eventually driven to "Al Ashiq" a fine bungalow, beautifully furnished with several servants in attendance.

"I thought, you were taking me to the Central Jail." I asked Hussain.

"This is a part of the Central Jail. Don't you recognize it? We heard you used to have an evening walk here in the old days. The Jail has now been shifted and your host Syed Iqbal Hussain and his brother Shaukat have built their houses here. Shaukat is away on Haj. You have his house for the duration of your stay in Lahore. If you need anything-even foreign exchange up to five hundred dollars-just ring the bell" but one thing we will not announce your arrival for 48 hours. We want you to ourselves before the public and the Pakistan Government comes to know you have arrived."

And then came my first Pakistani lunch which consisted of mutton pulao, chicken korma, egg with keema, nan and a sweet to follow.

I performed my part of the bargain, enjoyed incognito the love and hospitality of my kidnappers for 24 hours. Dining with Syed Iqbal Hussain, my host and his beautiful wife, was even better than the lunch and I went to bed in a bedroom fit for a king.

### **November 29**

Begum Iqbal Hussain served a typical American breakfast—cornflakes, fried eggs and liver, topped with toast, butter and honey from Peshawar.

My first, decision, after my period of detention was over, was to appoint a PRO and an attendant physician. I could think of no one more efficient than Hussain, who had kidnapped me so successfully, for the P.R.O. job and his charming wife Khalida, a qualified doctor for the second job.

In the afternoon Hussain informed the “Pakistan Times” that I had in fact arrived.

There were several callers today including Mohammed Sharif, famed columnist of the Nawe Wagat (circulation 200,000) and my brother-in-law Dr. Pran Nath Seth, who stayed in Pakistan after the Partition and prospered, till he was overtaken by the two wars between Pakistan and India (1965 and 1971).

I was greeted most affectionately and cordially by Riaz Anwar, the Secretary-General of the Pakistan Foundation. According to Riaz, the Pakistan edition of my “Passive Voices” has been a best seller. The first edition of 4000 hard cover copies was exhausted in fifty days and a second edition was in the press. Riaz handed me an Urdu translation of the book priced for the common man at Rs.4/- and expects the edition of 15,000 copies to be exhausted before my return to India a month hence. He also mentioned the book had been widely reviewed in the Press, on T.V. and Radio and produced a large file of press cuttings.

“Passive Voice” a critical study in the post partition state of Muslims in India was by and large ignored in India where only 1500 copies could be sold by our publishers in two years, but one copy went London and from London to Pakistan, where it found spontaneous appreciation and became a best seller overnight.

### **November 30 and December 1**

Quiet days spent at home with the wife from whom I have been separated by two wars and the years in between and since spent also some time receiving some visitors and writing letters to India assuring my anxious grandson, friends and relatives that Pakistan was not a bad place after all.

### **December 2.**

The Lahore High Court Bar Association invited an old member to a large gathering at the coffee break (10.30 a.m.-11.a.m.) (The Court perhaps wisely does not sit after lunch when judges and lawyers are apt to be drowsy). So starts work at 8.30 a.m. and finishes at 1.30 p.m. for the day. The President of the Bar Association extolled the virtues of a former member who had done much to set dubious precedents for the future! I thanked them warmly for all the nice things that had been said and shared coffee and cake before they rushed back to court and I went home.

Rafiq Saigal, one of the 22 tycoons, who are said to own the bulk of the wealth in Pakistan, called to take me to dinner at his princely residence in the fashionable Gulberg Estate. His hospitality was as expansive as his wealth. His guest house at Rawalpindi will be at my disposal during my stay there.

### **December 3.**

Had tea with Mr. Justice Abdul Jabbar, a Senior Puisne Justice of the Lahore High Court. He came out of his house to welcome me. Embraced and kissed I was accompanied by Riaz Anwar, Hussain and his wife, Khalida. Justice Jabbar's Begum and daughters were also present. Of course he had read "Passive Voice".

"All the Judges have read it", he said: "I now want to read your autobiography, 'Friends and Foes'. Send me a copy when you get back to India".

The talk then turned to the conditions of service of High Court Judges in Pakistan.

"We are not badly off" said Justice Jabbar. "We pay no income tax on our salaries – we get a clear Rs.4000/- (Chief Justice Rs.5000/-), free house. Free car, servants, free petrol and telephone and other amenities adding upto about Rs.10, 000/- a month".

"Not bad" I said "Judges in India would like to be transferred to Peshawar or perhaps want the Government of India to take a leaf out of Pakistan's book of precedents.

Q. What about Supreme Court Justices?

A. They are all better off by Rs.1000/- each.

The Chief Justice of Pakistan is paid Rs.6000/- and his colleagues Rs.5000/- each. Plus benefits.

Q. How many Justices are there in the High Courts and Supreme Court?

A. There are about thirty Justices each at Lahore and Karachi, ten at Peshawar and seven Justices of at the Supreme Court.

Q. All Muslims?

A. All Muslims except one Parsi, Justice Patel at Karachi. (Since then this Justice has been appointed to the Supreme Court).

B.

### **December 4.**

Had an early (4 p.m) tea with Mahmud Ali Kasuri, a former Law Member of the Government of Pakistan. A leader of the Lahore Bar and a leader of the Opposition in the Pakistan National Assembly. He greeted me affectionately and had a number of friends including Raja Mohammed Anwar, present Deputy Attorney General of Pakistan. The discussion was light hearted. Kasuri and friends seemed to be more interested in matters others than political, except that Kasuri and his group were for the p[resent boycotting the meeting of the National Assembly.

Asked Kasuri. "Gaub, tell us how many wives have you got?"

A. "Quite a few scattered in various parts of the sub-continent."

Q. And girl friends?

A. Sorry I have lost count.

B.

From Kasuri I went on to a second the with former Chief Justice of Pakistan. Mohammad Monir, who had expressed a desire to meet me, On the 17<sup>th</sup> of February 1942 Justice Monir was one of the Judge to send me to jail for contempt of court; on the 4<sup>th</sup> of December 1975 he kissed me on both cheeks and said I had written a fine book ("Passive Voice") which he had also read.

The last meeting of the day was the most entertaining. A Mr. X, an official in the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission called. I asked of course all questions about Pakistan's nuclear capacity, but he was naturally guarded. He was giving away no secrets.

### **December 5. A wonderful day.**

Had lunch with Chand Begum, widow of business tycoon Abdur Rehman at her lovely home in Gulberg. When lunch was spread it resembled a buffet at Oberoi Sheraton. Pulaos of three kinds, fish, kababs, chicken, eggs, salads and sweets and puddings.

And then Sarwar (wife in Pakistan) and I had an afternoon to ourselves. She suggested the "Rose Garden" in the former Lawrence Gardens now Bagh-i-Jinnah. It was here thirty years ago, on a scented night, with roses in bloom and a full moon, and she more radiant than the moon, that she had said 'yes' to the question I whispered. As we sat in the same seats as we had sat thirty years earlier and held hands I asked her another question: "Have you ever regretted your decision"? "Kabhi Nahin" she said and turned away to hide the tears in her eyes. The coming of Pakistan was not a happy event one. We spent two hours in the garden, moments as golden as the sunshine that flooded the Bagh-i-Jinnah.

I have received intimation that the Prime Minister will meet me in Pindi. So I go to Pindi tomorrow.

## **December 6. RAWALPINDI**

The last function at Lahore before my departure today for Rawalpindi was an interesting tea party hosted by Dr. P.N. Seth for me to meet Hindu friends and residents. They all greeted me as a long lost brother with affection but without the kisses. Hindus presumably prefer to kiss in private. I was most anxious to find a grumbler who would give me any low down on minorities in Pakistan but failed completely. They all seemed cheerful, well off and enjoying life in the country of their adoption. Dr. Seth has some personal problems, but he carries his years (79) remarkably well, owns two houses, drives his own car and is perhaps the best dressed man in Pakistan, second only to the Prime Minister, who is acknowledged internationally for his good looks in perfect tailoring.

Except for Christians, Lahore has few members of minority communities. Its population has now grown to over 21 million and is an expanding business and industrial centre.

Hussain, my PRO, his wife Khalida and I traveled by air from Lahore to Rawalpindi by the afternoon flight. The chicken sandwiches, mutton samosas and cake for tea served to the passengers by P.I.A. (great people to fly with seemed extravagant by Indian Airline standards.

We were met at the airport by Mr. Q. U. Shahab and other Secretaries to the Ministry of Education and other officials, writers and journalists and taken to the VIP lounge and eventually to the guest house of the Pakistan Engineering Company, which has built a large part of the new city of Islamabad twelve miles away which we hope to see tomorrow.

## **December 7.**

It is Sunday 7<sup>th</sup> December. The "Pakistan Times" and other local papers prominently featured the reception accorded to me at the airport yesterday.

I was informed first thing in the morning that the Pakistan Government had very kindly placed a car at my disposal for the duration of my stay at Rawalpindi. And very soon thereafter a slick Japanese Mazda Limousine and driver arrived. (There are no Ambassador or other makes of Indian cars in Pakistan. The Japanese, German and American cars are in plenty as also more buses than are to be found in the Indian countryside. The iron curtain of mutual bitterness is a formidable barrier for my Indian exports to the Pakistan market). I then went sightseeing to Islamabad the new capital, spick and beautiful. A garden city with avenues and fine buildings and national park and sanctuary.

Mian Gul Aurangzeb, the son-in-law of field Marshall Ayub and himself a member of the opposition in the Pakistan National Assembly arranged a delightful dinner party for 12 at his mansion in Islamabad. The guests gathered to meet me included a very inquisitive lady journalist. (She sat next to me and plead me with uncomfortable

questions regarding my personal opinion about certain leaders, which however I successfully parried until Mian Gul came to my rescue by laying down that all political leaders were like Brutus honourable men and women (Laughter and cheers).

#### **December 8.**

At the invitation of Sahibzada Farooq Ali, Speaker of the Pakistan National Assembly, I attended a meeting of the Assembly, being welcomed by him and introduced to many members individually. The Speaker kindly gave me a front seat in his personal box and I sat through the question hour and heard Mr. Aziz Foreign Minister and a part of the foreign policy debate thereafter. The proceedings were however; dull as the meeting was boycotted by the entire Opposition (24) except one Riaz Ahmed Qasuri who took on the government cohorts (145) skillfully single-handed.

#### **December 9.**

During my stay at Rawalpindi, I have expressed a wish to go to Muzaffarabad the capital of Pakistani-Kashmir. The Muzaffarabad I knew as a sleepy little village at the conjunction of the Jhelum and Kisheganga rivers is a bustling township now with a High Court. Secretariat and other Government buildings and administered by a Prime Minister and cabinet. There are problems, however, that make a trip to Muzaffarabad difficult for me – the road via Murree goes to 7000 ft. and the other via Abbotabad has scores of switchbacks, none too good for a heart patient.

A medical check-up at the Military hospital was arranged but negative the motor journey by either route. I can go by helicopter, if the Prime Minister can lend me his chopper.

#### **December 10.**

Visited the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Received by the Chief Justice Syed Yakub Ali and all his colleagues and had coffee with them in the Chief Justice's clamber—then sat in the Chief's court and heard arguments for a while. The lawyers argue as well as in India and the Judges write as good Judgments. The recent exposition of the law in the historic Wali Khan's case would do credit to any court.

#### **December 11.**

The highlight of my visit to Pakistan! A meeting with the Hon'ble Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Prime Minister of Pakistan.

About 11 o'clock the telephone rang and I was informed that the Prime Minister would be happy to see me at 4 p.m. and in order to make this meeting possible he had cancelled a cabinet meeting scheduled for the afternoon. I confirmed the appointment and precisely at quarter to four. Accompanied by Prof. Nazir Ahmed, an officer in the Ministry of Education I arrived at the gates of the Prime Minister's palatial home and was promptly admitted by the guards on duty.

At 4 p.m. precisely I was ushered into the Prime Minister's office. He greeted me warmly and said he had been looking forward to meeting me.

Nazir Ahmed and others in the room were asked to leave and Mr. Bhutto and myself sat down to tea and an informal chat on matters generally immaterial.

He hoped I was satisfied with the progress Pakistan had made over the years and more particularly in the last 4 years (after the 1971 debacle). I could not help agreeing.

To my request for a helicopter to take me to Muzaffarabad he said. "Most certainly whenever you want it".

Conversation then turned to Kashmir. He could not understand why Mrs. Gandhi had appointed Sheikh Abdullah as Chief Minister. I surmised "may be she thinks he will be able to deliver the rest of Kashmir to her on a platter".

Mr. Bhutto clenched his fist and brought it down on the table. "That can be –Never, Never, Never."

#### **December 12.**

Spent most of the day in bed. I was taken ill last night with angina pains. Col. Mohuidin, the President's physician, said I should be put to bed and the programme for a trip to Muzaffarabad by helicopter cancelled. Khalida nursed me tenderly but firmly. I was only allowed to get out of bed, when it was time to attend a reception in my honour by the Government of Pakistan at the Hotel International.

At the reception I found that more than 110 well known people had assembled to do me honour. I went all round and talked to many high ranking officials, journalists, poets and writers. There were no speeches.

#### **December 13.**

A quiet day at home, spent the time reading Khan Wali Khan's hundred and forty page defence in the recent historic reference to the Supreme Court. Felt it could have been a lot better.

The banquet hosted by Peerzada Abdul Hafeez, Minister for Education in the Government of Pakistan, in my honour at the Hotel International was well attended. It was a grand dinner, plenty to eat and drink and talk about. There were no formal speeches.

#### **December 14.**

Eide Zuha. Eid Prayers said at about 150 different places in Rawalpindi. Hussain, out driver and myself, the three of us offered our prayers with the congregation at the large G.H.Q. Sports ground where about 30,000 people are mixed irrespective of colour, race, wealth or status in life and the open sky for canopy, Islam achieves its greatest success.

Hussain and Khalida took the car to look up their friends, many of whom are in the armed forces. I could not go with them as army and defence personnel are not allowed to meet foreigners without prior clearance. I stayed home not wanting to be an embarrassment. Pulao came from a neighbour. On the third for the poor and one third for the family. I was glad to be a neighbour.

### **December 15 and 16.**

By road and car from Rawalpindi to Peshawar and on to Bara in the tribal area. A long and delightful drive on an excellent two-lane (part of the way) highway, through lovely countryside, charming villages and along picturesque river. A cold crisp morning—Hussain and myself where in leather coats, the driver has one as part of his uniform and Khalida was cosy in a blanket.

I tried not to doze, remembering Martin Luther, “Do all you can, you will not pass this way again” and looked at the people, gave more than a passing glance at the neat village and counted the Lorries and buses. We passed or over-took a 1000 before we reached Peshawar, a mere hundred miles away. Everyone seemed cheerful, well clad, well fed and adequately housed. It also seemed every one was a sharer in Mr. Bhutto’s pride – Roti, Kapda aur Makan. There were no beggars on the road, none shivering on a December morning and no one asking for bread or meat.

Ch. Atta ul Haq, a high official in the Tribal Organisation, was our host at Peshawar and rightly royal host too. What a lunch he produced and how much was consumed by every one even by the man from Bombay. It was seven lunches rolled into one.

Next day, Atta ul Haq’s brother, Manzur ul Haq took a day’s leave from his office to take me to Bara in the tribal area. It’s about 20 miles out of Peshawar and only a little township, rapidly expanding by the coming of the Bara dam on Kabul River, and a flourishing super market for the Pathans in the Tribal area. Here there are no taxes or large can pick up anything from washing machines, refrigerators, airconditions, Japanese cars, watches and textiles and anything that the affluent may fancy. I returned to Peshawar, having spent most of my money on beautiful textiles for ladies of the family and others.

I tried hard to arouse interest over coffee and snacks and Pathan hospitality over a topic much on my mind—Pakhtoonistan. Nobody seemed interested, however, about it and seemed right satisfied with their lot in Pakistan.

There is a saying “Respect a Baluch, Salaam a Punjabi, and buy a Pathan”. Mr. Bhutto seems to have bought over the Pathans, not by doles and guns as the British did, but by work and good pay. Dams, factories, roads and a lot else have brought money and wealth to the Tribes and Pakhtoons—their women are as well dressed as any in the world and many realize it is more to their interest to be partners in progress in Pakistan, than partners in poverty as Afghan subjects.

#### **December 17.**

Returned to Lahore from Rawalpindi by P.I.A. It was a one hour fight in perfect weather. There was good news awaiting me at the airport. The entire Urdu edition of 15,000 copies of my book, “Passive Voices” which was released on the 27<sup>th</sup> of November, the day of my arrival in Pakistan, has been sold out at the rate of more than a thousand copies a day. What better news for author!

#### **December 18.**

The protest day organised by the opposition parties was a flop. Mr. Bhutto has many critics but press and public media are behind him solidly and people generally admit he has rescued Pakistan from dissolution and chaos and has brought it a prosperity it has never seen before.

Mohammad. Idris, Special Correspondent of the “Pakistan Times”, took a long tape recorded interview for his paper, as also for Radio Pakistan.

#### **December 19.**

I was interviewed by Pakistan T.V. at the stud as both for their historical library and for showing in one of their evening programmes. I was interviewed for T.V. by the Asst. Editors of the “Pakistan Times” and “Nawi Waqt”.

In the evening there was a fabulous wedding reception for Syed Wajid Ali’s daughter. More than 2000 guests were regaled to a royal feast of pullao, chicken and gajjar halwa. No food restriction order – no police to throw the Biryani to dogs and so many lovely women. I nearly became a Pakistani.

#### **December 21.**

The Pakistan Foundation held a reception at the Lahore intercontinental in my honour and more than a hundred guests responded. Riaz Anwar’s speech of welcome made me blush, it lasted 15 embarrassing minutes! I returned the compliments by saying many nice things about the new Pakistan, although it was an understatement.

#### **December 22.**

A unique reception for me at the Lahore High Court. At their coffee break all thirty judges and the Chief Justice Sardar Mohd Iqbal assembled to do me honour. They all stood up when I entered and remained standing till I sat down. A ten pound chocolate

cake had been specially baked with the Scales of Justice on top. I was asked to cut it and then all the judges took a piece each. I told the Chief Justice, "I have never had so much honour shown to me before". His Lordship replied. "We have honoured no man like this before".

### **December 23.**

The "Pakistan Times", "Pakistan Radio", "Pakistan T.V." the "Nawi Waqt" and other papers have all prominently featured my visit to Pakistan after 28 years, a once nonbeliever in the viability of the two-nation theory, who has come to Pakistan to find that he could be wrong.

Capt. Shaukat Hayat Khan called and had a long chat in which he reminded me very much of his illustrious father, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan Shaukat Hayat Khan is a leader in his own right and a prominent member of the National Assembly.

### **December 25.**

It was Christmas Day and also Qaid-i-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah's birthday. Lahore was in a festive mood. The Christians, of whom there are many thousands, thronged the churches and the roads in gay attire because it was Christmas and there was hunting, flags and illuminations in the evening because it was Jinnah's birthday. Few men have been more affectionately remembered after they have departed as Mohamed Ali Jinnah. His portraits hang in Courts, Government offices and appear on most denominations of Pakistan currency-0- the man who dreamed he could found a nation out of his mere skill at dialectic and personal determination. Looking around Pakistan one cannot help admitting the dream is now a reality.

One of the most interesting meetings was one this evening with Mr. Hamoodur Rehman, recently appointed Chief Justice of Pakistan who presided over the historic Wali Khan reference to the Supreme Court and an East Bengali himself, nationally the conversation centred on Mujibur Rehman and Wali Khan. As the Chief Justice did most of the elaboration it was a most instructive meeting. Over tea he served the tastiest rasagola!

### **December 26.**

Last night a deputation came from the important Jamaati Islami (membership 2,50,000) and in response to their invitation I had a lunch at the Jamaat's new headquarters about 10 miles out of Lahore. The Amir-e-Jamaat, Milan Tufail Mohamed welcomed me in Urdu and then in Arabic while embracing and kissing me on both cheeks. He then took me around the new buildings which have cost about a crore of rupees, before playing host at a feast to which, writers, journalists and poets had been invited.

There was more generous hospitality to follow Mahmuda Begum, a former member of the Punjab Assembly, threw a tea party at which she gathered a number of critics of

Mr. Bhutto and his current policies, and the conversation was both lively and interesting not without some Punjabi humour.

Nawab Mustaq Ahmed Gurmani, a former Governor of West Pakistan, had a small gathering for me of some of the richest men around today – Syed Amjad Ali, former Finance Minister, Syed Hasan Mahmud, also a former minister, now in the opposition, and the dinner was typical of Gurmani's expansive hospitality.

#### **December 27.**

On 27<sup>th</sup> December, wife Sarwar and myself took the first P.I.A. flight to Karachi. Mir Ali Ahmed Khan Talpur's Mercedes Benz was at the airport to take us from Drigh Road to the princely Talpur Mansion, lavishly furnished in several styles, ancient, medieval and modern European with a large library of several thousand volumes.

We were welcomed by Mir Ali Ahmed Sahib and his younger brother Rasul Bux Talpur, who had been Governor of Sindh until he resigned to join the opposition. Our host spared no pains to make my wife and myself as comfortable as possible.

#### **December 28.**

The telephone has been ringing madly from all sorts of journals wanting time for interviews. Mir Sahib Talpur firmly and politely keeps the wolves at bay.

I visit the mausoleum of Quad-i-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah and say fatiha at the grave of one of the greatest men of all time. The mausoleum befits his memory. It is a noble monument in marble, fit for an emperor.

Introduced to Khan Wali Khan's Begum and Mei Sahiba. She is a tall handsome determined woman, who has cast aside her burqua to fight her husband's battle – "Compromise?" "Never, Never, Never", she says.

Talpur, a man of immense wealth is a member of the National Assembly and one of the members boycotting its meetings. Wali Khan has been disqualified from membership of the Assembly.

#### **December 30.**

The National Bank of Pakistan holds a reception at "Shezan" in my honour, at which Karachi's leading business tycoons and others assemble at short notice. About 100 people attended. The Parsi and Hindu businessmen are very happy in Karachi which has now a population of over three millions and has expanded for miles horizontally compared to Bombay's vertical development.

#### **December 31.**

The last day of the year and the last day of my interesting visit to Pakistan.

The “Dawn” carries my picture and a special article. The “Morning News” has a feature article on my memorable visit to Pakistan. The “Daily Jung”, leading Urdu daily also has a special feature on my visit.

I bid farewell to the lovely city of Karachi in the afternoon, when I drive to the Drigh Road Airport (12 miles away) to catch a Saudi Arabian flight to Bombay. Prof. Nazir Ahmed with friends has come specially from Islamabad to bid me farewell and a “Khuda Hiafiz” on behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan.

**January 1, 1976.**

I was back in Bombay last night, happy to be home. Happy to have accepted Mr. Bhutto’s invitation to visit Pakistan and see things for myself in a progressive, important and friendly country with which it would serve India well to have better understanding. For that purpose it is necessary for us to know Pakistan and have a proper assessment of what has been achieved in the last three decades of its existence, shedding pre-conceived ideas and our prejudices against it.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **PAKISTAN TODAY**

In the thirty years since its birth, Pakistan has made great progress as a modern State. An outline of its progress is necessary for the understanding of Pakistan today.

Owing to the persistent demand of the Muslims led by Mohamed Ali Jinnah for a separate homeland where they were in majority, the Indian sub-continent was in 1947 divided into two states. Pakistan emerged as a new independent sovereign state on August 14, 1947, and had to start from scratch in most departments. Until December 1971 it consisted of East and West Pakistan. Helped by the Indian Army in association with the Mukti Bahini, the Eastern Wing seceded and became Bangladesh. Now Pakistan consists of the four provinces – N.W.F.P. Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan. Pakistan also occupies over one third of the former state of Jammu and Kashmir.

The severance of Pakistan in 1971 which at the time seemed a calamity proved a blessing in disguise for every party concerned.

The people of Pakistan are descended from several racial and sub-racial groups such as Dravidians who were followed by Aryans, Greeks, Persians, Arabs, Turks and Mughals resulting in mixture of races. The people of Pakistan are distributed into three broad racial groups—the Indo-Aryans. The Turko-Aryans and the Mongolo-Dravidians and ethnologically number some of the finest groups of the human race—Kashmir, Pathans. Baluchis, Punjabis and Sindhis.

The total area of Pakistan is 310,403 square miles out of which Punjab has 79,542 square miles, N.W.F.P. 51,627 square miles, Baluchistan 126,659 square miles and Sindh 65,420 square miles.

“Azad Kashmir” is not officially or otherwise considered as a part of Pakistan; it is treated as an independent unit.

Pakistan is bounded on the east by the Indian States of Kashmir, Punjab and Rajasthan, on the west by Iran and Afghanistan on the north by the Himalayas, and by Russia and China and on the South by the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean.

Pakistan presently occupies an important and advantageous situation among the Muslim States of the World from an economic point of view. Pakistan has the advantage of sharing trade routes in all directions by sea, land and air. Pakistan is culturally associated with the Muslim States of the Middle East which are very rich in oil resources. As Pakistan lies along the Arabian Sea, she has her links with all other countries by sea. Pakistan has thus a favourable position for international trade by Land Sea and air.

There is now only one State language of Pakistan and that is Urdu. Apart from this there are some other languages that are spoken in Pakistan; they are Punjabi, Baluchi, Pushto and Sindhi, English is the official language. Urdu may be introduced some day as an official language. In some Government and semi-Government offices, but the efforts are no more encouraging than the promotion of Hindi in India, Sooner or later Pakistan and India will have a common language – English!

According to the decennial census of 1972, the population of Pakistan was 64,892,000 out of which 34,417,000 were males and 30,475,000 were females. The Province-wise population figures were: N.W.F.P. 9,402,000; Tribal Areas 2,507,000; Punjab 37,374,000; Islamabad 235,000; Sindh 13,965,000; and Baluchistan 2,409,000. Among the cities, Karachi is the largest. Among the Divisions, Multan Division is largest (660 thousand), Among the districts, Multan District is most populated: 2.7 million, The population of major cities are, Karachi 3.46 million; Lahore 2.13 million. Lyallpur 800 thousand; Hyderabad 620 thousand; Rawalpindi 600 thousand. Multan 540 thousand. Gujranwala 300 thousand; Peshawar 270 thousand; Sialkot 200 thousand; Sargodha 200 thousand; Sukkar 159 thousand; Quetta 156 thousand; Jhang 136 thousand; Bahawalpur 134 thousand; Sahiwal 150 thousand; Mardan 109 thousand; Wah 109 thousand; Kasur 103 thousand; Quetta 107 thousand; Gujrat 100 thousand and Islamabad 77,000.

The population rate of growth in Pakistan is 3.5% per year which is perhaps the highest in the world. Family planning in Pakistan is different to family planning elsewhere, directed not towards reducing the number of babies but to having as many as possible.

The density of population in Pakistan is 209 persons per square mile. The density of population in Punjab is 471 persons per square mile; Islamabad 671 per square mile; Baluchistan 18 persons per square mile.

According to the population census of Pakistan in 1972, the total population of minorities in Pakistan is about 3.6 millions or 5.6 per cent of the total population. The detailed distribution was: Christians are 1.36% of the total population, Scheduled Castes .98%, Hindus .47% Buddhists .06%, Parsis .012% and others .002%, Ahmandis were .28% of the total population. The Constitution of Pakistan has specific provisions for the rights and interests of the minorities.

The population of Pakistan is largely Muslim. Only a small percentage of the population are Christians, Hindus, Parsis, Buddhists. Schedule Castes etc.

Pakistan has therefore, now (after the secession of Bangladesh) no great problem relating to minorities, who are by and large treated on par with Pakistani nationals. In times of peace with India, Hindus are apt to be satisfied as Muslims are in India.

The ideology of Pakistan is based upon.

- (1) Sovereignty of Allah
- (2) Supremacy of the Shariah
- (3) Finality of the Prophet hood of Mohammad
- (4) Vicegerency of Man, and
- (5) Solidarity of Society.

These principles have been embodied in the Constitution.

In Pakistan there are three seasons: summer, winter and the rainy season. The summer is dry, sultry and brings dust-storms. The rain is scanty. The winter is cold, with biting winds. It rains rarely. The rainy season is pleasant.

The climate of Pakistan is very cold in winter and very hot in summer. In summer the temperature sometimes shoots up as high as 120°F and maximum 94°F. In Skardu (Gilgit), the minimum temperature is 16°F in winter and maximum 88°F in summer. In Murree the temperature varies from 30° to 80°. In Jacobabad, minimum temperature is 40° in winter and maximum temperature is 120° in summer. The temperature in Karachi varies from 57° to 98°.

Rainfall in Pakistan is scant and its average total is about 20 inches. As there is scarcity of rainfall, irrigation is from other sources, i.e. canals, tube-wells etc. The average rainfall in Pakistan is 10"-15". There is a wide range of variation in rainfall in the various regions of Pakistan. The average rainfall at Peshawar 14". Murree 50" Sialkot 32", Lahore 20", Multan 7" Jacobabad 4" and Karachi 8".

There is variety of soil in Pakistan. The soil of Pakistan is mostly loamy and moist to a great extent. As the average rainfall in Pakistan is less than even 15 inches in a year, the soil becomes extremely dry which necessitates the artificial system of irrigation which is made up from the Indus Basin. Alluvial soil is laid down by the river Indus and its four tributaries. The desert soil covers the province of Sindh which is useless for cultivation. The soil of Pakistan produces wheat and cotton in huge quantities, and is one of the few countries of the world not faced with a chronic-food-population problem.

In Pakistan only 4.50% of the total area is under forest land which is far short of the essential requirement of the country. Pakistan therefore, depends for timber largely on the Kashmiri forests of occupied Kashmir.

Foreign trade of Pakistan is fairly considerable. It occupies a very important position in International Trade. The chief exports of Pakistan are oilseeds, textiles, handloom goods, coal, hide and skin, mica, manganese, lac, iron ore. Raw wool, machine, rice, cotton, wool, sugar, petroleum products, locomotives and sewing machines, Imports are of machinery, medicine, machinery goods, chemicals, steel, petroleum products, dry

fruits, iron coal, cloth, rubber goods; cycles, motor cars, radio, television sets, cosmetics, tobacco, food, books, cinema films etc.

There are two important sea-ports in Pakistan – Karachi and Gwadar. Karachi port a very significant role in Pakistan’s trade with foreign countries. Gwadar port is under construction near Karachi. There is also a “dry port” at Moghulpura, Lahore, which was opened on April 18, 1974.

The national Highways in Pakistan are:

- (1) The grand Tank Road from Landi Kotal (Peshawar) to Wagah, 292 miles
- (2) The Lahore Karachi Highway, 783 miles
- (3) The Lahore Quetta Highway, 672 miles.
- (4) The Peshawar-Quetta Highway, 445 miles.
- (5) The Karachi-Quetta Highway, 450 miles.

Live stock play a significant role in the agricultural economy of Pakistan. The leading live-stock that are bred in Pakistan are cows, buffales, sheep, gats, horses, mules, camels, etc. among these horses and donkeys are used for loading and riding purposes, cows and buffaloes for milk and sheep and goats for skin, wool and meat, but there seem to be fewer donkeys in Pakistan than in some of its neighbouring countries, but the Pakistan donkey often brays louder than most of his contemporaries.

Fish also occupies a significant position in the economy of Pakistan. It is used as a staple food in many parts of Pakistan. It is also exported and earns foreign exchange. Pakistan has a rich sea food industry. The main sources of inland fish are rivers, lakes and ponds. Marine Fish is found in Arabian Sea.

Fish is also found in Ghulam Muhammad Barrage, Gudu Barage, Mangla Dam, Tarbela Dam, Warsak Dam, Hiran Minare at Sheikhmubra and many other places. Kaghan Valley is famous for its trout. There is a Fishing Training Institute at Karachi which imports training in fishery.

The main museums in Pakistan are: the National Museum (Karachi), National Museum (Islamabad), Army Museum (Rawalpindi), the Central Museum (Lahore). Zoological Museum (Govt. College, Lahore), Commercial & Industrial Museum (Lahore) Museum (Shahi Fort, Lahore), Agricultural Museum (Lyalpu). The Archaeological Museum (Taxila) and Museum (Peshawar).

Urdu Dailies in Pakistan are the Hurrivat, Mashric, Musawat. Jang, imroze, Nawa-i-Waqt, Azad, Jasarat and Anjan.

English Dailies in Pakistan are the Pakistan Times, Dawn, Sun, Khyber Mail, Pakistan Observer, Morning News and News Time.

The principal publishers in Pakistan are: the National Press Trust, the Pakistan Herald Publications, the Naswa-i-Waqt Publications the Millap Group, the Jang Group, and the Pakistan foundation and Ferozesons of Lahore, Rawpur and Karachi.

The Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission is an important autonomous body which deals with the development of atomic energy in Pakistan. The body does research work in atomic energy in Pakistan and undertakes the activities for the harnessing of atomic energy by converting it into electric power and application of radio-isotopes and radiation resources for the development for industries, agriculture, medicine, etc. the Atomic Energy Commission's largest Research Institute in Pakistan is the Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology at Nilore in Islamabad. It consists of a 5-megawatt swimming pool reactor and various laboratories which specialise in various branches of nuclear science.

The Atomic Energy Centre at Lahore deals with the applications of radio-active isotopes to industries, agriculture and medicine.

For the development of agriculture two Research (atomic) Centres have been set up, one at Lyallpur and the other at Tando Jam. The function of these Research Centres is to carry out research and apply the radio-isotopes and the atomic energy in the fields of plant psychology, plant genetics, microbiology, soil chemistry and food preservation.

For the development in the field of medicine, various Medical Radio Isotopes Centres have been set up in Pakistan. Some of these are at Mayo Hospital, Lahore, Nishtar Medical College, Multan and Jinnah Central Hospital, Karachi.

A Nuclear Power Plant has been built at Karachi at a cost of Rs. 45 corers which provides 137000 k.w. of energy

In Pakistan's programme for the peaceful application of energy, the following major objectives have been mentioned:

- (1) Introducing nuclear power for accelerating economic development by meeting the power needs of the country.
- (2) Developing basis nuclear technology to implement nuclear power programme.
- (3) Applying nuclear radiation and techniques in agriculture, medicine and industry.

In aviation too, Pakistan has made considerable headway.

The Pakistan International Airlines is an autonomous public corporation responsible for civil aviation at Pakistan. In 1960, it became the first Commercial Airline operating its international services by a jet aircraft. In 1964, P.I.A. started a monopoly service with Peoples Republic of China and then with Russia. In 1966, it was rated as the world's third

best airline P.I.A. pilots are considered among the best in world airline. P.I.A. air hostesses wear distinctive uniforms and are famous for their good looks and courtesy. P.I.A. kitchens are also rated as among the best in the world.

There are now several airport in Pakistan: Karachi, Nawab Shah, Hyderabad, Mohenjo Daro, Sukkur, Sui, Pasni, Gwadar, Jiwani, Panjgur, Quetta, Rawalpindi, Multan, Ismail Khan, Skardu, Gilgit and Chitral.

Short take-off and landing Service Stations are located at Bannu, Kohat, Tarbela, Mangla, Kharian, Saidu Sharif, Abbottabad, Sahiwal and Khuzdar.

The Pakistan International Airlines (P.I.A.) operates a network of domestic services connecting almost all the principal cities of Pakistan, where brisk traffic is expected, in five Boeing flights between Lahore and Karachi every day of the week. The types of aircrafts in use are Boeing 720B, Boeing 707, D.C. 10-30, Super Constellations and Fokker Friendships. The flights are remarkably comfortable and the fares moderate.

In addition to the international flights to Europe and American P.I.A. network also serves the neighbouring countries of Burma, Afghanistan, China and Nepal, and is shortly to be extended to India and Bangla Desh.

The new uniform of P.I.A.'s air hostesses' is a tricolour combination. The emerald green salwar is teamed with a shocking pink or purple kameez with long side slits. The tunic is embroidered around the neck and cuffs and down the front in a pattern taken from an old Pakistani folk costume. The silkhood has been especially printed for P.I.A. with a design borrowed from a Moghul period brocade. The shoes and handbag are in black leather. On the ground the girls wear a purple gown – the knee-length, raglan-sleeved coat and when serving they wear a printed apron to match the hood.

Pakistan Railways are, as I myself expected, the largest transport system in Pakistan. Opened in 1861, formerly it was known as the North Western Railway but in 1962, it was renamed as Pakistan Western Railway. Under the 1962, its Constitution, it was a provincial subject but under the 1973 Constitution it became a federal subject. It is administered by the Railway Board and its headquarters are at Lahore. In 1974 it was renamed as Pakistan Railways.

At the time of Independence all the locomotives were run by coal, later these were replaced by diesel and electric locomotives. Now electric trains run between Lahore and Khanewal on the Karachi Sector, a 250-mile stretch.

The Pakistan Railways has excellent services in Pakistan. Three classes of accommodation are provided on trains First, Second and Third. First class carriages on main lines are air-conditioned. There are 860 railway stations in Pakistan.

Important trains run by Pakistan Railways are Tazgam, Teroa, Khyber Mail, Chenab Express, Awami Express, Shaheen, Karachi Express, Bolan Mail, Mehran, Quetta Express, Ahu Express, Ghazala, Ribbon, Subak Raftar, Rachna, Mohenjo Daro Express, Dachi and Lyllpur Express.

When Pakistan came into existence on August 14, 1947, it had only two Radio Stations, one at Lahore and the other at Peshawar. In 1948, a Radio Station was set up at Karachi and in 1950 another Radio Station was set up at Rawalpindi. By the end of 1965, however, there were Radio Station at Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Hyderabad, Quetta and Karachi. At the end of 1970 another Radio Station was set up at Multan.

Formerly the Department of Radio was under the Central Government and was headed by the Director General (Radio). But in December 1971, the Radio Department became Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation, a statutory autonomous body, which led to a new era of progressive broadcasting.

Radio Station in Pakistan exists at Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan, Hyderabad, Quetta and Karachi. The coverage of the broadcasting service is at present 40% of the geographical area and 60% of the population.

In Pakistan, archaeological sites are Mohenjo-daro (Larkana) Harppa (Sahiwal), Kot Diji (Khairpur), Bhambore (Tatta), Taxila (Rawalpindi), Undergram (Swat) and Charadda (Peshawar). These are places of great archaeological interest where excavations have revealed a great deal about the ancient history of Pakistan.

Main political parties in Pakistan are Pakistan Peoples Party, Pakistan Muslim League (Council), Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum Group). The NAP (National Awami Party) led by Wali Khan alleged to have secessionist tendencies has been banned and its leaders jailed).

Pakistan is a country in which there are places of rare scenic beauty like the Swat Valley and the Kaghan Valley. Apart from these, there are other hill stations, like Murree and Ziarat. Pakistan is also rich in archaeological sites and mountains. Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa are archaeological sites where the glimpse of the Gracco Indus Civilistion can be seen.

Taxila is still another place where glimpses of the Takkas, the Scythians, the Kushans, the Greeks, etc. can be seen. In N.W.F.P. there are sites of the Buddhist period. The glories of Sindh Dynasties can be seen at Thatta. Moghul monuments can be seen in Lahore. There are lakes like Manchar lake in Sindh and Saiful Maluk lake in Hazara which are places of attraction for tourists. The cities of Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Islamabad, Jhelum, Sialkot, Lyallpur, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Quetta and Karachi have many attractions for tourists.

Intercontinental Hotels at Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi and the new Lahore "Hilton" speak of the importance of Pakistan on the world tourist maps.

Television was started in Pakistan twelve year ago with a pilot Television Station at Lahore. After that, television service has expanded and now there are television station at Peshawar, Rawalpindi/Islamabad, Lahore, Quetta and Karachi. Booster Stations have also been set up at Murree, Sakasar, Sheikhupura, Multan, Dadu and Thana Bho9la Khan to extend the coverage. Three more television boosters at Shujabad. Shikarpur and Sahiwal are expected to be commissioned shortly.

Indian television programmes are popular in Pakistan and Pakistani programmes on Indian screens within the range.

It is established that on the average about 100 films are produced every year in Pakistan. Out of these 60% are Urdu films, 20% Punjabi and 20% others regional languages. The average length of a Pakistani film is 12,000 feet and it takes about a year in its completion. The main centres of film production are Lahore and Karachi. For the development of the Film industry in Pakistan the National Film Development Corporation has been set up which imports film for exhibition in the country. This Corporation imports raw material and distributes it for the production of films. Before an exhibition each film is censored by the Central Board of Film Censors which is located at Rawalpindi. This Board has regional offices at Lahore and Karachi.

Pakistani films do not bar kissing on the screen.

Satellite Station has been set up at Deh Mandro about 35 miles north of Karachi on March 25, 1974, the station works through the India Ocean Satellite located in Space at a distance of 22,300 miles from the earth. Pakistan has now direct telecom contact with a vast region stretching from Britain in the West to Japan in east via the Indian Ocean Satellite Intellite IV. Contacts with others regions can be obtained by using satellite hops, and it is possible for the telex subscribers in Pakistan to dial direct to several countries.

Communications with India however continue to be difficult. At the time sending telegram between the two between the two countries take nine days and letters more than a fortnight.

In N.W.F.P., the Indus River is the main river which rises at Kailash in the Himalayas 17,000ft. It enters Pakistan near Chilas. It spreads into a Lake at Kalasbagh and revives the water of all the Punjab Rivers at Mithankot. At Thatta, it takes the shape of a delta where it splits up into a number of channels, which all flow into the Arabian Sea.

The Indus has also numerous tributaries which, it receives, from the west; (1) River Kabul flows from Afghanistan and joins the Indus at Attock. (2) River Swat rises from the Swat Kohistan hills and joins the river Kabul near Peshawar, (3) River Chitral rises

from the hills of Hindukush and joins the river Kabul near Peshawar. (4) River Panjkora is a tributary of river Swat. (5) River Bara rises from Tirah hills and flows into the river Kabul. (6) River Kurram rises from the Koh-e-Sufaid and flows into the Indus. (7) River Comal rises from Afghanistan and flows into the Indus, (8) River Zhob rise from Baluchistan and flows into the Indus.

On the East, in Punjab the main rivers are the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi and the Sutlej. (1) River Jhelum rises from Kashmir and joins Chenab at Trimmu. (2) River Chenab rises from Kashmir and flows through the districts of Sialkot, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Sargodha, Jhang and Muzaffargarh. (3) River Ravi rises from India and flows through the districts of Lahore Sialkot and Beas enter Pakistan near Kasur and meet the river Jhelum. Chenab and Ravi at Panjna. Then all the waters of all the five rivers join the Indus at Mithankot in South Punjab.

The rivers in Baluchistan are little more than local torrents and their flow is not perennial. (1) The River Bolan rises near Kolpur but it spreads at Abi Gum and runs underground. It again appears on the surface at Bibi Nani and is joined by the Sarawan river. (2) The Nari flows through the districts of Kachhi and Sibi and joins the river Bostan. (3) The Pishin Lora rises from the mountains of toba Kahar and flows through the districts of Sarawan and Quetta. (4) The Mula drains the districts of Jhalwan and Kachhi (5) The Hingol is the largest river in Baluchistan which is 358 miles long and falls into the Arabian Sea. (6) The Bakshan rises from the Mekran range and flows into Arabian Sea. (7) The Dasht rising from the hills of Mekran flows into the Arabian Sea.

(1) Hub is the main perennial stream in Sindh which rises from Pab range and flows into the Arabian Sea. (2) The Baran rises from the Kirthar range and flows into the Indus. (3) The Malir (a seasonal stream) flows into the Gizri Creek near Karachi. (4) The Lyari drains the Karachi district and flows into the Arabian Sea at Kashmiri. (5) The Aral flows from the lake of Manchar and joins the Indus.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **PAKISTAN TODAY**

Politically, Pakistan is about 30 years old. Historically, it is an ancient land. Some 5,000 years ago, the Indus valley in Pakistan was the site of an advanced civilization. Its metropolitan cities of Moenjo Daro and Harappa had trading contracts with the Mediterranean countries of Africa, Asia and Europe. About 1,500 B.C. Alexander the Great led his army through this area. From the Hellenistic influence of Greek invasion developed the Graeco-Buddhist Gandhara civilization, centred around Taxila, some 20 miles from Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan.

The Arab invasion of Sindh in 712 A.D. heralded the advent of Islam and made this region the western outpost of a burgeoning Muslim empire with its cultural and political capital in Damascus. Some three centuries later, the northern regions of the country came under the sway of Muslims, descending in waves from the Central Asian steppes. They advanced east and south and ruled over the vast Indo-Pakistan subcontinent for about 1000 years. They left behind a rich cultural heritage and a highly developed system of civil and revenue administration which reached its zenith under the Mughal empire, founded in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The decline of the Mughal Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century led to the establishment of British rule in the subcontinent after the war of Independence in 1857 A.D. Its failure marked the total decline of the Muslim influence. For nearly 50 years, Muslims as a community retired into their shell.

It was not until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that the Muslim resurgence began. In 1906, the All-India Muslim League (AIML) was founded in Dacca to safeguard the political rights and interest of the Indian Muslims, the increasing communal tension and riots between Hindus and Muslims in the subcontinent ended the hope of every political solution and unity between these two groups. In his Presidential address at the AIML session in 1930, Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, the poet-philosopher, proposed the formation of a consolidated new Indian Muslim state comprising the four provinces of the present Pakistan. After 10 years, the political goal of 'Indian' Muslim was finally spelt out on March 23, 1940, with the adoption of the Pakistan Resolution which demanded that the northeastern and northwestern parts of the sub-continent, where Muslims were in a majority be constituted into independent homelands for them. Under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan emerged as an independent State on August 14, 1947, in two great wings East and West Pakistan.

The death of the Quaid-i-Azam, founder of Pakistan, in September 1948 and that of the first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, in October 1951, created voids which the new nation found difficult to fill. The result was long political chaos which necessitated Army Chief Ayub Khan to come into power in October 1958, when he assumed the office of

President. He governed the country, on the whole with ability, integrity and success till March 1969. He had to leave the office due to mass agitation against the Martial law regime which held sway for 11 odd years. It then burst into an open movement which was spearheaded by Chairman Bhutto and his People's Party in West Pakistan and Mujibur Rehman in East Pakistan. As a result, at the instance of Marshall Grecho then on a visit to Pakistan, Ayub Khan Chief, Yahya Khan, instead of the Speaker of the Pakistan National Assembly as laid down in the 1962 constitution. Yahya Khan held the office of President from March 1969 to Dec, 1971, when Pakistan lost its Eastern wing to Mujibur Rehman and the Indian Army Mujibur Rehman had overall majority in the National Assembly, but was denied power, which ultimately led to the establishment of an independent Bangladesh.

During Yahya Khan's rule general elections were held in the country in December 1970. In East Pakistan, the Awami League of Mr. Mujibur Rehman and in West Pakistan, the Pakistan Peoples's Party of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto won a landside victory but neither party had any representation in the other wing. The unfortunate events of 1971 were the civil war which broke out in East Pakistan (now Bangla Desh) and conflict with India, which resulted in the dismemberment of Pakistan.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was as leader of the Pakistan Peoples Party was called upon to assume the office of President in December 1971, became the Prime Minister when the first democratic Constitution of Pakistan came into effect in August 1973. For the first time, the country has a parliamentary system of government to be elected by the people on the basis of adult franchise.

## CHAPTER IV

### PAKISTAN TODAY

On March 25, 1969 Field Marshal Ayub Khan resigned and handed over power to General Yahya Khan who imposed Martial Law on the country. He undid the one unit of West Pakistan and agreed to give representation to both wings on a population basis through adult franchise. General Yahya Khan separately announced that he intended to revert to a democratic system of Government.

Yahya Khan issued a legal framework order on March 30, 1972. The order provided for 313 members of National Assembly in which East Pakistan was allotted 169 seats, Punjab 85 seats, Sindh 28 seats, N.W.F.P. 19 seats and Baluchistan 5 seats and Centrally Administered Tribal Areas 7 seats. The order also provided for five provincial Assemblies, East Pakistan 310 members, Punjab 186, Sindh 62, N.W.F.P. 42, and Baluchistan 21. Separate seats for women were reserved in each Assembly.

**FIVE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.** The order embodied five Fundamental Principles for the guidance of the constitution makers plus two additional directions in respect of the preamble of the constitution and directive principles of state policy. The order required the preamble to affirm that:

- (1) Muslims should be enabled to order their lives in accordance with the teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah, and
- (2) Minorities should be enabled to profess and practice their religions freely and enjoy all rights and protection due to them as citizens of Pakistan.
- (3)

The order also required the future constitution to set out how the state should be guided in the matters of life; (a) promoting an Islamic way of life; (b) observance of Islamic moral standards; (c) facilities for teaching of the holy Quran and Islam to Muslims; and (d) enjoying requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah.

Several political parties emerged – the most important being the Awami League in East Pakistan and PPP in West Pakistan.

Elections were held in December, 1970. The result of the elections to the National Assembly was as follows:

1. Awami League (Mujib-ur-Rehman)	137
2. Jamiat (Hazarvi)	6
3. Jamiat-ul-Islam	4
4. N.A.P. (Wali Khan)	3
5. P.D.P.	1
6. P.M.L. (Convention)	2

7. P.M.L. (Council)	7
8. P.M.L. (Qaiyum)	9
9. P.P.P. (Bhutto)	81
10. Markazi Jamiat Ulma-i-Pakistan	31
11. Independents	15
Total result declared 266 seats.	

It will always be a matter of conjecture why Mujib-ur-Rehman in the face of the above showing did not choose to become Prime Minister of Pakistan and preferred to break it up. He eventually of paid high price, but that does not answer the question.

When the election was over two main parties emerged Awami League and Pakistan Peoples Party. The chief of Awami League Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman who was in majority presented his own constitution which was not in accordance with the Legal frame work order. A lot of discussions and meetings took place to finalise the matter but Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman did not budge an inch from his own ideology and started civil disobedience in East Pakistan. With the help of India East Pakistan separated from West Pakistan and became Bangla Desh in December 1971.

Yahya Khan relinquished his charge on December 20, 1971 and handed over power to Mr. Z. A. Bhutto as the President of Pakistan.

December 20, 1971, President Bhutto in his first address to the nation said he had every intention to restore democracy, to give a constitution to the people of Pakistan, and rule of law to the people.

January 3, 1972, NAP President Wali Khan demanded lifting of Martial Law at a Nowshera meeting.

February 11, 1972. In Lahore, Wali Khan threatened mass movement if democracy was not restored.

February 12, 1972. President Bhutto promised lifting of Martial Law long before the end of the year.

March 6, 1972. PPP and NAP-JUI signed trilateral agreement to withdraw Martial Law by August 14 and to frame interim constitution by April 17.

April 3, 1972. NAP-JUI coalition refused to vote for temporary continuance of Martial Law under the Trilateral agreement.

April 8, 1972. Talks between the President and NAP-JUI coalition in Peshawar proved fruitless, trilateral agreement annulled, the President announced a new six-point formula.

April 8, 1972. NAP-JUI rejected further talks as the basis of the new six point formula and emphasized the continued validity of the trilateral agreement.

April 10, 1972. President Bhutto discussed the outline of an interim constitution with parliamentary leaders.

April 12, 1972. Draft interim constitution announced.

April 14, 1972. The President offered on the floor of National Assembly to lift Martial Law on April 21, in case interim constitution passed by April 17, N.A. reposed unanimous confidence in Bhutto.

April 17, 1972. Interim constitution passed and constitution Committee constituted.

April 21, 1972. Martial Law withdrawn. Interim constitution came into force.

August 31, 1972. President said in Karachi that permanent constitution envisaged parliamentary form of government.

September 22, 1972. 75 MNAs gave notice for consembly session.

September 24, 1972. Sardar Shaukat hayat's amendment bill lost by 83 to 21 voted in the consembly.

October 5, 1972. Resignation of Law Minister and Constitution Committee Chairman, Mahmud Ali Kasuri, accepted.

October 20, 1972. Accord between PPP and the leaders of all parliamentary parties reached on the federal parliamentary character of the permanent constitution and the question of maximum provincial autonomy.

November 18, 1972. NAP General Council accepted constitutional accord with some reservations.

November 28, 1972. Mr. Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo denied in Karachi that NAP General Council accepted constitutional accord with guarded reservations.

December 5, 1972. Bizenjo resigned from the constitution Committee.

December 29, 1972. The Law Minister Hafeez Pirzada said signatories could not wriggle out of Constitutional Accord.

December 31, 1972. Draft constitution and the report of the Constitution Committee presented to the National Assembly.

January 3, 1973. President blamed Opposition at a Karachi public meeting for backing out of constitutional accord;

January 5, 1973. Maufi Mahmud said Opposition has boycotted National Assembly as a legislature and not an consembly; Radio-TV invited Opposition leader to explain their viewpoint.

January 12, 1973. Supreme Court declared National Assembly competent to frame constitution.

January 18, 1973. Law Minister Pirzada ruled out fresh elections.

January 24, 1973. Sardar Shaukat Hayat said on behalf of Opposition that Constitutional Accord.

January 28, 1973. President Bhutto held talks with NAP leaders on constitutional problems; the President said country faces moral, not a constitutional crisis.

February 2, 1973. Constitution Bill moved. Opposition ended boycott.

February 17, 1973. Constitutional debate opened; Pirzada offered to accept reasonable amendments.

February 26, 1973. Finance Minister Dr. Mubashir said no confidence clause would be amended if Opposition helped abolish private property.

March 6, 1973. First reading of the Constitution Bill completed.

March 7, 1973. Sadar Shaukat Hayat proposed a new conference on Constitutional Accord.

March 16, 1973. UDE presented its amendments to the President.

March 19, 1973. The UDF (United Democratic Front) threatened boycott if demands not met within a week.

March 20, 1973. The President urged on Opposition to end boycott threats; said genuine proposal would be accepted; National Assembly deferred consideration of disputed articles; one fourth of Constitution passed.

March 24, 1973. UDF boycott constitution making until their 10-points charter of demands accepted.

March 25, 1973. Pirzada said in the House that controversial clauses would be kept pending until Opposition returns.

March 26, 1973, The President offered talks with Opposition; boycott ended; Nine Opposition MNAs continued to attend the session.

March 29, 1973. President Bhutto invited boycotting leaders for talks on April 2 in a nation-wide broadcast. Constituent Assembly completed clause by clause consideration of all but 34 controversial articles and went into a four day recess.

April 4, 1973 President offered more concessions to the Opposition in his aide-memoire if they end boycott by April 7. 1973.

April 6, 1973. UDF rejected President Bhutto's concessions and decided to go ahead with the boycott.

April 8, 1973. Second reading of the Constitution Bill completed.

April 9, 1973. Pirzada-Ghafoor talks began in a dramatic last minute bid to end constitutional deadlock.

April 10, 1973. The Constitution was passed by consensus as the Opposition returned to the Constituent Assembly after its viewpoint had been accommodated by adjustments in seven articles.

April 12, 1973. The President Z. A. Bhutto authenticated the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Fulfilling his pledge to give a democratic constitution to the nation.

Under the new constitution Mr. Z. A. Bhutto took over as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, and Ch. Fazal Elahi took over as the President of Pakistan both on August 14, 1973.

Inspire of much misgivings abroad and particularly in India the Bhutto administration through 1975 seemed well settled in the saddle.

However the NAP was declared an unlawful association owing to its alleged secessionist tendencies and its leaders and its leaders including Wali Khan were jailed in February 1975 and by an order of the President in December 1975 the seats in the legislature declared vacant following an adverse Supreme Court verdict.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **PAKISTAN TODAY**

April 10, 1973, will go down as a red letter day in the constitutional history of Pakistan. On this memorable day the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, elected on the basis of adult franchise, completed the thorny and tiring task of framing a constitution for Pakistan. Later on April 12, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in a befitting ceremony authenticated this constitution. People of Pakistan were generally satisfied with the new constitution. Which by and large was Islamic, Democratic and Federal in character? A study of this constitution showed that it has the following salient features, and draws much inspiration from the Indian Constitution of 1949, incorporating many of its features including the chapter on Fundamental rights.

Unlike the previous Pakistan constitutions of 1956 and 1962 the new constitution of 1973 reflect generally the wishes and aspirations of the people of Pakistan; all the Political Parties having representation in the National Assembly agreed to its enactment. Thus the new constitution has the consensus and has been termed with some justification as “People” constitutions”.

Like previous Pakistani constitutions, the present constitution is also a long written document. It has 280 articles and 6 schedules and is divided into 12 chapters. All of these deal with one aspect or the other such as Fundamental Rights, Principles of Policy, Federal and Provincial Governments. The lengthy document covers almost all important aspects of national life. It has express provisions about democracy, economic freedom and Islamic Society.

The state has been named as the “Islamic Republic of Pakistan”. For a brief period after 1962 that the state was Called “Republic of Pakistan” mainly to accommodate the sentiments of a large Hindu population of East Pakistan.

Unlike the 1962 constitution, Pakistan’s new constitution is parliamentary in character. Article 90 of the constitution says the Executive Authority shall be exercised in the name of President by Federal government consisting of the prime Minister and Federal Minister who are elected from among the members of Parliament and are collectively responsible to the National Assembly. Their seats dependent upon majority support. The President is the nominal head of the state and enjoys certain limited power to grant pardons, reprieves etc., and is the supreme commander of Pakistan’s land sea and air forces.

Under the constitution a bicameral central legislature has been adopted. This is distinct departure from previous political systems of 1956 and 1962 under which the National Assembly consisted of one chamber only and the principles of party between

East and West Pakistan was maintained in it. Leaving aside previous practices, the national parliament now consists of two chambers. viz., Lower house called the National Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise and seats distributed between the provinces on the basis of population. An Upper House called the senate consists of 63 members giving equal representation to the provinces in the senate. Thus by creating a second chamber a long felt need seems to have been full led. Now the provinces may feel that they have equal representation in the upper chamber and have been freed from the domination of thickly populated provinces.

The present constitution is federal in character. The federation of Pakistan consists of Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, N.W.F.P., Tribal areas and such states as may be included in Pakistan either by law admit into Federation new states or areas on such terms and conditions as it thinks fit. In this federal system powers of the center have clearly been defined and residuary powers vest in the provinces.

Though the new constitution has other several interesting features, its most important aspect relates to the solution of Center-Provinces Relation-which had been the major cause of inter –provincial jealousies and conflicts and which ultimately resulted in the separation of east Pakistan. Under the new constitution the powers have been defined that not only the provinces get the maximum autonomy but the center has also been made effective enough to safeguard the wider national interest. The constitution creates a viable quality in which center and provincial governments are co-ordinated as required by the federal principles. There are only two lists, federal and concurrent. The residuary power vests in the Provincial Governments. Unlike previous constitution the new constitution does not contain any provincial lists. In this regard it follows the federal principles embodied in the U.S. and Australian constitutions and is in some respects, an improvement on the Indian constitution. The Pakistan Federal List consists of two parts. Part I Contains 59 subjects while part II has 7 entries. The subjects in the Federal Lists include defence foreign affairs, currency, communications, foreign trade and aid, ports and airports, banking, insurance, and nuclear energy, etc. This list contains matters which are generally given to the center in a federal set up and considered essential to its survival.

The constitution is Islamic in character and its Islamic provisions are much more precise and more comprehensive than those of previous constitutions adopted in Pakistan. A study of the Islamic provisions in the new constitution show that a sincere attempt has been made by the framers of the constitution to establish the kind of Islamic democracy as possibly envisaged by the Quaid-e-Azam and to ensure that the affairs of state are conducted in accordance with the essentials of Islam, e.g., objectives resolution passed by the first constituent assembly on March 12, 1949 has been adopted as a preamble to the constitution with a slight modification. The constitution boldly declares Islam to be the State Religion of Pakistan. No previous constitution not even the 1956 constitution certified as Islamic had made this declaration. In fact the constitutions of very few countries declare Islam to be the State Religion. Furthermore it is enacted that:

“The State will adopt concrete measures to propagate and establish Islamic Ways of Life. The State shall endeavour to make the teachings of the Holy Quran and Islamiyat compulsory and will encourage and facilitate the learning to the Arabic Language and to secure correct and exact printing and publish to the Holy Quran.”

Both the President and the Prime Ministers are required by the new constitution to be Muslim and to declare that they are Muslims and believe not only in the unity of Allah but also in His Books, in the Quran being the Last of His Books, in the Prophet Muhammad being the last of the Prophets, in the Day of judgment, etc. The 1956 constitution required only the President to be Muslim and Prime Minister could belong to any religion.

Article 227 provides that all existing laws shall be brought in conformity with the injunction of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnat and “no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to such injunction.” Article 228 says that a Council of Islamic Ideology will be constituted.

Council of Common Interest, --- A novel feature of the new constitution is the Council of Common Interests which formulate and regulate policies in relation to matters in part II of the Federal List. This council consists of equal number of representatives from the Provinces and the Federal Government. This council will fulfill the long-left need to create machinery to co-ordinate the efforts of the provinces for managing projects of common interest. This council also resolves disputes that may arise between the federal and provincial Governments.

The inclusion of fundamental rights in a constitution is considered to be the mark of a modern democracy. The Pakistan constitution does not lag behind in this quality and part II of the introductory portion enumerates the fundamental rights guaranteed fundamental rights guaranteed by the constitution to citizens of Pakistan. Some of the fundamental rights guaranteed are security of life, equality of citizens, safeguards against arrest, detention, retrospective and double punishment; freedom of speech, religion, movement, assembly, trade, business and profession; inviolability of the dignity of man, taxation for any property, preservation of language, script and culture etc.

Under the constitution, the principles of policy to be followed by the state have been detailed in chapter 2. These relate to submission of annual Reports by the president to parliament and by each Government to the Provincial Assembly, Ways of Life, Promotion of Local Government institutions, full participation of women in national life, the Protection of Family, Protection of Minorities, Promotion of Social Justice and the general well-being of the people.

The Pakistan constitution has also incorporated a number of socio-economic provisions to bring about radical changes in the socio-economic structure to end exploitation and to make Pakistan strong. To promote socio economic well-being of the

people the constitution provides that the state shall endeavour to secure it by preventing concentration of wealth and the means of producing and distributing it in few hands. The state is to provide for all citizens the facility for work and adequate livelihood. (Note: There is hardly any unemployment problem in Pakistan). It shall also try to provide basic necessities of life to all citizens irrespective of sex, caste, creed or race, as are permanently unable to earn their livelihood on account of infirmity or unemployments. The constitution also empowers the Parliament to provide a ceiling on property and to make laws for the confiscation of property acquired by unfair means.

Independence of the judiciary is by and large an essential part of the democratic system. The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan spells guarantees of independence to the judiciary and also fixes a time limit of three years for the separation of the judiciary from the executive. The terms and conditions of services of the Judges have been so framed as to ensure complete independence of Judges and a procedure has been worked out to ensure this independence.

The constitution also provides for setting up of constitutional institutions such as:

1. National and Economic Council to advise Government in the formulation of developments plans.
2. The National Finance Corporation for making recommendations for the distribution of a number of taxes between the Federation and the Provinces.
3. The Council of Islamic Ideology to make recommendations:
  - (a) to bring the existing laws into conformity with the injunctions of Islam;
  - (b) to suggest ways and means of enabling and encouraging the Muslims of Pakistan to order their lives individually and collectively in accordance with the Principles of Islam; and
  - (c) to advise the Government whether a proposed law is or is not repugnant to the teachings of Islamic.

### **Elections.**

To keep it in part with the doctrine of popular sovereignty, a system of universal, direct and adult franchise has been adopted under the new constitution. A citizen of Pakistan who is not less than 18 years of age is entitled to vote and after attaining the prescribed age limit can contest the elections to the Assemblies. However, elections to the Upper House are indirect and members of Provincial Assemblies will elect the senators on the basis of proportional representation.

The President of Pakistan is the Head of the State and represents the Unity of the Republic. A person shall be qualified for election as President if:

1. He is a Muslim.
2. Not less than 45 years of age.
3. Is qualified to be elected as member of National Assembly.

The President has the power to grant pardons, reprieves and respite and to remit, suspend or commute any sentence passed by any court, tribunal or any other authority.

The Prime Minister must keep the President informed on matters of internal and foreign policies and on legislative proposals which the Federal Government intends to bring before the Parliament. The President has the Power to summon, prorogue and dissolve parliament but in the matter of dissolution of parliament, the President will act only on the advice of the Prime Minister which shall be binding on him.

The President may address either house or both houses assembled together and may for that purpose require the attendance of the members.

The President may dissolve the National Assembly if so advised by the Prime Minister and the National Assembly unless sooner dissolved stands dissolved at the expiration of 48 hours after the Prime Minister has so advised the President.

**Power to Promulgate Ordinances.** The President may except when the National Assembly is in session, if satisfied that circumstances exist which render it necessary to take immediate action, make and promulgate an ordinance as the circumstances may require. Such ordinances have the same force and effect as an act of Parliament for a period of four months. Every such ordinance shall be laid before the National Assembly if it relates to Part I of the Federal Legislative List and shall stand repealed at the expiration of 4 month and if it relates to Part II of the Federal Legislative List before e both the Houses and shall stand repealed at expiration of 4 months from its promulgation. The President can withdraw at any time such ordinance and such ordinances if laid before the National Assembly shall be deemed to be a bill introduced in the National Assembly.

Article 90 lays down that the executive authority of the Federation is exercised in the name of the President by the Federal Government consisting of the Prime Minister and the Federal Ministers which acts through the Prime Minister who is the Chief Executive of the Federation. The Prime Minister and the Federal Ministers are collectively responsible to the National Assembly.

The Prime Minister must be a Muslim and member of the National Assembly and having the support of the majority of the members. A Qaidiani cannot, therefore, be a Prime Minister of Pakistan, as he is declared to be a non-Muslim.

The Prime Minister holds office until his successor enters upon the office of the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister can resign from his office by writing under his own signature addressed to the President. Similarly a Federal Minister can resign by writing under his own signature addressed to Prime Minister. A Federal Minister can be removed by the Prime Minister.

When the Prime Minister is unable to perform his by reason of his absence from Pakistan or any other reason, the most senior Federal Minister shall perform the functions of the Prime Minister till he returns to his office.

### **Parliament**

Pakistan's Parliament consists of two houses Known as the National Assembly and the Senate.

The National Assembly. The National Assembly consists of two hundred members elected by direct and free vote in accordance with law and a person shall be entitled to vote if:

- i. He is a citizen of Pakistan.
- ii. Not less than 18 years of age.
- iii. His name appears on the electoral list.
- iv. Is not declared by a competent Court to be of unsound mind.

The seats in the National Assembly are allocated to each province, the Federally Administrated Tribal Areas and the Federal Capital on the basis of population in accordance with the last proceeding census officially published.

Qualifications. A person shall be qualified to be elected as member of the National Assembly if:

1. He is a citizen of Pakistan.
2. Not less than 25 years of age.
3. Is enrolled as a voter in any electoral roll for election to that Assembly.
4. Possesses such other qualifications as may be prescribed by the relevant act of Parliament.

The National Assembly is elected for a term of 5 years; this term commences from the day of its first meeting and stands dissolved at the expiration of its terms unless sooner dissolved by the President on the Prime Minister.

After a general election the National Assembly shall at its first meeting elect from its members a Speaker and a Deputy Speaker who will preside over its meetings.

There must be at least two sessions of the National Assembly every years and not more than 120 days shall intervene between the last sitting of the Assembly in one session and the date appointed for its first sitting in the next session. Provided that the National Assembly must meet for 120 working days in each year.

The Upper House of Parliament is known as the Senate. It consists of 63 members of each Provincial Assembly, 5 are elected by the members form Federally Administered Tribal Areas in the National Assembly and 2 are to be chosen from the Federal Capital in such a manner as the President may by order prescribe. Election to fill seats in the Senate allocated to each province shall be held in accordance with the system able vote.

The Senate is elected for a period of a 4 years, half of them retiring every two yeas except in case of members elected by the members from the Federally Administered Tribal area, of whom three shall retire after the expiration of first two years and two shall retire after the expiry of next two years. If a person is elected to fill a casual vacancy, his term of office is the unexpired term of the member whose vacancy be has filled.

Members of Parliament have freedom of speech in Parliament and no member is liable to any proceedings in any vote given by him in Parliament. Secondly no person shall be so liable in respect of the publication by or under the authority of parliament of any report, paper, votes or proceedings. Thirdly in other respects the powers, immunities and privileges are such as may from time to time be defined by law and until so defined, are such as were immediately before the commencement of the Constitution.

### **Supreme Court and High Court.**

There is the Supreme Court of Pakistan, a High Court for each province and such other courts as may be established by law. These Courts have jurisdictions conferred on it by the constitution. The Judiciary has been separated progressively from the Executive with in the 3 years from the commencing day.

The Supreme Court of Pakistan is the highest Judicial Tribunal in Pakistan an consists of a Chief Justice and as many other judges as may be determined by the Act of Parliament or until so determined as may be fixed by the President. The other judges may be appointed by the President after consulting the Chief Justice.

***Qualifications.*** To be a Judge of the Supreme Court, it is necessary to be:

- (a) A citizen of Pakistan.
- (b) To have been a judge of any High Court for at least 5 years or to have practiced law in a High Court for at least 15 years.
- (c)

A Judge of the Supreme Court holds office until the age of 65 years. The Court has four kinds of jurisdictions.

**1. Original jurisdiction.** The Supreme Court has the original jurisdiction in any dispute between two or more Governments.

**2. Appellate Jurisdiction.** The Supreme Court can hear appeals from the High Court, if:

- (a) A High Court certifies that the case involves the interpretation of the Constitution.
- (b) A High Court has given a sentence of death or of life imprisonments.
- (c) A High Court has given punishment for contempt of Court.
- (d) All other cases in which the Supreme Court grants leave to appeal.

**3. Advisory Jurisdiction.** If at any time the President of Pakistan feels that it is desirable to obtain the opinion of the Supreme Court on any question of law, he may refer the question to the Court. In this case the Court after considering the question, reports its opinion to the President.

Recently the President referred the matter of the N. A. Party and several of its leaders including Khan Wali Khan to the Supreme Court. By a unanimous judgment the Court answered the reference affirmatively in favour of the government.

The Supreme Court enjoys the following privileges:

- (1) Decisions of the Supreme Court are binding on all other court of Pakistan.
- (2) All Executive and Judicial Authorities throughout Pakistan have to act in aid of the Supreme Court.
- (3) The Supreme Court can make rules regulating the practice and procedure of the Court.

Seat of the Supreme Court. Islamabad is the permanent seat of the Supreme Court.

Each province has one High Court consisting of a Chief Justice and as many other judges as the act of Parliament or the President may fix. Article 192, however, provide that any two provinces may, with the consent of the President, agree for a common High Court and the President may establish a common High Court accordingly. The High Court for Sindh and Baluchistan.

A Judge of a High Court is appointed by the President after consultation ---

- a) With the Chief Justice of Pakistan.
- b) With the concerned Governor.
- c) With the Chief Justice of the High Court (except for the Chief Justice Himself).

To be a judge of a High Court. It is necessary that he

- (a) Is a citizen of Pakistan.
- (b) Is not less than forty years of age.
- (c) Is an advocate of 10 years standing.

Is a civil servant of Pakistan with at least 10 years service including 3 years spent as a district judge.

(d) Has held a Judicial office for at least at 10 years. These qualifications are almost the same as were fixed for a judge of a High Court under the 1962 Constitution.

### **Governors**

There is a Governor for each province who is appointed by the President of Pakistan. A person shall not be appointed Governor unless he is qualified to be elected as a member of National Assembly and is not less than 35 years of age. A Governor holds office during the pleasure of the President. However, he can resign by writing under his hand addressed to the President.

### **Provincial Assemblies**

Each province has a Provincial Assembly consisting of one chamber only. The assembly is elected on the basis of direct adult franchise. The number of seats in different assemblies are as under:

Baluchistan	40 plus 1 reserved for Christians
N.W.F.P.	80 plus 1 reserved for Christians
Punjab	240 plus 3 reserved for Christians
Sindh	100 plus 3 reserved for Christians

Unless sooner dissolved, the Provincial Assembly continues for a term of 3 years. The Speaker and Deputy Speaker the officers of the Assembly. Both are elected at the first meeting of the Assembly after a general election.

Provincial Assemblies have the power to make laws on all matters not granted to the Centre.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **ISLAMIC PROVISIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION**

An interesting feature of the newly adopted Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is that it contains more Islamic provision as compared to the previous four constitutions and these are well spelt out.

1. The most significant aspect of these provisions is that it is clearly incorporated in the new constitution that the President and the Prime Minister of the State shall be Muslims of right faith to which they shall commit themselves in their oaths before entering upon their offices.

Article 41(2) states that “A person shall not be qualified for election as President unless he is a Muslim”.....Article 91(2) provides that “After the election of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker, the National assembly shall to the exclusion of any other business, proceed to elect without debate one of its Muslims members to be the Prime Minister”.

The details of the right faith are spelled out in the text of the Oaths that the President and the Prime Minister have to make. The relevant text is as follows:

“I.....do solemnly swear that I am a Muslim and believe in the in the unity and oneness of Almighty Allah, the Holy Quran being the last of them, the Prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him) as the last of the Prophets and that there can be no Prophet after him, the Day of Judgment, and all the requirements and teaching of the Holy Quran and the Sunnah”.

Quadianis are thus excluded as Muslims. In Pakistan as in Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan they are non-Muslim citizens.

These stipulations, without any ambiguity in principle or in detail, make it impossible for a non-Muslim to become the President or the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Consequently, this provision has safeguarded the future of Pakistan as a Islamic State.

2. The present Constitution has come closer in answering the demand of the Muslim majority of Pakistan to protect the Prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him) as last of the Prophets. The people of Pakistan had been asking for this safeguard in the Constitution for 25 years. The present constitution spells out very clearly in the texts of the Oaths of the President and the Prime Minister that “There can be no Prophet after Muhammad (peace be upon him)”. This sentence in the proclamation of the faith has eliminated any possibility of a person to be elected as head of the State who does not believe in Muhammad (peace be upon him) to be the last of the Prophets.

3. Article 227 provides that “All existing laws shall be brought in conformity with the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah ..... and no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to such injunctions” such matters, as are disputed among Muslim scholars shall be referred to a Council of Ulema, which is provided for in Article 228, called the Islamic Council. This device considerably facilitates the process of Islamic law making.
4. The Constitution specifically provides in its Article 312, clause (2) a safeguard against printing mistakes in the text of the Holy Quran. The clause reads as follows:  
“The State shall endeavour, as respects the Muslims of Pakistan, -- (a) to make the teaching of the Holy Quran and Islamiyat compulsory, to encourage and facilitate the learning of Arabic language and to secure correct printing and publishing of the Holy Quran”.
5. whereas the previous Constitutions legally permitted a Muslim to change his religion, the present Constitution has banned apostasy.
6. Another provision of the present Constitution is that the difficult problems of Provincial Autonomy have been (unanimously) solved with the consultations and consensus of all the political parties at the parliamentary level.
7. The Constitution provides a safeguard for the rights of smaller provinces of establishing a bicameral legislature at the Centre.
8. The present Constitution purports to save the country from unconstitutional purports to save the country from unconstitutional and undemocratic overthrow of Governments by declaring any attempt by a dictator to abolish the Constitution as high treason.

The Constitution proclaims Islam to be the State religion. By incorporating this demand within the Constitution, the ideological boundaries of the country have been clearly defined and thus the administrative structure of the State, i.e. the government has been entrusted with the responsibility of defending these boundaries.

## **CHAPTER VII**

### **FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN**

Said the Quaid-i-Azam in the very first year of Pakistan:

“Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair-play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the national of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed people of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter”.

What was said in 1948, appears to be still true today.

To understand the foreign policy of Pakistan and its gradual evolution, it is necessary to examine its national interests and motivating forces, geographically and politically its situation is unique and difficult in many respects. Pakistan is situated in close proximity to four great powers, Iran, China, India and the USSR. With the fifth great power i.e. the United States, the history of the last two decades has brought it in close and generous contact. Pakistan finds itself in the pathway of the conflicting interests and policies of four powerful countries of the world. Its relations with the sixth – Japan – appears more than cordial.

Politically, the various circumstances of Pakistan which led to its independence and the conflicts and controversies which preceded it gave rise to the basic national problem, viz., that of defending, maintaining and consolidating the sovereignty, independence and integrity of the new State.

It was the search for security which caused Pakistan in the early years to turn to the West. Its adherence to CENTO and SEATO was members to safeguard one another's security and independence. From the very first, Pakistan urged in both these alliances that the alleged threat to Pakistan from India should be taken into account and provided against. But during the 1965 and 1971 wars with India, other members of the alliance did not help Pakistan. That is why Pakistan left SEATO and the British Commonwealth. Similarly, in the bilateral agreement with the United States, Pakistan made it clear that the threat feared was the threat from India. In 1962 after India's war with China the United States started giving massive military aid to India without requiring it to undertake the responsibilities of a formal alliance. Pakistan found that its membership of Western alliances had isolated it from the mainstream of world politics and the Afro-Asian world, and had earned the displeasure and animosity, in varying degrees, of the Soviet Union and China. At the same time, it found that Pakistan's national interests and

security took a secondary place in the global policy considerations of its allies. The lesson Pakistan had to draw from these developments was that in a complex world where power had become multipolar, where the terrors of war had given place to a balance of terror and the cold war was leaning towards coexistence, a country in Pakistan's position could not protect its interests by becoming partisan in the conflicts of the appraisal of its politics led it to the realization that it must relate its involvement in the affairs of the Great Powers to the pursuit of its national interests.

Pakistan's relations with countries like the U.S.A., the U.K., Canada and Continental and Latin American countries has continued to be friendly and cordial. With France its bonds have been strengthened. It maintains friendly and very good neighbourly relations with China. It is a matter of local satisfaction that the development of bilateral relations with the USSR and the Socialist countries, based on respect for sovereignty, non-interference and mutual trust, have taken a concrete and positive direction. Pakistan can well say that this is a good example of building bridges between countries having different social systems and serve the cause of peace and understanding in the world.

With regard to three Super-Powers, US, Russia and China, the view is that Pakistan's own interest will be served not by exploiting their mutual difference but by establishment of a stable balance of power among the three. It is Pakistan's view that notwithstanding the Viet-Nam war, such a balance must come into existence if the world is to make progress towards the establishment of a stable and viable international order. Pakistan's leaders consider that by maintaining friendly relations with all countries, by keeping out of the quarrels of Great Powers and by refraining from exploiting one against the other they are contributing in a way to world peace.

This is to say that Pakistan's policy is based on a realistic pursuit of its own aims, interests and objectives. Diplomacy must be responsive to the national ethos and if nations are moved by considerations of national interest they must also be inspired by ideals and sentiments. Pakistan is a state founded on an ideological basis. The bonds of Islam which bind the Muslims of Pakistan transition which led to the creation of Pakistan has a wider application. Even before Independence, the Muslims of the sub-continent looked for inspiration, support and sympathy to the Muslim world and notably Turkey, Iran and the Arab countries. The Khilafat Movement was inspired by the feelings of universal Muslim solidarity. Kamal Ataturk and Shah Raza Shah Pahlavi were treated as great heroes. These feelings have grown stronger by the creation of Pakistan and have found their echo in the Muslim States. It seems entirely logical today to find Pakistan in increasingly closer association with Turkey and Iran, seeking to improve and strengthen relation with Afghanistan, and in natural sympathy with Indonesia, Malaysia and the Arab countries. They have the best of relations, with Iran and Turkey. They are both partners in Regional Cooperative Development. The bonds of historical friendship have so far stood the test of time and appear deeply rooted.

Pakistan has consistently supported the aspirations of the Arab peoples for freedom, progress and unity. It backed the peoples of Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Aden

in their struggle for freedom. It has upheld the just cause of the Palestinian Arabs and their demand for the restoration of their rights to their homelands. In South-East Asia, Pakistan has ties of a similar nature with the great Republic of Indonesia is reflected in the IPECC (Indonesia-Pakistan Economic Community).

Pakistan adheres to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It believe that if the member States would faithfully follow there principles, the tensions and conflicts which the world face today could be removed. It is in pursuance of this objective that Pakistan has often taken a position in the various U.N. forums against any moves which would undermine the Charter and thus endanger the peace and security of the world. In its view this organization cannot perform its essential task of maintaining world peace and furthering international co-operation if it does not include within its fold all the nations of the world. The arguments advanced to keep the doors of this organization looked against the People's Republic of China; never had any justification in logic or basis in law, and Pakistan was one of the earliest nations to realize the importance of friendship with China.

During the past few years, Pakistan has not only been active in political and security questions but also in matter dealing with economic development. Social affairs and human rights. This growing interest in the manifold activities of the United Nations has earned for Pakistan a position of respect and admiration. A tangible proof of Pakistan's responsible and dedicated role was given by its unanimous election to the Security Council in 1975. Pakistan has the unique distinction of securing the highest ever votes cast it favour of a candidate for election to the Security Council.

Pakistan supports the principle of nuclear non-proliferation. In 1966, Pakistan took an important initiative in proposing a conference of non-nuclear weapon States. The significance of the conference would be to enable the non-nuclear Powers to consider measures which could best ensure their security against nuclear attacks and open new avenues of co-operation among them in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. At the last General Assembly, Pakistan's proposal gained world-wide support including that of the two Super Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto assumed office as the first ever elected President of Pakistan on December 20, 1971, at a time when Pakistan stood dismembered and the whole nation was plugged in despair and grief, following military defeat, surrender of about 91,000 Armed Forces personnel in East Pakistan and occupation of more than 5,000 square miles of territory in West Pakistan by the Indian forces, rendering 1.2 million people homeless refugees in their own country. The new President laced the uphill task of picking up "pieces, very small pieces" of the wrecked ship of Pakistan. Since his assumption to power, first as President and now as Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has not only repaired the ship of the State but also determined the goal and set its course, by enunciating clear policies both at home and abroad.

### **Policy of Bilateralism**

Despite his pre-occupation at home to implement the promise of reforms, Mr. Bhutto has given first priority to streamlining Pakistan's external relations. In his first address to the nation as President, he emphasised the need to recast Pakistan's foreign policy. It was he who had initiated the policy of "bilateralism" as Foreign Minister in the middle of 1960s. Then, as President, he gave it a more concrete and clear shape so as to make it dynamic and independent. The cardinal principle of this policy is to have good relations with all countries on a bilateral basis. It is clearly tailored to serve the best interests of Pakistan. It reflects Pakistan's response to Asia's emerging realities, in particular, and the world situation in general.

Withdrawal from the Commonwealth and the recognition of East Germany were steps which reaffirmed Pakistan's own needs and compulsions and asserted as enunciated by Mr. Bhutto its own view of the world situation.

### **The Objectives**

In concrete terms, the goals of the new foreign policy may be summed up as follows:

- (1) To restore confidence of friendly countries in the future of Pakistan, and in the process, help rebuild the shattered morale of the people within the country;
- (2) To restore and maintain friendly relations with all the Big Powers in the national interest;
- (3) To eliminate the consequences of the war of 1971 and to seek an honourable understanding with India through negotiations, not a vanquished nation but on equal terms;
- (4) To promote friendship with and arrive at a settlement with the authorities in Bangladesh and help her to become an Islamic state;
- (5) To promote economic assistance from abroad which is vital not only for Pakistan's immediate needs but also for future development; and finally;
- (6) To refurbish the image of Pakistan badly tarnished, most notably in the Western world, due to the policies and actions of the previous martial law regimes.

To achieve these objectives, Prime Minister Bhutto has visited several countries, several times, such as Iran, Turkey, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Syria, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Nigeria, Guinea and Mauritania. Bhutto also sent special envoys to many other countries.

Initially, the Prime Minister concentrated on the sympathetic friendly Islamic countries of West Asia and Africa who had stood by Pakistan and their reaffirmation of support bolstered Pakistan's prestige abroad and strengthened her negotiating position in seeking and honourable settlement in the sub-continent.

The Prime Minister paid a visit to China and the Soviet Union in January and March of 1972, again in the summer of 1976 to China, to consolidate the existing friendship; and

to the Soviet Union to bring relations with the Great Power back to normal, fruitful co-operation. In September 1973, the Prime Minister visited the United States. As a result of these visits he achieved the object of establishing Pakistan's bilateral relations with the three Great Powers on a friendly and constructive basis.

In her quest for peace, Pakistan naturally attaches importance to cultivating good relations with her neighbours, particularly with India. In his article "Pakistan Builds Anew", published in Foreign Affairs of April 1973, Mr. Bhutto said that "for Pakistan, peace means, first of all the normalization of relations with India on a good neighbourly basis". This however, as he put it, could not be achieved without "the realness of each to bring about an equitable settlement of their disputes"

During their meeting in Murree and Rawalpindi in April 1972, the emissaries of Pakistan and India agreed upon the agenda and date for a summit meeting between the two countries. This agreement was in consonance with India's general policy of bilateralism.

Before going to the summit at Simla on 28 June, 1972, Bhutto made it clear in his speeches and statements that Pakistan would endeavour to achieve a durable peace but not at the cost of principle. His stand on the issue of Kashmir, East Pakistan and the Pakistani prisoners of war in the Indian custody was that:

- (1) It was for the people of Kashmir to decide their future in accordance with the principles of the right of self-determination, and neither India nor Pakistan could deprive them of this right;
- (2) Pakistan would not negotiate with India on the issues between Pakistan and East Pakistan (Bangladesh), as these issues could be resolved only through bilateral negotiations;
- (3) Pakistan would insist on the observance of the Geneva Conventions to secure the release of the Pakistani prisoners of war held in India and it would not acquiesce in their trial by Bangladesh.

Mr. Bhutto and the Indian Prime Minister held talks at Simla from 28th June to 2nd July, 1972, and an agreement was signed on 2nd July, 1972. According to the agreement the two countries resolved to put an end to the conflicts and confrontations that have marred their relations and to work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of a durable peace in the sub-continent.

In order to achieve this objective the two countries agreed to settle their difference by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them; to peacefully resolve the basic issue of conflicts; to respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality; to refrain from threat or use of force against each other and to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other.

In order to restore and normalize relations step by step, the two countries agreed that the Indian and Pakistan forces would be withdrawn to their side of the international border, that in Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the cease-fire on December 17, 1971, should be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of other side and that the withdrawal of forces would take place within 30 days the coming into force of this agreement.

It was also provided in the agreement that the Heads of Government would meet again after the representatives of the two sides had settled the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations.

The National Assembly of Pakistan approved the Simla Agreement on July 14, 1972, and the instrument of ratification was delivered to India on July 18, 1972. The Indian instrument of ratification was delivered on August 1, 1972.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in his letter of 21st December, 1972, felicitated Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and pointed out that the issue of prisoners of war was now the most serious obstacle to the normalisation of situation in the sub-continent and to the implementation of further steps envisaged in the Simla Agreement. On 27th December 1972, Mr. Bhutto unilaterally announced the release of all Indian prisoner of war in Pakistan. Thus Pakistan fulfilled its obligation under the Geneva Conventions. Although India released some 540 Pakistani prisoners of war captured in the western sector, it did not release the 91,000 prisoners of war captured in East Pakistan.

Before surrender, the Indian Chief of Army Staff had given his “solemn assurance” that the personnel of the Pakistan forces who surrendered would be “treated with dignity and respect, all soldiers are entitled to, and (we shall) abide by the provisions of the Geneva Conventions”. The Indian External Affairs Minister also had stated in the Security Council on 12th December, 1971, that the West Pakistani troops in East Bengal had been assured of their “safe evacuation to West Pakistan”. However, as the prisoners of war had surrendered to the joint Indo-Bangladesh command, they could not be repatriated without the prior consent of Bangladesh. Moreover, Bangladesh stated that the question of prisoners of war could not be discussed except on the basis of sovereign equality. The release of the prisoners of war, was therefore made contingent on a prior recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan.

In August 1972, Bangladesh applied for admission to the United Nations. On August 25, 1972, the resolution calling for the admission of Bangladesh was voted upon in the Security Council and voted by the People’s Republic of China. Pakistan lobbied for the postponement of the entry of Bangladesh in the UN pending implementation of the General Assembly Resolution of December 7, 1971, and Security Council Resolution of December 21, 1971.

On 23rd September 1972 the UN General Assembly included on the agenda of its 27th session a supplementary item to discuss “admission of new members to the United Nations”. Pakistan’s Permanent Representative to the UN, expressed reservations on the subject. He said that Pakistan was not irrevocably opposed to the admission of Bangladesh into UN, once it met the basic test of admission under article 4 of UN charter, i.e. the outstanding issues were resolved and the situation arising out of the recent war between India and Pakistan was normalised.

The stand taken by Pakistan on this issue received considerable support and the General Assembly agreed to adopt without debate and without a vote both the resolutions, one expressing the desire that Bangladesh be admitted to the United Nations at an early date and the other asking the parties concerned to make all possible efforts to reach a fair settlement of the issues that were still pending and calling for the return of prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the provisions of Security Council Resolution 307 (1971).

The salient features of the 1937 Delhi agreement were:

- a) Simultaneous repatriation of all Pakistan prisoners of war and civilian internees, all Bengalis in Pakistan and a substantial number non-Bengalis in Bangladesh;
- b) Bangladesh agrees that no trial of 195 prisoners of war would take place during the entire period of repatriation and pending the settlement of the question, these prisoners of war shall remain in India;
- c) On completion of the agreed repatriations of earlier, if agreed, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan will discuss the question of 195 prisoners of war. Bangladesh stated that it would participate in the meeting only on the basis of “sovereign equality”.
- d) The Government of Pakistan would initially receive a substantial number of non-Bengalis from Bangladesh who are stated to have opted for repatriation to Pakistan. The Prime Ministers of Bangladesh and Pakistan, or their designed representatives, will meet after the initial repatriations are completed to decide what additional number of persons who may wish to migrate to Pakistan may be permitted to do so.

Although, for the sake of a settlement, Pakistan agreed to the continued detention of 195 prisoners of war pending final settlement of their fate through negotiations, it was made clear that Pakistan would not agree to their trial nor would it support the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations unless all the prisoners of war were released in accordance with the Geneva Conventions and the UN resolutions.

Starting with the unconditional release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Pakistan’s attitude towards Bangladesh continued to be based on a desire for reconciliation, Pakistan, therefore, undertook a number of initiatives to normalise relations with Bangladesh. In his public speech on October 2, 1973, the Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto extended to Bangladesh his hand of friendship and offered brotherly relations on the basis of justice, fairplay and equity. Pleading for the re-establishment of close fraternal relations, he asked the Bengalis to forget the happenings of the past, just as the people of Pakistan had forgotten. He also declared: “I, in all sincerity, offer to send them rice and cloth which, I hope, the authorities there (In Bangladesh) will accept”.

As with other neighbours, Pakistan has tried to maintain good relations with its next-door and most difficult neighbour, Afghanistan, which was the first country visited by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Pakistan extended facilities for the smooth flow of Afghan transit trade in terms of the Transit Trade Agreement. It was also decided to allow overland transit of fresh fruits from Afghanistan to India from August 6, 1972. The coup d'état of July 17, 1973, which resulted in the overthrow of King Zahir Shah and assumption of office as President by Sardar Muhammad Daoud, did not, in any way, affect Pakistan's attitude towards Afghanistan. Pakistan, therefore, accorded recognition to the new regime but this has not mollified Afghan hostility to Pakistan, Afghanistan does not appear reconciled to remain a land locked state for minor importance. Afghan-Pakistan relations continue to be a tinder box which may explode at any time.

Pakistan's ties with her next-door neighbour, Iran, have been further strengthened since the establishment of the Government under President (now Prime Minister) Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The Shah of Iran was the first Head of State to visit Pakistan after the war of 1971 and has gone there again and again. As president and Premier Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has visited Iran several times more than any other country.

Pakistan and Iran had sometime earlier, instituted a joint Ministerial Commission in the wake of a high level decision that their co-operation in the areas of joint ventures should reflect the very special nature of close relations existing between the two countries. As a result of the first session of the joint Commission, held in Islamabad in November 1973, it was decided to designate some specific joint ventures in the public sector as "national projects". The products of these joint ventures would, with due regard to international obligations, be exempted from import duty and other import charges when imported into either country. Legislation to this effect shall be introduced in Iran and Pakistan in due course of time. Iran agreed to participate in the establishment of a Textile Plant in Pakistan with 1,00,000 spindles and weaving and finishing equipment, a cement making Plant in Baluchistan with a daily capacity of 1,000 tons and a large-scale agro-industry complex for the production of meat and other animal products for consumption in the two countries. Pakistan, in turn, agreed to participate in a joint venture for the production of synthetic rubber and in the possible cultivation and manufacture of jute in Iran, other agreements included co-operation for the establishment of an engineering college in Khuzdar and a Medical College in Quetta. Provisions were also made to step up technical cooperation between the two countries.

Relations with Turkey, Pakistan's RCD partner, have been further strengthened as a result of Bhutto's several visits to that country. Turkey stood by Pakistan in her hour of trial and gave unequivocal support to Pakistan during the 1971 crisis and on the issue of Pakistani prisoners of war, held in India.

Relations between Pakistan and two smaller countries of South Asia, Nepal and Sri Lanka, have been cordial and friendly. Sharing the same sub-continent, and situated in

the shadow of Great Powers, Pakistan and Nepal traditionally understand each other's problems.

The Government of Pakistan has made special efforts to further strengthen ties with the countries of the Arab world and Africa. As mentioned earlier, Bhutto visited many Arab and African countries in 1972 and since then its relations with these countries have been further consolidated and strengthened. Both in the United Nations and outside, Pakistan has consistently supported the Arab and African Peoples in their struggle for progress.

New avenues are being explored for economic and technical co-operation between Pakistan and the Arab countries. Recently Pakistan and Abu Dhabi signed protocol of a contract for the construction of an oil refinery in Multan and a 300 mile pipeline linking the Refinery with the port of Karachi. Many other projects with UAE, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are in the offing.

## **CHAPTER VIII**

### **BALUCHISTAN**

Not the least of the problems that beset Pakistan is that of its international frontiers.

The North-West Frontier Province of India involving a line approximately 2,000 miles in length commencing at a point on the Persian Gulf some 300 miles from the port of Karachi to the Pamir uplands. Iran, Afghanistan, Russia, China and India are the immediate neighbours of Pakistan.

The Frontiers of Pakistan can, therefore, be divided into four main groups:

1. Baluchistan \_\_\_\_ Iran.
2. Afghanistan \_\_\_\_ N.W.F.P
3. The North West Frontier \_\_\_\_ Tribal area.
4. The Coastal Frontier \_\_\_\_ The Indian Ocean.

Pakistan has a border of over 1000 metres with India on the East.

In order to visualize some of the problems that confront Pakistani statesman as to these frontiers, it will be necessary to have some idea of their ethnological and historical backgrounds especially that of Baluchistan. Correlated with the question of the Western Frontier is the long stretch of coast bordering the Arabian Sea, about 300 miles in length. This may be classified and considered as the fourth group in relation to the Indian Ocean.

Of all these problems, perhaps Baluchistan is Pakistan's most difficult problem.

Baluchistan, Pakistan's problem province is almost wholly mountainous and covers a great belt of ranges connecting the Sufed Koh with the hill system of Southern Iran. It thus forms a watershed the drainage of which enters the Indus on the east and the Arabian Sea on the South, while on the north-west it makes its way to the inland lakes which form so large a feature of Central Asia. Rugged, barren, sub-burnt mountains, rent by high chasms and gorges, alternate with arid deserts and stony plains, the prevailing colour of which is a monotonous sight. But this is redeemed in places by valleys of considerable size in which irrigations enables much cultivation to be carried on and rich crops of all kinds to be raised.

The political connection of the British Government with Baluchistan dated from the outbreak of the First Afghan War in 1839. It was traversed by the army of the Indus and was afterwards occupied until 1842 to protect the British lines of communication. The districts of Karachi, Quetta and Mastung were handed over by the Amir of Afghanistan to the British and Political Officers were appointed to administer the country. At the close

of the First Afghan War, the British withdrew and these districts were assigned to the Khan of Kalat, an ancestor of the present Governor.

The founder of the Baluchistan Province, as it now exists, was Sir Robert Sandeman who broke down the close border system and welded the Baluch and Brahui Chiefs into a close confederacy. In the Afghan War of 1879, Pishin, Shorarud, Sibi, Zawara Valley and Thal Chotiali were handed over by Yakub Khan to the British Government and since then has been a part of first undivided India and now of Pakistan. How can this historical development, well settled for almost a century, be now unsettled? Pakistan and Afghanistan, as two Muslim neighbours must find an amicable way out.

The situation in Baluchistan has been a central concern of the Government of Pakistan for the last few years. The issue involved in this situation is not however, wholly political but social, economic and administrative.

It is not political in the sense that there is any difference between the status of Baluchistan and that of the other three provinces of the Federation. Baluchistan enjoys the same degree of provincial autonomy as the Punjab, Sindh or the North West Frontier Province. Nor is it political in the sense that the constitutional process has been suspended in Baluchistan or an alien regime foisted on it.

It is social because, more than in any other region of Pakistan, the feudal and tribal structure of society in Baluchistan has inhibited progress and development. No Government can pretend to any concern with the welfare of the people of Baluchistan unless it resolutely aims at releasing them from their feudal shackles. Not to demedievalize Baluchistan is to betray the province.

The issue is economic because Baluchistan has been relegated to backwardness for centuries. Its problem is that of an underdeveloped part of a developing country. No Government can claim to have fulfilled the popular mandate unless it seeks to remove the disparity between Baluchistan and the other regions of the country. It is for roads and electricity, schools and hospitals rather than any constitutional change for which the people of Baluchistan hunger.

The issue is administrative because, unlike the other provinces of Pakistan, Baluchistan has not enjoyed amenities of civil administration. The pre-requisite of any progress in Baluchistan, however oriented, is the building of an administrative infrastructure.

The socio-economic administrative issue has been distorted, and the conditions responsible for it exploited, by elements which wish neither Pakistan nor Baluchistan itself to prosper. They took advantage of Baluchistan's lack of communications, its terrain and location and its relative insularity to launch an insurgency in the Marri-Mengal areas of Baluchistan.

This insurgency had two facets. One was its instigation by forces which would welcome the disintegration of Pakistan. The other reflects the strains of development in the province. Even if the consequent turbulence had not been exaggerated abroad, it could not but cause distress to the government and the people of Pakistan. The issue confronting the Government, however, had been whether to choose the easy path, appease the isolationist elements and sign away Baluchistan or to combat the forces of retrogression and enable Baluchistan to gain its rightful place, not only in the Constitution (which it already has) but also in the political, social, economic and intellectual life of Pakistan.

Baluchistan with a present population of 24 million (1972 census), stretches over 134,000 square miles which is about forty percent of the areas of Pakistan. It is the youngest province of Pakistan as the territory constituting it became a full-fledged province only with the promulgation of Pakistan's Constitution in April 1972. There has thus been far less time in Baluchistan than in Punjab, Sindh and the North West Frontier Province to develop the machinery of civil administration or to initiate economic development.

Ethnically, Baluchistan is pluralistic. The main groups, each with their own languages and tradition, are the Baluch, the Brohis and the Pathans. The chief languages are Baluchi, Brohi, Pushto and Jatki: Baluchi being spoken by nearly a third of the populations, Brohi around Sarawan and Jhalawan while Jatki is a term which includes a number of local dialects.

The first task facing the Federal Government that came to power on 20<sup>th</sup> December, 1971 in the wake of national disintegration and disarray was one of reconstruction. A major ingredient of the effort of the People's Party's Government was the fostering of national unity and the development of a national consensus that could withstand the corrosive action of party politics. Seeking such a consensus, President Bhutto, within a few hours of assuming office, withdrew unconditionally the ban imposed by the Yahya regime on the National Awami Party (NAP) stating that he would "start with a clean slate". After a series of negotiations, in April 1972, he secured an agreement between his party (PPP) and the National Awami Party and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema (JUI). In the Pakistan People's Party not only conceded the right of the NAP-JUI coalition to form Government in Baluchistan and NWFP but also rather stupidly let it propose names for appointments as Governors of the two provinces a course never adopted in India since independence. Moreover, two ministries at the Centre were offered to JUI and NAP for harmonious liaison between Baluchistan and NWFP, on the one hand, and the Central Government on the other.

In his letter to Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo on 26<sup>th</sup> April, 1972 preceding his appointment as Governor of Baluchistan, President Bhutto said that he was making, in good faith and in the interest of national unity, neither the experiment of appointing a Governor who was neither a non-party man nor a member of the ruling party at the Centre. The Governor of Baluchistan as the President's agent should, therefore, ensure

that there would be no political victimization or unfair treatment of non-locals; that law and order would be maintained; that the Provincial Government would not assume jurisdiction in strictly federal subjects; that the loyalty of the armed forces would not be subverted and that fissiparous tendencies and movements, however nebulous would be put down firmly. In his reply to President Bhutto's letter the next day, Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo assured the President that he accepted these conditions.

After Governor Bizenjo's induction into office the NAP-JUI parliamentary coalition in the Baluchistan Assembly elected Sardar Ataullah Mengal as its leader and thus Chief Minister. In reply to the President's letter congratulating him on his election Sardar Ataullah Mengal noted with appreciation the increased allocation of funds to Baluchistan since the President's assumption of office. He added that the people in Baluchistan had admired the fulfillment of the President's promise regarding the utilization of Sui gas for the economic development of the province, which Sardar Ataullah Mengal said "the previous government had denied to Baluchistan on one pretext or another".

This note promised a smooth relationship not only between the Centre and Baluchistan but between PPP and the NAP-JUI coalition.

Due to upheavals, the Pakistan Army assumed control over the district of Las Bela on 9 February and a day later was in control of the situation. On 14 February 1973, the President removed Governor Bizenjo, for not having adhered to the assurances he had given him at the time of his assuming office.

The trouble in Baluchistan remained confined to two main areas: the Jhalawan sub-division of Kalat District and the Marri area of Sibi District (now Marri-Bugti Agency). By and large the population in these areas had been peaceful. The hard core of the hostiles consisted of some ring-leaders who, with their small bands of guerillas were previously used to leading a lawless life with the express approval and backing of their sardars. It is estimated that the total strength of this hard-core of hostiles was originally about 400 Mengals and about 500 Marris. This number eventually grew to thousands but most of them were the sympathizers and carriers of supplies to the hard-core hostiles. These hostiles normally operated in small bands of 30 to 50 men and were based in their hideouts in the mountains. The increase in their activities which took place shortly after the coup in Afghanistan was significant.

On 14<sup>th</sup> April the Federal Government stated that there had been a progressive improvement in the law and order situation in the Marri Mengal areas as a result of the eleven –month army operation. It said that military operation would be frozen from 15 May 1974. On 2 August the Prime Minister called upon the hostile elements in the Marri - Bugti and Jhalawan areas to come down from the mountains by 15 October and lay down their arms.

The amnesty offer evoked a positive response and the insurgent tribesmen started coming down from the mountains to surrender themselves and their arms. The insurgency began to crumble. As on 17 October, 5,501 persons, including 112 levies had left the ranks of insurgency through surrender or capture. These included several prominent figures. The weapons surrendered by them consisted of 1,305 rifles of 303 bore, 39 rifles of 7 mm, 30 rifles of 7.62 or 7.92 mm, 98 other types of rifles, 25 shotguns, 18 pistols and one sword. These captured from them consisted of 866 rifles, 2 machine guns, 32 shotguns, 6 stenguns, 18 pistols and 4 hand grenades. Of the rifles, 753 were of 303 bore, 37 of 7 mm, 21 of 7.62 mm, 9 were G-3 46 other types.

During the army operation according to official reports at no stage neither had the Pakistan Air Force been used for any bombing, nor were paratroops over dropped anywhere. The casualty figures show 241 hostiles killed and 62 wounded. The casualties on the Government side were as usual less 87 personnel of the regular forces killed and 93 wounded, 34 personnel of the Civil Armed Forces killed and 79 wounded, 21 personnel of the Baluchistan Reserve Police killed and 16 wounded, and 2 attached civilians killed and 3 wounded.

The army's presence in Baluchistan in aid of civil power, however, served a dual purpose: the establishment of the initial components of civil administration in the province and undertaking of projects of socio-economic development. The building of road, the establishments of a police post, the opening of a school, a dispensary, a community centre constitute development activity. Yet, these were other administrative acts also designed to bring a measure of peaceful life to the area. Economic development promotes law and order in much the same way as law and order promotes development. The inability of any organized force in society other than the army to assume this task in the initial groundwork stages is evident from the cruel topography. Constructing a 2,800 foot tunnel in a mountain range (the Talli-Tangi tunnel) or building a road to an inaccessible area requires manpower, material and organization that Baluchistan lacked completely. The army had been asked to provide these essentials.

The army's role can be viewed in road construction, to which it assigned the highest priority. Without roads the rugged mountains of Baluchistan would never yield to the will of economic planners. Moreover, roads create opportunities in an economically depressed area, as they have done in the Marri Bugti Agency, where a labour force of about 25,000 tribesmen is now employed. Before roads were pushed into their area, it took the Marri tribesmen as long as three to four days to travel from Sibi to Mawand across the mountain range. Between Sibi and Kohlu the distance was 400 miles and 600 miles long. The new road being built by the army reduces this distance to a bare 96 miles. Other development activity rapidly undertaken by the army had also in some areas created a vivid contrast between primitive life and progress. The contrast can now be seen in its sharp focus in the Marri- Bugti Agency.

Although rich in economic potential, Baluchistan has suffered from neglect. Government investment in this province never exceeded Rs.30 millions in any year

during the entire decade preceding 1970. This may be compared with the following allocations and expenditures:

_____	1972-73:	Rs. 120 million allocations
_____	1973-74:	Rs. 180 million allocations
_____	1974-75:	Rs. 210 million allocations
_____	Additional annual expenditure of Rs. 150 million through the federal agencies.	

\_\_\_\_\_ The Public sector's actual expenditure since 1972-73 has been more than twice the cumulative expenditure during the entire preceding decade.

These levels of annual financial outlay were borne entirely by the Federal Government. In fact, the province's own revenues together with its share of federal taxes amounted annually to Rs. 88 million only. This was not enough even to meet the province's non-development expenditure on administration and food grain subsidy, at the level of Rs. 416 million (1974).

#### **Expenditure**

Rs. 416 million	Rs. 88 million	
	<u>+Rs. 138 million</u>	(royalty and excise duty on sui gas transferred to province)
Total:	<u>Rs. 226 million</u>	
Deficit:	<u>Rs. 190 million</u>	(to be met by the Federal Government)
Grand Total:	Rs. 416 million	

The increased allocation of funds to Baluchistan is indicative not only of the Federal Government's commitment to removing inter-provincial disparity but of its faith that economic benefits should not be confined to the privileged classes. The strategy is, therefore, one of building the physical infrastructure:

#### **(A) WATER DEVELOPMENT**

- (The single largest allocation in the current programme being to this sector) providing water to 48 townships that had no supply,
- Widening of the Pat Feeder Canal
- Constructing a storage dam on the Hub River,
- Doubling the present irrigated acreage in the province within two years.
- Doubling agricultural production in the next five years and adding Rs. 60 million per annum to the agricultural production in the province.
- Investing ground water with the aid of a UNDP contribution of \$2.84 million, the largest single programme of the kind undertaken by them.
- Sinking 1,185 tube wells as compared to the annual rate of 10 to 15 tube wells sunk in the past.

## **(B) POWER DEVELOPMENT**

- Doubling within the year the power generation at Quetta.
- Replacing conventional sources of energy supply with driven tube wells,
- Stringing new transmission lines from Guddu to Quetta and increasing the power availability five fold within the next two years, benefiting not only Quetta but far flung towns like, Nushki Chaman, Muslim Bagh, Harnai, Loralai and Kalat;

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## **(C) ROADS**

- Constructing the RCD Highways,
- Metalling the Fort Sandeman-Quetta road by March 1975,
- Linking Loralai with Dera Ghazi Khan,

The poor performance of the two productive sectors, agriculture and industry, has stemmed primarily from the lack of an infrastructure and scarce water resources, but the peculiar exploitative feudal relationship obtaining in the province has been a contributory factor. With very little premium being placed on raising Baluchistan's agricultural productivity in the traditional feudal milieu, the province has remained a food deficit region, its requirements having been usually met by imports from abroad or from other provinces. It was only after the dismissal of the NAP-JUI Government that steps were taken to check smuggling. While in the past the provincial government did not procure wheat from the province itself for subsidized sale in the urban areas, in 1974 it not only did so but nearly doubled the procurement target.

Committed as it is to locating new industries in the more backward areas of the country, the present Government has given particular promises towards industrializing Baluchistan. A vegetable ghee factory is under installation at Quetta, and a large factory for the same product will be located at Temple Dera, two large textile mills, a Ferro-Chrome plant a rice milling unite, a paper mill based on rice straw and a large cement factory are being set up. All these units should be in production by 1978, increasing the annual value of Baluchistan's industrial production twenty times its present value. Copper investigation at Sindhak has already revealed porphyry deposits and iron ore investigation at Nokkundi is proceeding on schedule. Oil exploration has been accorded top priority, seven foreign companies having started at Jandaran near Barkhan in the Marri area since December 1975.

It was, however be unrealistic to expect immediate change and instant adaptation on the part of the much neglected people of Baluchistan to the new social realities. Not only does the investment in physical infrastructure have a long gestation period, the opening of new economic opportunity requires the simultaneous development of the human resources to take advantage of such opportunity. Given the demographic profile of Baluchistan, the lack of trained manpower is emerging as an impediment to further quickening of the pace of development, though the Government is trying to force the pace through the construction of an Engineering College at Khuzdar, a Medical College that has already been established by the Federal Government and through liberal grant of

scholarship and other incentives. But in a population, the illiteracy rate of which exceeds 84 percent national average, traditional life styles take time in adjusting to newer conditions. But there is no escaping the compulsions of modernity. As the tribal mould begins to break, the people's mental horizons broaden and mass communications become a need. The Government seems responsive to this basic requirement for ending Baluchistan's insularity. The high powered radio transmitter inaugurated by the Prime Minister on 26 April, 1974 and Quetta Television Station opened on 5 November 1974 reflect and stimulates social changes. One of the new rulers is the Khan of Kalat, himself the most important Baluchi, who was in his younger day among the most eager sponsors of the new set-up in Pakistan and acceded his State to Pakistan in 1948. A staunch Muslim, eager student of economics and politics and an able administrator, he has been a force for progress.

Early in 1976, the administration of Baluchistan was taken over by the Federal Government, following the disqualification of members of the NAP in the Province and Central Assemblies for alleged disloyal and secessionist tendencies; the situation still continues to be politically unstable which is indeed, a pity!

## **CHAPTER IX**

### **THE KASHMIR PROBLEM**

No discussion about affairs in Pakistan would be complete without a reference to the Kashmir problem which has defied solution for the last thirty years. Kashmir although now a part of the Indian Union formed an integral feature of the original Pakistan plan. Pakistan could not be “Pakistan” without its central “K”. Time and Destiny have willed otherwise.

The main divisions of the territory in the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir before the partition of India were the provinces of Jammu, including Ladakh and Baltistan, and Kashmir and Gilgit.

Jammu had from time immemorial been the capital of a Dogra Rajput dynasty. It had acquired some importance under a Chief named Rana Ranjit Dev by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The neighbouring country was split up into a number of independent hill principalities, such as Kishtwar and Bhadrawah on the east, Boshli on the south. Bhimbar and Rajaori on the west and north-west. These were constantly quarreling with each other and at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, had become more or less subject to the Sikh Government of Punjab under Ranjit Singh. His service was joined about this time by three great grand nephews of Ranjit Dev, namely Gulab Singh. Dhyani Singh and Suchet Singh. They rose in favour, and Dhyani Singh became minister to the Maharaja and was able greatly to benefit his family. Gulab Singh distinguished himself in 1820 by capturing the Chief of Rajaori. The principality of Jammu had by then been annexed by the Sikh, and Ranjit Singh conferred it upon Gulab Singh with the title of Raja. Shortly afterwards Dhyani Singh was made Raja of Poonch (between Rajaori and Muzaffarabad), and Suchet obtained the district of Ramnagar (just east of Jammu) as a Chief ship. In the course of the next fifteen years the three brothers, and especially the eldest, had subdued all the neighbouring hill principalities. After the murder of Dhyani Singh in 1843, followed soon after by the defeat and death of his brother Suchet Singh, and the murder of his son Hira Singh, all their estates fell to the survivor, Gulab Singh except Poonch, which the Lahore Government confiscated. By the year 1844, therefore, Gulab Singh had acquired authority over nearly all the country included in the present province of Jammu.

#### **Ladakh and Balistan;**

The early history of Ladakh is obscure. The province seems originally to have been a part of Chinese Tibet. At the beginning of the seventeenth century it was conquered by the Balti Chief of Skardu. Then it became independent under a “Gyalpo”, or Chief of its own. At the end of the eighteenth century it was attacked by the Mowghul tribe of Sokpos. The invasion was repelled with the aid of the Muslim Governor of Kashmir, and from this time till 1834 Ladakh seems to have been an independent tributary of Kashmir. Balistan appears to have been independent under the Raja of Skardu till 1814. Ladakh and Balistan were conquered in successive campaigns by Gulab Singh's troops, led by Zorawar Singh and Diwan Hari Chand, between the years 1834 and 1842.

Kashmir had undergone many changes. At first it was ruled by Hindu and Tartar kings. Then came a Hindu dynasty, which lasted till the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Muslim minister of the last Hindu king seized the government, and for more than two centuries and a half Kashmir remained independent under its own Muslim rulers. In 1588 it was conquered by the Emperor Akbar, and the Moghul regime lasted till the latter half of the eighteenth century. The country then became subject to Ahmed Shah Abdali, and was administered by Afghan governors from Kabul till it was wrested from them by Ranjit Singh in 1819. From that year till 1846 it remained under the Sikhs, governors being appointed by the Lahore Darbar. Of these governors Mian Singh (1933-41), Ghulam Mohiud-din (1941-46), and Sheikh Imam-ud-din (1946), some of whom attained considerable power. Between about 1810 and 1842 there was a succession of revolutions. First Suleiman Shah of the Khushwakt family of Yasin conquered Gilgit from the last Trakhane Raja. He was killed and succeeded by Azad Khan of Punial, who in turn was killed and succeeded by Tari Shah of Nagar. The latter was followed by his son, Shah Sikandar. He was killed and succeeded by Gaubar Aman Khuswakt of Yasin. Meanwhile Karim Khan, brother of Shah Sikandar, applied for aid to the Governor of Kashmir. A Sikh force was dispatched under Nathu Shah; Gauhar Aman was defeated and expelled and Karim was installed in 1842 as Raja of Gilgit, in subordination to the Sikh Government.

At the beginning of the Sutlej campaign, therefore, Gulab Singh held Jammu and the Hill Chiefships in a more or less complete state of subjection, and Ladakh and Balistan by right of conquest; and the rulers of the Lahore State, one of whose principal leaders was Gulab Singh, held Kashmir and had thence extended their power over Gilgit. The barter of Sobaraon was followed by the British occupation of Lahore and the submission of the Sikhs.

A separate treaty with Gulab Singh was concluded at Amritsar on the 16<sup>th</sup> March 1846. By it the British Government transferred and made over.

“For ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravee, including Chamba, and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9<sup>th</sup> March 1846. In return Gulab Singh undertook to pay 75 rupees, to refer dispute with neighbouring States to the arbitration of the British Government, to assist with his whole force the British troops when engaged in the hills or in the territories adjoining his possessions, and to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government. The general and practical result of the Treaty of Amritsar was therefore to confirm Gulab Singh on what he already possessed and the transfer to him the province of Kashmir with its newly acquired authority over Gilgit; though a literal interpretation of the first article of the Treaty (No. I) might perhaps have excluded Gilgit. The boundaries of the newly formed State were afterwards adjusted by mutual consent, as described below.

Gulab Singh had some difficulty in obtaining actual possession of the province of Kashmir. The Governor appointed by the Lahore Darbar, Sheikh Imam-ud-din, made for a time a successful resistance; and it was not till the end of 1846 that Gulab Singh was established in Kashmir with the aid, both of British troops and the Lahore Darbar. Thus Gulab Singh owed not only his title to Kashmir, but his actual possession of it, wholly to the support of the British power.

Nor was the occupation of Gulab Singh of the province of Hazara effected without opposition; and it soon became apparent that he would be unable to control the turbulent tribes in the hills of Hazara. Eventually, in 1847, the Governor-General's agent, after some difficulty negotiated an Agreement, on the basis of an exchange of territory, between the Lahore and Kashmir Darbars, by which the lands Lahore, and the Jhelum became the western boundary of the State of Kashmir. Hazara was thus transferred to it while most of the hill countries to the west of the Jhelum in the neighbourhood of Jammu were left with Gulab Singh, Jhelum and Muzaffarabad.

In 1946, Sheikh Abdullah, President of the Kashmir National Conference started a movement parallel to the "Quit India" movement of 1942. He told the Maharaja and his administration to "Quit Kashmir". He had the support of the Congress; and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru went to his assistance in spite of the ban of the Kashmir Government. Pandit Nehru was assaulted at the Kashmir frontier and was arrested. Sheikh Abdullah was tried for sedition, convicted and sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment.

The head of the administration was Pandit Ramchandra Kak, the Prime Minister. In the "Quit Kashmir" movement, strangely enough Mr. Jinnah had no sympathy for its leaders. The Muslim Conference headed by Ch. Hamidullah Beg, a smart young Jammu lawyer, declined to take part in the movement, except with the approval of Mr. Jinnah.

There was an ideological difference between the Kashmir National Conference and the Kashmir Muslim Conference. The Muslim Conference was a purely Muslim organization. Sheikh Abdullah led a party largely Muslim but including members of other communities as well. Abdullah had been the leader of the Kashmir people since the 1930 movement and although for a time received a setback in his political fortunes, by an Anglo-Indian marriage in 1946 he returned to the political arena with his popularity greatly strengthened. Mr. Jinnah wanted freedom for Kashmir but insisted on one condition – Kashmir edition of the "All India Muslim League", and not through Sheikh Abdullah's party; Abdullah was too important and clever to allow Mr. Jinnah to wear the Kashmir crown all on his own.

Jinnah decided to come to Lahore and to make Lahore his headquarters during the Kashmir operations, in which Pakistan was not officially engaged but in reality most deeply interested.

Lorries, petrol, ammunition and hospital supplies were furnished from the Pakistani sources to the invading army.

On October 26, while the invasion was in full swing and Afghan tribesmen from the Frontier in their thousands were rolling up the Baramula road, the Maharaja wrote to Lord Mountbatten expressing his desire to accede to the Indian Dominion. On October 27<sup>th</sup>, the accession was accepted, subject to an eventual referendum.

And while the war of words was going on, in Kashmir, things took a new turn.

The “D” day was actually fixed for October 21, but the attack could not be launched till the next day. The disposition of the 4,000 men at the disposal of Maj. Anver was arranged by him in the following manner, from Garhi Habibullah one detachment of 500 men and another of 450 men, were moved in parallel columns towards Garhi, a place east of Domel and Bhatka respectively. The main column of 2,000 men moved with Maj. Anver on the road to Muzaffarabad. There detachment of 200 men each were deputed to attack from the western side, after crossing the river Jhelum on the northern side of the Kohala bridge. The remaining few hundreds were to cross the river on the southern side of the Kohala bridge and contact the three detachments attacking from the west. The main column met with slight opposition at Ramkot on the road to Muzaffarabad.

The first stiff opposition they met was at Muzaffarabad where there was a full battalion of Dogra troops stationed between Muzaffarabad and Domel. The bridge between Muzaffarabad and Domel was an important link, which, if blown up, would have been the end of the offensive. The tribesmen cleverly captured the bridge and then set up a picket on the Muzaffarabad side of bridge from where they attacked the Domel garrison with gunfire.

After a daylong fight they captured Domel on the evening of October 23<sup>rd</sup>. Some of the Kashmir State troops escape up the hills. The invaders looted the town, put Hindus to the sword, abducted their women and shot the District Magistrate. The next two days witnessed the fall of Garhi, a place about 25 miles south-east of Domel, and Chinari, another 25 miles down the road to Srinagar.

On October 26<sup>th</sup>, the men column had moved up from Chinari towards Uri. It was at Uri that they encountered the First Sikh Regiment of the Pakistan State. The tribesmen routed these Sikh soldiers also who on their retreat blew up the bridge controlling the roads to Poonch as well as Srinagar. The next two days were spent in diversion from the bridge towards Mohura, where was a big power house.

It was at Mohura that the London “Daily Express” correspondent, Sydney Smith and another Englishman were captured by the tribesmen. Major Anver had been leaving behind some of his men at various places to hold the conquered positions.

The detachment which he had sent got stuck near Garhi and could not contact the main column.

Two tricks of fortune now conspired to cheat the invaders of the best part of Kashmir – the lust for loot and the loss of a day and a half by pillaging at Baramula, and the reckless bravery of an Indian officer, who with no reserve of men or ammunition, made an attack on the invading forces as if he had a whole army division for his support. Col. Rai, with the small detachment at his disposal dashed down the Baramula Road. He saved the airfield, delayed the raiders from advance by thirty-six hours and enabled reinforcements by air to reach Srinagar. He saved Kashmir for India through he gave his life in the effort.

All this happened in 1947. It was 1977 and Kashmir is still an unsolved problem. For nearly thirty years the flowers of the Indian and Pakistan armies have faced each other across a cease-fire line manned largely by the United Nations. There have been two Indo-Pakistan wars (1965 and 1971) in the interval, in one of which Pakistan lost her Eastern half but Kashmir continues to be a festering sore, endangering Indo-Pakistan friendship.

## **CHAPTER X**

### **THE INDIAN OCEAN**

Pakistan has an expansive, exposed frontage of 300 miles on the Indian Ocean, and is vitally concerned closely with what happens in that area.

Although the British withdrawal was not yet complete and the conservatives, through many steps, had reversed the decision of their predecessors to a great extent, there started a race among many a state to fill the “power vacuum in the Indian Ocean.” The Americans were the first to make a concrete move. The units of Seventh Fleet entered the Indian Ocean in December, 1963. Commenting on this, the New York Times said editorially, “There are some sound strategic reasons for providing some military power to a huge area that is virtually a vacuum of power”. According to the Washington Post the U.S. would move in with a permanent naval fleet in Indian Ocean to fill the vacuum in that area. It would have two aims; firstly, to provide deterrent to “Chinese aggression” in South-East Asia and to forestall any Chinese attempt to “establish a naval presence” in the Bay of Bengal. Secondly, the U.S Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean would be available to stamp out “local brush fighting quickly and effectively”. This would be in a way to have a establishing effect on affairs in the Sub-Continent. This arrangement was to be called “Sea Umbrella for the Sub-Continent”. Eight years later during the Pak-Indian war of December 1971, the units of seventh fleet did enter the Indian Ocean ostensibly for the purpose of evacuating the U.S. citizens but according to U.S defence department spokesman Fried Heim, it “took over a new role of boosting American presence in the Indian Ocean areas”, and brought the Indo-Pakistan war to an end.

The state Department indicated that the force led by the nuclear powered enterprise “marks the beginning of regular U.S. naval operations in that vast and strategic area.”

The entry of the units of U.S. 7<sup>th</sup> fleet into the Indian Ocean coincided with other military moves in the Indian Ocean undertaken by the United States and Britain. As late as in 1963 the British were looking for an alternative place in the Indian Ocean as their Aden base was being rendered untenable by the growing forces of Arab nationalism.

Eyes were then turned to Mauritius and Seychelles because of their “natural facilities and a small politically isolated population.

Commenting on the joint effort of Britain and America to build a military base in the Indian Ocean the London Economist wrote in 1964.

“There has been an endless argument about what an Indian Ocean base is for: a stepping stone to south east Asia, a mounting post for peace keeping operations like the useful east African ones; a guard against Arab take over bids like Iraq-Kuwait incident in 1961; a warning eye on British Oil interests. The point is not so much of these functions

survive scrutiny – the first and second look as the sounder ones—but that sir Alec Douglas Home, Harold Wilson and Mac Namara, all agree that collectively they justify military presence.”

In 1966 the British and Americans signed a 50 years agreement to develop the base at Diego Garcia in the Chagos Archipelago. For four years nothing was done in this direction but in 1971 the American Government gave the navy a go ahead to build a 20 million dollar communication post and 1000feet air strip on Diego Garcia which is situated 8000 miles south of the sub-continent. With the construction of this base a long cherished American dream of a firm foothold in the Indian Ocean began to come true. There had been a wide 6000 miles gap between its listening post in Asmara along the Red Sea and Angeles in the Philippines. For a number of years the U.S. had been surveying the intervening region. Originally it had planned to set up installations in the NICO bar Islands some 350 miles south of Andaman's where India was constructing its own naval base.

Apart from Diego Garcia there were a number of Anglo American military bases and naval facilities in the Indian Ocean area. Britain maintained a naval base at Sharjah in the Persian Gulf where about 6,000 British troops were stationed along with air force currently engaged in operations against leftist guerillas of Muscat and Oman. Then there was the American base at Kagnew in Ethiopia in operations since 1953. Run by well over 3,000 American military men it was considered a main reason for American support to and an important source of Ethiopian strength in the operations against Eritrean freedom fighters. The British established their naval base at Simon's town in 1796. Britain signed a defence agreement with south Africa in 1955 and since 1965 they helped the South Africans to double their naval strength which consisted of three conventional frigates, two destroyers, one minesweeper, 10 coastal minesweepers, six patrol launches, one large supply vessel, one submarine with two ore sub-marines to be added to South Africa's naval fleet. The U.S and Britain have also supplied South Africa a number of corvettes equipped with guided missiles and anti-submarine equipment and detective devices.

The U.S had also at North West Cape, Australia a communication facility which overlooked a large part of the Indian Ocean areas. The South Africans had a naval base at the Indian Ocean post of Durban on its east coast and were constructing another at Saldamaha Bay on the Atlantic coast 70 miles north of Cape Town.

Coupled with the joint Anglo- American bid to construct a base at Diego Garcia and bolstering up South Africa's naval strength, it seems that the western powers were well on the way to establishing in the Indian Ocean a military Strategic triangle, which as the architects of the scheme saw it should become a bulwark of Western influence in this part of the world. In 1971 Britain concluded a defence agreement with four South East Asian Countries (Malaysia, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand) and set up an air defence council responsible for the integrated air defence system for the Malaysian – Singapore Region. In February 1971 Britain announced that it would continue to station long range

aircrafts and other forces in the Indian Ocean. A Britain white paper on defence disclosed that a task force consisting of six frigates and destroyers and a sub-marine would be assigned to a 5 Power Alliance.

CENTO had been another manifestation of American military presence in the Indian Ocean. The Americans participate in every annual naval exercises conducted under CENTO (called Mid-link) with a squadron composed of an aircraft carrier, destroyers and supply ships. Recently there had been much talk of reactivation of CENTO and its role with regard to the Indian Ocean stressed in stronger terms. In January, 1972 U.S Defence Department spokes-man announced that the U.S. “navy had long been interested in increasing its presence in the Indian Ocean”; and the Seventh Fleet Commander the same month announced that “the area of responsibility of the U.S has expanded westward to embrace the entire Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf.”

Few Soviet ships sailed into the Indian Ocean prior to 1965. Their naval presence in the Indian Ocean began in 1965. In 1967 one warship visited the Indian Ocean and a dozen small Russian vessels arrived to trace and recover space satellites. In 1968 a squadron of three Russian warships was reported. In 1970 seven Russian warships, nine naval auxiliaries, four submarines and eight spare ships were recorded. The maximum number of Soviet ships spotted in the Indian Ocean had been recorded to be 27 with guided missile destroyers, cruisers, submarines and supply ships. According to the U.S Defence Department the Soviet ships had made in 1970 about 150 visits to 26 ports in 16 countries bordering the Indian Ocean.

The Russians are reported to have facilities for their vessels in the Yemen Red Sea port of Hodieda, at Berhera in Somalia, at Aden and in Socotra Island. Shipping movement controls have also been set up at Aden. Regular facilities have also been given by Iraq at Umel Qaste at the head of the Persian Gulf. Mauritius and Democratic Peoples Republic of Southern Yemen are thought to be two strategic points in which Russians have more interest. According to western sources Russians have obtained permission from Southern Yemen to transform the island of Socotra into a submarine base. The western nations fear that coupled with already existing facilities enjoyed in the Mediterranean ports the ring of bases and sanctuaries would give the Russians control of this area. The importance of this area to the Russians can hardly be over-emphasized as it is the direct link between the two tinderboxes of today's world, West Asia and East Asia. In May 1971 Admiral John McCain, Commander in Chief of U.S Forces in Pacific said before a House Foreign Affairs Committee that the Russians have recently landed on and studied at least one island in the Indian Ocean in what may be a search for the naval base in the area. To this the soviet retorted that “U.S.S.R. wants no bases in the Indian Ocean.” But the Russians have openly boasted of about their increased naval presence in the Indian Ocean and the world. Soviet Naval Chief Kasatanov declared, “The flag of Soviet naval forces is today flying in all the latitudes, even on waters traditionally considered as preserves of the British and American navies.” The Commander in Chief of Soviet Navy declared “ships of Soviet Navy sail in the Atlantic, Pacific and the Indian Ocean – where ever it is required by the interest of our country's security.” On yet another occasion Admiral

Gorshkov said, "We must be present in all waters and move easily from one sea to another."

The French, the Chinese and the Japanese have also expressed their interest in the Indian Ocean. The French have a naval base at Djibouti in Somaliland. Sizable French naval units are also stationed at Diego Suarez in Madagascar in April 1974 a French squadron of three destroyers and supporting vessels with a complement of 1200 officers and men, including marine commandos, moved into the Indian Ocean. This force was meant to strengthen the French navy units in Madagascar and was to carry out joint exercises with the Dutch. France has also a defence treaty with Madagascar. The Dutch and British are reported to have sent a naval squadron into the Indian Ocean sometime in 1974, In November, 1972 the NATO Council to authorize plans for the protection of West-European shipping in the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic. The West Germans with their growing investments might join the British and Dutch in thinking about sending regular naval units into the Indian Ocean.

Among the local states, perhaps India and Iran are the powers which with their fast developing military strength can aspire to succeed to the position once enjoyed by Britain. The Iranians have declared that their defence frontiers are beyond the Persian Gulf and extend into the Indian Ocean. Iran recently published a Green Book in which she stressed her interest in the security of Indian Ocean. Iran is taking measures to increase the striking power of its navy. It has recently placed an order for arms worth 2 billion dollars with the U.S which is considered to be the biggest deal ever received by the Pentagon. Iran is buying helicopter gun ships, F-SE supersonic fighter bombers C-130 cargo planes and helicopters for the navy. Her new defence budget, over Rs. 2,100 crores, is almost equal to the combined defence expenditure of India of Pakistan.

Not long ago it was reported that Iran landed regular troops on Muscat in support of the already stationed 6,000 British soldiers who were operating against Muscat guerillas. In November 1971 Iran moved to make its military positions more secure by capturing the Persian Gulf Islands of Greater Tomb and Lesser tomb. These islands are important because of their strategic position. They guard the straits of Hormuz, through which passes about half of worlds oil exports. The Persian Gulf area as a whole produces 27 percent of the world's petroleum and has proven global reserves of 60 percent.

The immediate opposition that Iran faces today is from Iraq and Southern Yemen. For quite a long time Iran has had border skirmishes with Iraq and the armies of two countries have been poised in a state of confrontation. Iraq vehemently opposed Iran's occupation of strategically important Gulf Islands. She has signed a friendship treaty with the USSR and is quite a large recipient of modern Russian armaments. Iraq is also said to provide naval facilities to the Soviet warships at its Gulf port of Umel-Qasr. It is also thought that Iraq provides military aid to guerilla fighters in Muscat, Oman and Baluchistan. So far as southern Yemen is concerned it receives economic and military aid both from the Soviet Union and China. It is the most radical regime in the Arabian Peninsula and its rulers openly profess to be scientific socialists and Marxists. Southern Yemen is a sanctuary for

the fighters in Muscat and Oman who are led by a United Command of the Popular front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf (The Arabs prefer to call Persian Gulf as Arabian Gulf) and the National Democratic front the Liberation of Oman and the Arab (Persian) Gulf. On August 6, 1972, Ali Nasser Mohammad, the Premier of Southern Yemen announced that his country would continue to support revolution in Arab (Persian) Gulf. At least for the time being Iran and Iraq are both interested in a détente between India and Pakistan?

In the context of their own interests Pakistan and Iran are in agreement with the proposal for the extension of Diego Garcia as an American base in the Indian Ocean and a substantial American presence at all times.

## **CHAPTER XI**

### **MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN**

Pakistan's minorities, the non-Muslims, constitute about 3% of the Population. By and large "they are regarded as an integral part of the nation" and "enjoy equal rights with other citizens of Pakistan in respect of economic or social status, religious and political freedom."

There is no anti-minority complex except perhaps towards Amides.

A Ministry of Minorities Affairs was created in December 1971 to safeguard the rights and interests of the minorities. That is something India could well copy. The Constitution of Pakistan purports to safeguard the rights of minorities and ensures equality of treatment to all citizens with out any discrimination of religious faith, caste and creed. It provides that the state shall safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the minorities including their due representation in the federal and provincial services and there shall be reservation of seats for minorities in the Provincial Assemblies.

A non-lapsable fund of Rs. 20 lakhs contributed by the Federal Government has been established in the Ministry of Minorities Affairs for the welfare for needy and poor persons of the minority communities. That's again something India could well follow.

Some of the other major steps taken by the Government in the interest of minorities are nomination of additional Deputy Commissioners and holding of quarterly meetings with the minorities leaders for the welfare of minorities at district level; provision of reserved seats for minorities; representation in the People's Local Councils; representation of minorities on the Evacuee Trust Property Board; extensive repairs of non-Muslims evacuee shrines; fair representation in the grant of scholarships; broadcast of religious programmes of the Minorities from Radio Pakistan on special occasions etc.

As a gesture of goodwill the Ministry of Minorities Affairs recently finalized a scheme of the construction of a Buddhist Temple and a Cultural Centre at Karachi, the cost of it running into several lakhs. An amount of Rs. 3 crores has already been contributed by the Federal Government to meet initial expenditure on the project the balance is expected to be met by raising contributions. Land for the project has already been earmarked. The temple will be designed to accommodate 250 worshippers and the Cultural Centre 1,000 persons.

In 1947, when the Islamic Republic of Pakistan came into existence with the Muslim majority areas, there was a great deal of uncertainty and fear with regard to the minorities, especially the Hindus. In fact some people had spread rum ours which had frightened the minorities and it was feared that Pakistan would be an exclusively

theocratic state where the minorities would have citizenship and would have to pay Jizia and be considered as third rate citizens. But, the Quaid-i-Azam was conscious of these misgivings and rumours. He did not waste any time in dispelling this propaganda meant to create hatred amongst the citizens of the newly born state.

Therefore, before Pakistan came into existence, Mr. M. A. Jinnah in an interview with “Reuter” in New Delhi said that “Pakistan would be a modern democratic state with sovereignty resting with the people and the members of the new nation would have equal rights of citizenship regardless of religious, caste or creed”. True to his assurances, the Quaid-i-Azam again reiterated his plea to the minorities by making a declaration on the 11<sup>th</sup> of August, 1947, which was three days before the formal coming into being of Pakistan in the Constituent Assembly of the new Dominion in which he said that all communities in the country should work and co-operate together irrespective of community, caste or creed. He also stated in the course of his speech that each individual of Pakistan would be a citizen of the state with equal rights, privileges and obligations.

These pronouncements did much to dispel rumours and the minorities started feeling themselves as equal partners in the newly created State of Pakistan. It then became clear that the Quaid-i-Azam, who had founded a homeland for Muslims, would spare no pains to make it a truly welfare state for all. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan in an early interview in the U.S.A., explained the shape the new State of Pakistan was to take. He stated that the Islamic State did not mean theocracy, but, freedom of conscience for all people, with emphasis on social as well as economic justice to every section, irrespective of its religious belief.

The Objectives Resolution of Pakistan also assured the minorities freedom to profess and practice their religion and develop their culture. It also assured equal civic rights to its minorities. Thus, the minorities of Pakistan were amply assured from the very start that their rights will be protected and safeguarded.

The 1956 Constitution of Pakistan guaranteed the minorities the right to profess, practice and propagate their religions and it also assured them rights to establish and maintain their religious institutions. Similarly, the 1962 Constitution of Pakistan also guaranteed equal rights of the minorities. The 1972 Constitution is an improvement on both of these, in this respect.

### **Minorities in the Present Constitution**

According to a well known Hindu leader of Pakistan, Mr. Sunder Advani: “The minorities of Pakistan owe gratitude to Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who has not only safeguarded the rights of the minorities, but, has actually provided them every opportunity to participate actively in State craft.”

On the very first day of his assuming office of the President of Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam created an exclusive Ministry of Affairs and appointed a full-fledged Cabinet

Minister, belonging to a Minority community and encouraged the minorities of Pakistan in all possible respects, where they could feel themselves as important citizens of Pakistan. This has been followed by subsequent regimes. Minority Conferences are now being held, where the representatives of the communities participate to bring forth their difficulties and highlight their problems which are being solved with best possible speed and the resources at the command of the Government. It is gratifying to note that the Prime Minister of Pakistan had graced such occasions several times with his full support to them in the solution of their problems. Never before were the minorities so much encouraged as today. The present Constitution upholds and safeguards their freedom to practice their religion and develop their culture. It forbids any discrimination to be shown to them on the ground of religion or caste. Seven seats have been exclusively reserved for the minorities in the four provinces of Pakistan. Besides, the minorities could contest any seat in the General Election. The minorities actually practice and profess their religion and custom with full freedom as equal citizens of Pakistan, to which they owe their allegiance.

In Bangla Desh there is a very Hindu minority of 10 millions out of 70 millions but this problem is not faced by Pakistan where the total number of minorities, Hindus, Buddhists, and Christians does not exceed more than 3% of the population of which the Hindus are in the majority, concentrated mostly in Sindh.

## **CHAPTER XII**

### **FAMILY LAWS IN PAKISTAN**

On June 20, 1959, the Gazette of Pakistan Extra-ordinary published the report of the Commission appointed to report on Marriage and Family laws. It was a near unanimous recommendation by it that certain changes in the personal laws on Muslims in relation to marriage and family were necessary.

Sufficient time was given by the Government for public consideration and debate.

Two years later by a Presidential Ordinance (VIII of 1961) promulgated by Ayub Khan on the 15<sup>th</sup> July 1961 far reaching reforms were enacted in Pakistan.

The principal changes from the existing laws were the4 following:

- i. The provisions of the Ordinance have effect notwithstanding any law, custom or usage and that registration of Muslim marriage can take place only in accordance with these provisions (S.3).
- ii. Every marriage solemnised under Muslim Law must be registered in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance (S.5).
- iii. Under Sec.4 of the Ordinance in the event of the death of any son or daughter of a propositus before the succession opens, the children of such son or daughter, if any, living at the time the succession opens is entitled per stirpes to receive a share equivalent to the share which such son or daughter as the case may be, would have received if alive. This provision made a notable departure from the accepted Muslim Law of Inheritance.
- iv. Without the permission of an Arbitration Council no man can contract another marriage during the subsistence of an existing marriage nor can any such marriage be registered. The permission of the Arbitration Council can only be granted after notice to the man's existing wife or wives and for good reasons such as confirmed sterility, naocohabitation incurable disease. A party contracting a marriage in defiance of these provisions is liable to pay up the dower of his wife or wives, whether prompt or deferred, as also be liable to imprisonment of one year or fine of Rs. 5000 or both.
- v. Any man wishing to divorce his wife must after pronouncement of Talaq (in any recognised form) give notice in writing to the Chairman of the Arbitration Council and the Talaq is only effective after 90 days from such notice or after pregnancy which ever is later. Contravention of the provisions as to Talaq entails liability of imprisonment for one year or fine of Rs. 5000 or both.
- vi. A Muslim husband is bound to maintain his wife. Rules of maintenance are set out in sec. 7 of the Ordinance.
- vii. Unless otherwise specified in the Nikanama or marriage contract the entire amount of the dower is presumed to be payable on demand.

- viii. The Ordinance also raised the age of a girl from 14 to 16 for the purposes of the provisions of the Child Marriage Act of 1929.
- ix. Apart from the consequences of a husband taking another wife in contravention of the provisions of the Ordinance, a wife may obtain the dissolution of the marriage under the Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act 1939.

The Ordinance of 1961 has done much to improve the status of Pakistani women, who in many ways are not far behind their sisters in Western land. The burqa has largely disappeared in the towns and women occupy important position in the life of the community and in the various professions and even in politics.

Under Muslim Law, if a man divorces his wife he may not remarry her until she has been married to and divorced by a third person who must claim that he has had sexual relations with the lady. This harsh rule has been relaxed in Pakistan, where a man may remarry his divorced wife, without the intervention of another marriage. There is, however, a limitation on whimsical couples who treat marriage lightly. If a man divorces and remarries his wife twice the normal rule under Mohammedan law comes into force and he may not remarry her for the third time unless she has consummated her marriage with another man.

Under the new Constitution the provisions as contained in this Ordinance cannot be repealed by any of the State or Federal Legislatures of Pakistan.

## CHAPTER XIII

### EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The Peoples' Works Programme (PWP) in Pakistan aims at reducing the pressure of unemployment and under employment by activating the urban and rural population to undertake productive jobs on self-help basis. This massive nation-wide programme, launched by the Government in 1972, is picking up and there is far less unemployment in Pakistan than in neighbouring countries. Moreover Pakistani nationals find it easier to get employment in the rich Arab land being Muslims.

The scope of the PWP covers rural, urban and metropolitan areas in as many sectors of the economy as possible. It gives priority to such productive projects of short duration as would build up the economy through the provisions of basic capacities and amenities.

The projects under the PWP are undertaken through the utilization of local resources. The Government makes available sufficient finances along with its technical and administrative resources for making the programme a success.

In line with the philosophy of the PWP, representative institutions have been created in the provinces. With slight variations in composition, the provincial governments have constituted provincial boards consisting of ministers and secretaries of the nation-building departments. At the district level, district works councils have been constituted comprising members of the National Assembly and district officials of the nation-building departments.

During 1974-75 the expenditure on the PWP was estimated at Rs. 19.25 crores.

The main fields in which schemes are being implemented under this programme are housing, roads, playgrounds, adult education, tree plantation, industrial homes for women, drinking water and so on. The province-wise progress during 1974-75 was as follows:

**Punjab,** The programme made significant progress in Punjab during the year in question. An amount of Rs. 7.50 crores had been utilized up to March 1975 against the revised allocation of Rs. 14.40 crores. Metalled roads for 160 miles, 12 dams, and 335 new schools in addition to other works like playgrounds, veterinary centres etc. had been built under the programme.

**Sindh.** An allocation of Rs. 1.97 crores was made for Sindh in the revised Plan for 1974-75. Metalled road mileage of 20 had been constructed under the programme besides 5 water supply schemes and a miscellaneous scheme like schools, dispensary and bus stands.

**Baluchistan.** The provincial government of Baluchistan had utilized the full allocation, i.e. Rs. 50 lakhs made in the Plan for 1974-75, and had completed some schemes in the fields of communication, irrigation, village improvements agriculture, health and education.

**N.W.F.P.** In the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province an amount of Rs. 49.69 lakhs had been spent on various schemes during 1975 under this programme. Many schemes in the fields of communication, education, health, irrigation and housing etc, were started and most of them had either been completed.

**Federal Capital Area and Azad Kashmir.** In the Federal Capital Area, 19 drinking water wells were completed, 18 schools were constructed or repaired and 18 miles of katcha roads were constructed. The Azad Kashmir Government was allocated Rs. 80 lakhs in 1974-75 and had completed about 60% of the work on the schemes relating to transport, irrigation, education, soil conservation.

**Northern Areas.** For the Northern Areas, out of an allocation of Rs. 751 lakhs, during 1974-75, most of it has been spent, mainly on schemes of education, sports, irrigation, water tanks, community buildings and poultry farms.

## CHAPTER XIV

### EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

In Pakistan, education is regarded as important as national defence.

The expenditure on educational is now more than 2% of the Gross National Product as against a pitifully low figure in the past. During 1974-75 the overall budgetary allocation amounted to Rs. 159.37 crores compared with Rs.150 crores in 1973-74.

#### **Institutions**

The substantial increase in the number of educational institutions during the three year (1972-1975) is shown in the table below:

Type of Institution	1971	1975 (up to March)
Primary schools	43,797	50,400
Secondary schools	5,900	7,600
Colleges	310	423
Medical college	7	14
Universities	8	13
Teachers training institutes	87	87
Polytechnic institute/ technical colleges	23	24
Industrial and vocation institutes	77	86
Commercial institutes	30	30
Physical education	2	2

#### **Primary Education**

Up to March 1975, 47.30 lakh children were enrolled in primary classes (I to V) and 11.16 lakh in middle classes (VI to VIII). In all the middle schools, workshops for special courses of vocational training are being provided so that if a student does not like to continue his studies further he may be able to absorb himself in his local or ancestral vocation. Seventy-three such workshops were provided in 43 middle schools in 1973.

#### **Secondary and International Education**

Free education up to secondary level (class x) has been introduced in all schools. Up to March 1975, in the secondary classes, the enrolment stood at 3.93 lakh hand in the Intermediate (XI and XII) 1, 60,000. Greater stress is laid o science and technical subjects, and vocational and occupational subjects have been added to general education. Selected polytechnics have been converted into technical colleges. In addition to diploma and B. Tech. degree courses, a variety of programmes covering new areas of technology

which require urgent attention of modernization and development are being provided there.

### ***Higher Education***

At present 175 students per, 1,00,000 of the country's total population of 64 million are enrolled in the thirteen universities including the two Agricultural Universities at Lyallpur and Tando Jam (Sindh) and two Engineering Universities at Lahore and Jamshoro (Sindh). A massive shift is being made towards science and technology in the six general universities and the degree colleges, thus in creasing enrolment in science and technology to 10%.

To tap the possibilities for the development and exploitation of natural and industrial resources of the country, centres of excellence have been set up in five universities, namely the Punjab University in Physics, Karachi University in Marine Biology, Sindh University in Analytical Chemistry, Peshawar University in Geography and Baluchistan University in Mineralogy.

### ***Campaign against Illiteracy***

A peoples' University at Islamabad has been set up to provide educational facilities through correspondence courses, tutorials, seminars, workshops, laboratories, television and radio broadcasts and other mass communication media. Over 8,200 adult literacy centres have been setup by the provincial government of Punjab which has set a target of educating over one million adult illiterates. Similarly, 5,000 centres had been setup in Sindh and the target is 4, 00,070.

### ***Students' Welfare***

Construction of hostels for outstation students, interest free loans to poor and talented students from low income groups, award of scholarships to students studying at various levels of education, on the basis of merit and economic background, are some of the Government's welfare programmes for the student community.

## **CHAPTER XV**

### **MINERALS AND RESOURCES**

Mineral exploration and development in Pakistan has been carried out by a number of agencies like, Geological Survey of Pakistan (GSP), Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC), Pakistan Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, Provincial Mineral Development Directorates, Sarhad Development Authority and the private sector. The latest to enter the field are the Federally Administered Tribal Areas Development Corporation and Research Development Corporation.

The activities of the GSP are restricted to exploration only, i.e. discovery and assessment of mineral reserves and grade estimation of deposits. Mineral exploration is in the provincial domain.

In order to accelerate exploration, especially exploration of minerals, the public sector mineral development agencies of the Federal Government have been reorganized. In March 1974, the Government set up the Research Development Corporation for the specific purposes of implementing a crash exploration and exploitation programme for the copper deposits found at Saindak in Chagai, District (Baluchistan). The strategy adopted is to concentrate on the most promising mineral bearing areas: Chagai, Lasbela-Khuzdar, Zhob, Tharparkar, Salt Range-Potwar, Hazara, Swat, Dir, Mohammad, Waziristan and Chitral-Gilgit mineral districts.

#### ***Major Minerals***

Pakistan produces annually about 28 solid minerals including 15 on an industrial scale. The latter are barite, marble, china clay, rock slat, soap-stone, dolomite, sulphur, fire clay, fullers' earth, glass sand (silica sand), gypsum and limestone. Some major minerals are discussed below:

#### ***Coal***

The total recoverable coal reserves of Pakistan re estimated at 46.90 crore tons, capable of yielding 89.1 lakh British Thermal Units (BTUs) of energy which is about 10% more than the energy yield from the entire gas reserves at Sui (8.62 million cubic feet). The current production of coal mostly of poor quality is about 13 lakh tons, 95% of which is used for brick-making, 4% for power generation and 1% for domestic purposes. Coal and coke for railways, foundries and engineering works are imported. Imports average about 44,430 tons per annum and consumption of coal by railways has substantially declined after 1947-48. At present only 11% of the locomotives are coal based. The big mines are at Makerwal, Sharingh and Degari.

#### ***Iron Ore***

Total reserves of iron ore in the country are estimated at over 40 crore tons of which about 37.5 crore tons are sedimentary, about 90 lakh tons are metamorphic/hydrothermal and about 1.60 crore tons are lateritic. The largest reserves of over 30 crore tons are in the Kalabagh-Makerwal region in Mianwali district (Punjab). The ore contains complex carbonate, silicate and oxide minerals with an average of 32% iron. The Langrial deposits of Hazara district in North West Frontier Province contain about 3 crore tons of complex ore with iron content, varying from 34 to 47%. About one crore tons of carbonate ore reserves with an average of 30% iron ore is estimated to be available in Khuzdar district (Baluchistan). The remotely located Chitral deposits of 37 lakh tons are magnetite type with a high iron content of 45 to 65%. Iron ore deposits are also found near Ziarat and Chilghazi, both in Baluchistan.

### ***Chromite***

Chromite is the only metallic mineral that Pakistan produces mainly for export. The main deposits are located near Muslim Bagh in Baluchistan. These deposits contain ore with a chromium/iron ratio of about 3:1. Small deposits of Chromite have also been found in Chagai and Kharan districts of Baluchistan and in Malakand, Mohammad and North Waziristan Agencies of tribal areas.

### ***Copper Ore***

Encouraging indications of the presence of copper deposits have been found at Saindak near the Pakistan-Iran border in Chagai district (Baluchistan). Preliminary tests so far carried out indicate the potential presence of 25 crore tons of copper ore with an average metal grade of 0.5%. A scheme, costing Rs.510 crore has been sanctioned, which includes new drilling machines and setting up Saindak mechanical and chemical laboratories.

### ***Rock Phosphate***

The Hazara phosphate area of North West Frontier Province, in the opinion of local and foreign geologists, has a good chance of becoming a potential producer of phosphate rock, needed for fertilizer manufacture in the country. So far, four promising deposits at Kakul, Lagarban, Dalao and Sirban hills have been located and partly explored. Out of about 60 sq. miles of potential phosphate rock-bearing area, only 5 to 6 sq. miles have been explored so far. Within this small area, indicated reserve of the phosphate rock has been estimated at 60 lakh tons. There are indications of phosphate rock in the entire area from a point south of Abbotabad to within Azad Kashmir. The main areas are between Kakul and Lagarban. In the Abbotabad area alone 28 leases have been given, covering an area of 1,90,000 acres, of which 5,000 acres have been examined to prove volume and quality of reserves. Other minerals, found in the country, are as follows, figures in brackets show reserves in tons:-

Barite (over 20 lakh), Bauxite (over 10 crores) China Clay (6,13,000), Fire Clay (over 10 crores), Gravel (very large deposits), Gypsum and Anhydrite (very large deposits), Marble (fairly large deposits), Magnesite (over 1.20 crores), Rock salt (very large deposits) Sea Salt (very large deposits) and Silica Sand (very large deposits).

### ***Financial Allocations***

Rs. 2.53 crores was allocated for public sector mineral schemes during 1973-74. The revised expenditure during this year is estimated at about Rs.6.26 crores which was an increased of Rs. 3.37 crores or 250%. The 1974-75 allocation for public sector schemes was Rs. 2.74 crores.

### **FUEL**

A great portion of the area of Pakistan is made up of sedimentary rocks which possess the general characteristics of the incidence of oil. The search for oil in the country began in 1866 in the Potwar and Attock districts, west of river Indus. A large number of wells were drilled near the seepages but without much success. So the position remained unaltered till Independence in 1947.

After Independence, new interest was shown in oil prospecting. 1949 marked the first success in the field; Burmah Oil Company discovered oil in their Chakwal area. In 1950 Pakistan Petroleum Ltd; was formed for the exploration of oil and soon it discovered large quantities of gas at, Sui (Baluchistan) which brought Pakistan on the Petroleum map of the world.

Oil: Geologically, Pakistan is described as an oil and gas bearing region. The Indus basin has potential recoverable reserves of 4,000 crores barrels of oil. Other still not fully explored large sedimentary areas are in Baluchistan basin and offshore areas of Mekran and Sindh. Three indigenous companies: Oil and Gas Development Corporation (OGDC), Pakistan oil fields and Pakistan Petroleum and four foreign; AMOCO (U.S.A), Winter shall (West Germany); Total (France) and Marathon (U.S.A) are in the field. Two more U.S oil companies, viz. Pakistan Trend Corporation and Taxasgulf have entered the field since October 1974.

The five oil fields all located in Potwar areas annually produce over 27 lakh barrels of crude oil, meeting about 14% of the home demand. The rest is imported from abroad.

The present refining capacity of the country's three oil refineries is about 37 lakh tons, which is being increased to 70 lakh tons.

During 1974-75, it was planned to gear up OGDC's activities. The main emphasis was on the drilling programme and optimum utilization of the rigs.

As a result of the efforts made in this respect, oil has been found at Vagal in Cambellpur district and Jandran in Loralai district of Baluchistan, where exploratory drilling is being carried out. In March 1975, testing for the production of oil and gas was undertaken at Tut-5 (district Campbellpur) and Rodho-2 (district D.G Khan) where gas has been discovered. Oil companies engaged in petroleum exploration are from the U.S.A France West Germany and the U.K.

Natural Gas: The first gas field was discovered at Sui (Baluchistan) in 1952. So far nine gas fields have been discovered in the country, with proven recoverable reserves of 16.74 million cubic feet (mmcft), Sui gas field being the biggest of all (8.62 mmcft).

India was offered Pakistan gas but preferred to exploit and develop its own reserves.

A 347-mile long 16-inch diameter pipeline was laid from Sui to Karachi in 1955. The gas transmission system now extends from Karachi in the south to Takht Bhai (N.W.F.P) in the north. A project, costing Rs.54.53 crores with a foreign exchange component of Rs.32.83 crores has been undertaken by the government regarding installation of a parallel 305-mile long pipeline from Sui to Karachi. The project will increase gas transmission capacity in southern areas by about 136 mmcft, per day.

In areas where the supply of gas is not commercially feasible, Air Mix Liquefied Petroleum Gas either in cylinders or through distribution pipeline is being provided.

In November 1974, a new gas field was discovered in Dera Ghazi Khan and its reserves are being measured.

More than 30 crores are provided every year for implementation of oil and gas exploration and prospecting projects in the private sector. The companies involved are Amoco, Wintershall, Marathon, Pak-Stanvac, Pakistan Oil Fields, Hunt, Pakistan Trend Corporation and Texas Gulf. Wintershall planned to drill two offshore wells, and Amoco three wells. The Government allocated Rs.13 crores to OGDC for public sector exploratory drilling for oil in 1975. The private sector companies were investing a bigger sum for same purpose.

## **POWER**

The major sources of energy in Pakistan are oil, natural gas, hydro electricity, coal and nuclear energy. Their contribution stands at 43.7%, 32.50%, 14.6%, 7.8% and 1.4% respectively.

The country is relatively poor in conventional energy resources. It has oil and the total reserves of gas equivalent to about 50 crores tons of coal. The coal deposits of 46.9 crores tons are as already mentioned poor in quality and uneconomical to exploit. The hydel resources are considerable but they are located far from the major consumption centres in the north. For its oil requirements, the country is dependent on imports which were estimated to be \$ 387 million in 1974-75, constituting 26.7% of the country's total ports; these have increased since then.

Nuclear power has recently been added to the source of energy and may make a larger contribution in the future.

The per capita use of commercial energy in the country has been estimated at 200 kilograms of coal equivalent which is much lower than the world average of 1,889 kilograms. Rough and ready assessments of final uses are stated to be as follows: Agriculture 11%, Industry 52%, Transport 24% and Domestic and Commercial 13%.

In agriculture, the use of energy is mainly for operating tube-wells and tractors. The source of energy is 40% petroleum and 60% electricity. In industry, nearly 43% is met by electricity and 41% by gas. The balance is met by oil. A small quantity coal is also used. The transport sector consumes mainly petroleum products. The use of electricity and coal railways is insignificant. In the domestic and commercial sector nearly 55% of the energy used is in the form of the kerosene and the balance is met by electricity (33%), gas (11%) and coal (1%).

General responsibility for effective and conducted development of power in Pakistan lies with the Government. The national policies in this field are decided by the Centre. The executive part is carried out by the two government controlled organizations, viz. Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) and Karachi Electric Supply Corporation (KESC).

WAPDA's power sector includes the operation and maintenance of power stations and the distribution and transmission system in all parts of Pakistan except Karachi area where electricity is supplied by KESC.

For purposes of power generation and supply by WAPDA, Pakistan is divided into two zones – northern and southern. The northern zone comprises areas of Punjab, North, West Frontier Province and Bahawalpur. The southern zone comprises the areas of upper in Sindh and Quetta and Kalat in Baluchistan. Both these zones, excluding Karachi area, re supplied electricity by WAPDA.

In Karachi, the KESC system extends upto Ghara from where it supplies bulk power to WAPDA for Hyderabad. This arrangement is being increased further from 1974-75 due to operation of Karachi Nuclear Power Project (KANUPP).

In all, WAPDA supplies about 75% of the electricity consumed in Pakistan, KESC 18% and the remaining 7% comes from Rawalpindi and Multan Electric Supply Corporations and by isolated stations of WAPDA, such as in Quetta.

Pakistan's largest single unit is Mangla Dam. Its six units of 100 MW each are functioning. Arrangement are also in hand to add further two units (100 MW each) and the total installed capacity in the country is 2,025 MW comprising the following:-

The future expansion programme envisages additional capacity of 1,680 MW. Thus, the hydel capacity is expected to rise to about 2,500 MW by 1980.

There are 54,000 miles of transmission and distribution lines spanning the four corners of the country.

There are four types of consumers in Pakistan in order of importance: industry, agriculture commercial and domestic consumers. The number of power consumers was 19 lakh during 1973-74; it has increased substantially now.

The project of energy resources survey of Pakistan was started during 1973-74 with the assistance of the UN. The importance of this exercise was highlighted by the recent energy crisis. The plan for 1974-75 provided Rs.37 lakhs for this project and every year more allocations are being made for the purpose.

## **CHAPTER XVI**

### **HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING**

There were by the end of 1975 about 38,835 hospital beds in the country, including over 4,000 beds in rural areas. The number of registered doctors was 10,000, nurses 3,000 and lady health visitors 1,000. In other words, there was one hospital bed for 1,800 persons, one doctor for 7,000 and one nurse for 23,000.

There were 160 rural health centres and 400 sub-centres in the country, i.e. one rural health centre for about 2 lakh rural people. Reasons: majority of doctors and hospitals are located in cities and towns; lack of basic infrastructure like roads, communication system, and 26% of the population living in sparsely populated areas.

The average annual expenditure on health facilities in the public sector is about Rs.3 per person, and a person requires medical advice between 2.5 to 3 times a years. The health institutions provide care to 10 to 20% of the population. Rest of the population gets care from private practitioners, homeopaths and Hakims (practioners in the indigenous Unani system of medicines).

For the first time, in recent years the country has been freed from vibro-cholera due to stringent control at air and sea ports. Substantial reduction in incidence of small-pox has been achieved by extending the small-pox eradication programme to the source areas of Azad Kashmir and northern area of Pakistan.

On an average it takes about 7 years after high school and an investment of Rs. 80,000 per doctor. The present annual output of doctors is about 1,000 physiotherapists 50 and dentists 60. The shortage of doctors in the country is mainly due to migration of a good part of the trained personnel to foreign countries which has been banned since 1973. In 1975, there were 14 medical colleges. The admission capacity was raised from 976 in 1972 to 3,877 in 1975.

Many Pakistani doctors and nurses have found ready employment in the Arab countries on extremely attractive terms.

The number of nurses training schools stood at 22, the approximate annual intake was 536. A nurse needs 3 years' training after high school and an investment of Rs. 20,000. The present output of nurses is 500 per year.

Apart from the nurses training schools, there were 37 midwifery training centres and 6 public health training centres in 1975. Their intake was very small. Efforts are being made

to expand training facilities for paramedical staff. Only one category of paramedical dispensers is being produced in reasonable number whose yearly output is 1,000 persons.

Family planning

Pakistan's third census, conducted with 80,000 workers was held in September 1972. This revealed an increase of 2, 20, 12, 000 over the period of 11 years.

Of the total population of 64 million in 1972, there were 34 million males and 30 million females. The big leap in the population from 30 million in 1951 to 43 million in 1961 and to 64 million in 1972, registered a growth rate of 27.1 percent between 1961-72, one of the highest in the world.

Province-wise, the highest increase of 78.04% was recorded in the lowest density province of Baluchistan, i.e. from 1.3 million in 1961 to 2.4 million in 1972, and the lowest in the North West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P), i.e. 46.60% or from 5.7 million to 8.4 million for the same period. The increase was of the order of 46.63% in the Punjab (25.4 million of 1961 to 37.3 million) and 66.90% in Sindh (8.3 million of 1961 to 13.9 million in 1972).

The density of population in the country is 211 persons per square mile. Province-wise, the Punjab leads with its 473 persons per square mile, followed by N.W.F.P. (290), Sindh (258) and Baluchistan (18).

The annual percentage population growth rate in Pakistan is as follows:

0.85% in 1930 (for the areas now constituting Pakistan), 2.2% in the decades between 1951 and 1961 and 3.61% in the year between 1961 and 1972. Province-wise, it was 8.19% for the Punjab, 5.01% for Baluchistan, 4.60% for Sindh and 2.66% for N.W.F.P.

In 1953, the Family Planning Association of Pakistan was founded. The First five-year plan (1955-60) began with a modest programme of Rs.5, 00,000 for making the family planning concept popular. The results were negligible. The Second plan (1960-65) raised the amount to Rs.3.05 crores. A family planning board, a national research institute of family planning and five training-cum-research institute of the various provinces were setup. Nothing substantial was however, achieved.

The Third plan (1965-70) raised the amount for the programme to Rs.28.4 crores. Again, the results were disappointing.

Population planning has, however, acquired a future as the Government has now reactivated the programme with a different angle. The Government allocated Rs.145 crores in 1974-75 compared to 10.2 crores in 1973-74 and has shown greater awareness of the gravity of the problem.

### ***Objectives***

The country's 1975 population objective is to reduce the birth rate to 35 per thousand. With the death rate reduced to 12 per thousand the growth rate would be 2.3% per year. The zero population growth, i.e. parents plus 2 children is the target set for 1985, but it is unlikely to be achieved before 2085 as the average Pakistani is still not enthusiastic about family planning. There would probably be a revolution if there was a plan for compulsory sterilization or bloody revolution in contrast to what India witnessed during the Emergency.

Modern contraceptives are widely available at very cheap prices. Some 28,000 outlets, mainly commercial shops, as also clinics health centres and doctors are registered for contraceptive distribution.

Oral contraceptives are freely available without medical prescription or preliminary medical examination.

Strategies and procedures are developed in the delivery of contraceptives, communications and publicity, training and manpower development, and maintenance and repair of vehicles.

Seven regional training institutes are significantly up graded.

Contraceptive distribution during 1974 was as follows: condom (units distributed) 2.1 crore; I.U.D. (Insertions 1, 12,466; oral pills over 11 lakh; and tube ligation and vasectomies 5,366.

But in spite of these efforts the Pakistani population continues to grow and is growing faster than that of most of the developing countries.

Talking with a high-up of the family Planning Department of Pakistan, during my visit last December, I was told in confidence that Pakistan has no use for family planning. "We have enough food, we have a good climate, our men are sturdy, we can produce good babies, why should we cut down our population when there is work and food for every one. Moreover our manhood was deflated in two wars; we have a lot to make up."

## **CHAPTER XVII**

### **BANKING, TRADE AND COMMERCE**

Banking in Pakistan has made remarkable recovery and progress since Independence when the new country inherited banking and credit structure consisting mainly of foreign banks geared to financing all external trade. There was at the start only one Pakistani owned bank. For nearly a year, there was no separate banking authority in Pakistan. The State Bank of Pakistan was established in July 1948.

Banking business before its nationalisation from 1 January 1974 was allowed in the private sector as well.

There were 22 scheduled banks in the country, with 4,485 branches in 1975. Special attention was paid to the opening of bank branches in the rural areas.

During the period July 1974 to April 1975 total deposits of the scheduled banks excluding the banks of Indian origin in Pakistan increased by Rs.320.48 crores. The bank credit increased by Rs.489.57 crores during the same period. Upto June 1974, the total deposits were Rs.2, 352, 34 crores and the credit stood at Rs. 1,876.02 crores.

Since indigenous banking was not free from certain draw backs, Mr. Bhutto's Government introduced banking reforms in May 1972, which aimed at improving the equitable distribution of banks credit and ensuring great social account ability of the banking system. No change was, however, made in its ownership. The State Bank of Pakistan was vested with wide powers for successfully implementing the reforms.

It was made obligatory for each bank incorporated in Pakistan to have by the end of 1977 a paid-up capital of not less than 5% of its time and demand liabilities as at the end of December 1972, and to transfer 10% of its profits to its reserve funds every year even after the reserve funds become equal to its paid-up capital.

In order to ensure an equitable distribution of bank credits, a system of ceilings on bank lending was introduced in May 1972. The ceilings covered advances to individuals, directors of banking companies, public limited companies and bank's own personnel plus certain prohibitions.

For bringing about a more purposeful distribution of bank credit a special institutional framework was created. At the apex of this institutional framework, a National Credit Consultative Council was set up in September 1972. under the aegis of the State Bank, with representatives from the Government and the private sector to determine safe limits of monetary and credit expansion to forecast the annual credit needs of the economy in the light of the Annual Development Plans.

But the faith reposed by the Government in the private management of the banks was not justified. The result was the nationalisation of Pakistani banks under the Presidential Order, called the Banks (Nationalisation) Ordinance 1974.

The National Assembly of Pakistan passed the Banks Nationalisation Bill, 1974, on 11 February, 1974. The law, among other things, gives exclusive right to the Federal Government or a corporation wholly owned or controlled by the Federal Government to establish a bank. From 1 January, 1974, the ownership, management and control of all banks stand transferred and vest in the Government, so also all shares in the capital of a bank held by persons other than the Federal Government, Provincial governments and corporations owned and controlled by the Centre or State Bank, free of all trusts, liabilities and encumbrances. Vesting of any shares in the Government will not affect the right of shareholders and any other persons who may have interests in such shares.

Safety of all deposits in the banks stands guaranteed by the Government.

Every shareholder of a nationalised bank is entitled to receive from the Government by way of compensation per share in bonds repayable in accordance with a redemption programme formulated by the Government. The bonds bear interest at one percent above the bank rate. The bonds are negotiable and eligible as security for advances.

A Pakistan Banking Council has been constituted for coordinating operations of the bank through uniform policy guide-lines. It has already arranged re-organisation and amalgamation of the nationalised banks into six banks.

During 1974-75, Pakistan continued its efforts to improve its balance of payments position. These efforts were directed towards initiating the process of major import substitution in important items like food grains, fertilisers, steel and energy. The need for such strengthening of the balance of payments situation was rendered most urgent by the developments during this year.

A steep rise in the price of crude oil and oil products during the same year focused attention on the need to develop domestic sources of energy. This was only one of the elements of an international crisis in which the prices of goods Pakistan required to import rose substantially from 300 to 400% in some cases, covering items like petroleum, fertilisers, chemicals essential metals and metal products and machinery, apart from food items like wheat and edible oil.

From the view point of international trade, the present Government, which had taken some important decisions during 1972-73, was able to expand considerably the country's exports. These decisions included abolition of multiple exchange rate which previously benefited industrialists at the cost of small agriculture producers and consumers, simplification of the fiscal structure relevant to exports and abolitions of bonus voucher

scheme under the exchange reforms, introduced by the Government on 12 May, 1972. These steps put an end to various malpractices generated by the multiple exchange system in the past.

Another important decision was taken in respect of raw cotton. In the past no significant efforts were made to utilize this valuable raw material for the export of manufactures and semi-manufactures. Simultaneously, with the devaluation of the Pakistan rupee in May 1972, 35% duty was imposed on the export of raw cotton. In order to regulate the trade in raw cotton and to synchronise it with the larger national interest, the export of raw cotton was nationalised from October 1973. The Cotton Export Corporation was set up to undertake export of this item in the public sector.

The broad objectives of Pakistan's export policy are: to increase as much as possible the country's external resources for economic development, to diversify exports by increasing the number of exportable items, to expand and search markets for them, to improve the quality according to international standards, and to improve the unit value of exports.

The country's exports increased from \$1026.4 million in 1973-74 to \$1050 million in 1974-75. A disturbing feature of the export's behaviour during 1974-75 was the international recession which reduced the demand for Pakistan's major exports in the world markets.

Imports also touched a high level of \$2150 million in 1974-75 as compared to \$1973-74. A number of developments like sharp rise in oil prices and increased in import prices of food grains, edible oils, fertilisers, metals and manufactured goods, contributed a sharp upward revision of the anticipated import level to \$2150 million in 1974-75.

The import policy for 1974-75 continued the liberal trend set in the previous two years. Again, the aim was to leave decision making, as far as possible, to market forces and to encourage the maximum utilization of capacity. A particular feature of the policy was that a separate and liberal allocation was made for the import of essential raw materials and for the transportation sector. Separate allocation was made for all the key items such as wheat, edible oils, fertilisers, petroleum (both processed and crude) and pesticides.

A number of agencies have been set up to help increase exports. The Export Promotion Bureau is one of them. Its main functions are to assist exporters in finding new markets and to remove their problems within the country and abroad, and to advise the Government and semi-Government agencies for taking suitable measures to increase exports.

The other important agency is the Trading Corporation of Pakistan, which attends mainly to the export and imports of various goods as entrusted to it by the Government. TCP handled 14% of total exports during 1973-74. It was also entrusted by the

Government to import 29 items of major industrial raw materials and essential consumer goods in bulk to effect savings in foreign exchange. It handled 8% of country's total imports during the same year.

Yet another is the Cotton Export Corporation of Pakistan which deals in the export of cotton, and the fourth is the Rice Corporation which deals with the export of rice.

Trades under barter agreements during 1974-75 were favourable to Pakistan. The barter exports during the first eight month of fiscal year 1974-75 were 6% of the total on exports. Some of the barter trade arrangements were renewed. These included renewal of existing agreements with China, USSR and North Korea.

A number of trade agreements have been signed with the Middle Eastern and African countries. The most important development was the accelerated negotiations between Pakistan, Iran and Turkey for increasing their trade under the RCD (Regional Cooperation for Development). In January 1975, a trade agreement was signed with India, but the trade between the two countries remains marginal, the flow is yet to receive the necessary momentum and to get into the natural stream.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### INDUSTRY AND LABOUR

In 1947 Pakistan had a few small scale establishments based on indigenous raw materials, producing relatively simple consumer goods. In its early period, Pakistan was the exporter of raw materials and importer of manufactured goods including consumer goods.

Now manufacturing is the second largest sector after agriculture. Its contribution to the Gross National Product at current factor cost stood at Rs. 1,664.3 crores in 1974-75. It earned 60% of the total foreign exchange as against only one percent in 1951-52 and provided jobs to over 7,00,000 persons.

Textile industry is the country's largest industry (155 mills) and is in the private sector. It contributes nearly half of the product in the large scale manufacturing sector, followed by cigarettes, sugar, vegetable oil, basic metal and engineering, electrical, gas, transport equipment, chemical fertilisers and paper.

The entire industrial units of the country are located in urban areas. There are 375 cities which embrace 25% of country's 6.48 crore population. But the thick concentrations of population as well as development of industries are mainly in a few large cities.

Industrial production which had suffered a serious setback in 1971-72, particularly due to strikes and lockouts, registered a recovery from the second quarter of 1972-73. Production in large-scale industry witnessed a fairly high rate of growth during 1973 and 1974. The exceptions are yarn and mill-made cloth. The table below indicates comparative production trends during the financial year 1973-74 and 1974-75.

Commodity	Units	1973-74	1974-75 July-March
.....			
1. Cotton yarn	crore lbs	83.7	59.1
2. Cotton	crore yds	70.8	41.1
3. Vegetable	000 tons	221	208
4. Cigarettes	crores tons	2.748	2,011
5. Sugar	000 tons	589	451
6. Cement	lakh tons	31.0	25.1
7. M.S. Product	000 tons	214.7	151.4
8. Fertilisers	lakh yds	677.7	6718
9. Art silk and rayon cloth	000 tons	95.0	67.4

Pakistan is committed to the concept of a mixed economy. Thus, it wants the private sector to play an affective role in the industrialization of the country as well within the perimeters defined and the rules of the game set out for it.

Industrial development in the private sector takes place within the framework of the Industrial Investment Schedule, announced at the beginning of each annual development plan to 'guide' private sector investment into the desired channels.

Under the Economic Reforms Order, 1972, the Government took the management of 32 industrial units under 10 basic categories. In September 1973, it nationalised 26 industrial units producing vegetable oil under the Hydrogenated Vegetable Oil Industrial (Control and Development) Act, 1973. Then, in January 1974, the Government took over the management of the National Shipping Corporation and 9 shipping companies in the private sector. Similarly the Government nationalised the petroleum marketing and distribution companies under the Marketing of Petroleum Products (Federal Control) Ordinance, 1974 (II of 1974).

### Private Sector

Despite the take over, 80% of investments in organized industries continue to remain in private hand and most profitable industries namely, textiles, sugar and various consumer goods are owned and controlled and their production distributed by private enterprise.

### *Performance of Nationalised Industries*

The 31 units taken over by the Government under the Economic Reforms Order have made progress on a wide front. In 1972-73, gross sales turnover had gone up by nearly 50% and the profit rose to Rs.8 crores as compared to a loss of over Rs.2 crores in the second half of 1971-72.

During 1973-74, the nationalised industries have continued to make progress. The following table shows the group wise performance of these units during 1973-74 as compared with 1972-73.

(Rs. in crores)

Group	Sales		Profits	
	1973-74		1972-73	
	1975-76		1974-75	
Automobile	42.39	95.07	1.55	4.95
Cement	38.60	56.44	1.55	4.37
Chemicals	21.80	35.07	.60	3.79
Petroleum refinery				
& petro-chemicals	15.04	31.92	about	.10 .96
Light engineering	30.90	43.21	2.57	2.85

Heavy engineering	1.35	5.09	5.38	4.77
Fertilisers	12.92	16.33	.27	2.95

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The plan for 1975-76 provided Rs.234.75 crores to industry in the public sector as compared to the total public sector investment of Rs.109.60 crores during 1974-75.

## LABOUR

Pakistan's labour in policy in the past has merely been to amend certain laws from time to time to meet transitional contingencies. This state of affairs was not conducive to manpower development and employment promotion.

In the last few years Government has taken steps to end various forms of exploitation of labour by managements and to ensure a fair deal for over 7,00,000 industrial workers and other have-nots of the country.

### *Reforms*

Under the Labour Reforms of 10 February, 1972, and another set of reforms of 23 August, 1973, announced after the first Tripartite Conference of Government, labour and employers, the Government set up an Implementation Cell in the Labour Division to safeguard the interests of workers. Another Tripartite Conference held in November 1973, discussed the results achieved in the implementation of the reforms and chalked out proposals for further improvement. The third was held in May 1975 for the same purpose.

During the short period of about years, the workers have got a number of benefits not so lavishly allowed or granted to them before February 1972. As a result, there is a marked improvement in their economic conditions and social status.

The reforms seek to guarantee the workers their fundamental rights of freedom of association and collective bargaining. They provide for greater security of service including representation in management and a number of financial benefits such as the worker's share in profits (5%), compulsory payment of bonus, enhanced rates of compensation for injuries. In this connection, the application of the Workmen's Compensation Act has been extended to workers receiving wages upto Rs. 1,000 p.m. instead of Rs.500 p.m. group insurance, old age pension, children's free education and free medical facilities and other benefits, introduced for the first time. The reforms have also been made applicable to the workers in Baluchistan and in Malakand division of the North West Frontier Province.

One of the most revolutionary measures taken by Pakistan recently relates to the participation of workers in management at factory level. They have also been authorised to nominate auditors to audit the accounts of the factory.

Under the social security scheme, the deduction of 2% from the wages of workers for providing medical and other facilities has been abolished and the contribution of the employer has been correspondingly raised from 4 to 6%. Sickness benefits, previously admissible for 91 days, have now been allowed for 121 days in a year. At the same time the death grant a secured person has been raised from Rs.150 to Rs.500. Upto March 1975, the scheme covered 4,50,000 workers of industrial and commercial establishments in about 40 cities and towns of the country.

### ***Trade Union Law***

The law pertaining to the trade unions has been made more progressive. The formation of trade unions during February 1972 to December 1974, showed a healthy growth. The number of registered trade unions in the country stood at 7,172 with a total membership of 7, 41,174 at the end of 1974. The maximum time limit for holding secret ballot for determining the collective bargaining agent has been fixed at 15 days, extendable to 38 days in the case of large establishments over several towns. The shop stewards are also nominated by the collective bargaining agent.

### ***Labour Courts***

To ensure expeditious disposal of cases, a large number of junior labour courts have been established. Cases of individual grievances have now to be disposed off within seven days by the junior courts. Upto March 1975, 37 such courts had been set up throughout Pakistan, besides 12 labour courts.

Under the Industrial Relations Commission (Amendment) Act, 1973, the National Industrial Relations Commission has been given wide powers to deal with cases of unfair labour practices brought before it for enforcement of law for redress of individual grievances. The provision of Factories Act, 1934, previously applicable to factories employing 20 or more workers, has now been extended to factories employing 10 or more workers with a further provision that a provincial government may, wherever feasible, extend it to units employing five workers or more. In order to provide better health safety measures, annual holidays, casual festival and medical leaves with pay to mine workers also; the Mines Act, 1923 has been amended to protect the mining workers.

### ***Newspapers Employees Act, 1973***

To safeguard the legitimate interests and rights of all persons employed in or connected with newspaper establishment, the Government has promulgated the Newspaper Employers (Conditions of Services) Act, 1974. The Government has set up anew Wage Board for fixation of wages of newspaper employees under this Act.

### ***Dock Workers***

The Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Act, 1974, envisages the registration of dock workers so as to ensure greater regularity of employment and efficiency and economic turn-round of ships. It guarantees minimum wages to dock workers besides attendance allowance, health cover and measures for their safety.

### ***Welfare Fund***

The Workers' Welfare Fund Ordinance, 1971, provides realization of 2% tax from all industrial establishments. Out of the money so collected the Government allocated an amount of Rs.1 crore each to Sindh and the Punjab provinces, Rs.30 lakhs to North West Frontier Province and Rs. 10 lakhs to Baluchistan for the construction of houses for industrial workers. The Sindh Provincial Government has already constructed 1,7000 flats and received another amount of Rs.1.68 crores for the construction of another 2,500 flats. The Punjab Government constructed 512 family flats at Lyallpur. In the NWFP, work has been started on a labour housing colony which will have 1,010 two-room family quarters. Amounts of Rs.2.69 crores Rs.1.49 crores Rs.45.98 lakhs and Rs.10 lakhs have been released to the provincial government of Sindh, Punjab, North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, respectively for this purpose more funds are likely to be provided in future.

## **CHAPTER XIX**

### **COMMUNICATIONS**

The arteries of communication are the railways, roads, sea and air transport. Railways are the principal means of transportation.

#### ***Railways***

Pakistan Railways (PR) has 5,457 route miles with 874 stations and 109 train halts. It has 2,843 passenger carriages, 70 rail cars, 116 trailers, 37,339 wagons, 992 locomotives, 3,174 coaching vehicles and 37,256 freight wagons. For instance it handled 720.8 crores passengers-miles and 339.1 crore ton-miles during the fiscal year 1973-74.

Principal routes of the Pakistan Railways are:

#### ***1. Peshawar to Karachi***

The line covers nearly the two extremes in north and south. The distance is 1,045 miles. On the way are important cities like Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Lala Musa, Lahore, Multan, Bahawalpur, Khairpur and Hyderabad. From Lala Musa there is an alternative route through Sargodha and Lyallpur, and another links Wazirabad with the trunk line to Karachi through Lyallpur and Khanewal. Yet another line connects Rawalpindi with Karachi through Leiah Muzaffargarh and Multan.

#### ***2. Karachi to Quetta***

This line runs through the Bolan Pass viz. Kotri, Dadu, Jacobabad, Sibi and Spezand. The mileage is 533.

#### ***3. Rohri to Chaman***

The line, 327 miles long, passes through Habib Kot and Quetta.

#### ***4. Lahore to Mari Indus***

This line runs through Lyallpur, Sargodha and Kundian.

#### ***Roads***

The highway system provides both high and low type facilities built for light traffic and main highways for heavy commercial traffic. There are 25,151 miles of road in the country, of which 12,699 miles are high type and 12,452 miles low type roads as compared to 13,821 miles of road (5,053 miles high type and 8,768 miles low type) in 1947-48. There are about 35,000 miles of village roads with or without metal surfacing.

Apart from the Pakistan part of the RCD Highway (Karachi to Zahidan), the country's six highways have a total length of 20,371 miles. All the large cities and big towns like

Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Sargodha, Multan, Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Quetta and so on are linked with the highway network. The government has been actively engaged in construction of roads in the less developed areas of Azad Kashmir, Northern Areas, Federally Administered Tribal Areas and Baluchistan.

The Government has planned to construct a highway, about 800 miles long, linking Peshawar with Karachi, along the river Indus at a cost of Rs.500 crore. The highway is expected to be completed in five years beginning 1974.

Starting in 1974 with only 3 old ships and a total dead weight of 18,000 tons, Pakistan has 52 ships with a total D.W.T. of 6,16,597. Pakistani ships handle about 14% of the country's total foreign sea-borne trade and the national Haj traffic is fully carried by them.

#### Port

Karachi sea port, the only port of Pakistan, caters to 3, 10,403 square miles of the area of the country. The port has 24 shipping and 2 lighter age berths. The traffic at the port has increased from a little over 20 lakh tons in 1947-48 to 1.04 crore tons in fiscal year 1973-74. This traffic comprised 60% of dry cargo and 40% of oil cargo. During 1974-75, for instance, the port handled 73, 98 lakh tons.

The construction of new port, Port Qasim at Phitti Creek, about 12 miles south of Karachi is in progress. During 1974-75, Rs.10 crores were allocated for preliminary works.

A modern fish harbour is also being built at Gwadar at an estimated cost of Rs.34 crores. Besides this, plans are underway for the construction of landing jetties at Pasni and Sonmiani at an estimated cost of Rs.16 crores.

Pakistan's two international air ports: Karachi and Islamabad provide modern facilities in terms of technical and passenger handling services including the operation of the biggest jets.

Pakistan International Air lines (P.I.A) is the sole transport agency of Pakistan. Till 1973, it had Boeing and Fokker fleet. It has added DC-10-30 aircraft to its fleet in 1974. Its rout-mileage has grown in the past decade from 34,194 kilometers to 99,155 kilometers. The number of passengers carried by the P.I.A is more than 15 lakhs and its fleets are increasing every year.

The number of post offices in the country rose from 3,542 in 1948 to 8,549 in 1971, including over 100 post offices with extended working hours upto 9.00 p.m.

With hardly any telecommunication network in existence at the time of Independence, Pakistan is today connected with a number of major cities of the world on telegraph and telephone lines and by teleprinter systems. Internally manually operated telephone exchanges long ago started yielding place to automatic exchanges. Nearly 300 such exchanges had been installed until last year.

There were over 2,21,00 telephone in the country in the end of March 1975, the number is increasing every year. The only telephone factory at Haripur meets this growing demand.

An earth satellite station, built at Deh Mandro, 30 miles of Karachi connects Pakistan, with the U.S.A, Italy, Spain, the U.K., Japan, Kuwait, Bahrain, France and China. More such satellite connections are on the anvil.

## **CHAPTER XX**

### **INFORMATION MEDIA**

When Mr. Bhutto came to power in December 1971 in the wake of the dismemberment of Pakistan, it became imperative for the information media to reorient their programmes and policies as well as their reflexes to the projection of a new egalitarian socio-economic order to pacify the anger and frustration of the people. Within a period of three years the Government, in December 1974, set up a Federal Office of Information to do the job.

Prior to this reorganisation, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, under the charge of a Federal Minister, consisted of seven broad constituent units, viz. Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation, Pakistan Television Corporation, Press Information Department, Pakistan National Centre, Bureau of National Research and Reference, and Border Publicity Organisation.

As a result of reorganisation, the Ministry has been renamed the Information Division. It is under the Prime Minister's control with some changes in the above mentioned constituent units, viz., Press Information Department has been public Information Department, Department of Films and Publications and Bureau of National Reference and Research have been abolished and, instead, two Directorates, one of Newsreels and Documentaries and the other of Research, Reference and Publications have been set up.

#### ***Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation***

PBC, better known as Radio Pakistan has eight regional broadcasting stations located at Karachi, Hyderabad, Multan, Quetta, Lahore, Bahawalpur, Rawalpindi and Peshawar, with a total of 31 transmitters, 17 medium-wave and 14 short-wave, and a total of 3,130 kw (MW 1,979 kw and SW 1,151 kw). The MW transmission covers 70% of the country's population and 33% of its area.

The world service, started from April 1973, keeps overseas listeners aware of the country's progress and projects Pakistan's point of view to foreigners in the target areas. The programmes are 33/1-2 hours in 15 languages and cover countries in South-East Asia, Persian Gulf, Middle East, North Africa and West Europe including the U.K.

#### ***Pakistan Television Corporation***

In Pakistan, TV was introduced in 1964. All the provincial capitals, i.e. Karachi, Lahore, Quetta and Peshawar as well as the federal capital, Islamabad, have their own TV stations and broadcast many special programmes. PTC own a subsidiary company, Asian Television Service, which produces and exchanges film/TV documentaries under the exchange programme with RCD countries (Iran and Turkey) and other European countries.

Pakistan TV in one of the liveliest media of entertainment in the developing world; some of its programmes are, indeed, of a high quality.

## **CHAPTER XXI**

### **AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

Agriculture is the largest segment of Pakistan's economy. More than 75 percent of its 6.48 crore population live in 40,000 villages. It absorbs 55% of the entire labour force. In 1973-74, it contributed over 36% of the Gross National Product and earned 40% of country's foreign exchange.

The major food crops of Pakistan are wheat and rice and cash crops are cotton, sugarcane and tobacco.

The total geographical area in Pakistan is 19.8 crore acres. Of this 4.8 crores was cultivated i.e. 3.3 crore acres of land was irrigated by a huge 40,000 mile network of canals, and by 100,000 tube-wells, which accounted for 9% of the total irrigated area, while the rest was rain fed.

The growth rate during 1970-75 in the agricultural sector was estimated to be less than one percent. The index of agricultural production decreased to 186 in 1974-75 as against 196 in 1973-74. Wheat production was estimated at 70 lakh tons during 1974-75 as compared with 75 lakh tons in the preceding year. The production of rice was estimated at 23 lakh tons compared with 24.16 lakh tons in 1973-74. Sugarcane production was estimated to have decreased to 2.10 crore tons in 1974-75 as compared with 2.35 crore tons in 1973-74. Major factors responsible for decrease in production of these crops were: insufficient rains and delay in the commissioning of the Tarbela Dam. Cotton production also declined to 35.67 lakh bales in 1974-75 as against 37.04 lakh bales in 1973-74. The situation hasn't improved much since then.

The supply of chemical fertilisers was arranged on a massive scale by government. The actual consumption went up from 4.03 lakh nutrient tons in 1973-74 to 4.27 lakh nutrient tons in 1974-75. The fertilisers' subsidy by Government amounted to Rs.32.60 crores in 1974-75.

The aerial plant protection service is provided free of cost by the Government. An area of 1.34 crore acres was covered during 1974-75.

For ensuring price stability and implementation of price support policies storage facilities are provided by Government. In 1974, public sector storage facilities stood at 16.40 lakh tons. Additional storage capacities of 30,000 ton were being constructed. In order to provide better and greater storage and marketing facilities to the farmers and in the long run to link marketing with credit the Pakistan Agricultural Storage and Services Corporation Limited was set up in June 1973, with an authorised capital of Rs.10 crores.

The Agricultural Development Bank disbursed loans amounting to Rs.41.5 crores during 1973-74 as compared to Rs.16.8 crores in 1972-73. The loan disbursement target of the ADBP for 1974-75 was Rs.60.0 crores and upto February 1975 the amount disbursed stood at Rs.24.0 crores. The commercial banks have now entered the field of agricultural credit and advanced loans amounting to Rs.28.6 crores in 1973-74 as compared to Rs.8.5 crores in 1972-73. The Taccavi loans advanced during 1973-74 stood at Rs.1.6 crores as against Rs.1.1 crores in 1972-73. The amount is being increased every year. Contribution of the cooperative societies amounted to Rs.6.2 crores in 1973-74 as compared to Rs.6.5 crores in 1972-73. The target for 1974-75 was Rs.15.5 crores it is being still further raised now.

With a view to breaking feudalistic control and improve the income-distribution situation a set of revolutionary land reforms was announced in March 1972 limiting the individual ownership of land to 150 acres of irrigated or 300 acres of unirrigated land as against the previous 500 acres and 1,000 respectively, and shifting all costs of traditional inputs from the tenants to the landowners.

As a result, over 8.92 lakh acres of agricultural land was resumed and 4.32 lakh acres of land distributed to 53,458 farmers by March 1975.

An Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), launched by Government to step up agricultural production and to improve the quality of rural life, established 117 marakez (centres) in the four provinces and important inputs were supplied to the project areas' farmers through these marakez in 1973-74.

A People's Works Programme, launched in 1972-73, was designed to create job opportunities for the people. Representative institutions were set up in the provinces to carryout the programmes which include construction of houses, roads, playgrounds, adult education, tree plantation etc.

The agro villages programme, also launched in 1972-73, includes small towns located in rural areas designed to be self-contained settlements. They would provide vast employment opportunities to the people in the surrounding areas so as to check the present large-scale movement of the village people to the over-crowded cities. Sites are being elected by the provincial governments, which should have access and should be beneficial to the maximum number of rural population.

An Integrated Rural Development Programme was launched in Pakistan in July 1972. The Programme meets the requirements of the united approach approved by the UN for rural development of its member countries and is in line with the thinking and recommendations of the FAO.

IRDP covers a wide spectrum and there is hardly any aspect of the rural life which cannot be covered under it. However, the initial thrust is to increase productivity and,

simultaneously, under a phased programme to improve the other socio-economic fields so that the quality of life is improved in the rural areas, the gap between the cities and the villages is reduced, job opportunities are created close to the villages and an atmosphere is created so that the people in the rural area could participate with dignity in the political, social and economic life of the nation.

The programme thus arose out of the internationally approved concept of selecting a production area called marakez (centre) comprising 50 to 60 villages, mostly with small farmers, for improving their socio-economic status. This is achieved through an intensive rural development programme with an initial thrust towards increasing productivity by providing technical guidance, supervised credit, supply of inputs, machinery on hire, storage and marketing facilities.

Despite earlier hurdles, IRDP has now forged ahead. It continues to attract encouragement from international agencies like UNDP and FAO as well as from developed countries.

A search and operational cell in the IRDP carries out practical field research.

Allocations for the IRDP for the past three years (of which the figures are available) are as follows:

(Rs. in lakhs)				
Year	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Baluchistan
	Rs	Rs	Rs.	Rs.
1972-73	30	20	15	25
1973-74	51.5	50	20.7	20
1974-75	401.88	27.50	15.71	19.60

The provinces wise position of the IRDP at the end of March 1974-75 was as follows:

**Punjab** 38 marakez were set up, 10, 32 cooperative societies were organized at village level and 14 cooperative federations were formed at the marakez level.

Marakez buildings were constructed at 2 projects at Shadab and Manawala. Postal facilities were provided to all the projects, telephone connections to 11 marakez and electricity to 30 marakez and 166 villages.

139 health centres/hospitals/dispensaries operating in projects areas as well as 68 adult literacy centres, 31 population planning centres, 92 primary schools, 18 middle schools, and 254 sports clubs were set up.

Farmers were supplied fertilisers improved seeds and credit amounting to Rs.1.18 crores and their cultivated areas were sprayed with pesticides.

26-mile long water courses were lined with polythene and bricks at a total cost of over Rs.11 lakhs. To supplement the irrigational supplies, 222 tube-wells were installed in the marakez.

30 marakez were set up in Sindh and 80 services (cooperative) societies were organized. The federation of service societies was under active implementation.

Office and residential blocks at 4 marakez were constructed whereas work in 19 marakez was in progress.

1,878 miles of link roads were constructed. Postal facilities were provided to 28 marakez, telephone connections to 19 marakez and electricity to 20 marakez.

61 hospitals/dispensaries, 1,266 schools and 5,548 adult literacy educational centres were set up and 320 playgrounds were provided in the marakez.

Bank branches were opened at 25 places, fertilisers supplied to all marakez, cultivated land sprayed with pesticides and credits amounting to Rs.2.98 crores were provided to farmers.

Three miles of water courses were lined and Rs.18 lakh were provided to extend the scheme. About 8,674 acres of lands was developed and 217 tube-wells were installed.

North-West Frontier Province, 15 marakez were opened and 189 cooperative societies set up. 7 bank branches were opened in marakez. Credit sanctioned amounted to Rs.1,74,310.

Work on the improvement of physical infrastructure and building marakez complexes were in progress at a cost of over Rs.20 lakhs. The miles of link roads were constructed and culverts were built.

Four marakez were provided with postal facilities and electricity.

41 hospitals/health/centres/dispensaries were operating. One high school and 2 middle schools were started and buildings for 12 more schools were constructed. 3 adult education centres were opened. 17 training courses were conducted for 200 trainees.

Fertilisers and seed requirements were fully met and cultivated land sprayed with pesticides. 1,071 acres of land were reclaimed.

21 marakez and 124 cooperative societies were established in Baluchistan.

So far 14 marakez have been provided with postal facilities, 13 with telephone and 12 with electricity.

14 hospitals/dispensaries/health centres, 63 schools and 14 youth clubs were set up in all the existing marakez, 36 schemes in the field of social welfare and 6 schemes for supply of drinking water were implemented.

Fertiliser needs were met and cultivated area sprayed with pesticides. Credit amounting to Rs.2,38,302 was provided to the farmers.

The major portion of Pakistan was once practically a desert but an extensive system of canal irrigation, one of the longest in the world, has transformed the desert plains into smiling fields. This transformation has increased the areas irrigated from a few hundred thousand acres to a contemporary canal irrigated area of over 3.30 crore acres.

Today, the irrigation system consists of 40,000 mile network of canals and a series of river barrages and canal head works which control the diversion of river flows into the canal. The largest barrage at Sukkur on the Indus, nearly a mile long, diverts water into 7 large canals.

From the irrigation point of view Pakistan can be divided into two regions: (i) area drained by Indus basin and its tributaries, and adjoining tracks depending on the Indus river system for their water supply, and (ii) areas drained by coastal tributaries and desert streams comprising most of the Quetta and Kalat divisions and their adjoining tracks.

The major agricultural areas in the country lie within the basin formed by the Indus river and its tributaries, which run in a general north-east/south-west direction from the points where the rivers enter Pakistan to the mouth of Indus at the Arabian Sea, east of Karachi.

The most productive agricultural area of the country is the Punjab province – the north-east region watered by four important Indus tributaries – Jhelum, Chanab, Ravi and Sutlej rivers.

The gross geographical area of Pakistan is 19.80 crore acres, of which 13.10 crore lie in the Indus basin. The culturable land within and outside the Indus basin is about 7.50 crore acres and 1 crore respectively. Of this, roughly 2 crore acres are commanded by the canals in the Punjab province, 1.30 crore acres in Sindh province and about 7 lakh acres

in the North-West Frontier Province. A small fraction of the total culturable command area lies in Baluchistan Province under the Pat Feeder of Guddu Barrage (Sindh).

The average designed irrigation intensity of the entire canal system is about 68%. Depending upon the availability of water in the rivers, nearly 2.40 crore acres are irrigated through canals. In addition, 60 lakh acres are irrigated by tube-wells, 17 lakh acres by open wells and 22 lakh acres through tanks and other means in an average year.

The total availability of water of irrigation at water courses increases from 9.57 crore acre feet (CAF) in 1972-73 to 9.62 CAF in 1973-74 due to improved flow in the canals and additional output from the tube-wells.

The total average annual inflow of water into the country from the Indus system after diversion of three eastern rivers, namely Sutlej, Beas and Ravi, is 14.20 crore acre feet. Of this an average of 2.30 crore acre feet is received in Rabi season and 1.19 crore acre feet in Kharif. But the flows in the Indus system fluctuate from year to year, as low as 12.03 crore acre feet in 1969-70 and as high 19.61 crore acre feet in 1972-73.

Soon after Independence in August 1947, India asserted proprietary rights over waters of the eastern rivers, the Sutlej, Beas and stopped supplies to certain canals in Pakistan, irrigating about 80 lakh acres dependent on these rivers. After several years this dispute was solved amicably and the division of Indus river system was agreed upon through the Indus Water Treaty of 1960. The Treaty allocated the 3 eastern rivers, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej to India. The Indus main with its two tributaries, the Jhelum and Chanab, came to Pakistan.

The Indus Basin Project is the outcome of Indus Water Treaty of 1960 and is meant to transfer the water from the western rivers to replace the irrigation supplies received by Pakistan from the eastern rivers, and envisaged the construction of the following works:

1. Mangla Dam on River Jhelum.
2. Tarbela Dam on river Indus.
3. Eight inter-river link canals.
4. Five barrages and one gated siphon.
5. Remodeling of 3 existing canals and 2 existing head works.

The project was divided into 3 phases for execution. Phase (i) included Trimmu-Sidhnai-Mailsi-Bahawal link canal system and Mangla Dam. Phase (ii) included Rasu-Qadirabad-Balloki-Suleimanki link system and Marala barrage. Phase (iii) consisted of 2 Indus links – Chashma-Jhelum and Taunsa-Panjnad-Chasma barrage and Tarbela Dam. All these works have been completed except Tarbela Dam, which is nearing completion.

The water and Power Development Authority has been constructing the project as agent to the Government of Pakistan. The World Bank is the administrator of the funds through which the project is being constructed.

## CHAPTER XXII

### PLANNING

#### *Planning has been a half hearted effort in Pakistan.*

The First Five-Year Plan (1955-60) was implemented to the extent of 90% in financial terms but failed to achieve its physical targets as inflation eroded the real value of investment. The Second Five-Year Plan (1960-65) was launched with a gross investment of Rs. 2,300 crores (Rs.1,462 crores in public sector) and thereafter the Third Plan (1965-70) was launched with a gross investment of Rs. 5,200 crores. Financial implementation of the Second Plan exceeded the targets while the Third Plan experienced major shortfalls.

The major objectives were to implement a strategy of development which sought maximization of growth in Gross National product (GNP) but no direct attention was paid to the distributive aspects of growth.

The country while achieving an increase in per capita GNP during the Second and Third Plan periods, therefore, experienced phenomena characterized by growing concentration of ownership of means of production and worsening situation in respect of distribution of income.

The Fourth Five-Year Plan (1970-75) was formulated in 1970 by a government which proclaimed its intention to hold elections and transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people in about a year. The Fourth Plan was, therefore, of a transitional nature. Moreover, the Plan was prepared on the basis of united Pakistan. However, as Mr. Bhutto Government was elected on a popular mandate for wide-ranging reforms of economic system, this Plan could not even serve a transitional function for it. Other changes of economic and political nature that took place since July 1970 clearly changed the perspective of planning in the country.

The change in the economic and socio-political context in 1972 therefore led to the replacement of the Fourth Plan by a series of Annual Development Plans, designed to provide a more flexible response to the urgent and pressing problems of the nation.

The present Government basically discarded the approach to economic development which hitherto aimed at maximization of growth in GNP. Instead a new long term development plan was being prepared by the Government. In the period of transition, development projects were planned and approved on an annual basis.

The first Annual Development Plan (ADP) for the fiscal year 1972-73 was formulated by mid-1972 as a flexible guideline for implementing various development policies. Total investment was Rs.820.20 crore – Rs. 415 crores public and Rs.405.20 crores private investment. Implementation of the Plan in physical terms showed that production

increases were not fully realised in line with the projection of the Plan. The economy, however, moved ahead recording GNP growth rate in real terms at 7.6% as compared to only 1.4% in 1971-72. The overall growth rate in agriculture was over 5% and in large-scale industries 11.8%.

The floods of August 1973 changed the economic outlook so drastically that the ADP for 1973-74 had to be revised. Its task was to strengthen the process of economic recovery and to make it much more balanced and broad based while initiating a strong anti-inflationary policy. The public sector development expenditure during the year was around Rs.600 crores as compared with the original target of Rs. 587 crores whereas the private investment, including Board of industrial Management, was Rs.434 crores. Total fixed investment was therefore around Rs.1.034 crore and exceeded the plan target substantially in financial terms.

The process of rehabilitation and recovery of the economy set in motion in 1972-73 gained strength in 1973-74. The GNP in real terms increased by 6.1%, agricultural output by 5.4% and large-scale manufacturing output by 7%. This progress was achieved in spite of the colossal damage caused by the floods, the difficulties created by the world-wide scarcity and rapid increase in the important commodities essentially required by Pakistan and sharp rise in the international price of oil.

The ADP for 1974-75 was the third in the current series of annual plans. Unlike the two plans which aimed mainly to attain the short-term goal of revival of the economy is a balanced setting of distributional system, reform of the economic arrangement and price stability, the third plan aimed at strengthening the already established framework of policies of realizing these objectives and in initiating programmes and policies of meeting the longer term problems.

As such the main objectives of the Plan included development of agriculture and basic industries, improvement in transport and communication system, removal of power shortage and development of backward regions on bigger scale.

The Plan envisaged an investment outlay of Rs.1, 738 crores – 850 crores public and Rs.688 crores private (including Board of Industrial Management) investment.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

#### *A man for all seasons*

In the chaos that followed the secession of Pakistan's East Wing and its emergence as the new Republic of Bangladesh, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took over as his country's leader. One of his first acts upon replacing the discredited Yahya Khan as President on 20 December, 1971, was to release and save the life of the imprisoned leader of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, whom Yahya had planned to hang.

Bhutto did not recognize the new Republic immediately but succeeded in partially restoring relations with India and making a dent into them.

In his efforts to lead his country from the trauma of defeat at the hands of the Indian Army and to salvage its shattered economy, Bhutto showed considerable skill and daring in preventing the threatened fragmentation of Pakistan into still smaller states, though the danger cannot be said to have wholly passed and that is why his emphases on national and territorial integrity.

Bhutto was born on 5 January, 1928 into a wealthy landowning family in the desert Province of Sindh where his family had lived for 350 years. Unlike his father Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, a famous Prime Minister of Junagadh State, Zulfikar became a rebel against the establishment. He graduated from the University of California at Berkley and Oxford University before qualifying as a Barrister from the Middle Temple in London. On his return he supported the Muslim League and migrated from India to Pakistan and quickly rose to become Minister of Commerce in Pakistan's military regime in 1958 under Ayub Khan. As foreign Minister (1963-66) he played an effective role in establishing close relations with China but became disillusioned with the Ayub regime and resigned in 1966 to form his own Pakistan Peoples' Party. He was imprisoned in 1968 for his anti Ayub activities. In the 1970 election he led the P.P.P. to a sweeping victory in West Pakistan.

Suave, elegant and highly sophisticated, Bhutto has proved to be a skilful diplomat and a powerful orator. His own life style remained that of a wealthy aristocrat despite his ideological attachment to socialism.

On becoming President of Pakistan in December 1971 he appealed for public support to democracy in Pakistan, to modernize its institutions and to distribute wealth more fairly among its people.

The gloom in which the year 1971 had ended for Pakistanis was gradually dispelled in the early months of 1972. President Bhutto showed himself an extremely able administrator, closely in touch with the needs and aspirations of various classes and

interests. His two main tasks were to restore confidence at home, bruised by defeat in the war with India and by the unconditional surrender of East Pakistan to the force of liberation, and to convince the world outside that his country possessed in full measure the determination and resources to maintain its new position in the comity of nations.

During his first few months of power, Bhutto reminded his people constantly that, in spite of the secession of the eastern wing, the future of the nation was bright. He announced a series of measures that were designed to secure a more just and equitable distributions of national resources among those who were creating them, while at the same time carefully preserving the international confidence necessary to ensure the flow of foreign investment and external aid. Large-scale reforms were announced; ten categories of industries were nationalized, including iron and steel, heavy engineering, cement petrochemicals, electricity, gas, and oil refineries, without affecting foreign investment and foreign credit. A Board of Industrial Management was set up to replace the ancient managing agency system, much of which had been in the hands of a few wealthy families.

These steps were quickly followed by far reaching labour reforms that increased labour's participation at management level to 20%, freed workers from salary deductions for welfare programmes, and gave them the right to appoint workers' auditors and shop stewards and to provide for appeal to an "ombudsman" for the redress of their grievances. Increased security of employment and better social services, including housing, completed a package deal to enlist the solid support of the working class.

In March 1972, a new land reform programme was announced, drastically reducing the ceiling on individual and family holdings and closing all the loopholes that had reduced the effectiveness of earlier efforts at agrarian reform. Some 3.5 million acres were taken over by the state for distribution to more than two million landless peasants. This was followed by a programme of extended educational facilities based on the nationalization of private schools and colleges and on a drive to promote equality of opportunity among all classes, the extension of university education, and the ending of unemployment among educated youth. There followed the establishment of an extended health service, and a number of administrative reforms covering the police the banking system, and the legal structure.

The effect of these measures was to strengthen the hand of the President in his efforts to reconcile in a new democratic Constitution the wishes of the four constituent provinces for a large measure of local autonomy with the need for an effective federal government. His Pakistani Peoples' Party (PPP) had a majority in the now truncated National Assembly and in the Punjab and Sindh provinces, but was poorly represented in the North West Frontier Provinces and Baluchistan, where the National Awami Party and the Jamiat-ul Ulema-I-Islam were strong. There was a feeling in the latter two units that they lagged behind the Punjab and Sindh, and had not received their fair share of attention from the developmental agencies. This was temporarily allayed by assurances that both provinces would be helped to make up any past inequities and by a political

agreement reached between the PPP and the other political groupings in March with a view to quell threats of secession not too secretly encouraged by Pakistan's neighbours. In September there was further unrest however, and allegation of a "London plot" by opposition leaders allegedly financed by Afghans and Iraqi interests to dismember the country.

Pending the drafting of new democratic Constitution by the National Assembly, the government, both central and provincial, was to be formed on the basis of the parliamentary majority, and the relations between the central government and the provinces would be determined on the basis of a modified 1935 act which was enacted by the British. In April the National Assembly passed an overwhelming vote of confidence in the President, who found himself able to abolish in the same month the Martial Law regime that had lasted since 1958. shortly afterward, parliamentary provincial government took office in all the four provinces for the first time since 1955.

Great public anxiety was manifested over the continued detention by India of the nearly hundred thousand Pakistani prisoners of war and by the occupation of some Pakistani territory by Indian forces. After careful preliminary exchanges, a summit conference took place between President Bhutto and the then Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at Simla, India, which laid down a step by step procedure for settling bilaterally the differences between their two countries, including a working agreement over Kashmir without prejudice to their respective principles. Pakistan was disappointed that India insisted on making Bangladesh a party to the settlement of the prisoners of war affair, holding that it was to the Indian Army alone that they had surrendered. In November more than 600 Indian POWs being held in Pakistan were released as a goodwill gesture. Demarcation of the truce line in Kashmir was completed in December, and withdrawal of Indian and Pakistani forces in accordance with the new line began immediately. All Pakistani prisoners of war were eventually released thus create a new atmosphere of goodwill in the sub-continent.

A marked feature of 1972 was an upsurge in the national economy, caused by the diversion to foreign countries of exports from East Pakistan. These rose spectacularly and were helped by a realistic (56.7 percent) devaluation of the Pakistani rupee in May. As conditions became stable once more, external aid began to flow. Early in the year, China had written off a \$ 100 million loan, deferred for 20 years repayment of Pak Rs. 10 billion for materials supplied and made a further large investment in the great industrial complex at Taxila. The U.S. and the World Bank Aid to Pakistan Consortium, along with the International Monetary Fund, supplied extensive aid from June onward. The new budget presented in June included a record sum for defence expenditure (Pak Rs. 463,000,000), relieved poorer taxpayers of their burden in this regard and increased taxation on capital and wealth. Revenue was estimated at Pak Rs. 8,510,000,000 with a surplus of Pak Rs. 250 million on revenue account.

Retaining the portfolio of foreign affairs in his own hands, President Bhutto displayed the same energy in the international field as in the domestic sphere. He toured the Islamic

countries, strengthened friendship with China, reached an understanding with Moscow, bettered the relations with Afghanistan, and cooperated with Turkey and Iran in furthering process of Regional Cooperation for Development. He withdrew Pakistan from the Commonwealth of Nations in January 1972 without adversely affecting every relation with member countries and on 8 November formally announced Pakistan's withdrawal from SEATO.

In spite of the difficulties with his most important neighbour India, Bhutto was able to secure step by step all the territory lost by Pakistan in the 1971 war, the release of the prisoners of war who were held captive for nearly two years to secure a bargain over Kashmir. But he made it plain he would rather write off the release of the prisoners than exchange them for Kashmir in Pakistan's occupation. Bhutto's greatest achievements, however, were to persuade America to lift its arms embargo, to hold an Islamic Summit at Lahore and win a reluctant Mujibur Rahman and Bangladesh towards second thoughts on the separation.

In a recent interview with "Time", Mr. Bhutto gave the following indications as some of his problems:

**Excerpts from the interview:**

**ON THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS GOVERNMENT.** When I assumed office four years ago (immediately after Pakistan's humiliating defeat by India), it was not only a sad occasion, the situation seemed quite hopeless. But now, for several years we have had a Constitution, supported unanimously by all parties and all provinces. As for the economy, it is not exactly pulsating, but where is the economy of any country pulsating at the moment? Prices of all essential commodities are much lower here than they are in India. We are constructing big plants --- the steel mill in Karachi, three fertilizer factories, five or six sugar mills. In agriculture we have remained stagnant, I'm afraid. We had two bad floods, and we had the disaster at the huge Tarbela dam, whose completion has been delayed by two years.

**ON DOMESTIC OPPOSITION TO HIS GOVERNMENT.** Their politics are negative. They say, "Ah, we have aroused the students, and labour, and we are having economic problems. Let's go; we have just to give the last heave and he'll be on his knees." My unfortunate experience in the past four years has been that they come to agreements and then they break them. Their attitude, I'm afraid, is a kind of legacy of the colonial era. Most of them knew that kind of politics in the days of the British raj. A trick here, a trick there. If the opposition plays a negative role, I'm afraid it's not possible for the government to play a positive role. Democracy demands reciprocity.

**ON PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH INDIA.** We have moved forward in a number of ways. If this progress seems insubstantial, it is because the rest of the world does not really understand the pace and the movement and the music of South Asia. Our quarrel, whether you call it an Indo Pakistani dispute or a Hindu-Muslim one, is by far the oldest in the world. It goes back for centuries and was further fanned by 150 years of British

imperialism and its policy of divide and rule. Ancient feelings don't disappear all at once but the Simla conference in June 1972 was a good agreement.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### EPILOGUE—INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Although India and Pakistan have been neighbours for nearly thirty years and have a common frontier of about 1500 miles they have remained, as Mr. Kuldip Nayar has rightly said “Distant neighbours” each living in estrangement of the other and each in a world of its own.

In India it is a common belief that Pakistan survives on a “hate-India” complex. In Pakistan, the fear generally shared by the Government and people alike is that India is not, by and large yet reconciled to the partition of the sub-continent and looks forward to an eventual break-up and disappearance from the map of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and at any rate to a subordinate status in an Indian hegemony dominating the several smaller states of the sub-continent including of course, the largest and most important: Pakistan.

Neither of these reasons may be really or wholly valid but they have materially influenced the relationship between the two countries over the past three decades. Inter-travel has never been easy, trade has been difficult and the younger generations on both sides of the international border have grown up in estrangement and misunderstanding of each other. In his comparatively short period there have been as many as four full-fledged wars! Bitterness is the common legacy of these hostilities.

On the whole, however, there does now appear to be a desire on both for a better understanding of each other. The last Islamabad Conference held in June 1976 on the normalization of relations went far to emphasise the importance of the two countries being reconciled to a normal relationship between neighbours each represented at the highest diplomatic level, a respect for each other’s territorial integrity and promotion of inter-trade and commerce with facilities of travel between the two countries. Of course, this conference did not completely write off all misunderstandings but it certainly led the first steps towards a conciliatory, if, not close relationship in the future.

Essential, however, to a détente between India and Pakistan is an understanding of each other’s achievements, in cultural social and economic fields.

The publication of the diary of my last visit to Pakistan by the widely circulated Illustrated Weekly of India aroused wide and generally favourable interest. Quite a few readers wrote to say that they would have been happier for more facts about Pakistan, a country so close to us, but so remote in many ways. I then decided that Pakistan today would be by and large a book of facts and figures, no matter how dull the result. My publishers think I have succeeded.

There is much in common between India and Pakistan. By and large the people of Pakistan have many racial links with the races of North and West India. Kindred stocks are to be found on either side of the cease fire line in Kashmir. The Pathans of the North West Frontier are neighbours to both. The people of Pakistan-Punjab have much in common with their counterparts in India's Punjab. Punjabi is the common dialect that does not change its vowels or its accents at the Wagah border. Good sense and political foresight spelt a Muslim Pakistan and a Sikh Punjabi Subah but not of course without bloodshed and misunderstandings and political upheaval. Lahore and Amritsar every evening now vie with each other in friendly rivalry. Pakistan Radio and T.V. are as popular in Amritsar T.V. in Lahore.

Constitutionally also there is much in common between Indian and Pakistan. India spent two years to spell out the largest written constitution in the world but in spite of many amendments made from time to time it has retained much of its original form, and looks forward to a newly varnished constitution. Pakistan has had a variety of constitution on a variety of occasions, including 'democracy' 'guided democracy' and once again 'democracy' in its partly amended form borrowing mostly from India's Constitution.

Many factors now spell a more cordial relationship in Indo-Pakistan relationship in the future than of the past – not the least being each country's own interests. In the new conditions Pakistan will not be able to lay the uncertain conditions in the N.W. Frontier Province or Baluchistan at India's lack of sympathy, nor can India count too surely on the invulnerability of its Gujarat and off shore oil fields. Indo-Pakistan understanding and tolerance may be the best medicine for the ills of both nations.

It would moreover be in India's interest greatly to woo Pakistan's goodwill as after the 2<sup>nd</sup> Islamic Summit held at Lahore in the winter of 1974, Pakistan stands high in the Islamic world and the Islamic world is clearly high on every developing nation's list of potential friends. In this reckoning Pakistan has considerable advantage as a Islamic nation over India's 60 million Muslims living in an uncertain second class citizenship in a secular but Hindu setup.

It would, however, be excess of optimism to expect the normalization of relations agreed to at Simla to dispel years of bitterness between the two countries. And while the Kashmir problem remains unsolved other important problems must await their solution.

For nearly a hundred year the British maintained an effete Afghanistan as a buffer state to keep the Russian Bear from wandering south to India. That problem of the Russian Bear is very largely India's problem still, though the Bear is contemporarily friendly and gave Mrs. Gandhi a most affectionate hug during her regime. This camaraderie is temporary and largely inspired by mutual hostility to Pakistan as a buffer between Russian ambitions and the freedom of the Indian Ocean.

Pakistan's importance as a buffer state is even more important to Iran and the states bordering the Persian and Arabian Gulf from a possible future military expansion westward through Baluchistan to Iraq. In this context it is possible to understand the new relations that are being forged not only between Iran and Pakistan but also between Iran and India. The fall of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in India and that of Mr. Bhutto in Pakistan may lead to a new alignment of forces, which may open a different chapter in international relations.

## **OTHER BOOKS BY THE AUTHOR**

### **Khalid Latif Gauba**

The prophet of the desert (Lion Press, 1963)

Famous trials for love and murder (Hind Pocket Books, 1967)

The Pakistani spy and other famous trials (Hind Pocket Books, 1968)

Meena Tandon's honeymoon and other noted cases of marriage and divorce (Vikas Publications, 1971)

The mystery of Nagarwala case (Hind Pocket Books, 1977)

Uncle Sham (Kalyani Publishers, 1972)

His Highness (The Times publishing company, 1930 & Kalyani Publishers, 1971)

Friends and foes (Indian Book Co., 1974)

Passive voices (Sterling Publishers, 1973)

Hyderabad or India (Rajkamal Publications, 1948)

Famous and historical trials (Hind Pocket Books, 1972)

The assassination of Mahatma Gandhi (Jaico Pub. House, 1969)

The Shamim Rahmani case and other famous trials (Hind Pocket Books, 1971)

The rebel minister (Premier Publishing House 1938 & Allied Indian Publishers, 1940)

The consequences of Pakistan (Lion Press, 1946)

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Inside Pakistan. (Rajkamal Publications, 1948)

Battles at the bar (N.M. Tripathi, 1956)

Verdict on England (Lion Press, 1946)

Uncle Sham (C. Kendall, 1929)