

To

KHWAJA SHAHABUDDIN

*The Grand Old Politician of Pakistan*

تہی رہ گزر میں قدم قدم کہیں برق ہے کہیں طور ہے

—Rais Ahmad Jafri

GHULAM NABI M. MEMON

Minister for Law, Parliamentary  
Affairs and Information

Government of West Pakistan  
Lahore

25 Oct. 1965

Dear Mr. Jafri,

I had recently had the opportunity of going through "Selections from Maulana Mohammad Ali's Comrade." Please accept my compliments on giving us this volume which, undoubtedly, is the greatest service rendered to the country and the nation. One can well imagine the conditions in the sub-continent had there been no Mohammad Ali; India would not have been free, nor, therefore, could Pakistan have been established, and the awakening we witness today in the Muslim world would not have been there. It was Mohammad Ali who stirred India to action, and infused a new spirit among the Indian Muslims to do and die for Islam. The volume recalls to my mind Mohammad Ali's dictation from his death-bed of his letter, as a delegate to the Round Table Conference, to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay McDonald, in which he declared in clear terms: "The Muslims are not a minority; they are a nation." It was this declaration, it seems to me, which first made the Indian Muslims conscious of their independent entity. The movement started by Chaudhri Rahmat Ali, Iqbal's presidential address at Allahabad and the Quaid-i-Azam's demand for a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims are links of this very chain.

If you are earnest and sincere in bringing out such literature, I have a suggestion to make. This is just a suggestion; it is for you to develop it and give it a practical shape.

The next thing you do may be about our new "Mohammad Ali"—I mean President Mohammad Ayub Khan. Who can deny that President Ayub possesses the same Islamic spirit, the same deep enthusiasm for the security and welfare of the Muslim nation, the same boldness in upholding the truth, which were the characteristics of the Maulana? Mohammad Ali braved the Hindu





# OUR PRESIDENT

*By Mr. Ghulam Nabi M. Memon  
Minister for Law, Parliamentary Affairs and Information  
Government of West Pakistan*

IT does not often happen that a great man gets his due, in terms of human gratitude, within his own lifetime. Oftener it takes centuries before his life and work could be dispassionately assessed, and duly recognised. Some of the greatest figures in history were the most misunderstood men while they lived. Some were even persecuted for their principles, or murdered for their merit. The more a man is above the average, the greater are the chances of his attracting envy and jealousy of his own contemporaries. It is bad enough. But it cannot be helped. Unfortunately man is made that way. If I cannot raise myself to your high level I must at least pull you down to my own lowlier one, so that the disparity does not operate to my disadvantage. That is the general approach of humans towards fellow humans. And, there indeed lies the key to the major tragedies of human history.



Keeping the widest possible mental margin for that phenomenon we, perhaps, have a reasonably solid factual basis whereupon to undertake at least, the preliminary appraisal of our President's personality and public service. In this respect I venture to put forward a few facts, which to my own mind have the highest evidential value, leaving it to others to consult their conscience and deliver the verdict.

To begin with, we have to take into account the times, the conditions, the general setting, national as well as international, amidst which he had been called upon by history to play his present role. A man of affairs is basically a product of his environment. In a way he is nature's response to a human situation. Therefore, if we wish to understand the man we must first understand the situation.

ialism at a time when it was yet under British subjugation and was  
 ing the banner of Indian nationhood ; President Ayub is putting up a  
 fight against this imperialism which, after independence of India,  
 exposed itself in its true colours. Mohammad Ali fought hard  
 st British imperialism and President Ayub is now fighting against the  
 rialism of powers much bigger and craftier than Britain. 'Iqbal's  
 ھے تو بے تیغ بھی لڑتا ھے aptly applies to Mohammad Ali, while Ayub  
 t soldier of God who, despite the very limited resources at his disposal,  
 taken the world by surprise by his ably conducting the war imposed  
 us by our enemy and defeating him on all fronts.

You remember you once expressed the wish to write a book:  
 icient Ayub, Soldier and Statesman." It was some time after the Presi-  
 al elections. This is the most appropriate time for doing this work. I  
 that you do it now, right now, and without delay. You know what to  
 nd how to do ; but, if I may suggest, it would be worthwhile to collect  
 hes and statements made by President Ayub on different occasions,  
 ified under different headings with your own background notes and  
 nents. An authentic and detailed history of the present Indo-Pakistan  
 including war pictures, should form a necessary appendix to this  
 ne.

This is what the nation demands from you today. Will you respond?  
 With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

*Arif Ali M. Khan*

*M. Khan*

*27/1/65.*

*me.*

*x. 65*



up to the incessant inter-party strife, they were unable to extricate themselves from the situation, or to enable the ship of State to remain afloat while its captains were so determinedly sending each other down. It would perhaps not be a harsh interpretation of the situation to maintain that there pervaded at least a general unawareness of the fact that 1958 was no 1948; that the abrupt change in international situation had occasioned the extreme urgency of vital changes in the national outlook and action; that the bull of political intrigue and unrestrained personal ambition once kicked in the back could not be held by the horn; and that history acting on the principle of survival of the fittest did not condone one's own inadequacies or suspend its decrees under the pressure of empty slogans even though they may hold democratic flavour or hold out the savour of civil liberties.

(3) Along with these, three other circumstances would also need to be taken into consideration :

(a) Pakistan, surrounded by a variety of unfriendly or doubting neighbours, was interlocked in a serious direct conflict with India, which had its roots in history and the end of which the Indians, even now, were not anxious to bring about.

(b) Side by side, there was the problem of economic development. Lodged in the middle of the twentieth century, with the surrounding world engaged in a determined struggle to develop and to satisfy the requirements of the new times, Pakistan could not stay in the eighteenth century, without endangering its security or its ideology—in modern times defence and internal stability almost wholly hinging upon the economic strength of a given country.

(c) Internally, political strife had accentuated provincial differences, language quarrels and sectarianism and intolerance, and the nation, instead of getting united and stable and being inspired by a sense of oneness, was fast disintegrating.

Now, to overcome this multiplicity of crises, partly of our own asking and partly imposed upon us by world developments, whom did we need and what did we require of him ?

A full-fledged angel in human form would decidedly have been the best choice. But God Almighty in His infinite wisdom, and in this century of ours, had, perhaps, not willed it that His angels should get involved in the affairs of the world, and, therefore, He had gifted to no country anywhere in the world the head of even a single angel of His. He had left every country to its own wits to make what use it could of what stuff it had produced.



## THE SITUATION

What was the situation confronting the country at the time the then resident of the country handed over to Ayub Khan, first, the administration, and, finally, his own place?

A few facts are perhaps incontrovertible.

(1) That the world situation had become grave; the advent of Sputniks, just then, had made world Powers nervous and uncertain about their future; there was every possibility of one trying to undo the other before the new discoveries disturbed the balance of power; the mounting tension, which soon enough found its outlets in the regional armed conflicts in South-East Asia and in revolutionary upheavals in Africa, seemed to have incalculable and unpredictable potentialities for evil; the post-war posture of international alliances had suddenly become outdated, imperilling the existence and integrity of smaller countries which had until then almost wholly relied upon one or the other of the world Powers (for example, the USA; the traditional friend of Pakistan, had begun inclining toward India); in the continent of Africa, countries, which had been weakened by internal strife and felt unsure of their future in the event of an international armageddon breaking out, felt the necessity of setting up undiluted military regimes; and from Turkey to Korea there was a spate of revolutions, in most of the cases accompanied by bloodshed, extra-judicial executions, and vindictive armed action against their civil population.

Of these and incidental events the cumulative effect was that the world found itself facing a long and dark tunnel; in the Afro-Asian corner of the globe the demands of national security had devoured the concept of democracy, man's anxiety to be able to survive had supplanted his normal urge to enjoy conventional civil rights; in some places individuals having developed tooth for personal power had decided upon burying for ever the country's democratic institutions and doing nothing to assist in their restoration or regrowth; and amidst the interplay of individual ambition and national aspirations there had begun occurring incidents which at once gave the contemporary Afro-Asian history a ghastly aspect.

This was the overall picture of the world situation as the year 1958 drifted toward its closing quarter.

(2) On the national scene, the international events having already cast their ugly shadows, the present appeared to be as unedifying as the future seemed to be uninspiring. Without being ungenerous to the gentlemen of that era or meaning any disrespect to them, this little might be permissible to say that they had been caught in the violent current of world events, and, feeble as they were by the outrages of individual opportunism leading

## THE MAN OF THE HOUR

Thus, perforce, we had to have a man, as far as possible a reasonably good man, a man with a bit of heart and a bit of head. In other words, we wanted that our man of the hour should be human, sympathetic, understanding and forgiving; that he should be humane enough to observe the sanctity of human life and the value of human blood; that he should be basically a man of peace; that he should be patriotic; that he should be energetic and effective; that he should have courage to show independence in the formulation of national and international policies; that he should be brave enough to stand up to threats whatever the quarter they emanated from; that he should have the flexibility of a political realist; that he should have an open mind about problems and personalities; that he should have some sense of the times in which he lives; that he should be a good Muslim without being intolerant or an obscurantist; that he should have a broad all-Pakistan outlook uninhibited by provincial preference or regional and racial prejudices or predilections; that he should suffer from no illusions as to his origin being superhuman or his office a direct divine gift; and of course he should have the crowning qualification, namely, that he should be enjoying the confidence of the Armed Forces which, in contemporary times, had emerged as the most decisive factor in the affairs of every country in the Dark as well as the Brown continents.

Not that we laboured under the illusion that all these qualities, in their total strength, could combine in one human being. That was not practical politics. But we did look forward to our man having something of all these things so that he has a balanced personality and is thereby able to balance the scheme of our national life and our collective endeavour to progress, and to find a reasonably respectable place in the world of the twentieth century.

And, in more concrete terms, what did we expect him to do?

So far as my own understanding of the country's mind or its problem goes, I could thus condense its requirements and aspirations, within the framework of the circumstances imposed upon us by the mighty hand of Time:

- (a) To keep the various parts of the country together;
- (b) To check the process of internal decomposition and national disintegration;
- (c) To put the country somehow back upon its feet and hold it out to the world abroad as a living, viable, and solvent State worthy of being befriended and not a slavish sick and sickening political liability to be shunned out of hand, or to be taken for granted;



(d) To avoid slipping into a megalomaniac, vindictive, blood-thirsty, and a self-centred or self-perpetrating cynic (in other words, his gentleness and humility should stand out in sharp contrast to the vanity and violence of similarly-situated persons in certain other Afro-Asian countries);

(e) To be helpful in the regrowth of democratic institutions so that as soon as the country's prestige in the international world is rehabilitated through fresh thinking, and a realistic repositioning of the postures of our foreign policy, and as soon as our national health has been restored, and as soon as dangers of regression and recession are minimised, the country is able to enjoy democracy in its finest form;

(f) To increase the tempo of our economic progress and invest our freedom with a meaning, and to make the common man reasonably invulnerable to want and disease;

(g) To strengthen the national defence potential so that the country can stand up to any challenge; and

(h) To make the interval as short and as painless as possible.

### THE CRITERION

It is by these criteria that our leader's work is to be presently adjudged. We have to see if he has been moving along those lines, whether some progress has been registered.

Nobody says that the achievement has been hundred per cent. No one avers that perfection has been attained. Indeed, national rehabilitation and advancement in an organised and non-violent way is always a slow process. It depends upon several factors—time; the degree of collective consciousness; the general moral level of society; national discipline; co-operation among all relevant elements; sincerity and team-spirit among colleagues and co-workers; honesty on the part of officials; integrity on the part of intellectuals; international conditions; helpful operation of elemental forces; the attitude of foreign friends and foes; and of course at home, the quality of a clear perception of national purposes and problems. Where all these factors should be involved it is difficult for the best amongst the humans, with the best of intentions and under the best of conditions, to wield the magic wand and singly perform miracles.

It cannot be denied that President Ayub is constantly on the move; he is almost a peripatetic head of State; he is engaged in fighting on all fronts from battlefield to food and family planning; there is life in him and a purpose in his life; he wants to do something; he wants to achieve something; he wants to carry the country forward; he pulls us out of our hide-



outs ; he exhorts us ; he appeals to us ; he challenges us ; he gives us opportunities ; he has brought about a certain level of prosperity ; as a man he is gentle ; he is humane ; he is sympathetic ; he is not malicious or vindictive ; he does not revel in the suffering of even his worst enemies ; he is open-hearted ; and, above all, he is a gentleman who when angry does not hurt, when betrayed does not scourge and when abused does not resort to fire and sword. Compare him with the rest identically stationed, and you will appreciate his merit, and your own stars.

To sum up, it must be clearly borne in mind :

(a) that being a human he does not claim, and is not to be considered, immaculate and infallible ;

(b) that whatever his errors, these cannot cloud the basic goodness of his nature and his will to do good to the country ;

(c) that he, unlike many others, has been sincerely trying to assist in the regrowth of democratic institutions ;

(d) that his latest contribution toward the development of democracy has been his willingness to have the Constitution amended so that more power passes on to the National Assembly ; and

(e) that by maintaining unity, and by preserving peace and order, we can, through him, achieve orderly development of democracy and due fulfilment of our national aspirations.

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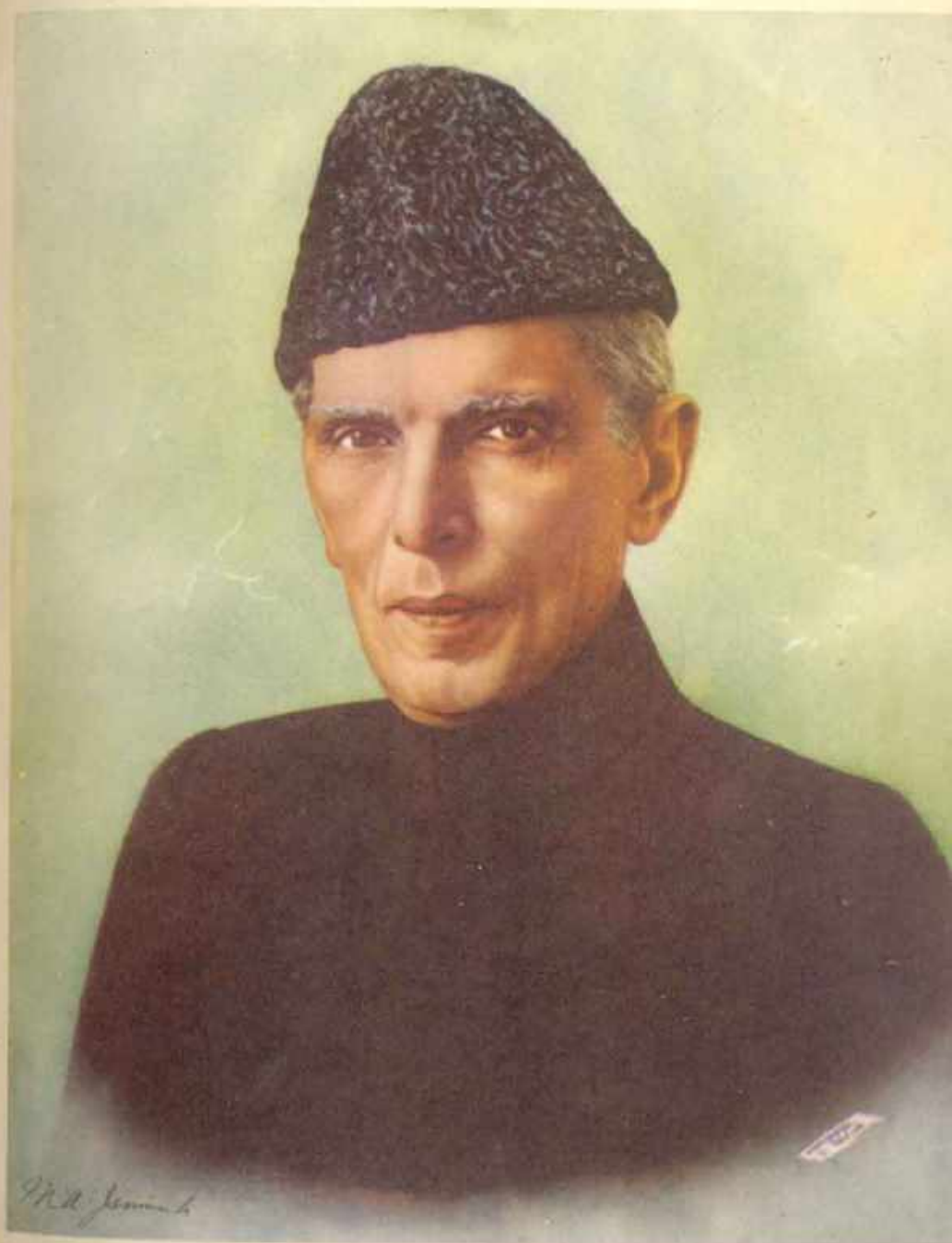
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شہادت ہے مطلوب و مقصود مومن  
نہ مال غنیمت نہ کشور کشائی



QAID-E-AZAM MOHD ALI JINNAH  
FOUNDER OF PAKISTAN



دو نیم ان کی ٹھوکر سے صحرا و دریا  
سمٹ کر پہاڑ ان کی ہیبت سے رائی



**Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan,**  
*President of Pakistan.*

**Mr. Abdul Monem Khan,**  
*Governor of East Pakistan.*



**Malik Amir Mohammad Khan,**  
*Governor of West Pakistan.*







**Air Marshal Nur Khan,**  
*Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Air Force.*



**General Mohammad Musa,**  
*Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army.*



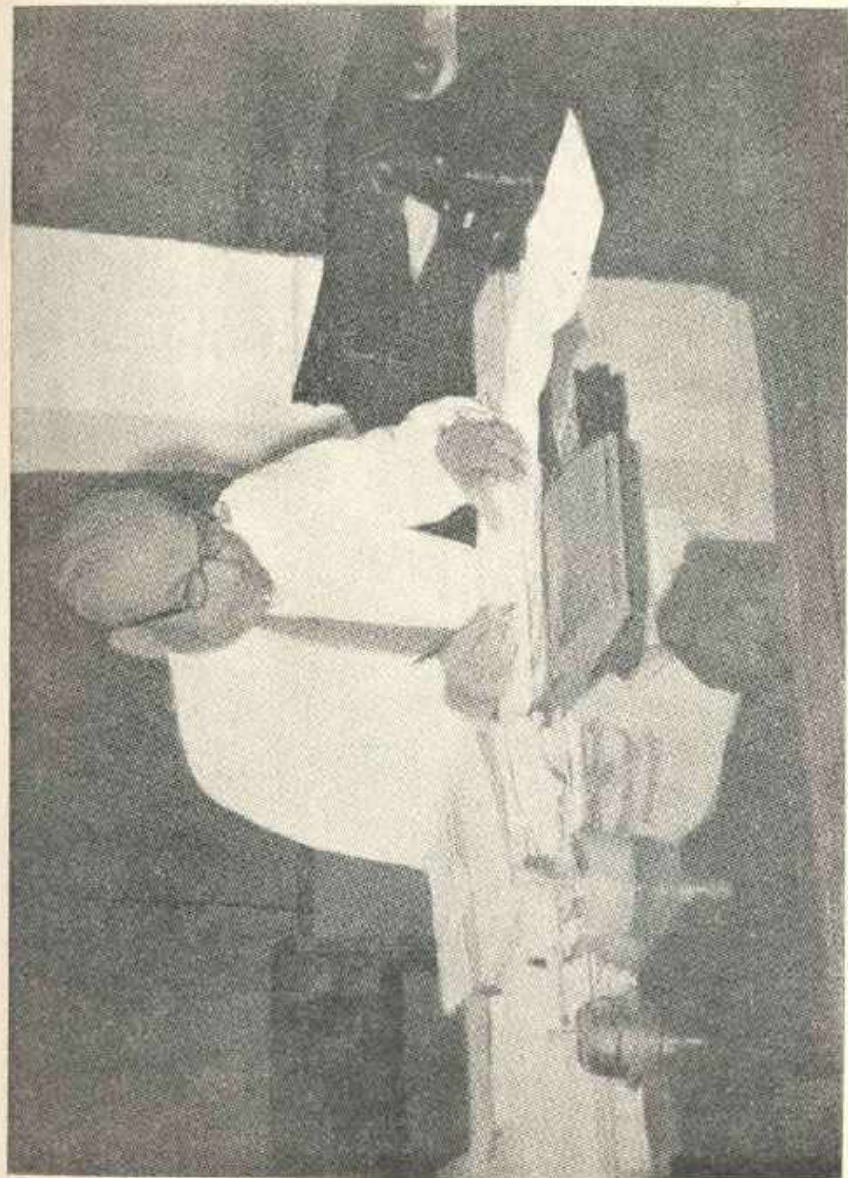
**Air Marshal Asghar Khan,**  
*Ex-Commander in Chief, Pakistan Air Force.*



**Vice-Admiral A. R. Khan,**

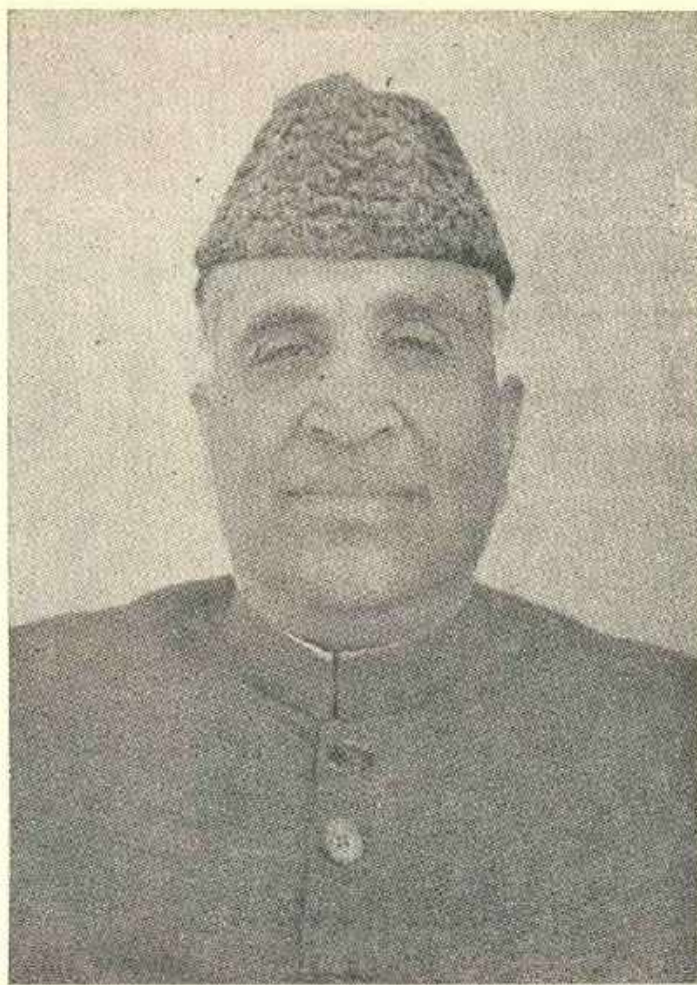


**KHAWAJA SHAHABUDDIN**  
Minister for Information and Broadcasting



**MR. MOHAMMAD SHOAIB**  
Finance Minister Government of Pakistan





**MALIK KHUDA BAKHSH BUCHCHA**  
Education Minister West Pakistan



**MR. A. K. SOOMAR**  
Chairman National Press Trust Pakistan

# OUR PATRONS



MR. JUSTICE I. B. KHAMISANI



MR. ABDUL WAHID KHAN  
Ex-Minister Information and  
Broadcasting Pakistan



MR. MUMTAZ HASAN



DR. ABDUR RAHIM PARACHA  
(Heart Specialist, Karachi)



# PROLOGUE

I often wonder about and try to visualise the ultimate fate of those of our great men who, by virtue of their qualities of head and heart, for their prominent, unique and unforgettable achievements on the international level, deserved a place in the front rank among the world's topmost thinkers and statesmen, had there been no partition of the sub-continent. No doubt, their capabilities would have rusted and their moral and intellectual calibre would have remained obscure simply because, unfortunately, they were the followers of Islam. To be born a Muslim in India seemed, and still seems, to be a bad augury.

How deeply are we indebted to the Quaid-i-Azam! He won his fight against British and Hindu imperialism and succeeded in laying the foundation of a new country and formed the Indian Muslims into a new nation to the chagrin and surprise of the world. There is no denying the fact that we would have been the poorer of many of the blessings, had Pakistan not come into existence. To say the least of our securing a position commensurate with our intelligence, wisdom and statesmanship, we would have been just one Indian "minority" among many. Under the so-called accepted principles of "democracy" we must have been made to bow before the majority unconditionally, resulting in the loss to us of our identity as a nation, of our national prestige, and of that grand heritage which Islam has given us. Our education would have been compulsorily based on Wardha and Vidya Mandir schemes as a result of which the Hindu mythology would have been indoctrinated into us from the very childhood. Seemingly harmless, this would, in fact, have amounted to our accepting an ideology to annul which Islam rose in the world—that all religions are true, bringing at par truth and falsehood, unity of God and diversity of gods. We would have gone even further. By declaring the Jihad—taking up the sword in the cause of God, for His word and for truth—an unpardonable sin, we would have, God forbid, painted Hamzah, Ali, Khalid, Sa'd, Abu Ubaidah, Musa bin Nusair, Tariq and others as murderers, tyrants and bloody marauders. "Non-violence" would have become the best of creeds for us. The united Hindu nationhood would have merged us into itself, annihilating our distinct entity. This would have been a one-way game as, against our sacrificing everything at the altar of united nationhood, the Hindus would still have maintained their identity.



This is no mere vision. The present state of affairs in India is indicative of all this. The Muslims there are being deprived of all their rights under the garb of united nationhood. Had there been no Pakistan, the fate of those geniuses who, because of being in Pakistan, have won a unique place in the international forum by their intelligence, sagacity and wisdom can well be imagined : they would certainly have either been behind the bars or rotting somewhere unknown and uncared for. Similar would have been the lot of those of Pakistan's brave heroes who have, by their deeds of valour, struck awe all around ; as Indian nationals they would have been killing their own brethren. Could it have been possible for those of Pakistan's civil administrators, engineers, architects, scientists and other experts who are respected and honoured in advanced countries of the world for their capabilities, to show their worth in case partition had not been effected ? It is indeed the Quaid-i-Azam's greatest boon to us that he fought a four-pronged war and won Pakistan for us, and thus afforded us an opportunity to rise and develop, which we could never have had in a united India.

Today, we are in a position to own the sincere and disown who are not, give a place of honour to those unselfish and suppress the selfish, place the reins of our destiny in the hands of patriots and sever all ties with traitors, make those our guides and leaders who pine for the welfare of the nation and the country and dissociate ourselves from those who prefer their self-interests to the interests of the country and nation. Could this have been possible in a united India ?

We had to follow such leaders as were interested more in their own selfish ends than in the welfare of the nation. They were unrelated to us and used us in winning for them the rulers' favours. The helplessness of a people who are not free to choose a leader of their choice is too evident to be described. Our hearts are pierced when we find the Indian Muslims being made such scapegoats and feel like prostrating before God in thankfulness for saving us from this ordeal.

Our tradespeople, bankers, industrialists, mill-owners and agriculturists were indeed qualified for their present grand position, but their capabilities could shine only in Pakistan.

Today we have universities, colleges and schools where we have highly educated and trained teachers. Besides an Agricultural University, we now have an Engineering University and a number of medical colleges, a Staff College at Quetta, the Pakistan Military Academy at Kakul—all of them serving the best interests of the country. This all-pronged progress of the Muslim nation could not have been possible in a united India. There is only one Muslim University at Aligarh in India and another, Osmania, at Hyderabad Deccan. While the latter has been turned into a Hindu University, the fate of the former needs no prediction.

Here we are free to form an Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology, to mould our laws in the Islamic pattern. We have the Central Institute of Islamic Research at Karachi spending huge sums of money on its work. We



have the Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, and Jamiah Islamia, Bhawalpur, rendering valuable service to the cause of Islam. The Board for Advancement of Literature, Lahore, Urdu Development Board, Karachi, Central Urdu Board, Lahore, Punjabi Academy, Sindi Adabi Board, Pashto Academy, Peshawar, Bengali Academy, Dacca, Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu Karachi, and Writers Guild, Karachi, are all devoted to the development of national and regional languages. On the other hand, in India the Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu is in the throes of death, and the world-famous Dar al-Musannafin, Azamgarh, is faring the same fate. The Indian Muslims just do not have the means to run these institutions, and the Government of India is anxiously waiting for an opportunity to seal their doors. God is to be thanked for bestowing upon us the blessing that is Pakistan, where we are free to evolve and develop our languages, culture, civilisation and literature.

This was Pakistan to be. And this was why Pakistan was necessary. Unfortunately, after the Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan appears to have been taken to be a play-ball kicked and rolled by self-interested and power-hungry politicians to win a goal of their own. Khwaja Nazimuddin's nobility of character and integrity and Abdul Rab Nishtar's sincerity of purpose could not save the country from degeneration. The conditions became worse and worse. The people were dejected and frustrated. The officials were irresponsible and detached. The business men and industrialists cared more for their selfish ends than for national exigencies. The politicians seemed unconcerned with Pakistan's present and future. The doom was visible!

Back eight years dawned a day bringing the news of a revolution, of the suspension of the civil government, of the annulment of the constitution and of the clamping of martial law on the country. The soldiers took over the reins of Government.

The genius behind the long prayed for, long-awaited and long-cherished revolution was Ayub Khan.

Ayub Khan's was not an unfamiliar and unknown name to the people of Pakistan, not very prominent though. People knew only this much that he was educated at Aligarh and was an ardent and devoted follower of the mission of the great Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. He is one among the few Muslims of the sub-continent and also one among the very few Aligarhians who chose the soldier's vocation as their career. After his graduation from Aligarh, he was selected for training at Sandhurst, soon to return home a full soldier. Had the Indian sub-continent not been partitioned the nation would have been deprived of the capabilities of this luminous star of Pakistan, nay, this hero of the Islamic world, this sympathiser of the sad humanity, this supporter of the oppressed, and this fighter for the cause of our brethren in Kashmir.

Pakistan has given much to her people and one may say without exaggeration that Ayub Khan is her best gift to them.

Let us take a bird's-eye view of recent history. Ghulam Muhammad once asked Ayub Khan to take up the reins of Government. Not being



very short time, dealt a death-blow to all the evils and straightened up the matters. It was not for the benefit of a few that the revolution came about, but it was intended to better the condition of the common people ; it was, therefore, welcomed both in East and West Pakistan.

Every new thing has a sort of strangeness about it, however advantageous its ultimate result may turn out to be. When this revolution took place, I admit, I was myself not very happy and had my fears. The people who have brought about this change, I thought, are sincere no doubt, and the sincerity of their purpose is proven. But it is possible, power may have a corrupting influence on them and they may stray, resulting in the worsening of the situation for the country. What, then, will be our fate ?

God forbid, if this extreme "treatment," as a martial law always is, also fails, what will happen to Pakistan?

Passing through the compound of the Mayo Hospital with these thoughts hovering in my mind, I entered the room of Dr. Abdul Hafiz, Registrar, Cardiology Department, for a check-up. He examined me thoroughly the usual way. Checking my blood pressure, he was as if taken aback and virtually shouted at me : "What is this ?" I told him, "I have been normal during the past many weeks, but this morning the news of the martial law having been clamped on Pakistan has shaken me seriously." He prescribed some medicines which I started taking as directed. But they did me no good, till at last on 27 October 1958, events took a new turn. Iskander Mirza flew away to London and Ayub Khan took upon himself the responsibilities as the President of Pakistan.

The new set-up did relieve me of the mental upheaval ; the revolution chose the right direction and it could be expected to purge all evils and regenerate the country. Thank God, things turned out true to expectations.

True to their professions, the martial law regime brought about land reforms in a very short time, the refugee problem was largely settled, legal reforms were effected with necessary administrative and judicial changes, a constitution commission was set up on whose recommendations the constitution was made and enforced. The President was put piercing questions during press conferences to which he gave satisfactory answers with the calmness peculiarly his own, without in any way giving the impression that he was above criticism or that he was a superior creation.

One cannot deny the peculiarity of the Muslims that, when given proper lead, they always show their worth by performing wondrous deeds ; history bears ample testimony to this. They have always defeated their foe, irrespective of his numbers ; and whenever they met reverses, it was not because the foe was strong, but because of dissensions sown in their ranks by self-centred traitors. It goes to the credit of true leadership that it has ever overwhelmed such elements and does not allow them to raise their ugly heads. Here are three examples of the marvellous achievements of true leadership.



THE SOLDIER AND STATESMAN

s, he declined and agreed, much against his wishes, only to be the Minister. This position also he quitted the moment the elected cabinet was formed, and went back to army. He was interested neither in being the head of the State nor in a ministerial portfolio. His interest was in making his army the best trained army of the world. This was exclusively cherished. He gave no importance to ministerial positions. He did not concern himself with things political. He still hoped the politicians would mend the matters. He left political affairs to where they belonged and devoted himself wholeheartedly to his own work. He wished the politicians to attend to their task with the same singleness and single purpose as he showed in his own field. Just as it was required of the fighting forces to be ever ready, fully equipped, and vigilant for the defence of the country, it was important that the politicians looked to the eradication and purged the society of all evils. But this turned out to be a disappointment.

The politicians kept themselves busy in letting one another down. They neglected the country's progress in all fields and the politicians enjoyed their life either at home nor abroad.

The late Mr. Suhrawardy was one of the "intelligent" members of the cabinet which was given shape to by the late Mr. Ghulam Ahmad. He did not like people finding faults with the government or the steps taken by it, but rather to approve of all its doings without reservation. Once during a speech in East Pakistan, he dropped a hint that if his government failed martial law would be the only result. Some time in 1954 or early in 1955. I was then chief editor of the *Frontier Leader*. In an editorial note, I strongly protested against this way of thinking: "By this hint at martial law, Mr. Suhrawardy perhaps aims at a warning that this threat is, in fact, a blessing in disguise. If there is any danger on account of martial law, it is only the politicians who prefer personal gains to those of the country, the ministers who would be in a position and authority, the tradespeople who are used to black-bagging and the detached industrialists who care only to fill their coffers with gold and silver and have no feelings for the people and their needs. The common people of both East and West Pakistan are concerned, and will do them no harm, for the revolution, if at all it comes, will be against a foreign imperial power to crush the people and patronise the rich." It will not be a revolution brought about by a strange army to cut down its own axe, and, blind to the welfare of the people, perpetrate all aggression on them. This threatened martial law will be ushered in by *our* soldiers, who are our own kith and kin. In the foreground will be the leaders who call this land their motherland and for whom this land will be the final resting-place. Let this martial law come to end the suffering of the people, to give them a new life, and to cry a halt to all wrongdoings which have upset the peace of mind of the common

the revolution brought about by Ayub Khan did indeed, in a



The English declared war against Turkey and endeavoured to crush her and destroy the caliphate. There arose in India a madman, Muhammad Ali by name, who threw the gauntlet to this imperial power, a power the sun in whose empire never set. The awe and terror that the world had of British power half a century ago is well known. They were the autonomous rulers of India and none could dare disobey their command, speak face to face with them, much less talk hostile against them. But Muhammad Ali challenged this power, first single-handed, then followed by the entire Muslim people of India. The people courted arrest, went smilingly to the gallows, and had their properties confiscated. They gave up life of ease and comfort ; those used to night clubs changed overnight to pious living ; those used to bribery, blackmarketing, and other unfair means of income, turned good and kindly ; whom the sight of a gun terrified became fighters in the cause dear to them, preferring death to worldly life.

How did all this happen? Just because of a correct and selfless lead, when the aim was not achievement of personal ends. The world's most powerful imperial power had to bow before them. What the Turkish armies could not do, the enthralled Muslims of India achieved. This is an unforgettable, bright and golden chapter of our history.

Here is another phase of our history. In this so-called democratic age, one cannot think of a people flourishing in isolation, out of the sphere of the modern democratic set-up, where the majority predominates the minorities. Whoever raises his head against the majority is considered a rebel deserving of a crushing end. In India the Hindus form a majority and the Muslims are a minor group. The Muslims were required to live as a minority and to accept the dominance of the majority without any fuss. The Christians, the Sikhs, the Buddhists, the Parsis, and the Jews of India submitted to the majority. Even a large group of Muslims, under an inferiority complex, thought it better to accept their position as a minority, to express their loyalty to the Hindu majority, to withdraw from their accepted right of separate electorates, to forgo their demand for self-determination and to refrain from claiming their rights as Muslims. There were indications that the entire Muslim community of India had begun to accept this position as a panacea to their ills. And lo ! a tall, thin, and weak-statured man makes brave and enters the arena to declare in unequivocal terms : "The Muslims will tolerate slavery of neither the Hindus nor that of the British. They too have the right to live as a free nation. They are not prepared to lose their cultural, social, historical, and national identity at any cost. They are determined to have their homeland where they are in a majority and where they will live the life as an honourable nation." This declaration was laughed at ; the British, the Hindus and the Nationalist Muslims regarded this as a madman's utterance.

But this aged leader was blessed with sincerity, truthfulness, honesty, and love of Islam. Armed with this equipment, he plunged himself into the fire of Nimrud. He was not shaken by the English in spite of their notorious tactics, nor could the traditional shameful mischiefs of the Hindus



make him budge an inch from his stand. The Nationalist Muslims left no stone unturned to create trouble for him, but this "heavy stone" could not be moved aside. He crossed swords with the English, with the Hindus and with the Nationalist Muslims, all at one time, but did not meet defeat on any front. He also was alone in the beginning but soon the hearts of the Muslims throbbed with the strings that he had struck. The entire Muslim nation of India was soon by his side and he marched on and on leading them to their destination.

And, at last, he achieved his heart's desire. Pakistan came into being; the largest Muslim country appeared on the world map. What seemed impossible of achievement was made possible by this man of years with his determination and sincerity of purpose.

Pakistan came into being, but the enemy was not reconciled to the changed conditions. He had agreed to Pakistan only half-heartedly and was now out to destroy her by other means; her finances were withheld, her share of armaments was not delivered to her, the trains bringing official record belonging to her were set fire to and destroyed, the Muslim population in East Punjab and other cities was slaughtered and property worth millions of rupees of the Muslims was confiscated. Above all, taking advantage of the situation, he took unholy possession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

The sudden death of the Quaid-i-Azam, the martyrdom of Liaquat Ali Khan and dismissal from office of Khwaja Nazimuddin made the Muslims poor of true leadership. They lacked the ability of solving the internal and external problems. Efforts made in appeasing India, even at the sacrifice of their national sentiment, miserably failed. How could India yield on Kashmir when, on the other hand, she had evil intentions on Pakistan herself. It was at this very time when the conditions had taken the worst shape, that a soldier stepped in authority and changed the face of the matters in no time. And when the hordes of the enemy forces took the daring step of putting their unholy and evil feet on Pakistan's soil, this soldier, in spite of limited men and material at his disposal, appeared so high and grand that the enemy cried out for peace.

Ayub Khan, the soldier statesman, also is possessed of the same sincerity, selflessness and love for religion, nation, and country as was the peculiarity of Muhammad Ali and the Quaid-i-Azam. It was thus armed that he entered the field, and the entire nation followed his lead. He won his name in history. In this materialistic age, when forces of godlessness and irreligiousness are running loose, Ayub Khan kept the standard of Islam aloft, vociferating the Muslim Kalimah, *La Ilah Ill-Allah Muhammad Ar-Rasul Allah*.

Today, every Pakistani feels proud of Ayub Khan; the Muslim nation takes pride in him and so does Islam.

While these achievements made Ayub Khan a national hero with popular acclamation, there were persons who were not happy with him; they were deeply annoyed at the army revolution. But were they ever happy



Pakistan seemed to be their personal property. The Republican Party was created overnight and there ushered in an era of incessant governmental changes. This was happening in the Centre as well as in the Provinces. As a result, the administration was badly affected, and a strange sort of autocracy was raised. Neither the government servants did their duties with diligence, nor were the ministers able to do their functions independent of the pressure of the members. But this was all brought to naught by President Ayub from the moment he took the matters in his own hands. Now the administrative machinery is running smoothly; the ministers are performing their tasks without any outside pressure and so are the officials free from any intervention in their duties.

When Ayub Khan entered the field as a political leader, these disruptionists were happy that on the lifting of the martial law from the country, they would browbeat him, because, they thought, he was neither an expert orator, nor a burning preacher; aware neither of political mongering, nor of the constitutional philosophy, reforms and rights; not experienced in party politics, and unable to address public meetings. It would be easy, they estimated, to run him down after martial law.

But did this happen? The facts tell a different tale. This raw and newly-arrived rival made even his opponents, much to their disappointment, admit of his capabilities. He addressed large audiences and, with his manly tone and oratorical gifts, won the field and earned universal popularity.

By introducing land reforms, he endeared himself to the hearts of millions of people, not without angering a few though. He put a stop to black-marketing, bribery, and smuggling, by diverting all his energies to this end. This army man faced and bore manfully and with open mind all the vituperations of the criticising press, and angry attacks of the opponents. He let the people say what they wished and allowed the press full liberty. He gave patient hearing to all and sundry, picking and choosing whatever was reasonable and discarding what was hollow. He introduced many an amendment in the Constitution that he himself had given, thinking the least that by so doing he would, in any way, lower his position among the people. The people asked for basic rights; these he gave them. The judiciary often passed verdicts against his government decisions; these he accepted ungrudgingly.

During his travels abroad, he won his rightful place by his oratorical deliverances. America collided with Pakistan's interests; he collided with America. China extended her hand of friendship; he warmly grasped it. With his wise approach, he not only ended the tense situation long existing between Afghanistan and Pakistan, but also won the hearts of the Arabs, who had gone inimical towards us by political follies of his predecessors. The Kashmir issue had almost deadened; he has made it the most burning problem of the day. One might well say that he has done in a very short time what the politicians failed to do during a much longer time.



the former civil governments? Leave alone Iskander Mirza and Muhammad, they were unreconciled with Khwaja Nazimuddin's government; earlier they were not happy with Liaquat Ali Khan and his government; earlier still, leaving even Quaid-i-Azam's times, they were not happy with the Pakistan Movement and against the establishment of Pakistan here. They were not happy with anybody. Why, therefore, wonder at their opposition against martial law and President Ayub? In fact, they will remain loyal until their stars put the reins of government into their hands.

Let us probe deeply into the causes of this state of affairs. Although many persons have all along been looking askance at all those in power as a habit, the most pricking thorn in their eyes is President Ayub.

The Quaid-i-Azam did not live longer than a little over a year after the establishment of Pakistan. Liaquat Ali Khan, as if impatient for freedom, departed soon. Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, Chundrigar, and Khan Noon passed their terms in quick succession. All of them were confronted by this group of discontented politicians. The situation is now different. President Ayub Khan has been in authority for the last seven years, and the conditions are that this period will elongate. This is very perturbing for the people. It appears painful for them to remember that President Ayub is a soldier, that the present constitution is of his making, not that of the legislature, and that the present form of government is undemocratic, unparliamentary, in nature. But they seem to have forgotten that President Ayub has all the gifts of a democratic and popular leader. He has courage, drive, initiative and deep faith.

For a long time, Pakistan remained bereft of internal stability and international prestige. India had come to be regarded as the leader of Asia. But the situation is now changed: now Pakistan is stable internally and holds a respectable place in the world. The problem of Kashmir was a dead issue; it is now very much alive. "Pakhtoonistan" was a severe headache during Iskander Mirza's time; this is no more to be heard of. It is the height of our alliance with America that when, during the late Mr. Nixon's prime ministership, ship-loads of wheat arrived at Karachi from America, a thanksgiving procession of camels and mules was taken out; which was the extent of America's political hold over Pakistan that Pakistan served as the base from where Francis Powers took off his U.2 plane on an espionage flight over Russia, earning us the anger of that country so much so that Khrushchev threatened to avenge on Pakistan. The matters show a different picture. The same Russia is extending a hand of friendship, sending out her technicians and entering into trade agreements with us. During the Suez crisis, the stand of Iskander Mirza's government earned for Pakistan the Arab world's anger to the extent of a boycott. Today, the present government has created such an atmosphere of goodwill in the Arab world, by their wise policies, that friendly and brotherly ties are growing with Iraq, U.A.R., Saudi Arabia, Lybia, Jordan, Tunis, etc., so that the past tension has softened.

Ghulam Muhammad and Iskander Mirza had so manoeuvred that



President Ayub, however, reached the acme of his greatness when India took the ill-advised step of attacking Pakistan territory. In doing this, India employed her full force and stepped down to extreme moral depravity. This was not a new experience; certain other world powers have done the same. But Ayub Khan has held aloft the Islamic traditions.

Many would still remember the inflammatory statements and fiery speeches of the executors of the Second World War. Mussolini appeared on the political firmament of Italy and soon turned out to be the bringer of death and destruction on the world. He was proud of his strength, of his armed forces and of his war potential. His haughtiness made him inimical to truth and justice. He believed that right was not might, but that might was right. Intoxicated with power, he refused to let the weak live. He presented gifts to Ahmed Zog on the occasion of his marriage, but within a few days the hordes of his well-equipped army ransacked Albania in the same way as he had earlier attacked and subjugated Abyssinia without any reason and justification. Hitler burst forth on the scene even with greater force. He was not only proud of his military power, but also considered the German race superior to all other peoples. He laid claim that other nations were destined to be servile to the Germans. He rose like a storm and soon dominated the whole of Europe. He cared the least for truth, justice, nobility, mutual covenants and treaties. He entered into a treaty of friendship with Russia but launched a sudden military attack on her. There was no enmity between Greece and Germany, but that could not save Greece from his avaricious eyes. The frightened countries, which were dumbfounded at what was going on around them, could not escape his warring hordes. It appeared as if the whole world would fall into his lap like a ripe fruit and, like Chengiz Khan, he would overrun the whole world. Similarly, Japan's Tojokoji was vain at his country's military strength, her resources and war materials. On the one hand, he started peace parleys with America, on the other, quite unexpectedly, he launched a destructive attack on Pearl Harbour. But, in the end, Japan had to fall flat, Germany was split into two and Italy was humbled. Mr. Shastri also followed the same path, but, for the Russian efforts at amity between India and Pakistan at Tashkent, he would have earned the same fate. And if his successors do not see reason and tow the aggressive line of action against their smaller neighbours, they are doomed to the end of all aggressors.

Pakistan is struggling to keep the standard of truth flying high. She stands by the side of the oppressed. She herself has been a victim to aggression. India waged an undeclared full-scale war on Pakistan, but Pakistan could not be intimidated. She withstood this aggression bravely and shattered the evil designs of India. India's bad faith, her forceful occupation of Kashmir and, above all, her mad attack on Pakistan's territory, desecrating the international boundary—all these are enough to create a spirit of mutual hatred. Speeches of Radhakrishnan, Shastri and Chagla do not smack of truth, nobility and accepted principles; they do not exercise proper



restraint in the use of words nor do they respect their words of honour. They are out to suppress the right and to broadcast the unright. As against this, we have what our President has been speaking : his speeches are tinged with Islamic hues, Godliness, and faith. In spite of his ability of fighting back and casting defeat on the enemy, he does not the least appear vainglorious. He talks of peace, of good-neighbourliness, of nobility, of sincerity, of good reason and friendship, not of hatred and enmity. This is the exemplary leadership which Iqbal thus describes :

نگہ بلند ، سخن دلنواز ، جاں پر سوز  
 یہی ہے رخت سفر میں کارواں کے لیے

It is a matter of satisfaction that the leader of our caravan is marching ahead with this very equipment—marching ahead with gradually accelerated steps.

It was under his guidance that, during war with India, Pakistan emerged as an entirely new country, and the Pakistani nation as an entirely new nation.

Normally, war brings the message of death, and in its wake destruction and all the attendant evils. But for the Pakistani nation, it turned out to be a blessing in disguise—a blessing unimaginable.

Today, we are a nation in the true sense of the word. All without exception are dyed in the divine colour. The military jawan or the police constable, the producer or the merchant, the capitalist, the industrialist or the labourer and the wage-earner, the peasant or the landlord, the money-lender or his debtor, the poor or the rich, the employed or the unemployed, the starving or the opulent—all are giving thanks to and praising God. Right from the humble soldier to the army chief, from the ordinary clerk to the President of the country—all have praises of God on their tongues. Even the braves of the battlefield who have struck a crushing defeat on the enemy do not claim the credit of their achievements nor are they proud of their power and fighting capabilities; they have just one thought foremost in their minds: this has been the mercy of God alone that we have gracefully absolved ourselves of our responsibilities in this ordeal and the enemy has been routed shamefully. Those devoted to the mammon have turned to God overnight; similar has been the case of others of us who used unfair means of earning money, black-marketers, hoarders, who availed themselves of every opportunity to raise prices of their merchandise. Today, every one of them has turned his establishment into a fair-price shop. The war was fought on the soil of Pakistan, yet every commodity, essential and non-essential, was available in plenty at the cheapest price. The whole nation had voluntarily pledged to keep prices stable, lower than even the pre-war level.

Can this war, therefore, be called anything but a blessing for the Pakistani nation?

In India, a country larger in area and richer in resources than Pakistan, famine conditions are prevailing. Essential commodities are unavailable. Our sympathies with the stricken people of India, but this has



been a doing of their own brethren, who seem to be bent upon making the best of this opportunity. Mr. Shastri repeatedly appealed to them to keep necessities of life available to the common man, but who listens! Everybody is self-centred, black-marketing is the order of the day, bribery is universal; nobody cares for others. Cases of theft, dacoities, and riots are on the increase. Public demonstrations are common; they are lathi-charged, tear-gassed, and fired upon. Why? Because India does not form one nation; because the Indians are diseased of selfishness and greed—and also because India has severed her relations with God.

We started fighting back, reciting the Muslim *Kalimah*, *La Ilaha Ill-Allah Muhammad Ar-Rasul Allah*. Our President recited the *Kalimah* in his first speech after the outbreak of war and the whole country resounded with these holy words. This war became for us a war for God and when we were fighting for God, how could it be possible for anyone in the country to indulge in any social evil?

India has unlimited resources. She plunged them all in the war against us. There are hundreds of millionnaires and multi-millionnaires in India who hid themselves in safe corners. The common people were concerned only with their own selves. The war for them was not a national war. There were more who asked, but none to give.

On the other hand, Pakistan is a poor country, her resources are limited and she has only countable capitalists. But when our President declared the emergency and opened the Defence Fund, there were unending lines of "givers"—the capitalists and the labourers, the rich and the poor, men and women, old and young—all offering whatever they possessed, nobody caring for his own future needs, depending entirely upon God. Whatever we have is given by God and is for God. Money is a slippery thing; it slips from hand to hand. Why not spend it in the way of God, for the nation's safety? With God's grace, better days will come when we will be repaid bounteously.

Islam forms the basis of Pakistan. Our President has not lost sight of this fact. The world has witnessed many battles during the last one hundred years. The speeches delivered by the leaders of different States during wars are preserved for posterity. These speeches have everything, spirit, determination, and drive, but not the admission of the oneness of God and of Muhammad's apostleship. This was the main theme of our President's first war speech. When I heard this speech, I felt a burning sensation all through me and this was the condition of everyone around. How could a war, which is fought for God, to keep His name aloft, and which is started with the profession of His oneness and the apostleship of His beloved, fail? The President sought God's help and mercy and the entire nation joined hands with him. That is why, however torturing this war may have been for others, it was a blessing for us.

It is on account of this war that we rediscovered God and His Apostle and devoted ourselves fully to God. And that is why the flame of faith has once again been kindled in us. This is the difference between



men of faith and those of unfaith.

Bravery, daring, forbearance, courage, truthfulness, discipline and unity are good things in themselves, but they must of necessity be aimed at some good cause. If a better and high ideal is not in sight, all these virtues turn worthless. A thief has to have courage; dacoits and highwaymen possess the daring. The men of opportunity *are* realists and principled. The peace-breakers are also disciplined. But they all work to disrupt the society, upsetting the entire social framework to such an extent that reform seems impossible.

Advancement of knowledge, philosophical thinking and science have moved a large number of people away from God; they have neither belief in God, nor do they feel the necessity of having one. Ignoring God, a man thinks he can progress by his own effort. He stumbles and falls. He is so blinded that he takes his fall to be an ascent. He regards wrongdoing and greediness to be the acme of his height. Suppressing the weak is to him a show of his strength; preferring his interests to those of others is, in his vocabulary, the right policy. He cares little for modesty, purity and nobility and eulogises immodesty, immorality and impurity. He has no high ideal before him. He carves out false images on wrong edifices and starts worshipping them.

All these evils cannot prosper in a Godly atmosphere, where the entire fabric is woven around just one thought: My prayer, my sacrifice, my life and my death are all for God, who is the Lord of the worlds! In other words, it means that one should not stray from the path set by God. On the one hand, man is the vicegerent of God on earth, on the other, every act of his, conscious and unconscious, is for God. He cannot overstep this limit but at his own peril; he will lose his position as a vicegerent of God and will have no place in the Godly society. He will be deprived of the divinely-promised high position.

While God has made everything in the heavens and the earth subservient to man, man has also been entrusted with certain responsibilities. One gets high position only when one is deserving of it. A man of faith has on him the responsibility of the entire universe, and has to do his duty conscious of his relationship with God. A life unrelated to God is worse than death.

The whole world lies before us as an open book. The more deeply we study it, the more the truth dawns upon us that a social structure based on divine injunctions will soon engulf the entire world. However limited its resources, such a society cares for no hurdles which give way smoothing down all difficulties in its path.

The history of Islam bears ample testimony to the fact that affluence in resources does not withstand a Godless society when it collides with a society comprised of Godly men. As compared to our elders, we are, no doubt, weak in faith, but not that we are totally without faith. What the world has witnessed during the recent Indo-Pakistan armed conflict is not short of a miracle, even in spite of our weakness in faith.



India launched her evil attack on Pakistan with the entire resources at her command: fiery cannons, devastating aircraft, crushing tanks, huge finances and, above all, Europe's material and monetary aid. Armed thus and particularly with the full-fledged American support at her back, she did not even consider it necessary to send an ultimatum to Pakistan before she ordered her forces to advance on the scared soil of Pakistan. She did not remain content with opening one front, but tried to overwhelm us from many sides. But all her hopes were shattered; she met crushing defeat on every front. As against her determination to subjugate Pakistan, she lost 1600 square miles of her territory to Pakistan. She was dreaming of occupying Lahore but could not save Khem Karan, a small former Tehsil of Lahore. She had thought that she could raze Karachi to ground by strafing it from Dawarka fort. But where is Dawarka today? Which flag furred on Munabao railway station? Who possessed Jaurian? What happened to the strong military base of Ambala and what fate did Halwarah, Jodhpur and Adampur meet?

Why did Chawan, who had the courage to say that India would again and again violate the cease-fire line, remain constantly mum? Why did Shastri who, making the announcement of the Indian attack on Pakistan, had promised his Parliament a happy news within twenty-four hours, wail on the large number of casualties suffered by his army? Where did the shamefaced General Chaudhry lie hidden for quite a time; he had claimed to run down Pakistan in no time like Goa, Junagadh and Hyderabad?

Is this not a miracle brought about by our faith in God? Is this not a proof positive of the helpfulness of God?

Un-Islamic forces cannot stand against Islam in spite of their power and equipment.

The Holy Prophet of Islam was one day resting under a tree, his sword hanging on one of its branches. An enemy happened to pass that way. Availing of the opportunity, he took hold of the Prophet's sword, unsheathed it and, waking him from sleep, asked him who could save his life. With a calm and undisturbed voice, the Holy Prophet said, "My God!" The enemy was so taken aback on this reply that the sword fell from his hand and he started trembling. The Prophet took hold of the sword and repeated the question asked him. He continued trembling for his life and could utter no word. The Prophet put the sword in the sheath and asked him to go where he liked telling him that he did not avenge on anybody.

We are followers of this Prophet and the faith that kindles in our hearts is his gift to us. May peace and blessings of God be upon him!

Let us now trace the historical background of the nation which chose to fight us.

It is a strange historical fact that the Hindus have never come out victorious in any war. It is not correct to say that they are a peaceful and peace-loving people. They have always provoked and forced others into armed conflict with them. They have never followed and kept up the



accepted ethics of war. They enter the battlefield with much gusto and preparation, but never to come out triumphant. Intrigue and hypocrisy are their chief merits; but to fight manly is not their quality.

See the distance between Greece and India. Alexander the Great came all the way from Greece to India conquering whatever fell on his way. His first encounter here was with Porus whose elephants during the fight fled from the field trampling under feet his own fighting forces. It was not a transitory phase of history; Alexander put up in India and established a regular administration and returned home only when it was firm. The Greeks ruled the country for a considerable time after Alexander's return. There are still marks at many places of the Greek rule in India.

Mahmud Ghaznavi launched seventeen attacks on India and upset the whole country. He had never thought of putting his steps on this country. The ruler of Lahore, in order to expand his dominion up to Ghazni, invaded Afghanistan. Sabuktigin and Mahmud had to accept the challenge. The matters ended in the defeat of the Lahore ruler. Ferishta holds the brief for the conqueror, in his *History*, that he not only released the captured ruler but also reinstated him on his throne returning to him all the conquered territory. The ungrateful ruler repaid this gracious act by attacking Afghanistan again the next year. He met the same fate this time too, and again the conqueror graciously pardoned him. On the plea of paying reparations of war and tribute, the Hindu ruler asked for some representatives of the conqueror to accompany him, whom, all of them, he butchered in cold blood on reaching back home. This was too much for Mahmud. He launched a vigorous attack against the ruler of Lahore. To check the onslaught, the Hindu ruler sent an appeal to all the neighbouring rulers entreating them to come to his help in order to avert the danger to their religion. This exploiting call cut the rulers to the quick and they flocked to his help, forgetting all their mutual differences. Rulers of even such remote places as Kannauj and Kalinjar joined the ruler of Lahore in this conflict. But the result was nothing different; the Hindus had to suffer the loss of Somnat.

Had the Hindus not provoked Shihabuddin Ghauri, had they not cast greedy eyes on his small territory, and had they not used the Karramite principality of Multan against him, the history of India would have presented a different spectacle: Qutbuddin Aibak, a slave of Ghauri, would not have ruled India from Dehli nor would have Bakhtiyar Khalji, another slave of Ghauri, along with his Turkish hordes, reached Tibet after subjugating Bhutan and Bengal.

It was Rana Sanga who invited Babar to India in order to crush Lodhi; otherwise this daring son of Farghana would not have undertaken the conquest of India.

Ahmad Shah Abdali was a contented man. He had no expansionist designs. The Marhattas, taking advantage of the weakness of the Indian Muslim rulers, made a plan to build an India-wide Marhatta empire. This was too perturbing for Shah Wali Ullah Dehlvi, Najibuddaulah, Hafiz



Rahmat Khan and others to bear. They sent a clarion call to Abdali to stem the Marhatta tide which aimed at undoing Islam in India. He could not refuse and, in a battle fought with the Marhattas at Panipat, gave them a crushing and decisive defeat. The height of his selflessness can be gauged from the fact that he did not stay in India a moment after his errand was done. Had he stayed on in India like Babar, perhaps the history of India would have been entirely different.

Had Raja Dahir not thrown a challenge to the national and religious sentiments of the Muslims, what need was there for Muhammad bin Qasim to come and conquer his land? It was Dahir's own foolish steps that a major slice of India went under Muslim domination. Unfortunately for Dahir, this part of India had a majority of the Buddhists who had long been victims of the naked aggression of Brahminic imperialism. They were wonder-struck at the behaviour of Muhammad bin Qasim and his soldiers. The comparison was awe-inspiring. As a result they started entering the fold of Islam *en masse*. It took only a very little period of time for this territory to accept Islam. But those who preferred to keep their faith were not the least disturbed.

In short, it has been the characteristic of the Hindus that they bow before the mighty but take a stiff aggressive attitude towards the weak.

The recent war has brought to light many strange facts about us. Pakistan, it was given out, was a country Muslim only in name and that most of her people were lacking in religious faith and national sentiments: they did not possess the spirit of sacrifice for their religion and country.

A storm, a fierce one, was brewing in the firmament. It shook both the earth and the heavens. The evil forces of falsehood seemed determined to wipe out truth. They ranged themselves collectively against Islam. Long-range cannons were made ready and loaded. The waters of the seas were astir with enemy fleet; large squadrons of aircraft clouded the skies to play havoc with habitats and habitants.

It did happen one day. All of a sudden, land, air and naval forces of unfaith made a move. No need was felt for making a declaration of war. The enemy did not respect even the international boundary, to say the least of human values. Intoxicated with power, he burst forth on Pakistan, thinking that Pakistan would not be able to withstand the onslaught: her few aircraft would be destroyed even before they rise to give a fight. Similar would be the fate of her small naval fleet, and her limited army would not be given the time to equip itself. That would be the end of Pakistan, and the sub-continent would again be united. The enemy hoped to subjugate Pakistan just as Hitler and Stalin attacked and conquered Poland during the Second Great War.

And history of tyranny would once again repeat itself!

Shortly before Poland was invaded, her ambassador to Russia was received in audience by Stalin when he was assured of lasting friendship between the two countries. Immediately after Poland was subjugated the same ambassador again went to see Stalin and reminded him of his



assurance. Stalin cut him short and said, "Poland? Where is Poland now?" The meeting terminated and the matter ended.

India wished to stage this drama. But the spirited people of Pakistan did not give India this opportunity. They wrote a new chapter of history with their blood and the world bowed before the rightness of their cause. True to her tradition, India presented her myth on paper made of cheating, written in the ink of falsehood with the pen of deceit. The world cast a look of hatred on this and tore it to pieces.

America, Britain and other world powers had faith in the superior military prowess of India. They thought—not very wrongly—that even if America and Britain had not supplied India with unlimited stores of war material and had not the Chinese bogey secured her large-scale, unconditional aid from some other countries, India had enough resources of her own to annihilate Pakistan. The patronage of America, Britain and other countries of the world, as if, made India all the more capable of destroying Pakistan.

But these were the estimates of the people who believe only in materialism. These poor souls could not think that faith has greater power. How could they believe that faith could sink the biggest battle-ships in the sea, bring down the high-flying aircraft, destroy the fire-emitting tanks like earthen toys and deal a death-blow to a large army. The facts are there and need no proof. It happened before our very eyes.

When the war started, the soul of Iqbal cried out :

آگ ہے اولاد ابراہیم ہے سرود ہے  
کیا کسی کو پھر کسی کا امتحان مقصود ہے

and the progeny of Abraham inhabiting the land of Pakistan answered in the affirmative and accepted the challenge. They volunteered their life, property, everything. By this sacrifice, they thought, they would attain eternal life and this is not a bad bargain. They jumped in the fire caring little for the consequences. The outcome of all this needs no telling. The only one party that does not know this is India herself. Perhaps she wants to have a final decision and that is why she is again preparing herself for another bout!

This war has given birth to a new Pakistan—a new Pakistani nation has emerged forth!

In Pakistan, no one claims the credit for this achievement for himself. How have the rich and the poor, soldiers, officers, young and old, intellectuals and statesmen, changed on account of their faith? This selflessness, this sincerity and this truthfulness were not visible among us before and when we witness the changed atmosphere, we cannot help wondering at the spirit that was lying dormant within us.

We had to fight a country which only recently got her freedom and which, as the first thing to do after independence, hatched plans to bring others under her domination.



The last two centuries have given the spectre of heart-piercing and terrible scenes of power politics and imperialism. The British occupied India by cruel and cunning means; they suppressed and crushed Burma; they invaded Egypt and conquered it; brought the Sudan under their territorial sway. They deprived Ceylon of her freedom, and unfurled their imperial flag over Iraq. They put to a gradual end all the native Indian states and those that remained were free only in name.

France did not lag behind Britain in her imperialist designs. She occupied Syria and Lebanon, enslaved Tunis, Morocco and Algiers, held in illegal occupation many territories of the Far East and Africa.

Italy followed suit. She established her rule over Tripoli, brought Libya under subjugation and occupied Abyssinia.

Turkestan, Tashkent, Samarqand, Bukhara, Azarbaijan and numerous other Muslim regions fell to the Czarist tyranny and lost their entity.

All these imperialist powers overran weak, backward and poverty-stricken countries and treated them as slaves. But in this age of self-determination, freedom and democracy, even these powers have felt that no nation can be kept in servility any longer; some of them voluntarily, others forcedly and still others after much bloodshed signed the declaration of freedom of nations under their subjugation. Today, Pakistan is a reality; India is free; Burma, Ceylon, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Lebanon, Tunis, Morocco, Algiers and many other countries have achieved independence from foreign yoke. But, in this world, there is yet a country which surpasses all imperialist powers—and this country is India.

During British rule, India fought for Kashmir's freedom from the Dogra rule as she did for her own. But the moment India became free, she turned out to be the worst imperialist power. Just when India was being given freedom, plans were made to enslave Kashmir. Mountbatten, in collusion with Radcliff, provided her a back-door to Kashmir. The Kashmiris gave her a tough time. It was beyond India to conquer Kashmir. She gave a solemn pledge to the people of Kashmir to hold a plebiscite, and took over the reins of government. This pledge was given to Kashmir as also to Pakistan, the United Nations, and the world at large. This pledge was given by her Prime Minister, her President and her permanent representative at the United Nations. It was repeatedly announced in both houses of the Indian Parliament and in many an international moot. And then, all of a sudden, with a strange turn of mind, India went back on her words and refused to honour her pledge. India was reminded again and again of her words to hold the plebiscite in Kashmir by her friends, well-wishers, world press, great personalities of the world, the United Nations, members of the Security Council and the Commonwealth countries, but to no avail.

Pakistan has taken only one stand since the very beginning, that she will honour the verdict of the people of Kashmir given in a free and impartial plebiscite; they may decide to join Pakistan or they may ally themselves



with India. But, strangely enough, India now flares up even at the mention of plebiscite. She claims Kashmir as a part of India just as Madras, Bombay, Lucknow and Dehli form her parts. Her claim is as wrong as her solemn pledge proved wrong.

Kashmir belongs neither to India nor to Pakistan; it belongs to her people who hold the exclusive right to develop and build up their country. No other nation, Muslim or non-Muslim, can keep them under servility; that goes against the spirit of the Atlantic Charter, against democracy. If Kashmir forms part of India, why does she keep seven divisions of her army there? Why are there repeated public demonstrations? Why do the people of Kashmir raise the slogans of freedom, independence and self-determination? Why is police so actively engaged there? Why are the jails of Kashmir so full of freedom-fighters? Why are the students, the old, the young, even women—all of them so perturbed for their freedom? Is all this happening in Madras and Bombay? Do Lucknow and Dehli offer the same scene.

It is strange that, as against the imperialist powers, India took comparatively little time to achieve perfection in her imperialistic ways. No doubt, Britain unleashed all tyrannous methods on races subjected to her and France also used all repressive measures in treating her subject people. Italy too did not lag behind in this respect. The havoc India has wrought in Kashmir during the last few years far exceeds what the imperialist powers such as Britain, France, Czarist Russia, Kaiser William perpetrated on the territories held by them. These powers kneel before India and justifiably so as India has of certain proved to be superior to them in her repressive policies in Kashmir, in spite of her much trumpeted creed of non-violence.

The foremost thought before newly freed countries is that of building themselves up, of reform, of developing their agriculture, industry and education. India is above all these thoughts. She seems to be prepared to starve her people to death, to keep them ignorant and unemployed, but what she is not prepared to think of is giving the people of Kashmir the right of self-determination. More than that she has greedy designs against her neighbours. She would not let Nagas in peace and would not approve of Nepal's independent policies. Bhutan and Sikkim lie in her grips, and, if possible, she would grab the adjoining countries, including Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, China and Afghanistan.

During the brief span of eight years, President Ayub Khan has performed some unforgettable and marvellous feats. At the root of these achievements lie the speeches and statements that he has made from time to time on different occasions and at different places. These speeches and statements of his have made history and form a milestone. A new history of Pakistan can be written in their perspective. A new Pakistani nation emerges out of them and a new Pakistan shows its luminous face.

These utterances of Ayub Khan appeared in the press and with that the matter ended. If one were to find out what the President has

said about India, about Pakistan's foreign policy, about Kashmir, about the unity of purpose of the world of Islam, about the oppressed people, about international problems, about the nations fighting against imperialist powers and about Pakistan's internal affairs, one is sure to give up this research for want of material at any one place.

This is essential knowledge for a student of the history of Pakistan : he will have to go through the daily newspapers for all these eight years to have it.

In Part I of this volume I have collected Ayub Khan's speeches and statements under different heads. Part II provides basic material for a history of the war between India and Pakistan on Kashmir.

This work needed very hard labour on my part. The greatest difficulty was that of the procurement of the authentic text. In this regard, Mr. Ghulam Ghaus, Deputy Director, Information, Government of Pakistan, deserves my special thanks. He not only appreciated the task I set myself to, but also helped me actively in procuring the material. But for his active co-operation, this volume would not have seen the light of the day.

*Rais Ahmad Jafri*



**AYUB**  
**Soldier and Statesman**

**Part I**

# I

## Muslim World

*Address to the Iranian Senate on 9 November 1959*

WHILE this is the first time I am addressing the Senate, I am no stranger to Iran. I have visited your great country on many occasions and my mind goes back to the extremely happy associations I have had with Iran and many of your leaders. During this visit I look forward not only to meeting old friends but to making new ones. It is happy augury that meeting the Honourable Senators should have been among the first in my list of official engagements. . . .

Our two nations are no strangers to each other, our friendship is nothing new. Our links are steeped in history. We share the same faith and are heirs to a common cultural heritage. Your language and literature has for centuries been a source of inspiration to our people. We have drunk deep at the fountain of Iranian culture and it has left indelible marks on our everyday life.

*Shahnama-i-Firdausi*, *Gulistan-i-Saadi* and *Diwan-i-Hafiz*, to mention just a few, are read and admired widely in Pakistan. Your classics are our classics; your heroes our heroes; your friends our friends, and your enemies our enemies. We have produced many eminent Persian scholars and the most illustrious in recent years

among them is our poet-philosopher Iqbal with whom I am sure you are all familiar. He was the father of the ideology of Pakistan and wrote the major portion of his works in your language.

It is not only through a common cultural and religious heritage that our nations are linked together. Historically we have been one nation in the past, geographically we have a common border and ethnologically we are of the same stock. It is not at all a wonder, therefore, that the relationship between our two countries is a model of friendship. . . .

Pakistan is genuinely interested in the welfare of Iran just as one brother shows a healthy concern for the welfare of the other. The Iranian people and the Iranian Government reciprocate these sentiments. It is in this spirit of mutual understanding that our two Governments have worked in the recent past to strengthen co-operation between the two countries.

The agreement for the demarcation of the boundary is only one illustration. The smooth manner in which this has been accomplished in such a short time is in itself a tribute to the desire of the two countries for closer understanding. Demarcation of the boundary between any two



countries who did not share each other's hopes and aspirations would have proved a very difficult, ticklish and protracted task.

The problems of our two countries are very similar. Politically we are both endeavouring to further the growth and development of democratic institutions. Democracy in each country has to be shaped and moulded in accordance with the genius of the people of the country. I can say with confidence that there is no country in the world which has not had its travails and trials in reaching the goal of establishing the type of democracy which is best suited to her needs. . . .

In the world of today when nations are conquering space and reaching the moon is no longer an improbability, it is perhaps appropriate to remind ourselves that to millions of people in a very large part of the world, what is more important are the hard facts of life centering round the comparatively simple problem of insuring two square meals a day, relief from ravages of disease and release from a state of ignorance. Till these basic requirements of humanity have been met the great scientific achievement of our day will have little meaning. Science in the service of humanity appears to have lost its meaning and unless the balance is restored we shall continue to be plagued by instability, uncertainty and confusion.

We in Pakistan are making efforts to eradicate hunger, disease and ignorance. To achieve our objective we need long years of peace. We, therefore, earnestly desire to be left alone and would like to see an end of all causes which strain relations among countries. We regard war as a most unproductive effort and as a soldier I condemn unreservedly resort to force for the settlement of disputes between nations. Unfortunately not all nations feel the same way and we have, therefore, had to take defensive measures in the shape of regional alliances to safeguard our independence....

We stand for the right of nations to live peacefully within their own frontiers according to the dictates of their own faith and aspirations and free from threats of outside aggression and internal subversion.

We believe in the right of subject people to choose their own destiny and live in freedom and dignity because freedom like peace is indivisible.

We have particularly close bonds of unity with the Muslim world. We rejoice in the happiness of the Muslim peoples of all countries and are always prepared to share their pain and sorrow. Their strength is our strength and their weakness is our weakness and we, therefore, wish them well and would wholeheartedly welcome any move towards greater unity and co-operation among the people of this great *millat*. . . .

*Welcome Speech at Karachi given in honour of President Nasser of UAR, on 10 April 1960*

Mr. President, our country is bound to yours by indissoluble ties of religion and culture. Islam is a great bond between our two peoples.



More than anything else it teaches us tolerance. And it is in the spirit of Islamic tolerance that our two countries have to understand each other. Even if our policies in the international sphere may at times give the impression of being based on different principles, we are both striving towards the same objective, namely, the preservation of the independence and integrity of our respective countries.

It is the spirit of tolerance, of which I made mention earlier, which alone can make one understand the difficulties of the other. The policy

of any country is necessarily dictated by her environments and national interests. It is important that our two countries should understand and appreciate the national interests of each other.

I need hardly say that we have always looked upon and will continue to look upon the Arabs as our brethren. It would be immodest for me to narrate the part we have played in furthering Arab cause in our humble way. We have not done so as a favour. We have done whatever we could because the cause of the Arabs is dear to us. . . .

*Speech at the State Banquet given by the UAR President at the Abadin Palace, Cairo, on 6 November 1960*

Let me assure you that by taking the stand on Israel we are not trying to do any special favour to anybody. This is not a question of national or international politics for us. This is, in fact, a matter of conviction and faith. Pakistan has always stood by the Arab cause and *Insha Allah*, we shall continue to do so in future as well. For this we seek no return and no reward except their goodwill.

People bound together by ties of faith can always resist the discordant pull of all other forces. And when that faith is Islam there should be no question of their falling apart because

Islam itself is the essence of brotherhood in the face of differences, tolerance in face of provocation, understanding in face of misgiving and forgiveness in the face of anger.

So long as we can adhere to the cardinal attributes of Islam, no territorial, political or material considerations will separate Muslim from Muslim. It is my sincere and humble prayer that God may bless Muslims all over the world with unity of purpose and conviction which their faith enjoins and their destiny requires in the ideologically competitive world of today. . . .

*Address to the National Union Rally at the Cairo University on 7 November 1960*

Dear friends, reference has been made of misunderstanding between Pakistan and UAR during the period of the unfortunate Suez crisis. I



think that it would only be right to tell you as to what some of us tried to do in order to ensure that the ranks do not take a serious turn.

I was at that time the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army and I was quite clear in my mind that after the declaration of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, an invasion was coming into Egypt. This was a very serious thing indeed. And although it was no political concern of mine, I went to my Government, and I told them that days of extraterritorial rights in sovereign countries have gone—Suez belongs to the people of Egypt and they have every right to declare nationalisation, but they owe a duty to the rest of the world that depends on the transit of trade through the Suez Canal, and at the same time they owe something to the people who own shares in the Suez Company, and so, therefore, everything possible must be done, politically, to let the tempers cool down, so that this danger of invasion is averted and these two problems, the matter of transit through the Canal and the matter of settlement of, shall we say, the cost of shares and so on, can take their natural course.

Maybe that some of our representatives, the clumsy, those who did not think clearly—maybe that you must have misunderstood our moves, but I can assure you that every sensible man in Pakistan, and certainly the Pakistan Army tried to do its best to ensure that the tragedy of invasion did not take place.

Well, you were under pressure, and when people are under pressure, one gets hurt if one does not get the support from the friends in the manner you think it should be given, and I fully

understand it : I think it is quite human to understand. But may I tell you that in our country too, some people complain against the Muslim world not giving us support in the gigantic struggle that Pakistan has been forced to go through by a very powerful neighbour next-door to us. We have been subjected, although I must say that lately our relations with India have improved considerably, to a pressure which you cannot really have the comprehension, apart from the Kashmir struggle, where the two armies are facing each other with loaded weapons even up to today. Some nine million refugees were thrown into Pakistan at the time when Pakistan came into being. You just imagine what nine million refugees mean when you consider the problem that is caused by about three fourth of a million refugees from Palestine. So we, too, have been under pressure and we still are under pressure, and it is only natural that our people should at times complain and expect open and substantial support from the Muslim brethren all over the world. I have been telling people that, although I can fully understand the reason behind such an expectation, one has got to be a realist and the realism is this : now it's a hard thing to say but one must face facts of life and the fact of life is that whether we like it or not, and we certainly should not like it, religion today is no longer the motive power as it used to be ; it is national territorialism which is the motive power. So, therefore, it was unrealistic on the part of the people of Pakistan to expect that somebody else would come and resolve their problem, and I always used to say and I am saying it today, that Kashmir and our problem



with India is our problem and *Insha Allah* we shall struggle on to resolve them in the most peaceful manner we can. The meaning of all that is this : that quite frankly when you are under tremendous pressure, as we have been under tremendous pressure, people are bound to get little fussy, little sensitive, and apt to misunderstand each other. I often pray that between our two countries such a thing will never arise again, and that can only be done if we have mutual understanding with each other, if we meet more often, if we try and understand each other's problems, then I am sure we will begin to have sympathy for each other and the cause for a new complaint will be removed.

Having said that, may I tell you that we have never missed an occasion to support the Arab cause against Israel. And on every occasion we have done whatever was in our power to assist you morally and openly, and we mean to do so continually and as I have submitted before, we expect nothing in return from you: we expect your better future, your happiness and your security. And at the same time, being human, we expect that for all the support we do not want any credit, but at least that it is recognised and understood.

We also hope that the Arab world, like us, has got its independence after a long, long struggle and a long time. This is a very dear possession of any human community. I hope, and we all hope, and pray that your mutual differences are resolved in a spirit of large-heartedness so that your resources which are very badly needed for development and progressive work are not diverted into negative things, and that your pace of

progress is speeded up all over in the Arab world. This is our hope and prayer and I hope it will come true, and there is no reason why it should not, in spite of misunderstanding, that one sees from time to time. . . .

We maintain that our religion is a religion that encourages the use of reason ; it is a religion that should normally help us move forward with the time, and but for this yet, can you really say that it has happened? When one comes to think about it, when one casts a glance over the Muslim communities all over the world, they are the most backward, they are the most uneducated. . . . Is it not a matter of concern, and should it not be a matter of concern to all of us to try and find out what is it that has gone wrong? What is it that needs putting right? And I think that it is the task of every thinking Muslim to find out the reason, what is it that ought to be done to put this matter right and should have the moral courage to openly say as to what is wrong and how it should be put right. And I think it is very important for our religious community and our religious leaders, who have done a great service, mind you, in preserving the traditions of Islam, in spite of tremendous trials and tribulations. But can you say that their activities are today showing us how to get ourselves ready to march with the present time, and you might say—why must they tell us, and why is it necessary that we must march with the present time? And to that my answer is: that the law of nature and the Qur'an tell you very clearly that those people who do not better themselves, do not move with the time—will perish—and that is the difference, if we do not



move with the time, if we do not get ready to move with the time, recognise our defects, and remove them, we shall just go back again to slavery and this time these slaveries are going to last much longer, than anyone of us might think in terms of what happened in the past. . . .

## Home Affairs

*Broadcast to the Nation from Radio Pakistan, Karachi, on 8 October 1958*

YOU should have heard by now the declaration by the President abrogating the Constitution and imposing martial law throughout Pakistan. He has appointed me the Chief Martial Law Administrator, and all the armed forces of Pakistan, including the civil armed forces, have been put under my command. This is a drastic and extreme step taken with great reluctance, but with the fullest conviction that there was no alternative to it except the disintegration and complete ruination of the country. History would never have forgiven us if the present chaotic conditions were allowed to go on any further.

These chaotic conditions, as you know, have been brought about by self-seekers, who in the garb of political leaders, have ravaged the country or tried to barter it away for personal gains. Some have done it as a matter of right because they professed to have created Pakistan, and others who were against the very idea of Pakistan openly worked for its dissolution or in any case did all they could to aggravate its problems. Their aim is nothing but self-aggrandizement or thirst for power. Meanwhile, weak and irresolute Governments looked on with master-

ly inactivity and cowardice and allowed things to drift and deteriorate and discipline to go to pieces. . . .

There were a few honourable exceptions but their conscience was dead and they were rendered ineffective by hords of their supporters in the Assemblies changing party affiliations from day to day.

There are two things a man—a man of any conscience—finds it very difficult to do: change his religion change party affiliations. But our so-called representatives in the Assemblies shifted from one party to the other without turning a hair or feeling any pangs of conscience. . . .

The result is total administrative, economic, political and moral chaos in the country, which cannot be tolerated in these dangerous times. Pakistan certainly cannot afford this luxury. It has far too many internal problems to solve and external dangers to guard against—the pre-requisite to solution of which is a secure and stable base within the country.

Our people are by nature patriotic and good people. They are tolerant, patient and can rise to great heights when well led. They are also intelligent and could see all this happening in front of their eyes. But they found themselves helpless as they



did not wish to aggravate the problems facing the country or perhaps did not wish to hurt the feelings of the army which, in the final analysis, is responsible for law and order and which had served them so well with loyalty and devotion. But lately I could see that they were beginning to lose faith even in us for not saving them from the tyranny and mental and spiritual torture. I am sure they are sick and tired of unscrupulous type of politicians, who were busy tearing their dear country into pieces. The army too felt the same and much more but held their patience for the reasons which I will just now explain.

... Ever since the inception of Pakistan we in the armed forces saw very clearly the internal problems facing the country and the external dangers to which it was exposed. We were also conscious of our limited means. We solemnly decided to build a true national army, free from politics, a model of devotion to duty and integrity imbued with the spirit of service to the people and capable of effectively defending the country....

You may not know but I refused on several occasions the late Mr. Ghulam Muhammad's offer to take over the country. I did so in the belief that I could serve the cause of Pakistan better from the place where I was, and also had a faint hope that some politicians would rise to the occasion and lead the country to a better future. Events have falsified those hopes and we have come to the present pass. A

perfectly sound country has been turned into a laughing stock. This is sad, but the situation has to be faced and remedies found, as God willing they are going to be. . . .

There are certain problems which need immediate solution, and others which are of a long-term nature. We shall do our utmost to solve them and eradicate evils. But in all this, I must demand your wholehearted understanding, co-operation and patience. I must also ask you to work hard and put in your best effort. This is the period when our State has to be built and this can only happen if people work. Sloga-mongering can never take the place of hard sweat. Remember that there are certain things which should be in our power to put right. We shall see that that is done. But there are others, solutions to which are beyond our control. Here all we can promise is our best endeavours, leaving the result to God. So, when judging our performance, do keep these hard realities of life in mind. . . .

I have spoken to you, my fellow citizens, at some length to put you in the picture and remove doubts and misgivings and to convince you that this extreme step has been taken in your interest and in the interest of the stability of Pakistan. Now let us all bow before Almighty God in all humility to guide us to a better future, so that we emerge from this hour of trial as a sound, solid and strong nation. Amin. Pakistan Painsdabad.



*Inaugural Speech delivered on 19 December 1958 at the Conference on Labour-Management Co-operation at Karachi*

We wish to industrialise rapidly within our means and without creating a serious landslide from agriculture which must, after all, always remain the backbone of our economy. Our objective is to evolve an agricultural-cum-industrial economy, which suits the talent and meets the challenge of an ever-increasing population. The evolution of such a pattern presupposes a direct impact of industry on agriculture. The transformation of a tiller of the soil into a factory-hand in totally new surroundings is a deep socio-economic process and in its imaginative handling lies the key of most labour problems.

The relation between labour and management is essentially a business relation and should be treated as such. But there are some political philosophies which have made this relationship a hot-bed of ideological unrest and subversive intrigues. This creates rather than solves any problems. It is wrong to suppose that there is a ceaseless clash of interests between labour and management. On the contrary, they are the part and parcel of a joint endeavour, in which they must clearly and realistically recognise their limitations and responsibilities. It is for labour to give their best for what they are paid, to imbibe discipline and, when aggrieved, to seek redress through the channel of prescribed laws and regulations. On the other hand, it is equally for management to realise that what they are dealing with is human material and not machines, and, as such, give them all the comfort, convenience

and dignity due to honest, hard-working and self-respecting human beings. All trade unionism on the part of labour and all rules and regulations on the part of management must conform to these fundamental prerequisites. It is within this framework that the labour-management relationship should be made to develop in a spirit of mutual understanding, goodwill and co-operation. Iron out your differences and misgivings amongst yourselves. Do not let outsiders trespass into the domain of your domestic affairs. Once you allow this, you will open a floodgate of power politics, exploitation and intrigue, in which both labour and management will be reduced to the level of helpless tools.

I am no expert in labour laws and management affairs. But, as a layman, this is what appears to me to be the crux of the problem. Our objects are clear. We want to grow more food. We want our industry to work to its full capacity. We cannot afford any lapse of standards and production in either. We want to ensure an equal measure of social justice for the employer and the employee in every sphere of national activity. And, above all, we also want to keep the consumer in view. Almost everyone in the country is a consumer. He has suffered under the grinding wheel of high prices for much too long. So, while the labour and management co-operate to do each other a good turn, let them not forget that there is also a poor consumer who needs some relief. . . .



*Speech at a public meeting held in Karachi on 25 December 1958*

Unfortunately, not so very long after Quaid-i-Azam's death and the all-too brief period of Quaid-i-Millat's Prime Ministership, the Quaid-i-Azam's precepts and the example set by him were forgotten, and Pakistan was thrown into a state of confusion and utter administrative chaos; politics became synonymous with intrigue, chicanery and deceit; and corruption and dishonesty became the order of the day. Pakistan lost its good name throughout the world. Our foes exulted in our incipient disintegration; our friends despaired of our future and lost faith in us.

It was in these conditions that, impelled by a sense of national duty but much against my personal inclination, we decided to act. Pakistan was hurtling towards destruction. Had we not acted to save it, we would have been guilty before God and man.

Let this be heard by everyone in the country and outside that this regime has not assumed power for the sake of personal gain. We acted only because of the compulsion of events. The advent of the new Government was necessitated by the chaotic mess created by previous governments, and it was motivated solely by the desire to save the country.

The people of Pakistan should know that on several occasions, previously, I had been requested, even begged by those in authority to take

over the country's Government. Every time I declined to do so. I acted only when I was convinced that as a patriotic Pakistani I had no other option. . . .

A great deal of time has been lost. We have to begin where Quaid-i-Azam left off. In fact, we have to perform the additional duties of clearing the mess created by previous governments; we have to establish a clean and efficient administration, we have to restore the country's economy; we have to root out corruption and dishonesty; we have to enable our people once again to hold their heads high in dignity and self-respect.

With God's help, we will do all this and more. At the same time let nobody expect miracles from this regime. There are no shortcuts to success. In the context of reality results can be achieved only through long and patient hard work and sound planning. The ultimate achievements of this regime would be determined by the amount of hard work that we can all put in, individually and collectively, for the betterment of our country. . . . Therefore, while I must warn you against expecting results from us overnight, I shall give you this promise: that my Government and I shall not spare ourselves, that we shall work in the furtherance of the interests of this country to the farthest limits of human endurance.

*Address at the reception of the Karachi High Court Bar Association on 15 January 1959*

I shall not pre-judge what sort of constitution we should have, though I naturally have my personal views. Two things, however, we must insist



on. Firstly, that our constitution should be such as suits our circumstances and conditions; and secondly, that it should not admit of political instability under any circumstance. To produce such a constitution will require a lot of realism and courage and bold departure from clichés and borrowed ideas, if need be. So, it will be that type of men that I shall be looking for.

I am no lawyer, and do not pretend to be one. But today for the first time I hear these phrases that are used in your address: "the supremacy of law" and "the supremacy of the judiciary". What I have always heard of is something different: "the rule of law" and "the independence of the judiciary." On your phrases I think we should find ourselves landed in positions as astonishing as they are dangerous. On my phrases the stability of great states has always had one of its soundest foundations, and will continue to have. Let us make no mistake. I am not going to entangle myself in philosophical disputes as to the nature and source of law: I am simply going to say that in this country the rule of law prevails.

If the laws have to be changed they are changed; but while they exist they are binding on all. And in order that we may know as between man and man, or man and the state, what the law is or what the final interpretation of a law is, we observe and protect the independence of the judiciary. Now let us understand what this independence means. It means the freedom and the responsibility—to decide according to the law, without fear or favour; without fear of pressure and without hopes for the future. It is not freedom to say what

the law is. I know that sometimes a point comes up where there is no known existing law or decision to decide it: but even in deciding such a point the judge has to base himself on the rest of the law. And I should like to add another consideration, too often overlooked in some public statements. The independence of a judge also means independence from his own feelings and temperament so that, unswayed by either, he may follow the law.

In this sense, that they have the power to declare and interpret the law, the courts are, as you say, the final arbiters of what is legal and illegal. I only wish to balance your statements by adding that to every power there is attached a corresponding responsibility. This you yourselves would be the first to confirm. I only say it because I do not wish to be thought to assent to somewhat one-sided statements. Perhaps this will explain why I cannot accept, as it stands, your statement that the orders and views of the courts, "have already been treated with the highest consideration."

Consideration seems to me the wrong word. We are here in the realm of law. When a judge, duly appointed and having due authority, decides the law according to the law, that is law. It is not a matter of accepting the decision or of treating it with consideration. It is the law and we act according to it. If the law declared brings the Government into conflict with what it considers to be its own responsibilities, or if the law so declared has consequences which the Government does not wish to see, then the Government has its own responsibilities, and, therefore, the e



power and the duty to alter the law that the courts have declared. This is only another way of saying that in this country we live by the rule of law. And, this is the order of respon-

sibilities, observed in every country that wishes to call itself civilised and orderly, as we do and intend to keep on doing.

*Broadcast Speech from Karachi on January 24, 1959*

Ever since independence, politicians have talked of introducing land reforms in West Pakistan with a view to removing these defects and revitalising rural society, but, for reasons which you all know, nothing effective was done. On the other hand, their empty talk of reforms raised false hopes and unfounded fears which resulted in embittering landlord-tenant relations and created uncertainties regarding the future rights and obligations of both landlords and tenants relative to the ownership and use of land. The uncertainties, I am sure, have contributed in some measure to the current stagnation in agricultural production.

My object in setting up the Land Reforms Commission was to enable the Government to devise a rational land tenure policy which will satisfy, on the one hand, the social need for greater equality of opportunity and social status and, on the other hand, the economic need for increasing agricultural production and improving the standard of rural living through a more equitable distribution of income from land. The setting up of the Commission was a link in the chain of measures in that we propose to take to create an economically viable, socially free and politically stable and progressive society.

You will appreciate that the requirements of social justice and the interests of economic development are

not always identical and it was a difficult task that I had set for the Commission. I had also required the Commission to submit its recommendations with the maximum of speed. I am glad to say that, despite the complexity of the task, the Commission has been able to produce a comprehensive report within a short period of three months.

The main findings of the Commission are that, in relation to the size of the rural population, land offers but a limited economic opportunity. The ownership of the land is also in many areas inequitably distributed. Employment opportunities outside agriculture being relatively few, there is a growing congestion on land. The pressure of population on land and the laws of inheritance are resulting in uneconomic and highly fragmented holdings. Despite the availability of necessary manpower, the development of large estates is often very slow and a considerable portion of the culturable land is not being utilised to full capacity. Ownership opportunities being few, because of the limited availability of land, resources of manpower are not being fully utilised. Tenants are generally insecure on the land. They are also denied reward proportionate to the effort they make. Initiative and enterprise are, therefore, lacking and there is little productive investment in agriculture.

In view of the special prestige



which ownership of land enjoys over large areas, political power is concentrated in the hands of a privileged few. Apart from its social consequences such concentration of power hampers the free exercise of political rights and stifles the growth of free political institutions.

To remedy these defects the commission has recommended certain specific measures as a minimum programme of land reforms. My Government have considered the Commission's recommendations with great care and have taken a number of decisions. Details of these decisions will appear in the Press tomorrow morning.

I take this opportunity briefly to indicate some of the major decisions we have taken. These are as follows:

First, no person will own or possess more than 500 acres of irrigated or 1,000 acres of unirrigated land. Existing land-owners will, however, be allowed to retain such additional areas as well to which they would be entitled had the ceiling on ownership been fixed as equivalent to 36,000 produce index units allowable in the case of refugees. They may additionally retain an area up to 150 acres under orchards and alienate by gift a limited area to their heirs.

Second, land over and above the ceiling limit thus fixed in each case will be resumed by Government for redistribution to tenants and other deserving claimants. In order to avoid displacement of existing tenants and disruption, of production, tenants already cultivating the resumed areas will be given the option to buy them on instalments spread over 25 years.

Third, the landlords will be paid fair compensation for the resumed lands in the form of interest-bearing

bonds redeemable in 25 years.

Fourth, occupancy tenants should be converted into full owners throughout West Pakistan.

Fifth, tenants in congested areas will, as far as possible, be accommodated in the programme for the colonisation of State lands.

Sixth, tenants everywhere will have security of tenure. In the event of ejection according to a process of law, they will be entitled to a fair compensation for improvement of land and disturbance of possession. An embargo will be placed on the enhancement of rents and illegal exactions in the shape of fees or free labour or services from tenants will be eliminated.

Seventh, all jagirs will be resumed without payment of compensation and other intermediary interest will be abolished.

Eighth, in order to prevent progressive fragmentation of holdings, division of holdings below a certain economic or subsistence level will be forbidden and joint management of such holdings will be facilitated by law.

Ninth, immediate steps will also be taken to introduce a Province-wide scheme for the compulsory consolidation of fragmented holdings. . . .

You will see that the most important of these measures is the imposition of a low ceiling on individual ownership and the redistribution of land in excess of the ceiling in each case of landless tenants and holders of uneconomic holdings on payment of a fair price in convenient instalments. This measure will go a long way towards breaking up the present concentration of landed wealth in the hands of some 6,000 landlords throughout West Pakistan. It will narrow down the existing inequalities and will



go a long way towards encouraging more intensive use of land and productive investment by the actual tillers of the soil. . . .

To the landlords, these measures may seem drastic. I trust, however, that they will appreciate the needs of the time. The history of other countries is before us and we have to take a lesson from it. Apart from the dictates of social justice to which, as Muslims, we all subscribe, I consider the introduction of these reforms as an absolute necessity for the survival of the system and values which we

cherish and which brought Pakistan into being as a free State. While announcing the setting up of the Land Reforms Commission, I had said that we shall not be vindictive and that we shall do justice to all. We have seen to it that the landlords receive fair compensation and they are able to adjust themselves to the changed situation arising from limited holdings without undergoing undue hardships. It is now up to them to make the transition as smooth as possible. I must warn them that it will be in their interest to do so.

*Address delivered on 31 January 1959 at the closing session of the Pakistan Writers' Convention, held at Karachi*

Very often a lot of friends come to me and ask me to prepare something which will give the people the ideology of Pakistan. What is it that they should be working for? I am working at it, but as a simple soldier trained to economise words and not waste time, as I see it, the ideology of Pakistan is a simple one. It is a process of the evolution of Pakistan which we neglected. Having got Pakistan we had to go on to the next thing.

By itself Pakistan has no meaning unless we achieve the objectives for which we fought. These objectives are a better, a happier and a more comfortable life and fuller, more creative and more assertive life for the people of Pakistan. That has to be the ideology of Pakistan.

Let us see how this can be implemented. It can only be implemented by sound, sincere and ruthless planning and hard work. There is nothing else to replace that. If you want a better Pakistan, you can have it, I can assure

you. I am absolutely amazed at the spirit of the people in spite of 11 years of frustration. One thing that encourages and give me tremendous hope in the future of Pakistan is the spirit of the people and the way they have risen to the occasion, the way they have revived their spirit.

It was just there ; it had to be given an opportunity to come up and find its natural creative course that was denied unfortunately. And so this is the way that we have to do for two or three decades, think hard and think realistically, have our feet on the ground, plan well and sensibly, and work and work hard; and that work does not mean that only the Government servants or the factory workers have to work, but every one of us has got to work.

Even a man who sweeps the floor somewhere or the other, is an important screw in the life-machinery of Pakistan. If he does, I would like to see that he sweeps a little better



with little more gusto and takes pride in it. That has got to be done everywhere in every walk of life. Let us be absolutely confident that we are going to do the right thing. In this scheme of things, the writers have a tremendous contribution to make, and they must make it by their writings and directing people's attention from undue materialism. You cannot cut out materialism completely in this world but directing it through the channels of the spirit of Islam so that you move quicker to your destiny.

We are under tremendous fire from all directions; the whole mankind is under tremendous pressure. In the past there used to be battles for human bodies. Today there are

ceaseless battles going on for human minds. Our mind is the mind of Islam. There are definite efforts being made from all directions to subvert it and to divert it. Well, what is the answer to that? Does it mean that we go back to the shell of mediaevalism? So what you have to do is to express the principles of Islam in the language of the modern mind and the language of the modern mind is the language of a spirit. That must not be allowed to become a vacuum. But also it must be the language of science, the language of economics and the language of current affairs, because the world is getting too small, we all fit in and play our part. . . .

*Speech at University Grounds, Lahore, on 25 February 1959*

The story of Lahore makes a golden chapter of our history. It was in this city that Allama Iqbal first dreamt of Pakistan and roused the Muslims of the sub-continent from their slumber. It was here in this city that the historic Pakistan Resolution of 1940 was passed under the inspiring leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam.

Politics apart, Lahore has been a great intellectual and cultural centre. Freedom endowed the city with still greater significance. On partition, when caravans of refugees poured into the city of Lahore as destitutes, you welcomed them with open arms and gave them shelter. The way you rose to the occasion provided a spectacle which few would forget. I am, therefore, filled with pride when I am in the midst of the people of

Lahore, for in 1947, they revived the traditions of the *Ansars* of Medina.

But alas that spirit of selfless devotion and sacrifice which freedom generated in our people exhausted itself before long. You are, no doubt, aware of the circumstances that led to it. Recounting those circumstances would only have a bad taste in the mouth. Also, as a matter of principle, we should start looking forward instead of backward.

Those who drove our country toward destruction and disrepute through selfishness, greed and deception are now reduced to nonentities. People no longer remember them with sympathy or respect, and this is how God has punished them. That phase of misdeeds and malpractices is over, and the new phase in our national life that has now begun pro-



vides a challenge to our patriotic zeal.

The people of Lahore have always been in the vanguard of every national movement. Today yet another moment is before us; and that is that the objective for which Pakistan came into being must be fulfilled at all cost. I invite the lion-hearted people of Lahore to come forward and pledge to protect and preserve the basic ideology of Pakistan, which entailed tremendous sacrifice in life and property. Are you prepared to pledge yourself again and pledge with all honesty and sincerity?

Fellow country men, it is easy to start a new movement but very difficult to bring it to the right path when it goes astray. This indeed is the crux of the problem we face today. That basic ideology which gave birth to Pakistan has been vitiated by subsequent developments. The sentiment which the Pakistan Movement produced among our people was systematically stifled by political leaders through their selfishness, dishonesty, nepotism, corruption, black-marketing, smuggling and singular lack of character. The nation lay prostrate under the weight of evils heaped up by ambitious politicians. While by God's grace, the authors of those evils are no longer on the scene, we have yet to exert our utmost to clear the debris of misdeeds left behind them. All of us have to put our shoulders to the wheel and unitedly endeavour to recreate a wholesome atmosphere in which Pakistan's ideology can thrive again.

You are known for your sincerity and frankness. I am a soldier and, therefore, frank and straightforward. I shall take this opportunity of speaking some home truths. First, I should

like you to remember that it is futile to expect that national progress can be achieved through miracles. There is only one miracle that can change the destiny of our nation, and that miracle is hard work, honest work, clean work. No miracle is greater than the miracle of honesty of purpose, integrity of action, austerity of conduct and sincerity of heart. Whatever you are, and wherever you are, you owe a duty to the nation, the duty to apply yourselves to the task entrusted to you wholeheartedly without fear or favour. Be he high official or petty clerk, a seller or a buyer, a mill-owner or a mill-worker, a landlord or a tenant, each one of them is part of the same machinery that is pressed into the service of the nation. Let our maxim be that each day that passes we work harder and better, so that our nation moves forward towards progress and prosperity.

When we talk of national progress, we draw mental images of vast, sprawling cities, of gigantic ceaseless factories and tall stately buildings. These are, no doubt, necessary features of material progress. But these are not enough by themselves. A nation's advancement is incomplete without moral and spiritual progress. One of the principal basis for the emergence of Pakistan was to provide us with a homeland in which we could mould our lives freely on an Islamic pattern. Without the Islamic way of life, Pakistan is no more than a mere wasteland. But within a few years of the creation of Pakistan, our politicians led us away from the Islamic way of life and exploited the name of Islam to achieve their nefarious designs. In the process, they nurtured among our people wrong values and



unwholesome aspirations. Wealth and power became the main purpose in life. Those who had wealth were engaged in the pursuit of power, and those who had power devoted themselves to acquiring wealth. And those who claimed to be custodians of religious learning ran after both wealth and power and did not stop short at any mischief.

In this ding-dong battle for power and wealth, politicians dragged in the name of Islam only to desecrate it. And when a sacred trust like religion is subjected to such mundane stress and strain, the moral fibre of the nation is weakened. That is precisely what happened in our country. From the very day that Islam was exploited to further political ends, moral standards became so low that officials indulged in bribery and corruption, smugglers went scotfree and traders practised black-marketing with impunity. This sordid atmosphere seriously affected our national character. It is now our bounden duty to raise the moral standards of our people.

... Morality is an individual responsibility. It is basic to human values in life. To comprehend these values you do not have to search far and wide. Fortunately for us, the Holy Qur'an has provided a code of conduct that is applicable at all times to all given situations. Fear of God, love of humanity, sympathy for the neighbour, help to the poor, and care of the orphans—these are the basic principles of Islam which can never perish. No amount of scientific advancement can keep pace with the continuous requirement of a human being for moral values in life. Technically and legally you may claim to

be Pakistanis by virtue of your citizenship in the territory of Pakistan. But that is not enough in itself. To be a true Pakistani you must spiritually prove yourselves to be worthy citizens of Pakistan. It is no use your being a big industrialist, a big business man, or a big administrator unless, at the same time, you are also a good man, a good citizen and a good neighbour. Unless you are a good human being you cannot be a good Pakistani. . . .

The principle of self-help is universal in its application. But in Pakistan, there is a dire need for this principle to be followed by every citizen. God has, indeed, been very kind to our people. Never before in 14 centuries of Islam has so much come into the hands of so many Muslims in terms of territory, resources and manpower as in Pakistan. But can we, with a clear conscience, claim that we have done justice to these great bounties that God has bestowed upon us? Why go far? Look at Lahore itself, and enumerate the number of hospitals, schools and colleges which non-Muslims built here as trusts, with private endowments. No doubt, they were rich people. But have not many brother Muslims in Lahore amassed much more wealth in the last 11 years than they would have been able to accumulate in 50 years in pre-Partition days? Yet how many charitable institutions—hospitals, schools, or colleges—have been founded by them in Lahore? I do not blame the wealthy citizens of Lahore. They were victims of a vicious circle created by corrupt politicians and in the atmosphere of selfishness and greed created by the politicians, the finer sentiments of service of humanity could hardly prevail. But



elenge to our patriotic zeal. People of Lahore have always been the vanguard of every nation-movement. Today yet another challenge is before us; and that is the objective for which Pakistan's being must be fulfilled at all costs. It is the lion-hearted people of Lahore to come forward and protect and preserve the basic ideology of Pakistan, which demanded a tremendous sacrifice in life and liberty. Are you prepared to stand up for yourself again and pledge with us, with sincerity and honesty? For our country men, it is easy to join a new movement but very difficult to bring it to the right path and does not go astray. This indeed is the basic problem we face today. The basic ideology which gave birth to Pakistan has been vitiated by the developments. The sentimentality of the Pakistan Movement among our people was completely stifled by political roughness through their selfishness, disloyalty, nepotism, corruption, black-marketing, smuggling and singular character. The nation lay prostrate under the weight of evils sheaped up by ambitious politicians. While in grace, the authors of those evils are no longer on the scene, we must exert our utmost to clear the land of misdeeds left behind. Each one of us have to put our hands to the wheel and unitedly work to recreate a wholesome environment in which Pakistan's future can thrive again. I am known for your sincerity and honesty. I am a soldier and, frank and straightforward. I take this opportunity of speaking the home truths. First, I should

like you to remember that it is futile to expect that national progress can be achieved through miracles. There is only one miracle that can change the destiny of our nation, and that miracle is hard work, honest work, clean work. No miracle is greater than the miracle of honesty of purpose, integrity of action, austerity of conduct and sincerity of heart. Whatever you are, and wherever you are, you owe a duty to the nation, the duty to apply yourselves to the task entrusted to you wholeheartedly without fear or favour. Be he high official or petty clerk, a seller or a buyer, a mill-owner or a mill-worker, a landlord or a tenant, each one of them is part of the same machinery that is pressed into the service of the nation. Let our maxim be that each day that passes we work harder and better, so that our nation moves forward towards progress and prosperity.

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are based on Islam. The so-called modern men consider it out of fashion to talk of Islam. Such men are to be pitied. It should, indeed, be a matter of great pride to us that we are followers of a religion that teaches such great values as fear of God, love of mankind, sympathy towards one's neighbour, care of the orphans and help to the poor. These are the basic Islamic principles of life without which you can neither make a good human being nor a good Pakistani.

Along with our endeavour to revive the moral and spiritual basis of our nation, we must exert ourselves to the utmost to build a progressive and prosperous Pakistan. By progress and prosperity, I do not mean merely the raising of big cities, huge factories or stately buildings. These are, no doubt, essential to national progress. But without correspondingly raising

the level of our standard of character and morality, we cannot raise our material standards in the true sense of the term.

If we have big cities and huge factories in our country and let selfishness, greed, nepotism, blackmarketing, smuggling, and corruption flourish, we shall not really have progressed at all: in fact, we shall have deteriorated as individuals and as a nation. To match material prosperity with moral progress, only one thing is required; and that is hard work, honest work, clean work, whatever your profession or calling, whatever duty entrusted to you, all you are required to do is to work with singleness of purpose and sincerity of devotion. Without these qualities in us, all talk of progress or prosperity becomes meaningless.

### *Convocation Address at the Peshawar University on 8 March 1959*

... We are living in a difficult, complex world, governed more by changing premises and postulates than by maxims and aphorisms. The pattern of life today, which we call modern, would be outdated sooner than we imagine, and this, precisely, is the justification for terminating the academic studies when one is still young and hopeful, so that one can enter life and start learning directly through life, adding immeasurably to the knowledge one gains from books based on other people's experiences.

The pursuit of knowledge just for the sake of intellectual diversion and mental luxury was a waste of time and should be discouraged like all

other luxuries. If knowledge is allowed to drift aimlessly on the sea of life, the end is the destruction of both knowledge and life. Those who have no central purpose in their lives, fall a prey to petty worries, doubts and misgivings, and find themselves assailed by failure, unhappiness and frustration. When students leave the portals of universities, their minds should not be clouded with idle dreams and purposeless visions. They must go out with a full grasp of the reality and hard facts that lie outside the University precincts so that they are able to grapple with life's many-sided problems with vigour and realism.

Indeed one of the reasons why we



have lagged behind in world affairs after leading it for centuries as intellectual pioneers, is that we failed to make a continuous and realistic appreciation, evaluation and discovery of the world around us. After paving the way for renaissance in Europe, we slept like the hare in the fable, and lost the race for intellectual leadership. So much so, that when Europe was entering the age of industrialisation we were still clinging desperately to outmoded and antiquated techniques of production and our growth in scientific and technological fields became sterile and static.

The problems faced by our country in this nuclear age demand that we make rapid progress in science and technology not only to make this country a prosperous and happy place to live in, but also to safeguard our liberty and our very existence as a self-respecting nation. The country needs scientists and technicians by the thousands to accomplish these national requirements.

It is not my contention that we neglect the study of humanities and what are called the liberal arts. These subjects have their own place and importance in life. They help in stirring young minds towards finer human

values and loftier ideals. But alongside these, we should also try very hard and very fast to build up a tradition of scientific and empirical inquiry. It is this tradition that we must revive so that we are able to take rational view of our environment and project in every facet of our individual and national activity. It is strange that we should have lagged behind in this field because our own religion explicitly asks us and instructs us to seek knowledge, and the knowledge of what we call science. The Holy Qur'an is replete with exhortations for us to find out the *ism* (name) of things around us, which clearly enjoins that we must know all the properties of a thing to give it a name and distinguish it from other objects. And this precisely is the sum and substance of science.

It was this spirit of inquiry and rational rather than emotional approach which I would commend to my countrymen in general, and to the younger generation in particular. I am sure that the practical people who live in this region would take to science and technology with the same zeal and steadfast determination which they had shown in other walks of life.

*Pakistan Day Broadcast Message to Pakistani Missions Abroad on  
22 March 1959*

The true greatness of a country is judged not so much by its physical proportions, as by the strength of character of its people. Let us on this day of national rejoicings pledge ourselves to redouble our

efforts to raise the moral stature of our people—whatever their calling or profession—so that Pakistan reaches great heights in the comity of nations.



*Pakistan Day Message to the Nation on 23 March 1959*

March 23rd is a memorable day in our national history. On this day, 19 years ago, we made a solemn resolve to create a free and independent homeland of our own and call it Pakistan.

And we kept the date with destiny. We achieved Pakistan in the teeth of violent opposition from a hostile and overwhelming majority. We were numerically small and our resources were limited. But it was the spirit of sacrifice and endeavour and faith in our destiny that won us our freedom and transformed our cherished dream of Pakistan into a reality.

Once again, we are faced with a big challenge at a crucial stage in our nation's history; and that challenge is to our sense of nationhood and to our conscience as individuals. In short it is a challenge to our moral fibre as well as to our national unity and solidarity.

We are a nation of over 80 million people, endowed with stupendous resources in men and material. We have a splendid land, rich and untapped, which is ready to yield its immense wealth to its industrious and enterprising inhabitants. We also have a glorious tradition of pioneering and perseverance which is an abiding source of strength and inspiration to greater endeavour.

And yet, for the past few years, we have been the victim of lethargy and sluggishness, moral dissipation and subject to fissiparous, regional and parochial tendencies unworthy of our role in history and out of tune with the highly competitive and fast-moving world around us.

A nation cannot be greater than the individuals who make it; and in-

dividual effort is meaningless except in the larger context of a co-ordinated and collective national endeavour. We have before us the task of national reconstruction as well as individual purification and in the last analysis they both hinge on two things—concentration on doing our own job and doing it well.

Too many people, it seems to me, are bothering about things which do not concern them, and in that process are frittering away their energies in unnecessary spheres of thought and activity. It is good to take an intelligent interest in the things around us, but in any overall planning on a national scale, it is quite likely that certain aspects or sectors of policy and planning may not be quite clear to everyone. It is, therefore, unfair to be hypercritical without taking full facts into consideration. Our intelligentsia in particular are often a bit too fond of concerning themselves with affairs which bear no relation with the realities at home. As leaders of thought and intellect, it is indeed for them to demonstrate their true sense of patriotism by taking a vivid and lively interest in the assessment and resolution of our manifold internal problems. In fact, this is the best—and the only—way in which each one of us can contribute to the great and inspiring task of national reconstruction in which we are at present engaged.

This will provide the base and the wherewithal for ushering in a representative form of Government in the country. For this we have to do some hard thinking and put in some hard—really hard work. As you know,



the constitution which came into force this day in 1956 did not work at all. It was an amorphous document without a hard core and solid base. It was centrifugal in spirit and dispersed authority in total disregard of national unity, homogeneity and solidarity. It was a confused and unholy wedlock of the executive, legislative and judicial functions of the State in which the ultimate power for good governance remained illusive, undefined and, therefore, inoperative. The result was political, administrative and moral chaos.

It is our privileged task today to liquidate the dangerous legacies of that chaos. A situation like that was indeed inevitable when we tried to transplant other people's constitutional concepts and practices into the temperament, talent and environments of our own people. We are not going to make that mistake again. What we must have is a constitution which is sensible, workable and suits the genius of our people and the climate of our country.

Questions are at times asked about the form of our future constitution and when it will be introduced. This is also a matter that concerns my mind constantly, as without a constitution how can we follow our ideals and achieve our destiny. I have, in this process of thinking, come to certain definite conclusions. If they are listened to, I have no doubt the people of our country will be able to order their lives with security, dignity and honour and there shall never be, I hope, any occasion for political instability because political instability is a luxury which Pakistan cannot afford.

As regards the framing of constitution and its timing, my idea is that

when the mess which was created in the past looks like being cleared up and the vital reforms that have been launched get going we shall appoint a constitutional commission consisting of the best brains of the country. When the draft constitution is ready, it will be put to the vote of the people in a suitable manner and then launched. I do not foresee this process taking an unduly long time. While saying this, let me make it quite plain that the bulk of our population in villages as well as in towns get the creeps when there is any mention of the politicians coming back into power again. Nobody can blame them for this, as they had a very, very sad experience of them. Despite this I feel that the introduction of a representative form of government in due course is vital to enable us to achieve our destiny.

We are embarking on a modest but far-reaching programme of development and consolidation. We are rebuilding the structure of our society, and we are ridding our body politic of elements which were corrupt and retrograde, so that the honest and the true and the noble in Pakistan should have a congenial atmosphere to find the finest expression in this task of reconstruction.

We are doing so in a spirit of humility and goodwill. We are a tolerant and peaceful people, believing in international amity and goodwill. We believe in peace for ourselves and, in particular, for others. We want good, friendly relations with our neighbours, and cherish the friendship of our allies, far and near. And on this solemn occasion we extend our hand of friendship to those who would accept it. . . .

On this day of days, our hearts



go out in gratitude to the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Pakistan is a sacred trust for us from the Quaid-i-Azam, and though he is not in our midst today as he was when we resolved to achieve Pakistan, his inspiring words and the noble example of indomitable courage, and an unimpeachable

moral character which he set before us, are still there to guide us and to lead the way. Let us on this day resolve, in the same spirit of sacrifice and faith in our destiny, to rededicate ourselves to those ideals, and to pull our might together to build a grand edifice on the foundation laid by the Quaid-i-Azam.

*Convocation Address at the Darul Uloom Islamia, Tando Allahyar, on  
3 May 1959*

... Some fourteen hundred years ago, Islam emerged on the scene as a great blessing. It was a dynamic and progressive movement which reshaped the entire pattern of life and gave a new meaning and purpose to man's endeavours. So long as this movement remained part and parcel of life itself, the followers of Islam continued to perform such memorable deeds in the world of science and practical knowledge as had no parallel in history.

Unfortunately, with the passage of time, the Muslims at large sought to concentrate more on the dogmatic aspects of Islam and less on its inherent greatness as a movement. This resulted inevitably in a widening gap between life and religion which continues to affect our lives today. Islam came into being essentially to reduce this gap, but it is an irony of fate that its followers themselves were caught in the yawning gap.

When the link between life and religion is snapped, life goes on in one direction or another, but religion is reduced to a lifeless object incapable of resilience or progress, and it is confined to the precinct of mosques and mausoleums. Islam seems to have

suffered this fate. While mankind has made great advances in science and philosophy, religion has remained static for centuries.

The miracle of Islam was that it destroyed idolatry, and the tragedy of the Muslims has been that they rendered religion into the form of an idol.

One dangerous result which it produced in our national outlook and culture was that those who progressed in the light of modern developments were dubbed wordly-wise Muslims and those who clung to mere formalism and dogma and remained static, claimed to be true Muslims. Gradually those who looked forward to progress and advancement came to be regarded as disbelievers and those who looked backward were considered devout Muslims. Every fresh advancement, every invention and every new educational system was suspected as a movement against Islam and that is why *fatwas* were pronounced against the leaders of revolutionary movements among Muslims in almost every period of history.

I invite you to examine objectively the sermons which are delivered



these days at Friday prayers, and you will find that the majority of these sermons are critical of even the minor innovations of modern life merely because they are novel. This I consider a great disservice to Islam, that such a noble religion should be represented as inimical to progress. Besides, this is most unfair to our youth who do wish to be faithful Muslims in a modern world. In fact, it is a great injustice to both life and religion to impose on twentieth-century man the condition that he must go back several centuries in order to prove his *bona fides* as a true Muslim.

The question now arises: how did it come to pass that a progressive religion like Islam became so static? Is it because we have strayed away from our true ideals and have failed to create a social and political system that can endure through changing times and changing values? Or is it because we have reduced our religion to a fairy tale of *jins* and angels, hedging it with superstition and raising slogans of blind faith which have retarded man's creative urges? Or has it anything to do with that form of mysticism which has promoted an escapist mentality and confined life to the premises of tombs and monasteries?

Or has it anything to do with the false belief that we can claim salvation hereafter without as much as making an effort? Have we forgotten that life after death is the fruit of our labour in this world and we shall reap in heaven what we have sown on this earth?

These are vital questions. It is vital for us to get to the root cause of the factors which have cast the dynamic and ceaseless spirit of Islam

into a lifeless and motionless mould. In our research for these factors we shall, no doubt, come across many a bitter, unpalatable reality, but it is our bounden duty to pursue our course undeterred and full of faith. One of the major factors in the disintegration of the world of Islam has been sectarianism. Whether right or wrong, sectarianism is there, and, it would be a folly to ignore this fact. Controversies raised over the issues as to which is the better sect can only lead to evil results.

Indeed, the right course is to emphasise the common features of agreement among the sects rather than their differences. Instead of finding faults with each other, will it not be enough for us to assert that in our fundamentals we are followers of one religion, because we all believe in one God, one prophet and one book? It is our *Ulema*, more than the others, who can help in creating this atmosphere of oneness. You are responsible of learning, particularly of some of the specialised aspects of religion; but it will not be correct to confine the scope of your vast scholarship to a limited sphere.

In the progressive world of today, it is essential for the *Ulema* to acquaint themselves with the advancement of science, philosophy, economics and contemporary history. It is equally incumbent upon those who are receiving modern education that they are conversant with the fundamentals of religion and its tenets.

... I am sure, if you are able to present Islam in a light and in a language that can be seen and understood by the research student working in a laboratory, the professor teaching at a university, as much as by the farmer



ploughing his field and the worker employed in a factory, each according to his capacity will be able to derive the warmth and inspiration from Islam. . . .

*Statement issued on the Press Reports of the U. S. Congressional Committee on 22 June 1959*

From the Press reports on Congressional Committee meetings one gets the impression that there is a feeling in the minds of some influential people in the United States of America that Pakistan is keeping forces in excess of its requirements for external defences in the event of a general war. It is stated that five and a half divisions in Pakistan is all that is necessary to meet such a contingency. Such an impression is totally erroneous and based on an incorrect appreciation of the military requirements of Pakistan. No great imagination is required to come to the conclusion that 1,400 miles of our very sensitive frontier on the north-west and the security of East Pakistan cannot be achieved by five and a half divisions alone. And even if it were possible to do so how could we guarantee that whilst we are engaged elsewhere, India with three times our military strength would not march into our country.

Whilst on this point, may I point out that 1,400 miles of the frontier referred to above is the one that until about 12 years ago was considered so sensitive as to require the major resources of the British Empire to defend. This is not only the frontier of Pakistan but it is also the frontier of India. In fact, Pakistan by defending this frontier is also defending India, and as such, it would not be wrong to state that India owes us a great obligation and that in reality we are

entitled to claim a share of this enormous expense.

I would beg our friends that when commenting on our problems they should at least understand our position clearly. Because of India's aggressive intentions and massive military build-up, we are forced to maintain forces that whilst catering for external defence can at least act as a deterrent. True, it is causing us a lot of expense, but what else can we do? We are victims of circumstances. We have repeatedly offered to settle our differences with India on honourable terms and have extended our hand of friendship but we regret that there has not been any appropriate response. Is it realised that 80 per cent of Indian forces are sitting almost on our border and could move to forward concentration areas which are fully stocked and launch a major offensive against us at 10 day's notice?

Our people on the border at least know this, and if we did not have some visible deterrent to this, they would just shift in millions inwards, causing a large scale refugee problem within the country. This would happen whilst we are still engaged in settling ten million refugees who have been driven out of India.

I would like our friends to understand very clearly that they shall find us dependable and trustworthy but at the same time if they think that they can lead us to confused thinking



against the hard facts of life, then we just cannot oblige.

I appreciate the noble sentiments of such people for wishing India and us well and wanting peace between us two. I assure them all that the greatest desire Pakistan has is to come to peace with India if she was prepared to settle our differences justly and amicably. We have gone further than that and offered common defence of this sub-continent as it is the only way in which it can be defended. But un-

fortunately India is not so far prepared to appreciate the wisdom of such a gesture. So such friends as some time take delight in criticism of Pakistan and misunderstanding of our intention would do far more good if they could exert their pressure to make India see reason, in which case they shall not find us wanting in playing our part. I would also invite them wholeheartedly to come out and study the situation for themselves.

*Speech broadcast on 23 July 1959*

... Good planning must endeavour to promote the welfare of the people and to raise the standard of living of the common man. In a country such as ours, the least that we must aim at is to ensure that everyone of us has two square meals a day, sufficient clothing to meet essential needs, and reasonable shelter.

Of the many problems with which our country is faced, none seems to me more important than these two: low agricultural production and high rate of population growth. These are basic. No amount of success in other spheres will be able to compensate for lack of success in these.

Without a substantial increase in agricultural production, especially in the production of foodgrains, and without holding the population at a reasonable level, neither will the essential needs of our under-privileged people be met nor their general standard of living raised.

In the race between food supply and a progressively growing population, we know who will be the loser.

At best, we may find that we may have to run twice as fast in order merely to stay where we are. Family planning is a long-term process, so the sooner we address ourselves to it, the better.

To bring about an increase in agricultural production, it is not enough to put into operation the labour of the farmer. Much more than that is involved. The skills of the agricultural expert, the extension worker, the credit machinery, the marketing organisation and the water and power engineer must be mobilised in aid of the effort of the farmer.

Side by side with agricultural development must proceed selective development of industries, particularly the small-scale and cottage industries. It is primarily through the extension of small-scale and cottage industries that our vast under-employed and unemployed population will be enabled to participate actively and to good purpose in the development effort of the country. . . .

All of us who live in this land wish,



I am sure, that its future may be better than its past and that it may march swiftly and steadily forward to a proud position among the nations of the world. Not without strenuous toil and effort can the goals described in the statement be realised.

In this immense and enormous task, it is essentially the people who must play their part, each man working with the utmost will, intelligence and energy for the attainment of our common good. It must be the responsibility, as indeed it is the purpose, of institutions of basic democracy, which are to be created shortly, to

undertake and carry forward the vast development effort that is needed to set our country firmly on the road to progress.

Administrators, too, must play their part in this high adventure. We are today engaged in recasting our administrative structure at all levels with the primary object of facilitating the economic reconstruction of our country. Administrators will henceforward have far greater opportunities to do their duty to the people. They must make use of these opportunities with resolute devotion. . . .

*Inaugural speech at the First Session of the Scientific Commission, on  
4 August 1959*

. . . In his efforts to master nature, man, through his own thinking and ingenuity, has undergone three important revolutions. The first was the Agricultural Revolution, thousands of years ago, when man learnt to sow, cultivate and harvest the food crops. The second was the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century which gave man the means of harnessing steam-power for locomotion, electric generation and production of goods and machines. The third is the Scientific Revolution of the present century which has not only led to a reappraisal of all values of life, material and spiritual, but has brought man nearer to the goal of mastery of nature.

Like many nations, we absorbed the Agricultural Revolution thousands of years ago. In fact Mohnjo Daro reveals the existence of a civilisation where people of this country were pioneers in many fields.

The Industrial Revolution is just beginning to reach us. Our political status as subjects of a foreign country retarded our growth and advance towards industrialisation.

The third, namely the Scientific Revolution, has not even hit us. We are just beginning to feel its impact and the sooner we realise the benefits of its all-pervading influences, the better. As a result of this Revolution, science has emerged almost as a faith on which societies are being built today.

One thing is certain—the days of poetic and sentimental approach are gone. A different kind of society has to emerge with a cultural discipline enforced by science and rational thinking based on logic and scientific reasoning. Our spiritual values, so dear to us, must be knit with Science into a fabric of our own design.

An under-developed country like



Pakistan can solve its problems only through the massive use of science and scientific knowledge. Science provides the only sure path to prosperi-

ty and offers the main hope for raising the standard of living of the millions. . . .

*Independence Day Message on 14 August 1959*

. . . The battle of freedom was won; and today we rejoice in the bright sunshine of an independent homeland of our own. But, in such moments of rejoicing, let us not forget the lessons of the darkest days of our political decline when we paid the price of lethargy and luxurious living by losing our freedom to an alien ruler. For, freedom is not like a gift which we can receive and put by; it is a kind of continuing race in which we must move ahead or be thrown behind while others reach the goal, often trampling us in the dust of ignominy and backwardness.

This is what happened to many such countries, particularly of Asia, as revealed in their past glory and failed to infuse new blood of progressive ideas and dynamic outlook into the hardening arteries of complacent and ignorant living. But today, we see before us new nations emerging from the ashes of the old. They are restless nations in search of their vanished soul and finding renewed strength in the sinews of their benumbed muscles. For too long they have suffered in silence the agony of being called "backward" or "under-developed" areas, a drag on the scientific and technological advancement of the world, being the backwaters of the modern progressive mind and thought.

In this new scheme of things, where do we stand? What is our contribu-

tion to bringing about this new order, and in furthering, developing and sustaining it? How long shall we take to stand on our own feet, so that we do not have to depend on assistance from this source or that? These are the questions which we must ask ourselves as we look back on these years since we won our freedom, and as we look forward to the future with hope and courage.

But hope and courage are meaningless unless the one is backed by realism and active effort, and the other by sound planning and bold implementation. It is in this spirit that we should appraise our past and prepare for the years ahead of us.

It is no doubt true that the past lives in us, and we cannot entirely ignore it, so that it will be some time before we can make up the leeway caused by years of misdirected national efforts and activities, leading to intrigue and corruption on the one hand, and moral and intellectual bankruptcy on the other. But a new beginning can always be made; and it was just such a beginning that we succeeded in making 10 months ago. We turned a new leaf, and found a new sense of direction which is steadily transforming the national scene.

I must caution here that the years to come will demand from each one of us greater determination, harder work, and above all a stronger moral fibre.



It is not necessary, nor is it practicable, that we should all be heroes. It is enough if we succeed in making some of the comparatively small sacrifices, and practise the less spectacular virtues of personal honesty, truthfulness and conscientious devotion to duty. For, it is only on the foundations of moral values and courage of conviction that we can build the edifice of national glory.

For a dynamic, forward-looking people, freedom presents a wonderful opportunity and a great challenge. But what is freedom except a series of rights and obligations, which we must accept in all sincerity and humility, for they make life worth living, and inspire us to rise to great heights of

human endeavour. These rights and obligations go together, and cannot be separated, one from the other. It was owing to our failure to meet our obligations and do our duty in whichever sphere of life it was demanded of us, that we lost the initiative so soon after winning independence, and allowed ourselves as a nation to slip back into the morass of doubtful means and selfish ends.

Let us on this day resolve that we shall boldly face this new challenge by meeting our obligations as individuals, as members of society and, above all, as citizens of the State. Thus alone can we succeed in building a strong and healthy Pakistan such as the Father of the Nation visualised for us.

*Addressing a public rally in Lyallpur on 12 October 1959*

... No doubt, earning a livelihood is an important function of man, but material advancement is not the only goal of humanity. There are many other vital factors which raise the stature of man and contribute to the fuller realisation of his personality. Among these factors the most important one is character. If man's character is weakened he loses sight of the high ideals he has set for himself. In the last eight or ten years the principal cause of our national sufferings had been the loss of character resulting in the loss of the sight of our ideals. The basis of all evil is the placing of self above general good. Selfishness breeds avarice, greed, dishonesty and untruthfulness. Intoxicated by self-interest, man tends to sell even his own honour and that of his country. Therefore, material advancement is not enough for the progress

of man. In fact, all material progress is meaningless until it is accompanied by growth of moral values and high sense of idealism. Without moral attributes mankind cannot truly claim to have made any progress.

What are these moral attributes? Fortunately we have been born Muslims. We do not, therefore, have to go very far to find an answer to this question. Yet unfortunately while we take the name of Islam with vociferous enthusiasm, we often fail to understand its true significance or to act upon its fundamental principles. One of the main reasons for this has been that many of our leaders regarded religion as exclusively their own domain and screened it away from the common man with a veil of abstruse knowledge or ignorance. The second main reason has been that religion



has been auctioned shamefacedly by selfish individuals in the market of politics. Yet another reason has been that blind imitation of the West, aggravated by an unrealistic educational system, has kept most of the educated away from Islam almost as if it was a fashion to do so. This of course was a heritage of an alien rule.

But we are no longer a subject nation. We are a free people. Freedom does not mean mere political independence. We must also free our mind, our conscience and our spirit if we are to be truly free. For that in essence is the real meaning of freedom. Man does not become great merely because he possesses more wealth, greater land and higher status. True greatness is based on the possession of faith backed up by good deeds. These are no doubt simple and oft-repeated words: and probably you are tired of hearing them so often, for they have been used and misused at all times. But I would like to repeat them because I am convinced that the only solution to our ills is that we develop in us faith and honesty of purpose. We can never become good people until we develop in us fear of God and love of humanity. In fact, unless we do this we cannot claim to be good Muslims, nor good Pakistanis. When hundreds of thousands of people sacrificed their life and property to attain Pakistan, it was never the intention that our country should become almost the personal property of a chosen few whose families would prosper at the cost of the millions others. This country was brought into being by you. This country is yours. And it is you who must step forward to mould its destiny and its future.

Maybe, when the Revolution came last year, some of you felt that

one group of rulers had disappeared and another had come in their place. Perhaps many thought that the new rulers would now seek to perpetuate their power. But I had promised to you on the very day of Revolution that our ultimate aim was to introduce democracy of the type that our people would understand and work. I am grateful to God that He has enabled me to redeem my promise. *Insha Allah* before the year is out the system of Basic Democracy will be introduced throughout our country.

The scheme of Basic Democracies has been evolved by us after a careful study of the experience of other countries and the special conditions prevailing in our own. There is no need for us to imitate blindly the type of democracies to be found in other countries. We have to work according to the requirements of our own nation and the genius of our own people. We have, therefore, kept the following factors in view in determining the system of Basic Democracies for our country.

First, this type of democracy will not be foisted upon the people from above. Instead, it will work from below gradually going to the top.

Secondly, the people will not have to go far from their neighbourhood to elect their representatives. It is highly difficult for an electorate in the rural areas where literacy does not prevail to elect their representative from forty to one hundred thousand persons in a constituency. In fact, in such a large number, an average voter does not even know what type of person he is casting his vote for. That is why in the past during the election campaign votes were cast either through pressure or through ignorance and much more so through unfair means. But in Bas



Democracies such a state of affairs will not be possible at all. Now only one thousand to fifteen hundred persons will elect one representative. In such a small group of people each person would be known to the other, and, at the time of election, everybody would know whether the person he is voting for is a good man or a bad man. In this way the democracy that will be established will be truly representative of the people themselves.

The third factor which is of considerable significance is that the Council which will be formed will be free from the curse of party intrigues, political pressures and tub-thumping politicians that characterised the Assemblies in our country in the past.

Now the Councils formed from wards or villages will be active institutions participating in the affairs of the State in co-operation with Government. Development schemes will especially be one of the principal responsibilities of these Councils. Health, agricultural development and social welfare are some of the spheres of activity entrusted to these Councils. This is indeed the most effective way to bring the will of the people closer to Government and the personnel of Government closer to the people. If these Councils discharge their functions and responsibilities well, every village and every inhabitant of each village in our country would become an equal partner with the Administration in conducting the affairs of the State. On aggregate, 1,20,000 representatives of the people will be working the system of Basic Democracies. In other words, Government machinery will operate with 1,20,000 parts supplied by the people.

If this machinery even now does not function effectively—that is, if this type of democracy does not succeed, then God help us. But I am confident *Insha Allah* it will succeed.

The success of the system of Basic Democracies will depend largely upon you. Today there are no political parties in the country, which means that there is no possibility whatsoever of any pressure being exerted upon you to cast your vote for fear or favour. Nor will Government ever attempt to persuade you to vote for any particular person. Elections will be absolutely free and fair. No ballot-box will be allowed to be broken, as they used to be broken in the past. No official will be permitted to use his influence to interfere in the elections. Now it is up to you and you alone that you elect such men as are honest, unselfish and moved by desire for service. You choose such men as will represent you sincerely and prove themselves worthy of the trust you repose in them.

The Union Councils which will be established under the system of Basic Democracies will be the mainstay of this great democratic process. Representatives from the Union Councils will go up to the Tehsil and Thana Councils, District and Divisional Councils. These representatives will give a helping hand to Government in all spheres of national activity. It is, therefore, vital that in the Union Councils all useful elements of society are adequately represented. It is likely that there are persons whom the people of their locality would wish to choose, but who would themselves stay away from elections out of modesty or



belief that the game of elections might still be tainted with the remnants of the past. Among such persons may also be women who might not find it possible to contest elections on an equal basis with those more fortunately placed. We have, therefore, decided that Union Councils should not be deprived of the benefit of the association of such men and women. With that end in view, provision has been made for nominating such people into the Union Councils. But, let it be clearly understood, that it is not the intention of Government to have nominated persons sit in the Union Councils as Government stooges. Our object is to ensure that opportunity should be given to participate in the deliberations of the Union Councils to individuals with specialised knowledge or experience who can make a real contribution to the development of

the areas covered by such Councils.

The system of Administration which we inherited was designed to suit the requirements of an alien rule. We must gradually change that system to suit the requirements of a free nation. We are step by step decentralising authority and giving more and more powers to provincial, divisional and district authorities. This will enable local issues of the people of these areas to be settled locally. It will prevent the people from undergoing long and tedious journeys, to Lahore, Rawalpindi, Karachi or Dacca for settlement of their immediate and urgent local problems. The Divisional and Deputy Commissioners will use their powers in consultation with the representatives of the people from the Union Councils to the District and Divisional Councils. . . .

### *Speech at Lahore on 12 December 1959*

. . . Your city not only possesses a historical past, it also commands an important place in our social, national, cultural and spiritual life. Lahore has gained further importance consequent on the establishment of Pakistan due to its strategic location. Its defence amounts to the defence of the rest of the country.

You are all aware of the conditions which rendered a radical change absolutely essential in our country. It is a disgraceful tale of political corruption, moral degradation and criminal self-aggrandizement. I wouldn't like to vitiate this pleasant atmosphere by narrating this nauseating tale.

If this revolutionary change had not been brought about, our country would have disintegrated very soon.

This revolution cannot be regarded merely as an art for art's sake but was inspired by high idealism. It is that very ideal for the attainment of which the Muslims of this sub-continent put everything at stake. Millions of precious lives were lost at the altar of freedom, countless houses were abandoned in destruction and hundreds of our sisters and others were made to sacrifice their honour.

But what happened after the establishment of Pakistan? The country's politics, wealth and power were seized



by a coterie of a few individuals and certain influential families.

Gradually Pakistan drifted away from its ideal. Maladministration, disruption, self-aggrandizement and dishonesty undermined the very fabric of the state. It is our foremost duty now to revive the real ideal behind the establishment of Pakistan. This, of course, is easier said than done. The way is littered with hurdles and obstacles. You are aware that for the past several years our politics had been reduced to the level of a racket with the result that our social as well as economic life was disintegrated. Now we are hoping that these poisonous sores on our body politic may flow out themselves. In case this does not come off, we will be constrained to resort to surgical operations to a degree.

... In order to achieve our aspirations the greatest need is a patriotic pursuit of national unity and solidarity. Provincialism and sectarianism are social and national anathemas. Till very recently, our politics was prompted by base prejudices of this nature, but now

the time has come to discard such venomous attitudes. For God's sake, resolve earnestly to live like one united people and unified country.

The distinction and discrimination between East and West Pakistanis, Punjabis and Pathans and Sindhis and those hailing from the UP is a product of narrow and diseased minds. In casting away these prejudices lies our safety as a nation.

A sound system of education is a prerequisite to cementing the shattered fabric of the nation. Proper education is a fundamental need of our own generation as well as of the posterity. It is our duty to leave behind such an inspiring educational heritage as should not convert them into mere clerks or officers but should mould them into enviable Pakistanis. The old system of education was formulated to fulfil the requirements of enslavement. The responsibilities of independence are a different ideal altogether. Hence my Government paid immediate attention to this vital issue, . . .

### *Broadcast Speech on Educational Plan on 8 January 1960*

... No country can retain its independence, let alone make progress, unless it takes the trouble to realistically educate and train its manpower—the most valuable asset for the tasks ahead. These tasks, so far as Pakistan is concerned, are enormous and embrace every field of human endeavour. Our foremost need is to develop a character pattern which is capable of producing hundreds and thousands of properly trained young men and women to provide that quality of leadership

which can give a correct direction to the affairs of the country, and visualise and implement the plans for its constantly expanding and growing future. I feel that the educational plan which has now been evolved exactly seeks to fulfil this need.

The decision of my Government on the recommendations of the Commission on national education are being released to the public, and, therefore, I do not consider it necessary to repeat them here. But there are four



highlights of the plan to which I want to draw your pointed attention.

Firstly, it shows us to go about training our manpower in the manner we require.

Secondly, it aims at ensuring that the end-products of our educational system in Arts or Sciences should be comparable in competence and achievement with the end products of any other system in the world.

Thirdly, it advocates that educational opportunities should be determined by the ability and aptitude of the child rather than by the wealth of

the parent.

And, fourthly, it shows us how to retain our identity as Muslims and overcome some of the problems that exist in Pakistan because of its separation into two halves and also because of its great diversity of languages.

I commend to you, my countrymen, to give these matters a solemn, realistic and objective thought as only then you will have the faith in their efficacy and belief that, by furthering the implementation of this plan, you are promoting a vital national interest.

*Inaugural Address at the 12th All-Pakistan Science Conference held at Hyderabad on 14th January 1960)*

... To be invited to inaugurate a conference, where scientists of great eminence have gathered, is an honour of which I am deeply conscious, and I must confess that not being a scientist myself, I can only speak to you as an outsider and as a layman.

It is sometimes good to be able to talk as a layman because, after all, everything which science has given to the world, either in the shape of abstract theories and formulae or in the form of machines, hydrogen bombs and space rockets, has to be viewed in the context of the ultimate benefit of that huge community of laymen called humanity; and it would be to the advantage of the scientists to take a few moments away from their laboratories and technical deliberations and lend an ear to the non-technical and objective outsider who is, perhaps, capable of taking a more detached view of things.

I have emphasised this point be-

cause the scientist today occupies a most privileged position in our society holding, as he obviously does, the key to huge unknown treasures of knowledge and experience, and wielding virtually a monopolistic power over the future of mankind. Whether or not poets are unacknowledged legislators of the world, as a 19th-century romantic poet would have us believe, the scientist of today is a very much acknowledged arbiter of the fate of mankind. This need not be grudged for after all this Age of Science can and should be looked upon as an extension of the preceding Age of Reason. And just as the Age of Reason saw the flowering of our thought and philosophy, and provided a rationalistic and analytical base for human intellect and imagination, science has added a new dimension to reason itself, taking it to those extreme limits of physical analysis where we can almost become inde-



pendent of all axioms and postulates. It is thus possible, in the light of new scientific advancement, to ponder over those possibilities and purposes of life and universe which, even at the height of the Age of Reason, could be best left to take care of themselves, typified by the concept that God's in His Heaven and all's well with the world, so that we don't have to bother about it at all

The ostrich-like attitude towards the ultimate purpose of life beyond its physical manifestations, is no more possible. Science itself has awakened us to the new dangers involved in such an attitude which may lead us right to the brink of disaster without providing even a line of retreat.

It is for us now to look back on the long way we have travelled since Man first started thinking rationally and, in the light of our knowledge and experience, deduce those higher principles and ideals without which the triumphs of scientific research may well become the doom of man on earth.

What are these higher principles and ideals? This would take us into domains other than that of science; to those of philosophy and religion, of ethics and morality, even those of economics and sociology, all of which have their varying dictates and demands, sometimes complementary and self-adjusting, but quite often contradictory and very nearly irreconcilable. It is the balance and harmony in these spheres which determined the peculiar relationship existing between science and man, between the possibilities of the former, and the needs of the latter. If science is to be pressed to the requirements of man, as a product is tailored to

the requirements of the consumer—then ethical and moral as well as religious and spiritual considerations must come in when we seek to determine the role of the scientist in the forward march of humanity. So that while we shall always admire with awe the flights of man in space, we may still be tempted to pose the question which Firdausi, the great Persian poet, did in these words :

“Have you completed all the work on Earth  
That you have started reaching the skies?”

I do not mean to undermine the spectacular achievements of science in intensive as well as extensive exploration of the universe and the magnificent discoveries which have opened vast new avenues for further research. But we must warn ourselves against the dangers of concentrating too much on these, and too little on our own needs and problems on this relatively small planet called earth, teeming with increasing millions from year to year, and hiding vast resources which apparently defy real and full exploitation for the growing needs of human beings.

The earth is still there to yield its vast treasures, and man has yet to achieve those heights of moral and spiritual evolution which should justify the purpose of our existence on earth. Fear and want still haunt huge areas, reducing human life to the level of dumb, driven cattle, and in an age of space travel, synthetic food products and remarkable mechanical amenities, millions continue to live in isolation, hunger, and primitive circumstances, making a mockery of all spiritual, material and intellectual enlightenment in which modern man can, and does, take



reasonable pride.

That then is the challenge. It is not for me to tell you what to do about it. The technically non-proficient but necessity-conscious consumer can only point out his need and necessity. It is for the manufacturer to invent, adopt or adjust accordingly. Science must endeavour

to evolve its own ethics, just as its other counterparts in religion, philosophy, sociology, etc., have done. It must come from within : it cannot and must not be super-imposed from without. That is the only way science can progress and prosper in the service of humanity.

*Address at the Dacca University Convocation on 21 January 1960*

... The rebuilding of the country is indeed a vital thing. I would like every Pakistani to be conscious of his responsibility and also his obligations because building of the nation does not just depend on talking and slogan-mongering. It means sitting down, thinking sensibly, evolving plans for the betterment of the country and then getting down to work. The phase of emotionalism through which we passed when we were to get our freedom is over.

We should now get down to business and feel our responsibilities that independence has conferred upon us. Unless we do that we shall be left behind in this very fast-moving competitive world. The world is not going to wait for us. The law of nature is not going to wait for us either. Unless we advance and move forward, what after all is the good of such independence? In order to develop and progress, we have got to do a lot of things. We have to eradicate all those evils which prevented us from moving forward. Also we have got to learn the virtue of manual labour. This period is a crucial one for us. As a result of the legacy of the past history of two hundred years for

East Pakistan and of one hundred years for West Pakistan—that is since we came under foreign rule—we have lost valuable time. I have a feeling that all these past two hundred years have been lost to us during which we could better ourselves.

It was in 1947 that we got our independence. If we were a free people we may have prepared ourselves for the present competitive scientific world. It is, however, no use lamenting over that period. We should now move so fast that we catch up with the fast-moving world somewhere. It is the job of the present generation to be conscious of it and to do what it can to keep the momentum going and it is for you young men and women to carry on that work. ... The next twenty-five years are, therefore, crucial for us. If we make a determined effort, we have a chance to survive. We have got problems, but in spite of these problems we have got to move on. ...

My advice to you, young men and women, is to realise your responsibility if you want to preserve your independence and I think you should want to preserve your independence. You have got to exert yourself



and be conscious of the responsibility of building the country. If you are prepared to work, you will have to submerge your personality or selfish demands to the larger interests of the nation. We have to work for the people of the whole of Pakistan.

Discipline among students is a vital thing. Please do not indulge in partisan politics. Do not indulge in choosing those forms or ideologies which are against the basic ideology of Pakistan. We have hundreds of races in this country but we are destined to be one country because we have a common faith, a common ideology and a

common outlook on life. . . . We are basically similar. Our way of life is similar and from that emerges the common ideology of ours. We must always bear that in mind for that is the basis of cohesion. It is for you, young men and women, to make the most of your learning. It is by the intelligent application of learning to the modern requirements in this very fast-moving world that we can move forward. If we do this, God willing, we have a future. It is your duty to see to it that the task of rebuilding the nation, of moving forward is accomplished.

*Broadcast to the Nation on the occasion of Pakistan Day, on 23 March 1960*

. . . A lot of changes have occurred in the country. Let us hope they are for the good of our land. At least that is my intention. Apart from the intrinsic merit of these reforms, it is necessary for all of us to understand the philosophy behind them.

What is the object for which all this is being done? This object cannot be anything other than what I have repeated time and again that our country has to set up suitable political, social, economic, educational and moral standards and institutions which may enable us to make scientific and rational progress. Believe me, this is the only task on which every single ounce of our energy, thinking power and resources should be spent in order that we can come up to the level of the advanced world and move with it.

This task is so tremendous and so much beyond our foreseeable re-

sources that we have to rely on, and have a right to expect assistance from friendly countries. When I say this there is no need to feel shy because the development of the western world was to a considerable extent based on the resources taken away from the Eastern world. Even the Soviet development was based to a great extent on resources taken away from Muslim kingdoms in Central Asia.

So the advanced nations have a duty and a moral obligation towards us; but we can induce them to do their duty to us only if we inspire confidence by our conduct as a nation in the manner in which we run our affairs. It is to that end that these reforms have been introduced, to get us to the starting point for development. In this process, a point I would like to make is this that most of us have a habit to expect too much, in



fact everything, from Government. With such an attitude, we can never become self-reliant and progressive.

True, Government has a big part to play in the task of national development, but a much bigger part has to be played by the people themselves to better their lot. In other words, progress is dependent entirely on the extent to which people themselves exert and endeavour, assisted by the Government. It is important that this division of responsibility should be fully and clearly understood.

Linked directly with this sense of responsibility is the inescapable need for patriotism and loyalty. Before independence we had a conglomeration of regional and linguistic cultures. We had Bengali, Urdu, Pushto, Punjabi, Sindhi and a host of other localised affiliations. We could be this or that to our heart's contents. But, in spite of this kaleidoscopic pattern, what were we in actual reality? We were just colonial slaves.

Now, with independence, we have got to develop a higher loyalty which transcends the smaller and narrower parochial loyalties.

Our mission is to weave unity out of diversity. We can expect benefits from the country we have created only in direct proportion with the higher loyalty we give it. All other diversions are tantamount to positive subversion. It is this basic fact which we must always keep in view, and order our conducts and affairs in a manner which promotes rather than diffuses this sense of higher loyalty and patriotism. . . .

There are many internal and ex-

ternal problems of major magnitude that we have to face. But the most essential ones are those connected with the development of the country reclaiming vast tracts of land in West Pakistan which have gone under water or salt and doing something to ensure that our population remain within reasonable bounds.

Unless we surmount these problems and surmount them quickly let me repeat what I have said so often, that all our planning and endeavour will be for a losing battle. I want all of us to get fully conscious of this, and take a rational view of these problems, because on this depends not only our present existence but the existence of all our generations to come. . . .

All that we have done or are doing within our country and outside is inspired by a singleness of purpose which aims at meeting the gigantic challenge of improving our lot. There are many in our country—who in the last 18 months have risen brilliantly to the occasion and have rendered exemplary services to the cause we have set before us. I thank them wholeheartedly and congratulate them on the high sense of duty and devotion.

But our real goal of universal prosperity and national well-being is still very far.

Let us—let each one of us—now resolve that wherever and in whatever station of life we may be, we shall take full advantage of the vast opportunities which time is going to unfold before us and that by dint of hard and sincere work we shall prove a success in the trials which lie ahead of us. May God shield and bless you all.



*Address at the fourth annual function of the College of Home Economics and Social Sciences, Lahore, on 7 April 1960)*

... The question of determining the correct role and place of women in the affairs of modern life has often caused confusion and controversy. But this should not act as a deterrent. For the concept of the role of women is an evolving process.

I attach great importance to institutions which prepare young girls for the great mission of life that begins with the home. . . .

While the basic values in life are fundamental to all society, Western or Oriental, it is the way of life that dis-

tinguishes one from the other. In exercising your choice between the sets of values offered by the West, you must keep constantly in view your own way of life which is the sum total of your own culture, tradition and heritage. It is only when you are deeply imbued with the spirit of your own cultural heritage that you can face the contemporary world with confidence, courage and faith.

I wish you all the best in life; and may God bless you.

*Convocation Address at the Govt. College, Lahore, on 7 April 1960*

... Traditions must not become lifeless statues to worship and adore. They should in fact be used as the base for raising new structures of knowledge and accomplishment. Particularly in this age of breathless speed when man is penetrating into hidden mysteries of life and matter, the quest for knowledge has to develop an equivalent intensity and pace. Countries like ours which have already lagged far behind in the race of progress have to reorientate their attitudes and systems with immense speed so as to retain their claim for survival with honour and dignity.

Slavery—whether of individuals or of nations—is no doubt a dark curse. But its remedy does not lie in political independence alone. To a far greater degree, it also lies in emancipating our minds and attitudes from the yoke of systems which were devised to meet the ends of our unfree age. In order to

be a Pakistani, it is not enough to live within the territorial limits of Pakistan. A far greater and much more urgent requirement is to breathe and feel and think and act like a Pakistani. The sense of being a Pakistani has to become the physical as well as the emotional base of our entire body and soul. Without this, all talk of independence remains unreal and imperfect.

It was in an effort to seek a recipe for this type of nation-building that I put the greatest emphasis on the reform of education. To my mind, this is the real hard core of our national requirement. All other reforms in the sphere of land and agriculture, law and administration and all other attempts to produce a greater measure of political, constitutional, social and economic stability and well-being are only a means for producing the right type of men and women. The end-product of all our endeavours is the citizen who



is sitting at the school or college desk today, but who tomorrow will go out to assume the leadership of the country in each and every sphere of life. I have purposely used the word leadership in this context. The time-worn concept that leadership belongs to the realm of ministerial chairs and high-powered public offices is a dangerous fallacy. Leadership is a more universal trait and operates in every high or low station of life.

The mother in the nursery, the wife in the home, a teacher in a remote primary school, a doctor in a rural dispensary, a clerk in a small municipal committee, a tiller of the soil and

everybody else upwards or downwards—each one of them has to be a leader of his or her line of pursuit to do the job adequately and constructively. It is to liberate this talent of leadership in every sphere of national life that we must evolve a system of education which is sound, sensible and within our foreseeable means. This has been the basic consideration behind the recommendations of the Education Reforms Commission, and I am hopeful that if we succeed in applying them wisely and honestly we shall, *Insha Allah*, reap a rich harvest in the long run. . . .

*Address at Lahore Basic Democracies Convention on 15 June 1960*

. . . The greatest difficulty in our economic affairs is that our resources are limited while our population is increasing at great pace. To overcome this state of affairs is the common responsibility of the Government and yourselves.

Whenever any country or nation is confronted with the problems, there is certainly some historical background. The nature of the circumstances through which our people have been passing during the last century or so was materially different from the circumstances of today.

After the unsuccessful Revolution of 1857, the Muslims of India had to adopt every kind of political, social and economic weapon for their preservation and survival. Thereafter, side by side with securing riddance from alien rule, the Muslims had to counter the ever-rising tide of Hindu nationalism.

This was the time of great trial. At last, God Almighty brought the struggle of our people to fruition and bestowed freedom on us. The requirements of freedom are radically different from those of slavery. Now we must honestly take stock of the fact as to how far the outlook of our individual or national life, which had become part and parcel of our character due to continuous subjection for over a century, have changed.

To assess one's own character on an individual or national level is not an easy or pleasant job, but if we are sincerely and honestly inclined to bring about our reformations, we should not feel ashamed of openly analysing ourselves.

To blink at one's own weakness does not do away with these weakness, but rather worsens them. That is why we should now endeavour to convert into self-confidence that inferiority



complex which had cropped up in us due to long servitude.

Sincerity and purity of thought, restraint in feelings, boldness and forthrightness in action, breadth of vision, moral integrity, sublimity, impartiality in justice, and fear of God in every walk of life are qualities without which the life of human beings and nations remains incomplete and spiritless.

By the grace of God our nation possesses these faculties in great measure, but the conditions which followed Independence did not allow the traits of our national character to flourish. This was primarily due to political malpractices and the indifference, selfishness and disruptionism of many of our leaders.

The type of politics which characterised our country during the last decade or so was dependent mainly on sentimental shibboleths, mutual distrust and the tendency to defame each other as well as to give a provincial or national colouring to mutual enmities and grievances.

Even more tragic was the fact that this type of perverted politics also grabbed the machinery of Parliamentary Government, which only worsened the situation.

The result was that new-fangled political parties sprang into existence in no time, and the programme of each party got confined to the assumption of power by showing down the other.

The physical scramble for power became the national symbol of politics. If you wade through the records of the Central Parliament and the Provincial Assemblies, you will have to bow your heads in shame over every page.

The expenditure on each daily session of the Assembly ran into thousands of rupees and countless weeks of every session were spent in mutual imprecations, wranglings and foul tactics.

The so-called honourable men changed parties for Ministerial office with shameless disregard for the oaths taken by them in the name of God and His Prophet. When they were out of office they would even go to the extent of openly opposing such national projects which they had proposed themselves while they were in power.

All this sounds like fiction today, but during the last ten or twelve years this poor country has been the target of similar political jugglery.

Today when an old political Hippocrates professes with profound innocence that the late Constitution was quite appropriate in its own right but was not allowed an opportunity to function properly, one cannot decide whether to laugh at such a view or regret it. I should like to ask that when they exactly were the people who created that system, and also put it to test, what was responsible for the corruption that became rampant in the country through the functioning of that system, for the nation being plunged into abyss of destruction and for Pakistan's loss of prestige in the entire world?

They had a clear and open field before them. There was nobody to stand in their way and nobody to obstruct them. The majority of political leaders with whose names we became familiar during the last 30 or 40 years held the field turn by turn but always inflicted nothing except a new injury on the motherland



Each one of them, according to his ability, spread the tentacles of either his wisdom, his simplicity or his crookedness. Everyone used the country and the nation like a guinea pig in the laboratory of his personal desire and selfishness. If even now it is held that some loopholes were to be found in operating and testing this system you can decide for yourself how to react to this childish obstinacy.

It is generally believed that 10 to 12 years are of no consequence in the life of nations. Probably this maxim hails from those times when the pace of man's progress was still arrested at the bullock-cart stage. Now the times are changed and the way in which the world is going ahead, each day, each hour and each moment is invaluable in its own place.

The era of servitude has already thrown us several hundred years behind the rest of the world. Now we have not only to make amends for lost time but have also to go ahead into the future, shoulder to shoulder with the fast-progressing world.

Hence we have no time to repeat unsuccessful and outdated experiments, nor can we afford to take the risk of blindly imitating others. As I have been saying time and again, we have to take stock of our environments by remaining within our own sphere and to learn a lesson of democracy from our own book instead of from the books of others.

Democracy does not depend on the counting of votes alone. On the other hand, no democratic system can be complete unless and until political democracy is accompanied by economic and social democracy. Political democracy only teaches the method of government, but the life of man

goes beyond the limits of government or governance.

Real democracy implies a mode of government which should cover every aspect of human life and fulfil effectively every piece of its requirements.

Such a democracy not only becomes a political system but also a system of life, to run which is needed statesmanship along with qualities of head and heart and rich sentiment. To create such an equilibrium in life should not be difficult for Muslims at least, because God has Himself described them as a balanced community.

Ordinarily, if we study Islamic history with an honesty of purpose, we come across only one example of a balanced, all-embracing and a practical type of Islam. Foreign education and blind assimilation of foreign influences have created in us an inferiority complex. For this reason it has become a sort of fashion to say that Islamic system of government has never proved successful.

This is a great justice to Islam. You judge yourself: what other system could even be more successful than this system by which Islamic civilisation, Islamic justice, tolerance and a whole code of existence, became in no time a worldwide movement.

Of course, when Muslims started to prune this great system with their own hands, their organisation became so much disintegrated that the Muslim nation has till this day not been able to regain its lost prestige.

Generally speaking, many Muslim kings have established their kingdoms at many places during the past 1,300 years, but it is for the first time in history that 80 million Muslims have got the opportunity to rule over themselves.



Verbally we make lofty professions about Islamic Constitution but when the time for putting them into practice comes we take resort to philosophies of Aristotle, Socrates and Plato by jettisoning our own traditions.

When our leaders put the label of Islamic Republic on the old Constitution they played a great joke both with Islam and Pakistan. Now these very worthies want to repeat the same joke. Gentlemen! we are all weak and sinning human beings. At least, I for one did not lay a claim to greatness, but as an humble Muslim it is at least our duty to render some service to Islam.

So far as I am concerned, it is my belief that without centralisation, unity and solidarity no system can claim to be an Islamic system. In the circumstances as prevailing in our country, these three conditions can be fulfilled only under such a Presidential form of Government, wherein the functions of the judiciary, executive and legislature performed are free and harmonious, and strong as well as coherent.

To evolve such a system we need not copy any other country; rather we should assess our own situation and draw a lesson from the early period of Islam.

The Islamic system had recognised the freedom of conscience, freedom of expression and freedom of knowledge at a time when these were not even imagined by the rest of the world. While Western democracy adopted the Islamic tenets of equal rights for all citizens, but at the same time it has divided the citizens into two groups—the majority and the minority. The party system is based on this division.

In this system, the chief aim of the

opposition seems to be to defeat the other party every time and at every step. Most of the time this opposition is for the sake of opposition only and it is not even remotely connected with the good of the country.

Under the Communist and Fascist systems one ruling party takes the place of a number of parties and does not in any case tolerate criticism and opposition in any form, from any individual or group.

The spirit of Islam is different from both these systems. Under a single-party government, the individual freedom of man and his personal and social rights are denied.

Similarly in the party system of Western democracy, truth and sincerity are thrown overboard due to mutual squabbles among parties. The difficulties and drawbacks of this system are particularly discernible in those countries which have remained under foreign rule for some period.

An independent-minded member has no place in Parliamentary democracy. He is compelled to become a back-bencher and he is considered of no value and superfluous, as he ceases to be of any use to any party.

The Advisory Council set up by Hazrat Umar was Islamic in the true sense of the word. In that Council, the persons of wisdom and high moral character put their heads together and co-operated with one another. Neither they created the one-party dictatorship nor did they entangle themselves in the vicious circle of the majority and the minority.

The Islamic type of Constitution demands that every member of Assembly or Parliament should express his opinion on national problems as a free member and should not be in-



fluenced by any party or group.

His election, too, should not be held on any party ticket, but must be based on the needs and requirements of different areas and sections of population. And, above all, he should be elected in the light of his own character, his education and his deeds. This is the real Islamic method of election.

If you look at them carefully, it will be clear that these elections to the Basic Democracies have been held on those principles. No member got himself elected on party ticket, but he succeeded on the basis of his own personal character.

The nation has returned as many as 80,000 representatives to the Basic Democracies. May I ask, is there any objection to these members being used as electoral college for the election of the Parliament and the President? They are intelligent and patriotic persons. They can be easily relied upon to use their vote in a correct and proper manner.

As the last elections to Basic Democracies have shown, it is the first time that people from every class and every group, educated, illiterate, big and small, rich and poor, old and young have been elected. They did not have any party or organisation behind them. Everyone succeeded on the strength of his character, capability, and personal performance.

This is so new to our country that, instead of being pleased with it, most of our friends are angry and annoyed. The reason for their indignation and embarrassment is quite obvious.

These people had made politics a profession and democracy a toy to fondle with. Their only business was to misguide the people by making fiery speeches and raising empty

slogans from time to time and acquire personal power and benefits under cover of patriotism.

The system of Basic Democracies has, however, put an end to this political bargaining and the practice of securing votes under pressure and temptation has also ceased. What else can professional politicians do except feeling indignant and embarrassed over this state of affairs?

The condition of these people is pitiable. They have neither confidence in themselves nor do they repose their trust in you.

Their only wish is that some out-moded system should again return to the country wherein disruption, misguidedness and selfishness should have their play, enabling them once again to stage the drama of personal aggrandizement at the nation's cost.

These people have a right to nurse wishes in their hearts and also a right to convey their opinion freely and openly to the departments and institutions concerned.

I assure them that their advice will be considered earnestly and fearlessly, but I must tell them that any advice for gaining personal or political ends has neither proved useful in the past nor will it prove so in future. Though such tactics might help them gain cheap popularity, it can hardly be profitable to the country and the nation.

Very recently I read some statements in newspapers alleging that the system of Basic Democracies had been evolved just to make myself and my Government secure. This is so ridiculous that it would be sheer waste of time to comment on it, but there is no harm to look a little more minutely at the people who have made these statements. . . .



These are the people who got unique chances of serving the country and the nation, but they could never come out of the vicious circle of their personal expediency and self-interest. By occupying their chairs, they not only witnessed the ruination of the country, but were also a party to it.

These are the people who never quit their chairs as mark of protest nor did they initiate any honourable and strong movement. Rather, they openly took part in political manoeuvring and black-marketing. Their antecedents as well as their character are before us.

These people pose no problem to us but I leave them to themselves to be adjudged by public opinion. Nevertheless, my friendly advice to them is that if they cannot sit quiet, and have now become equipped with the vigour to work they should do some constructive work for the country.

So far as Basic Democracies are concerned, all must clearly understand that this system has been evolved not for a single individual or any specific institution. By the grace of God, I consider my mortal ownself no more

precious than the future of the country. My only endeavour and wish is that this system should become so strong and assimilative that in future it might work easily under men of the highest as well as the lowest calibre.

This system must possess the potential to combat the worst situation and derive benefit from favourable circumstances.

It rests on you to fulfil this important exigency of time. The people have elected you as their representatives with new hopes and aspirations. It is up to you that in order to fulfil this sacred trust you mould your character, thoughts and actions in a way that the coming generations may feel proud and honoured to remember you instead of being ashamed.

If you draw up some useful and practical proposals about the programme and procedure of Basic Democracies by acting realistically with prudence and circumspection in this Convention it will be a great achievement. You have before you a very vast field of Basic Democracies in which it is for you to explore new avenues of progress and development.

*Address at the Centenary of the Founder's Day of Lawrence College,  
Ghora Galli, on 3 September 1960.*

... The sum and substance of real education is to produce men and women of character with qualities of leadership based on truth, sincerity, patriotism and a genuine fear of God. It is my earnest desire to ensure that our future system of education develops in a way which makes for the growth of enlightened and integrated personalities capable of facing the

challenge of the new age in all the spheres of the matter, the mind and the spirit. . .

I agree that the place of residential public schools is sometimes likely to be misjudged in relation to the general economic and other standards obtaining in the country.

While there is always need for good institutions which provide special



facilities for the training and education of your boys and girls, there is, however, one danger which ought to be guarded against. These schools should, on no account, lose contact with the realities of life and their students should not go out as an exclusive class with a different pattern of social, economic and cultural habits and values.

On the contrary, they should be

capable of marching into the general stream of our national life with an attitude of patriotic understanding without any complexes of superiority or snobbery.

It is only by this way that the uncommon environments and facilities of education which public schools offer can make their full impact on the common life of the nation. . . .

*Inaugural Address at the Pakistan Lawyers' Convention held in Karachi on 30 September 1960*

... Lawyers have a vital role in the affairs of the Nation. I have no doubt that this association will enable you to make a correct assessment of the nature and extent of that role and will assist you in playing it effectively in the interest of your nation.

You have said many kind things about me and have expressed appreciation of many of the steps taken by my Government. I thank you for your welcome and appreciation. You have also raised some important points. May I say a few words about each?

You have said that an unjustified prejudice exists against lawyers in certain quarters. I can assure you, those quarters do not include me. I have never doubted the patriotism of lawyers. What I have doubted, however, is the correctness of the assumption that by his special training, the lawyer is more suitable for statesmanship than others. Please do not misunderstand me. I do not say that a lawyer is unsuited to this role. I only say that, so far as I can see, there is very little in the special training of a lawyer that makes him par-

ticularly suitable for this role. I have found this out from practical experience of the last two years. The statesman has to find a practical solution that will work in the present and the future. The past is of importance to him only as a guide to the future. The lawyer is trained mainly to take part in a process which, factually, exhausts itself with the ascertainment of past events from which rights and liabilities flow. The statesman is concerned, above all, with the expected consequences and repercussions of the steps he proposes to take. The lawyer is trained to apply the law to the ascertained facts without considering the consequences and repercussions of doing so. As an advocate, the lawyer's function is to find reasons for justifying the case of the party that happens to have engaged him. As a judge, his task is to weigh the case of both sides and pronounce judgement. So long as he has done so, he is called upon to consider nothing else. The statesman, on the other hand, has to find practical ways and means to effect improvements,



consolidate gains, cut losses and prevent deteriorations. Might I add that one way of judging a country's state of progress is to see whether it is ruled by lawyers or technicians and representatives of scientific professions. Now-a-days mere knowledge of law is not enough to hit a man to leadership. He needs much more varied knowledge and experience apart from having a spirit of dedication and strong character. I hope those who wish to take part in the politics of the country in future will remember this. . . .

You have said that the Martial Law has outlived its utility. There are two aspects of Martial Law as it exists in Pakistan today.

The first aspect is that the authority of the State is at present derived from the assumption of power under a decree which was not passed in pursuance of any pre-existing constitutional provision and by which Martial Law was imposed. In this sense Martial Law has to continue till such time as a fresh constitution is introduced. For, if it was lifted before a constitution became operative, the authority of the State would have to be exercised otherwise than under a Constitution, which again would, in fact, mean Martial Law though perhaps called by another name.

The second aspect of Martial Law is the trial of certain offences by military courts as a means of maintaining law and order. In this aspect Martial Law is being gradually lifted all the time. Regulations and instructions have been issued from time to time reducing the number of military courts and the cases that are to be tried by them. Standing military courts were abolished nearly a year

ago. Only a few categories of anti-social offences like smuggling, black-marketing and hoarding are being tried by military courts specially convened for the purpose. You have said, there is a general feeling in the country that the need for military courts no longer exists. This feeling is, perhaps, confined only to the cities, and even there mainly to those who are engaged in activities in which there are opportunities for hoarding or blackmarketing and perhaps those to whose lot falls the unpleasant duty of defending them if caught. From the rest of the country come pressing demands that military courts should be asked to decide more and more cases. Those in the first category are in a better position to have their voice heard than those in the second category, though very much larger in number. An impression is thus created as if the feeling of the few vocal ones is the general feeling in the country. I am very keen that the army should not get involved in matters other than military. I assure you, it is no pleasure to me or the army to be dragged into the strife-torn and contaminated atmosphere of accusations and counter-accusations by criminals. It is only the compelling need of the situation as it has existed in this country for many years which makes it necessary for me to do so, to a limited extent.

You have said that in so far as the same act or omission can be punished either by military courts or by the civil courts, an anomaly is introduced because the opportunities of defence and liability to punishment differ in the two cases. Under the present arrangements, parallel jurisdiction of both military and civil



courts has in practice been reduced to a minimum and is gradually being abolished altogether.

You have stressed the need for the rule of law. As a layman, by that expression I understand three things. First, the existence of a body of rules which gives notice in advance to all the citizens of the State as to legal consequence of any act or omission on their part so that no room should be left for making a law for a particular case. Second, that this body of rules should be such as to make certain that the law would be accurately applied in each case. And third, that this body of rules would be so devised as not to give an undue preference to any. A great deal of thought is being given to devising institutions by which these objectives can be assured. Until such time as those institutions are brought into being, my Government remains vigilant to see that those objectives are fully kept in view in the existing conditions. Departures from them have taken place in the past and I have no doubt that departures still continue to take place. I have good reason for believing, however, that instances of such departures are less frequent now than before.

You have deplored what you have described as a tendency to give finality to passed orders by the Executive. I entirely agree that a definition of the limits of Executive authority is essential. I also agree that the Judiciary should have the ultimate power of deciding, whether the limits of Executive authority have or have not been exceeded. But I do not agree that those limits should be unduly rigid or that within those limits there should be a possibility for the Judi-

ciary to interfere with the acts of the Executive. It has sometimes been assumed that the Executive officers are for ever attempting to break the law and that the Judicial officers are there to put a restraint upon them. Such an assumption gives rise to an attitude of hostility and conflict between the two, which is not healthy. Any Government worth its name should be in a position to control its Executive officers and rectify their errors. Judicial processes usually take long and hold up for the sake of individual interests for which steps frequently need be taken speedily in the larger interest of the country as a whole. I do not think that there has been any greater tendency towards bestowing finality on acts of Executive functionaries than in the past. Except, perhaps, in one or two instances where the national need was assessed to be very pressing, the determination, whether an act is within or outside the prescribed limits, has been left to the courts, in the recent legislation in this country.

You have said that the freedom of speech, the dignity of person and the respect for property should be restored. This presupposes that all these existed in the past but have been taken away now. I doubt if either premises is correct. I wonder how much dignity of person existed in the past. I feel confident that it does not exist to a lesser extent today. With reference to the respect for other peoples' property, I do not think that it is any less than it was before. Looking at the crime figures, I get the contrary impression. If by respect for property you mean that some of the laws that have been made by my Government deprive owners of vested



rights in certain circumstances, I would request you to examine the objects of these legislations. In the national interest, owners of certain kinds of property have been deprived of their vested rights, but always as against compensation or the payment of price, which has been sought to be made as equitable as possible. As regards freedom of speech, it is true that criticism of Martial Law is forbidden. Freedom of speech, however, is a necessary instrument for a specific purpose. It must be judged in the context of that purpose. Freedom of speech has never meant an unlimited licence to say whatever one likes. For example, one may not injure the reputation of another except in certain specified situations. Otherwise the law of defamation would be attracted. The freedom to criticise the acts of the Government is necessary for two purposes. It is necessary in the first place to keep the Government perpetually informed as to the reactions to, and repercussions of, its policies so as to enable it to make necessary adjustments or modifications. It is necessary, in the second place, to pass judgment on the competence of an existing Government so as to bring about a change of Government if necessary. The second purpose can be achieved only if a constitutional arrangement is in existence through

which an orderly change of Government can take place. If there is none, the second purpose can only be achieved through a disorderly change which results in a disturbance of law and order. The second purpose, therefore, is incompatible with a state of affairs in which replacement machinery is yet to be devised. Moreover, for freedom of speech for the purposes of criticism of Government, it is necessary to have the capacity to distinguish between responsible freedom and irresponsible licence.

For the first purpose, freedom of speech and expression exists today to the same extent to which it did in the past. For the second purpose, it does not exist today but will be restored as soon as the new constitution is ushered in. I hope, however, that till such time as the wisdom to distinguish between freedom and licence does not become a part of the character of the majority of our people, some provision on the lines of the already existing limitations will be introduced in the law to regulate the freedom of speech. I do not think that in the fast moving world of today we can afford the luxury of indulging in suicidal activities by bringing about instability in Government, for the sake of satisfying some requirements of foreign theoreticians applicable to their own conditions. . . .

*Broadcast to the Nation on the eve of Second Anniversary of the Revolution on 26 October 1960*

. . . To comprehend life in its total richness we must find in it a larger, a nobler, and a more abiding purpose and direction. Without this higher purpose

and direction, all material progress and prosperity is dunghill, or like rain on rocks where it stands and stagnates and does not fertilise.



Luckily for us, this purpose and direction of life is available to us in clear and unambiguous terms in the ideology of Islam. This term—the ideology of Islam—has often been used and abused to cover personal and political ambitions and inadequacies, and, it has, in consequence, developed the meaning of an insincere platitude. But in the context of our national affairs today there is absolutely no need for us to seek the cover of any false slogans to project or justify our motives or actions.

Since the day of Revolution two years ago, our cards have constantly been on the table and the implications of what we have done or propose to do are not concealed. So it should be possible for us now to talk of higher objectives of life more purposefully and with a greater spirit of detachment.

Speaking in this context, our first objective is to reintegrate our society and base it on the ideology of Islam—which, in fact, was the foremost purpose which justified the very creation of Pakistan. In order to be able to get to the starting point of this reintegration, we have to liberate our minds from two types of inhibitions. One type is born of modern education which under the circumstance of slavery rendered everything native, including religion, as something which is not quite fashionable. The second type is the product of inflexible dogma which has driven the spirit of religion into a black hole of prejudice, superstition and suffocation. Paradoxically, both these so-called educated and uneducated classes meet at one common platform: the platform of religious ignorance.

As *Millat-i-Wusta* (people of the middle path), it should be our task to

break both these extremes by promoting a sense of free inquiry, which, when tempered with honesty of purpose and genuine fear of God, will enable us to order our individual and collective actions on the true principles of Islam, take lessons from the past and find ways and means for resolving our problems in the circumstances of today. One of the main teachings of the Qur'an is that life is a process of progressive creation and each generation, guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, must be permitted to solve its own problems.

Remember that change is the keynote of life. Nature wants man to change or perish. Iqbal, who has been one of the most enlightened interpreters of the spirit of Islam in the modern age, has truly said that the ultimate spiritual basis of all life is eternal and it reveals itself in variety and change.

A society must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life, because the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change. But eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change which according to the Qur'an is one of the greatest "Signs" of God, tend to immobilise what is essentially mobile in its nature. The failure of the West in political and spiritual fields illustrates the loss of its grip on eternal values; the weakening of the vigour of Islam during the last many centuries illustrates the effect of immobility.

For the first time in the history of Islam Providence has provided an occasion to a solid mass of 90 million Muslims to participate in the great responsibility of blending their Faith with their day-to-day affairs of life. In the past, even when there were Muslim rulers, the broad masses never had a



chance to take part in ordering the shape of their affairs. Now this great opportunity which we have got is both a privilege and responsibility. To fulfil this, we have to place before us a neat goal which is to get out of the social, political and economic stagnation bequeathed to us by our past and to match our material progress with our moral and spiritual advancement.

This can only happen if we identify the beauty of Islam and practise its social objectives, have a sound system of education as we are trying to evolve and create such socio-political and economic institutions that we can understand and work and which are capable of bringing about a long spell of stability and steady progress. And, above all, we have to be Pakistanis and take pride in Pakistan.

The achievement of these goals is both a national and individual responsibility. In fact the national endeavour will depend entirely on the extent of each individual contribution. You cannot draw from a bank more than what you deposit in it. The meaning of that is that you cannot expect from the country more than what contribution you have made in building it up. So there is need for each one of us to become better individuals and have fullest sense of responsibility and realisation of obligations towards Pakistan.

Apart from acquiring the usual education and technical training, what is equally—even more—important for us is to become morally and spiritually religious. Our religiosity today extends to personal and material attitudes alone. So long as the forms are observed the substance and the spirit do not seem to matter. This is the negation of goodness and fullness of life. What we—all of us—require to deve-

lop are correct moral values, a true sense of patriotism and an honest attitude of responsibility towards man and society. Before going to sleep every night, let each one of us put to himself or herself a simple question: "What have I done today to make Pakistan strong?"

In fact I would like to see this slogan displayed in every household, office and make able to continuously remind us of our duty towards the country.

On a straight answer to this question will depend how much forward or backward the nation is going to move next morning.

What you and I are required to do is by means a superhuman task. All that we have to do is simple: to link up and integrate the distances and diversities of our nation; to bring in correct, realistic, free and positive thinking; to carry out correctly and honestly the tasks allotted to us, thus leading to more and more production in every sphere of endeavour; to desist from malpractices and, if possible, stop others from indulging in them; to imbibe truth, sincerity, firmness and generosity; and to set standards of morality and decorum which befit the conduct of those who claim to be the followers of the great religion of Islam.

Given these personal attributes, there is no doubt that the nation will, *Insha Allah*, soon rise to giddy pinnacles of power and glory. . .

To sum up, I beg of you, my dear countrymen and women, to dedicate this day to three solemn pledges:

- (1) Every night ask yourselves the question what you have done for Pakistan today and see that the answer is befitting to the station of your life;



- (2) In the ideological bank of Pakistan, pool all the resources of your head and heart and soul so that we are not found wanting in the role for which destiny has given us the chance; and
- (3) In the monetary banks of

Pakistan, put all your savings and profits so that the gigantic development projects which are being planned proceed smoothly and enable us to leave a richer, happier and easier life for the generations to come.

*Extracts from the speech delivered after the conferment of the honorary Degree of Ph.D. by the University of Cairo, on 9 November 1960*

While looking after our material prosperity and progress, we in Pakistan cannot ignore the fact that our country is the product of the ideology of Islam. This is the foremost justification for our existence and we cannot be true to Pakistan without being true to this ideology.

It is for this reason that we are trying to do all we can to promote a true and correct study and understanding of Islam in the context of modern science and knowledge. . . .

Please do remember one thing. As Muslims we, all of us everywhere, owe to ourselves and Allah a loyalty which is higher than any other loyalty. This is loyalty to our faith. It is this greater loyalty which in spite of all external discords and political disputes between Governments binds the Muslim people everywhere in the world in unbreakable and indivisible ties of mutual goodwill and sympathy. These ties are stronger and more valuable than diplomatic and political relationship and so long as they remain intact the persecution of Algerian patriots, the miseries of Palestine refugees, the sufferings of Kashmir people and the aggressive threat of Israel will always

continue to evoke an equal response in the hearts of the entire Muslim *Millat*. Let us all pray that this reservoir of goodwill continues to grow deeper and larger and God may shield us from sacrificing it at the altar of momentary impulses or temporary expediencies.

As we started getting more and more away from the spirit of religion and drifted into mere conformism, originality gave way to superficiality, reason gave way to superstition and courage for inquiry succumbed to blindfolded subservience to tradition. The kingdoms and the crowns, which the Muslims have lost in the course of history, are far less important than the kingdom of free and searching mind which they have lost in the process of intellectual stagnation. The result was that while life kept moving onwards, knowledge and practice of Islam continued to lag centuries behind. Instead of remaining a complete and dynamic code of life, as it was intended to be, Islam thus became an object of external adoration to worship which one had to constantly look backward in a world which is moving constantly forward.



To liberate the spirit of religion from the cobwebs of superstition and stagnation which surround it and move it forward under the focus of modern science and knowledge is, therefore, one of the major demands on our system of education. . . .

We are trying to overcome the evils of moral confusion, social stagnation and economic backwardness bequeathed by a long period of foreign subjugation. Now that we are blessed with independence, we have not only to catch up with this time-lag but we have also to prepare ourselves to move forward and keep pace with the fast-moving world of today and tomorrow. This, like you, is our major problem and I have no doubt that if

we get a good long spell of peace and put in hard, sustained and well-planned work we are bound to make the grade.

Another sphere in which the Revolutions in our two countries have brought us together is that of political and constitutional realism and stability. It is remarkable that in our search for a sane and sensible system we in Pakistan have also reached a solution which bears close resemblance to the one which you have evolved here. One of my foremost declaration after the Revolution was that power will soon be handed over to the people under a system of democracy which they can understand and operate.

*Inaugural speech at the Conference of Heads of the Universities of the SEATO member countries at the Karachi University Campus on 25 January 1961*

. . . The situation as we face it today in this second half of the twentieth century is unfortunately very much different from our memories of the glorious past. During the last few centuries, the scales of history were turned against us and while many other countries made phenomenal advance in the spheres of science and technology, the countries in Asia remained generally backward and suffered from poverty, lack of education and lack of high purpose which reduced this once great region to a state of stagnation and decay. It is only recently that the countries of this region have attained freedom and the right to mould their existence to suit their genius.

Since then the task has been uphill although encouraging signs of pro-

gress are beginning to be seen everywhere. At such a stage in the social and economic advancement of our part of the world our universities undoubtedly have a great responsibility and trust; they are called upon not only to disseminate knowledge and learning, in keeping with the great traditions of the past and the needs of the future, but also to take their place in the vanguard of all movements for Asia's progress and keep pace with the fast-moving times of today.

This Conference of the Heads of Universities can, therefore, revive the glorious ancient traditions and also show the way to other social, economic, intellectual and spiritual institutions of the South-East Asian region by holding aloft the torch of



progress and enlightenment on the basis of mutual co-operation.

I believe you have a full and busy programme before you. We, in Pakistan, will be deeply concerned with your deliberations and the ways and means which may be adopted to give a practical shape to the decisions taken at this Conference. On my part, let me assure you that my country and my Government would feel happy to offer you their fullest co-operation in the implementation of your future plans and active support of our scholars and universities.

A sound and scientific system of education does not confine itself to the dissemination of knowledge and promotion of research. It goes much deeper than that; indeed, its purpose is to make the human society homogeneous and dynamic—a society capable of catering not only to the material needs of each one of its members but also of providing a balance between man's material-cum-social needs and his spiritual values. In other words, a really sound philosophy of education should be endowed both with a soul and mechanics.

Today, as we all know, human knowledge and intellect have unhappily come to precipitate a grave crisis—this crisis is born of constant imbalance between scientific forces and spiritual values. To my mind the perfect system of life, and therefore of social education, ought really to cut its way through this crisis, in order to save both human knowledge and human soul. One should become the saviour of the other.

It was on account of realisation of this sense of crisis that one of our foremost reforms has been to revitalise and regenerate the system of edu-

cation in Pakistan. Education was not the only problem we had... Nevertheless, I came to the conclusion that education was the key to the solution of all other problems in the long run and, accordingly, I gave education a very high priority. I set up a Commission on National Education containing educational experts including Vice-Chancellors, whose recommendations have guided me in reorientating the educational pattern in this country. I am happy to say that we made a good beginning in this direction and we sincerely hope that in due course our educational system would be able to produce men and women of high intellectual attainments, of deep sincerity and patriotism—who can face the challenge of modern life bravely and successfully.

Our educational reforms make extensive provision for the advancement of scientific and technological knowledge in Pakistan, but such advancement shall not be at the cost of our moral and spiritual values. In fact, we are taking care to preserve and promote our independent national character and the basic ideological pattern of our nation. This is in effect what I mean when I speak of the Islamic way of life for which we needed—and created with God's help—this great land of Pakistan.

I am sure that other countries in the region must also be thinking in the direction of giving high priority to education as I am convinced that it is on a sound educational system alone that countries in this region can make competitive progress and all right-minded persons ought to be aware of this necessity.

In the present stage of our struggle-



for progress and advancement, I believe, our universities can play a vital and significant role: they can help create the right kind of leadership; they can produce leaders not only in the scientific and technological world but also leaders in the social and economic spheres; leaders of commerce and industry; leaders of politics and religion. If this Con-

ference can succeed in starting a programme for working out the mechanics of filling up the existing gaps and meeting these requirements of our social, economic, intellectual and spiritual existence, I feel it would have made a most substantial contribution towards the progress and future of the South-East Asian region.

*Address to the Pakistan Society in London on 15 March 1961*

... We have resources and enormous amount of man-power. We have to train that man-power and we have to train their mental attitude to a way of life. This will go on and will not slacken for a long time to come and so there will be more need for more and more co-operation between your people and our people. We take tremendous pride in association with the Commonwealth and the past association with the British people. Past two and a half years or so, for me and my associates have, been interesting ones.

My endeavour has not been just to try to run the country. That is not enough. We have to find out our social, political and economic weakness and try to eradicate them and prepare our people psychologically, educationally and skillwise for the new way of life and this is a gigantic task for anybody to undertake. It has taken other communities, literally, hundreds of years but because of pressure of time we cannot allow pace to slacken, so in this, one has to be alert. One has to know the real conditions of the people. One has to be realistic and one has to

push, push and push, at the same time, make major operations, almost surgical operations in every walk of life; and the art is to take people, find how far they are prepared to go, and, if that is not enough, they have to be stretched and persuaded a little further. We have not to take them to breaking point and that is the philosophy behind the changes we have made in our country. We have to bring about social reforms. In this life you cannot have a few rich and a large number of poor living at the level of starvation... We cannot make too many mistakes. We have got to awaken our society and the people to their needs, to their new responsibilities and new opportunities that are before them. And you have to take people with you, and you can only take them with you when they are fully conscious of their new responsibilities and, to do that, you have to have a measure of liberty and a measure of equality in your country. The best will not come without these two elements. Therefore, we have to organise our society so that we have political institutions, which are democratic in essence, but are of the type



which we can understand and work. We have to have political stability in our country. . . .

We have not done this to destroy democracy but to establish the proper type of democracy. A lot of good things are happening in Paki-tan. They show that our people are sound and if you give them the right leader-

ship they will respond and this exercise is really to give them just that. If our system succeeds then, maybe, it is something which can be useful to many new countries in Asia and Africa who are anxious to find out what will work and what will not work in their country.

*Message to the Nation broadcast on 22 March 1961 on the eve of Pakistan Day*

On this day, twenty one years ago, when the Muslims of the sub-continent took the momentous decision to achieve Pakistan it looked almost a cry for the moon at that time. But within less than seven and a half years Pakistan did become a reality. What was the secret of this success?

The secret lay in the unfaltering faith in our cause which was in turn buttressed and sustained by a sense of discipline, both individual and collective.

This sense of discipline has been and should continue to be our greatest weapon against all the internal difficulties and external dangers which may threaten the very freedom which we have fought so hard to win and which we so jealously safeguard and preserve.

It is only to the extent we observe and strengthen the traditions of disciplined behaviour that we can move forward as a nation and as individuals, for discipline chastens and inspires as well as unites.

The sense of discipline must of course start from the cradle and end in the grave alone. But in particular our youth and specially those amongst them who have had the benefit of education or are in the process of receiving it, owe

it to themselves and to the nation to realise fully the importance of discipline.

As the cream of our rising society, it is in their hands that the future of the country shall ultimately lie and it is up to them to set the highest example of disciplined behaviour.

Whilst it is only natural for young and fresh minds to be open and receptive, free and impressionable, it is equally important that they should have the ability to discriminate between right and wrong, emotion and wisdom, discretion and misguidance. If they allow themselves to stray into fields which tempt them away from their studies they will be only disrupting their careers which neither the country nor their parents can afford.

There is no merit in trying to pluck the berries before they are ripe. They must never forget that they have to equip themselves as quickly and as thoroughly as possible with optimum knowledge which would qualify them for the great and demanding role of our future leadership.

So my sincere advice to the youth of my country is : think clearly, act wisely, react conscientiously and always and under all circumstances



remain fully and firmly disciplined.

This discipline of the mind and the body presupposes a deep and inner discipline of the soul. It is in the cultivation of this spiritual discipline that a great burden of responsibility rests amongst others, on our *Ulema* in particular. These men of religious knowledge and learning have for centuries held a total sway on the minds of countless men and women of faith. They have invariably earned the esteem, even adoration, of the bulk of our masses, and if *Ulema* wish to continue the leadership with which the past has honoured them they have absolutely no option but to recognise the needs and demands of the present and the future.

The mass-man of today is changing fast in every dimension. The speed and tempo of life is becoming more and more dynamic and breathless. The spread of universal education is breaking the crust of ignorance and prejudice. The rapid advance of science and knowledge is storming the citadels of blind faith. The quest for inquiry and interrogation is pressing hard against many an accepted notion and conviction. To keep the men and women of these environments within the four walls of faith is the great challenge of our age. To meet this challenge it is our *Ulema* who have to rise to the occasion and move forward with the spirit of Islam, which is doubtless the most progressive religion of all times.

Indeed, the strength of Islam lies in its progressive nature, its stress on knowledge and discovery, and its capacity to march even ahead of time. If our *Ulema* fail to recognise this most vital and essential aspect of our great religion, it appears as though more and more men and women of today and to-

morrow will recede farther and farther from the boundaries of faith. This will be the greatest tragedy for both the worlds in which we believe. May God forbid that such a situation ever arise.

The only way to avert this catastrophe is to widen our horizons of knowledge, march in step with the innovation of science and technology, re-adjust conservation with modernism, and juxtapose the traditions of yesterday with the changing demands of today and tomorrow. The absence of such a progressive attitude can lead to fallacies and absurdities which, when looked upon in retrospect, are nothing more than sheer mockery. After all, it is within our living memory that the use of microphones in congregational prayers was condemned as a downright sacrilege. But now it is an accepted instrument—merely because it is a convenient aid to our multi-dimensional life and has no relation whatsoever with the spirit and principles of faith.

Similarly, today we are witnessing a great deal of confusion and bewilderment on the use of scientific instruments for the sighting of moon. I have no doubt that in the days to come this confusion will look as utter foolishness. Please do always remember one thing: religion has come to serve man, and science has come to serve both. Failure to recognise this simple truth is no service to man or God. . . .

So, my dear countrymen and women, I can do no better than appeal to you on this solemn day to resolve to inculcate a true and steady sense of discipline in all your emotions and appetites, productions and consumptions, thoughts and deeds, mind and body and in the affairs of faith and conviction. This is the real key not only



to our progress but also to our very survival as a free and sovereign nation.

*Inaugural Address to the Economic Conference on the Second Five-Year Plan in Rawalpindi on 5 April 1961*

... Ladies and gentlemen, in all my public addresses and private talks I have been emphasising two matters as of over-riding importance to the nation: national integration and economic development (political stability, of course, is a prerequisite for both). These will not be achieved without a nationwide realisation of the magnitude of the task ahead, of the need for everyone—high or low—to contribute to the common cause. To build a better Pakistan, there will have to be a willingness to accept some hardships today for a better tomorrow and dedicated, determined hard work for a long time to come. No nation ever attained greatness in

any other way, and the greatest responsibility devolves on our intelligentsia, the natural leaders of society, for educating and mobilising public opinion in this behalf. Seen in this light, the successive national plans would appear as so many stages in the nation's determined struggle to throw off that oppressive yoke of poverty which dampens our spirit, stifles initiative, inhibits progress, and which the Holy Prophet himself warned us against as likely to lead to *kufir*. I invite you, ladies and gentlemen, to ponder over your role in this struggle which must first be won in the people's minds. . . .

*Speech at the inauguration ceremony of the Dawood Foundation in Karachi on 20 April 1961*

... In the all-round industrial, economic, social and political progress which we are endeavouring to make, the real base is to be provided by the character and education of every single member of our nation. The reconstruction of social and spiritual values is a mission which our new educational system seeks to perform. The Government will, of course, shoulder its full share of responsibility up to the maximum limit of its resources, but the task is so immense that the need for large-scale co-operation from the public cannot be

over-emphasised.

The unprecedented opportunities which the establishment of Pakistan brought to people of enterprise in our country and still greater chances which our new development plans promise to unfold, are not a matter of material prosperity alone. Material prosperity is, no doubt, a desirable—even essential—pursuit, but without a corresponding awakening of a widespread sense of social uplift, this is only like rain on rocks where it stands and stagnates. The ultimate object of all progress is the elevation



of human character and the only effective machinery for achieving this object is Education. But please do remember that education is not an abstract philosophy which can be spun out of minds and hearts alone. No, Sir, education like any other workshop, requires trained personnel,

buildings, books, laboratories and other equipment of the highest quality. It is here that public philanthropy can come forward to supplement governmental resources and thus help in making education universal at one stage and selectively fruitful at the other. . . .

*English version of the message to the Nation on the occasion of Eid-uz-Zuha on 26 May, 1961*

Eid-uz-Zuha commemorates that great sacrifice which was offered to Almighty God purely in His name with complete selflessness and devotion.

If Muslims had followed the true spirit of that sacrifice, their condition today would have been entirely different from what it is now. But in actual fact while the ritual of sacrifice has continued to exist, the Ibrahimī spirit behind it has more or less waned in the din of mere festivity.

The ritual of sacrifice is not the only matter that has suffered this fate. This is exactly what has happened to many other golden principles of Islam. For centuries we have managed to make religion more dogmatic and academic and less dynamic and practical. Even in the sphere of formalism, we have bound the spirit of religion in the chains of dogma and made it a helpless prisoner of the past. This is one of the reasons that, although many of us today are more or less acquainted with dogmatic Islam, we are still very far from those of its aspects which should form an essential part of our day-to-day life.

In the world of today, the widen-

ing horizons of knowledge and science have accelerated the tempo of life almost incredibly. The mind of man has liberated itself from many limitations and superstitions imposed by total lack or inadequacy of knowledge. It will now accept only those matters which will satisfy his curiosity and inquiry in this age of incredible scope and depth of human enlightenment. If we persist in confining religion within the four walls of the past, there is great danger that many people of the present and future will fall an easy prey to a total or partial rejection of faith.

We are often addicted to claiming with pride that Islam is the only religion which is capable of keeping pace with the times and provides a free incentive to advancement of human society. I venture to say that this claim cannot be proved by words of mouth alone. On the contrary, it is our bounden duty to prove and justify it in actual practice.

There are two essential prerequisites for the fulfilment of this objective. First, we should try to understand and imbibe the principles of Islam with undiluted clarity and comprehension ; and secondly, we should



endeavour to discover ever-new ways and means to act on them in the requirements and environments of our times.

So far as the principles of Islam are concerned, Divine Providence has himself spelled them out in His Holy Book in unambiguous terms. The difficulty, however, is that while it had become customary to recite and teach the Holy Qur'an as a matter of grace, hardly any serious effort is made to go into its real meanings and implications. This is the reason why a wide gulf of disparity yawns between our faith and practice today.

Whether temporal or spiritual, principles are never formulated with a view to become static idols of reverence and adoration. They are in fact intended to be followed and practised. Principles are basic and fundamental, and are not open to change and revision. But the ways and means for adherence to those principles must inevitably progress with the evolution of human mind and society. Unless this happens, faith and its practice are bound to stray into divergent paths and thus lose all contact with each other.

Permit me to quote a mundane example to illustrate my point. When electricity was first discovered, it produced nothing but shocks when touched. As the knowledge of man expanded, he invented new and strange devices for the application of this power. The result is that today the same shock-generating energy has been harnessed to producing light, rotating fans, broadcasting voices, radiating television and flying high-powered jet planes. All these revolutionary applications of this energy have not in any way altered its basic

reality or the principle of its production. This is an analogy which has a parallel in the realm of spiritual experiences as well. One of the most dominating features of Islam is that its principles are timeless and eternal, and make it possible for every age to apply and implement them in the light of its requirements and environments. The *Sunna*, the *Hadith* and the *Fiqh* are a proof positive of this fact. They are a beacon-light for the faithful, illuminating the manners and methods with which the injunctions of Islam were implemented under different conditions and environments.

Beacon-lights are meant for guidance and not for stagnation. Stagnation is a manifestation of darkness and needs no light to grow and flourish. The secret of real progress is that we should comprehend the basic principles of Islam, hold fast to them and under the searchlight of the past, discover fresh avenues for their application in the present and the future. If we fail to do this, there is no doubt that Islam will certainly live, but the Muslims as such will probably languish away. This will be a great tragedy because Islam has not come to live for its own sake but it has in fact come to enable the Muslims to live with dignity and progress both in this world and the next.

There is also another matter to which I wish to draw your pointed attention. Please do remember that no other country or nation is in such dire need of depending on Islam as Pakistan. If, God forbid, other countries of the world choose to stray away from the path of Islam, then, whatever the consequences in the other world, in this world at least



they can still afford to exist as nations and communities. The position of Pakistan is entirely different. Our country was founded in the name of Islam and it can subsist only on this name. There is no other basis for our national cohesion and solidarity except Islam. This basis cannot be sustained by vociferous professions of our idealism alone. We must translate our idealism into action for our sheer survival. The greater the harmony between our faith and practice, the greater will be the strength of Pakistan. If, on the other hand, there is disparity between our professions and actions, there is great danger that the very foundations of Pakistan will grow hollow and disintegrate.

So, therefore, if not for any spiritual or moral motives, then at least for the purely worldly considerations of our national survival, we have no option but to stick truly and strongly to our gracious faith.

By far the simplest and the easiest way to do so is to study the Book of God carefully, ponder over its meanings deeply, and, in the light of our past traditions and current experiences, discover ways and means or living up to it in the volcanic world of today.

I appeal to you most earnestly to pool your resources of head and heart to fulfil this urgent dictate of destiny. For this purpose I humbly request that whenever in any public or private functions and ceremonies any passages from the Holy Qur'an are recited, they should invariably be translated in the language of the audience, followed by a clear and lucid interpretation of the mode of their application to the life and conditions of today. It is not a matter of person-

al or individual enterprise alone. As a matter of fact, it should be launched as a well-organised movement so that we might obey the oft-repeated direction of God to ponder over the meaning of His Book and thus come out of darkness into light. Representative institutions like the various tiers of Basic Democracies, Corporations, Municipal Committees, etc., can play a valuable part in this mission. I appeal to them to launch this campaign on a wide scale so that the teaching of the Qur'an, the comprehension of its meaning, and the application of its lessons become a regular and natural feature, not only of every school, college or university but also of every village, town and city.

This is no less than a *Jehad* against the forces of ignorance and darkness, and it is the duty of every man and woman of faith to participate in it like a dedicated soldier. I would particularly appeal to the intelligentsia of our country to pay their special attention to it so that the degenerate fashion of sneering at religion is replaced by a positive and wholesome attitude of understanding and respecting it. It is only thus that they can hope to play any role of leadership in preserving our political independence and promoting our ideological integrity. Unless we rise to the occasion and make an honest search to rediscover *Sirat-ul-Mustaqim*, the straight path ordained by God, I am afraid our spiritual, moral, material and national existence will be seriously imperilled.

I earnestly implore you all to ponder over my appeal with complete seriousness of purpose and do all what you can to translate it into actual practice.



*Reply to the letter of Mufti Muhammad Shafi, Chairman, Managing Committee, Dar-ul-Uloom, Karachi, on Family Laws Ordinance, published on 11 June 1961*

I am in receipt of your letter concerning the Family Laws Ordinance which I have studied most carefully. I am glad that contrary to the practice followed by many other *Ulema*, you have chosen the right course of correspondence for the discussion of points raised by you. I deeply appreciate the seriousness of purpose and candidness with which you have given expression to your views.

The points raised in the detailed note enclosed with your letter are under examination and you will hear further about them from the Ministry concerned. In this letter I wish to confine myself to a few general observations.

From the contents of your letter I gather that you are also deeply conscious of the necessity of reforming the wrong social customs in general, and those relating to family and marriage matters in particular, which are corroding and corrupting the structure of our society. As a matter of fact, no honest and enlightened person can deny the urgency of this necessity.

I have no doubt that your close and wide contact with the public must have revealed to you the untold miseries and cruelties which are commonly perpetrated in our country under the cover of indiscriminate polygamy. This does not only result in embittering and ruining the lives of innumerable tongue-tied women

and innocent children but it also brings in its wake the social, moral and economic collapse of thousands of families.

The custom of *Sati* amongst the Hindus has always been looked upon with universal contempt. But the truth is that the matrimonial malpractices current in our society are even more cruel and dreadful than the custom of *Sati*.

In *Sati* it is just one innocent woman who is driven into fire and reduced to ashes. But in our society numberless women are forced to live a life of consuming agony which is worse than death itself. I consider it a barbaric torture of the highest order. As the Head of the State, I just cannot close my eyes to it all.

So far as my understanding of the Holy Qur'an goes, I feel that there are two types of tyrants. One category is of those who are entrusted with authority and use it wrongly and unjustly. But far worse than them are there who, in spite of their position of authority, shirk the responsibility of removing injustice, cruelty and other vices.

To my mind, the only effective way of eradicating matrimonial malpractices is to formulate such rules and regulations within the framework of divine injunctions as may control the practice of reckless and indiscriminate polygamy.

The imposition of such a control



should normally be the responsibility of society itself. But we cannot expect our people to take this initiative on their own accord on account of historic factors which had plunged them into the morass of social stagnation for centuries.

So willy-nilly it falls to the lot of the Government to initiate action in these matters.

As you are aware, the former Government had constituted a Commission to go into the question of marriage and family laws. The members of the Commission were all distinguished persons of law and learning besides being good Muslims. But for one note of dissent, the Commission had produced a number of unanimous suggestions and recommendations.

However, the previous Governments could not rise to the occasion and take further action in this regard on account of narrow political expediencies.

So far as I am concerned, I do not place temporary expediencies over and above the need for basic reforms. Nor do I consider it decent or honest to postpone the implementation of any good schemes merely to sustain cheap popularity.

You might have noticed that the reformative actions which I have taken in the last two-and-a-half years are in no way governed by considerations of cheap popularity or temporary expediencies to which people in authority are sometimes prone to fall an easy prey. Every reform hits one or the other vested interest but to shirk them merely for this reason is against my conscience.

I adore my Faith but I have no pretensions to any great religious

learning and knowledge. In promulgating the Family Laws Ordinance I have only acted on the recommendations formulated by the Commission and fully and carefully examined by the Ministry of Law.

So far as my understanding goes, this Ordinance does not conflict with any injunction of the Holy Book or the interpretation of the *Hadith*. This Ordinance does not interfere with any principles; it only lays down certain procedures for the implementation of the principles ordained.

Fundamentals are indeed unalterable but to make their implementation keep pace with the momentum of changing times is not only the duty of the Government but to a much greater measure it should also be the responsibility of our *Ulema*.

This is the only effective way in which we can hope to save our present and future generations from falling into the abyss of anti-religious or irreligious confusion.

As a simple Muslim, I am convinced that in the light of *Sunna*, *Hadith* and *Fiqh* we must devise such ways and means of practical life which are compatible with the laws of God and are acceptable to the present-day mind. If we neglect this task then we shall be guilty of widening the already existing gulf between the life and religion.

As a rule every innovation incurs the displeasure of those sections of the people who had become too much addicted to the past malpractices or for whom those malpractices had become a source of individual or collective gain or prestige. This is an unfortunate trait of human psychology but there is no reason why we should allow it to hamper the pace of



legitimate progress.

I do not wish to prolong this letter further. As I have already stated, the Ministry concerned will send you a more detailed reply on the specific points raised by you. Before I conclude, I would like to emphasise that a great burden of responsibility rests on the shoulders of those whom God has endowed with the knowledge and understanding of our Faith.

That responsibility is this: to liberate religion from the debris of wrong superstitions and prejudices

and to make it keep pace with the march of time. It is my belief that Islam is the only religion which cannot become out of date in any age or climate of material or mental progress, and if today, there is disparity between our life and our Faith, the fault is our own and not of Islam.

As a man of learning, enlightenment and wide human feelings, I am sure, you will be good enough to give your full consideration to what, in my humble way, I have tried to explain in this letter.

*Speech on the occasion of annual function of the Karachi Bar Association at the Beach Luxury Hotel, Karachi, on 25 September 1961.*

... The reconstruction of a nation on the debris of a reckless past is too immense a task to be completed by one man or one Government within a given period of time. This is a continuous process in which generation after generation will have to participate with ceaseless courage, labour and vigour.

All that we, within the framework of our circumstances, can aspire to do is to make the best of the opportunities which Divine Providence has granted us; address ourselves to the problems confronting us honestly and diligently, and lay down at least the foundation of thought and action which is right, just, patriotic and positive.

This is my constant endeavour and I feel amply rewarded when I find thinking sections of our society like you becoming more and more conscious of the fact that something worthwhile is happening in the country.

I am glad to see that, apart from other things, you also appreciate the system of Basic Democracies which is now becoming a part and parcel of our political and public life.

When this system was first launched, it evoked an understandable variety of reactions. There were some who found this system contrary to the cult of political monopolies and, as is the custom of all vested interests under similar circumstances, they decided to sit back with an undercurrent of hostility. There were some who, for want of sufficient strength of character, chose to sit vaguely on the fence. Finally, there were those who, with the courage of their convictions, came bravely forward to give an honest trial to a new experiment in the national interest.

The present membership of Basic Democracies is composed of these brave pioneers of a new political system which is not only doing immense good to our own country but is also



attracting the notice of political thinkers all over the world including some of the most highly advanced Western Democracies.

The establishment of Basic Democracies two years ago was a prelude to the induction of a new Constitution which is now on the anvil. According to the official time-table already announced, I expect to be able to give you the broad features of the proposed Constitution in the month of November after which drafting will begin.

According to this programme, the next budget will, *Insha-Allah*, come before the new Parliament.

My endeavour is to frame a Constitution which is Islamic in spirit, practical in execution, workable without confusion and much expense; a Constitution which promotes unity, stability and security, and which provides an opportunity to the poorest and the humblest persons with talent to aspire for the highest positions of services in the country.

I agree... that the independence of Judiciary is quite essential. An inevitable consequence of this is that the judges should be as immune as possible against influences, temptations and personal whims and prejudices.

But this is a plain rule of life that no functionary in the State, howsoever high, can be beyond everyone's reach. They have thus to be within someone's reach if rules of conduct, behaviour and discipline are to be maintained. That someone surely must be an organisation within the Judiciary itself.

Earnest thought is being given to this matter and the arrangements proposed will be announced as constitutional decisions.

To my mind, the essence of the

rule of law to which you have referred consists in having defined norms and standards, stated in the form of generalised rules, which enable a citizen to know in advance the consequences of acting in a given manner. No decision in an individual case is thus made except in accordance with predetermined norms. It is the duty of every civilised Government to maintain it, and you may perhaps find it possible to agree that respect for "rule of law" has increased during the last three years and is still increasing.

Surely, you do not have to remind me that freedom of speech is a desirable virtue. I have welcomed, even encouraged, as much freedom of thought and speech in others as I myself enjoy. Nay, I have gone a step further and further and strongly advocated the cult of free inquiry and search into the delicate and sensitive realm of Faith. It is for you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to make the fullest possible use of freedom of thought and expression in the service of God, humanity and our beloved country.

There is only one word of counsel which I would like to tender in this respect: when exercising your right of freedom of speech, please do ensure that the tongue does not run away from the head that thinks and the heart that feels.

As regards fundamental rights, I agree that their substance is of paramount importance. It must, therefore, be ensured that no laws are made which vitiate them. The question whether it should be left to the courts of law to decide whether any law of the legislature is right or wrong, or to devise a machinery which would ensure that the legislature itself looks after the fundamental rights properly is,



however, another matter. Careful thought is being given to this subject in our constitutional proposals.

The question of the separation of the judiciary from the executive is indeed an old theme and has assumed the complexion of almost a platitude. From the reasons advanced by you in your address, I have a feeling that the real nature of this problem is only loosely understood.

As you know, judiciary is entirely distinct from the executive from the District and Sessions Judges' level upwards. It is only below that level that the question arises. Even there, the problem is not this that the same person exercises judicial and executive powers at the same time.

The Civil Judges are purely judi-

cial officers and never perform any task connected with the general administration. It is only with reference to the Magistrates who take cognizance of criminal cases that the question arises.

Even there, the real problem is whether they should be under the administrative control of the Chief Executive Officer or the Chief Judicial Officer of the district.

There is much to be said on both sides. I think this is a type of question which should be kept under constant review and suitable adjustments considered from time to time in relation with our requirements of law and order and resources of manpower and administrative funds....

*Speech on the occasion of the inauguration of the first Atomic Energy Centre in Lahore on 21 October 1961*

...It is a pity that of all the people, we Muslims should be talking of this emphasis as if science and the scientific method were new to us. Time and again the Holy Qur'an appeals to our sense of reason and logic whenever there is reference to the observation of natural phenomena by asking the questions: "Do you not see?"; "Do you not contemplate?" The Holy Book clearly states: "(God) has subjected whatever is in the Heavens and whatsoever is in the earth to be made use of by you. They are all from Him. Herein verily are portents for those who contemplate" (45 : 13).

In fact, in the hey-days of Muslim Empires, which flourished between the 8th and the 12th centuries, science,

as we know it today, was nursed and developed by Muslim scholars. Even the Western historians acknowledge that "there is not a single aspect of European growth in which the decisive influence of Islamic culture is not traceable and nowhere is it so clear and momentous as in the genesis of that power which constitutes the permanent, distinctive force of the modern world and the supreme source of its victory—natural science and the scientific spirit." Muslims were the founders of modern Algebra, and were the first to use the numerals the world has since adopted. Again, it were the Muslim astronomers whose monumental work paved the way for Copernicus and Newton and present-day knowledge



of space around us. Unfortunately, we lapsed into oblivion when orthodoxy and rituals gripped our lives and the right to think, inquire and question was taken away from us. Once this happens nations as individuals stagnate and wither as the spirit of initiative and endeavour gets lost. It is this immutable law of God which we have to understand afresh, make a fresh start, regain time and opportunities lost and catch up with the fast-moving world of today.

As a sovereign independent nation, we in Pakistan are determined to follow such a course. Fortunately, the discoveries of science have placed such means at our disposal that we can reconstruct our economy rapidly without undergoing the long and painful processes which the technically advanced countries have gone through. . . .

The teaching of science has been made compulsory in schools and the programme of development includes the establishment of a network of polytechnics and the strengthening of programme of teaching and research in scientific subjects in the Universities. I am also glad to say that likewise the Scientific Commission has laid great stress on the importance of scientific education and made many useful recommendations for the development of scientific research, particularly in the fields of agriculture, industry and medicine, etc., so as to solve our pressing problems in these areas. We are anxious to implement the recommendations of the Commission within our means to the maximum possible extent.

The evolution of civilisation has witnessed the major revolutions which have affected the life of man. The

first was the agricultural revolution which taught man to grow his food ; the second was the industrial revolution which gave him the machines to produce a variety of goods that he needed and the third is the scientific revolution through which we are passing. We went through the first, but owing to circumstances beyond our control, we missed the second. As we stand today, we have to live with our past as well as the present conditions of modern life dictated by the scientific revolution. In this effort we have decided to let no scientific discovery pass which has promise of breaking through the barrier of poverty. The discovery of atomic energy is one such discovery and we are determined to make use of it in every field we can—be it agriculture, medicine, industry or power. If we did not, God forgive us for this lapse. It may indeed sound paradoxical to those who in a patronising mood tender advice and say that in a bullock cart economy there is no room for such sophisticated programme as the one we have embarked upon in the field of atomic energy. We have listened to similar advice before from those who were opposed to our taking to industrialisation. What is the result of that advice imposed upon us ? Our poverty stares us in the face as a rejoinder to such advisers. No ; we are too poor to afford the luxury of not investing in an atomic energy programme or for that matter in a programme of scientific research in every field of human activity. We are convinced that we in our own lifetime will see the benefits accruing from an investment in such programmes. It is not correct to say that we have started the programme of



atomic energy for the sake of prestige. . . . We are investing in atomic energy programme because we know that in the very near future we will have to harness it is an alternative source of power and because its applications to our problems of agriculture and industry are limited only by the ingenuity of our scientists. There is no end

to what we can achieve if only we have the men and the necessary facilities to do. Projects of Atomic Energy Commission will provide such facilities in the country. I can assure you that we will give full and whole-hearted support to the Commission and those who dedicate themselves to the cause of science. . . .

*Message broadcast to the Nation on the eve of Revolution Day on  
26 October 1961*

. . . I shall not try to forecast the framework of the new constitution today, as I propose to submit my decisions to the nation later. However, I would like to assure you that it is my endeavour to provide a constitution which is sensible, understandable and workable in the context of our circumstances ; which is not too expensive to operate ; which does not lend itself easily to political misguidance and exploitation ; a constitution which is capable of producing strong and stable Governments—which sustains national unity, ensures solidarity, promotes security, and which provides equal opportunities to all citizens to attain and exercise their fullest possible stature in the affairs of the country without the artificial aid of power, influence, wealth and social status. May God grant us light to fulfil this sacred mission to the best of our ability.

As I have always said, the cornerstone of our Constitution has to be the spirit of Islam. It is in pursuit of this spirit that we sought and attained a sovereign homeland for ourselves and it is by an honest adherence to the same spirit that we can hope to

survive and flourish.

I do not believe in flamboyant labels and lofty slogans. They do nobody any good. On the contrary, they merely generate misplaced passions and lead to confusion and frustration. What I am after is a practical infra-structure on which we can raise a balanced edifice of spiritual and temporal fulfilment both as individuals and as a nation. Islam is our major term of reference in statecraft as well as in life, and it is my endeavour to create at least the nucleus of a machinery which enables us to distil the essence of our faith in a spirit of practical enlightenment and progress.

With a momentous constitutional programme awaiting us round the corner, it would perhaps be well to take a brief stock of some of the hard realities of life which are likely to confront us.

In the first place, it is good to remember that except in the fundamentals of faith, there is no inflexible finality in human affairs. The day-to-day life of men and nations is best conducted with a pragmatic approach of mind. So, whatever the character we may frame for ourselves for



the time being, it should always be open to change and adjustment to reflect the demands and experiences of a growing and dynamic society.

Secondly, while reviewing or assessing the merits and demerits of a certain measure, the foremost consideration in our mind should not be as to how it is going to affect us personally, individually and parochially, but how it is going to affect the nation as a whole. This attitude of mind requires a certain amount of self-immolation which is not easy to attain in a society like ours which is still struggling to come out of the throes of a tribal consciousness. But we have got to cultivate a sense of "service above self" if we wish to make the grade.

Thirdly, there is need for us to become as sensitive to our responsibilities as we always are to our rights. Every organic society is like a bank; you can draw from it only as much as you put in it. So whatever we do or think or plan, it must be animated by a clear-cut sense of responsibility. Even when we find it necessary to criticise, our criticism should be in a spirit of improvement rather than merely disparagement.

All these are the attributes of a sound national character to weave which each one of us has to play a positive role. Without a sensible character pattern, no nation can advance materially or morally. It is in this crusade against national waywardness that the more enlightened elements of our society like the intelligentsia, the press, public servants and all other men and women of means and education ought to take a leading part.

I would particularly appeal to our media of mass contact and information to make it their special responsibility to educate public opinion on positive and patriotic lines in all matters like the constitutional programme which are of vital concern to the nation, and which at the same time are vulnerable to exploitation by such vested interest as fail to find in them all the sunshine they want exclusively for themselves.

Once the foundation of the desired national character is laid, it will then be possible to wage that total war against poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance which is the ultimate responsibility and aim of every civilised government and nation. The steep social and economic imbalance to which the forces of history have unfortunately committed us has got to be restored to a state of stable equilibrium. The sooner we can do this, the better for our peace and progress.

All the social, economic, agrarian, educational, legal and administrative reforms initiated or planned during the last three years are primarily directed towards the attainment of this objective. This is just a humble beginning. We must carry on relentlessly and tirelessly to generate more and more reservoirs of strength, progress and national well-being by pooling all the resources of head and heart which a great nation of 94 millions can provide.

For this purpose, one of our major requirements is peace at home and peace abroad. All our domestic and foreign policies are aimed at the fulfilment of this requirement. It is sometimes heart-breaking to have to face continuous lack of



reciprocity to our ardent desire for peace around us ; but our determination to pursue the path of universal goodwill with dignity and honour is unflinching, and we are not without hope that good sense will ultimately overtake those who are not willing to see eye to eye with us today even in matters which are of vital mutual interest.

Foreign rule has already deprived us of many centuries of normal growth, and our need for a long spell of peace is, therefore, far greater than that of more advanced and powerful nations who have so much at stake and yet are strangely reluctant to banish the

possibility of war as an instrument of policy.

Let us hope and pray that humanity will be spared the peril of total annihilation through a thermo-nuclear war and that the kindly spirit of live and let live will sooner rather than later replace the outrageous cult of might always being right.

... Let us look to future with hope and courage, have faith in God and put our shoulders conscientiously to the wheels of progress and thus fulfil the glorious destiny which Divine Providence in His grace and wisdom has ordained for Pokistan.

*Translation of the message in Urdu broadcast to the Nation on the Quaid-i-Azam's Birthday on 24 December 1961*

... Before Pakistan came into being we had before us the struggle to achieve Independence. Later, when Pakistan was achieved we began the struggle to be worthy of the newly-won Independence as well as to maintain it. Success in these struggles demanded application of the principles given to us by the Quaid-i-Azam—faith, unity and discipline. Unfortunately, after Independence some of our people substituted hypocrisy for faith, provincialism and partisanship for unity, and chaos for discipline. The logical conclusion of this changed mentality was what our country had to undergo during the last eight or ten years. Had such a state of affairs been continued, it might have endangered our national existence and freedom.

We are grateful to God Almighty that He enabled us to overcome these fissiparous tendencies in good time.

During the last three years, we have been able to take many a significant step in every sphere of our national activity and administration. The basic objects of these reforms were : to free our society from frustration and chaos; to improve the economic conditions of our people ; and to enable every citizen to take his full share in the affairs of the state according to his talents, thus be worthy of achieving, like civilised and well-organised nations, not only material progress but our spiritual goal.

These high and noble objectives cannot be achieved merely by preparing schemes for reforms and introducing and enforcing legislation and laws. This can be achieved only if every citizen is prepared to devote all his physical, intellectual and spiritual talents towards this end. Pakistan has a population of over 90 million with an area



net as a whole. The decisions as finally drafted are the outcome of all these exhaustive examinations, and, represent, as far as humanly possible, the results of mature and honest assessment of the lessons of our past, the experience of the last 3½ years and the requirements of the foreseeable future.

I am grateful to all those who helped me in evolving this scheme. My special thanks are due to ex-Chief Justice Mr. Shahabuddin, the Chairman of the Constitution Commission, who produced an excellent report, which will be published and which served as the working draft. I am also grateful to Mr. Manzur Qadir, who took infinite pains in helping me in the production of the final draft. I have come across very few people who can surpass the sincerity, integrity and patriotism of these two.

The Constitution is being published in English, Bengali and Urdu in simple language and in large numbers for wide distribution and understanding. People can be expected to defend it only when they understand its meaning and spirit. I hope most of you will acquire copies in due course and study it in full. Here, I shall only attempt to give you its outline and salient points.

(1) Our aim is to have representative institutions based on the *will* of the people. They shall be the final arbiters of who shall govern them and how. In other words, people shall have the right to hire and fire their rulers. This is basic.

(2) There will be a President, a Central Legislature and a Legislature in each Province, headed by an appointed Governor. Their normal term will be 5 years but for the coming elections only their term will be for 3 years as recommended by the Con-

stitution Commission.

(3) The above will be elected by an electoral college consisting of the elected members of Basic Democracies, who in turn will be elected by universal adult franchise.

(4) The judicial power has been vested in the Supreme Court in the Centre and the High Courts in the two provinces.

(5) There will be only one list of subjects of national character, which will be the exclusive concern of the Centre. All other subjects will be left to the Provinces. However, the Centre would be able to legislate for in the Provincial field, where matters relating to Security, Co-ordination of Economic Development and Co-ordination between the two Provinces are involved. Such occasions should be rare. Even in these cases execution will rest with the Provinces. The underlying theme is that what can be done on a Provincial basis ought to be done on that basis.

(6) The principles of policy have been included in the Constitution and the responsibility of observing them has been placed upon each organ of the State and on each individual discharging any function on behalf of the State, so far as they concern him. To enable Muslims to lead their lives according to the teachings of Islam, to safeguard the rights of the minorities, to promote the interests of backward areas, to attain balanced development of all parts of Pakistan, to observe parity between the two Provinces are some of the principles of policy. These principles of policy are by and large substantially the same as the Directive Principles in the last Constitution.

(7) Fundamental rights have been



made the principles of law-making and every care taken that the law-makers observe them.

(8) Since it is in the interest of the country that proper men are elected for the Presidentship and the Legislatures, the State shall give all facilities to candidates to project themselves to the voters and the voters to assess the merits of the candidates.

(9) Political parties are banned unless allowed for by an act of the National Assembly.

(10) In order that Muslims are enabled to lead their lives in accordance with the teachings of Islam, provision has been made to set up an "Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology." This body will consist of eminent men in theology, law, economics, administration, etc., and will be supported by the Islamic Research Centre. Whenever in doubt, Legislature and the President will consult this body to make sure that laws conform to the requirements of Islam and observe the fundamentals of law-making. The advice of the Council will be made public.

(11) The Constitution will be capable of amendment if 2/3 of the National Assembly and the President agree. Three-fourths majority of the House will override the President's veto, unless he refers the matter to a referendum or dissolves the Assembly and seeks re-election himself.

(12) This, in brief, is the outline of the Constitution. I shall now touch on each institution.

(13) The President shall be a Muslim and will be head of the Executive Governments. He will appoint Ministers to help him discharge his duties. Those Ministers appointed from the Legislature shall resign their

seats from the House. The Ministers shall, however, have the right of attending the House without the right of vote. To assist the Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries from amongst the Legislature will be appointed. They will retain their membership of the House.

(14) The bills passed by the Assembly would require the assent of the President. The President's veto can, however, be overridden by 2/3 majority of the Assembly.

(15) When the Assembly is not in session, the President can make Ordinances for not more than six months. These will lapse after six months unless passed by the Assembly as laws.

(16) The President can dissolve the Assembly under certain circumstances, in which case he too will have to seek re-election for continuance.

(17) The President can be impeached by the Assembly by 3/4 majority for misconduct. He can be similarly removed for physical or mental incapacity. However, to prevent irresponsible moves of this nature, the movers will cease to be members of the National Assembly if they fail to get the support even of 1/2 of the members.

(18) In the event of the President becoming a casualty or during his absence from the country or removal, the Speaker of the National Assembly will officiate. A convention will be established that if the President is from West Pakistan, the Speaker will be from East Pakistan and *vice versa*.

(19) The President can be elected only for two terms unless specially permitted by the joint session of the members of the National and Provincial Assemblies. There is also a provision for screening of the Presi-



dential candidates by these bodies. Only a limited number will be allowed to contest to ensure that whoever wins the elections would be an appropriate person.

(20) The National Assembly will consist of 150 general members, 75 from each Province. They will be elected by the elected members of Basic Democracies. In addition, there will be 6 women members, 3 from each Province. The electoral college for them will be the Provincial Assemblies. This has been done to save them having to cover vast constituencies. In addition, women can also contest from general seats if they wish.

(21) The National Assembly is the source of law.

(22) In order to reduce chances of conflict between the Assembly and the President and to prevent paralysis of the administration and to ensure continuance of on going schemes, it has been laid down that the previously passed budget shall not be altered without the permission of the President, and new taxation shall not be levied without the consent of the National Assembly. This is based on the theory that the President is finally responsible to the country for administration and the members of the National Assembly represent the feeling of the people who have to pay taxes.

(23) To check misconduct on the part of the members of the House, the Speaker will have the power to refer such cases to the Supreme Court for disciplinary action.

(24) Because of the sad experience of political parties in the past and the fact that if allowed to re-emerge today they cannot be any different

from what they were before, and the fact that the Martial Law has to stay until the National Assembly takes over, the coming elections will be held on the basis of personal merit. The criterion will be the candidate's faith in Pakistan, its ideology and his known personal conduct and behaviour. Would he help in building a united, disciplined and stable Pakistan or not? To my mind, there can be no criterion better than this to judge a person's worth. Certainly no party manifesto can be better than this.

(25) In our case, political party activity only divides and confuses the people further and lays them open to exploitation by the unscrupulous and demagogues. So, I believe that if we can run our politics without the party system, we shall have cause to bless ourselves, though I recognise that like-minded in the Assemblies will group themselves together. That is not serious, but what is dangerous is for these groups to have tentacles in the country. However, should this experiment prove unworkable, which I do not believe, then the party system could be revived only with the permission of the National Assembly. This will ensure that the parties are limited in number and have respectable and healthy national programmes.

(26) It is sometimes argued that the canvassing for candidates, and especially for the Presidential candidates, will become difficult without the assistance of a party organisation. That undoubtedly is a problem and that is why the Constitution has provided that the State shall assist the candidates for projecting themselves to the electoral college.

(27) Governors will be appointed



by the President and shall be responsible to him for the good government of the Provinces in accordance with the Constitution. They too will appoint Ministers with the concurrence of the President. The relationship of the Governors and their Ministers with the Provincial Assemblies will be similar to that obtaining between the President, his Ministers and the National Assembly. They can appoint Parliamentary Secretaries, as in the Centre. In order to prevent abuse, the number of Parliamentary Secretaries, both at the Centre and Provinces, shall not exceed the number of Departments.

(28) Each Assembly shall consist of 150 general members. In the West Pakistan Assembly, 40 per cent of the members will be elected from the old Punjab and Bahawalpur and the remaining 60 per cent from the other areas. This arrangement will obtain for 10 years or two normal election periods. In addition, there will be 5 women members in each Assembly. They will be elected by their respective Provincial Assemblies.

(29) The responsibility for ensuring that no law is made which is contrary to fundamental human rights has been placed upon the lawmakers. Principles have been enunciated for the lawmakers which they are under obligation to observe. The first of these principles is that no law shall be made that is repugnant to Islam. The second is that all citizens shall be treated alike in all respects. There are 15 such principles of lawmaking set out in the Constitution. In case the Centre or the Provincial Legislature is in doubt whether a provision in any proposed law is not repugnant to Islam or at variance with any other principle, it has been made pos-

sible for it to refer the question for advice to a body set up under the constitution to be called the "Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology." A position has thus been brought about under which the functions of the Courts will be to take notice of and to rectify breaches of the law. Any person who has not been treated in accordance with law or who is treated otherwise than in accordance with law will have the right to go to a Court with his grievance whether it is against a private person, a public servant, an official agency or a department of the Government. No Court, however, shall be at liberty to refuse to enforce a law because it is of the opinion that the law is not in accordance with the principles of lawmaking. The relevant opinion for this purpose is the opinion of the lawmakers and nobody else.

Fundamental rights have thus been secured in the Constitution without the complication of all laws never reaching the stage of complete certainty because they remain perpetually susceptible to challenge in a Court of Law. Though it is frequently said that this challenge guarantees rights of the citizens, in actual practice it is usually only a rich litigant who can afford to engage the best available legal talent to throw out a challenge to a law for getting rid of something that operates to his disadvantage, irrespective of whether it is to the advantage of the community at large or not, and frequently holds up indefinitely the implementation of beneficial schemes. The scheme adopted in the Constitution brings our position on the same lines as the position existing in England.

(30) Judiciary will have its own



built-in arrangement for maintaining internal discipline.

(31) Service rights have been guaranteed to public servants in the usual way. In respect of dismissal, removal, reduction in rank, stipulated pay, stipulated pension and the age of superannuation, a public servant has been given the right to go to the High Court in a jurisdiction which up to now has been called Writ Jurisdiction. In respect of other matters, however, like leave, transfer, promotion, etc., the public servant is only under the disciplinary control of a departmental nature, but it has been provided that he must have the right to at least one departmental appeal.

(32) That completes the broad description of the institutions. I shall now draw your attention to the salient points of the Constitution and the reason why they have been adopted.

(33) We have adopted the Presidential system as it is simpler to work, more akin to our genius and history, and less liable to lead to instability—a luxury that a developing country like ours cannot afford. The other alternative was the Parliamentary system. This we tried and it failed. Not that there is anything inherently wrong with it. The trouble is that we have not yet attained several sophistications that are necessary for its successful operation. For it to work, you need democratic institutions right down to villages, trade unions and co-operatives on large scale to give people training in the spirit of give and take, and dispassionate consideration of problems. You need much higher level of education, prosperity, public spirit and integrity. Above all, you need really cool and

phlegmatic temperament, which only people living in cold climates seem to have. Also it requires long period of probation. For instance, the British took 600 years of trial and tribulations to reach this stage. Looking around the world you notice that this system has only worked successfully in Britain and the Scandinavian countries. Elsewhere it has not taken real roots. Even France which gave birth to liberal philosophy has not been able to work it. So, don't let us kid ourselves and cling to clichés and assume that we are ready to work such a refined system knowing the failure of earlier attempts. It will be foolhardy to try it again until our circumstances change radically.

In that system, the Chief Executive—the Prime Minister—must have the support of a majority of the members of the House, at all times. If Parliamentary traditions have taken root in a country, any member of the House, who withdraws his support, after pledging it, will have to account for it before the bar of public opinion.

In our conditions, however, there is no mechanism which will automatically operate to prevent members from selling their support or from charging a price for continuing to give support. The whole process of Government thus becomes liable to be subverted in the first instance, to placating those members without whose support the government in power would fall. The only insurance against such an eventuality in our conditions is to release the Chief Executive from the obligation of having to be sustained artificially so as to enable him to get on with the functions entrusted to him for the benefit



of the people at large.

(34) Our system of Basic Democracies is probably unique. It is already breeding pride, hope, sense of participation and responsibility in large numbers of people and laying a real base for a democratic society. We should do all we can to nurse it. In addition, the elected members from amongst them will be called upon to act as an electoral college as described already. In other words, the broad masses of people elect the electoral college, who in turn elect National and Provincial institutions. The reason for this is simple. We are recognising an obvious truth that the ballot can only produce a true answer if those exercising it are asked questions in level with their horizon and knowledge. If this is done, by and large the answer will be right. The election to Basic Democracies has proved it and I have no doubt that, *Insha Allah*, the general elections will confirm it. Whilst saying this, I am not claiming that some voters will not go wrong, but in human affairs a 100 per cent result is unrealistic to expect, especially where a society has not yet matured. Anyhow, the voters will be less liable to be exploited and misled in this system than in direct elections where they were driven as cattle to polling booths. In fact, the direct elections amongst us were far less direct than the system I am now proposing. In that all you had to do was to get hold of or fix a few leading people, and the rest then followed them. This won't happen and can't happen in my system as every one of these voters is a person of substance in his community. Another reason for adopting the indirect election system is that if

we were to have direct adult franchise, the elections would be delayed for another year or two for preparing fresh electoral rolls as the present ones are some years old. Besides, that system of elections is far too expensive. It was estimated that the 1958 general elections would have cost the country around six crores of rupees. Can this country afford such a waste?

While saying this, I am conscious of the fact that some sections of intelligentsia and those with vested interests may have cause to complain. I do not see any reason why a suitable formula cannot be evolved later which will give them a feeling of full participation. The need of today, however, is that the Constitution should be brought in quickly, and that can be done only if the electoral college of Basic Democracies is used for the elections. Any innovation or addition at this stage will be time-consuming and will delay the Constitution, which obviously is undesirable from every angle.

I might also add that in future there will be no nominations to Basic Democracies. Consequently, their number will increase from 80,000 to 1,20,000 unless it is decided to enlarge it still further.

(35) Friction between the executive and the legislature often arises over money bills with damaging effects on the administration and development projects. Our Constitution, by dividing the budget between committed and fresh taxation and making the President dominant in one and the legislature in the other, will obviate or eliminate unnecessary clashes. I would not be a bit surprised if this formula is being tried for the first time.



(36) The wish to get good people elected is universal, but in actual fact the community makes no real attempt to help them. In our Constitution, the State will assume the responsibility of helping candidates project themselves before the electorate, who must, of course, remain free to elect as they like.

(37) In a Presidential system so much depends on choosing the right man as the President. So the community must make certain that only suitable candidates are allowed to contest. In our case, a joint session of the National and Provincial Assemblies will screen candidates. Normally three candidates will be allowed to contest unless the sitting President is also eligible and willing to contest, in which case the number will be four.

(38) We are in ideological State and the basis of our nationality is the ideology of Islam. Whilst making material progress, we naturally wish to do so under the umbrella of Islamic spiritual and moral values. To achieve this is a continuous process and affects every aspect of life. We have, therefore, provided an organisation called the "Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology." This body will consist of experts from many fields and it will be backed by eminent research scholars. Whilst making laws, the President and the Legislatures have been enjoined to seek their advice for giving them an Islamic bent. By this process and the fact that religious education has been made compulsory up to 8th class, the curriculum in religious institutions in general and the Auqaf institutions in particular is being revised and balanced, we hope to attain our goal in

due course in a well-considered and sound fashion.

(39) Notice the processes laid down for the amendment of the Constitution. The variation takes into consideration the importance of different parts. Unless the President and the National Assembly agree on 2/3 majority, the process becomes more difficult so as to prevent changes being made without due consideration and in haste. In cases requiring major structural changes, it may even be necessary to refer the matter to people for a referendum. My view about the Constitution is that it should not be too easy to change, yet changes should not be made too difficult. This is the only way stability, natural evolution and freedom from revolutions can be ensured. I believe also that in a society like ours, which is launching forth on wide education, industrialisation and modernisation and is becoming dynamic, it would be necessary to look into the Constitution every twenty years or so to make it conform to social, economic and political changes. I would commend this for the consideration of future generations. Meanwhile, this Constitution can only stand as a whole. If any attempt is made radically to change any of its main elements, the rest can't stand. This must be understood clearly.

(40) This Constitution expects positive results from the institutions. Having created them, it expects them to function freely within the law and produce results. It also provides built-in disciplinary arrangements in order to prevent abuse of law and transgressions and breakdown. In other words, the Constitution gives free field to do good, but it will not feel



open mind.

Whilst promoting our own ideology, we must not be unmindful of our obligation to the protection, progress and welfare of the minorities in our midst. The Constitution fully ensures their rights and we must honour those rights in letter as well as in spirit.

Our *second objective* must be the security and stability of Pakistan. Unless there is a wide realisation of the factors involved and unless a constant effort is made never to lose sight of them, all our endeavours in other fields will be of no avail.

Our country consists of two parts, separated by more than a thousand miles. There are regional, ethnic and linguistic pulls. The very fact that we are engaged in developing our economy leads to competitive bidding for resources, resulting in jealousies and friction, between different parts and regions. These factors need not prove dangerous if we constantly remember that all of us in Pakistan have a common destiny. Together we shall be a force to reckon with and worthy of respect. Separated, there can be no other future for us except serfdom. That being the case, it behoves us to desist from pushing Provincial and regional interests to the point that might jeopardise overall national unity, security and stability.

I am emphasising this point because there are anti-Pakistan elements in the country who aim at disruption and subversion to suit their personal interests or to act as the tools of foreign interests hostile to Pakistan. Their first target appears to be East Pakistan and their *modus operandi* is to fan real or fancied local grievances, confuse and mislead the people and

confound real issues. Let us beware of them and their designs. East Pakistan and West Pakistan can remain free and sovereign only if they remain together. Separated, it may be a matter of a few years, if not a few months, before they disappear, disintegrate, or are destroyed.

*Unity and discipline* are oft-repeated words, but they can never become time-worn nor do they lose the freshness of their appeal. Their need and significance today is as acute as when the Quaid-i-Azam gave us this slogan. It is for us now to try and live up to it.

Our *third objective* must be material advancement. On the base of our ideology, strengthened and buttressed by security, stability and unity, we have to build the edifice of material progress and prosperity. Alongside a sure and steady improvement in the condition of the common man, our target must be to pool all private and public resources and harness them to implement a gigantic programme of multi-dimensional development.

Progress, prosperity and strength at home is the surest and perhaps the only way to gain prestige abroad, and to be left alone in peace. A weak nation, like a weak man, may invoke pity but gains no respect. In the power-laden world of today, a nation which is pitied is not far from subjugation.

In order to achieve progress at home and prestige abroad, we have to put our house in order first. We have to undertake wide-scale and radical reforms. We have to evolve the base for a society in which there is social justice, awareness and discipline. We have to see that customs and attitudes inherited from the



stagnation of past centuries are eradicated; the inertia of the masses is broken by a widespread awakening for their rights and responsibilities; their cynicism is replaced by hope; the economic gulf between man and man is narrowed; selfishness, suspicion and greed are counterbalanced by a spirit of goodwill, trust, self-help and sacrifice. Above all, we have to create a climate in which there is free and uninhibited equality of opportunities for all in every walk of life. A nation must develop these attributes as a part of its national character if it wishes to survive in the highly competitive world of today.

Fortunately, our people are endowed with all the qualities which go to make a sound and sensible nation. All that they require is suitably adjusted institutions to release their creative energies effectively. Much, therefore, depends on the shape of politics in the country. The past has taught us many bitter lessons. We cannot afford to repeat our mistakes. We have to go off the beaten track and find a way which shows us *صراط مستقيم*, the straight path, in the light of our temperament and circumstances.

Democracy is, and has to be, the cornerstone of our political system. The spirit of equality, fraternity and mutual consultation which Islam enjoins upon us makes the essence of democracy an article of faith with us. Foundations on which to build the structure of democratic institutions that might work have already been laid in the shape of basic democracies. To sustain these institutions, educational, social and agrarian reforms have been introduced. Participation of the people in a sensible,

understandable and workable fashion has been introduced at all levels of government. As the national character solidifies, I have no doubt that the roots of these institutions will, *Insha Allah*, become deeper and firmer. The new Constitution—a pragmatic rather than a dogmatic scheme—is designed to fulfil this objective of inducing a sane and balanced political life in the country. We ought to give it a fair trial, in order to consolidate the reforms already introduced, and to plan, promote and implement still more reforms wherever they are due, thus laying the foundation of a happier, healthier, easier, and richer life for ourselves and for the generations to come.

The first and the foremost instrument available to us for the realisation of our objectives is the Constitution. It takes care of all our requirements of today, as far as humanly possible. I trust you have already studied this document. Now please get ready to work it.

Responsive masses are our second medium. The system of Basic Democracy, universalisation of proper education, and all-round developments in the industrial, economic, agricultural, social and other spheres are already playing a visible role in generating a sense of mass awakening. This must continue.

Responsible leadership comes next. A heavy burden of responsibility devolves on the shoulders of the would-be legislators and the intelligentsia. As leaders of their respective lines, they have to set worthwhile standards of patriotism, discipline, integrity, austerity and hard work.

The intelligentsia in particular is



always jealous of its right of freedom of expression. This freedom is entirely theirs. But let it be exercised with full sense of responsibility. In any formative society like ours, public opinion is swayed by the words and deeds of those who can think and write and speak. Criticism is valuable, if it is intended to correct but not when it is calculated to destroy. As more and more opportunities of work and service unfold themselves in the country, the responsibility of the intelligentsia must also increase.

In the coming elections, those elected will have to come up the hard way. There is no party automation to hawk them about in a diffused political market. They have to stand on their own merit, and rise by dint of their personal record of public service. Integrity will buy more votes than money, and patriotism will pay greater dividends than promises. Please do not try to convert public trust into a saleable commodity. In any case, it won't work. There will be only one ballotbox in a polling booth under the supervision of a responsible person. The voter will put his ballot paper in that box in conditions ensuring complete secrecy. There will, therefore, be no guarantee that any money paid to him has in effect produced the desired result.

The State has undertaken to provide the candidates with facilities to project themselves to the electors. If human judgment is given a fair chance, it is likely to operate rightly and wisely.

Those of the candidates who are destined to emerge victorious should take their seats in the Assemblies with a solemn sense of history. As

the custodians of a new Constitution and the architects of a new order, they are going to be the pioneers of a system which may well hold the key to many a problem plaguing the destinies of all newly emerging countries. The tasks which lie ahead of them are truly onerous.

They have to cement and sustain the base of our Islamic ideology.

They have to breed and nurse a truly Islamic way of life and statecraft.

They have to weave unity out of diversity.

They have to help maintain strong and stable Governments; strong and perfectly equipped Armed Forces; clean and quick Administration; cheap and easy justice.

They have to induct far-reaching reforms in the teeth of social prejudices and powerful vested interests.

They have to keep a discerning finger on the pulse of our foreign relations and harmonise strategy with realism.

They have to live with dangers and overcome them.

They have to see that Kashmir problem is suitably settled.

They have to plan and promote gigantic programmes of multi-dimensional development to keep pace with the galloping rate of all-round human progress.

They have to do all this and a million other things.

For this they will have to work, work.....and work.

Now, just one word to the electorate, i.e. the Basic Democrats. Choose as you like; but choose only those who can do all this and much more irrespective of the walk of life they belong to. The eyes of the nation



and of the world are upon you. The trust that has been placed in you is on trial.

There is only one yardstick in your hand to measure the worth of a candidate: that is the yardstick of merit alone.

You will be called upon to take an oath—a very solemn oath—to choose honestly, without fear, without favour, and without regard to personal gain. No promise given to any candidate can override your oath.

There is only one price for your vote: that is service, love and glory of Pakistan.

Let this not be said of you that conscience can succumb to temptation or truth coerced by fear.

Nor let it be said of you that you, a community of 80,000—likely to multiply further in due course—are anxious to turn into a separate caste to the exclusion of the rest of the talent in the country. In your choice of the right men and women to represent you in the National and Provincial Assemblies, do not hesitate to vote for them if they do not belong to the "bradari" of Basic Democracies. This is most important.

I would like to take this opportunity to declare that I have no political party of my own. However, those that have belief in what I have said above can count me as one of them. Even those who may differ with me in certain principles or procedures need not necessarily consider me on the other side of a political cease-fire line. Honest differences of opinion are often the base for honest agreements. In spite of disparities in attitudes, outlooks, personal philosophies, or approach to various prob-

lems and their solution, I never forget—nor should you ever forget—that we, all of us, have one unfailing common ground—the protection, progress and prosperity of Pakistan. In the realisation that national interests must on no account be allowed to suffer, I solicit the goodwill, understanding and co-operation of one and all, irrespective of whether we agree or disagree on methods or details. Once this is clear, all tendencies based on local loyalties, parochial pressures, economic ambitions, and social programmes, will fall into their proper perspective. All such groupings, both inside and outside the Legislatures, ought to run their course like tranquil rivers to fill and feed the ultimate reservoir of national good.

I would like to emphasise with an equal force that I have no candidate to project or support for the National or Provincial Assemblies. Whosoever makes such a claim is not telling the truth. Similarly, whosoever may claim that he or she has the backing of any other agent or agency of my Government is likewise not right. Pay no heed to them. The choice of their representatives belongs entirely to the voters and they will be enabled to exercise their franchise in a free and unfettered manner. All I wish is that they will elect good and patriotic people.

Finally, let there be no misgiving about the position of my Ministers and Governors *vis-a-vis* the coming elections. Should any of them decide to stand for elections, the fact of their being a Minister or Governor shall not be allowed to confer any special advantage or privilege on them in respect of canvassing, electioneering and the like. As a matter



of fact. I am going to enjoin that as soon as a sitting Minister or Governor files his nomination papers, he shall not visit his constituency except as an ordinary citizen. No official agency will be allowed to give him any more facility than is provided to any other candidate.

To sum up : Let us be in no doubt about our national targets. They are Islamic ideology, security, unity, discipline, progress and prosperity at home ; peace and prestige abroad ; economic development ; social reforms ; social justice ; equality of opportunities ; and the reconstruction of a society which can sustain a workable pattern of democracy under the umbrella of enlightened moral, political, cultural and spiritual values.

Then there is also the unswerving resolve to settle Kashmir problem satisfactorily.

The implements for the achievement of these targets are : our Faith, the Constitution ; responsive masses ; responsible leadership ; competent legislators ; strong and stable Governments ; powerful Defence Forces ; clean and quick administration ; cheap and ready justice ; multi-dimensional programmes of development in education, industry, commerce, agri-

culture, individual and collective austerity, integrity, homogeneity ; service of man ; fear of God ; and a relentless passion for work, ceaseless work and nothing but work.

In the use of these implements for the achievements of our targets, all of us—every man, woman and child of Pakistan ; the President, the voters and the voted ; the leaders and the led ; the teachers and the taught ; the writers and their readers ; the speakers and their listeners ; the preachers and their followers ; producers and consumers—all of us have got to share full burden of responsibility to the last limit of our ability, integrity and endurance.

I pledge myself wholly and humbly to every word of this manifesto. So might you, my dear countrymen and women. And may God grant us courage, conviction and dedication to live upto it within the framework of His Precepts and the example of His Holy Prophet (Peace be on him).

Finally, I give you a motto: Service, Love and Glory of Pakistan. Repeat it, remember it and practise it. If you do that, you will be able to think out and judge things correctly and you will reach your cherished goal quicker. *Amen*. Pakistan Painsdabad.

*Address on the occasion of the 10th Convocation of the Peshawar University on 28 March 1962*

...There are certain fundamental facts of life which never grow too old. They are neither beaten by time nor worn out by repetition.

One such fact of life is this that a student's first and last duty is to study. This is what our own forefathers

used to say to us, and this is what the fathers of future generations will also go on saying for ever.

For, once we alter the spirit of this fundamental truth, all talk of education, including the schools, the colleges and the universities, will cease



to have any meaning at all.  
So, please do remember it always that your first and foremost obligation is to acquire knowledge.

All the facilities for education which the nation is providing you with its hard-earned resources, all the time and effort your teachers are investing in you, all the hopes and expenditure your parents are staking on you—all this, and much more, will look sensible and worthwhile only if you adhere sincerely and unreservedly to your primary tasks of acquiring knowledge.

If, on the other hand, you deflect from this course, you will be betraying the trust which the nation, teachers and the parents have placed in you. This is a dangerous betrayal indeed which we can neither afford nor allow.

I wish to highlight this point with all the emphasis at my command because in some countries, particularly those which have been a prey to weak and unstable Governments, erratic politics are confused and have got unhinged from the beliefs—it seems to be fashionable to draw the students into fields which do not really belong to them.

The mind of the youth is vulnerable to all kinds of impressions and emotions and those who try to exploit them by misuse and misguidance are guilty of heinous crime against man and God. Elements such as these are no friends, but enemies, of the country.

You may well wonder why anybody with a grain of sense or conscience should embark upon a course which is inimical to the security even survival of his or her own country.

Well, I myself wonder over it, for

human nature is designed by its Creator to be sound, patriotic, and constructive. But life is a complex process and my experience of it and my close association with the people and the administration of the country at all levels has provided me with an answer which I would like to place before you.

In the first place history has, over centuries, played some cruel pranks with our society. Nothing mars human character more than the traditions of feudalism, tribalism and long colonial rule which singly as well as collectively generate a climate in which pretence supplants realism, suspicion destroys trust, pettiness clouds generosity, greed overrides good sense, jealousies oust healthy competition and self transcends everything else breeding either downright conceit or a paralysing sense of inferiority complex.

In a climate of this sort personal griefs, grievances and frustrations get easily identified with national rights and wrongs and thus weaken the resistance of the people to maintain or promote ideological cohesion and patriotism.

Added to this, such other factors are : geographical distances, linguistic disparities, local loyalties, cultural pulls and parochial pressures and you have an ideal hot-bed for the germs of discontent, disaffection and disunity to flourish and thrive in. This is why even today there exist in our midst some elements which never believed in the concept of Pakistan, and now that it has become a reality, are still keen to destroy it.

Besides this, situated as we are, both East and West Pakistan are surrounded by dangers which are too



obvious to enumerate here. Calcutta and Kabul-based forces of disruption lose no opportunity to strike at each and every point of our vulnerability and it is under these highly organised and well-financed onslaughts that the patriotism of some of those in our midst who are suffering from a personal, political or parochial grievance and frustration comes under a heavy strain.

All of us have always to be on our guard against them, But it is you—the trusting, volatile, emotional and energetic youth of Pakistan—who have to beware of them most. Let no manoeuvrings and designs of ambitions, greedy, frustrated or aggrieved vested interests shout you out of your classrooms and drag you into the din and bustle of their own selfish ends.

You have to watch your steps with great care and caution. We are making our utmost endeavours to provide you the best possible facilities and resources for education.

We are inducting far-reaching radical reforms to create a society in which all of you will have equal opportunities to play your full role in the political, administrative, economic, social and cultural life of the country.

To reap the harvest which we are sowing today with the sweat and toil of millions of your elders, you have got to do just one simple thing that is to be good and sensible boys and girls, work hard, and make the grade in the fields of your study.

Whilst doing everything humanly possible for your welfare and well-being, I must also tell you frankly that

should some of our students permit themselves to be played about in undeserving hands, they can rest assured that they are not going to have things their own way. This is a simple truth and must be told.

In the first place, remember that there is almost an incredible awakening and upsurge of strong public opinion in the country which can no longer be befooled by mere acrobation.

The opinion of those who are sweating day and night to pay taxes and generate resources for your benefit is a factor which you, I and everybody else has got to reckon with fairly and squarely. And remember that public opinion is a harder task-master than hardest of headmaster or I should say the Vice-Chancellor.

Secondly, Pakistan has, by the grace of God, come out of the stage of weak and shaky Governments. The constitutional and administrative system and philosophy on which we are now running our country has no room for a Government which can be coerced by fear or paralysed by confusion.

Our administration of today and tomorrow is fully geared to face any eventuality at home or abroad. This is a thing which is good to remember.

All this strength and stability of administration, all the reforms which we have introduced or are going to induct, all economic planning, all industrialisation, all the sweat, toil and struggle for progress which we are undergoing—all this endeavour and activity is directed towards one objective service, love and glory of Pakistan. . . .



Speech at a reception held in President's honour by the Lahore High Court Bar Association on 27 April 1962

You represent a profession the object of which is to render assistance to your clients so as to help the courts in the task of administering justice. It is based on the assumption that if the case of each party is processed and presented by experts, the Court will be greatly facilitated in picking and choosing between the contentions of the parties. The system is, therefore, so adjusted that each expert is expected to pursue, to the best of his ability, the interest of the client who pays him. The interest of justice is no part of his responsibility. The client is interested in a favourable result. He is anxious to know what steps should be taken to ensure a favourable result. Most litigants are not much concerned with the legality or fairness of the steps that he is advised to take so long as those steps are in aid of the result they desire.

This circumstance places a great strain on the powers of resistance of a legal practitioner. On the one hand is the expectation of the client that all steps, whether permitted or forbidden by law, whether fair or not fair, will be taken by his counsel, and the client is willing to pay the counsel for taking those steps. On the other hand, there is his conscience and if he follows the dictates of his conscience, there is the prospect of losing his client and the fee that the client was willing to pay.

Some practitioners succumb to the temptation of adopting the first course because they are in dire need to earn a livelihood. A few adopt the second course because they think they cannot establish themselves in practice, if they do not adopt it.

It is because a sizeable portion of the members of the legal profession have in the past adopted doubtful means to promote the interest of their clients that the impressions of which you have spoken have gained ground. With the efforts that honourable associations like yours are making to purify the conditions and standards of the legal profession, I have every reason to hope that such impression will gradually fade away as relics of the past. . . .

You have spoken of the Frontier Crime Regulations as being contrary to the principles of lawmaking and repugnant to the Islamic concept of 'Adl. In all humility I beg to differ. I know that this Regulation is frowned upon by those who consider that any system of administering the substance of justice, otherwise than in accordance with the forms prevailing today in Britain, is beneath the standards of respectability. For my part, I do not believe that having a facade which is considered respectable by others adds anything whatever to the respectability or otherwise of the reality which lies behind facade. In its essence that regulation is nothing more than a system under which the elders of a community are charged with the responsibility of finding out the truth and of giving effect to it.

The areas in which this system has been traditionally in vogue consider it an encroachment on their rights, if it is suggested to them that it be replaced by the adversary system in which the person who has to determine a matter is merely to decide



between contentions offered before him. The operation of this Regulation is not going to be extended to any which does not make a request for its extension.

Besides only rare cases will be tried under this law. That is the experience of former Frontier Province where this prevails.

I would also like to assure you that the object of creating conciliation courts and introducing Jirga system is to reduce litigation and lighten the burdens of the people. I should have thought that you would appreciate such measures. Whilst talking about this, I would like you to read an illuminating little book called *Strangers in India* written by Mr. Penderel Molon, an ex-ICS Officer. He graphically described how the British legal system and their mode of democracy has been corrupted by us to function and how we in turn have been corrupted by them. Need, therefore, is to bring them both in line with our conditions, environments and genius and it is only right that you, as patriotic and enlightened citizens of the country, must understand and assist. . . .

You have said that the principles of lawmaking had not been incorporated in the new Constitution as justiciable fundamental rights. You have gone on to say that since the British rule, it has been the inalienable jurisdiction of the Courts in this country to determine the validity of laws. So far as I am aware, this is not so.

At no time during the British period up to 1935 were any rights included in any constitutional instrument as fundamental rights of the citizens. In the Act of 1935, among

other restrictions that were placed on the legislatures in this sub-continent in the colonial context of their being subordinate legislatures, two restrictions were imposed—one with reference to compensation in respect of compulsory acquisition of property, and the other with reference to discrimination on the ground of religion, caste or place of birth—which for the first time were capable of being regarded in their operation as fundamental rights of citizens. It was only in the Constitution of 1956 that the doctrine of judicial review of legislation with reference to enunciated fundamental rights was incorporated.

You have mentioned the jurisdiction of courts in a federal structure to strike down legislative excesses. That, however, has nothing to do with fundamental rights of citizens. That only means that when previously existing independent units agree to federate they usually demarcate the field which is surrendered to the federation so that the federation should not trespass into the field, which is not the federal field, and the federating units do not trespass into the field which they have surrendered. Any legislative trespass by one legislature into the field of the other is forbidden. Sovereign independent States that federate in this manner usually leave the question of whether the demarcating line has been crossed or has not been crossed to the courts.

In England itself there is no such doctrine as judicial review of legislation. There the Parliament is supreme in all matters. In Canada, Australia and other old Dominions of the British Commonwealth there is no such doctrine as judicial review of legislation on the ground of violation



of any fundamental rights.

All fundamental rights are subject to reasonable classifications to be imposed or made by law. Somebody has to judge the reasonableness of those restrictions and classifications. Everyone is agreed that in the first instance that someone can only be the legislature.

The point of difference arises at the next step. Those who are in favour of incorporating justiciable fundamental rights in the Constitution feel that the final judges of the reasonableness of restrictions and classifications should be the appointed judges, who would act more or less in the capacity of superintendents over the legislature.

Quite apart from the fact that the judgement as to reasonableness or otherwise of a law is the privilege of the community through its elected representatives, the system of superintendence deprive all laws of their finality because they are open to challenge at any time. Just imagine the retarding effect of this thing in a newly developing country, where so many reforms that hit the vested interests have to be introduced. Moreover, once the courts are drawn into the process of legislation at any stage, situations can arise in which devices like packing the court get resorted to.

On balance, it seems that in respect of fundamental rights the position prevailing in England, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other Dominions of the Commonwealth has more to recommend itself than the pattern set by some other countries.

I might mention that in order to ensure that the legislature should specially and pointedly consider the

question whether a proposed law does or does not violate any of the principles of lawmaking, it is being provided in the rules that if a member raises the objection that a proposed law violates or disregards a principle of lawmaking, that objection must be considered, debated and voted upon as a preliminary objection before any further proceeding with reference to that proposed law can be taken. There is also a provision that in case of doubt a reference can be made to the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology. And in any case, which legislature would pass a law that would make the members unpopular with the voters.

You have mentioned the need for political parties which owe allegiance to the ideology of Pakistan. I would have wholeheartedly agreed if it was possible to have them at this stage. Our experience of the performance of political parties in the past is bitter. They were the cause of disruption and demoralisation in the country. The reason was simple: there were not the leaders of stature, character, integrity and patriotism available to run them and there was not wide enough base of intelligentsia and educated middle class to demand and enforce respectable behaviour on the part of the leaders. The result was utter chaos, confusion and demoralisation. Have men of such stature been found during the last 3½ years to justify the belief that if parties were allowed today, the same old mushroom growth will not emerge and all the good that has been done during these years will not be undone?

I, for one, who has laboured day and night at least, would not like to see that happen. In any case, whilst



the martial law lasts, party activity cannot be allowed. So, the elections have to be held on individual merit basis. Let us give this system a trial. I believe the election will be free and honest, the electorate will behave responsibly and good people will be elected.

You might say, why could I not start a party? True that if I had formed a party, a large number of people would have joined it and perhaps carried my message to the people or at any rate explained to them the true philosophy and value of a host of very beneficent reforms, I have carried out. I denied myself that advantage in the larger national interest. For one thing, it would have meant one-party rule in the country, which in the end would have suffered the same fate as the Muslim League giving rise to so many splinter groups.

My view is that if parties are to come, these must come in a regulated manner under a code of conduct and they should not be more than 2 or 3. That can best be done through the medium of Central Legislature after free and full national debate.

I have no doubt that you will obtain much more satisfactory and stable answer in this manner. Meanwhile, it is the duty of every patriotic Pakistani to follow what is being done in the country, build up faith in himself and his cause and be wary of disruptionists and meet their challenge. This has to be a joint effort between the Government agencies and the citizens.

You have talked of the separation of the judiciary from the executive. You have equated it with the independence of the judiciary which is an indispensable requirement of a demo-

cratic State. The independence of the judiciary for the due safeguarding of the democratic process is already secured as firmly in the new Constitution as is humanly possible. You must have noticed that while the misconduct of the members of the executive and of the legislature is triable by the higher courts, and the misconduct of the President is triable by the Legislature, the misconduct of the judiciary is triable by itself.

What you have in mind is the discontinuance of the existing arrangement of the trial of criminal cases in the districts by magistrates who are also entrusted with executive duties and are under the control of the District Magistrate and not of the District Judge. This is an administrative problem involving many factors including the question of finances, which will have to be considered very carefully before a decision is arrived at.

You have stressed the desirability of recruitment to the judiciary from the bar. At the level of the High Court this is already largely so. At lower levels there is need for a permanent cadre, and recruitment to permanent cadres can best be made through impartial competitive examinations of candidates at the beginning of their careers. Once you have such a cadre or such cadres, some recruitment to the High Court bench has to be made from among the members of that cadre. . . .

Before I finish, there are a couple of things which I would like to put before you for consideration. We all must, of course, insist that the rule of law should prevail. This term includes a number of things which you know best. But I, as a layman,



would like it to include prevalence of lawful conditions in the country as the end object. If that be so, then when bar associations get tempted to pass resolutions on matters of law and order, they must bear in mind the need for maintaining legitimate discipline in the country.

Secondly, I would like to have seen much greater originality of thought being brought to bear on matters relating to our political, social and other institutions. At present the tendency is to copy advanced countries blind-foldedly, especially in constitutional matters, with obvious disastrous results. But in this we are not the only culprit; most of the emerging countries suffer from this

malady and have had to pay for it in instability and arrested progress. The reason perhaps is that though we are now politically free, we have not yet attained intellectual freedom.

We must try and break out of this bondage and evolve institutions suited to our conditions and needs. The new Constitution is such an attempt and I would like you to view it from that angle.

Whilst on this subject, I am surprised that no world forum has yet been evolved which could consider the institutional problems of new countries. There is a dire need for such a study and guidance to save them from chaos and disintegration. . . .

*Address on the occasion of the conferment of the degree of Doctor of Laws Honoris Causa on the President by the University of Karachi at a Special Convocation held on 9 May 1962*

. . . The sort of facilities that are available to your generation were not available to my generation when we were at schools and colleges. You were not required to complain. This business of striking and misbehaving is something which is unknown and unheard of, never occurred to anyone. If we had any inconvenience we were supposed to rough it out and the result was that those who had anything in them, I believe, are now better people.

So, therefore, if there are any inconveniences you ought to be ready to put up with them. It has become a fashion in life to expect everything for nothing from the Government now-a-days. As I said you are a very lucky generation to get this but if

there are any gaps, if there are any inconveniences, you must be ready to face them. And if you face them well, it would not do you any harm but make you better human beings.

I can give you an instance of the Army. When we started Pakistan we had no military institution of any sort in the areas of Pakistan except a few Naval establishments and except the Staff College at Quetta which is, as you know, a world-renowned institution. Amongst us, the senior officers, there used to be a discussion and somebody came to me and asked as to what should be done. I said: Let us go and sit under trees and if need be put up tents and start with basic institutions if you want to build a good army. And that is how



we started. And today we have got this army because of the institutions that back it up. And they are not well housed even today. . . .

I know that our educational requirements are enormous. There is a great yearning for education. Well, we have got to do the very best we can. But our resources, it has got to be admitted, are very limited. And my advice has been to the educationists, and the new education scheme is based on this major factor, that our schemes must be based on the amount of resources that we can make available for education during the foreseeable future. We must also ensure that with those resources we produce the best manpower we can against the needs that we are likely to have in future, and that is a hard fact of life, and that is what should be accepted and admitted. . . .

This country embarked on a gigantic programme of reconstruction and modernisation that requires resources, material resources. But above all it requires well-trained human resources and the future really lies in how you respond to it and how you take to your responsibility and what sort of traditions and discipline and self-control you set up. Because what you are going to do is going to be the pattern of future generations. There we, all of us, you, me and everybody in a position of responsibility, have that overriding responsibility upon our heads. The pattern and conduct

we will set, undoubtedly the pattern of our future generation will be based on it. And do not let them say that we misbehaved and we missed our opportunity and that we did not control ourselves or attune ourselves or adjust ourselves to the requirements of the time.

One thing which I think is worth mentioning and that is that when you read the Holy Qur'an it tells you that Muslims are the people of the middle path. Now for a long time it never dawned on me that to be the people of the middle path did not mean that you should be completely colourless, devoid of ideas, and devoid of imagination. Should you be cattle to remain in the middle path? But after a stage I came to this realisation that to belong to the middle path requires the highest form of self-control, the highest form of civilisation and culture.

It really means controlling your uncontrollable emotions with your thinking power and decency and keeping yourself away from temptations and sticking to the right path. It requires vision; it requires imagination; it requires a spirit of give and take; it requires a spirit of comradeship, brotherhood and equality. So let us set an example for every one of us in trying to be the people of the middle path. And I think if you remember that and observe that we cannot go wrong very far. . . .

*Letter to the newly-elected members of the National Assembly of Pakistan released to the Press on 12 May 1962*

Please accept my congratulation on your successful election to the National Assembly. The office you will hold as members of the supreme



legislative body of the country is one of great honour and of great responsibility.

As you know, this is our second attempt at constitutional Government after an intervening period of Martial Law. Prior to 1958, we had a succession of political instability which made our people despair of the future and which lowered the prestige of Pakistan in the eyes of the world.

My purpose in declaring Martial Law was to save the country from impending disaster. At the same time it was my firm resolve to introduce democracy in a workable form as soon as possible. However, since the previous system enforced had failed, I was in search of a system which would be workable in our conditions.

I had repeatedly said in my public pronouncements that I would search for "Seraat-ul-Mustaqeem," i.e. the straight path of our goal—the path of those upon whom Allah bestows His favours and blessings. The people of Pakistan placed a very heavy burden on me when they gave me the mandate to frame the new Constitution.

My promise is now nearing fulfil-

ment. The day you assemble formally and take your oath of office, Martial Law will cease to exist. From that moment onwards the good governance of the country will become just as much your responsibility as mine. All of us are now on trial before the future generations and before our Creator; for upon us rests an onerous burden of looking after the welfare and progress of nearly 94 million people who have placed their trust in us.

In the presidential system of democracy, which we have adopted as more likely to succeed in our conditions, harmonious relations between the executive and the legislature are very important. I look forward to working with you for the welfare and happiness of our people.

I have no doubt that members of the National Assembly will be motivated solely by similar considerations of public interest. Those who do so can be assured of my wholehearted co-operation and support, just as I will have to depend upon the support of those who feel in the same way for the country as I do. . . .

*Broadcast to the Nation from Rawalpindi on 18 May 1962*

In three weeks from now, *Insha-Allah*, the first elected National Assembly of Pakistan will come into existence. It will consist of persons who have been elected on individual merits. There will be no organised political parties either inside or outside the House. As the law now stands, the question of forming or regulating the formation of political

parties will not arise unless the Legislature chooses to pass an Act in that behalf.

It is, however, only natural that those Members of the Assembly who have similar views will tend to form themselves into groups. I am hoping that such groups, if formed, will come together only on a national basis and not on the basis of personal, tribal,



parochial or regional affiliations, nor on the basis of past association with old parties as their labels.

Every group that places the national interest above all else can count me as its supporter, and I in my turn shall rely for support on every such group. I shall not be identified with any particular group, nor will any particular group be identified with me. We shall all be identified together in support of that which is dear to us all—the integrity and stability of Pakistan and the well-being, prosperity and progress of its people.

The present Cabinet of Ministers will tender its resignation on June 7.

In the new Cabinet, both the wings of the country will be equally repre-

sented. Though the Constitution does not so require I have decided that except for portfolios where specialists are needed, I shall make every endeavour to select Ministers from among those who have been elected. This will naturally take some time to enable me to assess the value of individuals.

I might also add that a certain number of people will be required from amongst the Members of the National Assembly to act as Parliamentary Secretaries, and a large number of members will be required to serve on the various House Committees. There will thus be no lack of opportunities or dearth of work for those members who wish to serve the nation and the country. . . .

*Address before the Members-elect of the National Assembly of Pakistan at Ayub Hall, Rawalpindi, on 8 June 1962*

... After Martial Law was imposed, it became my direct responsibility to produce a new Constitution. It was indeed a very onerous responsibility as it affected the well-being of 94 million people.

The Constitution that comes into force from today represents my political philosophy in its application to the existing conditions of Pakistan, and it deserves a fair trial.

I believe that our first and foremost need is to ensure the integrity of the country against external danger and internal disruption.

This being assured, our next step should be to make Pakistan as strong as possible and to promote among the people a common national outlook and remove all traces of distrust and suspicion between the two wings.

Our third object, which I have kept in view throughout the period that I have been in charge of the affairs of this country, must be to adopt such measures as will be conducive to the moral and material happiness of the people in general and will carry out the principles of a social State set out in Article 8 of the Constitution.

You will agree with me that to the achieving of these objects a strong and stable Government, capable of conceiving and undertaking long-term plans and policies, is a condition precedent, and that we cannot take one step forward if Governments come and go with dishonest alliances and post-election expansions or contractions of political parties to exploit particular occasions. For these reasons, I am personally opposed to the



idea of political parties of this nature and a parliamentary executive.

But this does not mean that I do not require, in the legislature, a group of determined and patriotic men who are inspired by my aims and ideas and are willing to help me in the performance of the national task that I have set before myself. To those of you who share my views on these fundamental matters I extend an invitation to come forward and collaborate with me in my difficult task. I shall be happy to guide you and to assign you functions in the programme of national build-up which I have chalked out for myself.

What I have produced in this Constitution has come from my heart and soul and it is my belief that the country can run sensibly and can prosper under this system. It is based on my long association with the administration at all levels, detailed knowledge of the country and the people, wide study, deep and prolonged thought and a burning desire to help the people in building the country into a powerful and progressive State.

Its cornerstone is the Presidential form of Government, to be elected in a manner which is realistic and appropriate to our present circumstances. Ensuring stability of Government and soundness of administration, which are the bedrock of development and progress.

I am aware that there are plenty of people who doubted the wisdom of my hurrying up with the making of the new Constitution. A large number of people in various walks of life thought that this was being done much too early. Perhaps there were others who might have wondered whether the pro-

mises for voluntary surrender of power on my part would, in fact, be fulfilled. Whatever the vagaries of human nature in this regard, I assure you that for me personally it has been an unflinching article of faith to transfer power from individual hands to properly constituted institutions without any avoidable loss of time.

So my commendation to you is to give an honest trial to the Constitution. I believe that it suits the requirements of the country. I do not think it will be wise to be in a hurry to charge or amend it. The experience of some other countries who have been in such a haste in these matters should be an eye-opener for us. Their efforts have only resulted in getting from one mess to another.

I must say that sometimes I feel concerned to note that some people are making it a fashion to talk too much about large-scale and fundamental changes in the Constitution. This is putting the cart before the horse.

The National Assembly is not coming into being with the primary object of amending the Constitution. On the contrary, its foremost obligation is to work and defend it. Both you and I are going to take an oath to do so. To start with mental reservations against giving a fair trial to the new Constitution is neither honest nor wise. Moreover we have experienced the old system and have suffered heavily in consequence.

As against this, the achievements we have been able to make during the last 3½ years by departing from that system are also before you. Under these circumstances, patriotism, prudence and common sense warrant that we should give a fair trial to the



new Constitution which is the outcome of the lessons of the past and the experience of the last 3½ years.

If we fail in the discharge of this basic duty we shall be embarking on a course fraught with unforeseen dangers which might lead us to far greater confusion and chaos than what we have witnessed in the past. Nevertheless, no human document can be final or perfect.

As I have often stated, the new Constitution is a pragmatic rather than a dogmatic document. In any case, machinery for amending or modifying the Constitution has been provided within its framework. If experience dictates that some changes are, in fact, necessary in the interest of the country, you are certainly in a position to refine and readjust it, but this must be an organic process based on realism and experience rather than on just emotions.

The only criterion for modification should be the larger interest of the country as a whole and not the personal gain of an individual or a group of individuals. Sometime I get the feeling that the interests of certain groups or individuals seem to clash with the interests of the people and the country. As far as I am concerned, the interests of the people and the country are of paramount importance. This is a matter in which I can brook no expediency and no compromise.

Throughout this exercise, my object was to indicate to the best of my ability how we should attempt to run our country. I could have sat in the chair of a President under Martial Law for a few more years but this would have delayed the introduction of representative institutions through

which all patriotic elements could participate in the task of running the country. This, to my mind, is the only way to set a lasting pattern for the management of the affairs of a country and to ensure that all changes occur in an orderly fashion.

The President has no doubt been entrusted with wide powers and responsibilities under the Constitution but it should not be forgotten that there are also corresponding limitations and restrictions on the exercise of these powers, including his impeachment under certain conditions.

Similarly, Parliament has also been entrusted with vital functions in its own sphere. But, as in the case of the President, these powers are hedged in by corresponding limitations. The same is the case with the Judiciary. These organs of the State have been designed to do good to the country and they are free to do so in their own respective spheres. The power of the National Assembly in the sphere of lawmaking is supreme. The President just cannot operate without the co-operation of the Assembly.

I am saying this so that you may realise this fact clearly and along with that understand your own obligations to the country.

You are, in fact, on trial not only before your own country but also before the whole world. There are several examples in many countries where political instability has brought about change after change. This has often happened because of irresponsible conduct on the part of those who should have shown a better sense of responsibility. We should keep this in mind constantly and



guard against breakdowns as otherwise the consequences are bound to be disastrous.

If we can work the institutions which the Constitution envisages, we may well produce a solution which might perhaps be of assistance to some other countries faced with similar misfortunes. A very heavy burden of responsibility thus devolves on your shoulders to display exemplary conduct and patriotism even at the cost of sacrifice of personal wishes. I hope and pray that you will rise to the occasion and prove a befitting example of good Parliamentarians for future generations and will thus build up traditions which are worthy of respect and esteem.

As far as I am concerned I shall give you my fullest co-operation in all matters which bring security, prosperity and happiness to the country. I expect similar co-operation from you when I am acting in that spirit. When I do not act in that spirit, you have every right to withhold your co-operation.

You have been elected on the basis of your personal merit. My information is that, by and large, the electorate have judged the candidates from the angle of how far they can promote the cause of the country. You have not come here under any party labels because political parties are banned for reasons often explained by me till you yourself frame rules under which parties can operate, if you consider them necessary.

Being concerned only with the means, fair or foul, of acquiring power, political parties have been our bane in the past. Nevertheless, if an absolute majority of you have strong views to the contrary, it is up

to you to have the matter thoroughly investigated in an appropriate committee of the Assembly and to pass an appropriate Bill. When any such Bill comes to me, it will receive my earnest consideration and I shall act according to the dictates of my conscience. Meanwhile it is possible that you might group yourselves on the basis of identity of attitudes. You have every right to do so.

All I ask you to do is not to group yourselves on the basis of obsolete labels, personal associations or parochial loyalties, but on the basis of whatever might appear to you, after responsible and mature consideration of realities, to be the right path on particular issues for the country to follow in its best interest. Moreover, you may well discover under closer examination that if parties have to be brought into being, it may be better to give them different names and programmes so that good people from all walks of life can join them and that they get a good start.

Meanwhile I shall make every endeavour—and so will my Ministers—to maintain contacts with all individuals and groups in the National Assembly so as to explain to them the measures which we bring before you and get your reaction and support. This will also enable you to express your views as to how best we can bring about beneficent measures in various walks of life. So we shall all have every opportunity to discuss and exchange our views on various problems of the country.

The question of franchise is often commented upon and discussed by various sections of the public. This is particularly so in respect of the indirect system of voting for the President



and the three Legislatures. My own belief is that in our circumstances, this is the only answer to our problems. But I am perfectly open to conviction if a better or a more workable modification can be suggested. As I have said before, these matters can be given further consideration through the appointment of a Franchise Commission.

Then there is the all-important question of human relationship and attitudes between East and West Pakistan. With the extent of distance between the two wings, some differences and misunderstandings are inevitable. But what is of utmost importance is to define and recognise very clearly that if these differences are carried too far in certain areas, disaster will follow. The people of the two wings would not have agreed to make a common Pakistan if they were not impelled by the feeling that we have a common destiny and that we cannot stand alone. In other words, our unity and security are of common concern. Nothing has since happened to alter or eliminate that requirement. If anything, the need for running a common concern has grown greater, in spite of what the anti-Pakistan elements may say.

This sense of unity has to be preserved at all costs. Outside that, arguments can go on but I hope that there, too, they will be advanced in a spirit of give and take and some sense of humour. If we approach these matters on some such lines, I have no doubt that the areas of mutual understanding, sympathy and unity will grow and enlarge.

Just yet we are engaged with the gigantic task of reconstruction and development. It is a good thing that

thinking minds in our country are giving more and more attention to these aspects. Vital though these aspects are, it will not be out of place to utter a word of warning that these things cannot be considered in isolation of matters relating to our security and the problems we are facing from external and internal dangers. All these things have to be considered in their totality and given an appropriate perspective so that our thinking remains balanced.

From today we are entering a new phase of our national life and activity. On a major change of this nature, I do hope that our people will act and react with a sense of maturity, wisdom and good discipline. It will give us great satisfaction if the blessings of the restoration of constitutional institutions are appreciated and recognised by people in all spheres in general and by the Press and the intelligentsia in particular. As leaders of public thinking, it devolves on them to give a lead in dignified behaviour and decorum. Confusion in thought and action is the last thing we as a nation can afford.

I would like to remind you that the r e c o m m e n c e m e n t of the constitutional process does not mean the re-start of political life from the stage where it stood on the 8th October 1958. During the last 3½ years an enormous amount of thinking and planning has taken place and this has been carried out at a fast pace. A great amount of literature on all aspects of government activities has also been produced. I commend it to your close attention and study.

I may also add that, during this period, people have got used to expecting concrete results from the



Government. They will expect the same from you as well. The meaning of this is that it is only the constructive efforts and sound statesmanship that will appeal more to the re-awakened and discerning consciousness of the people and not mere emotional and fiery outbursts and speeches. This is a factor that must never be forgotten.

On the measure of success we attain in working the Constitution in the spirit it has been evolved depends much more than the expediencies and desires of the present moment. As a matter of fact, on it depends the well-being of our future generations and

also the vindication of the faith and belief of those who, under the inspiring leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, struggled so hard and suffered so much for the creation of Pakistan. We have, therefore, got to make the grade, come what may.

With these words, I wish you a very hearty and happy start. I beseech you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join me in an earnest prayer to Almighty God to grant us courage and light to discharge the sacred trust the nation has reposed in us and to work wholeheartedly and unsparingly for the service and glory of Pakistan. . . .

*Statement issued from Rawalpindi on 21 June 1962*

I gather from the press and from elsewhere that some people wish me to start a political party, and the others feel that I should keep away from it. Since this matter is exercising the people's mind I thought it necessary to clarify the position.

Having seen the performance of political parties in the past from very close quarters, it was unavoidable for any honest and patriotic man not to feel disgusted with the whole affair. By and large, political organisations were not parties in the constructive sense but were instruments of oppression, disruption and exploitation of the people for the benefit of self-seeking and often characterless leadership and some of its following. Some of these people were not even free from the suspicion of indulging in anti-Pakistan activities. So, when I show my aversion to political parties I do so for the leadership and parties of

this nature, and it was for this reason that a law was passed to prohibit the re-emergence of such organisations in order to avoid the miseries of the past.

The meaning of this law is that healthy parties can come into being with the permission of the National Assembly. Until that happens, the question of my leading or starting a political party does not arise.

However, being the constitutional President of Pakistan, I cannot make any constructive contribution to the running of the country except through and in collaboration with the National Assembly. That collaboration naturally is not possible with each individual member, and since it is inevitable that like-minded people will group together, my idea was to work through the group leaders.

The National Assembly has been in session only for a short time. So,



it is too early to say what sorts of groups will emerge and with what programmes. So far these groups have waxed and waned from day to day and their programmes do not yet seem to have developed any clearcut and positive or constructive shape. I am hoping that mature thought and wisdom will in due course prevail, and these groups will evolve constructive programmes for the unity and betterment of the country.

The way these groups develop will determine the future make-up and pattern of political parties. I am hoping and praying that their programmes will be based on national

outlook and requirements and not on Provincial basis alone. From this, we should be able to judge whether we can develop healthy national parties or not. If we can, let us have them. If not, let us try to avoid reverting to the same old system which has done us no good.

So, until a clear picture emerges in the National Assembly in this regard, it would be premature on my part and on anybody else's part to think of developing a political party which can fulfil the national requirements.

I hope I have made my position clear.

*Statement issued from Murree on 17 July 1962*

With the promulgation of the Act for the organisation and regulation of political parties, the stage is now set for a fresh start of political life in the country.

This is a crucial occasion and I hope that every effort will be made to make full use of this opportunity by taking honest and candid stock of the past, and planning for the future with realism, sagacity and statesmanship.

As a well-wisher of the country, and with my experience of administration both with and without parties, I would like to see the emergence of at least a couple of political organisations which are truly nationalistic in character, representing as wide a cross-section of people as possible from both the wings and carrying a programme based on unity, stability, development and all-round progress. I also feel that, structurally and other-

wise, such organisations should inspire public respect and confidence so that all well-wishers of the country feel encouraged to join them without the fear of internal intimidation and coercion which used to be experienced in the past.

I notice that the Muslim League is preparing to hold a convention in the near future to plan its future working and organisation. There may well be others who are thinking on similar lines.

In the first place, all well-wishers of the country who are in tune with constructive thinking should be free to make their contribution to these deliberations.

Secondly, the structural organisation should be planned carefully and scientifically. To be of any effect, a political party should start from the hard core of a village, and through a closely knit system of elections at all



what we do is identified with and made a part of the ambitions and aspirations of the people at large—unless in building the industrial and commercial structure of our society, we also participate in the emancipation of the peoples' vitality, both spiritually and economically, we shall have failed to demonstrate the validity of private enterprise. . . .

You have dealt at some length with the taxation structure of Pakistan, especially in the field of direct taxes. I am afraid that your criticism is not borne out by the facts of the situation. At the time of Independence, the territories constituting Pakistan did not have any industries worth the name. The position now is quite different.

Although we have still a long way to go, we certainly have made progress in the industrial field. This would not have been possible without the fiscal incentives which have been provided by the Government.

If you look at the budgets of the past few years, you will notice that a number of tax concessions have been provided to stimulate capital formation and investment in industries. The biggest concession which has been given by the Government is the tax holiday for new industries. Even in this year's budget, further concessions have been provided. . . .

I agree that developing economies have to face extremely difficult conditions in building up an export market and that industries in their early stages of development need adequate incentives to enable them to introduce their products in foreign markets. These incentives must, however, be of a temporary nature, for no industry can plan its future in a world of

growing competition on the basis of permanent subsidies.

Incentives to exports must not be allowed to become crutches for the industry. It is the intention of the Government to continue the Bouns Scheme so long as it continues to serve a useful purpose, but this purpose cannot be the perpetuation of inefficient and uneconomical production. I would, therefore, urge the industry to concentrate on improving the quality of their products and reducing their costs so that they may be able to plan their future with greater confidence.

I hope it is appreciated that we are meeting a substantial part of the needs of our industry through Aid imports. This cannot be allowed to become a permanent feature of our economy. Our industry must evolve determined outward-looking policies and explore all avenues of exports. Once that is done, our dependence on Aid would diminish. Nor will you have the problem of having to make imports compulsorily from the Aid-giving countries, a procedure which necessitates considerable difficulty and inconvenience. Until we are able to build up a larger pool of foreign exchange earnings, I am afraid, we will have to accept the regulations and procedures prescribed by Aid-giving countries. It is something which is beyond our control. However, we are constantly discussing with the Aid-giving agencies the possibilities of simplifying and streamlining the important procedures. . . .

In your speech you have referred to certain problems which the industry faces. First of all there is the question of the high rate of taxation. We would all be very happy if we



could do without taxation. But the point is that after all we have to generate the resources within the country to be able to run the country. And in order to be able to produce internal money to be able to match with any foreign exchange, which we get as grants and loans and so on, it is just not really possible to do away with the present level of taxation.

I must say that in that respect we have made taxation considerably more humane, whereas from such an absurd formula that if you earn a Rs. 100.00 you have to pay a Rs. 102.00 in taxation, we have to come down to a reasonable level of a Rs. 75.00 if you earn Rs. 100.00—I don't say a Rs. 100.00 but a certain level of money—I don't know what strictly it is. In some cases, people who don't keep more than one set of books do not want to earn more than that level. . . . Well, I think, the income-tax people, like the doctors, know their business men and their clients. I would advise that you keep one set of books, and I think that after a stage the income-tax authorities will get convinced that these are the right books. And I am sure that you will know your own dealings

will be much simpler and much speedier; and, to round up again, that a time may well come that as opposed to a maximum table of 75% taxation, I would like to see the thing come down to 50%. I think it might be possible to do that if you remembered that little advice of keeping one set of books.

The other day, I was called upon to fill my income-tax return. I invested my commuted pension and the little bit of money that I had and I got 25,000 rupees in dividends. A requisition was made on me to pay the income-tax authorities Rs. 21,000.00. So I told to myself: that is where my investments end, anyhow. On another occasion, I owned some property—two or three small houses which I transferred to my sons who were growing up. The Income Tax Authorities said: what was the consideration which prompted you to transfer this property? Well, when you transfer your property to your children, you don't do it for the sake of business, do you? And the answer—it would give itself. And yet this was the question I was asked. I quite agree that they can be inequitable. . . .

*Speech on the occasion of the Foundation-stone laying of the Dawood College of Engineering and Technology at Karachi on 4 August 1962*

. . . As you all know I have all along been laying great emphasis on education in general and technical education in particular. The Education Commission appointed by my Government to work out a new educational system was keenly aware of the great time-lag the country was faced with in

the field of technology, and their recommendations were designed amongst other things to remove this lag as quickly as possible.

There is no doubt that our people have great potentialities and that given proper education and training they can develop into a highly progressive



society. There is no doubt that we have also latent natural resources which are as yet untapped and which require trained and dedicated persons to develop them. What we, therefore, need is a programme which will equip our manpower to develop our national resources efficiently. Our watchword today is progress ; this is a challenge, and I sincerely hope that the nation will accept that challenge. As a self-respecting sovereign nation, we must learn to rely increasingly on our own resources. It needs hard work and a continuous development of knowledge and skills to attain this kind of self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

It is now well recognised that expenditure on education is investment in human resources ; it is an investment which is no less beneficial to those who invest than who receive it. Our Second Five-Year Plan is based on the thesis that a sound educational programme is indispensable for economic development. The Plan lays special emphasis on technical education. In accordance with the recommendations of the Commission, Government have already raised two Engineering Colleges, one each in East and West Pakistan, to the status of full-fledged Engineering Universities. This has enabled us not only to increase the number of people who get admitted and trained for the basic engineering and technical degrees but also to organise post-graduate work and research in several important branches of engineering. In addition, two new colleges of Engineering will be established during the Plan period, one at Hyderabad and the other at Rajshahi. A College of Mineral Technology will be established soon at Quetta. This superior level of technical education and re-

search would be supported at the intermediary level by a network of polytechnics and technical institutes now being laid all over the country.

Our development needs are, however, very large and there is a pressing need for public enterprise to supplement Government programme in this direction. It is, therefore, necessary that all those who are in a position to contribute towards the expansion of educational facilities should come forward and lend a helping hand. Please remember that this help on a final analysis is in the best interest of industry and trade itself. It is no less in their own interest than in the interest of the society at large that the industrialists and manufactures should help the Government to ensure a continuous stream of skilled technicians and competent engineers to plan, design, construct and maintain their factories. It is obviously not possible to ensure this supply of personnel so indispensable to industry and trade without a sufficient number of training institutions available to students with the requisite ability and aptitude. . . .

I would like to take this opportunity to say a few words about the employment opportunities to our trained personnel. It appears that Government is the principal employer of such personnel today. This situation should rapidly change. If our industry has to produce products at competitive rates, it is necessary that they must employ trained persons at various levels—scientists, engineers and technicians—and they must pay them salary scales commensurate with their qualifications and experience. Unless our technical personnel is assured of a life of dignity and useful work in our own industries, we will not be able to achieve



the objective which we have set for raising the standard of living of the people. I hope that our industries will absorb these young men in ever-increasing number. . . .

*English translation of the speech delivered on the occasion of the foundation-stone laying ceremony of Jamia Talemaat-e-Islamia, Karachi, on 3 Sept. 1962*

... The question, however, arises that if religious divines of yore could persuade the rationalists of their times and if in accordance with divine injunctions they could successfully probe into the mysteries of heaven and earth, why it is not possible today.

I feel that during the early period of Islam the rationalists and the religious divines were not so wide apart as they are today.

Science has made tremendous progress—man has not only orbited the earth but is reaching for the moon. On the other hand, religious thought has lost its original dynamism and is bogged down in the quagmire of stagnation. Actually there is no conflict between science and religion.

The only way out of this crisis, to my mind, is that our highly educated sections as well as our Ulema should, in their own way, try to find out the ultimate objective which has been lost in the welter of confused thought and both should try to understand each other's point of view and that of the scientists and in a spirit of sympathy and understanding, draw closer together and then forge ahead. This, in

fact, is the purpose of the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology. . . . May God help you in achieving this noble object.

Our country has still much leeway to make up. There is the greatest need to fall in step with scientific progress and to meet the requirements of the times. It is, therefore, essential that we should strike a healthy balance between the teachings of the Qur'an and the Sunnah and modern science so that as we progress in the field of science, we will not lose contact with our precious religious heritage.

There are not many institutions devoted to research in the field of religion and other sciences. It was, therefore, a matter of pleasure for me to know that this institution of which I have the honour to lay the foundation-stone, has undertaken to accomplish this great task. May the institution progress in accordance with these Islamic traditions.

I pray to God that those who have set themselves this virtuous task may achieve their goal not only for Pakistan but for all mankind.

*Text of the letter to Begum Zebunnisa Hamidullah, Editor, Mirror, Karachi, released on 10 October 1962*

I have seen your article published in the October number of the *Mirror*, addressed to me on political problems

facing the country. Whilst I admire your feelings and share your desire that we must have true democracy



professions. It is high time that our intellectuals made a serious effort to go beyond the confines of personal prejudices and to widen their mental horizons so as to assimilate the

advances in knowledge and learning being made by other countries. This is the only way to develop a constructive attitude to life....

*Speech at the All-Pakistan Lawyers' Convention held at the High Court premises, Dacca, on 23 December 1962*

... For some time to come even in this modern scientific age lawyers undoubtedly will play a leading part in running the country and whereas in the past the knowledge of law was perhaps sufficient to give guidance in certain matters like running the State and so on, activities of the State and the community today in this world have become so large, so diversified and so scientific that to those of you who have ambition to enter political life I will plead that you may give this matter your thought and try to prepare yourself in matters outside your legal profession which are just as important for the welfare of the community as a basic requirement of law.

There are always two parties to a dispute. The dispute might be between man and man or between man and the State. When such a dispute requires adjudication by a court or a tribunal no matter that a counsel has been briefed or engaged by a party it should be his duty to assist a just determination of the case. I should be pardoned for overemphasising that the principal duty of the counsel is to the court where he appears so that the court is assisted to determine the case before it justly and in accordance with law. A party's counsel should do his utmost to present the case of his client fairly and clearly. But in his zeal to earn the estimation of his client he

should never sacrifice the ends of justice. A lawyer ought to be an asset to the administration of justice and it is not his office to clog or subvert, impede or subvert the course of justice with the ulterior object of safeguarding only the interests of his client.

Like all other specialists, lawyers are entitled to remuneration for their services in so far as they represent their clients. There is a growing feeling that the more competent lawyers are becoming prohibitive in regard to their charges. Such a tendency wherever it exists brings no credit to your profession. Justice is the right of the poor and the rich alike. I would plead that lawyers should be more charitable in the matter of fees which they demand or charge from those who invoke their aid in distress. It is one of the noblest traditions of your profession to assist the securing of justice to the needy no matter that all of them cannot pay the exorbitant legal remuneration. Let it not be said that remedial justice which is so dependent on adequate legal assistance is a luxury which only the rich clients can afford. I would like to see Bar Association develop free legal aid societies which would assist the destitute litigants.

In this context it would be appreciated that even the fiscal policy of the State makes exceptions in favour



of the poor who cannot pay court fees, etc. If the State can make concession for providing remedial justice to the poor the Bar ought to contribute by making available at least cheap legal aid if not free legal aid....

In the concluding part of your address you have talked about a feeling for democratisation of the Constitution. I would crave your indulgence to consider the matter not merely from a Lawyer's point of view who is over-impressed by the image of the abrogated Constitution. Our Constitution is essentially democratic and Presidential in pattern. It ensures that the State would exercise its power and authority through representatives chosen by the people. It guarantees the protection of law to all and *inter alia* declares that no action detrimental to the life, liberty, body, reputation or property of any person shall be taken except in accordance with law. Since the inauguration of the Constitution no law has been made which is repugnant to any basic human right. Even our preventive law is more liberal and humane than all previous laws which were enforced and employed by Parliamentary Governments. Today in Pakistan there is the least number of political detenus. I dare say that today there is more individual liberty and specially there is greater freedom of expression in the country than the regimes of predecessor Governments. The Constitution ought to be given a fair trial, otherwise you will put yourselves in great jeopardy, I assure you. In any

case, it is not sacrosanct and like all other good constitutions it embodies institutions whereby it can be amended. But may I have a word of caution and say that every amendment should not be confused with progress. I can also assure you that I will go along with any amendment that takes note of our circumstances and conditions and has for its aim the unity, stability, progress and the strength of the country. We have embarked on a new phase of life—development in all aspects of life—and we are very hopeful that, given this rate of progress, the country will be able to overcome most of its problems within foreseeable future. Therefore, let us ensure that we do not do anything that retards this progress. So our policies, our thinking and actions should be geared to this end.

Also momentous events are taking place around us. These are bound to affect our safety and security. We, therefore, have to be very vigilant and cautious. We cannot afford to fritter away our energies in any form of internal strife. Politics there has to be in the country but let it be clear and constructive.

Look at what is happening in India. As a result of mere border dispute, state of emergency has been declared in the whole of the country and justiciability of fundamental rights suspended. What is the meaning of that? It is that the safety and security of the State takes precedence over all other things.



*English translation of the message broadcast to the Nation on the occasion of Quaid-i-Azam's Birthday Anniversary from Radio Pakistan, Dacca, on 24 December 1962*

When Pakistan came into being this was the only country in the world which was divided in two parts separated by a distance of over a thousand miles. If you go from Chittagong to the Khyber you will meet people speaking different languages, with different racial strands and of varied colours. Till this day, many of our foes and even some of our friends wonder how, under these circumstances, can we be a nation. No doubt, this phenomenon would have been impossible, had Pakistan owed its existence to any political, material or regional arrangements. Instead, Pakistan came into being on the basis of an ideology which does not believe in differences of colour, race or language. It is immaterial whether you are a Bengali or a Sindhi, a Baluchi or a Pathan or a Punjabi—we all are knit together by the bond of Islam. *Insha Allah*, there shall be no weakening in the unity of our ranks so long as we hold fast to this bond. But here I must sound a note of warning. God forbid, if once we permitted ourselves to go astray from the right path there is no knowing where we will end up.

We need unity. We need stability. We need tranquillity. We need to progress so that we could hold fast to our ideology. Not through words but through deeds alone can we hope to attain these objectives. And such heroic deeds demand intense hard work, complete sincerity and a high sense of self-sacrifice.

For the last four or five years I have been trying my best to stimulate all such activities as would help

unite the nation and strengthen the country so that new vistas of progress and prosperity are opened before us. With the help of God and the willing co-operation of all of you, we have succeeded in our efforts to a great extent. But our real goal is still far from us. The path of national reconstruction is long and hard and is strewn with internal difficulties and external dangers. We shall have to work in complete unison, with all the sincerity and honesty at our command in order to effectively meet the challenge of these difficulties and dangers. It is quite possible that personal or political differences may creep up amongst us, but any differences which affect the fundamental ideological basis of Pakistan will not be tolerated. Political and party differences should also remain within the legitimate bounds.

They do not serve their country at all who dwell upon personal or political differences and thus agitate the masses with the sole purpose of achieving their selfish ends. I would earnestly appeal to them not to let their political tussle degenerate into anti-national activities and for Heaven's sake not to include in their political armoury the young students. They are the precious wealth, the hope and the future of the nation. We are spending a good deal of our resources—the parents and the Government—on their education. If the students are misdirected, and are led away from their real goal, it would be a great national calamity and a great injustice to the coming



generations....

*English rendering of the speech delivered in Urdu at Campbellpur on  
25 April 1963*

... This country, at the moment, is passing through a crucial period of its history. One would expect that all those who have any love and sympathy for their country will jointly make a supreme effort to solve the country's internal and external problems. After four or five years of Martial Law period, it was expected that those who had created confusion in the country and had brought it to the brink of ruination would reconsider their past conduct and behaviour and revise their policy. If they found they could not render any help they would at least desist from blocking the progress of the country in view of the critical situation that obtains in the world today. But unfortunately it is not so. All those who are well-intentioned people are not making a common platform and those who are out to create confusion have found a free field for their nefarious activities. I feel sorry for the country....

Where a democracy functions it follows that there would be criticism of the governmental activities. But this criticism should be constructive, and should be for the good of the country. If somebody has a solution for the betterment of the lot of the people he has a right to bring it to the notice of the people. If one finds anything going wrong one should take people into confidence and suggest measures to rectify the wrong. Unfortunately, there are some people

who think otherwise. Instead of leading the people on the right path they are out to mislead them. Perhaps, they know what they are doing but they are guided by their own selfish interests....

There are some people who are criticising the present Constitution. These are those old politicians who indulge in politics either as a profession or as a hobby. They all had their chance to organise the affairs of the country on sound lines but they all failed. Instead they added to the miseries of the people....

If there was rule by rod or one-man rule in this country, what was the object of lifting the Martial Law? Where was the necessity of a Constitution? What was the fun in convening Assemblies? What was the compulsion in conferring wide powers on judiciary?...

Had there been a desire to establish one-man rule in the country, Martial Law would not have been lifted at all, particularly when a majority of the people was actually annoyed at the lifting of the Martial Law. Am I right or not?...

This country does not belong to one person or a family. A kingship or one-man rule could have no place in this country. There is bound to be democracy in this country but this democracy will be of the type which people can understand and work. When this is our objective, the sooner the people learn to take charge of



their own affairs, the better it is. . . .

It is also baseless to say that I have framed a Constitution to perpetuate my rule. You know there will be elections after three years. I do not know whether people will elect me or somebody else. People will be free to choose as they like. If I had an intention to foist myself on the people, I could have seen that elections are held after at least five years, if not more. Of these three years, there are only two years to go. There will be elections throughout the country. . . . It will be up to the people to elect whomsoever they like as President. My only wish is and, I think, I share this wish with all Pakistanis, that whoever is elected our President should be a useful person who should be able to think for the country on sound lines and guide them properly. We all should like such a person to have warm feelings for the country so that he should be able to do something to lessen the difficulties the country faces. . . .

As for corruption, it could not be uprooted from the society totally even by the best efforts of the inspired people of all religions. In so far as the present Government is concerned it never failed to amend any existing law which could be made more effective in dealing with the malady. Under the law of the land both the one who offers and the one who accepts a bribe are guilty of an actionable offence. We have amended the law in view of the fact that the one who offers a bribe very often does so under duress. Now it is up to the society not to tolerate such people. The more education spreads and the sense of responsibility in the common man increases, the sooner corruption

will disappear. . . .

As far as I can see, the foremost thing is to evolve ourselves into a true Muslim nation and to keep alive the Islamic spirit. We have also to take into consideration that the world has shrunk to a great extent and the means of communications have become so speedy that no country can now live in complete isolation. This means that while we want to remain true Muslims, we also want, at the same time, to become a progressive nation in the true sense. How can this be brought about?

Firstly, our faith should be sound, but at the same time we should be permitted to make use of our mental faculties along with our faith.

Secondly, we should no longer continue to live a non-scientific and non-technical life as we did in the past. We have to pull down walls around us to let in scientific knowledge to enrich our lives, if we wish to become a progressive nation.

Thirdly, we have to establish a free and democratic society in which people's rights are safe and secure and they are alive to their responsibilities. Free society and democracy can hardly work without a sense of responsibility and freedom.

Fourthly, we have to develop our country's resources in such a manner as to enable all classes of people to share equally the benefits of development and to better their lot. Moreover, in the industrial sector we have to see that all people get equal opportunities and the entire wealth of the country is not concentrated in a few hands.

If this happens, it will naturally create a gulf between the haves and the have-nots. But here I must tell



you that in the developed countries, and even in the Communist countries, the Governments did allow the moneyed people to make money in the first instance. For, unless capital formation takes place, there can be no material progress in the country. But it is difficult to allow this for all times, that the same person is allowed to own an industry, an insurance company and a bank, all at the same time.

These matters are already under consideration of the Government. We have to think how far we can allow private enterprise to play its part unhampered and at the same time to induct as many newcomers as possible in the field of economic development.

Finally, we have to move more in the direction of a Welfare State with the development of our resources. We shall have to provide for the subsistence of the indigent and the invalid, of the orphans and widows. At present our per capita national income comes to about Rs. 350 per annum. A country with such a meagre per capita income can hardly afford the amenities provided in developed European countries.

But till the Government or the State is in a position to do so, it is the duty of our people that, instead of distributing charities individually, they should collect them on Union Council basis. Then the accumulated amount should be spent on helping the needy and those whose lives can be bettered by such help.

It is no doubt the duty of the Government to help as many deserving people as possible but the society has also the duty to ensure that our charities are well spent and not wasted as happens now. For example, if

someone dies, money is spent lavishly on feeding the people who come to offer their condolences. For this purpose, people run into debt, simply because they want to excel a certain Malik living in the same area.

For God's sake, put this money to a better use. Spend it on orphans, widows and destitutes, not on individuals but in a collective manner. It will be thus effective and the expenditure will be justified.

If, as you say, today you are not able to come across such a Constitution, at least this is the spirit on which we have framed it in our own way.

By acting in this manner, we can mould our lives as true Muslims and find a place amongst developed and strong nations. We can thus consolidate our society, can remove our difficulties and face our enemies. So far as we are concerned our country is surrounded by enemies. Those who love the country will agree with me that creating disruption in the country amounts to suicide. Every one of us should work with the object of uniting the nation so that we become Muslims in true sense and find a place among progressive nations. If you would follow this path and unite, God would help you. But if you fail to do so remember the Law of God is irrevokable and God's Book clearly states that "He helps only those who help themselves." It should be remembered that nothing can be achieved by sitting idle or merely depending on prayers. We can chieve progress only by striving hard. If someone advises you contrary to these facts he is not your friend. You must be bold enough to tell such advisers that they are not your friends and they are misleading you....



*A summary of the reply to the address of welcome presented by the Director of Islamic Academy, Dacca, at a reception in the Academy premises, on 8 May 1963*

... There is a universal demand in Pakistan that our State should be Islamic State. They say it should run on Islamic values. While still moving with the times, there was another thing which was worrying my mind and that was that the gulf between the educated intelligentsia and the masses will grow as it is growing today. Whenever this gulf grows, a dangerous situation arises and an imbalance takes place in the structure of society. Where such a situation exists, you cannot have stability. The third thing that tormented my mind was the fact that how was it that Islam which when it came was regarded as most revolutionary gospel that was produced for mankind and its guidance flourished for two or three hundred years, and, therefore, it stagnated and it stagnated to such an extent that the Muslims today, from amongst those who are cultured and civilised people, are the most backward communities in the world. What is it that went wrong? Something must have gone wrong.

These were the things that, as I said before, were tormenting my mind. First of all, how we can give our lives an Islamic bent and at the same time move with the times because if you fail in that effort you will be left behind and will be isolated. The other was how to bridge the gap between the educated and the uneducated masses. Thirdly, what was it that has gone wrong that has left the Islamic communities as the backward communities? These are the things, as I said, that kept on tormenting my

mind and I asked myself what is it that I can do as a human being, as an ordinary human being, to assist my people to resolve these problems. One thing, which I think, after a little reflection comes quite clearly to one's mind is that somehow or the other we missed that spirit of our philosophy. It had gone past us somehow or the other. We did not get hold of its real kernel, otherwise we would not have been in the state in which we are. The point was that what it is that, be that as it may, we are to do now in order to catch that spirit again. By catching that spirit I mean that we should be spiritual beings and at the same time be able to move with this world of science and technology. When I came to this conclusion the answer did not lie in producing decrees and laws or laying down any code by a single individual. But the answer lay in stimulating thought-processes of our people. To find an answer to this dilemma in which we are, it is the task of the community as a whole. To find an answer, to find a solution to these problems, to assist them, what I could do and did do was to make religious instructions compulsory up to a certain standard, to eighth standard, thereafter, provide facilities for higher studies of religion for those interested in it. Above all, I felt that it was necessary to have a band of learned people of different shades of opinion who are interested in religious affairs to get together in a statutory manner so that the community is reminded of their existence and they are duty-bound to



give fresh thought to problems, identify the basis of our philosophy and advise us how best in the present circumstances that philosophy could be applied. And that was the basis on which the Islamic Guidance Body was set up. I think that experiment is a unique experiment in the history of any Muslim country. In it we have traditional Ulema, thinkers, religious thinkers, philosophers and jurists. They will have the right to call such experts, say in economic spheres or any other sphere, to seek their advice and all that backed up with the Islamic Research Centre's own findings. And recommendations should go before the Legislature who are the representatives of the community and it should really accept and what is that they will not accept. After all what you accept, what you follow, is dependent on your horizon, depth of your thought, your vision, your strength of character and so many things—a perfectly sound truth.

The community may not be yet ready to accept and follow. Therefore any enforcement by force would not have been correct. So that, I felt, was the real way of serving the people, to understand the philosophy of their religion and then applying it to worldly affairs. Have a free hand and a free discussion and with their eyes open decide which course they are to take in order to resolve certain problems that confront them. Now the base for this body is the Islamic Research Centre and its subordinate bodies, the Islamic Academy at Dacca and another body at Lahore. We hope that through this method, where we can get hold of researchers who will apply their minds originally to finding out the real kernel of the

philosophy—How was it practised? How was it envisaged? What was its depth? What sort of flexibility it had in its application to mould life? That sort of process has already started, although in a humble way, and a certain amount of literature has been produced. The object of it all really is that we want to ensure that our educated community do not run away from religion and there is no need to run away from it. Once you begin to understand it you will begin to like it.

One hears a lot about Islam having been spread by force and so on and so forth. But I believe that this religion was spread through the example of what a good Muslim should be and that attracted people towards them. Take the example of your own part of the world, East Pakistan. Just imagine how difficult had been the communication situation at the time when Islam came to this part. How difficult it must have been to travel from one place to another. And yet people came, established themselves in places like Sylhet and others and millions of people accepted their gospel. One often wonders how is it that people got attracted to this philosophy. It is the basic attraction of the equality and brotherhood which is the real reason for a great mass of humanity to be attracted towards Islam and you can see that phenomenon occurring in Africa today. Ten years ago, nobody could have believed the pace at which the African countries are getting free today. There are very few people who are not free. They have found their freedom. What they have not found is the equality with the other races that ruled them and you will be surprised to know that,



in its wake a host of problems crying for solution, requiring men of vision, courage and experience.

Barring the Quaid-i-Azam and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, who were lost in the early stages, there was an utter dearth of such men. Those who came after them were weaklings, lacking a spirit of dedication and mission and qualities of leadership. These men failed miserably and the country came to the verge of political and economic ruination. Everything seemed to be crumbling. Even the existence of the State was in doubt.

In October 1958, Revolution came with a definite mission of saving the country from disintegration, carrying out basic reforms and putting the country on the path of progress. A good deal has been achieved within a short period of time, but a great deal more has to be done, which in brief can be described as building of the Nation and building of the country. This was the task that our past rulers should have applied their minds to and this is the task that lies ahead of us.

Based on the above requirements, I have tried to keep the following as my guide line :

- (a) Take such steps in religious, educational, social, economic and other field as would bring about unity of thought and action amongst the people. Make them take pride in their homeland and its achievements and bring about self-respect, self-reliance, and a sense of responsibility and discipline.
- (b) Build a society with spiritual, moral and civic sense capable of moving with the modern

age.

- (c) Encourage such activities as will enable us to enter the age of science and technology within the shortest possible time.
- (d) Encourage industrialisation to the maximum extent possible and modernise agriculture so as to get the maximum benefit from our lands. Remove economic disparities wherever possible.
- (e) Take such measures as will enable the benefits of developments to be shared by as many people as possible.
- (f) To do that, take steps to see that whilst private enterprise is encouraged, undue accumulation of wealth is not allowed in a few hands.
- (g) Establish Islamic political ideology, social justice and economic order and move in the direction of a Welfare State in accordance with the resources of the country.
- (h) Meanwhile, encourage people to regulate charities on a local, collective and rational basis so as to take care of the needy and deserving.
- (i) Stand by the solemn promise to assist the people of Jammu and Kashmir to attain their freedom.
- (j) Conduct foreign relations in a manner that will gain us friends and ensure the maximum security and development of the country.

Since the passage of the Political Parties Act, the Muslim League Party have supported my programme within



and without the legislature and have been quite naturally expecting me to join their party so as to fill a political vacuum to ensure stability in the country. There have been individual and collective expressions of this desire, culminating in the formal offer by the chief Central and Provincial organisers.

I accept this offer gratefully and join the party as a two-anna member

both from East and West Pakistan with the prayer that this action of mine will be of some assistance to the cause of the country.

Whilst doing so, I want to make it clear that in my capacity as President everyone will continue to get fairplay and justice irrespective of his party affiliation and I hope that all patriots will support me in rightful causes.

*Reply to Address of Welcome by the Rawalpindi Bar Association on  
16 July 1963*

... It has been the policy of this Government to see that justice is dispensed in this country ordinarily by the ordinary course of law, and wherever a departure has been made it has been made on account of the paramount consideration of making justice inexpensive, speedy and readily available to the poor classes. You are all aware that we are not a rich people.... And in this state of affairs, when most of the litigants can... ill-afford the luxury of expensive litigation, it was found necessary in the larger interest of the country to bring into being the Conciliation Courts consisting of representatives of the people and to associate the people with the dispensation of justice to their fellow-citizens.

This achieved the two-fold object of not only giving litigation a superior course but also of making it as inexpensive as possible, providing that counsels shall not appear in such petty matters before the Conciliation Courts. The matters within the jurisdiction of these courts are so trifling

and the sentences which these courts are empowered to impose are so meagre that the expense involved in the association of learned counsels in these proceedings is bound to knock the very bottom out of the utilitarian nature of these courts. May I tell you another thing that amongst the many reforms that were introduced in the country, the one I was very keen to introduce was the legal reform. Not being a legal expert myself, I always ask myself as to what sort of shape our legal courts should take. And I think, to determine that, it would be just as well to look on one's past and one's history. Had the British not come in our country, just realise yourself, what sort of legal system would have obtained in this country. I think our legal system would have been more in the tune with the circumstances, with the temperament and with the conditions of the people.

Now I thought that we have to have legal reforms. The legal reforms should be such that they will enable



our history to run its natural course, which was interrupted through the occupation of a foreign power for two hundred years or so. In theory, a very admirable theory, but in practice, we are used to the British legal system and we cannot entirely ignore it. However, our people will never get complete satisfaction, and will never have faith in this system, unless it is brought in conformity with the circumstances and with their temperament, their past, their history, their ideology and so on. And we thought that this is the first step. The very basic step, that we could take, was to make conciliation available to the people within their environments, in order to reduce litigation, to reduce unnecessary expenses and unnecessary wastage of time so that people could have more time to devote to more purposeful activity. I, unfortunately, had not enough time to go into the entire legal laws and they are very extensive.

Certain people have certain very drastic views. The Constitution was introduced at a stage when we were just in the beginning or just in the middle of considering these measures and we were not able to enforce the type of laws, the type of system that we should really follow.

So far as I am aware, there is nothing in the present Constitution which is against the Islamic concept and, in fact, it is based on that. It is designed to bring about an Islamic way of life in the country. It cannot be done by pressing a button or switching on a light. It is a time-absorbing factor. It takes time to change the mentality of the people in order to be able to make them live a certain way of life. It has to be a

slow process through education, through environmental conditions, through associations and through the change of general outlook. I do not think anyone has the power to change all of a sudden this concept, past concept, and bring it to what you might call "Islamic concept." It is a time-absorbing thing but we have done all in order to enable people to lead that type of life; that is, to be able to live in this world as modern human beings and, at the same time, have fear of God and a standard of morality as a basis for their conduct and relationship with one other.

In order that we have laws conforming to the Islamic concept, we have set up the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology. Its main object really is that we must have our laws based on Islamic principles. Again, it is a time-absorbing thing; you cannot all of a sudden ask for your laws to be turned into Islamic laws. There are thousands and thousands of laws. In order to produce them, it has taken at least a couple of centuries. In order to revise them, in order to mould them into a different fashion, it is again going to be a time-absorbing thing. And this is a question that was asked in the National Assembly and the answer given was this that there are three ways of doing it. Either any member who has any idea should bring up his idea before the House, convince them, and then have the laws amended in that fashion. The other is, the Government too should do something. Although our Law Department is extremely busy with so much to do, yet one of its functions is to see that our life is moulded through the legal system in the



Islamic direction. They too can help.

But the basic body, the body whose function it is to advise the society, advise the Government how to mould the laws into Islamic fashion, is the Islamic Guidance Body which has been created for this particular purpose. On that we have got four *Ulema*, four judges—all Muslim philosophers—backed by a very good Research Institution. I do not think you can do anything better than that. But I think, as time goes on, I have no doubt in my mind that institution will begin to make its presence felt and have an effect on our legal system. And, I think, our legal system will begin to take the turn that we want it to take. But there is no method of doing this normous task in a matter of moments or anything like that. . . .

We are a developing country. What is the meaning of a developing country? We have been a subject country with the result that our life has not been dynamic; our life has not been progressive, and we became a stagnant society. Education was limited as well as enlightenment and awakening and, all of a sudden, we found ourselves independent. A country of some 100 million now; it has to run itself. It has got its internal and external problems. It can only progress if it gets rid of its past, bad and evil practices and social customs and level the ground for further advancement of the society as a whole. And the meaning of that is that you have got to bring in certain reforms to be able to do so. The meaning of reform is that you have to hurt some vested interests. Take land reforms, or the settlement scheme that we brought in and so many other things. If you

judge those measures purely from the standard of fundamental rights and so on and so forth, they will have no place, and no court will go along with those laws. If you want to do away with them, we can introduce justiciability of fundamental rights. But the meaning of that will be that it is the rich man who will stop the society from progress. It is the rich man who will go to the higher courts and say that by bringing in such and such reforms, these people are going to hurt my personal interests. This is what is going to happen.

It is not to deny the people the right to get justice or to stop the excesses of the Government. But how could it be the right of a few individuals to stop the progress of society? At the same time, the fundamental rights have been enshrined in the Constitution in the form of principles of lawmaking so that the law-makers, when they are making this law, are aware of these essentials. You could read them and they are very noble ones. Even if 50 per cent of those laws are carried out, you would not be doing too badly. So we thought, in order not to stop the progress of the country, let your Legislature be the judge, shall we say, of the enforcement of fundamental rights and ensuring that our laws conform to those rights. So it is the function of the Executive, too. After all, any executive that exists in this country—it is not a Government of foreigners—belongs to Pakistanis; they are your brethren. If they are doing their job, they are doing it for the good of the people—if there is any good at all. So why should they bring in any law that



hurts the society, their pride or their self-respect or their human rights or anything like that? Why should they? What good will they get out of it? They cannot. At the same time, if you make everything justiciable, well, then you might as well pack up....

Now this business of separating the Judiciary from the Executive keeps on cropping up. I do not know much about it really. I do not know where the shoe pinches, because even in Districts, you have your "Munsifs" and your Sub-Judges and so on and so forth. There are, I believe, a certain number of Magistrates who perform dual functions, Executive functions as well as Judicial functions. I believe there is a scheme that West Pakistan people are considering; I think the East Pakistan people too will give this matter a thought and some sort of arrangement will be

evolved, whereby I hope the Magistrates who do the judicial work will continue to do so and yet be considered for promotion in the same cadre. If you reduce the Magistrates' number too much, then that cadre becomes very small and their chances of promotion are limited. There are certain administrative difficulties in that. But how any injustice is done to anybody, I do not know. As I say, I am not an expert on this thing, but this is a thing that keeps on worrying people. I know that the legal profession keeps on demanding it. On the other hand, if you talk to the Administrators, they say it is the most fatal thing to do and your District Administration will come to a halt and utter chaos. Where the truth lies, I do not know; I am no expert, but after having this thing examined, I hope something will come out. . . .

*English rendering of the Speech delivered in Urdu at the opening ceremony of Jamia Islamia at Bahawalpur on 9 October 1963*

... Pakistan was established on the basis of religion. We demanded Pakistan for the preservation of our religion and culture, and Allah, in His bounty, granted us the boon of Pakistan.

Our people are perhaps the most religious-minded in the Muslim world. But modern education and enlightenment are spreading day by day. In the last century, our so-called religious scholars thought that safety for Islam lay in depriving the Muslims of the knowledge of English and the new sciences. If, however, Islam is the true religion of Allah and its principles are correct and everlasting,

then Islam does not stand in danger from modern education or new ideas. It is the coward and the liar who is afraid. The truth, or those who are on the side of the truth, should not be afraid of the advent of new sciences or new ideas.

It is not the correct way to combat new science and new ideas by confining ourselves within the limitations of our knowledge and keeping away from all outside influences. The correct way is that we should study the new sciences and new ideas. Our religion ordains that we accept a good thing, wherever it may be found, and whatever is wrong, we



must counter it and prove that it is wrong.

There is nothing in the Qur'an and the Sunnah which stands in danger from the new sciences or the new ideas. But if some religious scholar (like the religious scholars of our time) gave some ruling or *fatwa* some centuries back which, in the changed circumstances of today, does not appear to be correct to us now, then we should not be afraid of following the path which appears to be right today. The Qur'an repeatedly appeals that we should make use of our own reason and intellect. The Holy Prophet himself opened the gateway of *Ijtihad*.

If we act narrow-mindedly and follow the beaten track, then future generations will stray away from Islam in the same manner as the Western nations have gone astray from their religions. I even see signs that this process has already started.

Therefore, it is the moral, national and even religious duty of our religious scholars that they should prove the everlasting and true principles of Islam, as such, by applying them to the needs and requirements of the

present day. The only result of uncompromising adherence to trivialities or outmoded ideas which do not hold good now due to the change in the times, would be that future generations would become irreligious and Godless.

Islam is a religion of progress. We all know what phenomenal progress the companions of the Prophet made simply by acting on the principles of Islam. Coming of a violent and uncivilised society, they not only became the most civilised people of the time but also came to be known as experts in arts, literature and science and as leaders of thought. Why is it, then, that the followers of the same Islam are backward and unprogressive today? Obviously, we are not following in the footsteps of the companions of the Prophet. We have abandoned the fundamentals of Islam and consider minor points of Islamic jurisprudence as Islam. It is, therefore, imperative that the true spirit of Islam should once again be inculcated in the nation and it should not be ignored and replaced by rituals. . . .

*First of the month Broadcast to the Nation from Rawalpindi  
on 1 November 1963*

... I have respect for honest politicians. I have the highest respect for religion and the men of religion. But I cannot respect men who exploit religion to seize political power. That is open exploitation and debasement of religion. This is the greatest of sins. How can such people claim to be pious—nay, to have the monopoly

of piety? Is it piety to indulge in political intrigues, false and malicious statements and other malpractices? Is it virtuous to cause disruption and unrest in the country to serve personal and political ends? Is it virtuous to find fault with other people's religion and morals, when one's own moral standards are questionable? Is it



virtuous to play the game of the enemy of your country by causing distrust and unrest when the enemy without is sharpening his knife ?

Our people are the most religious-minded in the world. But, at the same time, they are simple and trusting. In the name of religion, they will accept anything. Seeing this opportunity to exploit, unscrupulous people do not hesitate to use the name of religion to gain their political and personal objectives. I appeal to them not to exploit and mislead our simple and trusting people. And I appeal to our people not to let themselves be exploited in the name of religion. However, to save oneself from exploitation does not mean that people should take the law into their own hands. The exploiters should not be listened to. Or, if the differences have to be resolved, it should be done peacefully through discussion

and persuasion. Violence should not be resorted to, nor will it be tolerated by the Government.

Political power, it is said by the politicians in the garb of religion, is necessary to enforce Islamic standards. In their mad hunger for political power, these people do not realise that they inadvertently support the critics and enemies of Islam who said that Islam was the religion of the sword. There is no greater injustice to this religion for peace which spread and worked wonders in human reform always through persuasion and not compulsion. Islam is the only religion which says "there is no compulsion in religion." So those who want political power to enforce religion are doing no service to Islam. And those who listen to such people, in spite of their known intentions to gain political power in the name of religion, are amazingly naive.

*English rendering of the speech delivered at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the Urdu College Building in Karachi on 12 May 1964*

... Our own language can be the best medium of instruction. But for this purpose, that language should have a rich and varied vocabulary so that it could serve as the medium of imparting education. In times of yore, when the people were confined to their own areas, it was but natural that regional and tribal languages should grow up. But with the passage of time, there had been an increased intermixing of people and it became imperative that they should have a national language to understand one another. Under our special circumstances, we have got two national languages. Although

both the languages share a large number of common or similar words, still most of the words differ. That is the reason why English language is generally used as the medium of communication between the two provinces.

There is yet another reason which is that English is becoming an international language under the force of circumstances. The world is fast shrinking. Posts, telegraphs, telephones and aeroplanes have annihilated distances and the human race is assuming the shape of one family. International trade and political re-



lations and other contacts are becoming so frequent that millions of people from one country visit other countries every day. In such circumstances, the growth of an international language is inevitable and it appears that the English language may assume that role. . . .

It is an age of science and technology and the West has left us far behind in these respects. Apart from the progress already made in science and learning, every day new discoveries are coming to light, new branches of science are sprouting forth and new chapters are being added to knowledge and it is generally the English language through which we acquaint ourselves with them. . . .

I doubt very much if we have reached a stage where we could afford to abandon English and make Urdu the medium of instruction for various sciences. . . .

I am not very happy with the few Urdu translations of scientific words that I have come across so far because I find that, due to the absence of those words in Urdu, either difficult Arabic and Persian words were adopted or new words were coined which are hardly understandable. If we can borrow words from Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit or Hindi, I see no reason why we cannot adopt English words as such. . . .

Urdu language is composed of words from different languages and it goes to its credit that it is the product of flexibility, broadmindedness and large-heartedness. If in the past, it could absorb words from Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Sanskrit as well as innumerable English words, there is no harm if English terms and

phrases are adopted for teaching various sciences and alien subjects. This will obviate the necessity of learning the terms of two or more languages. For instance, the word "atom" is now commonly used but its Urdu translation is known to no more than a few.

I think that our love or affection for our national languages should not make us oblivious of the fact that is a very difficult and complicated problem to decide whether any language is capable of becoming a medium of instruction for the teaching of present day sciences and arts. Only experts can tackle this problem. Any and every person is not competent to pronounce his verdict just for the love of the language.

It were these very sentiments that led to the adoption of Hindi in our neighbouring country where Sanskrit words are being stuffed into it. The result is that an artificial language is being created which is unintelligible to the Indians themselves. Any hasty steps taken in this regard can lead to the creation of a new and artificial language, which may become unpopular and decadent due to its artificiality and foisting of difficult words, and may wither away like some other languages. It is, therefore, a complex and difficult problem which should be solved only after a very careful examination of all the aspects. The care or affection or ties for a language should not be allowed to warp our judgment. For example, doctors and engineers who will have their education in Urdu, would hardly get employment anywhere and will not be able to participate in international conferences, etc.

Then, before adopting Urdu as



the medium of instruction for modern sciences, it would be desirable to consider the question of its script as well. The *Nastaliq* script, pretty though it looks, was in vogue during the days when calligraphists could afford to take their own time in writing out the text. In those good old days, everybody had ample time at his disposal. Now speed is the order of the day. These are the days of typewriters and quick printing. It is not easy to invent *Nastaliq* typewriter whereas modern printing is easy. A calligraphist, preparing the manuscript sitting for hours together and then its going through the printing press is not in conformity with the present-day requirements. In olden days, just one or a few copies of a manuscript were enough whereas in modern times, we require copies in millions.

In view of these difficulties it is imperative to consider why we should not adopt Arabic *Naskh* script in place of the Persian *Nastaliq*.

Typewriters are available in this script and likewise modern printing is also feasible with this script. All the Arab countries are pressing this script into service. In our country too, children are taught the Holy Qur'an in this script. That is why he first learns *Naskh* and then has also to learn *Nastaliq*. There is, therefore,

no reason why we should not adopt the Qur'anic script for Urdu also. This will facilitate the reading of Urdu by the people of Arab countries.

Experiments so far carried out on printing Urdu in *Naskh* were not pursued as a result of the bravura of the conservatives against it. It is true that it is difficult to give up what one is used to, but may I ask if these people would, God forbid, like to write the Qur'an in *Nastaliq*. This can never be. If we can read the revealed Book in *Naskh*, what is the harm in reading Urdu in that script? I feel that the critics will, in the course of a few years, become habituated to *Naskh* script. Let us, therefore, go ahead with this script.

There are at least four scripts in our country at the moment, namely, English, Bengali, *Nastaliq* Urdu and the Qur'anic script. If we adopt the Qur'anic script for Urdu and Bengali, this will not only bring down the number of scripts to two but will also facilitate the learning of Bengali for West Pakistanis and the learning of Urdu for East Pakistanis. Sentiments aside, if we consider this proposal dispassionately, we will find that it has many advantages and will, *Insha Allah*, lead to national integration and understanding. . . .



# 3

## Foreign Policy

*Speech at a public meeting held in Karachi on 25 December 1958*

THE structure of our foreign policy is based on the fundamental needs of our country. We adhere to the United Nations on the basis of the principles enunciated in the Charter and for the purpose of securing world peace and international justice. We abhor colonialism in all forms and shapes, and regard its continuance as a threat to peace. While we aim at having friendly relations with all countries, we want to cultivate close

friendship with Muslim countries and particularly with those in the Near East and the Middle East as we are bound to them by unbreakable religious and cultural ties. We need friends for our security; we shall hold fast to those we have and we shall seek new friends because the more friends we have the better it is for our country. We shall stand by our commitments and prove that we are steady, dependable friends. . . .

*Extracts from the speech at Marshal Tito's luncheon in Belgrade on 13 January 1961*

Pakistan's foreign policy is based on simple fundamentals. We seek cordial relations with all countries and are willing to collaborate with them to the fullest extent in the promotion of international amity and harmony as stated by the Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. We believe in the principles of honesty and fairplay in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost

contribution for the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter.

This shows that although we may differ in approach to some international issues, our purposes and objectives are essentially the same.



We fully share your apprehensions over the situations prevailing in the Congo and Laos. We believe that colonialism in all its forms, whether classical or modern, not only constitutes a danger to peace but is also a violation of the human spirit. We unreservedly and categorically condemn it.

On our part, we have welcomed the emergence of the newly liberated countries and have offered them our sincere friendship. We look forward to the time when the last subject nation will have shaken off trammels of bondage. We are fully conscious of the annihilatory power of modern weapons and regard general and complete disarmament as an imperative of peace.

We also attribute great importance to the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and to a permanent cessation of the tests with such weapons. We are also in agreement with you regarding the necessity of urgently bridging the economic gap between the developed and underdeveloped countries of the world. In the interest of world peace, and for the benefit of mankind, we believe that aid should be given either by bilateral arrangement which should

have no political or other connotations, or, as suggested by you, through the United Nations.

There is such a wide measure of agreement between Yugoslavia and Pakistan on a variety of international problems and above all we are joined together in our mutual desire to work for peace and the happiness of the people of this world.

Pakistan, like Yugoslavia, was facing many of the problems that Yugoslavia has successfully overcome. At the time of independence, Pakistan received her full share of the legacy of colonial rule—poverty, illiteracy and moral confusion.

After a promising start under the two great leaders, the Quaid-i-Azam and the Quaid-i-Millat, the country faltered in its attempts to work a political system, which it did not fully understand, under a leadership which was by no means of the first quality. The economy of the country deteriorated and the moral fibre of the people was weakened. But in the last two years of the Revolutionary Government, we have attempted to the best of our ability to make up for the lost time and to create a clean pattern for the progress and prosperity of the nation....

*Extracts from the speech at the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi on 25 August 1961*

I am going to talk to you on some essentials of the foreign policy of Pakistan. Now, foreign policy of my country is a projection of its internal policies. It is based on its internal, social, political and economic policies. As I see it, our task internally is to

carry our ideological integration of Pakistan, ensure its territorial security and, lastly, to reform and to rebuild. In a nutshell, these are the three items which are the concern and should be the concern of the Government and the people of Pakistan.



As far as the ideological integration is concerned, that really means making the Islamic way of life as the life-pattern of the people of Pakistan. It was on that basis that Pakistan came into being, and it is on that basis alone that it can survive and progress and become stronger. It is easy to say that, but to translate that into action is an extraordinarily difficult thing. However, giving Islamic bent to our life is a continuous process. It is a lifelong process. It is not something which can be ordered by decree; it is something that has to be watched day and night, and it is something for which we have to have an organisation that keeps on reminding us of it. I hope that our constitution will take care of it. All I can say is this that a very honest attempt will be made to give this very difficult idea a practical shape. And if anyone later on produces a better one, any government of Pakistan with any common sense should, I think, keep its mind open to accept a better idea.

Outwardly, because of this ideological base of this country, we naturally have greater affinity and attachment with the Muslim world.

There is a tremendous upsurge in the whole world—the world that was not free in Asia and Africa—and there is also a tremendous upsurge in the Muslim countries.

But let us be quite clear that the upsurge in other Muslim countries, by and large, is racial, is linguistic, is territorial, is anti-imperialist, anti-colonial; it is very little religious. I should, therefore, think that when we expect other Muslim countries to agree entirely with us in principle we find that we are disappointed. I believe it is our fault in not judging or reading the

situation correctly.

We are also misunderstood at times when our point of view is not accepted because the new Muslim countries have their own problems. They have their problems with the colonial powers, and they have their problems mutually. In the resolution of both, Pakistan cannot exert a decisive influence. We are not in a position to exert a decisive influence. Their demands and requests at times are racial, but when there is an upsurge of that type and when nationalism in its extreme form takes charge human reasoning gets second place. Human mind disconnects from the heart, and the heart takes charge and, in those circumstances it is not easy to give advice to or caution people.

They do not understand our point of view sometimes, because their quarrel perhaps is amongst themselves or is with their previous colonial powers. We have no quarrel with our previous colonial power; we have no quarrel with the British; they are our friends. We have quarrel with our next-door Asian power, and that is the fundamental difference in our outlook. When they talk about Afro-Asian solidarity, Afro-Asian stand and so on and so forth and we differ with them sometimes, they do not quite understand why we take that attitude because they are not under the same pressure as we are.

There is also an element of jealousy towards us. I suppose initially when Pakistan came into being lot of people started bragging about Pakistan being the biggest Muslim country. There is now-a-days the bug of leadership on the minds of the people. We are an enormous country and we have enormous problems, and any talk



about leading others is sheer nonsense. If you want to lead others, the best way is to serve them. At times when we find that other Muslim countries do not see things as we do, we ought to realise that their circumstances are different from ours. Only when the masses in Muslim countries are sufficiently advanced educationally, can ideas of universal brotherhood, the brotherhood of Islam, strike root. Until such time as that phenomenon occurs, it will be very foolish on the part of Pakistanis not to judge this correctly and expect too much from the situation.

As far as we are concerned, we have on every occasion given fullest moral and whatever other support we could give to our Muslim brethren. We generally wish them well; we generally wish they get stronger; we generally wish that their mutual problems are resolved.

But one thing must be quite clear to Pakistan: it is that we cannot go beyond that; that any attempt to take sides will be fatal and will be futile. We must not get involved in their internal problems.

Today, we are willing to assess their moral and, to a great extent, their rightful causes and keep away severely from their internal problems. In pursuance of that policy, we have made amongst the Muslim countries good friends. There are some who are closest allies. There are countries like the Arab countries with whom we have very cordial relations and, I think, that process should continue.

Now, as regards the territorial security of Pakistan, first of all there is the problem of security in the context of world conflict. I shall talk about it separately. We have our security prob-

lems with India ever since partition. India's foreign policy and its policy towards Pakistan has been offensive and non-co-operative. So far there is no indication that the Indian leadership wants India and Pakistan to live peacefully and amicably. The thing that has embittered our relations is the question of Kashmir. I have been maintaining and have been saying that this problem is capable of resolution, and one day, believe me, it is going to be resolved by sensible people sitting together and discussing the problems. And if it can be done one day, why can it not be done today? And if it can be done today, then the peoples of both India and Pakistan could be saved from the enormous amount of misery.

I have pleaded, with all humility I have, with the Prime Minister of India, but I have not been able to get him agree to the resolution, or the proper solution of this problem.

As regards the resolution or solution of Kashmir problem, I maintain that there are three parties to this dispute; there are the people of Kashmir; there are the interests of Pakistan and there are the interests of India. And it should not be beyond human ingenuity to work out the solution that could reasonably satisfy them.

No compromise solution can ever give hundred per cent satisfaction. The meaning of a compromise solution is that you enter into a spirit of give and take. That has not been acceptable to Mr. Nehru. Mr. Nehru came here to our country, and I know Mr. Dayal (the Indian High Commissioner) was greatly instrumental in asking him to come to our country. He is still trying very hard to ensure



friendship between the two countries—to discuss the Kashmir problem amongst ourselves.

I was not fully conversant with the question of Kashmir, because, during the Kashmir struggle, I happened to be in East Pakistan. I asked for the files and I was astounded to find that Mr. Nehru, on several occasions, gave solemn assurance on which he went back. It was a great disappointment—great disappointment for the sake of India and for the sake of Pakistan—because we are next-door neighbours and we have to live together.

I am going to read an extract from a document in which the Indian Prime Minister said :

“We have declared that the fate of Kashmir ultimately will be decided by the people of Kashmir. That pledge we have given not only to the people of Kashmir but to the whole world. We will not and cannot back out of it. We are prepared, when any peace and law and order is established, to have referendum under international auspices (again under the United Nations). We want to be fair and just to the people and we shall accept their verdict.”

There are several communications of this nature. Today, he describes any mention of these as “tamasha” and as a joke. Lately, in order to divert the people’s attention from these promises, he has been accusing Pakistan of aggressive intentions against India. He has also been saying that there is a Government of military mentality in Pakistan and so they can only think in military terms. Now, as regards aggression, with all the military aid we have received, we have one-third of India’s strength, and it

does not require any great military skill to come to the conclusion that for a country, that has only one-third of an opposing country’s strength, to go on with an aggressive policy is to ask for suicide. I think that argument is used to divert the attention and confuse the minds of some of our friends who lend themselves to such confusion.

Now, as regards Pakistan’s leadership being military; of course, it is military, but it is very humble, it has been very rational, and it has been very co-operative. I have been talking about peace between India and Pakistan all the time, whereas if you see Indian newspapers and sometimes the repetition of these things in Pakistan press, you will find that money is being spent on missiles, money is being spent on making atomic weapons, money is being spent on supersonic aircraft, and money is being spent on this type of tank and that type of tank. Now, I ask you, which conduct is more military, this or that? What is our answer to this? We have come up against a blank wall, though I think the bulk of the people of India want to live in peace with Pakistan. I also know that lots of thinking people in India want to live in peace with Pakistan. I think, I am right in saying that we want to live at peace with India. Even if we had the power to be aggressive against India, would we want to take all the population which is indigestible, are we going to create sources of weakness amongst us? We have got enough problems of our own. We genuinely want to live in peace with India on terms which are honourable, terms which are equal; and, I think, once India got that measure of



statesmanship in its mind, she will realise what good friends can we be to her and what great support can we give to her. I do not want to repeat it, but a very able Indian came to see me when I was abroad somewhere and said: "I know that you have met with disappointments, and I know you are trying very hard to bring about peace between India and Pakistan and have been spending a lot of your time, but please go on doing so because it is necessary and unfortunately our leadership is completely confused." Meanwhile, what happens when these vast armies are being prepared against us, when these major problems are not being resolved?

What should be the foreign policy of Pakistan towards India? I maintain that while wanting to live in peace with India we shall continue to lean against India till such time that resolution of these problems has been found.

Now, just look at the map of Kashmir. Just look at the location of the three rivers on which the life of the whole of West Pakistan, of some 45 million people, depends. As our population increases, every drop of that water has got to be husbanded, stored and utilised. Then there is the added problem of our security, of physical military security. The present cease-fire line is just like a grip around our neck. That is the military meaning of the present situation. This is a part of our pledge to the people of Kashmir that they have a right to freedom just as the people of India have a right to freedom and the people of Pakistan have a right to freedom.

Now, as far as the threat to Pakis-

tan's security in the global sphere is concerned, nobody can deny that there is tremendous struggle between the two mightiest powers in the world today, between Soviet Russia and the United States of America. Every other day you hear of incidents and problems that could have been or can be provocative of a major war. A major war today means decimation. Pakistan, especially West Pakistan, occupies a crucial position. If a war flares up in these parts of the world we cannot remain free from it. Let us quite be clear. It is not neutralism that is going to save you, or this ism or that ism that is going to save you. If a possible aggressor thinks that he can come this way and it is worth his while, he will make a good effort to do that. In a military sphere, I might tell you, it is not the intentions that are crucial; it is the potential power that is crucial. If a country has that potential military power, intentions can change any moment. Intentions are transitory things, and the military power and the economic power which constitute the basis of these intentions can change them.

Pakistan is divided into two-halves. West Pakistan is pressed between three mighty powers in Asia. One is virtually hostile, and the others have an ideology which conflicts with our ideology. How do then we get the assurance of security in a position like this? That again does not require a very great military knowledge or strategic knowledge or geo-political knowledge. The only way we can ensure our security under those circumstances is to have friends—powerful friends, who are interested in our security, who are



interested in our freedom, and who are interested, in our progress. And, therefore, that has been the object of our effort and exercise—to gain friends, and that is the reason why we are in military pacts like CENTO and SEATO. That is the reason why we are in the military alliance with the United States of America. We believe that they are interested in our security. We believe that they want to see us free. We believe that they want to see us flourish and prosper. They are, therefore, our friends and we shall continue to make such a search for other people who have similiar intentions towards Pakistan.

You might say that the CENTO and SEATO are not perfect arrangements. I quite agree with you that they are not perfect arrangements, but they constitute some arrangement. There are obligations on our friends and there are obligations on us to assist each other, should we be aggressed against. These are purely defensive arrangements. In life you cannot have perfection. It is very difficult to have perfection, and especially when you are in alliance with other countries. We may look at a problem from our angle, but they have the right to look at the problem from their own angle and that is where the divergence of outlook and divergence of views comes in.

I know at times heat is generated against the United States and our relationship with the United States, and it is said that Americans are not doing this for us or that for us. But what I tell you is this that the Americans have been very good friends of ours in the economic field. They have given us military hardware to be able to defend ourselves readily and with

our own effort—it is not entirely their effort but a good deal of our effort too. They have, however, found it difficult to give us full and an all-out support in certain political spheres. But after all they have their own limitations too.

As I said, politics is a science of chosing lesser evils. But if a choice was to be made between a clear-cut good and a clear-cut evil, then any fool would have been a statesman. The choice is between so many thousands of conflicts, and life is so complex. So, do not let us go on again asking for perfection in that field, too. But, at the same time, we have a right to draw the attention of our friends should they be doing anything which impairs our security or increases our military and political commitments. We have done so and we shall continue to do so, and, likewise, our friends naturally have the right to do the same thing.

There are times when people talk of Asia for Asians. To me it sounds like the slogan which the Japanese raised during the last war. They called it "South-Asian co-prosperity sphere." Well, after the war some of us have been to some of those countries where this prosperity existed. This "Asia for Asians" is a deadly poison for smaller countries in Asia, and I give you the reasons for this. Population in Asia—in Pakistan, in India, in Indonesia and in China—is increasing at a very fast rate indeed. The Asian world cannot shift anywhere because the empty spaces of the world are held by the white races, who are powerful enough to defend those places. It is, therefore, sheer nonsense to talk about Asia for Asians. It is a deadly poison for



smaller countries of Asia, meaning that don't let these countries have the right of having friends who can help them to retain themselves. But I am very glad that one hears less and less of that. I just wanted to repeat this to you so that those of you who might be carried away by this slogan give it a second thought.

Talking about peace and our requirements of peace, we cannot achieve this peace outside the world context. The world has become too small. What kept to the peace in the world in the past during certain periods? It was, what you called, the balance of power. As a matter of fact, the balance of power itself did not keep peace. If you have complete balance of power, then you have lack of peace and you have cold war as we have today. What, then, kept the world at peace between 1815 after the Napoleonic wars and the 1914 war? It was the ability of Britain to tip the scale in balance of power. If one appeared too powerful and aggressive, it (Britain) put the weight on the other power. They were the enemies of the French at one time and they became the enemies of the Germans the other time. It is not exactly the balance of power. It is what you might say a powerful detached balancing factor in the balance of power that keeps the balance of power. After the First World War, and certainly after the Second World War, that factor has gone. Today, you have powerful Soviet Russia on the one side and you have powerful United States on the other side. And there is no peace today because there is no balance of power. There is no third factor that can tip the balance at the crucial

time to maintain peace. Today, both these powers have the power of annihilating each other. But neither the United States nor the Soviet Russia has the decisive influence if squabbles arise between different countries or the ability to rectify them. They can go and aggravate a situation if they wish to but they cannot resolve it, and that is a very dangerous thing indeed. Where and when the equilibrium will be struck is a very difficult thing to say. But unless it is struck the world will continue to go through this state of fluidity, fear and uncertainty. What really should happen to put things right? When the last war started, everybody said that that was a war to end war. But actually it laid the foundation of another war, although the vanquished nations were treated extremely generously which was a very wise thing indeed. Just look at the regeneration and revitalisation of Germany and other countries. But on a world basis it laid the foundation of further conflict. If there were a really powerful United Nations, with a powerful instrument in its hands to maintain law and order in the world, and if there were a world order, there would be peace.

But I wonder if we are going to have a world order. What is more likely to happen is this that there will be a Communist world order and there may well be, in due course of time, a non-Communist world order. I can see in the European Common Market the germs of that sort of arrangement. The British were hesitating to join but now they have realised that it is necessary to join it. Although financially our interests will be affected because we have a



protected market in Britain for certain goods, yet we feel that it would be in the interests of the world that Britain should join the Common Market, and from that I hope and pray that a more vigorous and a more coherent order will emerge. I have no doubt in my mind that Canada and the United States will have to join, and I have no doubt in my mind that this thing will then begin to expand. But such an order—shall we say the world order of non-Communist countries—cannot continue unless the United States takes a positive lead in it. Just as in the Communist order it is the Soviet Union that will be the kingpin and the power-base, similarly a non-Communist world order can only be effective if the United States provide the necessary base for that. Whether they will do so or not, I do not know, but there are a lot of thinking men in the United States who think like that.

The world was hoping that there will be a cessation of nuclear tests and through that there would be nuclear disarmament. Well, we know the fate of all those efforts; they are not coming to anything. But even if there was disarmament in the world, that will not reduce the chances of a world conflict. What do human beings do when they have nothing in their hands except sticks or their claws or their teeth? They still do fight. If you take away your armaments or weapons, they will still find some means of fighting with each other and they will continue to do so unless you have some supervisory body which will give them peace. Differences of opinion do not often arise on matters of interest alone; sometimes people

dislike each other's faces! So, what I say is this: it is not disarmament that will bring about peace, because suspicion will still stay and even if you get half a dozen hydrogen bombs or this or that bomb, unless you have a powerful supervisory body that can deter somebody who transgresses the law of life, you cannot have world peace. World peace will only come when you have one order under which human beings will be dignified and large-hearted and have the wisdom to gracefully settle their conflicts. When we shall have that order, it is very difficult to say.

Today, the scientific advancement has put human beings centuries behind time. Their social thinking is centuries behind their scientific thinking, and there is a tremendous schism—a tremendous gap—in human mind and obviously it is very difficult to say when it can be bridged. Even the most intelligent men have a limit to their intelligence. I am beginning to feel that there is no limit to human folly. The most powerful instrument that God has given to man is the thinking power; that is the last thing he wants to use! Let us hope and pray that a time comes when our objective thinking catches up with the scientific thinking, but until such time that that happens there is not going to be peace in the world and no freedom from fear.

What should Pakistan do if this situation continues? I say that our policy should be to ensure peace through the United Nations, and to continue to seek friends who are interested in the security and solidarity of Pakistan.

Sometimes our membership of Commonwealth is questioned within



the country. Sometimes there are strains and stresses and people cannot forget that it was Sir Cyril Radcliffe who was responsible for handing over the district of Gurdaspur to India which led to the calamity of Kashmir. Let me tell you that Commonwealth is not an instrument of enforcement of peace or solution or resolution of problems between member countries today. The Britishers were in a position to do so when they were here but they are not now; if they had the power, they would not have gone away. I think we are expecting too much. But the Commonwealth has tremendous potentialities in many ways. I know a number of countries that are represented within the Commonwealth which do not see eye to eye with each other. India does not see eye to eye with us and we do not see eye to eye with South Africa, but we have good relations with Canada, New Zealand, Australia and other countries. It does give us base, and should a non-Communist world order emerge, I have no doubt in my mind that the Commonwealth will play a large part in that position. All thinking people are very anxious that Britain should join the Common Market, as it is from her (Britain) that political maturity will come. It is very vital for people who are normally cold—I would not like to use the word—can see things more hard-headedly. I think Britain is coming there, and it will give an element of stability to that organisation. The Commonwealth, I think, in future has tremendous possibilities.

Now I come to the final item of reformation—re-building, reconstructing our society. Because of the shrinkage of world and because of the

effect that has been created by good communications, there is a revolution of rising expectations in countries like Pakistan. People expect more and more good things every day. There is also a fear of reduced means. Our population is agricultural population. Eighty per cent of people live on land. Their assets are on land. Whereas in the past, there may have been three brothers to share a piece of land, there are now about ten. And, so the fellow who is one of the brothers says: "Can I live on this; what is going to happen to me when I get my share?" There is also that fear. And there is a constant endeavour and pressure on Government to fulfil these expectations. We have to tidy up our organisation. We have to awaken our people from their stagnation; we have to make them see the necessity of concerted, cohesive action in order to be able to introduce industrialisation and advanced methods of farming. At the same time, we have to find vast resources to be able to do this for the expanding population. This was done by European and American countries in terms of a hundred years. We are being called upon today to do the same thing in a matter of decades. No country has ever been able to develop or attain what the economists call "take-off" stage without outside assistance. The initial industrialisation of Britain came through assets. They then helped develop America, and I think a good number of Continental countries. So, we have to rely on outside assistance. There is no need of being ashamed of it. It is a hard fact of life. We have to rely more and more because the task they could have done in hundred years we are being called upon to do



in much less time, especially in Pakistan. Our population provided manpower for the British Army. There was hardly any industry. Our task is more difficult. So, we have to find friends who are interested in our welfare and in our advancement. And we have a number of friends who are assisting us; amongst them United States is one who has assisted us the most.

While talking about aid people sometimes say that aid is all right but there are strings attached to it. I really cannot make out what is the

meaning of that. But, let me tell you this thing: in human affairs and mutual relationship nothing is done without consideration, and consideration in this case is just decency. Consideration as far as our friendly countries are concerned is, that we shall not do anything that will hurt their interests. Similarly, we expect that they shall not do anything which will hurt our interests. That is a moral string. Every country has got its own problems, its own obligations and its own foreign policy, and it has to act as it deems fit to suit its circumstances.

*Reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the Rawalpindi Bar Association, Rawalpindi, on 16 July 1960*

... You referred to our Foreign Policy. Let me tell you that the foreign policy of a country is dependent on or is a projection of its internal policy. Now what is ours? What are the fundamentals of our internal policy? The fundamentals of our internal policy are two or three in number. One is that we have to weld the people in Pakistan into a united nation and a cohesive force: secondly, we have got to develop our manpower and develop our resources; and, thirdly, lying in between three very powerful countries—our country being divided into two halves—we have to make certain that we attain a certain measure of security against the incursions of any of these three countries. That is the basis of our internal policy and those are the fundamentals of our foreign policy.

Now when you talk of an independent foreign policy, I do not agree if the meaning of independence is that

you should be reckless. That would be fatal. I think the way to judge your foreign policy is that whatever is being done is being done in the interest of Pakistan, and if it is done in the interest of Pakistan, well, that is the foreign policy that suits your circumstances. Our obligation—at least my obligation—towards this country and the people of this country, I think, is to do things which help to promote the interest and security of this country. This is what we are trying to do. So please do not judge the independence of a foreign policy by the extent of recklessness but judge it by the extent of utility, security and strength that it brings to your country. Very often, there are manoeuvres in the international field. There are certain circumstances over which we have no control whatsoever. There are certain things which we can mould; others which we must avoid doing in order not to increase our difficulties,



our commitments and so on. So we have got to watch all these things and weigh these things continually and take the best course possible.

Now, in life, decisions have to be taken. If these decisions offered a choice between a clear-cut this and a clear-cut that, life would be very simple. Then everybody would be a great *Bahadur* and a statesman, but life is not like that. The choice often is between so many evils and the art of statesmanship lies in weighing different alternatives and eventually deciding which is the least evil which can do you the least amount of harm. Anyhow, this may bring you some profit and so whenever a decision of this nature has to be made, it is often a matter of choice between so many evils.

As I said, if it were a choice, clear-cut choice between a good alternative and a bad alternative, then any damn fool should be able to make that choice and recognise the right thing. But life is not like that and specially international life over which we have no control is certainly not like that. So, placed as we are, we have got to have agile feet, an agile mind, look ahead and keep ourselves well informed. This world is getting really very closely knit and integrated; time and space are now being so compressed, because of several facilities that are now available through the medium of science to mankind, that we cannot live in isolation. We are living in this vast world and we have got to weigh all the time where we fit in and how best our interests can be served. And this is the sort of exercise we continually carry out in our minds, in order to see what sort of move we

should make to enhance our security and inherent strength. But, finally, the foreign policy or your internal policy depends on the quality and the spirit of dedication and the loyalty of the people to one another and to their cause and their national character.

Those are the sort of things you should be applying your minds to, and wherever there are weaknesses, we should do all we can to remove them. That takes time; they cannot be removed in a day. You and I cannot be purged of those evils; let us see that our children at least are purified of those weaknesses. In the final analysis, when you are in difficulties, and a battle has to be fought for Pakistan, then, it is you and I who have got to fight it. We have got to ask ourselves: Have we got that sort of faith in us? Have we got that sort of spirit of self-sacrifice? Have we got that team-spirit? Are we devoted to our cause? Are we a nation? And if we have all these things, then we have the necessary morale or the moral plan from which we can do other things. That is the very basic thing. No amount of talking of foreign policy or internal policy can take the place of this very vital basic requirement which a free country must demand from every individual—individually and collectively. We have got to build ourselves into a nation first, into a respectable people, people with a code of honour, with a sense of honour, people who are reliable, people who are worthy of trust, people who are dedicated to their cause, and people who plan sensibly and get down to business and get down to work. Then, I think, we shall attain what we want—which is, the strengthening of this country, making it



more solid and stronger and thus be in a position to hit back should our sovereignty, in any manner, be imperilled.

Now I would not delay you any

longer. I do not think I have been able to satisfactorily answer all your questions and satisfy you. I have answered them but I do not think I have satisfied you.



# 4

## Kashmir

*Speech at a public meeting held at Karachi on 26 December 1958*

**I**N the international field, two of our biggest issues are: Kashmir and the canal waters dispute. The world knows that for the last 11 years India had blocked a settlement of the Kashmir dispute by rejecting while Pakistan has invariably accepted—every one of the proposals for a settlement of the Kashmir dispute which the Security Council and the United Nations' representatives have put forward. Obviously this cannot go on indefinitely. Ten years ago, India gave a pledge to the people of Kashmir, to Pakistan, to the United Nations and, in fact, to the whole world that the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan or India shall be decided by

means of a fair and impartial plebiscite. All we want is that India should honour her pledge.

As for the canal waters dispute, India must realise that we cannot allow millions of our people to die of thirst and hunger merely because she chooses unilaterally to deny our canals the water to which we are by right entitled.

Both the Kashmir and the canal water issues are a matter of life and death to Pakistan. We shall take every step within our power to reach a satisfactory settlement. I promise you we shall not leave these issues unresolved. This is my pledge to my people and to the downtrodden people of Kashmir.

*Speech at University Grounds, Lahore, on 25 February 1959*

The issue of Kashmir, as I have said so often in the past is a question of life and death not only for the people of Kashmir but also for the people of Pakistan. I say this not as a political slogan, but as a conviction

that the issue of Kashmir is vital to the integrity and defence of Pakistan. We shall never fail the people of Kashmir, to whom we have pledged our support in securing for them their inalienable right to self-determination.



*Speech at a Public Meeting in Rawalpindi on 6 March 1959*

The issue of Kashmir is a matter of life and death for us. We have pledged ourselves to securing for our Kashmiri brethren their right to self-determination. Whatever happens, however high the price, we will redeem our promise to our brethren from Kashmir. There is no power on earth that can continue to smother right and justice with impunity. Ultimately, the truth must prevail.

So far as Pakistan is concerned, we shall always be with you. This is our promise to the people of Kashmir. And this promise we will keep, come what may.

I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to you who have come a long way to listen to me and have given me such patient hearing.

*Address at a public rally in Lyallpur on 12 October 1965*

There is the great problem of the future of Kashmir which is constantly in the heart and mind of every Pakistani. For the last twelve years this problem has continued to defy solution: and in these years the sufferings which our brethren in Kashmir have undergone are indeed a source of constant anxiety to the people of Pakistan. But let us not be disheartened. It is my belief that one day the conscience of the world will be roused and admit that the problem of Kashmir is not just the question of a piece of territory but of humanity and human freedom. It is my faith that one day the world will realise that the people of Kashmir have a right to freedom, that they have a right to determine their own future. So far as

Pakistan is concerned, we are determined that we shall not rest until our brethren in Kashmir get their birth-right to exercise their choice of freedom.

I am indeed most grateful to you that you have been listening to me with such patience and attention. I should like to say this much in the end that we must get out of the rut of shouting slogans and raising vociferous acclamations. We must now turn to the path of action based on honesty of purpose and sincerity of effort. We must pledge ourselves to our country, to our nation and to our God that we shall endeavour to be good men, good Muslims and good Pakistanis.

*Broadcast to the Nation on the eve of Second Anniversary of the Revolution on 26 October 1960*

Recently we have heard the Kashmir problem being likened to Pandora's box and fears expressed that if it is touched and *status quo*



changed all sorts of weird consequences will follow. I for one do not agree that it is Pandora's box. It will be more correct to call it a time-bomb never very far removed from the flash point and unless the intention is to make it explode through lack of foresight and statesmanship the answer is to defuse it as quickly as possible and that cannot be done without touching it.

The fact of the matter is that apart from vitiating the relations between India and Pakistan, the problem of Kashmir is also sapping the vitals of India first and then Pakistan. If it goes on like this, it will inevitably

aggravate the problems of India which are already not too inconsiderable. A weak India will be no solace or strength to Pakistan. And how strong can India be when it has taken upon itself to have twice the army it needs despite the threat from the north incurring about a hundred and fifty crores of additional expenditure a year, I leave you to decide. So when I talk about solving this problem I mean just as well by India as by Pakistan and the people of Kashmir. It is my faith that this problem shall be solved one day, *Insha Allah*. My prayer and effort is that it should be solved peacefully.

*Speech at Lahore on 12 December 1959*

Canal water and Kashmir are the other two problems you have referred to. I am a soldier and, therefore, not used to making sentimental outbursts. Nor am I a politician that I should make false promises.

I assure you, nevertheless, that these two problems are a question of life and death to us. The canal water is our life-blood and Kashmir a challenge to our national, moral and human obligations.

We will never waver in accepting

the challenge boldly. The heart of every Pakistani bleeds over the atrocities being perpetrated on our brethren in the Occupied Kashmir. I assure my oppressed Kashmiri brethren that we have immense love and sympathy for them. The day is not far off when God Almighty will have mercy on them. Tyranny and fraud are always shortlived, and truth and justice prevail ultimately. We will stick to the path of righteousness and justice. God willing victory will be ours.

*Statement on the move to "integrate" the State of Jammu and Kashmir with India issued from Rawalpindi on 5 October 1963*

According to Press reports this morning, the outgoing Premier of Indian-held Jammu and Kashmir, Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad, stated in the "State Legislature" on October

3 that "a directive has been issued (presumably by the Government of India) to bring Kashmir closer to the rest of India." He said that "as a first step, the 'Sadar-i-Riyasat' and



the 'Prime Minister' of the State will be re-designated as 'Governor' and 'Chief Minister' as in any other Indian Province." He added that a decision to this effect would be taken by the "State Legislature" at its next session to complete the formalities.

This is the last in a series of actions that India has taken over the years in defiance of the Security Council Resolutions on Jammu and Kashmir. This action is clearly illegal. It is being taken in flagrant violation of India's commitments to the United Nations, to Pakistan and to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, as embodied in the Resolutions of the Security Council which India has accepted. It clearly shows India's contempt for the United Nations despite the fact that she is formally pledged to uphold its Charter, and should serve to open the eyes of the world to the expansionist designs of this neo-imperialism.

Pakistan condemns and firmly rejects this move. While it would not alter the legal status of Kashmir, so far as the Security Council or Pakistan or the people of Kashmir are concerned, it exposes the policy of duplicity which India has throughout followed in regard to Jammu and Kashmir. Ever since she accepted the Security Council resolutions

that the status of Jammu and Kashmir shall be decided only in accordance with the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir as determined in a free and impartial plebiscite, India has been trying desperately to wriggle out of that commitment. Since then, while India has tried to pay lip service to her obligations to the United Nations and talk loudly of her desire to come to a settlement of this dispute with Pakistan, she has gone forward secretly and persistently with a plan for the "intergration" of this State with India and thereby thwarted all efforts to secure a just settlement.

In making these treacherous moves India has clearly drawn encouragement from the policies of certain great powers. In particular, the continuance of large-scale military aid to India from the United States and the United Kingdom has served only to embolden India in her defiant stand on Kashmir and in her determination to continue to trample under foot the rights of the people of Kashmir. Under the circumstances, Pakistan must reserve to herself the right to take whatever action she considers necessary to safeguard her own interests and the interest of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

*First-of-the-month broadcast on 1 November 1963*

In Jammu and Kashmir, the most serious development was the revelation of the Indian design to integrate the state with the rest of India. Moral values, solemn international pledges, world opinion and the advice of

friendly countries have all been ignored. The feelings of the people of Jammu and Kashmir continue to be trampled upon by the Indian troops.

I do not know what advantage Indian would gain by the proposed



integration. It would not make the slightest difference to our determination to secure to the people of the state the right to choose freely which country to join. It would not make any difference to the international pledges, to world opinion, to the rights and wrongs of the case, and to the sentiments of the oppressed people of Jammu and Kashmir. It would merely put the seal of perfidy on the act of aggression, which will never be forgotten.

The government and the people of India know that they have no right to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The world at large knows it. So the proposed integration would only

heighten India's guilt. It would correspondingly heighten our resolve to free our brethren from their bondage. Those who transgress deceive nobody except themselves.

I know that there is an appreciable section of the Indian people who do not agree with the policies pursued by their rulers in respect of Jammu and Kashmir and their hostility towards Pakistan. It is incomprehensible to us why the Indian rulers should continue to treat us as their enemy number one in spite of all our efforts to reach a peaceful and equitable settlement with India on Jammu and Kashmir and other outstanding issues.

*First-of-the month Broadcast to the Nation on 1 February 1964*

The announcement that India was planning to absorb the State of Jammu and Kashmir, in disregard of international obligations, came as a further shock to all of us. That it was the last straw which broke the back of the long-suffering people of Jammu and Kashmir is proved by the upheaval which shook the State during the last month. It was, no doubt, set in motion by the mysterious theft of the holy relic from the Hazratbal shrine which injured the religious susceptibilities, not only of the Muslims of Occupied Kashmir, but also of Pakistan.

Subsequent events have, however, shown that the agitation was also due to the resentment of the people of Jammu and Kashmir at their continued subjugation by India and at the Indian design to integrate their State with India. Foreign observers, the

few who managed to get into the State while it was aflame, have reported that this was not merely an agitation over the loss of the holy relic: it was an open rebellion against the tyrannical regimes imposed upon the State and, what is more, against India herself.

Even a person like Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad had to admit publicly in the Indian capital that the people are demanding, not only the proper identification of the so-called recovered relic and the release of Shaikh Abdullah, but also a free and fair plebiscite. Public demands for the withdrawal of the Indian army of occupation, for India quitting Jammu and Kashmir and for accession to Pakistan have penetrated the iron curtain drawn round the occupied State.

These events and demands have



made it clear to friend and foe, and shall I say the neutrals, too, that the Indian arms and money have not been able to break the will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir who have registered a vote against the Indian hold over their State in what really has been a spontaneous referendum.

It is because of this unequivocal expression of the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir that we have thought it necessary to remind the Security Council that its repeated resolutions for holding a free and fair plebiscite, resolutions to which India herself is a party, must now be implemented. The voice of the people of Jammu and Kashmir can no longer be ignored.

Besides, the Indian intention to integrate the State of Jammu and Kashmir with the rest of India, in spite of a clear Security Council resolution to the contrary, creates a new and critical situation and constitutes defiance of the Security Council, which must be seriously considered by that authority. Moreover, without a resolution of the Kashmir problem, there will be no peace in this region. For the hearts of the people of Pakistan beat as one with those of their brethren in Jammu and Kashmir. Seldom have I seen our people so agitated as now over the sufferings of their brethren in the State who stood in lacs in the streets for nearly a fortnight, day and night, in biting cold and snow, to take part in what was described by India as a merely religious agitation but is now known to be a demand for the promised plebiscite as well.

So far as Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, world opinion, expressed through the Security Council of the

world organisation, has refused to recognise India's hold over that State. Defiance of world opinion does not add to the prestige or good name of India. It weakens her position in international relations. She has had to sink hundreds of crores of rupees in order to hold down a part of this State. But all the hundreds of crores of rupees, all the armies, and the puppet governments imposed on the State to break the will of the people, have failed to make any impression on the people of Jammu and Kashmir who are in open revolt. Would further suppression be of any avail? Certainly not.

Neither the people of Jammu and Kashmir nor the people of Pakistan will rest content until the former are allowed to exercise their right freely to choose which country they wish to join. India has more than once promised to let this happen. Why not keep that promise as an honourable people would to God that India would have peace for herself, and let us have peace too? We both need it for the social and economic development of our people. If that development suffers, the consequences will be dire and far-reaching. India cannot attend to the socio-economic development of her teeming but starving millions or if she spends nearly 900 crores a year on her war budget.

Now that the people of Jammu and Kashmir have made their wishes known in unmistakable terms, let India show her statesmanship by conceding the right of these people and by honouring her own international pledges. In case she does not do so, the Security Council must ensure that its solemn resolutions, reached after much deliberation, are implemented.



This is a test case for the Security Council because it has defied solution so long, because there will be no peace in this region unless it is resolved, and because it can be resolved so easily if India is made to honour her solemn pledges.

If the Security Council fails to enforce its well-considered resolutions, what I am afraid of is that the United Nations will go the way of the League of Nations. What was wrong with the latter except that the issues coming before it were decided according to the dictates of power politics and not according to the acid test of what is wrong or right? What is right must be supported and enforced. What is wrong must be denied and set right. Otherwise, no order or peace can obtain.

The United Nations is the last hope for international peace. If it fails, the prospect is frightful, for we go back to the law of the jungle. It will not fail if it judges the issues coming before it on moral grounds of what is right or wrong, irrespective of who

are involved. I hope and pray that this will happen in all cases including that of Jammu and Kashmir.

In the meanwhile, I ask my people to be patient. They have been so hitherto. Patience is a difficult virtue to observe but it is one of the highest. The Holy Qur'an is full of repeated commands to be patient in adversity. We have done our best and will continue to take all possible steps to bring about an honourable and just settlement of these issues. The poor, down-trodden people of Jammu and Kashmir, subjugated for centuries, are awakening and standing up to their unwanted masters. They have done a tremendous job against very heavy odds. They have won the admiration, not only of their brethren in Pakistan, but also of the people of the whole world for their courage, steadfastness and restraint in their trials and tribulations. I hope and pray that there will soon be an end to their misery and subjugation. Pakistan will do its best to secure for them their heart's desire.

*First-of-the-month broadcast to the Nation from Rawalpindi on 1 April 1964*

That the voice of the people of Jammu and Kashmir has been heard by the world was shown in the Security Council debate where we found countries of Asia, Africa and the West endorsing the demand of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for self-determination. Even outside the Security Council, we have received valuable support from our friends and neighbours in our resolve to secure the expeditious implementation of the United Nations resolutions dealing

with the Kashmir dispute. Some weeks ago, the Chinese Prime Minister evinced complete understanding of our position and announced that the Kashmir dispute must be resolved according to the wishes of the people. More recently, the President of the Republic of Iraq, during his visit to Pakistan, expressed the hope that the dispute would be resolved early in accordance with the spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity and in conformity with the principles of the United



Nations resolutions.

I know that the postponement of the Kashmir debate in the Security Council must have caused deep disappointment to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. We will not relax our efforts, in spite of these delays, as we know that the people of Jammu and Kashmir will not relax theirs—shown so clearly by the resolution publicly passed on 15th March last by the Action Committee. That Committee is admittedly the most representative body of the people of the State today.

The resolution of 15th March is a declaration of human rights for the people of Jammu and Kashmir. It places on record, in the most unmistakable terms, that the people of Jammu and Kashmir will not rest content until a free and fair plebiscite has been held. That this resolution was passed under the shadow of Indian bayonets shows the spirit and courage of the people. And they are fortunate to have among them selfless and devoted leaders who will not be lured by any promise or cowed down by any

threats. We hail the people of Jammu and Kashmir and their leaders.

I earnestly appeal to the Government of India to realise how futile it is to hold down the people of Jammu and Kashmir any more. The best or the worst it could do has failed in its purpose. The puppet Governments, who are getting demonstrably weaker every time in popular appeal, or measures such as the intended integration of the State, are not going to retrieve the situation which has passed beyond redemption. More armies will break the back of the Indian economy but not the will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir or our resolve.

Let the men of good sense and statesmanship in India advise their Government of the obviously honourable way of settling this dispute by holding the promised fair and free plebiscite. It is amazing how the resolve to do the right thing can, at one stroke, solve so many problems. An honourable way out of the present situation exists. And it is not difficult to take it.

*First-of-the-month broadcast on 1 May 1964*

The release of Shaikh Abdullah, whose spirit remains undaunted, is a victory for the people of Jammu and Kashmir. During the recent agitation, these people had demanded three things. Firstly, the restoration of the sacred hair. The agitation was so intense that the Government of India had to go all out to trace the stolen relic. Let us hope that the hair re-installed is a genuine one, although

the mystery of the culprits responsible for the theft remains unsolved.

The second demand was for the release of Shaikh Abdullah. If this was conceded, it was because the Government of India realised that they had no other alternative. The farce of the so-called conspiracy case could not be enacted any more. And the popular agitation for Shaikh Sahib's release could not be ignored



or suppressed. Those in India who take a poor view of their Government's action in releasing him are not aware of the true state of things in the valley. The Government of India would not have invited this unnecessary criticism if it had told the truth to its people. Unfortunately, even the reports of the foreign observers were blacked out in the Indian press and radio.

The third and the most vital demand of the people is for self-determination. If the other two demands have been achieved, there is every reason to hope that, with God's help, New Delhi will yield to this demand also.

The people's victory in getting Shaikh Abdullah released is not the only happy augury. The wind of change is blowing all over the world. The non-official delegations from Pakistan which went to Europe,

Africa, the Middle East and South-East Asia have created extremely favourable atmosphere in all the countries visited. Most of them have come out openly in favour of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The Security Council, by an overwhelming majority, has endorsed the right. And we hope that when the Council meets again in a few days it will take a bold and rightful decision. In any case, we will not rest until we have secured to the people of Jammu and Kashmir their right of self-determination.

There are indications that there are men of goodwill and courage in India who realise that there will be no peace and real progress in this sub-continent until the Kashmir dispute is settled in a fair and honourable manner, and until the Hindus and Muslims live in peace and friendship rather than in hate and enmity.



# 5

## International Relations

*Inaugural Address at the Sixth Session of the CENTO Ministerial Council  
on 26 January 1959*

We are living in a world which is constantly menaced by crisis and the recurring threat of global strife. In recent months, there has been no relaxing of the tensions which have so tragically divided this world of ours and as we meet here again today under the lengthening shadows of momentous events. We do so because we are grimly conscious that it is only by the united and unremitting efforts of free men that peace can be ensured for mankind.

As members of one of the smaller nations of the world, particularly of a nation which has only recently won its freedom, we are deeply interested in the maintenance of world peace, in the relaxing of those tensions which constantly endanger it and in the preservation of international morality and law. In the 11 odd years of our existence as a free and self-determining nation, we have, in spite of provocations which assail and threaten our own vital interests and existence, never hesitated to reiterate our belief in the peaceful settlement of international disputes and in the renuncia-

tion of war as an instrument of national policy. . . .

We are witnessing today an era of spectacular achievements of modern science. Power over nature, undreamt of before is within the human grasp. This power, if not used beneficially, can lead to the utter destruction and annihilation of the human race.

Great and heavy responsibility, therefore, devolves on this generation, and especially the Great Powers, to see that the rules of civilised conduct are observed by nations in the same way as by civilised men; that no nation covets the territory of another; that no nation holds on forcibly to what does not belong to it; that no nation remains enslaved, and that people are left alone to follow the way of life which they think suits them best without compulsion and coercion. I have mentioned these things because I believe that only that peace can endure which rests upon justice and is in conformity with the rights of man.

But peace cannot be built through desire alone. Had that been possible, the history of the world, especially



*Statement on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the Inauguration of the Economic, Military and Technical Co-operation Agreements between Pakistan and U.S.A. on 1 July 1962*

... The last decade has been a period of great revolution in the concept of international relations, particularly in the economic field. It has been realised that the existence of millions of people in the world living below subsistence levels, underfed and unclothed, is an anachronism in modern society and apart from the element of human suffering, it also poses a real threat to peace and international security. The more prosperous and advanced nations are, therefore, coming up with help to raise the living standards of these people and assist them in becoming decent and happy citizens. In this context mutual assistance has played a vital role in the economic development of Pakis-

tan and many other countries. The success already achieved by this programme is a tribute to the wisdom and far-sightedness of those who conceived the programme.

We, in Pakistan, are dedicated to the creed of individual liberty, free institutions and independence for all. We want to live in peace and friendliness with other countries so that we can, without interference, concentrate our energies on the economic betterment of our people. At the same time, we believe that it is through willing co-operation and association with like-minded people that we can best hope to defend and preserve our ideology and way of living.

*Questions and Answers before the National Press Club, Washington, D.C. on 12 July 1961*

**QUESTION:** *What is Pakistan doing to combat Soviet propaganda? Do your people believe what Moscow tells them?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** I really do not know what specifically is meant by that type of propaganda. There is a considerable amount of propaganda directed towards Pakistan and that is aimed at shaking our belief in the mutual alliances that we have made with your country and other countries in the region. The Government and our press explain the philosophy behind our thinking as to why is it that we seek security, and the arrangements that we have made with

other friends of ours. That is one counter that we have to make, let us say—these arrangements are for the benefit of the people of the country, for the benefit of the country, and I think sensible people understand it and realise it. Those who have not got the necessary vision, well, no amount of education will educate them, perhaps. I assume that there are very few like that. And, I think, I am right in saying that there are very few.

We want peace. We are a new country. We have enormous problems, social, economic and military problems, and the overriding problem is that of raising the standard of



living of the people, making the country march on the road of progress. For that you have to prepare your people, educationally, technically, and otherwise. You have got to mount an enormous amount of financial resources to produce the wherewithal with which you can make a stand. You want time to think clearly and plan soundly, and you want time to work hard. So, we need peace around us.

And our alliances and our friendships are designed to give us this peace, and I believe that is the object of every country that wants to remain free. I am sure that is the aim of the United States' policy.

So, coming down to this, as to what do we do specifically to counter such a propaganda, the whole thing is to educate one's people, be quite clear in one's own mind and to be honest and straight and objective in the formulation of your basic policy and work hard, improve the standard of living of your people, give them a good government, give them hope for the future.

Now, these are the sort of things that to my mind are the counters which we are applying.

*QUESTION: How should SEATO and CENTO be revitalised? Will Pakistan withdraw from these pacts if arms aid is given to India?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB:* Well, that is a long question to answer as to how SEATO and CENTO should be revitalised. It is a matter that keeps on getting, shall we say, attention from representatives of different governments who are members of these organisations.

The question of the withdrawal of Pakistan—Pakistan has not joined

any of these pacts because it was forced to, or that she joined these pacts with her eyes shut. Pakistan has joined these pacts in order to be able to ensure her security.

The other part of the question is that if arms aid is given to India, how will that affect Pakistan?

Well, we have made our position clear on that. We want to live at peace with India. We want to live on friendly terms with India. There is really no cause for us to fall out with each other. This has been my assessment and, I am sure, that this is the assessment of a large number of people, thinking people, in Pakistan. I have made very serious effort to convince Mr. Nehru of the advantage of that line of thought and approach. We made a beginning with the resolution of a certain number of our disputes and so on, and a number of them have been settled, even quite ticklish ones. We are stuck up over Kashmir. You might say—why can't you give up Kashmir?

Well, we cannot give up that dispute, not because we are bloody-minded or that we are all stupid, but for the simple reason that with Kashmir is connected our physical security and our economic security. All these 32 million acres of land get irrigated from the rivers which come from Kashmir. As time goes on and population increases, we shall be forced to conserve every drop of that water and that can only be done in the hilly areas of Kashmir.

Then there is the overriding question of the feelings of the people in Kashmir. We know full well what their feelings are.

So, what I would like to say is this: that we would like to have



peace with India. I think it is in India's benefit and our benefit that this should be so. We shall then be able to defend that sub-continent without any great difficulty. But if India is not prepared to have peace with Pakistan, and India's armed forces today are three times our strength, out of which only about 12 to 15 per cent really face the Chinese, the rest are poised against Pakistan. Now, in that sort of situation, if any arms aid is given to India, naturally, we shall feel more insecure, and naturally again, there will be tremendous pressure of public opinion in Pakistan against such a thing. And it will put a tremendous strain on our friendship with America.

I think your leaders understand this position. We are quite clear on that.

But if there was to be peace between India and Pakistan, then I say their strength will be our strength, and our strength should be their strength.

*QUESTION: Will the U. S. ask Prime Minister Nehru to resume talks with you on a Kashmir settlement?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, time will show. They have asked him, I suppose, many times before, but—is asking enough?*

We will see what comes out of this. They will have to ask him, there is no doubt about it. He is doing himself no good by going on like this. Every friend of his knows it, and I think the friends should tell him so, too.

All right?

*QUESTION: How can you expect Mr. Nehru to respond on the Kashmir question before the February 1962 elections in India?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, how can I expect Mr. Nehru to respond after the elections?*

It is statesmanship that is required to win the friendship of a country which is your neighbour and has been hostile. It is one of the endeavours that every statesman should be making and should be taking advantage of. Pakistan has been offering that friendship. I have a feeling that if Mr. Nehru settled this problem before his election, he would probably get more votes, more sensible people will vote for him—I have no doubt in my mind.

*QUESTION: What is your answer to the U.S. State Department officials who say, "What can we do to make India obey the United Nations' recommendation regarding Kashmir?"*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, I don't know. I suppose the State Department officials say all sorts of things.*

But those that tell us such things, we tell them what we feel about it.

*QUESTION: Many Kashmiris have told this writer that they would prefer complete independence from both Pakistan and India. Do you think this possible?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, let the Kashmiris—it is their country—have every right to say what they feel, certainly.*

All we are interested in is to see that they are free—free to vote in U.N. plebiscite.

*QUESTION: Then, we have another question on Kashmir.*

*Are Communist China's territorial claims in the Kashmir area likely to interfere seriously with the settlement of the Pakistan-India-Kashmir dispute?*



**PRESIDENT AYUB :** No, I do not think so.

If this is used as an excuse, then it is just an excuse, that's all. No.

**QUESTION :** *Mr. President, from where you sit, from where you in Pakistan sit, between the Russians and the Chinese, what are your thoughts on reports of a serious ideological split between the two giants of Communism ?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** Well, we sit on the other side of a big mountain barrier, so we do not hear everything.

But does anybody really or seriously think that there is a real or serious split between Russia and China ?

Well, when you come to think of it, take NATO for instance : How many differences of opinion there are, major issues between different people, different countries. It is surprising how much unanimity there is, you know, between Russia and China in spite of the fact that they are mighty countries, enormous areas and so on and so forth. No.

I think this is a good deal of wishful thinking—maybe a difference in approach and methods, that is all.

**QUESTION :** *Will Pakistan go ahead with plans to negotiate a treaty with Communist China on the Pakistan-Kashmir borderline ?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** Well, there is no need for a treaty or anything like that. There is a common border between Pakistan and China on the Sinkiang border and it is undefined. All we want is that this should be defined.

It is in the Chinese interest and it is in our interest.

**QUESTION :** *Yesterday, in Congress, in your address to Congress, you asked that the United States re-*

*frain from actions hurting or upsetting Pakistan's security.*

*What U.S. actions did you have in mind ?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** Well, the sort of thing that one gentleman asked me—what will be the reaction in Pakistan if India was armed more ? Now that is the sort of action that could, for instance, exacerbate relations, could not it ?

It would certainly make people lose faith, I mean, people in Pakistan.

We understand you have global, America has global responsibilities and so on and so forth, and you have to see what you can do to meet them, and you have to evolve your own methods.

All we want to say is this : Do not be in a hurry and do not compromise the position of your friends, and that is a very legitimate demand, is it not ? That is all we have said.

**QUESTION :** *What and where are the imminent threats to free Asian countries by the Soviets and Chinese, and what programme has Pakistan to combat such threats ?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** Well, Pakistan has one programme, that is to say, defend its territories. And that we will do, no matter who comes our way, as our enemy. As our friend, everybody is welcome. And that is all, really, we can do.

And we will also stand by our commitments with our friends on anything legitimate which ensures the security of those regions.

**QUESTION :** *In your talks with President Kennedy and Mr. Dean Rusk, did the question of Pukhtoonistan and Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan come up ?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** Yes. We



did explain to them what the situation was, what sort of problems the Afghan Government was creating in our territory, and we told them of the events that had taken place. And we also told them of our determination to defend our territories.

Yes, that simply, we did do that.

*QUESTION: What are the prospects for settlement of disputes between Afghanistan and Pakistan? Do you regard Afghanistan as dominated by Soviet Russia?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** Well, there are very good prospects, if God gives light to anybody. There is no problem between Afghanistan and Pakistan, it is an artificial problem and I think as soon as that is realised the thing will be resolved.

I do not think that Afghanistan is actually dominated by Russia. She certainly has received enormous amounts of assistance from Russia. I do not know how long it will take them to pay back, about a hundred years, I think.

I am not an economist to say whether that is domination. You fellows can probably answer that better. But as far as we are concerned, we are prepared to do whatever we can do in our humble way to assist Afghanistan, in fact we do assist them. A lot of their trade goes over our communications system, and our communications system is already over-stretched because of our development of land, and so on, but we make allowance for their goods. We give several other forms of assistance. We have not put any currency control on trade between Afghanistan and Pakistan, although it is a very desirable thing and necessary thing, and so on.

But, we make no recognition of

this kindness or anything like that.

However, basically there is no substance in this dispute. They want to take over the territory and—also liberate people. I happen to be one of them. We have not appealed for assistance yet.

*QUESTION: Why cannot Pakistan, as a Muslim country—not directly involved in the Arab-Israel conflict—take the initiative to settle this conflict?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** Have you tried that, whoever is asking the question? A lot of other people tried to do that and got their fingers burned.

Well, we would love to assist, yes, certainly. This problem is a very unsettling problem in the Middle East and a very serious problem that affects the security of everyone of us. But, quite frankly, this business of trying to act as busy body, unless both sides are willing to use your good offices, is a waste of time.

Time and time again it has been proved that it is not. It does not lead you anywhere. You are only misunderstood.

And also, we have a large number of our own problems, too. We are very busy.

*QUESTION: Would the Pakistan Armed Forces be substantially different in equipment and tactics if the borders with India were no longer a priority defensive responsibility?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** Well, the Armed Forces of any country have to be designed to meet the needs of that country. I do not think that concepts can be very much different, but if we, relatively a smaller country than the countries around us in Asia, get into a serious war we shall have a much larger number of men against



us and a much larger amount of equipment against us.

Now from that reality you have to work backward and ask yourself what sort of tactical concepts should you adopt which may enable you to remain in the field, beat such an enemy, and at the same time you remain within your resources.

That is the sort of exercise we are continually carrying on. Our concepts are already changing very rapidly, although a large number of our people have been trained here, and of course most were trained on the British concepts, some even went

to British schools, that sort of exercise is going on all the time.

Armed Forces are just like any industry. Unless you have your research and development going on all the time, people who are thinking of the future and producing ideas would stagnate. In the life of today, you cannot stagnate. In industry if you stagnate, you go out of business. In the evolution of Armed Forces if you stagnate, you would not remain in business in the field for very long. So, that sort of exercise continually goes on, certainly in our Army.

*The Proceedings of Meet-the-Press Programme telecast over N.B.C. Television network from Washington, D.C. on 16 July 1961*

**MISS FREDERICK:** *Mr. President, many people in this country feel the People's Republic of China would be a greater threat to the peace if the United States were to recognise it and if it were to belong to the United Nations, or be represented in the United Nations. Would you agree with them?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** I know in the United States there is a tremendous feeling, emotional feeling, on this problem of China. Your people have had long connections with China, and I know they are feeling frustrated and so on. Looking at it purely rationally, I think Red China should be admitted to the United Nations, but that does not entirely satisfy people who look at it from a purely emotional angle. I can see that in the next General Assembly the vote for putting the Chinese question on the list for consideration will probably be favourable to China.

I would beg the people in America to have a united view, because any division in public opinion in America at this stage when so many things, dangerous things, are boiling up, would be extremely dangerous.

**MISS FREDERICK:** *Even if that united view is opposed to having the People's Republic of China represented in the United Nations?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** I say whatever view you have, do see that as many of you as possible support it.

**MISS FREDERICK:** *Mr. President, you have indicated that you believe this subject will be discussed in the coming General Assembly. Do you think there will be a vote in favour of representation of Red China in the coming Assembly?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** This is what the assessment of a large number of people is. You will notice in the last General Assembly, when the



vote was taken on this, I believe the motion was defeated by about three or four votes, and some 20 members of the United Nations abstained. That may not obtain next time.

**MR. CHILDS:** *Mr. President, how far do you think that President Kennedy can go—in persuading Prime Minister Nehru—to mediate in the dispute between Pakistan and India over the province of Kashmir?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** We will see how far he can go. He should be able to go a long way.

**MR. CHILDS:** *Did you discuss this with him now in your visit in Washington?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** Yes, I did, I did.

**MR. CHILDS:** *Did he agree to mediate?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** Yes, he did—well, he agreed to the settling—to raise this point with him and impress upon him the necessity of the resolution of this problem, because unless Kashmir is resolved, the present situation, which is that the Indian Army and Pakistan Army are facing each other, will stay, and if that stays, all sorts of dangerous consequences can follow, which I have described several times before. So that situation is not only dangerous for India and Pakistan, but it is dangerous for your interests too.

**MR. CHILDS:** *I know how strongly you feel about this, Mr. President. In your opinion, would President Kennedy be well advised, if Prime Minister Nehru refused to allow him to be mediator, to cut off aid to India of any kind?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** That is something that is very difficult to answer, but let us look at the philo-

sophy of this aid. You are giving this enormous or massive aid to India for a certain purpose. The purpose is to bring an area of stability, create an area of stability in those regions. If you are doing that, then there is some obligation on Mr. Nehru, too, to respond with responsibility and help to resolve such problems that militate against achievement of that objective. So you have every right to say, "Well look, what good can our aid do while this situation is locked between India and Pakistan?"

**MR. CHILDS:** *What if in a mediation by President Kennedy or some of his advisers the decision went against Pakistan and Kashmir was ruled to be part of India, would you feel compelled to accept that decision, Mr. President?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** The basic thing is that Kashmir belongs to the people of Kashmir. If the people of Kashmir said they did not want to be with Pakistan, then we have no reason to urge them to be with Pakistan. What we want is that they should get freedom.

**MR. CHILDS:** *But you would be quite willing to submit to an impartial mediation, is that correct?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** Let me say, after that mediation has found out the feelings of the people, yes. Well, why not?

**MR. SPIVAK:** *Mr. President, can you tell us now what position Pakistan will take in the United Nations on the question of admitting Communist China?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** You know that we have recognised Communist China; we have an embassy in Peking; they have an embassy in Karachi. They are our neighbours. We



feel and we have been feeling that they should be admitted into the United Nations. I know that sometimes it is contradictory to the feelings of the people here, but it cannot do any harm. Anyhow, the present situation is anomalous.

*MR. SPIVAK: Does that mean then Pakistan will vote for admission if the question comes up?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Yes.*

*MR. SPIVAK: Is it likely?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Yes.*

*MR. SPIVAK: Is it certain?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: I think it is almost certain, yes.*

*MR. SPIVAK: Red China has been a trouble-maker outside of the U.N. What do you expect is going to be gained by admitting her to the U.N.?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: You can certainly tell them that this is the sort of trouble they are making, if people think that they are trouble-makers. Whereas, if you haven't got the opportunity to confront them, then you deny yourself even the right of doing that much.*

*MR. SPIVAK: Don't you think we have already told them that in many ways?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: That is only indirect, isn't it? Over a distance of somewhat 15,000 miles?*

*MR. SPIVAK: You think if you admit them into the United Nations that you are going to have less trouble? We have had the Russians in there now for some years, and they certainly have caused enough trouble both in and outside the United Nations. What then is to be gained?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Just imagine what would have happened if the Russians were not members of the United Nations. Do you think that*

would have reduced their ability to create trouble? It may be that they would have embarked on a far greater amount, shall we say—through lack of knowledge of the other people, they might have done all sorts of things.

*MR. BROOKS: Mr. President, do you think Red China should also be admitted to the disarmament talks on the theory that sooner or later they will have atomic weapons?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: All I can say is, that if disarmament is to come ever, which I doubt, then I think any country like China will undoubtedly have to be a party and a member to such a transaction.*

*MR. SPIVAK: Mr. President, I would like to ask you one question on Prime Minister Nehru which you may or may not feel you can answer. There are a great many people in this country, and I think in Europe, too, who feel that Mr. Nehru is one of the great influences for peace in the world. What is the attitude in Asia on that, in your area of Asia?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: He has not been instrumental in bringing about peace in the area in which he lives, and we live next door him.*

*MISS FREDERICK: Mr. President, we have been hearing a great deal of ominous talk between the East and West. By that I mean particularly between the United States and the Soviet Union over their differences, over Berlin and other places. We have been hearing veiled hints that there might be military action. Each has stepped up its military budget so that each is spending more than 40 per cent of its budget on weapons and military preparation.*

*Two questions: Is a nuclear war*



*realistic in this day and age? If not, is this just bluffing on either side?*

*Secondly, how does a smaller nation which does not have such weapons feel when it is sort of caught in between these two competing big powers?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** I will answer your question in two parts. First of all, what you are trying to say is this, now that nuclear weapons and thermonuclear weapons have been developed, do I think that war is now out of the question?

My belief is, it does not matter what type of weapons exist, human beings will still fight each other. If you disarm the whole world today, they will fight with their fists, I think, until such time that the world law-maintaining authority is established, until you have some sort of world confederation or world government coming into the world. I do not know whether mankind will move fast enough toward that direction. If it did, it could avoid the Third World

War. If it did not—you could have disarmament tomorrow. People talk about disarmament. Even if you have disarmament, you find that suspicions will still stay. Some weapons will still remain hidden. One nation will not trust another nation, and war could still start, perhaps even with bows and arrows, and so on. And the only preventive to that is a body that can maintain law and order amongst the human race.

I would like to submit that the effort should not be so much on bringing about disarmament, but bringing about a common form of government in which the whole human race has a faith. Unfortunately, you come up against this problem, the Communists say, "Well, we are offering you a pact. If you accept this, all the struggle is over." The rest of mankind is not perhaps ready to accept that as the correct pact.

*Verbatim report of the Press Conference at Waldorf-Astoria, New York (N.Y.) on 17, July 1961*

**QUESTION :** *Would you care to tell us something about your relationship with China and whether you are getting Cuban sugar through China and whether you are having border troubles with them; a little something about your relations with China.*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** Well, the Chinese are our neighbours as you know. We have no trouble with China and we, to my knowledge, are not importing Cuban sugar and certainly not via China.

We are on the look-out for 50,000 tons of sugar and I think India made a bid and its tender was accepted. There was some difficulty; we found that we could not find the fellow who had made the bid. We are still looking for him.

But, anyhow, the upshot is that no such contact to my knowledge has taken place.

**QUESTION :** *And no border difficulties?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** No, no.



*QUESTION: Sir, have you found much support in government circles here for your views on Kashmir?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, there certainly is concern over this situation, concern on behalf of India and on behalf of us, and also the United States interests. There certainly is concern amongst thinking people.*

*QUESTION: Mr. President, do you have a programme for helping the Palestine refugees? You have had a good deal of experience with refugees. Do you see any solution for this?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, there is the Palestine refugee assistance through the United Nations Agency here. We look after them and we make our contribution. We have a lot of experience, but it has cost us an enormous amount of money.*

*It is only recently that we are beginning to see the end of that problem.*

*QUESTION: Mr. President, to get back to Kashmir, was anything—did anything definite come out of your visit as to give you hope where perhaps you might be meeting with Mr. Nehru perhaps to work out something?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, there was none of this arrangement that I have been meeting Mr. Nehru and he meeting with me and discussing anything. All I say is that there is considerable concern in the minds of the Administration on this problem.*

*QUESTION: Do you feel better going back than you did when you arrived here on this situation?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: I will feel better when this problem is resolved.*

*QUESTION: Do you interpret this concern as support, sir?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, as I say, support in what sense, in what way?*

*QUESTION: Support for your views on that issue.*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: I think the United States Administration will certainly support any move on the part of India to come to an agreement with us.*

*QUESTION: Mr. President, how many times has your country accepted the United Nations offer of plebiscite and how many times has India turned it down?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, as far as I know the plebiscite decision took place at the time of cease fire. I think that was the time when the United Nations initial resolution talked about the plebiscite and the withdrawal of forces both Indian and Pakistani. Thereafter, the thing got stuck up over the withdrawal of forces.*

*There have been thirteen solutions offered by the United Nations. We have accepted all of them.*

*QUESTION: You have accepted all of them.*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: India has rejected everyone of them.*

*QUESTION: Do you think there may grow, is it your belief, there may grow out of the Kashmir issue a shooting war?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, sir, the two armies are facing each other.*

*QUESTION: What is your feeling about the nervousness of the two armies?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: All I say is that human beings are curious things. When they get fed up, they*



will do all sorts of things.

*QUESTION: Is Pakistan fed up?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Pakistan certainly is not very pleased.*

*QUESTION: Mr. President, when General Shape was in Libya the other day he said it was desirable that you and Mr. Nehru have a meeting soon to settle these and other things.*

*Do you think such initiative would be forthcoming from you side soon?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: We have taken the initiative all the time on these issues, but if we find any desire on the part of Mr. Nehru to settle this problem we shall certainly not refuse such an offer.*

*QUESTION: After your meeting with Mr. Nehru at Palam Airport, when you were there last, things looked pretty bright, and a meeting was expected to come through.*

*Do you think a climate of that type would come through now?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Climate—are you from India?*

*QUESTION: Yes.*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: All right. I think it lies in your hands. If you can persuade your Prime Minister, we are quite ready to do business*

with you.

*QUESTION: Well, I would like to ask you if you are going to retain Pakistan troops in the Congo and what you think of United Nations intervention in the Congo, and if you think the Congo should have a centralised or federalised government?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, really, I am nobody to say what sort of government Congo should have. It is a matter for the people of Congo, isn't it, to decide, to determine amongst themselves.*

We have always felt that under the United Nations' resolution, any assistance that is military assistance or any form of assistance that is given to Congo should be given through the auspices of the United Nations. We were asked to supply a certain number of troops. We have a limited number of troops—I think 350 to 400—and a limited amount of officers and so on. That is in support of the United Nations.

*QUESTION: If there should be a military dispute with India, would you withdraw your force from the Congo?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, that remains to be seen. We will see.*

*The English rendering of the Independence Day Message to the Nation, broadcast from Radio Pakistan, Rawalpindi on 13 August 1961*

...Our next-door neighbour, the Muslim country of Afghanistan, is no less a problem child. In this 20th century, the rulers in Kabul have taken upon themselves to extend their empire over the territory of others and with that end in view they

have embarked upon the path of disruption, sedition and sabotage within Pakistan. Unfortunately it is never difficult to find a few soulless people who are ready to sell their conscience for a bit of money and it is through these paid agents that the



Kabul rulers have been making military incursions and sabotage in our country.

We, on our part, have nothing but feeling of deep friendship and goodwill for our Afghan brothers. I pray that the rulers in Kabul may see the futility of their actions and understand the serious repercussions which entail both for Pakistan and Afghanistan. They are doing nothing better than creating unnecessary and unwarranted problems for the people of both the countries. I wish that they have the wisdom to see the writing on the wall and ponder over the fate of countries like Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan which are surrounded by three mighty powers on all sides. Prudence demands that these three countries should get together and devise ways and means for their security and survival. If the rulers of Afghanistan still insist to pursue the barren path of their present policies its only result will be that they will go on wasting their valuable resources for nothing and in consequence they will go on making their country weaker and weaker.

If on the other hand they open

their eyes to the dictates of wisdom and realism, Pakistan will not lag behind in making its full contribution to the creation and promotion of common bonds of security and progress.

Till such time as the Afghan rulers do not bring about the healthy change in their attitude, our duty is clear. That duty is to preserve our boundaries and defend our territory by every means at our disposal.

Lately, the minds of our people have been agitated over happenings in Bizerta where hundreds of innocent Muslims have been killed or wounded in ruthless fashion. Our sympathies go out to them in their sorrow and in their trials and tribulations and we hope that they will win their sovereign rights over their territory. We are at the same time grieved that France has alienated the sympathies of a man like President Bourguiba who is well known for his balance of mind and moderation. I believe the free world has suffered a great loss through this tragedy and that it is in its interest to rectify matters as soon as possible.

*Extracts from extempore speech at the banquet given by Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal on Karachi on 12 September 1961*

For the last two days, you [His Majesty the King of Nepal] have been here. We have had free and frank discussions on several things. We have been impressed by your sincerity and your wisdom and your courage. I have also been impressed by the

desire, to do the best, by your country. You are in search of peace and in search of progress in just the same way as we are in Pakistan. You have been an independent country for a long time; we got independence only a few years ago. It is



quite clear that our task is to improve the living conditions of our peoples. For that we need peace and for that we also need stability of government and good administration. We need to apply our minds to our problems, very strictly and very soundly, and to work hard and yet harder still.

In the process, in the matter of maintaining stability of government and a stable administration, one is apt to be misled at times, one is also apt to be misunderstood at times. In trying to do the best by the peoples in our countries, our friends, instead of being helpful, often become a nuisance. They think that a free society cannot be run and cannot be called free unless it is run in accordance with some known text-book maxims. Here, too, our people get bedevilled by the same idea. They (our friends) are not doing right by the people and right in accordance with the circumstances obtaining in a country. They (the people) often wait for somebody else to say from outside whether it is right or wrong. I believe that is a very fallacious attitude of life, a very inhibited attitude of life.

I believe that the basic thing in your country, like my country, is that we have to have a democratic system. We must allow our people opportunity to go ahead and make as good as they can, and that can only happen if there is a sphere and an atmosphere of equality, an atmosphere of brotherhood, and an atmosphere of liberty. Once that is done, the system has really to conform to whatever the circumstances of the country are.

I personally think that you should not feel in the least shy to have a

certain system of government in operation in your country as long as you feel that your people will have freedom under that system. I for one would not wait for chits from outside and be worried about what somebody else from outside says. Once you make the grade, everybody will give you a good chit.

And that is the sort of thing we are facing here, too. I think what we have got to do is to evolve our system in such a way that our people will be able to understand it, to work it, and to have faith in it. That is the basic thing. What anybody else from outside says about it, we should pay no attention whatsoever to it. This is my philosophy of life.

Often people in my country, who have been brought up on books, who have lived from one room to another, and who have not seen the light of day, do not know the circumstances of the people, do not know the conditions and problems we are facing.

As long as you are sincere to your people and you are trying best for them, you will get the desired results.

I am not sure that even under some recognised systems of democracy, people are not getting tired of them. There are quite a few sensible people knocking about in the world who believe but do not openly say that they are tired of such systems and that they would like to change them. They would rather prefer to have something like what we are trying to evolve. They have said this to me. So, I should have no inhibition about that.

But the basic thing is that we have got to have peace, and we have got to utilise this time for the betterment



of the lot of our people and for encouraging them to better their lot. If they think they can sit back and somebody else will do it for them, they are wrong. That is not the way of life ; that's not how things happen. What has got to be done is to ensure that leaders give sound advice,

sound direction, set good example themselves, make sound plans and provide necessary means, whatever is possible, and then ask people to get along. Talk less ; work more. If that philosophy is followed, a lot can be achieved.

*Extracts from the speech at the Prime Ministers' Conference in London  
on 11 September 1962*

We have watched with great interest the formation and rapid progress of the European Economic Community. We also appreciate the weighty political and economic considerations which have impelled Her Majesty's Government to seek admission to the Community.

It is too early to assess all the political implications of this move, but the economic consequences for us and other members of the Commonwealth are fairly discernible.

It has been Pakistan's hope that the establishment of the European Common Market would lead to the adoption of outward looking policies and would promote the expansion of trading opportunities for Pakistan and other less developed countries.

Our expectations were strengthened by the decision of the United Nations to treat the sixties as the "development decade" during which an intensive effort would be made by the industrially advanced countries for the economic progress of the less developed areas and to reduce the wide gap between the rich and the poor nations of the world.

It was assumed that, apart from helping to improve our terms of trade by increasing the prices and offtake of our primary products and raw materials, the Western world would help us to diversify our economies by the establishment of industries, particularly those based on our own raw materials, and by providing a growing outlet for our simple manufactures.

We hope that in this manner we would be able, not only to increase the total level of our trade, but also to narrow the large gap between our imports and exports, to repay the loans and credits obtained for financing our development plans, to gradually reduce our dependence on foreign aid and, within a reasonable period of time, to reach the self-sustaining stage in the growth of our economy.

The Western world, including the EEC, provides a good deal of the foreign exchange for financing the expansion of the productive capacity of developing countries like Pakistan. Logically, they should at the same time open their doors for the growing volume of trade which this assist-



ance will produce.

The Western world must decide whether it will make a viable place for the developing countries or whether it intends to turn itself into a powerful international cartel, denying access to our manufacturers to their markets, and forcing us to remain primary producers to feed their factories, dictating terms of trade and compelling us to pay several times more for their finished goods.

If this were to happen, it would amount to re-establishing imperialism of the worst kind, the consequences of which would be nothing short of disastrous.

I am sure that this would never be tolerated by the people of underdeveloped countries, that in the long run it would not benefit the industrially advanced countries of the West. Rather, it would be just the sort of opening what Communism wants and would not be slow to exploit.

I, therefore, urge very strongly that the West should define its long-range economic philosophy clearly and expeditiously, so that we know where we fit in, and are re-assured as to our future economic prospects.

Might I add that, just as you cannot have abject poverty alongside with affluence within a country, so also you cannot expect friendly co-existence between those countries that are deliberately kept backward and the ones that are bulging with wealth.

There is a talk of negotiating bilateral trade agreements between us and the European Community by 1966. We simply cannot afford to wait for so long. We are making

heavy investments. You are also making sizable investments in the developed world: its direction cannot be decided without deciding quickly where its future output will go.

If the Western countries have accepted the necessity to help to diversify the economies of developing countries and to raise their standards of living, they must be prepared to provide outlets for their manufactures as well as for their raw materials.

Indeed, there must be a reasonable division of industrial effort, the advanced countries concentrating more and more on production of sophisticated goods, leaving simpler manufactures to less developed countries like Pakistan. I think we are entitled to ask if the West, in fact, has made up its mind on these problems and is willing to match its words with concrete deeds.

We have followed with keen interest and anxiety the negotiations between the United Kingdom and the European Economic Community. We hoped that these negotiations would help to reinforce the economic and political strengths of our Western friends and allies, without injuring our own vital trading interests.

We were fortified by the assurances given by Her Majesty's Government, and reiterated recently by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, that the interests of Commonwealth countries would be studied with "the same critical care and sense of responsibility as if they were our own" and that the United Kingdom would join the European Economic Community only if it was able to safeguard the



essential interests of Pakistan and other Commonwealth Countries.

Firstly, the EEC and the United Kingdom, together, account for over one-third of Pakistan's foreign trade, and will have a considerable impact on its future commercial progress.

Secondly, there is a growing imbalance in the import and export trade of Pakistan with the EEC and the United Kingdom. While the imports from United Kingdom and EEC have increased from about Rs. 600 million in 1958-59 to over Rs. 1,200 million in 1960-61, exports from Pakistan to those countries rose only by ten per cent during this period and remained below Rs. 600 million.

This situation would have been intolerable but for the generous aid and loans given by the United States, the Commonwealth and other friendly countries for financing of development programmes. But these loans have to be repaid. This imposes a very heavy burden on our limited foreign exchange resources and the position is becoming more and more difficult from year to year.

Thirdly, one of the most important objectives of Pakistan's Second Five-Year Plan is an increase of nearly 15 per cent in total foreign exchange earnings between the years 1959-60 and 1964-65. While every effort is being made to increase the production of primary products and raw materials, there are only limited prospects for increased world markets for these commodities.

Consequently, only one-fourth of the projected increase in foreign earnings is expected from exports of raw materials, and three-fourths of

the increase depends on finding outlets for our manufactured goods.

The negotiations at Brussels since last November have been very complicated and strenuous, and have involved a great deal of labour and effort for all concerned, in particular for the Lord Privy Seal and his able team of advisers.

We are deeply conscious of, and grateful for, their earnest endeavours to secure the best possible terms, but we are constrained to observe that the proposals do not safeguard our vital interests and are inadequate.

The European Economic Community have summarily turned down our request for maintenance of the pattern of our trade relations with the United Kingdom for lowering of the Common External Tariff, the liberalisation of quota restrictions, and extension of the period of transition.

The Community has adopted a highly protectionist attitude. Wherever there was a direct conflict between the interests of their well-established industries and our comparatively new ventures, the decisions have been in favour of the E.E.C.

In substance the proposals affecting Pakistan, negotiated by the United Kingdom with the European Economic Community were :

(1) The preference enjoyed by Pakistan in the British market will disappear by January 1975. On the other hand, a set of preferences will be created in favour of the members and associates of the EEC against Pakistan.

(2) The Common Market external tariff of the EEC will be applied to Pakistan's exports by stages, the full



tariff coming into effect by 1967 in the case of cotton textiles and jute goods, and by 1970 in the case of other manufactured goods.

(3) There will continue to be quantitative restrictions on imports of cotton textiles into the United Kingdom and the EEC. Some restrictions are also likely to continue on imports of jute goods and a number of other industrial items.

(4) The duty on tea will be reduced to zero and the Six have also agreed to suspend duties on a number of tropical products. These items, however, constitute only a small part of our exports. A decision is still awaited on the request for zero duties for heavy jute goods, East India Kips, hand-knitted carpets and handloom products.

(5) The enlarged Community have offered to negotiate a comprehensive trade agreement with Pakistan, by the end of 1966 at the latest, the objectives of which will be "develop mutual trade, for the purpose of maintaining and, as much as possible, increasing the level" of our foreign currency receipts and, in general, of facilitating the implementation of our development plans.

We welcome this offer and appreciate the terms in which it has been formulated but it remains to be seen in what manner and to what extent these objectives will be attained in practice.

With regard to the impact of these proposals on Pakistan's trade, as far as we can make out, our primary products and raw materials and some tropical products will continue to enter duty-free and will not be adversely affected. One must, however, add

that there is not much scope for expanding exports of these commodities, and that, since a long time, the terms of world trade have been against primary products.

Our main anxiety is with regard to exports of industrial goods. The arrangements proposed with regard to the jute industry are incomplete, and a decision is still awaited on your proposal for nil tariffs on heavy jute goods.

Our exports of cotton textiles, which is an important earner of foreign exchange, are bound to suffer and we are in a serious danger of losing our markets for carpets, leather goods, sports goods and other manufactures developed during the last ten years.

The most disturbing feature, however, is the fact that we may be deprived of our traditional outlet to the United Kingdom for the new industries which are being set up at so much effort and cost during the current Five-Year Plan period.

As the proposals provisionally agreed between the United Kingdom and the European Economic Community are going to be examined in detail by our Ministers and experts later this week, I shall not attempt to deal with them in detail.

I would like, however, to make two or three general observations as to the lines on which the proposals could be made more palatable.

Firstly, if the United Kingdom decides to join the Common Market, negotiations regarding the proposed comprehensive trade agreement should be initiated as soon as possible after U.K.'s entry.

Secondly, in view of the short time



that is likely to elapse between U.K.'s entry and finalisation of the trade agreement, there is no justification for immediate application of the common external tariff to our exports to the United Kingdom. This would be of little or no benefit to the European Economic Community, while it would cause considerable damage to our economy.

Thirdly, one of the important objectives of the trade agreement should be to rectify the growing imbalance in Pakistan's trade with the enlarged Community.

Fourthly, quota restrictions should be abolished, the common external tariff should be reduced to a level which would permit a reasonable outlet for the manufactured goods of Pakistan and other developing countries, and nil tariffs should be allowed for a number of industrial items which are important for our economy but constitute an infinitesimal part of the production of the enlarged Community.

I do not have to dwell upon the

difficulties that will arise for us if these and other reasonable suggestions are not entertained. Our economic situation is such that we could not tolerate, even for a short period, any significant reduction in our earnings of foreign exchange.

We will be obliged either to curtail our imports from our traditional sources of supply, or to alter radically our pattern of trade and look for other outlets for our exports.

I also cannot help feeling that if all our earnest pleas are ignored, and if arrangements are finalised between the United Kingdom and the European Economic Community which do serious injury to our economy, our people's confidence in the value of the economic ties with the United Kingdom and the sterling area will be shaken.

I earnestly hope that the points I have raised will be given serious consideration, because on their outcome depends our future relationship with the West and the fate of millions of people in our country.

*Address before the Foreign Press Association at a luncheon in London  
on 14 September 1962*

One of the basic problems which faced newly emerging countries was the stability of Government. If they did not have it, living standards of people could be affected and finally independence would be defeated.

Pakistan, in its hurry and strong belief in independence, had thought it the panacea of all its problems. Pakistan had not paused to think

that she should have a democratic system understood by its people. They had instead taken a Western point of view at first.

The newly emergent countries of today could find themselves in similar difficulties unless they realised this.

Generally, the Western world had departed from religion. Outward forms and manifestations of demo-



cracy had taken place of religion. That influence and attitude was reflected in dealings by the press with the newly emerging world. Many people called themselves intellectuals. My definition of intellectual was a man with too much knowledge who did not know how to use it.

The independence and freedom which we have got we shall use for fruitful purposes to develop our country and enable us to take advantage of our security and inheritance.

My visit to President de Gaulle has no sinister significance whatever. When I was coming here to attend the Prime Ministers' Conference I thought it might be a good thing to pay my respects to him. He is a very great man indeed. In essence, this is a courtesy call but one would take the opportunity to discuss with him, if he is agreeable, problems which confront us as a result of the emergence of the new Economic Community in Europe.

Despite precautions to ensure secrecy at the Prime Ministers' Conference, the press seemed to know quite a lot about it.

Some people have objection to Britain joining the Economic Community on political basis. Others had grave doubts, not so much about the soundness of the economic tie-ups between Britain and Europe but are concerned because it is not clear how the economies of other Commonwealth countries would dovetail into new Europe.

I belong to that second category. It is not clear to us how our economy will be affected if Britain joins. It is not clear to what extent Common-

wealth privileges, if withdrawn, will affect our economy. This is the burning question with us. Will there be a market for our goods at reasonable prices in Europe or not. That picture is not clear.

Naturally, there is concern in minds of my people on this. As I see it, Common Market is a germ of something bigger emerging in the world. We know what has happened to the United Nations. It is no secret. It has ceased to be as effective an organ as the world wanted it to be. Would it not be better to take the opportunity of enlarging the scope of the Common Market, not necessarily political scope, but certainly in economic fields?

This is a crucial moment in our history. Something greater can emerge if there is foresight. Europe prospering by itself is no solution to world affairs. If this aspect were not taken care of, it was possible that the economies of countries like Pakistan might languish. Western community might well be faced with much larger opposition than today.

This is just an idea in my mind which I have suggested to one or two friends at the Conference. I do not think they are convinced. I may or may not succeed in convincing others. I believe there is considerable support for examining this idea and putting it into practice if possible. If Britain joined, that promise of negotiation on Pakistan trade agreement should start immediately and not be delayed until 1966 as had been forecast.

We have no quarrel with Afghanistan. We want to be friends. We are prepared to give them facilities



in our communications system at concessional rates. We are prepared to do all those things a friendly country is expected to do. So far not much progress has been made on this. The Foreign Ministers of the two countries were to meet in the near future. We are prepared to normalise relations and offer facilities as friends. We can prove to anybody that we can send all their stuff and load it at Karachi and send to the border without anyone else handling it.

Millions of tons of Pakistan goods travel that way.

Answer to difficulties with India lay not in MIG fighters but good-heartedness and friendship which we have offered but they keep singling us out as enemy number one. I should know if Pakistan was enemy number one of India. I know for fact it is not so. Our desire is to live at peace and in friendship honourably with India.

*Statement issued from Rawalpindi on 5 November 1962*

I have held lengthy discussions with appropriate experts and advisers over the situation that has arisen through the recent conflict between our two neighbours, China and India, and its repercussions on our security and relationships.

I have also received communications on the subject from the President of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and the Prime Minister of India. The replies to them are under preparation and will be sent in due course giving our view of the situation.

Broadly speaking, we are seriously disturbed that the differences between India and China have erupted into an armed conflict. However, we believe that the scope of this conflict, because of the terrain over which it is being waged, can perforce be limited. If it were otherwise, then the contestants would have started it with considerable campaigning period ahead of them. It was no time to

start it in October when the weather conditions will progressively bring military operations to a halt.

However unfortunate this situation may be, we hope that our two neighbours will be able to settle their problem peacefully and amicably.

Our policy has been based on peace at large, specially peace with our neighbours. Unfortunately, we have so far failed to achieve this with our neighbour, India, through her unwillingness to reach an equitable and honourable settlement over Kashmir. Because of this, we are both wasting resources on military preparations. These resources are sorely needed for the amelioration of the conditions of our people. I hope it is still not too late for India to realise the virtues that will follow this settlement, and the resultant benefits that will accrue to both the countries. For one thing, we shall be free from anxiety from each other and that by itself will be a very big gain.



From all accounts, a large amount of military equipment is being rushed to India from the United States of America, United Kingdom and elsewhere. For one thing, it may have the effect of enlarging and prolonging the conflict between China and

India, and, secondly, add to the serious concern already existing in the minds of our people that these weapons may well be used against them in the absence of an overall settlement with India.

*Message to the Eleventh Ministerial Council Meeting of the Central Treaty Organisation held at Karachi on 30 April 1963*

We are passing through dangerous but challenging times. The danger lies in the unleashing of conflicts which could result in the total annihilation of mankind. The challenge is posed by the overriding necessity of using all our spiritual, moral and material resources to ensure that a just and lasting peace shall prevail. On the other hand, nations of the world—particularly the developing nations—have to face the rising expectations of their peoples for better, richer and fuller life, which can only be achieved if there is peace, security, and international co-operation. It should, therefore, be the common effort of all peace-loving nations not to do anything which is likely or calculated to aggravate the difficult situations which face us all today, or tip the balance of power in an area in such a way as to create nervousness

or tension in the minds of smaller countries which are looking desperately for peace, security and stability. I need not add that Big Powers have a special responsibility in this regard.

Pakistan believes that alliances such as CENTO have become necessary in the present-day world. For, as long as world peace is not assured through general and complete disarmament and the establishment of an international peace force and the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes between nations is more often disregarded than respected, the danger of war remains. Smaller nations are, therefore, obliged to attach great weight to collective security in order to be able to defend their national survival when threatened by some hostile neighbours.

*Independence Day Broadcast to the Nation on the eve of the Sixteenth Anniversary of Pakistan on 13 August 1963*

Although we have a large number of internal problems yet to be faced and overcome, the external danger

which has recently developed is naturally occupying the attention of all of us.



Islam, whose very name means the religion of peace, enjoins on us to live at peace with ourselves as well as with others. We have tried to remain at peace with all the countries of the world, particularly our neighbours. We have tried to avoid disputes and tensions, even at some cost to ourselves.

I am glad to say that we have been able to come to a peaceful settlement of the boundary question

between us and our great neighbour, China. Similarly, diplomatic relations have recently been restored between us and our Muslim brother, Afghanistan. And I hope and pray that this is the beginning of friendly and good-neighbourly relations between our countries. We have also settled and demarcated our boundary with our valuable friend, Iran, for whom we have nothing but goodwill

*First-of-the-month broadcast on 1 October 1963*

In foreign affairs, a development of immediate and anxious concern to us has been the arming of India, as if it was not well-armed already, by the Western countries and Russia. India herself has declared a state of emergency to enable the Government to assume dictatorial powers. She has increased her own warlike preparations as if a major war was on.

Weapons of war are being rushed to India by the Western countries, as well as by Russia, as if a major war was imminent. These preparations are said to be against China. Now, China declared a cease-fire unilaterally and withdrew her forces from the conquered territory when the Indian army was on the run and the whole of the Assam plain was at the victor's feet. And China has asked for negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

That there is no possibility of a major war between India and China is believed even in the capitals of those countries which are rushing arms aid to India. Then, why are they doing so? The reasons are best

known to them. Butiwe can see that they wish to take dvantage of the anti-Chinese feeling In India to align her to the West or at least to range her against China. In this, they are sadly mistaken. China and India are the giants of Asia. They know that they will destroy each other if there is a major war. So, a hot war is out of the question. Even a cold war between these giants is harmful to their interests, politically as well as economically. It would neutralise them completely. And they are sensible enough to know it. The Indian newspapers have said that the West should not expect India to align herself with the aid-givers or to range herself against China.

I am sure that India will, sooner or later, come to terms with China. She has kept the Colombo proposals on the peg. And, according to a Washington report, published in an important newspaper in the U.S.A. an emissary of the Indian Prime Minister has suggested that the United States and Russia make a



joint declaration to China for initiating talks for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. The Indian press is also asking for a peaceful settlement with China.

Those who are striving to build up India against China are going to be disappointed and disillusioned. If these warlike preparations go on in India, she will have to justify the huge expenditure of nearly 900 crores

a year on such preparations to the nation which is groaning under the resulting heavy taxation and inflation. What is more natural than a war of conquest against the smaller nation? And we head the list. We have, therefore, every reason to protest and to feel anxious. And I believe that other smaller nations in Asia have similar cause to complain.

*Speech at the fourth Afro-Asian Economic Conference held at Beach Luxury Hotel, Karachi on 5 December 1963*

The dawn of political independence has come to us after a long period of waiting and sacrifice, and our people naturally look forward now to a life of dignity and well-being which has been denied to them for a long time. In this atmosphere of rising expectations, the Afro-Asian countries face problems which are similar in character. And that is what has brought us together here today.

Our main problem is to achieve socio-economic growth in as short a time as possible. This task is difficult enough in all circumstances but is made more difficult by our all too meagre resources in money and trained man-power.

The per capita income in our countries is extremely low and the vast majority of our people live a life of hunger, disease and ignorance.

The literacy percentage is so low that the task of reaching the people and persuading them to change their methods and techniques of work becomes formidable.

The means of communication exist mostly in primitive form. Altogether, we lack the complete infrastructure essential for the attainment of self-sustaining growth.

This enormous task is made still more formidable, sometimes, by problems of political instability, and in the case of most of us by the alarming growth of population.

The rise in population is of such dimensions that it will neutralise whatever progress we expect to achieve through the mobilisation of our modest resources.

These, then, are some of our major common internal problems and our common legacies. On top of these, we have some external problems which beset our path towards economic emancipation. They call for an urgent solution.

Externally, our task is made difficult by some of the policies of the developed countries who have philosophically accepted the necessity of assisting the developing countries but have been unable to give full



effect to what has been accepted intellectually.

Our external difficulties arise from tariffs, quota restrictions and other obstacles which prevent the expansion of our export trade.

The unfortunate fluctuation in prices of raw materials, when the prices of manufactured goods are showing a steep and constant rise, further aggravates our terms of trade.

The agricultural policies of the developed countries to give substantial subsidies to their domestic market, by way of protection, reduces the prices of the agricultural products in the international field to the disadvantage of the developing countries.

The developed countries have also shown reluctance to vacate the field of simple manufactures with the unfortunate result that the cheap manufactured products of the developing countries are left with inadequate external markets.

Such industry as we have been able to set up with loans taken from developed countries is thus unable to generate adequate foreign exchange earnings to enable us to meet our growing foreign debt obligations.

Some recently published statistics show that in 32 less-developed countries the debt liability now absorbs 7 per cent of the export earnings as compared with only 3 per cent in 1955.

There is no doubt in the mind of anyone now that foreign aid programmes, though admittedly of great assistance to the developing economies, are in fact inadequate for the balanced economic growth of these countries.

The limitations of such assistance

have been amply demonstrated and it is generally recognised now that this form of assistance will have to be supplemented.

It is self-evident that to provide aid and to deny trade to the less developed countries amounts almost to giving with one hand but taking away with the other.

Therefore, if we are to solve the balance of payments difficulties, we should explore possibilities of new trade patterns and preference in the industrial markets for the manufactures of the developing countries.

A recent U.N. world survey indicated that if the developed countries took ten billion dollars worth of manufactures by 1980 from under-developed countries, it would materially help the under-developed countries, although it would be only one per cent of the additional demand of manufactures in the world.

Thus, the creation of export opportunities in developed countries for the under-developed countries does not require any extraordinary effort or sacrifice on the part of the former.

We should, therefore, consider the linking up of the questions of aid and trade, as neither by itself will be enough, and both will have to be harnessed for achieving the goals we all have in mind.

These then are some of our common internal and external problems. What is going to be our approach to them is a searching question which we must ask ourselves in all earnestness. The situation will demand concerted and sustained effort on our part over a long period.

Internally, we must reform our



educational and social systems, our outmoded ways of agriculture, our administrative machinery and our way of life generally. And we must mobilise all the resources available to us for an all-out attack on appalling poverty, ignorance and disease with which we are faced today.

Externally, we should urge the developed countries to accept structural changes in their economies so that the field of simple manufactures is vacated in favour of developing countries who could thereby improve their export earnings, meet their increasing foreign debt obligations and also enlarge their capacity for the import of more sophisticated manufactures from the developed countries.

The latter should also be urged to make their contribution towards the stability of the prices of raw materials so that developing countries which produce them can plan their programmes on reasonably safe assumptions and estimates of their earnings.

In short, new trade patterns and economic relations should be evolved. It should be clear to any man with perception that the lopsided economic development of the world is not in the larger interests of the world, not even of those who gain thereby for a short while.

It is only the all-round development of the peoples of the world which will lead to the permanent benefit of any one of them. Such

balanced development alone will create peace and stability in the world, without which no country can maintain its progress and prosperity.

Let us realise that we, in this group, are engaged in a gigantic struggle for economic emancipation and development which has no parallel in human history. Let us have no illusion of what sacrifice the struggle involves. Let us make the effort equal to the task ahead of us. History will judge us harshly if we fail to make the required effort. Let history not judge us so.

Let us, therefore, demonstrate, together where we can, alone where we need not or cannot, that we are determined and anxious to make the sacrifices which the attainment of our goal demands from us.

It is my hope and prayer that this representative conference will find a solution of the problems facing us today and will lay the foundation of concerted action before the important forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

I hope that you will enjoy your stay in Pakistan, of which you may want to see more after you have finished with your deliberations. The climate is ideal for going round in both wings of the country. And there is plenty to see and, if necessary, to do in the way of business.

I wish the conference full success and a happy ending.



*Address at a Joint Session of Ceylonese Parliament at Colombo on  
9 December 1963*

... Turning to international relations, Pakistan like Ceylon is pledged to the principles and purposes of the United Nations, to the maintenance of international peace, to the promotion of universal collective security, to the peaceful settlement of disputes and to the elimination of the use or threat of force in international relations. These great objectives of the Charter of the United Nations are respect for the principle of self-determination of peoples, the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the removal of other obstacles to friendly relations between nations.

The commitments into which Pakistan has entered as a result of its membership of certain defence arrangements are without prejudice to the obligations of membership of the world organisation which I have just mentioned.

It is in this belief that Pakistan has made concerted efforts with Ceylon and with other countries of Asia and Africa to promote the great promise held out in the United Nations Charter of a world at peace and governed by the rule of law and justice. Notwithstanding certain differences of approach to international questions which are almost entirely the outcome of their respective geo-political situations, there is complete agreement between Ceylon and Pakistan on important questions before the United Nations and other international forums such as disarmament, decolonisation, racial discrimination and problems affecting

the economic development of the less-developed countries.

The international situation has undergone some far-reaching changes in the recent months. Some degree of detente between the opposing blocks has been reflected in the conclusion of the Test Ban Treaty to which both our countries are signatories. This event appears to some as a watershed in the history of the cold war. At the same time it seems to us to be more significant in the promise it holds for future agreements of a truly substantial nature. Pakistan has repeatedly urged that the partial Test Ban Treaty should be followed speedily by the prohibition of underground nuclear tests and by the conclusion of a treaty to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons.

It is not necessary for me to stress the common stand of our two countries on problems of colonialism and racial discrimination. Both our countries are pledged to the immediate total and final elimination of all forms of imperialism and colonialism from the remainder of Africa and from all other parts of the world. Nor can we condone for a moment longer the inhuman and intolerable practices of racial discrimination imposed on one people by another on grounds of race or colour.

In this context we, the peoples of Asia, must welcome the emergence of the Organisation of African Unity which is pledged to the liberation in of the remaining dependent territories in Africa and to the elimination of racial discrimination. The consciousness



of Continental unity that has given so great an impetus to the growing role of Africa in the world affairs is a development which we in Asia might well envy. The African States have been able to evolve a machinery of consultation and a Pan-African forum in which inter-African differences and disputes might be discussed and resolved.

We in Asia have been unable to achieve a parallel development. Differences and disputes, which divide the countries of Asia and impede the growth of a sentiment of Asian solidarity, remain unreconciled. To illustrate, may I mention the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan which has remained unsettled for 16 years and thus denying to the people of Kashmir their inalienable right of self-determination pledged to them by both India and Pakistan in a solemn international agreement?

In the absence of a Pan-Asian forum, it becomes even more necessary for us to strengthen our solidarity with the African nations through the machinery of an Inter-Continental Conference such as that convened in Bandung in 1955. Since that time, more than a score of dependent peoples have emerged as independent and sovereign States. Old disputes remain unresolved and new tensions have arisen. Developments affecting the peace and security of the world, more especially of the Asian Continent, have supervened.

For these reasons, it is the hope of the people of Pakistan that a second Asian-African Conference will be convened in the near future to reappraise the proposals for peace

and fruitful co-operation between Asian-African peoples and the world. No doubt, attempts have been made in the past, and more notably by the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike, and by the Heads of Governments of some other Asian and African countries, to arrest the deterioration of relations between the two largest countries of the world over their disputed borders. My country shares the concern of Ceylon over Sino-Indian relations. We applaud the efforts of your courageous Prime Minister to find an honourable basis for reconciliation in order to prevent any possible escalation of the conflict between them. We share your conviction that a peaceful solution can be found to the Sino-India border dispute.

The People's Republic of China is the largest country in the world. We do not believe that it is either a wise or practicable policy to isolate one-fifth of the human race from the rest of mankind. The problems of world peace and security, and especially of disarmament and peace in Asia, cannot be solved permanently without the co-operation of the People's Republic of China. It is encouraging to note that this truth is finding increasing recognition.

Mr. Speaker, Pakistan views with misgivings any moves to convene international conferences which are based on concepts of foreign policy which detract from Asian-African solidarity and full inter-regional co-operation. The world in which we live and move is a dynamic one. Political concepts change with changing situations. They are also apt to



nisation will not be fully representative of mankind unless the People's Republic of China, which represents almost one-fourth of the human race, takes its rightful place in it. We hope that before long the People's Republic of China will be admitted to the U.N. to play its part as a major power in its Councils.

As a member of the U.N., Pakistan has consistently adhered to the principles of peaceful settlement of disputes and has tried to maintain friendly relations with all countries, particularly its neighbours. If certain disputes are outstanding with one of our neighbours, that is in spite of our best efforts to resolve them in accordance with the principles laid down in the U.N. Charter. We believe that countries should honour their commitments. We also believe that the

cause of peace and justice is served only if the principle of self-determination, on the basis of which the peoples of Asia and Africa have fought colonialism, is respected and no people is subjugated by another.

By concluding boundary agreements with several of its neighbours in the spirit of give and take, the People's Republic of China has demonstrated its desire to arrive at a peaceful settlement of international differences through negotiation. We believe that the Sino-India boundary dispute can also be resolved through peaceful negotiations. Massive military preparations have never been the answer to international differences; they only create new tensions and bring added economic miseries to needy people.



# 6

## Indo-Pakistan Relations

*Speech at University Grounds, Lahore, on 25 February 1959*

**A**NOTHER issue that remains to be settled with India is that of canal waters, on which depends the very existence of millions of our people. We are determined to continue our struggle until India agrees to an honourable and equitable settlement of outstanding disputes. We shall welcome an amicable settle-

ment with India, because it is only in an atmosphere of peace and amity that we can both raise the standards of living of our peoples. When we have tangible evidence that our neighbour is prepared to come to settlement with us on this basis, we shall gladly welcome such an opportunity.

*Broadcast on 13 August 1960*

In foreign affairs, our relationship with India—because of geographical and other factors—is of major importance not only to us but I believe to India as well. We have made every conceivable effort to go out of our way to resolve our problems with that country even though the response from Indian leadership has been very, very tardy indeed.

In some matters, however, we have met a measure of success, but our major dispute with India, i.e. Kashmir, does not look like getting anywhere near its solution. There is a talk of Mr. Nehru coming to Pakistan for signing the Water Treaty if and

when it is finalised.

He has also expressed a desire to discuss other outstanding problems, presumably inclusive of Kashmir. It remains to be seen whether these talks are going to meet the same fate as several such talks that took place between Delhi and Karachi. A good deal will depend on the Indian attitude.

Just yet, Indian leadership does not seem to see the virtue of settling this dispute with us, though one day they shall have to do so in the interest of their own ultimate security and well-being. There has to be a satisfactory settlement of this problem



if there is to be any form of peace between India and Pakistan. Till then, our pledge to the poor people of Kashmir stands firmly and solemnly. About this there must never be any shadow of doubt.

I can also see very clearly that the future of South-East Asia depends, to a large extent, on the relationship between India and Pakistan. If there is real peace between the two, what is there to prevent an integrated development and econo-

mic policy between Iran, Pakistan, India, Burma, Malaya, Ceylon and even Indonesia and other countries of that region ?

This can only happen if India can inspire confidence in her peaceful intentions and is prepared to resolve her quarrels with her neighbours in a spirit of large-heartedness. For the future of the teeming millions of these countries, I pray that such light and statesmanship may dawn on India.

*Broadcast to the Nation on the Indus Waters Treaty from Rawalpindi on  
4 September 1960*

In a few days time we hope to enter into a treaty with India over the distribution of the waters of the Indus basin. The negotiations of this issue extending over many difficult years have had a chequered career. There have been innumerable occasions on which it seemed that the talks had run into what appeared to be complete deadlocks. When I assumed responsibility for the Government of the country in October 1958, I undertook an urgent assessment of facts, acquainted myself with the issues underlying this dispute and reached certain definite and firm conclusions. I think the time has come when I should attempt to acquaint the people of Pakistan with the basic realities of the situation as it faced us in this field, and, with the circumstances which underlined the imperative necessity of a speedy solution of this dangerous dispute—a solution which could ensure for us an adequate measure of protection against economic ruination without having to re-

sort to desperate measures.

The partition of the sub-continent had left the headworks of some of our major irrigation systems in the Indian territory. All the canals of what are known as the Central Bari Doab and the Sutlej Valley projects depended for their supplies on headworks and rivers under Indian control. The rivers Sutlej, Bias and Ravi whose water flowed into these canals originated and ran for long distances in Indian territory before they entered Pakistan.

I need not recall the drastic action which India chose to take soon after partition by withholding vital supplies to our canals and the grave crisis in our affairs which resulted from this action. Water was released to our canals only under certain conditions to which we had to agree or face physical devastation of vast fertile areas. This could happen again, whether on the plea of their own urgent requirements or on the basis of a claim to the exclusive owner-



ship of water passing through her territory.

India, I had no doubt, would in the course of a few years, appropriate for her use all the waters of Sutlej, Bias and Ravi and perhaps even some water of Chenab, thus leaving us to fend for ourselves. As an upper riparian she was in a position to deprive us of all this water which flowed to us through her territory. I have no doubt in my mind that, tempted by the prospect of quick economic development through easy availability of this water, India would continue to undertake engineering works which would soon result in complete desolation of millions of acres in Pakistan.

We had no alternative but to make a genuine and determined effort to assist the International Bank to find an engineering solution of this grave problem which imperilled the relations between the two countries, a solution with which we could live and which would provide financial and technical resources to enable us to take waters of the western rivers to feed our canals taking off from the eastern rivers which would become dry ditches after their water had been taken away by India.

After years of negotiations of utmost complexity, heart-breaking delays and frequent stalemates we have, I feel, been able to obtain a solution which answers to that description. I do not intend to describe the details of this treaty. It embodies a compromise reflecting a spirit of give and take on both sides which is indispensable to a final settlement in the interest of peace and amity between the two countries and the welfare of their peoples.

Stated very briefly, the settlement is based on the division of the rivers, according to which after a transition period of 10 years, extendable at Pakistan's request to 13 years, the three eastern rivers would exclusively fall to India's share and the waters of the three western rivers will be available to Pakistan, except for certain limited uses in upstream areas in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. During the transition period, Pakistan would undertake construction of a system of works consisting of two large dams, one on the Jhelum and the other on the Indus, five barrages and seven new link canals to replace the supplies of the eastern rivers for the areas served by the Central Bari Doab and the Sutlej Valley canals.

While this system of works is being built, India will continue deliveries from the eastern rivers according to an agreed programme, which would take into account some development needs of Pakistan as well. India has agreed to pay a specified sum towards the cost of these works. As this payment would be far from sufficient for the completion of the works, the World Bank is setting up an Indus Basin Development Fund made of contributions from friendly countries.

The implementation of the treaty would be entrusted to a Commission consisting of a nominee from each country. The treaty contains detailed provisions for the settlement of all disputes either by a neutral or a court of arbitration.

The solution that we have now got is not the ideal one—the ideal solution when negotiated can seldom be obtained, but this is the best that we could get under the circumstances



many of which, irrespective of merits and legality of the case, are against us. So, whereas there is no cause for rejoicing at this juncture, there is certainly a cause for satisfaction and thanksgiving, that a very ugly situation which might have arisen in the absence of such an agreement, has been averted and that we have been able to get the best that was possible. So those who may feel inclined to be dissatisfied, have to judge the situation in the light of this perspective.

When you are dealing with sensitive problems of this nature, you have to be very realistic and judge the situation dispassionately in order to be able to make a realistic plan of approach. Very often the best is the enemy of the good and in this case we have accepted the good after careful and realistic appreciation of our entire overall situation. If we had not done that, we would have just drifted towards a conflict when so many factors were against us.

The basis of this agreement, therefore, as we are concerned, is realism and pragmatism. Emotions had no place in it, nor can they be allowed to have when the future and safety of millions of people is involved.

It was, as a matter of fact, this realisation of the imminent danger to the peace of this sub-continent, posed

by the quarrel over the Indus basin water, which made the World Bank step in as a mediator in 1951. After making this dispute an issue of technical skill and human needs and lifting it from the plane of bitter political controversy, which had come to surround it, the World Bank worked with magnificent perseverance and tact over long and painful years, with the delegations of the two countries to evolve the solution which has now been shaped into a full-fledged treaty to be signed between the two countries.

The experience of the spirit that prevailed during the closing periods of the negotiations of this treaty gives one cause for hope that our outstanding problems like Kashmir will also get resolved in an amicable manner. The very fact that we will have to be content with the waters of three western rivers will underline the importance for us of having physical control on the upper reaches of these rivers to secure their maximum utilisation for the ever-growing needs of West Pakistan. The solution of Kashmir issue, therefore, acquires a new sense of urgency. I am firmly of the hope that this settlement of the canal waters will lead to a sympathetic and realistic appreciation of our stand on Kashmir.

*Transcript of TV Interview in London by ABC's Paris Correspondent, Jack Begon and ABC's diplomatic Correspondent, John Scally, on 9 July 1961*

*BEGON : Mr. President, on the eve of your visit to Washington to talk with President Kennedy, you were reported much disturbed at the trend of*

*American policy in Asia, particularly as it applies to Pakistan. Could you tell us about your apprehension ?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB : Well, the*



people of Pakistan are rather concerned about certain ramifications of the American policy in South-East Asia and especially in relation to India. That apprehension has arisen not so much as a result of the aid that America gives to India, or is promising to give to India, but due to the fact that there is a new move to enlarge the scope of the security whereby any neutral, or anybody else, who wishes to accept arms from America shall be able to do so.

We feel that India, which is already three times our strength militarily, will gain more strength if, as a consequence of this policy, she obtains more arms from the United States of America. We have no doubt in our mind that those arms shall be used to intimidate Pakistan as in the past.

You might say that it is a far-fetched idea and why should India do this when she is threatened by China. In answer to that, I would say, that out of the total strength of the Indian armed forces, only about 15 per cent or so is facing the Chinese while the rest still faces Pakistan.

Our people wonder, whether our friends in America realise the consequences of this policy. And if they do, then they are doing something which is entirely against the interests and security of Pakistan.

*BEGON: Well, Mr. President, in the view of your people, does this add up to a pro-India policy on the part of the new Administration?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Pro-India policy nobody minds, but if the indirect consequences are, shall we say, detrimental to Pakistan's security, then everybody minds it, and especially when we call ourselves friends. Our people are beginning to wonder*

what is it all about, what is the philosophy behind it, or what America is going to get out of a move like that? Do they realise, in fact, the full consequences that might follow? And how is their interest going to be promoted by such a policy?

All these questions have caused a lot of concern in the minds of the people of Pakistan. As such, whenever I express an opinion on this matter, it is to portray that concern that has arisen in the minds of our people. And I think, if you will put yourself in our position, you will also realise it.

*SCALLY: Well then, Mr. President, do you feel that America should in all cases give priority in its aid to those countries, like your own, that have become full-fledged partners in the various alliances around the world?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, it stands to reason that if a country like ours is allied to the United States of America, then United States of America has got to remember two things. One is that we have got to have their support to be able to meet our added military and political commitments that naturally arise out of our being members of these pacts.*

Also, as friends, we have every right to expect that around our area, America will not do anything which might imperil our security or increase our military commitments.

These are the only two natural expectations that we, in Pakistan, are entitled to entertain.

*BEGON: Mr. President, is there a feeling on the part of your people that India, despite her neutrality, is perhaps receiving a proportionately higher*



*centage of American aid as compared to what Pakistan is getting ?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** Well, when you talk about percentages, that means on the basis of per capita. In that case Pakistan has been receiving greater aid from the United States than what India is getting. But then Pakistan's needs are greater. The areas that now comprise Pakistan were the areas which were really the recruiting grounds for the British. There was hardly any industry in this part. Our population is increasing rapidly. Our lands, especially in West Pakistan depend upon, artificial irrigation. Besides, in West Pakistan, we have got one of the largest tracts of land that is irrigated artificially perhaps in the whole world. Above all there is a menace of waterlogging and salinity.

As such our problems are of greater magnitude because we made a late start. Our area is more backward. We need more speed and efficiency to bring it to the required standard.

We are not complaining about that. What we are complaining about is this, that India receives aid from you and she converts her own resources into military hardware. As a matter of fact, and we can prove it, 80 per cent of that is designed against us. Theoretically India may say, well, we are threatened by China and we want to do this or that, but reality is quite different.

**BEGON :** *There are reports that Pakistan is upset about the amount of American economic aid that has been promised to help Pakistan's Second Five-Year Plan. Is this so ?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** Well, it is like this. We are in the process of

development. We have embarked on our Second Five-Year Plan. We are going to enter into the second year of that plan. A Consortium, as you know, was organised by the World Bank, consisting of the United States with several wealthy countries in Europe and Japan, to get together and to find out as to what could be done. There was a certain requirement of 900-odd million dollars for the first two years.

Now in respect of India, United States made a special effort with the other contributing countries to persuade them to match the United States effort. The United States went out of her way to bequeath a billion dollars as their contribution at a time when the Indian plan was not even worked out.

In our case, all sorts of objections were raised. Some were genuine while some were, to my mind, spurious—the sort of things which are designed to put off a caller. There did not seem to be a real effort to recognise the situation. And I don't think the United States made any special effort. If they had expected the other contributing countries to match the United States effort, they should have told them that there will be this call too, and that the United States expects them to do this, that or the other.

All I say is this that U.S.A. did not make any real effort in this regard. But let us hope that this performance will be improved next time.

**SCALLY :** *It has been reported that you are reviewing Pakistan's membership of the SEATO and CENTO. Is this true? Could you tell us something about this ?*



**PRESIDENT AYUB**: Well, this sort of mental review always goes on. To what extent our two basic requirements, let us say, defence and security and our development, are being served by those alliances is a matter that needs review. There is nothing novel about it. If circumstances radically change, then naturally we have to see how we can adapt ourselves to the new circumstances.

**SCALLY**: Well, do you agree with some Americans that the future of democracy in all of Asia depends on the ability of India to show that in her way of doing things a better standard of living can be brought about more quickly than by the Chinese Communist method?

**PRESIDENT AYUB**: How—you mean her way of doing things?

**SCALLY**: Well, certainly at least not to the Communist side, such as the commune system in China. . . .

**PRESIDENT AYUB**: Yes, I see.

**SCALLY**: . . . as opposed to the co-operatives and so on.

**PRESIDENT AYUB**: Yes, yes, yes. Well, I do not think that the Asian countries need much of a lesson or an example of another country developing through one method or another method. Let me put it to you like this. Say, for a moment, that India makes a success of her development programme under the present system. I take it that those that advance this theory they believe that other countries in Asia will follow her example.

**SCALLY**: Uh-hum.

**PRESIDENT AYUB**: Well, now, let me put it to you like this, that today, just study what are the relationships between India and her immediate neighbours. Let us start

with Pakistan, let us start with Nepal, Sikkim, the little country Bhutan, Burma, Malaya, Ceylon. Can you say that the relations between these countries and India is friendly? It is not. They all have their apprehensions.

Now just imagine that as a result of this development programme and acquisition of military power and so forth, India gets more powerful. Do you mean to say that these countries are going to feel more secure? In fact, they will be looking for protection elsewhere.

**SCALLY**: Well, do you think that. . . .

**PRESIDENT AYUB**: And my belief is that they will seek protection from the Chinese.

**SCALLY**: Do you think so really that not only in your direction but in the other direction there is an expansionist possibility on their part?

**PRESIDENT AYUB**: Well, there is apprehension on the part of smaller countries. They certainly feel that in order to protect themselves against India, they have got to have the cover of somebody else. And I think, this thing is going to accentuate as India gains more power. And I can foresee that both in the present circumstances and in future circumstances they would seek protection from China, and China will be willing to give it.

**BEGON**: Do you detect a more militant, less co-operative line on the part of the Indian Government in recent months, Mr. President?

**PRESIDENT AYUB**: Well, as I say, not overtly militant but certainly not co-operative. They have been more than careful on that. We would like to live in permanent peace



with them.

We have settled several problems amongst each other. There is the problem of Kashmir, which too will have to be resolved, and we are quite prepared to sit down at a table and consider these particular problems which will satisfy the requirements of both the countries, including the people of Kashmir.

*BEGON : Do you believe, sir, that the United States has used all the influence it could on Prime Minister Nehru to take a more co-operative attitude on the settlement of the Kashmir problem ?*

*PRERIDENT AYUB : I don't think United States has done so. You have been too shy to do so.*

*BEGON : Do you think it has the power and the capacity and the authority to do this with success ?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB : Well, may I put it like this, that I do not think any country from outside can force another country to adopt a certain policy ? But may I put it to you like*

this, that you are sinking a lot of money in India. You would like to see that your money—it is only natural that you should like to see, and it would be fair that you should see—that it comes in an area of security. And what is the object of your sinking that money ? You want an area of stability in Asia, don't you ?

*BEGON : Right.*

*PRESIDENT AYUB : All right. Well then, how will that stability arise if Pakistan and India continue to be at logger heads with each other ? Don't you think that your investments are in jeopardy ? Don't you think that your bigger world design might well not mature because of this thing ?*

And so, therefore, it is true that you cannot force another sovereign country to adopt a certain policy; you can certainly say that, "Look, we are prepared to do our part but, you also have got to do your part." And I don't believe that your leaders have done that.

*Transcript of TV Interview in Karachi for NBC network, on 10 July 1961*

*HANGEN : Mr. President, it is generally agreed now that American-Pakistani relations have reached a low point. What do you think caused this deterioration and what can be done to remedy the situation ?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB : We can understand, people here can understand, that America wants to support those neutralists who want to remain neutral as such, but if American policy goes out of the way to support neutralists against their friends, then it becomes a cause for great concern.*

And to illustrate that is the American support to India. We can understand economic support. Try and do what you can....

*HANGEN : Yes.*

*PRESIDENT AYUB : ...to assist India to establish herself and to improve the standard of living of her people. But from there if a step is taken forward to build India militarily as well, we know full well that although your intentions may be to build India against China, but from our experience, and we live next door*



to India, we know that all this power, military power which is three times our strength already, will be used to intimidate and coerce Pakistan.

So, the way people in Pakistan feel is this, that if the American policies around us have the effect of increasing our problems, we do not know what the Americans are after. Our people are puzzled. They do not understand this. They do not understand the philosophy and the logic of it.

*HANGEN: What other concrete results do you expect from your visit to Washington?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB:* Well, the main thing is the removal of doubts and the form of suspicion that has arisen as a result of these unfortunate circumstances. But, above all, I shall have the pleasure and honour of meeting your President and your leading personalities, and I think, and I hope, that we shall be able to talk to each other freely and convince each other of our sincerity and our stand in relation to world problems and regional problems and other things. And I hope that a measure of common thinking will emerge, which always does a good thing. It leads to confidence in each other and so on.

I suppose they will be looking at me as to what sort of fellow I am. I will be looking at them as to what sort of chaps they are.

*HANGEN: I think the main difficulty between Pakistan and India is Kashmir.*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Yes.*

*HANGEN: What do you think the American administration could do on the Kashmir question?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB:* Well, I have

told American friends time and again, that you are going out of your way to support India economically. Well, if you do that, then you have a right to expect India to show evidence of good behaviour in these regions. Your object is to bring back stability, is it not?

*HANGEN: Yes, indeed.*

*PRESIDENT AYUB:* All right. Well, how can there be stability in these regions so long as the Indian army and the Pakistan army are facing each other because the Kashmir situation remains unresolved? And Mr. Nehru says he would not listen to this or that, and he tells his own people that it is a disgrace for anybody, any Indian, to raise this question to him (Mr. Nehru) as to why he does not solve this problem? Besides, he does not like to hear anything on these matters.

In actual fact, his conscience pricks him so hard that he flares up on such questions. I think the Kashmir problem disturbs him even at night in his sleep. Anyhow, the people of Kashmir have continued to remain talking and in Pakistan we will continue to remain talking because the present situation is such, the cease-fire line in relation to our vitals is such, that our security is imperilled and our economy is endangered, our water economy and irrigation economy and so on.

So whereas, whilst your people say, go out of their way to assist India economically, they have a right to ask India to show evidence of good behaviour and bring about peace around here. But if there is a conflict between India and Pakistan some time or the other, if this situation does not remain solved—does not get



resolved—well, then all your investment in Pakistan. . . .

*HANGEN: Will be wasted.*

*PRESIDENT AYUB : . . . will be wasted, and similarly all your investment in India well go to waste. And, you know, what it is? What difference if people in Pakistan get so frustrated over this question of Kashmir? You never know, there are people around who might take advantage of it.*

*HANGEN: Prime Minister Nehru says that he will refuse to discuss Kashmir as long as Pakistani troops are not withdrawn from your part of Kashmir. Does this mean that there is more danger of war now over that issue?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, he is only talking like that because he wants to evade the issue. He does not want*

to face it. He has no intention of resolving it. And today he has no particular compulsion to do so either. Sometime ago, I was hoping that he will move on in that direction, but the trouble was that at once Chinese moved up to front and they stopped, and then your election fever started and your Democratic party offered all sorts of assistance to India, and Mr. Nehru said, "Why the hell should I come to terms with Pakistan?"

*HANGEN: Yes.*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: So he got stuck there. All he has done is that he has created another two and a half divisions to face the Chinese, and the best part of the old Indian army is still facing us, and that is where the matter stands.*

*The English rendering of the Independence Day Message to the Nation, broadcast from Radio Pakistan, Rawalpindi on 13 August 1961*

Talking in terms of peace, I would also like to say that we are equally anxious to have amity with our immediate neighbours. It has been my constant endeavour to come to some kind of dignified settlement with our great neighbour—India. It is my belief that peace and goodwill can be brought about between the two countries once the problem of Kashmir is resolved honourably. In spite of the Indian Prime Minister's doubts that even if the problem of Kashmir was resolved, Pakistan will still find some excuse to remain at loggerheads with India, I reiterate that we want peace with India with honour and that there is no substance

in his apprehension.

Some elements in Indian leadership have made it a special habit to accuse us of all sorts of mal-intentions against that country. I wonder how much the people who make such accusations themselves believe in them. For them it has become something like a political fashion. The real trouble is that the Indian leadership does not wish to settle the problem of Kashmir and have peace with us. Their endeavour is to throw to the winds all their pledges made to the people of Kashmir for giving them their right of self-determination and thus swallow up an entire struggling nation at all costs. It is



to cover these ill-intentions and endeavours that they have to invent all sorts of spurious arguments and smoke-screens against Pakistan.

Furthermore, it is because of this false position that Indian leadership is forced to spend huge amounts of hard-earned resources of the people of their country to pile up arms against us thereby forcing us to do what we can to save ourselves from this intimidation. The irony is that whenever we try to achieve a certain amount of balance in our armed strength to shield ourselves from mounting threat of India, the Indian leadership invariably raises a loud hue

and cry that this strength is intended to be used against their country. The only motive behind this childish behaviour is to malign Pakistan and generate misunderstandings against us in the minds of the world and our friends. These artificial and transparent puppet-shows, which the Indian leadership is enacting on its political stage, is exceedingly expensive and dangerous for the people of both the countries. Can't thinking people see the senselessness of this petty drama. Until they do so, it is clear that people both in India and Pakistan are doomed to tread the barren path of mutual misunderstanding and acrimony.

*Text of message in reply to Indian Prime Minister Nehru's letter of 27 October 1962, released in Karachi on 8 November 1962*

I thank you for your letter of 27 October 1962, in which you were good enough to give your Government's version of the dispute that has arisen between India and China on the question of border demarcation.

It is a matter of great regret to us that this dispute should have led to intensified military activities and induction of new war potential, thus endangering the peace and stability of the region in which Pakistan is vitally concerned.

I agree with you when you say that no efforts should be spared to eliminate deceit and force from international relations. In this respect I am constrained to point out that various outstanding disputes between India and Pakistan can also be resolved amicably should the Government of India decide to apply these

principles with sincerity and conviction.

We, in Pakistan, are wedded to a policy of peace and friendly relations with all neighbouring countries, especially India. We have accepted this course for we believe this is the only method through which we can pursue the gigantic tasks of economic and industrial development which must be carried forward in the interest of the prosperity and well-being of the people.

Mr. Prime Minister, we are fully conscious of the great responsibility that lies on your shoulders for the maintenance of peace especially around this sub-continent. We, therefore, hope that the conflict between India and China can be peacefully resolved.

With kind regards.



*Text of telegram to General Cariappa, former C-in-C Indian Army from Rawalpindi on 9 November 1962*

Grateful for your telegram and your letter. Let me assure you that the Government have no hand in any comments that the Pakistan press has made on the Sino-Indian border problems nor has it the power to muzzle free press.

As to your suggestion that Pakistan should make unilateral reassuring gestures to India, let me assure you that we have always wanted peace with India and have been seeking solution of Kashmir so that India can be free from any anxiety from us and *vice versa*. These efforts have so far fallen on deaf ears in Delhi.

You are aware of the fact that over 80 per cent of Indian Army is covering us for the last 15 years and has often taken threatening postures against us. That situation is continuing.

Now we are being asked to even deny ourselves the right of self-defence and forgo our vital interests. Do you think this is in conformity with human nature? I would ask you to use your influence in Delhi to make people in authority see virtue of settlement with Pakistan. That to my mind is the correct answer.

*Independence Day Broadcast to the Nation on the eve of the Sixteenth Anniversary of Pakistan on 13 August 1963*

Unfortunately, we have not been able to come to a peaceful settlement with India over Kashmir. And because we have not abandoned the cause of our Kashmiri brothers and sisters in bondage, we have incurred the hostility of our great neighbour. During the last few months she has received large quantities of weapons of war, in addition to her own great war potential. Serious war between India and China is out of the question because of the physical barriers of the Himalayas and the realisation on both sides that a war would spell

the ruin of both. But history shows that highly armed countries have not hesitated to overrun their smaller and weaker neighbours. And because we are still being considered by India as her enemy number one, we have every reason to be perturbed and anxious over India's growing might. One can only hope that there are men and women of reason and good sense in India who will be able to assert themselves before any harm is done. But if it comes to a fight, we will *Insha Allah* live up to our great traditions.

*First-of-the-month broadcast on 1 October 1963*

In our case, things have begun to happen already on the Assam-Tripura



border where Muslims, who have been there for generations, are on India's voters' list and are Indian citizens, are being driven into Pakistan at the point of the bayonet, in a hapless condition, after being deprived of all their belongings. The reasons are simple. For one, Muslims are not tolerable to the Brahmanic philosophy, and, secondly, this additional influx of population would add to the burdens on Pakistan, the thing nearest to the Indian heart.

In order to stop this inhuman practice, approaches have been made on the highest level without avail. Our suggestion that ministerial level talks might be held has also been spurned.

I assure the people of Pakistan that we will, *Insha Allah*, take all steps necessary for our safety and survival. I appeal to the nation to realise this threat and to unite for the sake of its survival. Petty squabbling for political and personal advantage may amuse some, but it is not going to lead the nation anywhere.

I also appeal to those who are in opposition to the Government to realise the gravity of the situation and to strengthen the Government's hands rather than weaken them. Ever since the restoration of constitutional Government, we have had nothing but criticism and obstruction from

those in opposition and even from others. That is bad enough for a country whose crying need, even in peacetime, is development and economic progress. The pace of development will naturally slow down while Government has to deal with the daily problems created by the opposition's intrigues and obstruction.

Let us have constructive criticism by all means, but we cannot afford the luxury of criticism for the sake of criticism and opposition for the sake of opposition. With the external threat developing fast around us and the major internal problems to resolve, such an attitude is suicidal.

Take, for instance, the last session of the National Assembly.

As many as 104 adjournment motions were moved, none of which was finally accepted by the Speaker, although after time-consuming discussions. Valuable time and money of the tax-payer were thus wasted on 104 adjournment motions which were known even to their movers to be irrelevant and petty. Very little constructive work was done. I appeal to those in the Assembly, and especially those in the opposition, to realise the gravity of the hour and establish healthy traditions for constructive work.

*First-of-the month broadcast on 1 November 1963*

The arms aid being given freely to India has emboldened her rulers in their design. It is supposed to be against China. That remains to be seen. What we do see is that India

has recently carried out military exercises in Jammu and Kashmir and in East Punjab. I hope that we are not being mistaken for the Chinese. In fact, there is no mistake except



in the policy to give a false set of sharp and incisive teeth to those in power in India after the Chinese had knocked out a few. We will never be reconciled to the arming of India, as we know that she will never fight China, would in fact again be "bhai, bhai" with her, and would then pose a threat to us and other smaller neighbours.

*First-of-the-month broadcast to the Nation in the national hook-up of Radio Pakistan on 1 January 1964*

Looking back, it has been a year of great anxiety for us because of the arms aid secured by India on the pretext of the threat of Chinese aggression. It is now recognised on all hands that China has no such designs.

India knows, and, in fact, the whole world knows, that India is not going to fight China either. If she does, it will lead to no fruitful result. In fact, it may only mean further disasters for India. And she is shrewd enough to know this. It is, therefore, a question of time before India comes to some settlement with China. Meanwhile, this bug-bear helps the present rulers of India in several ways. It consolidates and strengthens their weakening hold on the country. It helps the Indian Government to obtain the political support of the Western countries and even of Russia. Last but not the least, it helps the Indian Government to obtain heavy financial and military aid, again both from the Western countries and Russia. But what happens when India comes to terms with China, as she is bound to do? How would she justify to her own people the extremely heavy financial burden of maintaining a huge modern army, navy and air force? Inflation has already set in, and prices are soaring in India as a

result of these warlike preparations. The present Indian defence budget of nearly 900 crores is likely to increase, and not decrease, in future years as these preparations get into full swing. It is customary for war-lords to undertake campaigns of conquest to justify the expenditure on the acquisition of military strength. Because of the partition of the sub-continent, and our refusal to accept the integration of Jammu and Kashmir with India, we are in the greatest danger of being subjected to Indian aggression. But even other countries of this region, which are weaker than India, are naturally perturbed by this development.

The arming of India has emboldened her to integrate the State of Jammu and Kashmir. We have already said more than once that we object, in the strongest possible terms, to this high-handedness and violation of solemn international pledges. There is still time for India to desist from this step. The arms build-up in India will make no difference to our stand on the Jammu and Kashmir question. We are determined to secure, *Insha Allah*, to the people of Jammu and Kashmir their rightful freedom to choose which country they wish to join.

The forcible eviction of Muslims



from Assam and Tripura is another act of high-handedness and injustice on the part of the present rulers of India. Our efforts to negotiate at the effective level of Ministers have not yet borne fruit.

Barring our Indian neighbour, the last year saw an improvement of our relations with other neighbours like China, Russia, Afghanistan, Nepal, Burma and Ceylon. I can only express the hope that world opinion, and the saner elements in India, would be

able to assert themselves and make the Indian Government come to a reasonable and honourable settlement with us. If not, the arming of India and her aggressive action in proposing the integration of Jammu and Kashmir pose a grave threat to our security. While the Government is doing all it can to prepare for the defence of Pakistan, the people can help by uniting as one in the face of this grave threat.

*Appeal to the people of Pakistan on the tragic events in Calcutta and certain other districts of West Bengal on 13 January 1964*

My Government and I are fully conscious of the profound anguish which recent tragic events in Calcutta and certain other districts of West Bengal are causing to the people of Pakistan. The situation had been deteriorating for some time past. In spite of protests and appeals by us to the Government of India, certain Indian States around East Pakistan have persisted in their policy of forcibly pushing Indian Muslims into East Pakistan. It is now clear that drawing inspiration from this policy, certain elements of the majority community in West Bengal have been indulging in complete lawlessness, resulting in the loss of Muslim lives and property in India. Thousands of Muslims are, in consequence, being forced to leave their homes and seek shelter in East

Pakistan.

As the refugees from West Bengal pour into East Pakistan with their tales of woe, the Muslims of Pakistan are bound to feel disturbed. I am appealing to the President of India to take firm steps so as to bring the present disturbed situation in West Bengal under control. I am certain that any organised Government should be able to put down these disturbances and restore complete order within a short time.

Meanwhile, I fervently appeal to my countrymen, particularly those residing in East Pakistan, that as true Pakistanis, they should consider it their duty to protect the minority community and to maintain complete law and order which is the hallmark of any civilised nation.

*Message to the President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan,  
sent on 13 January 1964*

My Government has been receiving very disturbing reports about the



communal situation in Calcutta in particular, and in the neighbouring districts of 24 Parganas, Hooghly, Howrah, Burdwan and certain other areas of West Bengal. According to our information, the situation in Calcutta is virtually out of control. The Chief Minister of West Bengal, Mr. P. C. Sen, in a public statement issued yesterday, appears to have admitted as much and has taken a grave view of the situation. According to him, the Indian Army was immediately taking over administration of five areas in the city and "military rule" would be imposed in six more areas when more troops had flown in.

There are reports of widespread killing of Muslims and numerous cases of arson involving Muslim property both in Calcutta as well as other areas already referred to. A foreign news agency report today puts the number of dead so far at 200 and the number of cases of arson in Calcutta alone yesterday at 200. Unofficial estimates put Muslim casualties and the damage to Muslim property in Calcutta and outside at very much higher figures.

Some indication of the extent to which the Muslim community has been terrorised by these senseless acts of killing, looting and destruction may be had from the fact that yesterday alone 14,000 Muslim refugees crossed from neighbouring West Bengal district into East Pakistan and the number has since risen to over 20,000.

The East Pakistan Government has taken and is determined to continue to take every measure possible to maintain order but you will appreciate that a mass influx of terror-stricken Muslim refugees spreading

out into the districts of East Pakistan with their tales of woe could precipitate a very serious law and order situation for the East Pakistan Government. I have issued an appeal to the people of Pakistan emphasising the supreme need for maintaining communal peace in spite of the anxiety and provocation that recent events in West Bengal may have caused in East Pakistan.

I strongly urge and hope that the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal will immediately take effective steps to restore order in Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal.

I cannot help feeling that in thus taking the law into their own hands with a view to driving the Muslims out of West Bengal into Pakistan, certain elements in the majority community in the West Bengal have drawn encouragement from the policy that the Government of India has been following over the two years, despite our protests and appeals, to drive out Indian Muslims living in districts bordering East Pakistan. The number of such refugees who have registered themselves with East Pakistan authorities had, by the end of December, already reached 95,913. To this number have now been added 20,000 terror-stricken Muslims who have crossed over into East Pakistan from riot-affected areas in West Bengal.

I am sure you will recognise the gravity of the situation which has been created for my Government and I trust that your Government will take effective action immediately to restore order and peace in West Bengal such as would create a sense of security in the minds of the Muslim minority



and enable these refugees to return to their homes. I have no doubt, you will agree, that this will be in the larger interest of both India and Pakistan.

*Message dated 20 January 1964 in reply to President of India's message of 17 January 1964*

Thank you for your message of January 17 which reached me on the 18th morning while I was on tour.

You have questioned a number of statements contained in my message of 13th January. I regret I am unable to accept the information supplied to you or the contentions based on those premises. However, I do not wish to enter into a controversy at this unfortunate stage of our relationship. It would, I think, be most unfortunate if you and I should get involved in an exchange of recriminations. This would deflect attention from our real purpose.

This purpose is that the lives and property of the minority community must be fully protected, that communal peace must be maintained and that the minority community must not be looked upon as a hostage. By blaming, and thus impliedly condoning, communal killings and destruction in one country on similar instances in the other, we might unwittingly lend encouragement precisely to those evil forces which it is Government's duty to curb. Both of Mr. Nanda's public statements of January 11 and 14, to which you have referred, are, unfortunately, marred by this blemish and I was hoping that you will take a more objective and dispassionate view.

What is really needed is that whatever steps are necessary should be

most urgently taken to restore law and order and mete out deterrent punishment to the criminals who have been responsible for killing innocent men, women and children. We are, Mr. President, faced with a grave human problem. It will not be solved by shutting our eyes to it, as, for example, Mr. Nanda's statement that on January 14, "absolute communal harmony prevailed in Calcutta." Nor can we solve this problem by blaming others for creating it. Let leaders in each country look into their own hearts and resolve to put their own house in order. The rest will follow.

You suggest that you and I join in an appeal to the peoples of both India and Pakistan for communal peace and harmony. As you know, I have already issued an appeal to my people. I took the earliest opportunity to do so. I do not see how a second appeal by me would have any greater effect. What is required is that stern measures are taken against those miscreants who are responsible for recent incidents in Dacca and Narayanganj and prevent the trouble from spreading. This is what the Government of East Pakistan are doing, with the full backing and support of my Government.

I do not presume to advise you on whether or not you should issue a similar appeal to your own people.



That is a matter for you to decide. I may, however, reiterate my hope that your Government will ensure that law and order is quickly restored in all riot-affected areas and that those who have been driven out will

be enabled to return to their homes and live there with a full sense of security. I reiterate that this would be in the best interests of both India and Pakistan.

*First-of-the-month broadcast to the nation on 1 February 1964*

The happenings in Kashmir have moved the hearts of our people throughout the country. This is shown by the fact, among others, that in far off Khulna in East Pakistan, there was a burst of public disorder because the people's emotions had the better of their reason. I am glad that the authorities took firm measures and restored order within a short time. It is unfortunate that this minor incident should have been made the excuse for staging a carnage of the Muslims in Calcutta and certain other districts of West Bengal. Foreign newspapers have described it as the "anti-Muslim rampage by mobs of Hindus." Huge numbers of Indian Muslims have already sought refuge in Pakistan. I have pointed out in my letter to the President of India that the Hindu mobs of Calcutta must have taken their cue from the Government's systematic eviction earlier of the Indian Muslims of Assam and Tripura.

I do not wish to condone the consequential rioting in Dacca district. The Government has suppressed it as firmly as possible. The police, the East Pakistan Rifles and the army were all thrown in so that the sporadic disorder which keeps breaking out in unexpected places is effectively controlled. And I would like to make

it clear that we propose to curb disorder wherever it might take place.

I appeal to my people not to let their emotions get the better of their good sense. The sight of one's own brethren, robbed and driven out of their hearths and homes, is undoubtedly upsetting. But please remember that it is no solution of the problem to beat up or drive out other innocent persons who constitute the minority community in our own country. It is not just or fair that the innocent people here should be made to pay for what their co-religionists have done in India. The holy month of Ramazan teaches us thorough suppression of anger and self-discipline. Let us behave like civilised people even if others don't.

We must, of course, provide relief to the Indian Muslims who have been robbed and driven out. I have heard glowing accounts of how the Muslims of our own districts adjoining the disturbed areas of India have risen to the occasion and shared their food and clothing with the Indian Muslim refugees. The Government of Pakistan have sanctioned Rs. 75 lacs for immediate relief. I have sanctioned Rs. 8 lacs from the Quaid-e-Azam Relief Fund, in addition to Rs. 10 lacs sanctioned earlier



for the winter clothing of Assam-Tripura refugees. And we are considering how else we can find other funds to provide relief to the refugees in East Pakistan.

But the real solution of the problem is that law and order, and complete security to the minority community, must be ensured in both countries so that the refugees can go back to their hearths and homes, to their lands and trades. We are resolved to do that on our side. And I would like to assure the minority communities in Pakistan that we will use all the resources of the State to provide them complete security and freedom to pursue their normal avocations and their faith.

Against the few communal disturbances in Pakistan during the last 16 years, there have been well over 500 communal riots in India. That this should happen in the so-called secular India, in the land which claims to be the home of non-violence, passes one's comprehension. I would like the sober-minded and sensible Indians to reflect and ponder over this record. To oppress or drive out a weak minority reflects no credit on the majority community. It is a blot on any civilised nation.

It is not too late even now. If the majority community in India were to

make a genuine effort to treat the Indian Muslims as equal citizens, and to give them security, it would find that these 50 to 60 million Muslims are a source of strength to them. She has enough of everything to be prosperous and great, without driving out the minority community. I can't, for a moment, believe that a small fraction of Muslim population can be a source of danger to the majority community. Then why are they being victimised and persecuted? What good can come to India through such action?

I thought that the Indians were businesslike people and knew how to draw up a balance sheet. Is the forced occupation of a small State worth the international disgrace involved in repudiating solemn pledges and losing one's face in the world? Is it worth the hundreds of crores of rupees India has already spent and will continue to spend? Is it worth incurring Pakistan's hostility, when her friendship would have been a source of strength to India? Is it worth neglecting India's socio-economic development of her teeming millions? Is there no person in India who can draw up a balance sheet and tell his Government that it is a heavily losing, in fact disastrous, business for India?

*First-of-the-month broadcast to the nation on 1 March 1964*

The peace of this sub-continent is threatened by the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. This is recognised by all. Recent events have made this situation still more explosive. India has to use more than one lac soldiers

to hold down this small State. But even this show of force no longer intimidates the brave people of Jammu and Kashmir, who rose mainly because of the proposed integration of the State. In spite of ruthless



suppression and strict censorship, the whole world knows the truth by now.

Of the foreign observers who managed to get into the State, not one has failed to report that the people of Jammu and Kashmir clamour for the long promised right of self-determination, nay, for accession to Pakistan.

The Indian newspapers were allowed by their Government only to say that the people of Jammu and Kashmir were clamouring for the removal of the oppressive and corrupt State Government. This technique has been used by the Indian rulers in the past to divert attention from the truth and to prepare the ground for the dismissal of the unwanted State government. True to form, the Shamsuddin Government has been sacked. Nemesis has overtaken this short-lived government for dismissing a large number of Muslim officers because of their suspected sympathy for the pro-Pakistan movement in the State. Officers from India are now to be appointed to certain key-posts in Jammu and Kashmir.

Change of governments, or change of officers, is not going to make the slightest difference to the resolve of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to assert their right of self-determination. Nor would it make any difference to our determination to secure for the people of the State a proper opportunity for the exercise of this right. That will be a day not only of deliverance for the people of the State but also of reckoning for those who are prepared today to play the part of quislings.

The recent Security Council de-

bate has shown that the overwhelming majority of the members of the Council rejected the Indian plea that all was well in the State, that there was no case for action by the Security Council and that the Kashmir dispute was a closed chapter. It is amazing how India has changed her ground from time to time before this august body. And it is amazing how arguments which only echo the hollowness of the Indian case are used, with an air of false assurance and without a qualm of conscience, before the world body of statesmen.

The Indian trump card in the recent Security Council debate was to raise the bogey of China. Make India strong, it was pleaded, to meet the danger from China. That there is no danger from China is now admitted by even those who once spoke about it. But supposing that there was, in fact, the threat of an invasion of the sub-continent by China, would India be in a stronger position if she had peace and friendship with Pakistan or if the two were at daggers drawn and the majority of the Indian army was poised against Pakistan, as has been the position since 1947? It is because of India's refusal to settle the Kashmir dispute that she is now planning to have two Defence Forces—the original one, modernised and reinforced, poised as a clear threat to Pakistan, and the other one, supposed to be required against China, but so placed that it can also be used against Pakistan at any time.

Any student of history knows that this sub-continent has been invaded whenever there was internal strife or hostility. To the differences between India and Pakistan over the Kashmir has now been added the revolt of the



people of the State itself against their unwanted masters. I am convinced that people once roused cannot be put down indefinitely. Is this triangular internal strife going to help the defence of this sub-continent? And how long will India's economy be able to bear the crushing burden of two Defence Forces and of the war budget of nearly Rs. 90 crore a year, which is bound to increase as time goes on? The dead-weight of this wasteful extravagance will drag down India, with her teeming but starving millions, and present those trying to finance India's military build-up with the alternative of having to leave her or to suffer with her. The resulting chaos will be ideal breeding-ground for public discontent and upheaval.

Those who wish to save India should counsel reduction of expenditure on wasteful war preparations and the diversion of the resulting saving to the social and economic development of her poverty-stricken millions. Does it make any sense to encourage India to live on a war basis when everybody knows that there is no threat of war unless it is of one's own making? Where is the need then for sinking billions now in India, particularly, as she may come to terms with China as Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri hinted at recently?

To those who wish to build up India against China, I repeat that they are going to be let down as they have been let down previously in other places and by other leaderships. India will and must come to a peaceful settlement with China after she has fully exploited the present situation. Although China has no designs against India and wishes to settle her boundary dispute by peaceful nego-

tiations, let us assume for the sake of argument that the Indian propaganda is correct. In that case, the way India is planning to win her struggle with China is not the way of doing it. The back-breaking economic burdens on the Indian people will, in the end, turn out to be in the interest of the aggressor, if any. Why can't this simple logic be understood by the rulers of India? And must they continue to play this reckless game to the detriment of their people and to the detriment of the whole of Asia? If there is a struggle in Asia, it will not be the people of Asia who will be the beneficiaries.

It is in the interest of India as well as Pakistan to resolve their differences with good grace. India has pleaded that if a plebiscite is held in Jammu and Kashmir, it will lead to communal riots in India. Why should that happen? Would the mere holding of the plebiscite provoke the Hindu majority in India? If that is so, can India claim that she is treating her minorities as her own citizens or are they a pawn on which to wreak vengeance for what their co-religionists do elsewhere or even within India—for she claims that the State of Jammu and Kashmir is already an integral part of India?

India knows, but let the whole world know, that there are even non-Muslims in the State who demand a plebiscite. So this is not a communal question. It is said that when the Hindus migrate from the State to India, as a result of the plebiscite, it will provoke communal disturbances in India. This is an admission of the fact that the plebiscite will go against India.

If this fear were genuine, why did



India repeatedly promise to hold the plebiscite in 1947-48 when terrible communal riots were taking place already in India? Obviously, this fear is imaginary. Even if it had some substance in it, why should the fear that some hooligans in India may get out of control lead to the denial to the millions of the people of Jammu and Kashmir of their right to decide which country to join? The mere holding of a plebiscite in Sylhet district or in the former NWFP did not lead to any communal disturbances.

Is the powerful Government of India, now armed to the teeth, unable to maintain law and order in its own country? This bogey of communal disturbances resulting from a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir is a terrible admission by India of her inability to discharge the elementary responsibility of maintaining law and order within her own country.

I can assure India and the Security Council, in the name of the people of Pakistan, that if a fair and free plebiscite is held in Jammu and Kashmir, and if the people of that State decide to throw in their lot with India, there will be no communal repercussion in Pakistan.

The Security Council and the UNICIP resolutions requiring the holding of a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir were accepted by India and Pakistan. India now seeks to repudiate them. She has successfully defied world opinion so far. It is interesting what India herself thought of such conduct when another country was involved. Speaking on the Congo problem in 1961, the Indian representative said: "I would like to ask if the Republic of Congo, which is a member State at the present time, is

going to say to us that it will not permit the implementation of the United Nations resolutions, then, is this not a state of complete hostility between one member State and the whole of the United Nations?"

If the republic of Congo could be condemned in such strong terms for one fault, what is the verdict of the world on India's repeated default to implement the resolutions of the United Nations? Isn't this a case of unprecedented hostility and defiance between one member State and the whole of the United Nations? And if the United Nations will tolerate it or connive at it, then I am afraid that the United Nations will lose all its authority and effectiveness.

This is not a solitary instance of the present Government of India's high philosophy, on the one hand, and sheer opportunism, on the other. What can world make of such a Government? And how difficult is it for us, as a neighbour, to find some workable basis of living with such a Government, because their behaviour does not conform to any known pattern?

The exploration of her boundary dispute with China is another case of India's oppotrunism. It is well known that the hold of the Congress party over India was weakening. The phoney emergency has helped the present Indian leadership to regain its hold over the country. It enables the Government of India to continue the so-called emergency and to rule the country with extraordinary measures. It is also bringing them handsome returns in the form of heavy economic and military aid. It has secured them some political support from unexpected quarters. All these may be



immediate gains. But such an artificial state of things cannot last.

I doubt if the people of United States of America realise the cost to them of the recent policies of their Government. I do not, of course, mean the financial cost for that is known, at least, to the Government of USA. What I mean is that the image of the American nation, to a large number of people, at least in Asia, was that the American people championed moral and rightful causes. We now see the United States Government being forced to support, or connive at, India's immoral policies. If America loses her former image, irrespective of who it is for, the loss will be irreparable.

In the Security Council itself, the debates have gone in our favour and in favour of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The nation has cause for satisfaction in the fact that the Security Council refused to be deflected from the central issue in the Kashmir dispute, and that the overwhelming majority of its members have affirmed that the UNICIP resolutions remain valid and that the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir must be implemented. I repeat what I said in an earlier speech that unless the United Nations, which is the last hope for international peace, enforces what is right and rectifies what is wrong, she will go the way of the League of Nations which did not do so but was swayed by considerations of power politics. We all hope and pray that the world body would be able to enforce the will of humanity, to uphold

right and to set right wrongs, irrespective of who is involved.

Before I conclude, I must draw world attention to the continued expulsion and exodus of Indian Muslims from Assam-Tripura and West Bengal. This is causing immense misery and suffering to these innocent people. It is also creating serious economic and social problems for us. The Government of India must take steps to restore communal amity and create peaceful conditions to enable these people to return to their homes. This is the crux of the situation in India today as has been observed in a recent issue of the *New Statesman*. Its editor, Mr. Kingsley Martin, observed: "To my mind, the greatest danger in India remains the communal one. We have been reminded of it in the ugliest fashion in Calcutta recently. It remains the weapon which the Right can use and which the Left may be unable to restrain."

It is a serious problem which the Government of India must face in her own interests and in the interest of humanity. Indian Muslims must not be branded as Pakistanis to run them out of their hearths and homes. We, on our side, do not brand the non-Muslims as Indians. We regard the minority communities as a sacred trust entitled to equal rights and privileges. Anyone who has been disturbed is welcome to return to where he belongs. And in this, he will have all the support and assistance from us. We expect the same from India.



*Text of the letter to the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, datelined Karachi 27 March 1964*

*Dear Mr. Prime Minister,*

I thank you for your letter No. 125-PMI/64, dated March 19, 1964, which your High Commissioner handed over to me on March 20.

I have read your letter and the enclosed memorandum with care. I am glad that the Government of India have found it possible to accept the suggestion we made on January 24, namely, that once law and order have been fully restored, Ministers of the two Governments should meet to discuss measures necessary to ensure that refugees from the recent communal disturbances as also those evicted from Assam and Tripura prior to those disturbances return to their original homes.

On the other hand, I regret to note that, while you express concern about the refugees from East Pakistan, you have expressed no concern or even a word of sympathy for the thousands of Indian Muslims who have suffered in the recent riots in India and have fled in panic to East Pakistan, and those who have been forcibly evicted from their homes in Assam and Tripura. Only a few days before you wrote, an entirely unprovoked and obviously pre-planned attack on Muslims in Calcutta resulted, according to official statements, in 21 deaths. Since then, again according to Indian Press reports, riots have taken place in places as far apart as Jamshedpur (55 persons killed), Rourkela (53 persons killed by March 21) where according to a PTI report the situation was des-

cribed as "critical", in Jharpada, Raigarh (9 persons killed), Kharsia, Jangaon, Jharsuguda and Samalpur. I doubt whether the figures of casualties published by the Indian Press portray anything like the actual loss of innocent lives or the suffering of the Muslim community in the affected areas. I cannot help feeling that if the suggestion of my Government of January 24, for a Ministerial meeting, which you have now accepted had been accepted earlier, perhaps this latest series of communal disturbances might have been averted.

However, it is not my purpose to start a controversy on this subject. The important thing is that the Government of India recognises, as we do, the dangers inherent in the present situation and is aware of the urgent need to re-establish conditions which would enable the uprooted members of the minority community to live in their original homes with a full sense of security.

I, therefore, agree that Ministers of the two Governments meet at an early date to discuss the measures necessary for this purpose. We would be agreeable also to the meeting being held in Delhi. Further details in connection with the proposed meeting will be settled in consultation with your High Commissioner in Karachi.

Yours sincerely,  
(Mohammad Ayub Khan)  
Field Marshal



*First-of-the-month broadcast on 1 May 1964*

It is now admitted by honest non-Muslim leaders of India that the recent communal orgies in that country were not stray incidents or reprisals for what allegedly happened in Pakistan. They were well-planned and well-organised attempts to stir up communal passions. Even the educated classes among Hindus are now infected, so much so that they took active part in the riots. And the police stood by or joined the rioters.

As I see it, there is a two-pronged attack on the Muslim minority in India. On the one side, the three State Governments of Assam, Tripura and West Bengal, under the pretext of Pakistani infiltration, are evicting the Muslims on a large scale. On the other side, organised militant communal parties in India are doing all they can to make the life of the Indian Muslims impossible.

As regards the so-called Pakistani evictees, we set up a high-powered commission to look into their antecedents. The Commission's findings are that only about 5 per cent of these people may have migrated to India after the inception of Pakistan. The other 95 per cent had lived in what is now the Indian territory for generations.

I have seen some of these unfortunate evictees myself. People of very old age had been stripped of their belongings before being pushed into Pakistan.

If the so-called Pakistani infiltration has been going on and has reached an alarming stage, as alleged by the Indian authority, why is it that they remained silent in the past? And why is it that they are now

embarking on the inhuman practice of brutality against hundreds of thousands of innocent people?

The only conclusion one can come to is that India is bent upon creating problems for Pakistan on one pretext or another. If that was not so, surely the correct answer was to take such steps as would stop the alleged infiltration in future instead of creating a major international problem.

The action of the militant Hindu organisations against the Muslims is, again, designed to liquidate the Muslims in India, and create problems for Pakistan, and to see that no workable arrangement for co-existence between India and Pakistan can be had.

The militant Hindu organisations are also afraid that at the time of elections, the Indian Muslims will favour the Congress or some other party which is non-communal and can give them some protection and safety. There have been some 500 odd communal riots in India since partition, and it is curious that they coincide with the election periods. The communal riots are, therefore aimed at the Congress rule as much as at the unfortunate Indian Muslims.

Apart from the natural sympathy which we feel for the much harassed Indian Muslims, whose major concern seems to be—not any economic and social betterment, or improvement of employment facilities which have been denied to them—but just to see how they can save their skins, the communal riots in India are bound to have repercussions in Pakistan. And we are, therefore, gravely concerned.



*Transcript of TV interview in Rawalpindi with Mr. Michael Maclear of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on 8 May 1964*

**MR. MACLEAR :** *Sir, the Indians are planning to considerably expand the size of their army, perhaps double it. Presumably they can't do this without Western assistance. If that happened, what will be your position regarding the West ?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** Well, we have been telling our Western friends ; "You are taking steps that are endangering our security."

**MR. MACLEAR :** *Would you break away from Western alliances ?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** Well, I don't know whether breaking away would hurt them or anything like that, or make them see reason. I don't think breaking is the right answer. I personally feel that not only are they jeopardising our security, they are not going to bring solidarity and strength to this sub-continent. After all, India is catching up people to such an extent that eventually the Communist ends are going to be achieved through this policy.

**MR. MACLEAR :** *But I refer again to this point. If the West and specially the U.S. continued supplying arms to India, of what value to Pakistan would be the CENTO and SEATO powers ?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** Well, there is some moral commitment on the part of the Americans to come to our assistance, should India attack us. This is the bilateral agreement between the United States and us.

**Mr. MACLEAR :** *The Americans have specially said so ?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** Yes, they have said so. On one side, they are preparing India. On the other side, they have told us, and told them that,

too, that if we attack India they will do the thing in reverse. We will, of course, have to consider the situation as it arises but the value of these agreements would in effect be lost. Once you lose faith in each other, begin to lose faith in each other's policies, then the alliance becomes a very doubtful proposition.

**MR. MACLEAR :** *If the value of these pacts did diminish and there was an Indian attack, or what you consider Indian aggression, would you turn to other quarters such as China for military assistance ?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** Well, it's too difficult to really answer that question in a hypothetical fashion. It depends on how the circumstances evolve, or shall we say develop, it depends on that. Again, the Chinese, even if they want to, can't help us much because of this physical barrier.

**MR. MACLEAR :** *Pakistan appears to be expanding its own military forces. Can you tell me how large these are ?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** Not really. No, we are not expanding.

**MR. MACLEAR :** *There is no expansion of the Army at all ?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** No.

**MR. MACLEAR :** *I have heard, Sir, the description of village groups that are called mujahids.*

**PRESIDENT AYUB :** Those are just village guards, that's all. And we are only doing this because if the trouble came to any part of Pakistan, they would be able to hit back in some way, would have some satisfaction of hitting back.

**MR. MACLEAR :** *Prevailing opinion, Mr. President, is that certainly*



*the United Kingdom and, perhaps, the United States supports Pakistan over Kashmir. Is this your understanding?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB** : Well, I think they do, by and large. Yes, in general it is true. In the recent Security Council debates, Britain came to our assistance in a much more forthright way in the light of the circumstances. The Americans also do support our stand. It's a forthright stand, actually. But they are not prepared to what we call displease India.

**MR. MACLEAR** : *Well, do you feel that the United States has at all backed away from previous indications that it supported Pakistan?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB** : No, I won't say that. I think in theory their stand is the same as it has been before, which is that people must have the right to self-determination, that Kashmir problem is still a problem. It is not settled as India says. But they are not prepared to lend their (U.S.) weight to the solution of this problem. They think India will be thereby annoyed and so on.

**MR. MACLEAR** : *Essentially, that is Pakistan's case too,—self-determination?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB** : Yes, Sir.

**MR. MACLEAR** : *Do you think that it might be an idea if the U.S. was to freeze the supply of arms to both sides?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB** : What the U.S. should do is to make clear her intentions; that she wants to defend the sub-continent. She wants to help India defend herself against outside aggression. And we maintain that the sub-continent cannot be effectively defended unless India and Pakistan have a working relationship with each other, and until such time that the

armies of India and Pakistan are disengaged and face outwards. And so, I think, America could justifiably turn around and say to India : "Look, we are assisting to defend yourself but would you also do something to assist yourself, which is, come to settlement with Pakistan over Kashmir so that you disengage your army and it's available to you for the elsewhere". That is what has to be told.

**MR. MACLEAR** : *Well, Sir, what other avenues are open, I mean, have you considered a Commonwealth Forum to make a binding decision on Kashmir?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB** : Well, we have tried and India has never allowed that to progress. In a Commonwealth Forum, anything or any problem that is between two Commonwealth countries, well, the Commonwealth people say : "These are problems in which we don't want to get people see reason."

**MR. MACLEAR** : *What about the old person-to-person diplomacy? Would you be willing to see Mr. Nehru?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB** : I have seen him so many times and pleaded with him the need for amity between India and Pakistan, the need for settlement of Kashmir. It's draining away their resources, unnecessarily getting their army committed. I have pleaded with him.

**MR. MACLEAR** : *You feel it's useless to talk to him now?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB** : It has never proved useful so far.

**MR. MACLEAR** : *Would it be fair, Mr. President, to say that tensions now are greater over Kashmir than they have ever been?*

**PRESIDENT AYUB** : Yes, I think, much greater, especially as a result



of India's policy of throwing out Muslims from the States that surround East Pakistan into East Pakistan on the very, very spurious and lame excuse that they are people who have infiltrated from Pakistan territory. That is not so; they have been there for generations, they have just been driven out. And other things, communal riots in India have been going on, and a general campaign of hatred against Pakistan.

*MR. MACLEAR: Well, does Kashmir reflect a greater and older Hindu-Muslim enmity?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, it certainly is a manifestation of Hindu enmity towards Muslims, towards Pakistan. Yes, I think that when they think of Kashmir, they think of all those past things that have happened. The past does condition their thinking.*

*MR. MACLEAR: You used a phrase which struck me: "The danger of setting a continent on fire." Could this really happen?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, that's how this sub-continent was in the past overrun by outsiders when there were divisions amongst the people on the sub-continent and today there are two organised Governments, organised armies.*

*MR. MACLEAR: Could a repetition of these communal riots set off an armed conflict in Kashmir?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, they have the germ of such a thing in them, undoubtedly.*

*MR. MACLEAR: May I ask you for some quick comments, Sir, on larger hemispheric problems. Would a second Afro-Asian Conference be of any practical value?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: I think it*

*will be. It will be of practical value certainly in the economic sphere, that is to build up some sort of trading positions for primary producers and also for people like us who are now entering manufacturing stage, and so on. We are finding it very difficult to sell things in Europe and America. There are all sorts of barriers against us, quota restrictions, tariffs, so on and so forth. In a large country like U.S.A., all we are allowed to sell is eleven million yards of cloth, that's all. Well, we have taken a lot of loans from our good friends in Europe and America and we have paid them back and we must pay them back. And we can only pay them back if we trade with the outside world. And the outsider, the Western world, is making more and more difficult for us to trade with them, that is, trade our finished goods with them. They are interested in our raw materials. And here, too, we are at a great disadvantage. The terms of trade are moving against the producers. We are getting about fifty per cent of what we should and the finished goods' prices have gone up a hundred or more per cent. I think it would be a good thing to try and consider those things whether we could make arrangements for a more moderate pattern of trading. In the political field, I don't think for the moment that they can be resolved by a thing like this but certainly the identification of the problems and some methods to resolve them may help. It would induce a certain amount of public opinion to move in that direction.*

*MR. MACLEAR: Your opinion of the war in Viet Nam?*

*PRESIDENT AYUB: Well, all right. But certainly there are other wars that*



are going on, struggles that are going on, between the Asians and amongst the Africans.

**MR. MACLEAR:** Do you think the Asians themselves are capable of settling the Indonesian-Malaysian dispute?

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** Well, they can only appeal, can't they? And it may have some effect.

**MR. MACLEAR:** How might the Sino-Soviet schism affect Asia?

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** Well, it does affect Asia, enormously—now, for instance, this situation between us and India has been directly affected by this schism. It's a curious thing to say but United States policy and the Soviet Union policy towards India has coincided for divergent reasons and objectives.

**MR. MACLEAR:** This is the situa-

tion but do you feel yourself on the side of the Chinese in such a division between the Communists?

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** We feel we would like to be on the side of peace, quiet and calmness. We take no sides.

**MR. MACLEAR:** Final question, Sir, your opinion of India after Nehru?

**PRESIDENT AYUB:** Well, it is a very difficult thing to say. Judging by our experience, the sort of circumstances that developed here will emerge there, too. There will be local pulls and tensions. In what form they will appear, one can't say. It's a matter of conjecture but there is nobody in sight in India with a personality like that of Mr. Nehru who could hold the things together and ride over these storms. I think these storms will take their course.

### *First-of-the-month broadcast on 1 June 1964*

I should like to convey to the people of India our sincere condolence on their recent bereavement and great national loss. We share the grief which they feel over the death of their Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and have great sympathy for them.

An event like this should be an occasion for a searching of the heart by all those ordained by God to be in charge of human affairs. Those placed in position of authority, or control over human destiny, carry a grave responsibility on their shoulders. They have the opportunity and the power to do immense good or incalculable harm. The consequences are not confined to their own nation but

extend to others. For the nations of the world are now so closely inter-linked that the affairs of one have repercussions on the fate of others.

We wish India well in her hour of sorrow. And we extend a warm hand of friendship to the people of India across our border. Now may be the occasion for both sides, in particular for the new leadership in India, to have fresh look at our relationship. On our part, we shall respond to any sincere move for the improvement of Indo-Pakistan relations.

The bitterness and recriminations, which have gone on for nearly 17 years between us have done no good to either side. They have only caused human misery and suffering, apart from in-



calculable loss in material terms.

Hatred and anger fan the fires of hell in human minds. Why not put them out? And why allow immense suffering and misery to be caused to fellow human beings? It is much nobler, and more conducive to one's own happiness, to live on terms of friendliness and good neighbourliness with others.

India and Pakistan are neighbours, for better or worse. Why let it be for the worse? Why not try the alternative of living together for the better?

We have within both our countries more than one community professing different faiths. They could hate and fight one another. They could also, with a little self-control, learn to be tolerant of one another. This is not something beyond human capacity. For any civilised and organised society the way to greatness with honour lies in forbearance and discipline.

There are undoubtedly some differences between our countries. It would not be realistic, nor conducive to good results, if we were to ignore them. What is required is a change of heart. Look at the history of some European countries who until recently were the worst enemies of one another. And think of the human suffering their enmity led to, not only for themselves but for the world as a whole. Yet today, they are organising themselves into a community of close and friendly neighbours. Instead of trying to destroy themselves, they are helping and strengthening one another. The material advantages, for which most of the wars took place fruitlessly, have now been gained by them by composing their differences and by forgetting the decades of past

hatred. Those little bits of territory for which they fought with such grievous losses no longer seem to matter to them. The differences and disputes which looked so intractable and insoluble have vanished as if by a magic wand.

That magic wand was nothing but a change of heart. Hatred and enmity were replaced by friendship and good neighbourliness. And the gains to them are incalculable.

It should be easier for India and Pakistan to resolve their differences because both need peace and security to develop their countries and improve the lot of their teeming millions. Herein lies our future, and not in preparing for war with each other which is such a waste of human and economic resources, even if no war takes place.

The major irritant in Indo-Pakistan relations is the Kashmir dispute. Everyone knows that the dispute exists. It cannot be just wished away. It would be more realistic and statesmanlike to face it and resolve it. It has been festering our relations for too long. It is vital to settle this issue on an equitable basis and without any delay, for the people of Kashmir, who are rightly agitated, will not wait indefinitely.

The eyes of the world are on us. And if we can come to a sensible settlement, we shall have made a historic contribution to world peace. And its effect will be electric, not only in international councils and affairs, but also on the minds of our own people.

We must get rid of the morbid fear that any settlement of this dispute will jeopardise the position of minorities. On the contrary, I believe



that the Kashmir dispute is responsible for agitating communal passions. It requires courage and statesmanship to cut this Gordian knot. The good it will do will far outweigh the loss, if any. It will give the minorities on each side a breath of relief and feeling of reassurance. No organised or civilised Government can treat a large section of its population as hostages. To my mind it is not beyond human ingenuity to be able to work out an arrangement whereby the position of the minorities can be fully secured and safeguarded.

The Muslim minority in India, which belonged to that country at the time of Partition, placed its trust in the good sense and decency of the majority community. Given the chance, it could be of great strength and benefit to India. No person who considers the situation coolly and justly can believe that the Indian Muslims constitute any threat to the security of India. That country has been well served by Muslims when she gave a chance to do so.

A welcome visit last month was that of Shaikh Abdullah. It was unfortunately cut short by the sudden death of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I was

deeply impressed by Shaikh Abdullah's sincerity and determination to see the Kashmir dispute resolved in a manner which would not harm Pakistan's vital interests, and to bring about happier relations between India and Pakistan in this context. He realised that people in Kashmir are most unhappy with their present lot and that, without a settlement of the Kashmir dispute there can be no resolution of the differences between India and Pakistan. He also feels strongly that the lot of the Indian Muslims cannot improve unless there is communal harmony within each country and friendship between the two countries.

I agree with him. Apart from human considerations, the moral and international stature and strength of India depend on having an understanding with Pakistan. Material advantages are also bound to accrue. To mention only one, the crushing military budget, expected in the case of India to rise beyond 900 crore of rupees annually, could be reduced by half immediately.

I hope and pray that better sense will yet prevail and that the relations between the two countries will improve to the advantage of both.

*Message to Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri on his election as Prime Minister of India on 5 June 1961*

I am happy to learn that you have been elected unanimously as Prime Minister of India. Please accept my congratulations.

The burden which the country has placed on you is very heavy indeed. But I am sure that you would be able to discharge it with the same

ability and efficiency with which you have carried out earlier duties of great responsibility entrusted to you. I sincerely wish you success in your mission.

I consider your election as good augury for Indo-Pakistan relations. I wonder if you have seen my address



to the nation on first of June 1964. I do hope that improvement of our mutual relations is as near to your heart as to mine. Given good-will and perseverance, there is no reason why we should not be able to remove the

causes which have bedevilled Indo-Pakistan relations during the last 17 years. That, to my mind, would be our biggest contribution to the history of this sub-continent, in fact, of the world at large.



# 7

## Quaid-i-Azam

*Message on the Quaid-i-Azam's death anniversary on 11 September 1959*

Today, we pay homage to the memory of the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He passed away eleven years ago, but he lives in our hearts as a source of abiding inspiration.

On this solemn occasion, I recall his prophetic words: "We have won the battle for Pakistan's freedom, but the grimmer battle for the preservation of that freedom and building it on a firmer and sounder basis is still in progress, and that battle has to be

fought to a successful conclusion if we are to survive as a great nation."

Let us, today, pledge ourselves once again to work ceaselessly and with selfless devotion in the service of our Nation, raising it to that height of greatness which the Quaid-i-Azam had visualised for us. Thus alone can we prove ourselves worthy of the great heritage of freedom which the Founder of Pakistan bequeathed to us.

*Speech at a public meeting held in Rawalpindi on 25 December 1959*

A number of people had thought of Pakistan as an idea and a concept; but the glory of actively working for it and turning the dream into reality was reserved for the Quaid-i-Azam. The success was entirely due to him; and today we have assembled here to pay our sincere homage to the memory of the victorious and triumphant Quaid.

People sometimes err in passing a judgment on their great men. For none is infallible and every mortal is

tainted with the same brush. It is not possible for man to be always right. A true assessment of his greatness should, however, be made in the light of decisions he makes at the decisive moments, when life stands at crossroads. Such decisive moments do not come every day. They occur only once or twice in the life of man. And it is then a human character soars to greatness or loses its grandeur.

The Quaid emerged triumphant from these tests and trials. It was a



time when the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent were socially and politically weak and disorganised. But the Quaid-i-Azam succeeded in persuading them that the path of salvation was only one and that it lay in the establishment of Pakistan. Only this achievement is enough to establish his greatness and secure eternal glory.

After the establishment of Pakistan he was not only its undisputed leader but also the executive head of the State. New problems confronted him and the country. The evils and wrongs of the past had to be redressed. The country had to be guided along the path of progress. But unfortunately he did not get the time to tackle these problems. His health deteriorated under the pressure of ceaseless work and devoted labour. And he departed from us at a time when we needed him most.

Many people had worked with the Quaid-i-Azam. Some had worked in his political party—the Muslim League—and had gained experience. There were many who considered themselves his true and sincere followers. It was hoped that they had gained something more than publicity by their associations with the Quaid-i-Azam. It was expected that they would also have imbibed something of the iron determination, selfless service and constructive dreams of their leader. Unfortunately, except the late Liaquat Ali Khan, none of these fulfilled the great expectations. Every one of these leaders got an opportunity to lead the country, but every new leader proved more worthless and unsuccessful than his predecessors. The situation in the country continued to deteriorate. The

worst of it was that the people lost all respect for the law. And what else could be expected?

It was the favourite hobby of successive Governments to violate the most sacred laws of the country to perpetuate all kinds of malpractices. This disrespect for law, carried out under the patronage of the Government, rapidly spread in the country. It became impossible for the peace-loving citizens to live a life of decency and honour. Under the guise of party funds corruption and bribery were given the colour of a respectable trade. Unless the people contributed to the party fund it became impossible for them to get the things done. The followers of the Quaid-i-Azam failed to follow in his footsteps for they were devoid of any capacity to emulate their leader. They were like a straw before the Quaid. And the whole country suffered because of their misdeeds.

I wish the Quaid had lived longer to guide us. For today when I survey the situation I find it the same as it was on the death of the Quaid. In fact my task is more difficult. For the accumulated wrongs and evils of past ten years are strewn around us.

We have removed some of this accumulated dirt and are cleaning up the rest. Apart from this work, we are also endeavouring to establish political, social, educational and economic institutions which may lead the country to progress.

I believe that the greatest need of our country is political stability—that the Government which is established by law should be strong and firm in its saddle. Weak Governments are a source of danger for the country.

After a great deal of thought I



have come to the conclusion that the Presidential form of Government is best suited for us. Legislative bodies should be entrusted with the function of law-making alone, so that there is no disturbance or friction in departments. For elections to the legislative body there should be an electoral college with an appropriate breath of vision and mental horizon.

As far as the people in general are concerned, only those questions should be placed before them, for purposes of elections, which are within their purview and which they can answer from their own understanding and intelligence.

If we base our future constitutional structure on these basic principles, then there is no reason why we should fail to attain a high degree of political stability.

In addition to these mundane political considerations, there is another sphere to which we need to give our deepest thought. This is the problem of our spiritual values, the overall ideal which should guide and inspire us. Without a proper moral and spiritual base we cannot raise the tone and level of our national life. I am working on this subject and I hope soon to be able to present to you considered ideas in this regard.

The things about which I have talked to you are but the beginning

of our great task. I might mention here one undertaking which had been kept pending for a long time but has now been finalised. I refer to the design of the Quaid-i-Azam's tomb and Memorial. In the last many years, designs were being drawn up. Immense sums of money were spent every year, but to no result. We have now approved a design which reflects not only the best traditions of Islamic architecture but also the strength and elevation as well as the piety and refinement of the Quaid-i-Azam's personality and character.

It is hoped that the construction of the tomb will be completed in about two years' time. By the side of the tomb there will be a spacious Jamia Mosque and Idgah where several hundred thousand people will be able to say their prayers at the same time.

If we truly want to revive the memory of the Quaid we should today decide to serve our country and nation honestly and sincerely. Whatever be our station or place we should do our work with more zeal and devotion. Even those who have been disabled should at least pray to the Almighty for the progress and prosperity of Pakistan. They should also pray for making us devout Muslims and good Pakistanis.

*Message to the nation on the death anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam, from Rawalpindi on 11 September 1960*

Every year on this day we pay homage to the memory of the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Today,

let all of us search our hearts and find out whether this ceremony is becoming just an annual ritual or whether there is any honest effort on our



part to live up to the ideals which the great leader had placed before us.

The ideals for which the Quaid-i-Azam lived and died were embodied in one word—Pakistan. He struggled with fearless and unflinching devotion to make the idea of Pakistan a reality, and after this was achieved, he gave every ounce of his energy to make it a strong and stable nation.

By the grace of God we have gone some way on the road of strength and

stability—but there is a great deal more that is yet to be done. This requires ceaseless, straight and hard work by each and every Pakistani in his or her own big or small station of life.

This is the only way to prove ourselves worthy of the great heritage of freedom which the Quaid-i-Azam bequeathed to us and this is the only true homage which we can pay to his memory.

*Message from Rawalpindi on the occasion of the 13th Death Anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam, on 11 September 1961*

We must kindle in our hearts a growing desire to come up to the ideals for which Quaid-i-Azam lived and died. His supreme quality of self-discipline, selfless devotion and irresistible faith should serve as a beaconlight for us. We must dedicate ourselves selflessly to the task of national reconstruction and consolidation which alone can turn his vision of a strong, happy and prosperous Pakistan into a dynamic reality.

Mere emotional facades, slogans and shibboleths are not going to help

us build our nation. What is needed is to face the reality and to pursue with relentless vigour the task assigned to us. The Quaid-i-Azam was a realist and never allowed emotion to cloud his unerring judgment. We should follow in his footsteps and remain firm in our resolve to work with singleness of purpose for the greater glory of Pakistan. It is only thus that we can prove ourselves to be worthy inheritors of the homeland that the Quaid-i-Azam bequeathed to us.



# 8

## Holy Prophet

*Address delivered at the International Seerut-un-Nabi Conference in Karachi on 1 March 1959*

THE noble life of the Holy Prophet was a model for all people and for all times. It was not the life of just one human being ; it was the idealisation of the entire humanity. The world has not produced any other person who could blend within him so much of grace and sublimity with such beauty.

Although every moment of the great Prophet's life lays down a pattern for us, on this occasion I shall draw your attention to two of its particular facets.

You are well aware in what condition Arabia was at the time when the Holy Prophet began to spread the teachings of Islam. There was no Government. There were no laws. There was neither a police force to protect the people nor an army to defend them. There were no civil and military courts. Everywhere might was right. Whoever had the strength and the sword did just what he liked. In the midst of this rule of the jungle, the Prophet raised his lone voice of truth and righteousness. He stood unshakable in the face of bitter op-

position, persecution and tribulations—till at last the forces of evil were routed and truth prevailed.

It is easy to talk of these noble precepts, but to emulate them is far difficult. Today you have every kind of facilities for the protection of your life and property. Besides the police and the army there are all sorts of legal institutions—Courts, High Courts, Supreme Courts. But in spite of all these facilities, how many people are there who have the moral courage to speak the truth and act upon it even in the most trivial of matters of everyday life ? Right before your eyes crimes like black-marketing and bribery are committed.

You suffer in silence, and maybe you talk about them and criticise them in intimate circles, but you do not come out and lodge complaints against the defaulters because you do not wish to offend anyone. Or because you do not wish to get yourself involved in law-suits and suffer consequent inconvenience.

This attitude is diametrically opposed to the one taught to us by the



Prophet of God. Remember that angels from heaven are not sent to reform a nation, nor is it pleasant to give warnings of punishment time and again to that end. If everyone amongst you disciplines himself on the lines of truth and honesty—and perseveres on the right path in all conditions—then alone you would be offering implicit obedience to the Holy Prophet. Without this you may be called the Prophet's *Ummat* but not his true and faithful followers.

The second point on which I wish to speak is the Holy Prophet's untiring energy and his abiding sense of duty. Today things have come to such a pass that the more power and authority one gets, the more inactive and luxury-loving one becomes. One's chief concern is that one may continue to enjoy power and position, while others may sweat and toil. Today, one is less conscious of one's duties and more anxious to achieve personal gains and comforts.

You and I are after all ordinary men. Pakistan is just one country. To me the entire world-system is insignificant before the eminence that God bestowed upon His Prophet. God not only made him His Messenger but also called him the Saviour of Humanity, and repeatedly conveyed to him the message of his success and salvation. There can be nothing greater than this for the man.

Nevertheless, the care and conscientiousness with which the Holy Prophet discharged his worldly and heavenly duties are unique for all times.

One day the Holy Prophet returned home after a day's strenuous routine of prayers and preaching. He was extremely worried and tired. That

day his enemies had greatly tortured him. They had paved thorns in his way, thrown stones at him, and hurled taunting remarks. With the day's strain heavy on him, he was about to retire for rest when someone brought the news that a caravan had halted behind a hill, a few miles from Mecca. The Prophet at once rose up to go and convey to the travellers the words of God. A few of his followers humbly protested saying he was so tired after the day's work, and could very well attend to the newcomers on the following morning.

The Prophet replied : "Who knows I may die before the morning comes; or that the caravan may leave during the night. In that case my duty to God will not have been discharged."

Such realisation of one's responsibility was given only to the Prophet. But those that are so fortunate as to be the followers of the Prophet owe it to their faith to attend to their duties with entire devotion, energy and honesty.

The ills of the present have only one antidote : hard work, honest work, clean work. There exists no other miracle that can bring meaning to the life of an individual or of a nation.

It is easy to recite the *Kalimah* and be called a Muslim. It is not difficult, either, to recite *Darood* and *Salam* to show one's belief and faith in the Prophet of God. But it is action that finally counts. Your faith in the Prophet would be proved only when you make the human qualities of the Prophet the pattern of your practical life. I pray to God that He may give to all of us the inclination and the ability to do so.



*Message on the occasion of Milad-un-Nabi Day on 17 September 1959*

This is the day of all days. It was today that God, in His infinite mercy, perfected the design of man and blessed this earth with the Crown of His creation. Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) was not only the final messenger of Divine Revelation, but he also set the lasting and inspiring example of a life of devotion and dedication, for which no sacrifice was too great to be made with a smile, no impediment too bad for making a beginning towards improvement, and no disappointment too poignant to shake one's faith in one's ideals.

It is to this endearing and noble life of the Holy Prophet that we pay our homage and pray to God that He

may give us the courage, strength and ability to follow in the footsteps of the Founder of our faith.

Pakistan provides an ideal framework to re-try the great experiment of life and work for the seed which was sown about 14 centuries ago. This is a stupendous task and an unsparing responsibility. We cannot hope to touch even the fringe of it without utmost sincerity, devotion and intellectual honesty. Let each one of us, every man, woman and child of Pakistan, resolve that, *Insha Allah*, we shall not prove unworthy of the privilege which we have of calling ourselves the *Ummat* of an unparalleled man and Prophet of God.

*Message to the nation from Rawalpindi on the birthday of the Holy Prophet and Independence Day on 14 August 1962*

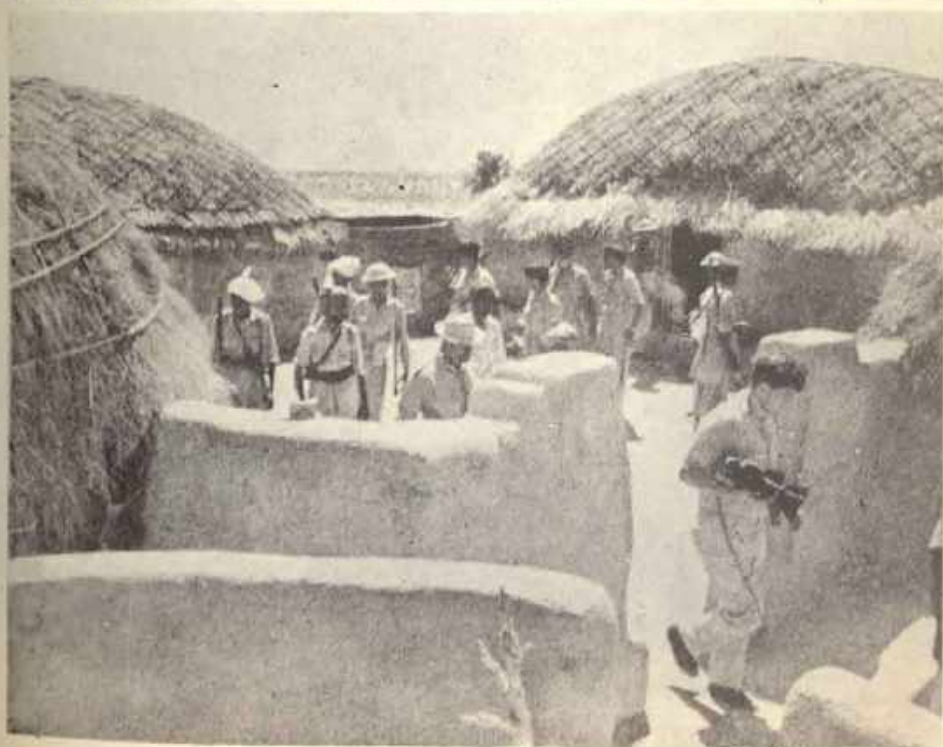
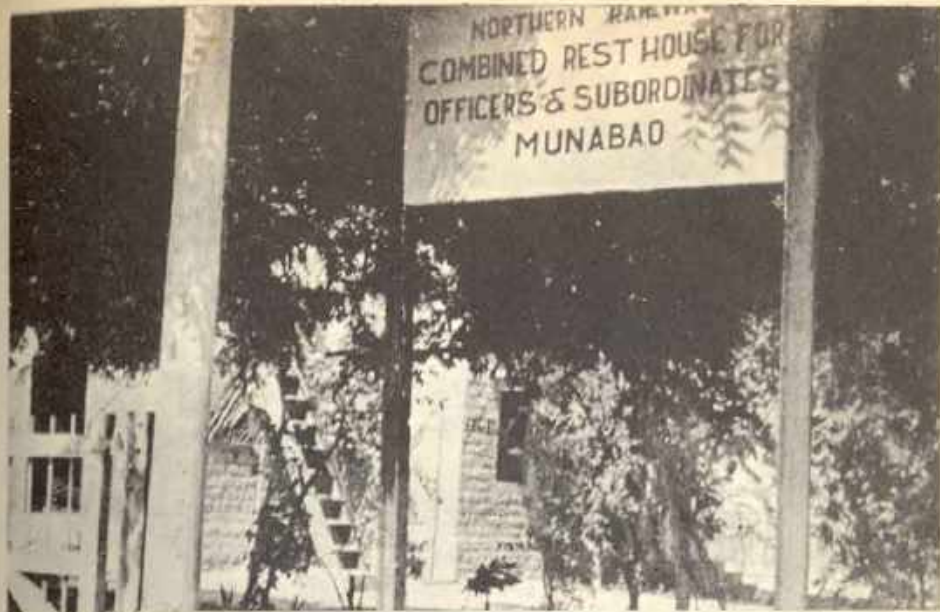
It is indeed a happy coincidence that this year the birthday of the Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him) and our Independence Day fall on the same date.

The sacred and auspicious day reminds us of the glorious principles of tolerance, equality and universal peace enunciated by our Holy Prophet. It

also reminds us of the real ideals of unity, faith and discipline on which the foundations of Pakistan were laid.

I sincerely hope and pray that the people of Pakistan will continue to draw sustenance from the life and message of the Prophet, and to work unceasingly for the unity, strength and prosperity of Pakistan.

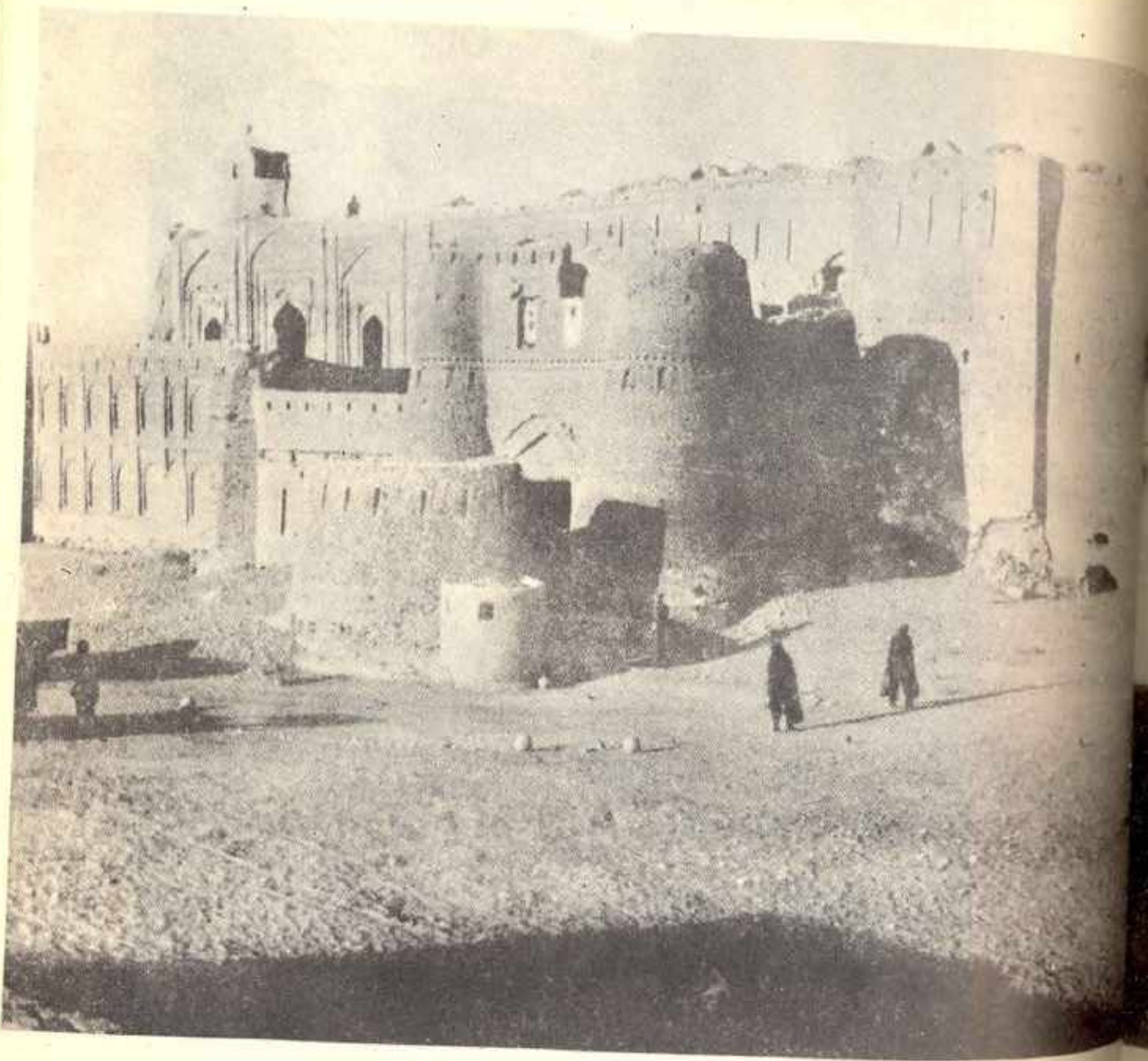




*Above: Soon after the Indians opened a new front in Rajasthan, they were forced out of Munabao, an Indian border town and Railway terminus.*

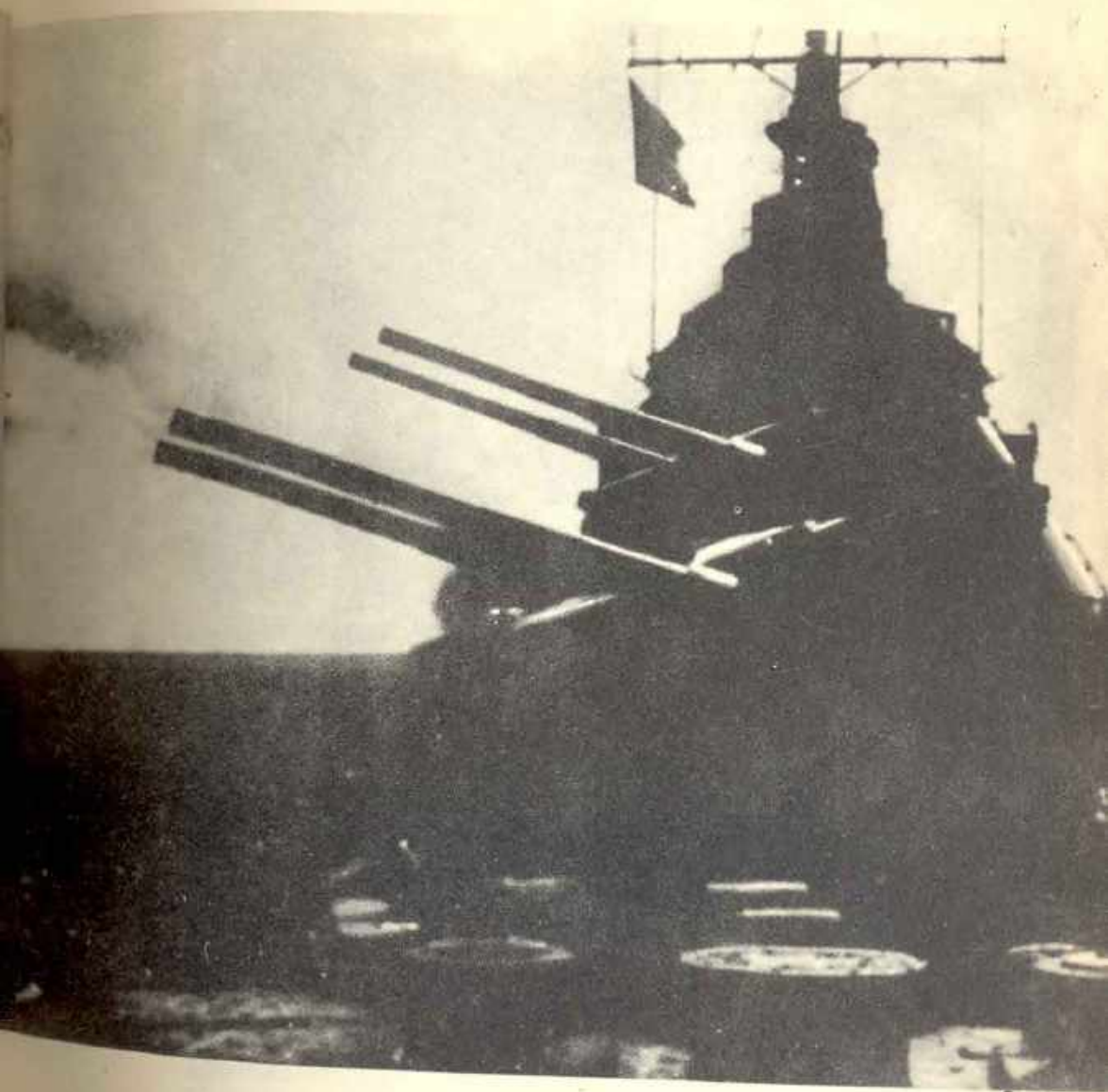
*Below: An Indian village in Rajasthan occupied by Pakistani troops. The Hurs played a great part in defending the border in this sector.*





*The Kishangarh  
fort in Jaisalmer  
occupied by  
Pakistani troops.*





*Right: Naval guns in action. They destroyed the Dwarka Fort.*





*Conquerors of Munabao.*

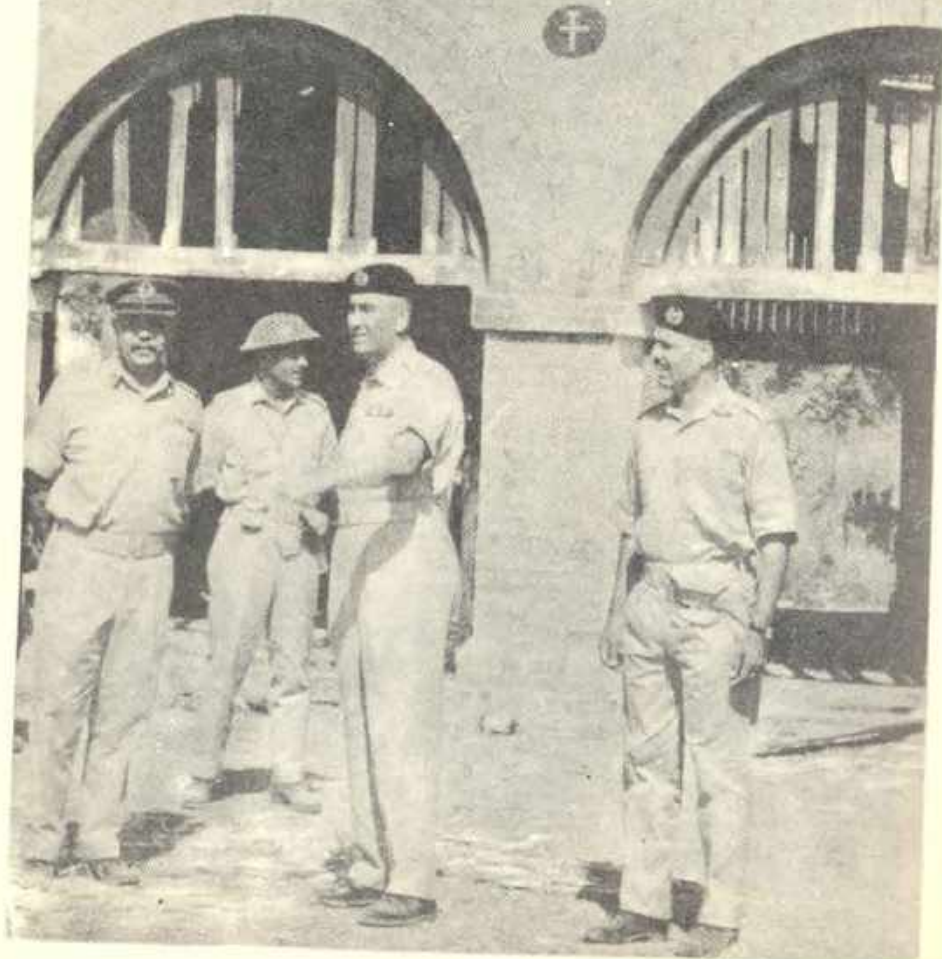




*Above: An abandoned Indian tank in the Sialkot Sector.  
Below: A badly mauled jeep left by an Indian Company Commander  
in Lahore Sector.*



खेमकरन धेमकरन  
KHEM KARN



*The C-in-C, Pakistan Army, visits Khem Karan, after its capture by Pakistan.*





*Above: An abandoned Indian AMX tank.*

*Below: This level-crossing near Chawinda Railway Station was the target of repeated Indian attacks, all of which were repulsed.*





*Portrait of a martyr: Major Aziz Bhatti, winner of the highest military award, 'Nishan-e-Haider'.*



*Sq/Ldr. M. M. Alam 'Sitara-e-Jur'at'*



*Another martyr: F/Lt. Yunus Hasan, 'Sitara-e-Jur'at'*

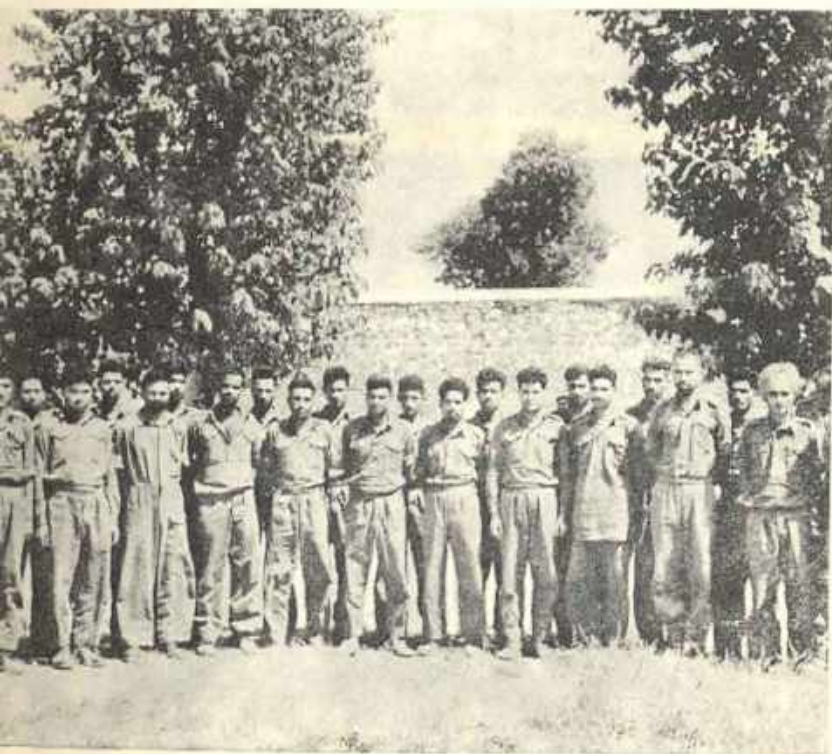




*Above: Foreign journalists looking at an Indian tank captured in Sialkot sector.*

*Below: Some of the Sikh soldiers captured on the Lahore front.*





*Above: Indian prisoners being escorted by Mujahids.  
Below: A group photograph taken in a P.O.W. Camp.*



**AYUB**

**Soldier and Statesman**

**Part II**



# 1

## REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL

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India has been flouting UN resolutions on Kashmir for the past eighteen years although she committed herself before the nations of the world to let the Kashmiris decide their own fate through a vote. It is nothing but a typical reflection of the typical Hindu mentality.

India has, at last, denied the right of self-determination to the people of Jammu and Kashmir and their demand for a UN-supervised plebiscite is considered by her to be a crime, an act of rebellion.

The Kashmiris could not stand Indian attitude and oppression any longer. On 9 August 1965 a Revolutionary Council of the people of Jammu and Kashmir was formed in occupied Kashmir. With the establishment of this Council the struggle for the liberation of Kashmir entered a crucial phase. The major objective of the Revolutionary Council is to rid occupied Kashmir of the aggression and tyranny of Indian imperialism and to win for the people of Kashmir their right of self-determination pledged to them eighteen years ago.



## SECRET RADIO NAILS INDIAN CANARD

*Rawalpindi, Aug. 11.* The "Sada-i-Kashmir" Radio announced tonight that Kashmiri Mujahids were depending on the help of Allah alone.

The Radio, in its evening broadcast, said the Indian allegation that Pakistan was supporting the Mujahids was absolutely false propaganda. Mujahids have received help from no one but their own people, it added.

Lakhs of Kashmiris, the Radio said, were ready to lay down their lives for their motherland, and Pakistan's help was not needed. The Mujahids would, of course, welcome, and would be proud to receive Pakis-

tan's assistance, it declared, but not at the moment.

The Radio said that for 18 years, Kashmir had waited for fairplay but all hopes were belied and no alternative was left to the Kashmiris but to take action themselves to decide their future.

"We are not afraid of Indian military might. Things have gone too far. The goal of freedom is in sight. Indians want us to remain slaves. We shall never allow them to do that.

"We know the freedom struggle needs blood and the motherland will not find us wanting."

## SUPPORT CAUSE OF MUJAHIDS

*Rawalpindi, Aug. 18.* The Revolutionary Council appealed to the British Government and people to support in the name of democracy and humanity the cause of the freedom-fighters in Occupied Kashmir.

The Revolutionary Council expressed the gratitude of the people of Kashmir to the British for supporting their right of self-determination at the United Nations.

The Council said in its appeal that at this time of trial when the people of Occupied Kashmir had risen in revolt against Indian imperialism, the British would help the freedom-fighters as they had helped the fight against Nazism.

It said the Kashmiris did not want that the British should fight along with the freedom-fighters. What they wanted was moral support. They also expected arms aid from the British nation to fight Indian colonialism against which they had revolted after 18 long years of Indian repression and tyranny.

Referring to the British representative's visit to the United States to discuss the new situation in Occupied Kashmir, the Council hoped that the exigencies of international politics would not come in the way of justice and fairplay. It also hoped that they would discuss the situation in the context of the Kashmiris' right of self-determination.



## SET UP SECRET CELLS

*Rawalpindi, Aug. 18.* The Sada-i-Kashmir Radio tonight broadcast a message of the Revolutionary Council in Occupied Kashmir calling upon the people of towns and villages to set up secret cells of the Council where no such cell had so far been established.

The Revolutionary Council also asked the people to listen to the directives announced on Sada-i-Kashmir and carry out the programme of the Council to further accelerate the freedom fight.

## CALL TO U.S. & USSR

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 19.* The Sada-i-Kashmir Radio broadcast appeals to the "democratic and moral conscience" of the United States and the Soviet Union—the two greatest Powers of the world.

In the appeal to America, the Council said: "You who declared yourself the greatest democracy of the world, why do you not help 50 lakh people of Jammu and Kashmir in gaining their right of self-determination? Why do you not compel the Security Council to implement its resolutions on Kashmir?"

"You declare yourselves to be the disciples of the great leaders of men, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, who sacrificed all individual as well as national interests for the sake of democracy and human justice, yet you have turned a deaf ear to the cries of the enchained people of Jammu and Kashmir who have been suffering from the imperialist brutalities of India.

"You could deploy your army against Hitler in support of the democratic Powers. Then why not for the downtrodden Kashmiris? It is your

moral duty to help them secure their right of self-determination."

The appeal to Russia said:

"You who declared yourself the messenger of peace in the world: We are in bondage for the last two hundred years. The valley of Kashmir, which is known as a paradise on earth, is no longer a paradise. It is a hell infested by poverty, hunger and disease.

"India is sucking the blood of this valley and thriving on it. What would you have done had you been in our place? In the name of justice, humanity and peace, we appeal to you to help us light the torch of freedom in this valley, to rid ourselves of the neo-imperialism of India. You, the disciples of Lenin, should know India has been ridiculing our aspirations for the last 18 years. It has been treating us as a flock of sheep. These are the very imperialistic characteristics which Russia has condemned all along. Now give us your moral help in breaking these chains. We are not the enemies of India, but we are also not enemies of freedom.



which India has denied us. We love freedom as any other people as our birthright. We warn you that India is no one's friend—least of all yours.

It is a selfish, hypocritical country obsessed by the desire to dominate others with the strength of arms borrowed from different countries."

### MORE TROOPS CANNOT AVERT DEFEAT

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 23.* The Revolutionary Council in a broadcast tonight declared that further reinforcements being rushed to the Occupied Kashmir by India would not save the tottering Indian imperialist regime in the valley from its defeats at the hands of the Mujahids.

The Council in a message said that the day was not far off when the people of Kashmir would achieve their cherished goal. It declared: "We would spare no effort and consider no sacrifice as too great to achieve our independence."

The Council called upon the people of the Occupied Kashmir to keep

up pressure on the Indian occupational troops and the mercenaries who were already on the run.

The Revolutionary Council paid rich tributes to the struggling people for their courage and valour.

The message said that the Indian forces were surprised and harassed at the lightning action of the Mujahids in attacking their posts and headquarters.

Concluding, the Revolutionary Council reaffirmed its determination of Kashmiris to continue their struggle with full determination and faith in God.

### REVOLUTIONARY BODY'S CALL TO MUSLIMS

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 24.* The Revolutionary Council has appealed to the Muslims all over the world to pray to Almighty God for the success of the freedom-fighters in Occupied Jammu and Kashmir.

The appeal said freedom-fighters in their life-and-death struggle against the Indian occupation forces needed the prayers and moral support of the Muslims all over the world.

### INDIA MINIMISING SUCCESSES OF MUJAHIDS

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 29.* The Revolutionary Council tonight called up-

on the people of Occupied Kashmir not to fall a prey to the false propaganda



of India minimising the successes of the freedom-fighters.

The Revolutionary Council in a message said that even Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mr. Chagla had admitted that the armed might of India could not deter the Mujahids who were determined to achieve their cherished

goal—the liberation of homeland from the alien Indian occupation.

The Revolutionary Council said the people of Kashmir were facing an enemy which knew no scruples and human values particularly when it invades unarmed people like in Hyderabad, Junagadh and Goa.

## CHINA NOT HELPING MUJAHIDS

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 29.* The Revolutionary Council today warned the Indian rulers not to implicate People's Republic of China in the people's revolt in Occupied Kashmir.

Revolutionary Council severely criticised the contents of the letters sent by India to the Security Council levelling baseless insinuations against China.

This was, the Revolutionary Council said, a most shameful and sinister attempt on the part of Indian rulers to malign one of the great countries of Asia whose leaders were the future

and present hope of Afro-Asian nations.

The Revolutionary Council said that Indian rulers were interested only in the 84,000 square mile territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. They wanted to retain their occupation over the territory even if they had to annihilate the entire population.

The people of Kashmir would, with the grace of God, frustrate all such attempts of the Indian rulers and continue their freedom struggle till the Indian imperialism in Kashmir was completely routed.

## STRUGGLE TO GO ON

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 30.* The Revolutionary Council in Occupied Kashmir announced that the freedom-fighters would continue their struggle in the Algerian way till their cherished goal was achieved.

The message said that the Indian imperialists had brought in all their military might in Occupied Kashmir

to crush the popular uprising. The Indian usurpers would never succeed in their colonial designs in Kashmir.

History had proved, the Revolutionary Council said, that the colonial rule had always and everywhere crumbled down before the struggling people.

## MAKE INDIANS RUN FAST

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 1.* The Revolutionary Council tonight appealed

to the people of Kashmir to come out in the open now and join the ranks of



the freedom-fighters to hasten the flight of the Indian occupation forces from their sacred homeland.

The members of the public should indulge in sabotage making the

movement of Indian troops difficult. Simultaneously, they must keep the headquarters of the Revolutionary Council posted with the troop movement by Indians.

## NO CEASE-FIRE TILL FREEDOM

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 3.* The Kashmir Revolutionary Council said today that even if Pakistan and India agree to stop fighting in Kashmir, in response to U Thant's appeal, their decision would not be binding on the people of Kashmir.

It declared that the Kashmir Revolutionary Council was the only authority to decide about the future of Kashmir and it would not cease fighting till the freedom was achieved.

The Revolutionary Council said by maintaining the Cease-fire Line peace cannot be achieved in the region.

In a message to the U. N. Secretary-General the Revolutionary Council praised the efforts of U Thant to bring about a peaceful solution of Kashmir issue. But it added while trying to bring about a peaceful solu-

tion the U. N. Secretary-General should not forget that it was the 50 lakh Kashmiris and not India and Pakistan who really mattered in this issue.

It said United Nations had persuaded the Kashmiris to cease-fire about 18 years back with the pledge that the Kashmiris would be given the right to decide their own future. India was also a party to this solemn pledge.

The Revolutionary Council said that the world body had failed so far to solve the Kashmir issue and if the present state of affairs continued its solution would not be forthcoming till the doomsday. It said it was the U. N. inaction that had forced on August 8 the people of Kashmir to terminate and disown all the agreements between India and Pakistan.

## LIBERATION WAR WILL CONTINUE

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 5.* The Kashmir Revolutionary Council has declared that the Kashmiris are determined to continue their freedom struggle till the final victory is achieved.

Commenting on the U. N. Security Council's latest call for cease-fire, the Revolutionary Council said tonight that the Kashmiris were not bound by

any cease-fire agreement or any imaginary cease-fire line dividing Kashmir.

The 50 lakh Kashmiris are not prepared to be hoodwinked once again by the United Nations and no power on earth could suppress their spirit for their independence.

The U. N. Security Council, it said, had no right to force its decision on



the people of Kashmir.

The Revolutionary Council called upon the Security Council to implement its previous resolutions on Kashmir, withdraw foreign forces from the State, provide the basic human rights

to the Kashmiris and get their leaders released from the Indian jails and finally, it said, the people of Kashmir be given the right to choose their future in a free and impartial manner.

## KASHMIRIS WILL FRUSTRATE INDIAN DESIGNS

*Muzaffarabad Sept. 7.* A spokesman of the Revolutionary Council said this evening that Kashmiris were determined to attain freedom even at the cost of supreme sacrifices.

The spokesman was commenting on the statement of the puppet Premier of Indian-held Kashmir that Kashmiris would be ready for any sacrifice for the State. The spokes-

man said that for the first time Sadiq has stated a truth. Of course every Kashmiri was ready to offer any sacrifice for the freedom of the State but certainly not for furthering Indian designs in the State. The spokesman said if Sadiq was so popular among the Kashmiris he should then discard the protection of the Indian Army.

## REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL THANKS SUPPORTERS

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 9.* A spokesman of the Kashmir Revolutionary Council, Prof. M. A. Aziz, has thanked China, Indonesia, Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Algeria for assuring active support to Pakistan in meeting Indian aggression against her territory.

In a statement issued here today, Prof. Aziz said that the Indian colonialists in Kashmir had mounted a treacherous attack on Pakistan to punish her for her support to the people of Jammu and Kashmir in

their struggle for the right of self-determination.

He said that a war had been thrust on Pakistan by India and help rendered to Pakistan in meeting this aggression meant upholding the cause of human rights and liberty.

He hoped that every country upholding these universal principles would mobilise its resources and help vacate aggression, which would indirectly help the people of Jammu and Kashmir also in their struggle for freedom.

## R. C. REJECTS CEASE-FIRE

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 10.* The Kashmir Revolutionary Council represent-



tative here, Prof. M. A. Aziz, said a cease-fire is unacceptable to the Council.

Commenting on U. N. efforts to stop fighting he said a cease-fire would only help perpetuate "the hated Cease-fire Line" in Kashmir.

Prof. Aziz paid glowing tributes to the Pakistan Armed Forces and

said their spectacular victories over the enemy were something unprecedented. If the Indians did not pull out they would meet unimaginable consequences sooner than can be imagined.

Prof. Aziz also congratulated the brave Mujahids on their successful war against the Indians.

## INDIAN OCCUPATION FORCES TO BE OUSTED

*Muzaffarabad, Oct. 8.* The Voice of Kashmir today reiterated the determination of the Kashmiris to throw out all Indian occupation forces from their motherland.

A spokesman of the Revolutionary Council, delivering a short speech on Radio, said both India and Pakistan should withdraw their forces from

the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the Kashmiris should be given their birthright of self-determination.

The spokesman said the Kashmiris had unanimously decided to secure their freedom from the Indian yoke and they were bound to succeed, however big or how many hurdles there might be in their way.

## R. C. TO CONTINUE FREEDOM FIGHT

*Muzaffarabad, Nov. 6.* The Kashmir Revolutionary Council tonight said that the determined struggle put up by the people of Kashmir, including women, had proved to the world that no power on earth could keep them in captivity.

Radio Sada-i-Kashmir, broadcasting the statement of the Council issued on the occasion of Jammu

Martyrs Day said that rebellion by the Kashmiris had shown that there was no place for the Indians in the State.

The statement reiterated the Kashmiri patriots' determination to continue fighting against the Indian occupation forces till their motherland was liberated of Indian yoke.

## NEW PLAN TO CURB STRUGGLE IN VALLEY

*Muzaffarabad, Nov. 7.* The Indian authorities in Occupied Kashmir have

prepared a new plan to suppress the freedom movement.



The reports received in the Headquarters of the Revolutionary Council said under the new plan all educated Muslims of the valley were being sent to India on the pretext that they would be provided better jobs there. Muslim officials of the puppet Government of the Occupied Kashmir are also being transferred to various provinces of India.

Kashmiri Muslims sent out of the valley were not allowed to come back without official permission. The new scheme, the Radio said, was a calculated Indian plan to weaken the liberation struggle launched by the Muslims by removing their leadership.

Another reason of their removal from the Occupied Kashmir was that these educated Muslims were constantly objecting to Indian brutal atrocities.

There was widespread resentment among the Muslim officials of the puppet Government against the new Indian move. Many of them are resisting to go out of the valley fearing they might meet the fate of Kashmiri officials who were taken to Simla in 1947 on the same pretext and then

killed by Hindu goondas.

A spokesman of the Council, broadcasting from Sada-i-Kashmir tonight, refuted the Indian claim that two and a half lakh non-Muslims were living in Chhamb area. Actually there were not more than 96,000 non-Muslims in this area and Indian authorities were multiplying this figure to bring more Hindus.

It is reported that about 50,000 Hindu goondas were being trained in arson techniques by Indian army at Ram Ban for attacking more than five lakh Muslims living between Aranas and Pir Panjal. It was also reported that Indian occupation forces have arrested Maulana Mufti Muhammad Husain, a prominent leader of Rajauri. They have also announced a reward of Rs. 5,000 plus a monthly stipend of Rs. 50 for anyone capturing, dead or alive, Mr. Niamat Ullah, who led Rajauri Muslims' open revolt against India.

A spokesman of the Revolutionary Council, broadcasting from the Radio, congratulated the Soviet Union leaders on the anniversary of the October Revolution.

## SELF-DETERMINATION FOR KASHMIRIS R. C. REAFFIRMS PLEDGE

*Muzaffarabad, Nov. 8.* The Revolutionary Council in Indian Occupied Kashmir today reaffirmed its resolve not to accept any solution to the Kashmir problem which does not guarantee the right of self-determination to the Kashmiris.

"Kashmir," it quoted the Council as declaring, "is not the problem of India and Pakistan. It is the problem of the 50 lakh people of Kashmir, who will continue their struggle while even

one Indian barbarian is present on their soil."

The Security Council resolution, the Radio remarked, does not include anything which would show that India would vacate her aggression on Kashmir.

It was quite obvious from the Indian attitude, as well as the Indian Constitution, that she was not willing to give up Kashmir at any cost.

The people of Kashmir would not



accept any resolution of the Security Council, unless the Security Council, the Big Powers and India gave an assurance of restoring the right of self-determination to the people, declared the Revolutionary Council.

It charged that the soft attitude of the Security Council towards India had encouraged the latter to extend

her programme of atrocities, already being perpetrated in the Poonch, Rajauri and Haveli areas, to other parts of the valley.

"We warn the Big Powers not to play with the fate of the Kashmiri people in the name of peace," the Council further declared.

## VIOLENT RALLIES IN HELD KASHMIR

*Muzaffarabad, Nov. 15.* The patriots held violent demonstrations today in Srinagar, Baramula and Jajan in Occupied Kashmir to press their demand for self-determination.

Quoting reports reaching the headquarters of the Revolutionary Council, the Radio said that the Indian police used tear-gas and lathi-charged the demonstrators at the three places.

Thousands took part in the demonstrations and raised slogans of "We want plebiscite" and "The Indian savages, quit Kashmir" as they paraded the main streets of the towns.

In Jajan, the patriots heavily stoned the Indian police injuring one officer. After dispersing the angry mob by the use of tear-gas and lathi-charge, the Indian police arrested all the prominent workers of the Plebiscite Front in the area.

Policemen also destroyed three houses and forcibly entered many others for loot.

The Radio said that the Revolu-

tionary Council had received more reports of victimisation of Muslim officials by the Indian authorities. Muslim employees in the Education Department and in the police force were being forced to retire and many had been transferred to Jammu and other places.

Sada-i-Kashmir said that the Jan Sanghis were being admitted to the educational institutions as students to create disunity among the student community. These goondas have been looting Muslim shops with the help of Indian police to fan hatred against the students.

The Revolutionary Council, the Radio said, had called upon the people to continue their agitation under the guidance of the Zonal Plebiscite Committees which have been given necessary instructions by the Council.

The Council in a statement has reiterated the need for complete unity among the patriots to achieve the goal of freedom.



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## FEARLESS KASHMIRI MUJAHIDS

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The four million downtrodden and oppressed Kashmiris at last reorganised themselves to win their long-cherished goal of freedom with a firm resolve to offer the greatest sacrifice that man can ever be called upon to make.

The valorous bands of freedom-fighters rose against the occupation forces. All odds were against them, yet they stood stubborn and fearless. With an unshakable faith in the Supreme Power and the cause of righteousness, they pitted against a well-equipped enemy and a five-hundred-million strong nation which lack the humane qualities of civilised people.

Having no material advantage or supremacy whatsoever over their oppressors the fearless Mujahids punched and shocked the power-drunk Indians and thus turned a new page in their saga of liberty.



*August 11.* Pitched battles took place at Chhattabal, near Safakadal, last of the seven major bridges over the Jhelum in Srinagar area; at Bata-malla, which is only a few hundred yards from the Held State Government Secretariat and Radio Kashmir, Mirakadal; and at Batwara, in the vicinity of Srinagar's airport, a vital point of India's supply line in the Occupied State.

Freedom-fighters attacked a Brigade Headquarter, killing 40 Indian Army personnel and wounding 30.

A battalion of the Indian Army was completely wiped out near Baramula.

The freedom-fighters had made another successful attack on the Brigade Headquarters at Baramula, about 30 miles from Srinagar, inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy.

The revolutionary forces had cut off another 12 roads and launched attacks on three enemy Brigade Headquarters in Occupied Kashmir.

*August 12.* Srinagar, Baramula, Uri, Poonch and Kargil on Thursday became the main theatres of war between the freedom-fighters and the Indian Occupation Army.

The freedom-fighters blew up a petrol depot near Srinagar while six bridges were blown up in other parts of Occupied Kashmir.

Fighting was reported in both sectors of Srinagar and it is understood that the Mujahideen have

crossed the River Jhelum at Batwara. Their main thrust has been towards the Airport, the Radio Station and the Secretariat, which is housed in the old palaces of the Maharaja, on the bank of River Jhelum downstream of the Mirakadal Bridge.

It is said that three soldiers were killed when freedom-fighters ambushed a military truck near Srinagar. Twelve soldiers were seriously injured.

The freedom-fighters destroyed a police post in the outskirts of Srinagar and killed 50 Indian soldiers.

Heavy fighting is also reported around Baramula, which is completely cut off from Srinagar.

The Mujahideen killed another 50 Indian soldiers and destroyed the entire military camp at Jaurian, near Akhnoor (Jammu), according to the latest broadcast of the Sada-i-Kashmir.

*Muzaffarabad, August 13.* The freedom-fighters ambushed a big Indian Army convoy near Samba on Pathankot-Jammu road and blew up 50 trucks. The Indians took to their heels leaving behind 29 dead.

The Mujahids blasted petrol depots, routed an Indian Company's camp and cut off telephone and telegraph lines in the area.

Kashmiri Mujahids this morning inflicted heavy casualties on Indian police when they attacked the Police Lines near Magarmal Bagh, Srinagar.

There was a major clash between



the Mujahideen and the Indian Army at Jaurian, near Jammu last night. Ten Indians were killed and 14 seriously wounded.

The Mujahideen also engaged two companies of the Indian Army near Uri. After six hours of fighting, the Indian fled from the camp in cover of darkness. In the morning, 30 dead and 10 wounded Indians were found on the battle-ground.

*August 15.* The freedom-fighters set many Government buildings on fire at Batamalu—about three miles from Srinagar yesterday and entrenched themselves in the heart of the city. The blaze continued for seven hours.

Apart from Srinagar, the Mujahids continued to press in Poonch, Nowshera, Uri, Baramula and Jammu on the Independence Days of Pakistan and India.

In a fight between the freedom-fighters and the Indian Army four miles south of Srinagar, 139 Indians were killed and 25 wounded. An officer and three soldiers were arrested. One hundred and fifty rifles were captured.

In Baramula, fierce fighting took place, resulting in heavy losses on both sides.

Two bridges on the Srinagar-Badgam Road were blasted by the freedom-fighters and Srinagar was cut off from outside. Fighting also broke out on the Srinagar-Kargil Road.

*Rawalpindi, Aug. 15.* The Indians have started a new terror campaign in Occupied Kashmir. The Indian troops are setting fire to houses in a bid to create hatred against the Mujahids.

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 15.* The Indians

have made an abortive attempt to cross the Cease-fire Line, it was learnt here late this evening.

The Indians suffered heavy casualties and withdrew in disorder.

The Indians had been shelling Azad Kashmir posts for the last three days, in the Lalial area, of the Bhimber sector.

After sunset, this evening, the Indians tried to cross the Cease fire Line, in full strength. Their adventure was very short-lived. They were beaten back by the Azad Kashmir forces and, after suffering heavy casualties, they withdrew in disorder.

A strong protest is being lodged with the United Nations observers for this cease-fire violation.

*August 16.* The Mujahideen attacked Srinagar from all sides and even though the Indians used heavy guns, mortars and the Air Force, the Mujahideen set a number of Government buildings on fire, destroyed supply depots, blasted petrol dumps and paralysed communications.

Fighting was reported in all sectors, including Rajauri, Uri, Kargil and Jammu, and the freedom-fighters continued to press on all sides. The villagers and traders were everywhere eager to supplement the efforts of the freedom-fighters.

The Indian Army in the Uri area was completely demoralised and no Indian soldier had been sighted there during the last 24 hours, Sada-i-Kashmir said. The situation had completely gone out of their hands, and the Mujahideen had also set up five posts in the Uri sector.

During the last 24 hours, at least



135 Indian soldiers had been killed or wounded.

At least 15 Indian soldiers were killed in the ambush in the Srinagar area.

In the Poonch area, Sada-i-Kashmir said, the Mujahids had established five posts after forcing the Indian troops to withdraw from the area. In this sector, the radio said, at least 55 Indian troops had been killed during the last 24 hours.

Fresh fighting between the Indian Army and guerillas broke out 18 miles south-west of Srinagar, the All-India Radio said today.

At least two civilians were killed in the fighting last night at Sardar Sharif and the guerillas were believed to have suffered heavily, the Radio said.

*Muzaffarabad, August 17.* One Indian junior, one non-commissioned officer, five other ranks and considerable military equipment and documents were captured by the Azad Kashmir troops, according to the details now available of the Indians' unsuccessful effort on Sunday evening to cross the Cease-fire Line in the Bhimber sector.

The Indians, who had been shelling Azad Kashmir positions for three days before mounting their attack, advanced in strength north of Lalial towards Banchiran, Naw Gakhri and Purani Gakhri. They were badly mauled by the Azad Kashmir troops and ran helter skelter back to their positions.

The Azad Kashmir soldiers captured a heap of Indian weapons and equipment, which included light machine-guns, American-made rifles, and

sten-guns, and personal documents of soldiers like their pay books and letters from their friends and relatives.

*Aug. 17.* The harassed Indian Army, after having been beaten at several places by the freedom-fighters, has barricaded Srinagar. One dozen tanks, numerous planes and thousands of troops stand guard at its main entrance.

The Mujahids engaged the Indians at eight places in and around Srinagar. Those dead on the Indian side included a brigadier. Frustrated and jittery, the Indians have resorted to arson in rural areas.

The Mujahideen have captured eight Indian posts in Poonch and Srinagar and killed 43 Indians in clashes at various places.

*August 18.* An Indian Lieutenant-Colonel, a Captain and 23 other ranks were killed when the Kashmiri freedom-fighters swooped over an Indian battalion at Baramula.

In this encounter, 23 Indians were also wounded. The freedom-fighters captured two machine-guns, four sten-guns, eight rifles and a large quantity of ammunition.

The Mujahideen engaged the Indian forces at several places north-west of Srinagar. They also attacked four Indian posts in the Poonch area.

The Mujahideen had captured eight Indian posts yesterday, wiping out Indian occupation over a vast area of the Poonch sector.

An Indian spokesman said tonight that of the 117 Indians killed, 62 were army men and 55 civilians,



mostly police.

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 19.* The revolutionary forces in Occupied Kashmir have captured an army and ammunition depot of the Indian Army in Budhal area in Jammu.

The Mujahids launched a successful attack on a newly-established Indian police post at Budhal on Jammu-Srinagar road.

After fierce battle, the Indians took to their heels leaving behind four dead and seven wounded. The freedom-fighters also seized from the Indians five rifles and over 600 rounds.

*August 20.* The freedom-fighters have concentrated in the Jammu sector and have cut off city from the rest of the state. During the past 24 hours, five clashes took place between the Mujahids and the Indian Army. The freedom-fighters advanced within six miles of the town of Jammu.

In two different clashes around Jammu, 33 Indian soldiers were killed. The Mujahideen attacked an Indian Army convoy six miles from the city of Jammu, and blasted eight trucks carrying ammunition.

The Mujahideen attacked and captured three heavily-guarded Indian posts south and south-east of Jammu. The Indians, after prolonged pitched battles, fled, leaving 18 dead, many wounded and a large quantity of ammunition behind them. The Mujahideen also blasted a petrol depot south-east of Jammu.

They were also active in the Srinagar sector and blasted three bridges, one of them north of the city proper. Eighteen Indians guarding these

bridges were killed.

*August 21.* One hundred and thirteen Indians were killed and over 60 wounded in some of the fiercest battles of the present war of liberation fought between the Indian Army and Mujahideen today.

The Mujahideen also destroyed 13 Indian military trucks and blasted three bridges, two of which were completely destroyed.

The Srinagar Radio announced today that the Indians and the freedom-fighters were engaged in a deadly battle in Chhamb and Akknor, while a fierce encounter took place 30 miles south of Srinagar. It also reported engagements between the Indians and Mujahids in the Kargil and Uri sectors.

*Srinagar, Aug. 21.* Roads south of here today were dotted with refugees fleeing from nearby villages where police and troops were making house-to-house "searches" for freedom-fighters.

Refugees trudging along the dusty roads with their possessions on their backs said the "flushing-out operations" were making life uncomfortable. Several armed clashes have occurred in the area in the last few weeks.

In the village of Khunmu, nine miles south-east of Srinagar, shops and houses were shattered as police and troops pressed their search of houses and cars.

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 22.* An aircraft of the Indian Air Force was today destroyed by the Mujahideen at the Poonch Airport.

The Mujahids also destroyed a



bridge near the Poonch Airport, thus isolating it from the surrounding Indian positions.

The freedom-fighters last night swooped down simultaneously on a Brigade Headquarter and a Battalion Headquarter east of Poonch. Heavy casualties were inflicted on the enemy. Exact figures of the Indian losses were, however, not available.

An Indian convoy was also ambushed in Occupied Kashmir. In the encounter two trucks were blasted. Twenty-five soldiers and an officer of the convoy were also seriously injured. A big heap of arms and other supplies fell into the hands of the Mujahideen.

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 23.* At least 122 Indian troops have been killed at the hands of the revolutionary forces in Occupied Kashmir during the past 24 hours. The Mujahids launched a fierce attack on the Indian forces in north of Baramula and killed at least 40 Indians.

In Rajauri area, the Mujahids ambushed an Indian military convoy. In this attack, about 70 Indian soldiers lost their lives. In north of Rajauri, the Indians suffered another 12 casualties at the hands of the Mujahids.

*August 24.* Fighting was reported in Srinagar, Rajauri, Uri, Poonch and Jammu sectors today.

Thirty Indians were killed and 15 wounded in an attack by the freedom-fighters near Srinagar. They captured a large quantity of ammunition including hand-grenades.

In Uri in a lightning attack on an Indian post, the Mujahideen killed 18 and wounded six. They also en-

gaged the Indians in Sar Mandi, Rajauri and Chhamb and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy.

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 25.* One hundred and ninety-five Indian soldiers were killed in fresh clashes with the Mujahids in various areas of the Occupied Kashmir during the last 24 hours.

120 Indian soldiers were killed in one clash alone when the patriots attacked a very big convoy of the occupation forces in the Rajauri area. The Mujahids also destroyed 25 military vehicles.

In the same area, another 45 Indian soldiers were killed in a number of encounters with the freedom-fighters at various places.

*August 26.* In one sector alone 218 Indians are reported to have been killed in a week of skirmishes with the Mujahids. They included three officers.

In the same sector 43 Indians, including one officer, were wounded while 13 were arrested. The arrested included two JCO's.

*August 27.* Kashmir freedom-fighters have routed two Indian battalions in Poonch and Mendhar sectors.

The freedom-fighters attacked an Indian post south-east of Mandi and killed seven Indian troops including a JCO. They engaged the Indians in Mendhar sector also.

In Uri the Mujahids trapped an Indian Army contingent which was conducting search for the freedom-fighters' hideouts. Fifteen Indians were killed in the clash while 12 were wounded.



Telegraph and telephone lines were cut off in the Poonch, Mendhar and Rajauri sectors by the Mujahids isolating the Indian Army detachments from each other.

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 28.* The Kashmiri freedom-fighters have scored further successes on all fronts in Jammu and Kashmir and have inflicted heavy losses on the Indian occupation forces in men and material during the past 24 hours.

In a fierce encounter with a full Indian battalion in the Uri area, the freedom-fighters took a heavy toll of the enemy. The Indian troops used heavy artillery and aimlessly pumped at least 5,000 shells in all directions. Two Mujahids were killed and three wounded in this engagement. In another clash in this area, the freedom-fighters forced the Indians to retreat.

In the Poonch area, the Radio said, two companies of Indian troops were badly mauled by the Mujahids and they fled away in panic.

In the Tithwal area, the Indians also resorted to heavy shelling to destroy suspected hideouts of the Mujahids who have been continuously attacking the enemy supply lines and ambushing convoys bringing in reinforcement and arms and ammunition.

*August 29.* Fierce fighting was reported from various parts of the India-held Kashmir on Sunday in which 90 Indians, including three officers, were killed and 40 wounded.

In a lightning attack, the Mujahids ransacked an Indian post at Maidan, eight miles south-east of Poonch, killing all those who could not run

away. They also captured a large quantity of ammunition.

*Srinagar :* At Sonmarg, north of Srinagar, the freedom-fighters attacked an Indian unit. Sixty Indian soldiers were killed and 17 were wounded.

*Rajauri :* In a clash east of Rajauri, 30 Indians were killed and 20 were wounded.

*Noshera :* The Mujahids made a lightning attack on the Indian mountain artillery and inflicted heavy losses on them.

*August 30.* An Indian attack supported by artillery and mortar on Pir Sahaba was repulsed, according to information received here. The enemy suffered heavy casualties.

The Indians also shelled Nauseri Bridge over Kishanganga.

The enemy was also beaten back from Haji Pir Pass north of Bedore and south of Uri. In this sector, the enemy threw in many battalions to push across the Cease-fire Line but all their attempts were frustrated.

The Mujahideen also engaged an Indian position north of Srinagar. A pitched battle was fought for the whole night resulting in casualties on both sides.

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 31.* Reports of confusion and desperate wrath against Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir in the Indian ranks continue to pour in here across the Cease-Fire Line as the patriots continue to hit the forces of occupation hard.

An Indian army Brigadier was mortally wounded at the Rampur army headquarters in the Uri Sector while he was reading a map, according to the latest reports reaching here.



The Brigadier later died in hospital in Srinagar.

Another Indian Lieut.-Colonel was killed at Tapar, 21 miles from Srinagar on the Baramula road. In sheer retaliation the Indians killed many civilians there including four watchman of a fruit garden.

The Wayale bridge and a culvert near Ganderabal has been blasted by the patriots and traffic on Baramula-Leh road stands suspended. Many bridges around Baramula have also been blasted and there is no traffic on the Baramula-Baharishi as well as the Baramula-Zohilwara roads.

All bus traffic to Uri, Kapwara, Sonamarg, Kangam, Yechgam, Maa-gam and other places from Srinagar has been suspended. The Srinagar Medical College Hostel has been taken over by the Indian Army, after throwing the inmates on the roadside. Muslim population of Pandraten, Pandshak, Khunuk and other areas around Pamopore has been evacuated under army orders

A virtual state of Martial Law exists in Srinagar, where the Indian forces have set up pickets at every road junction and roads leading outside the city. All outgoing and incoming persons are searched in a humiliating manner and often tortured. Women are forced to lift their veils followed by repeated cases of molestation. Beards of Sikhs and Muslims are pulled on the pretext of verifying whether they are not fake.

Road blocks of three-inch bore pipelines, barbed wire, sand bags, etc., have been put and trenches dug in many places in Srinagar, particularly around the Muslim suburbs.

In a mad bitterness, the Indian army personnel have burnt the house

of Mr. Ghulam Shah, Deputy Secretary of the Law Department, at Batmalu in Srinagar. Six taxi drivers, including one Ali Muhammad of the Government taxi stand, were arrested on the suspicion that a patriot was seen moving about in a taxi. All buses have been commandeered to transport fresh reinforcements of the Indian Army and contingents of Rajasthan police and the armed police.

*September 1.* Many encounters took place between the Kashmiri freedom-fighters and the Indian Army on Wednesday. The main pressure of the Mujahideen was around Srinagar.

The Mujahids made a lightning attack on a battalion near Sonamarg and inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy. A large quantity of ammunition and equipment was captured by them.

The Mujahideen blasted three bridges near Srinagar and engaged the occupation army at several points.

*September 2.* The Kashmiri freedom-fighters engaged the Indian Army at a number of places on Thursday and killed about 30 enemy soldiers.

Three encounters took place in Poonch sector and in one of them at least 17 Indians were killed and 27 wounded.

At another place in the same sector, the Indians vacated a post without fighting when the Mujahideen attacked it. In the third attack the Mujahideen inflicted heavy casualties on the Indians.

*September 3.* The Kashmir freedom-fighters selected two sectors on Friday—Sonamarg and Uri—to blast the Indians.

North-west of Sonamarg they made



a surprise attack on an Indian post and killed 11. The Indians fled the post leaving behind three medium machine-guns and five rifles which were captured by the Mujahids.

In Uri sector they killed 20 and wounded 27 in a lightning attack on an Indian post. All-India Radio, however, conceded only 14 killed.

*September 4.* The Kashmiri freedom-fighters engaged the Indian occupation army at a number of places on Saturday. Their main pressure was around Poonch.

In Rajauri, they attacked an Indian convoy and killed 38 Indian soldiers. Several Indians were wounded and considerable quantity of ammunition was captured.

*September 5.* The Kashmiri freedom-fighters engaged the Indian Army in Occupied Kashmir at a number of places today and killed about 50 of them. A large number of Indians were wounded.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 6.* The freedom-fighters in Occupied Kashmir have intensified the liberation struggle and destroyed two important bridges near Srinagar during the past 24 hours.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 8.* Two hundred Indian soldiers were killed and 55 injured when a big clash took place between the freedom-fighters and the Indian occupation forces.

The Indians were defeated in the battle after a night-long fight. Among the Indians killed were two officers.

The Mujahids destroyed 15 vehicles of Indian army when ambushed a convoy on Srinagar-Sonamarg Road. The freedom-fighters ambushed another

military convoy in Rajauri area and killed 13 Indian soldiers besides destroying seven trucks.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 9.* The freedom-fighters in Occupied Kashmir marked the completion of one month of their determined struggle for liberation from the Indian yoke by destroying a number of bridges of strategic importance in Rajauri and Sonamarg areas during the last 24 hours.

The freedom-fighters ambushed a party of Indian Army engineers engaged in repairing the damaged bridges. The Indian Army was severely mauled and its equipment and arms were captured by the Mujahids.

In another encounter with the Indians north-west of Sonamarg, the freedom-fighters killed 35 Indian soldiers, injuring another 15. The Mujahids captured a mortar gun and some other military equipment.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 12.* The freedom-fighters organised two successful raids on the Indian Army positions around Srinagar yesterday.

The freedom-fighters ambushed a convoy south-east of Srinagar and caused severe damage to many vehicles.

In another raid, the Mujahids destroyed two bridges on the Srinagar-Kargil Road.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 13.* The Kashmiri freedom-fighters killed more than 30 Indian soldiers in various clashes all over Occupied Kashmir during the last 24 hours.

The Mujahids made a surprise attack last night on an Indian military brigade stationed in Gulmarg. Sixty Indian troops were killed in this encounter.



The same night, the freedom-fighters also attacked on ammunition dump 17 miles from Srinagar.

The dump was put on fire and an Indian Army officer captured by the Mujahids.

The Mujahids ambushed a military convoy on the Srinagar-Kargil Road and blasted seven of the 24 vehicles. Sixteen Indian soldiers were killed in this encounter.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 14.* The Kashmiri Mujahideen last night eliminated an entire Indian military base at Pattan, about 15 miles from Srinagar.

When the Mujahids attack began the Indians got so much panic-stricken that they started firing at each other. This fighting amongst themselves continued the whole night. At dawn the Mujahideen found the entire base littered with Indians corpses.

Another military convoy was today waylaid by the Mujahideen only five miles from Srinagar.

Without firing a single bullet, the guards abandoned their charge and vanished, leaving a big quantity of reinforcements in the shape of ammunition and supplies for the patriots.

*Muzaffarabad Sept. 15.* The Kashmiri Mujahideen attacked police station at Badgam, about 20 miles from Srinagar.

All the armed policemen present were killed. After securing arms and ammunition, the Mujahids set the police station building on fire.

In another encounter the freedom-fighters razed to ground a big military camp in Rajauri State.

Twenty-one Indians were killed and many wounded.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 16.* The freedom-fighters in Occupied Kashmir are now in effective control of the Rajauri area.

The civil administration set up by the freedom-fighters in the area two days ago was now being efficiently run, concentrated their attacks on military during the last 24 hours.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 17.* The Kashmiris' revolt against Indian occupation took a new turn when the freedom-fighters attacked the Militia headquarters in Srinagar last night.

So sudden and swift was the attack that it caused a general stampede in the headquarters and the Militia personnel, in sheer fright, started shooting at each other. The exchange of fire continued whole night.

The Kashmiri patriots today ambushed a big military convoy about 30 miles from Srinagar on Kargil Road. This convoy was carrying fresh supplies of ammunition and food to forward posts. Most of the Indians conducting the convoy were killed and five vehicles were blasted.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 18.* The Kashmiri freedom-fighters today routed an entire battalion in Rajauri sector. Sixty-three Indian troops were annihilated and another 27 severely injured.

A big heap of arms, including five machine-guns, 21 rifles, 50 sten-guns, etc., were captured by the Mujahids.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 20.* The Kashmiri freedom-fighters killed 73 Indians in two different engagements in Occupied Kashmir during the last 24 hours.

The Mujahideen ran through an Indian Reserve Police Post in Riasi



area, killing 33 Indian policemen and five Indian Army engineers. The Mujahids put the post on fire after removing a large stock of arms and ammunition from it.

The freedom-fighters also ambushed a long military convoy on the Srinagar-Kargil Road; killed 33 Indian soldiers in the fighting that ensued. Five vehicles were also put on fire.

The attack made yesterday was part of the Mujahids' determined offensive to clear the Rajauri area of all Indian personnel.

During this encounter, some very important military documents were also captured by the freedom-fighters.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 21.* The Kashmir freedom-fighters killed another thirty Indian soldiers when they attacked an Indian military column moving on foot towards Rajauri.

In spite of the desperate efforts of the Indian occupation forces, the Mujahids continue to dominate the Rajauri area where they set up their own administration about ten days back.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 23.* The Kashmiri Mujahids cut at several places the road connecting Jammu with Srinagar and traffic remained suspended throughout the day today.

The Kashmiri freedom-fighters inflicted heavy casualties on the Indians in two separate raids on military convoys near Srinagar during the last 24 hours.

The first attack took place on a convoy on the Srinagar-Tangmurg road. Four of the 10 vehicles of the convoy were blasted.

In the other encounter at about five miles from Srinagar, the Mujahids

blocked and attacked a convoy carrying ammunition and supplies to enemy forward positions. Twenty-one Indian soldiers were killed and five trucks blasted.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 25.* The Indian occupation army suffered 200 casualties at the hands of the Kashmiri freedom-fighters in the past 24 hour.

Srinagar was again cut off from Jammu when the Mujahids destroyed a bridge near the Banehal tunnel today.

The Mujahids mounted a surprise attack at a brigade headquarters at Baramula again last night.

In Rajauri sector today, the patriots ambushed a battalion convoy. All the vehicles carrying ammunition were blasted. At least 70 Indians were killed in this encounter, while the rest escaped.

*Muzaffarabad Sept. 26.* Over 200 Indian soldiers were eliminated and many more were injured in armed encounters with the Kashmir freedom-fighters at various places during the last 24 hours.

The Kashmir freedom-fighters destroyed several Indian heavy guns in a big clash early this morning in Gulmurg area.

In the fierce fighting extensive damage was done to the Indian military installations in the area. Two Mujahids also laid down their lives in this clash for the liberation of their homeland.

The freedom-fighters killed Indians when they ambushed a convoy of seven trucks. Four vehicles were also destroyed.

The Mujahids also blasted a big



bridge and killed all the Indian troops guarding it.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 28.* Eighteen Indian soldiers were killed today in a hand-to-hand fight with the Kashmiri freedom-fighters.

An infantry contingent of the Occupation Army was patrolling the area, east of Rajauri, when it was surprised by Mujahideen. A hand-to-hand fight ensued. Eighteen Indians fell, while the rest saved their lives by fleeing from the battlefield. A huge quantity of arms, ammunition and food supplies fell into the hands of the revolutionaries.

In another operation, which took place 10 miles from Srinagar, the Mujahideen despatched one commissioned officer and nine other ranks. They had taken shelter behind a rock, when the Mujahideen spotted them and killed them by throwing hand-grenades. A large amount of ammunition was also captured.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 29.* The Kashmir patriots have destroyed the police station at Uri.

The patriots attacked the police station last night. After killing all the policemen, they set the building on fire. Eight rifles and a substantial amount of ammunition were also seized.

The Mujahideen ambushed a military convoy on the Gulmerg road today. Two vehicles were blasted and others severely damaged.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 30.* The freedom-fighters set ablaze four Indian army camps in Rajauri area and killed 14 Indians in two separate encounters.

Seven soliders were killed when the Mujahids swooped on an Indian post in Rajauri. Several others were wounded.

Seven Indian policemen were shot dead when the patriots waylaid a police convoy 40 miles from Srinagar on the road leading to Pehalgam. The vehicles abandoned by the fleeing policemen were set on fire.

A convoy carrying rations and ammunition for the Indian forward positions was also attacked by the patriots. Two of the 10 convoy vehicles were destroyed in the raid.

*Muzaffarabad, Oct. 2.* The Kashmiri freedom-fighters today foiled an attempt by the Indian troops to destroy a village inhabited by Muslims, north-west of Srinagar.

A heavy Army contingent was marching towards a village when it was waylaid by the Mujahideen. The Indians were not even allowed to escape, and all of them were either killed or seriously injured. Two of their vehicles were also blown up.

*New Delhi, Oct. 15.* A fire raged for two hours last evening in the State Secretariat in Srinagar city, it was officially announced here.

Fire-fighting was done under the personal supervision of the State "Home Minister," D. P. Dhar.

A PPA message adds: Reporting that the Srinagar puppet Government's secretariat was set on fire yesterday, the BBC this evening said if the Mujahids had done it was their "boldest attack."

The BBC report, broadcast in its "Newsreel" programme, said that one block of the Secretariat, located



## KASHMIRI LEADERS ON LIBERATION FRONT

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The Muslim political leadership in Jammu and Kashmir will go a long way in the annals of struggle for liberation. The leadership has been very active and devoted for the past eighteen years. With the formation of the Revolutionary Council it assumed a vigorous role.

The leadership infused a new spirit among the oppressed Kashmiri Mujahideen to fight against their oppressors and explained to the world in unambiguous terms its demand for self-determination and an unflinching will to achieve it sparing no sacrifice howsoever great. With such selfless and unflinching leadership Kashmiris cannot remain slaves much longer.



in the centre of Srinagar city, had been completely burnt down.

Another BBC report today said that Indian Government had not yet been able to control the "guerillas," and their activities had rather increased.

The report said that Indian forces were burning villages in the valley on the pretext that their residents gave refuge to Mujahids.

It added that opposition leaders were demanding plebiscite to decide their State's future.

*Peshawar, Nov. 5.* A highly-placed foreigner, who recently visited Occupied Kashmir, told the *Pakistan Times* here today that he saw in a patriot prisoners camp near Jammu a wounded young woman, clad in typical Kashmiri dress, who had killed nine Indian soldiers.

The foreigner, quoting the camp commandant, an Indian army major, said the woman killed the Indians during an attack on a military convoy and was captured only after she was seriously wounded.

The Indian major said that while the convoy was passing through a village in Jammu area it was suddenly attacked by a group of young Kashmiris including the young gal-

lant woman. They were armed with some old guns. The Indians took up positions but it was only after full seven hours that they could beat this handful of Kashmiris. The Indians, who were from an infantry division, suffered, "quite heavily," he said.

The foreigner said that he was greatly impressed by the feat of the Kashmiri woman particularly when it was related by an Indian army officer.

He said he heard numerous tales of heroism of Kashmiri people against the Indian occupation forces and wondered if India could maintain its hold over the territory for long.

*Muzaffarabad, Nov. 29.* Defending themselves with spears, hatchets and lathis the Kashmiri patriots yesterday killed 50 Jansanghi goondas in a village in Rajauri area of the Occupied Kashmir yesterday.

A big mob of slogan-raising Jansanghis attacked village Dangriwalla at sunset but found the forewarned villagers ready to meet their onslaught.

A serious clash took place and the attackers were made to flee leaving behind 50 dead.



*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 15.* The President of the Azad Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Khan Abdul Hamid Khan, declared that the time for active struggle had come and the Kashmiris were bound to achieve their cherished goal of linking their fate with Pakistan.

The Azad President said: "At this critical hour when thousands of our brethren were locked in a life-and-death struggle in Occupied Kashmir, the people on this side of the Cease-fire Line are bound to come to their rescue. Obviously, we cannot leave them at the mercy of a brutal force."

Paying tributes to the heroic fight the revolutionary forces were putting up within the occupied territory, the Azad chief said, "The entire Kashmiri people are at their back and the day is not far off when the Indian aggressors will take to their heels."

The Azad President strongly condemned the Indian Prime Minister's attempt to describe the uprising in Occupied Kashmir as a "Pakistan-backed conspiracy."

The Indian Prime Minister can no longer dupe the world opinion by blaming others for his own misdeeds.

The upsurge was a logical consequence of India's continuous oppression and persecution of the freedom-fighters. The Indian Government abetted in its design of annexing Kashmir had thrown a challenge to the freedom-loving people of Occu-

pled Kashmir which they have bravely accepted. India had further aggravated the situation by detaining and persecuting the popular leaders, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg, besides mounting its aggressive pressure along the Cease-fire Line."

*Jhelum, Nov. 5.* The Azad Kashmir President, Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, has urged the United Nations to send immediately a fact-finding mission or the Secretary-General should himself come to Pakistan and Azad Kashmir to see how the Indian army and "goondas" were carrying on massacre of innocent Kashmiri Muslims, burning them alive, and pushing thousands of men, women and children from the held territory to Azad Kashmir.

President Abdul Hamid made an appeal to all Muslim countries to send representatives to Azad Kashmir to ascertain facts so that they could apprise their countrymen how their brothers in Islam were being butchered, burnt alive, looted, rendered homeless and pushed out of the valley while the Muslim women were being insulted. "This is the height of brutalities and a crime against humanity which no sane man of any faith and belief can tolerate," he added.

The Azad Kashmir President deplored the attitude of some world Powers in side-tracking the implementation of the second part of the



U. N. resolution of September 20 regarding the satisfactory solution of the political dispute between India and Pakistan. He expressed his fears that if the second part of the resolution was not immediately implemented, it would meet the fate of the two earlier resolutions passed by the Security Council 15 years ago.

Replying to a question he said that from the present attitude of Russia, it appeared that she was not trying to bear her full weight both on America and India for an immediate solution of the latter's political differences with Pakistan. "It is my apprehension that the USSR feels that the cease-fire is enough."

He urged the Security Council members for the immediate implementation of the resolution of September 20 as a whole and said that mere cease-fire will become meaningless. "I honestly feel that if both America and Russia made a serious effort, the future of Kashmir can be quickly decided," he added.

From the present attitude of the permanent members of the Security Council, Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan said, it looked that while America was not putting pressure on India for the solution of political disputes with Pakistan, Russia would not bother if both the countries continued fighting, and thus wasted their strength, armaments and manpower.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 26.* The President of the Azad Kashmir Government, Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, has strongly criticised the Indian President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, for his dishonest presentation of the history of the Kashmir issue.

The Azad President said that the

Indian leaders were defying the conditions of the cease-fire and were harping on the old tune of Kashmir being integral part of India. He called upon world Powers to take serious notice of this fresh defiance of the Security Council as India's obduracy had already pushed the world so dangerously close to global conflagration.

He reminded the Indian President that even the so-called accession made by the Maharaja was conditional as it clearly laid down that the accession would be ratified by a free and unfettered vote of the people. This condition, he said, had not yet been fulfilled by India.

President Hamid said that Indian President's attempt to implicate Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah in completing or bringing about "irrevocable" accession of Kashmir with India would not be accepted even by a lunatic.

The Shaikh being democrat and secular India's prisoner could not expose the Indian President's fraudulent assertion, but his long period of incarceration and his statements in and outside the sub-continent during the brief spell of his release from Indian jail had left no doubts in any mind about India's colonial designs in Kashmir.

Referring to Dr. Radhakrishnan's plan that the present conflict was one between democracy and dictatorship, secularism and theocracy, the Azad President said that the righteousness of India's stand could be tested by affording to the people of Kashmir an opportunity to choose between the two.

"Why should the Government of the philosopher President insist on



shedding blood and endangering world peace over a dispute which can easily be solved through an impartial plebiscite?" he asked.

Concluding, he reaffirmed the struggle to a successful end at all costs.

*Karachi, September 5.* Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, President of the Azad Government of Jammu and Kashmir, said that Kashmiris had waited for 18 long years and would not wait any longer to liberate their motherland.

They have waged a relentless war to liberate Kashmir from the Indian tyrannical rule and would not stop short of achieving freedom from the Indian bondage.

Referring to the recent appeal by U Thant to maintain peace, he said that for 18 long years the United Nations had befooled the Kashmiris without redeeming its pledges but the people of Kashmir have now risen in open revolt against India and will not heed to the appeal by U Thant who had failed miserably to pick out the aggressor and in a way helped tyrant India to perpetuate its stranglehold in Kashmir for years to come.

In a scathing criticism of the United Nations, Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan said that the United Nations had always "danced to the tunes of powerful nations." This was an organisation without any powers. It could not get its own decisions and resolutions implemented. How could any people have any faith or trust in such an organisation?—he asked.

Dismissing any possibility of heeding the request of the United

Nations' call for peace, he said, the five points of the Secretary General were "unreasonable" and could not be accepted. He said, the fundamental point of conducting an impartial plebiscite under the aegis of the United Nations had not been provided for and called upon the Pakistan Government not to consider it.

The UN proposal for withdrawal of Pakistan forces to their original posts meant that all the bloodshed of Muslims should go wasted. This appeal meant that the UN attached least importance to the principles and human values, otherwise it would have tried to penetrate into the root cause of this unrest regarding Kashmir problem.

Mr. M. A. Farooqi, representative of the Nizam-i-Islam Party, said, the mammoth meeting of the Karachi citizens, organised by all political parties, was a solid proof of the people's determination to support the Government on Kashmir irrespective of their political beliefs.

Kashmir and Kashmiris, he said, were an integral part of Pakistan and Pakistanis. Muslims of Pakistan would spare no sacrifice to free their Kashmiri brethren from Indian chains of slavery, he added.

He criticised the United Nations for failing to take necessary steps to solve the Kashmir dispute.

*Muzaffarabad, August 19.* The veteran Kashmir leader, Ch. Ghulam Abbas Khan, has declared that the people of Kashmir are not a party to the Cease-Fire Agreement and no international law, principle or rule debarred them from crossing it to go to the rescue of their brethren engaged



in a life-and-death struggle against the colonial occupation forces of India.

In a message Ch. Ghulam Abbas said: "The revolution that has broken out all over the Indian-held territory is a landmark in the history of our freedom struggle. During this long time our freedom movement took different turns, but the basic object remained the same.

The Dogra rulers had dubbed it as a "communal movement" whereas the Indian colonialists paint it as an "invasion by Pakistan." But, whatever India may say, the fact is now known to the world that the freedom-loving people of Kashmir are determined to wrest their freedom from a colonial rule which was thrust on them against their will and which is being maintained with brute force.

The history of the last 35 years is with replete instances of our determined efforts to wrest our freedom from the autocrat Dogra ruler and from the Indian aggressors. Thousands of gallant freedom-fighters have so far been gunned down and thousands have gone through inhuman treatment in prisons and our five lakh men, women and children were driven out to take refuge in Pakistan.

Ch. Ghulam Abbas said, "Flood-gates of brutal suppression have been opened in Occupied Kashmir in the name of so-called secularism and democracy. Innocent people are being subjected to methods of torture unknown even in dark ages. In the circumstances, there was no alternative for them but to rise in revolt disregarding all consequences."

"The world is not unaware of the trials and tribulations of the Kashmiri people. They have sacrificed thousands

of their men to secure their basic rights. They knocked at the door of the United Nations but that world body has remained indifferent to their just cause and their sufferings. Now as a last resort, they have taken up arms.

"The people of Occupied Kashmir are doing their duty and we cannot leave them to the mercy of the Indian aggressors.

"The people of Kashmir are not a party to the Cease-Fire Agreement. We have never recognised this artificial barrier that separates us from our brethren. No international law or rule can debar us from crossing the Cease-fire Line to join our comrades-in arms."

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, former President of the Azad Kashmir Government, said that the Indian aggression on Pakistan threatened peace in Asia and it was the duty of the United Nations to save it.

Peace in Asia could only be protected if the World Organisation implemented its own resolution of 1949 for securing the right of self-determination for the Kashmiris.

He said that the three-point proposal made by Pakistan for a cease-fire was the least she could ask for, and if an unconditional cease-fire was ordered, the Kashmiri people would not accept it and they would continue their struggle for freedom.

He expressed gratification over the support offered by Indonesia, China, Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and other countries and said that their support was born of their understanding of the situation in Kashmir. They had supported the right of self-determination for the Kashmiris after they had convinced themselves of the atro-



cities inflicted upon the helpless Kashmiris during the last 18 years.

Sardar Ibrahim said that the Indians had tried in vain to undermine the freedom struggle of the Kashmiris by calling it the handiwork of infiltrators. He said that if it was as simple as all that, the Indian Government might as well have sent infiltrators into Azad Kashmir for a similar rebellion. The Kashmiri people had, in fact, themselves risen in an armed revolt against the Indian Government.

The former President appealed to the Afro-Asian countries to prevail upon India to concede the right of self-determination to the Kashmiris for the sake of peace in the region.

Sardar Ibrahim gave a harrowing account of the burning down of 50 villages by the Indian Army in an area where the freedom-fighters were struggling to achieve their liberation.

He said that about one lakh refugees has already arrived in Azad Kashmir from different parts of the Indian Occupied territory because of the atrocities committed by the Indian Army.

Sardar Ibrahim said that the Indian report was utterly false that Martial Law had been imposed in Azad Kashmir. The people of Azad Kashmir supported the Pakistan Government as one man and there was absolutely no occasion for the imposition of Martial Law.

*Muzaffarabad, September 1.* Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan said that the Indian Army, by crossing the Cease-fire Line, had stepped into its grave. He said that India would soon realise that her forces were sure to meet disaster in their fight in Kashmir.

He said that jihad had been enjoined on Muslims as a religious duty

and the help of God Almighty is always with those who fight in Allah's way. Kashmiris have decided to wage war against Indian imperialism with the confidence that they were performing religious duty and Providence would grant them success.

The Muslim Conference leader paid glowing tribute to the freedom-fighters in the Occupied Kashmir and said that they had revived the old Islamic traditions.

Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan condemned the tactics being adopted by the Indian occupation army to crush the freedom-fighters. They set on fire Batamalu, Badgam and other localities to defame the freedom-fighters, but the people cannot be duped by hoaxes of this nature as they know who the freedom-fighters were and they could not burn their own homes.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 1.* Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, former President of Azad Government, said that the ever-increasing flood of refugees was a conclusive proof of the fact that the Indian occupationists had turned the occupied areas into a veritable hell.

India's secularism was only a garb to deceive the Western world, he told reporters.

Sardar Abdul Qayyum said that the cease-fire between India and Pakistan could not be meaningful for the Kashmiris unless the conditions laid down for the cease-fire were implemented.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 10.* The representative of the Kashmir Revolutionary Council in Pakistan, Mir Waiz Muhammad Yusuf Shah, told the UN Secretary General that the



only cause of present conflict was Kashmir where the world body was committed to hold an impartial plebiscite.

In a telegram to U Thant, the Mir Waiz pointed out that Shaikh Abdullah's warning that Kashmir was a "powder keg for world peace" had been irrefutably proved.

Text of Tele.: "Kashmiris welcome your peace mission despite Security Council's deplorable attitude to the question of their self-determination and implementation of earlier Security Council resolutions regarding plebiscite.

"The mission, we regret to point out, becomes meaningless in view of Mr. Shastri's clear declaration that peace efforts were acceptable to him minus Kashmir. We need not remind that Pakistan and Azad Kashmir have accepted every solution proposed by the U.N. and India has rejected every move.

"We members of the Kashmir Liberation Front and the representatives of the Revolutionary Council stand by the Council's rejection of the Security Council's fresh resolution to stop war unless India immediately vacates Kashmir and agrees to a plebiscite.

"We pray, Sir, also see for yourself the orgy of massacre, arson, loot and plunder in Indian Occupied Kashmir and piles of dead and disfigured bodies of Muslims in occupied areas.

"You will be convinced that India is not even fit to be a member of the United Nations because of her savagery and repeated defiance of the United Nations authority. Kindly also meet the detained Kashmiri leaders Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah

and Mirza Afzal Beg.

*New York, Oct. 15.* Speaking as a member of the Pakistan delegation to the General Assembly, Mr. Tariq Abdullah said that if the United Nations could not visualise "the human reality" of the Kashmir situation, it must send an impartial commission to "obtain the evidence of the acknowledged leaders of the people of Kashmir and to report its findings to the Security Council or the General Assembly."

If Indian assertions that there were no uprising in Kashmir and the people did not demand a plebiscite were true then, Mr. Tariq Abdullah said, there was no earthly reason for India to reject this proposal. He challenged the Indian Foreign Minister to "react to this fair offer from us here and now."

In a speech which was as brilliant in its exposure of Indian hypocrisy and lies as it was in its directness and pertinency, Mr. Tariq Abdullah outlined for the delegates the reality of the situation as it has obtained for 17 years of Indian betrayals.

He told the delegates, it was difficult for him to convey the sense of outrage and indignation which the Indian claims to his homeland aroused "in the mind and heart of a Kashmiri, particularly one whose father, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, has identified with the freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir for more than two generations.

"In August, Indian troops burnt the town of Mandi and its 12 villages including Azamabad, Meher Kot and Bedar Balnoi in Poonch," he said.

"Three families of Muslims in Bedar Balnoi were burnt alive in their



houses and about 12 Muslims were shot down by Indian troops in cold blood in the presence of their families.

"At least 30 villages in the Rajauri area were burnt by the Indian Army," Mr. Tariq added.

"Altogether, 60,000 Kashmiri Muslims have been forced to flee across the Cease-fire Line. The entire Batalmalo suburb of Srinagar, inhabited by Muslims, was set on fire and razed to the ground.

"A number of its inhabitants were burnt alive by Indian Army."

Mr. Tariq Abdullah also took issue with an Indian statement here that Kashmir was a part of India "legally, morally and on the basis of the will of the people."

It was well known that the elections of 1957 and 1962 were rigged, he declared.

"For a man who had been a staunch nationalist all his life, a personal friend of Pandit Nehru, who condemned bigotry and fanaticism, and under whose leadership Kashmir remained untainted with any religious strife, it could not be but a wrench and a deep crisis to raise the banner of revolt against Indian occupation of Kashmir.

"Much though he loved the principles of secularism, he could not tolerate that under that cloak, India should throttle the aspirations of the people of Kashmir, separate them from their brethren in Pakistan and hold them in bondage.

"He warned Mr. Nehru from 1952 onwards that India was following a disastrous policy in Kashmir and that, if she did not stick to the promise of a fair and impartial plebiscite, she would forfeit all claims to the respect and sympathy of the people of

Kashmir as well as the people of the world. When in 1953, he publicly stated his view that the future of India, Pakistan and Kashmir could not be secure without an honourable settlement of the Kashmir dispute, he was deposed and put in jail. For a long time no legal proceedings were brought against him. When a case was filed, it dragged on for several years. Finally Shaikh Abdullah was acquitted in 1964, but his freedom was short-lived. Since early this year, he was being kept in detention without trial."

*United Nations, Oct. 14.* The Kashmiri freedom-fighters would continue their struggle against India despite the Indo-Pakistan cease-fire agreement, the movement's London representative, Mr. Tariq Abdullah, told a Press conference.

Mr. Tariq Abdullah, son of Sh. Muhammad Abdullah, defended the right of Kashmiris to cross the cease-fire line from the Pakistan side to the Indian side since, he said, it was a matter of a single people in a single territory.

There was no possibility of a plebiscite in Kashmir resulting in a vote for independence, he said. At least 85 per cent of the population would vote to join Pakistan.

*New York, Oct. 15.* Mr. Tariq Abdullah, son of the Lion of Kashmir, told a Press conference here that Kashmir was not a Christmas cake which could be divided for India and Pakistan. Even if partition were suggested the Kashmiri people have to be consulted about it.

As for an independent Kashmir, Tariq Abdullah said, there was no desire on Kashmiris' part for taking



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telegram to U Thant, the pointed out that Shaikh's warning that Kashmir was a keg for world peace" had not been proved.

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mission, we regret to point out that it is meaningless in view of the Government's clear declaration that the plebiscite was acceptable to him in Kashmir. We need not remind the world that Jammu and Azad Kashmir have accepted every solution proposed by the Government and India has rejected it.

Members of the Kashmir National Front and the representatives of the Revolutionary Council have accepted the Council's rejection of the Security Council's fresh resolution to stop war unless India immediately vacates Kashmir and agrees to a plebiscite.

I pray, Sir, also see for yourself the enormity of massacre, arson, loot and plunder in Indian Occupied Kashmir and piles of dead and dismembered bodies of Muslims in occupied Kashmir.

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and Mirza Afzal Beg.

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"In August, Indian troops burnt the town of Mandi and its 12 villages including Azamabad, Meher Kot and Bedar Balnoi in Poonch," he said.

"Three families of Muslims in Bedar Balnoi were burnt alive in their



such a course and that the international agreements binding India, Pakistan and the United Nations provided explicitly for a plebiscite to choose between two countries. He went on to charge certain "outside parties" with having raised the question in order to confuse the basic issue.

Mr. Tariq Abdullah accused Indian-occupied Kashmir Home Minister, Mr. D. P. Dhar, of having committed murders in 1953. This murderer and arch fiend was not only the most powerful man in the State but had also Fascist tendencies. In the true Nazi blackshirt tradition, Mr. Dhar had set up the so-called "peace brigade" comprising all the bullies and shady characters of Srinagar, to kill innocent men, women and children.

Mr. Tariq Abdullah referred to American Press reports of Indian killings of Kashmiri youth in recent days and declared that today the entire State has been infested by a large secret police force reminiscent of the Gestapo. Lately whole villages had been burnt and men, women and children were being massacred in cold blood. And yet India continued to claim that "she is a democracy wedded to the ideals of peace, brotherhood and justice," Mr. Tariq Abdullah concluded.

The following are the texts of the letters written by Tariq Abdullah :

(To Earl Russell) :

Your Lordship,

The existing grave situation in Kashmir is, as you will no doubt appreciate, fraught with a serious threat to the peace of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. This unhappy situation has come in the wake of the arrest of my father, Shaikh Abdullah, his lieute-

nant, Mirza Afzal Beg, and hundreds of other Kashmiris.

News has come from Kashmir that Mirza Afzal Beg, founder-President of the Kashmir Plebiscite Front, is gravely ill in a prison in Srinagar. No one save his son is being allowed to see him.

Mirza Beg was detained along with my father at Ootacamund in South India soon after their return from abroad in May this year when Mirza Beg was taken ill.

From all accounts it appears that to absolve themselves of the responsibility in the event of Mirza Beg's death in India the Indian Government had him sent to Kashmir where the responsibility would be that of the State Government.

While all this has been happening I have followed your noble struggle for the cause of freedom of the individual which has earned you the respect of all who fight for freedom and honour. It is to this noble cause of yours that I appeal in seeking your good offices to secure Mirza Beg's immediate release from prison and, possibly, from death.

With very kind regards.

Yours sincerely,  
Tariq Abdullah.

My dear Sir Dingle Foot,

The existing grave situation in Kashmir is, as you will no doubt appreciate, fraught with a serious threat to the peace of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. This unhappy situation has come in the wake of the arrest of my father, Shaikh Abdullah, his lieutenant, Mirza Afzal Beg, and hundreds of other Kashmiris.

News has come from Kashmir that Mirza Beg is gravely ill in a prison in Srinagar. No one save his son is being



allowed to see him. He was recently removed from Ootacamund to Delhi thence to Srinagar. From all accounts it appears that to absolve themselves of the responsibility in the event of Mirza Beg's death in India the Indian Government had him sent to Srinagar where the Kashmir authorities bear responsibility.

Mirza Beg's detention for any length of time would be a serious hazard to his life and I, therefore, feel compelled to appeal to your good offices to secure his release from prison and, possibly from death.

With very kind regards.

Yours sincerely,  
Tariq Abdullah.

The Editor, "The Guardian."

Dear Sir,

Last few days' events in Kashmir resulting in armed conflict between Indian troops and Kashmiri partisans cannot come as a surprise to anyone who has followed the situation there in the past six months.

Coming in the wake of the arbitrary arrest of the Kashmiri leader, Shaikh Abdullah and the jailing of hundreds of his countrymen earlier this year one can have no doubt that the situation has been a result of India's oppressive policies in Kashmir.

It would only be natural that over a decade of complete suppression of all political freedom in the State by India has exhausted the patience of the Kashmiri people who have been compelled to wage a life-and-death struggle against Indian tyranny.

To dub the Kashmir people's struggle as "infiltration" or "aggression" is not only highly misleading but also unjust to their cause of securing a life of freedom and honour consistent with

the right of self-determination which India had denied them since 1947.

India's step of integrating the State with the Union by unilaterally changing the constitutional set-up of 1952 in open defiance of the wishes of the Kashmiri people resulted in the latter's boycott of the Congress Party, the rallying cry for which was given by Shaikh Abdullah.

The arrest of Abdullah, his imprisonment in the deep south of India and the letting loose of a reign of terror in the State provided the last straw to the Kashmiris who have found themselves in the unhappy situation of being compelled to fight to the finish.

Yours faithfully,  
Tariq Abdullah.

The Editor, "The Times," London.

Dear Sir,

The recent outbreak of armed conflict in Kashmir between Indian troops and Kashmiri partisans cannot come as a surprise to anyone who has followed the situation in the State in the past six months.

This situation has come in the wake of the arrest of Shaikh Abdullah and hundreds of his compatriots earlier this year. A reign of terror followed when all political activity in the State was banned.

This state of affairs reached such a stage that the Kashmiri people rallied to the cry of their leaders that a fight to the finish was the only alternative to Indian tyranny.

Your reporter has unjustly dubbed the Kashmiri people's patriotic struggle for the right of self-determination as "infiltration" and "aggression". There cannot be the remotest connection between the Kashmiri struggle for honour and dignity and what your



reporter has termed "Bay of Pigs" operation by Pakistan.

With Shaikh Abdullah's arrest the point of no return was reached in the relations between the Indians and Kashmiris.

Yours faithfully,  
Tariq Abdullah.

The Editor,  
The "Daily Telegraph."

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this year.

The arrest of Abdullah, his imprisonment in the deep of south of India and the letting loose of a reign of terror in the State provided the last straw to the Kashmiris who have found themselves in the unhappy situation of being compelled to fight to the finish.

Yours faithfully,  
Tariq Abdullah.

## KASHMIR WAR OF LIBERATION

*By Prof. Mir Abdul Aziz*

On August 9, 1965, the 12th anniversary of the arrest of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, a Revolutionary Council of the people of Jammu and Kashmir was formed in Occupied Kashmir and a Provisional National Government set up. On this day, the struggle for the liberation of Kashmir entered a crucial phase. The main object of the Revolutionary Council is to rid Occupied Kashmir of the aggression and tyranny of the Indian imperialism and to win for the people of Kashmir their right of self-determination pledged to them, 18 years ago, by the United Nations, the Government of Pakistan, and also the Government of India.

The present struggle is the latest development in a series of struggle started in 1947. There was an open war of liberation against the Dogra rule in Jammu and Kashmir and the imposition of Indian domination in the State. The freedom-fighters succeeded in liberating a part of the State which has since been administered by the local Authorities from Muzaffarabad. The war of liberation was suspended when Pakistan and India agreed on



cease-fire in preparation of a plebiscite in the State to determine its political future.

In 1953, the Government of India found Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, the then Prime Minister of Occupied Kashmir, opposed to her designs of integrating the State with India. He was dismissed from office on August 9, 1953, and thrown into jail. This caused widespread resentment which resulted in an uprising. Ruthless measures were adopted by the Indian forces. Over 1,500 Kashmiris were killed and thousands wounded and imprisoned.

This campaign continued with varying degrees of intensity. Finally, the Government of India released Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah on January 9, 1958. But he proved adamant in his views on plebiscite. He was again arrested on April 29, 1958. This led to another outburst of popular violence, resulting in the death of over 20 Kashmiris and injuries to hundreds in the indiscriminate firing resorted to by the Indian Army.

In December 1953, the theft of the Holy Relic from Hazratbal shrine in Srinagar again led to a mass upsurge against the Indian authorities. It paralysed the State administration for months together. The foreign Press described it as an "open revolt." On January 15, 1964, alone, 24 Kashmiris were killed and 123 injured.

According to the "Daily Express" (January 10, 1964), "the people's mood was alarmingly threatening. Shamsuddin Cabinet was reduced to utter helplessness and the administration was completely paralysed." The "Times of India" (January 27, 1964) reported from Srinagar, that "the Government appeared ineffective and there was al-

most a parallel administration in the city."

In early 1964, the Indian Government again released Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah. But he was not prepared to resile from his stand that the people of Kashmir should have the right to determine their future. On July 27, 1964, while addressing the Plebiscite Front Convention in Srinagar, he declared that the people of Kashmir were prepared to offer the greatest sacrifice for their right of self-determination, and, if necessary, they would start a struggle on the lines of the Algerian people. While addressing a protest meeting at Hazratbal on January 16, 1965, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah had observed that "intentions of the ruling party of India are not good and that freedom cannot be achieved by imploring anybody, and thus in view of India's present attitude, you will have to think of some other means."

During their visit abroad between February 22 and May 8, 1965, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beg reminded the world of the Indian commitments on the Kashmir issue. Speaking at Nottingham, Shaikh Abdullah said: "When we went to the Security Council it was decided that the question of Kashmir would be settled through a free and impartial plebiscite. . . . It was India which drafted the resolution leaving the decision about the future of Kashmir to its people. . . . Suddenly we started feeling that India's opinion was changed. India was going back on her word. India wanted me to support her on this, and it is from here that my quarrel with India started. We have no enmity with anyone. We only want to exercise our right.



Once that right is achieved. I will have no objection if the people freely join this country or that. But whichever course they adopt, it will be an honourable course: they will not be driven like cattle. . . .”

Shaikh Abdullah also declared that “massive arrests of Plebiscite Front leaders have caused extreme anger, unrest and resentment all over the State. A reign of terror has been let loose by the Government. . . . G. M. Sadiq’s Government is understood to have imported a large number of plain clothes policemen from India to maintain law and order. These Indian agents have been posted at all public places in the occupied State.”

Speaking at Nottingham on March 14, Mirza Afzal Beg declared: “This [right of self-determination] needed sacrifices because without sacrifices, this right could not be gained.”

Inside Occupied Kashmir, hundreds of Plebiscite Front leaders were thrown into prison. The Indian President was empowered to extend his rule to Kashmir, the distinctive State flag on the Srinagar Assembly was replaced by the Indian tri-colour, the National Conference was merged (replaced) with the Indian National Congress, the nomenclature of “Sadar-i-Riyasat” and “Prime Minister” were arbitrarily altered. All these steps were intended to absorb the occupied territory into India.

While resentment in Occupied Kashmir was mounting, Shaikh Abdullah’s arrest on May 8, 1965, sparked off a fresh uprising. Complete hartal was observed for 10 days. Processions were taken out by angry demonstrators throughout Kashmir. Contingents of Indian police were flown in to restore law and order. As a re-

sult of their action against demonstrators, 27 Kashmiris were killed and 126 wounded, while 419 were detained under the Defence of India Rules during the first ten days. In a number of cases, the police took away the corpses and threw them into Jehlum River. Complete censorship was imposed on news from Kashmir. Sixteen newspapers were banned because they had pleaded for the holding of a plebiscite.

But all these repressive measures failed to subdue the people. The Kashmiri leaders publicly reiterated their determination to fight for their cause.

Addressing one of the Juma congregations, in Srinagar, on July 9, Mir Waiz Muhammad Farooq declared that no sacrifice would be too great for the people of Kashmir to achieve freedom. “The Kashmiris,” he declared, “would make India quit the valley. This stage is not far off.”

Al-Haj Munshi Muhammad Ishaq, President of Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front, said on July 29, 1965, that an early solution of the Kashmir question had become imperative for the preservation of peace, security and freedom of the sub-continent.

An Action Committee was formed with the support of nine other political and religious organisations; and a civil disobedience movement started on June 5, 1965. A large number of volunteers courted arrest. The repressive measures which the Indians adopted forced them to organise themselves under a Revolutionary Council.

The Revolutionary Council, which they set up, announced the termination of all agreements imposed by India on the puppet regime of Occupied



Kashmir. It also appealed to the Governments and peoples of freedom-loving countries for their support.

The liberators are struggling for their cause without the protection due to them. Together with the rest of the population, they are being subjected to the worst form of persecution by Indian forces.

No crimes against humanity could be more ghastly than the following:

(a) The Indian Army set fire to Batmaloo—a well-known Muslim colony in Srinagar. As a result, 482 houses were turned into ashes, several families were burnt alive in their houses.

(b) Thirty thousand people had been uprooted in the Bhimbar Sector before the battle of Chhamb started on September 1, 1965.

(c) No less than thirty villages in Rajauri were burnt down by the Indian forces for showing sympathy to liberators. Several Muslim families were burnt alive in the fire.

(d) Since August 8, 1965, about 30,000 Kashmiris have been forced to leave their homes and hearths in Occupied Kashmir and to seek shelter in Azad Kashmir and West Pakistan. Their property and houses were looted and burnt down.

(e) Over twenty villages along the Cease-fire Line in Azad Kashmir have been affected by the Indian assault on the Hajipir Pass. The villagers numbering about 10,000 have had to migrate to safer areas.

India has chosen to describe these freedom-fighters as "infiltrators" and to treat them as criminals. As a matter of fact they are the sons of the soil who have risen to defend themselves and to demand their inherent right of self-determination,

recognised by the United Nations. Under international law, they have every right to do so.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir forms one unit. It has been recognised by the United Nations and by India herself. Part of it is occupied by India and the other part is Azad Kashmir. India is a foreign occupying country while Azad Kashmir is a "local authority." In the struggle for liberation, Azad Kashmir is justified in helping all resistance fighters. The Government of India has no *locus standi* to take action against them.

The Kashmiris are one people. They are separated by a cease-fire line which is a military arrangement. It does not prevent the civilians from crossing it. The Azad Kashmir Government has under its administration villages across the cease-fire line. The police and civilian officers and also armed civilians can cross over to either side. To describe these liberators as "infiltrators" is absurd.

The present phase of the struggle started as a reaction to the extremely repressive measures that the Government of India had adopted in Occupied Kashmir. The victims of this suppression naturally aroused sympathy among the people of Azad Kashmir, who went to their help.

The liberators should be accorded the status of belligerents by all peaceful and freedom-loving countries. They can do so under international law. This recognition will go a long way towards saving them from inhuman Indian tyranny and also enable them to receive volunteers and arms.



## SELF HELP IN KASHMIR

*By Z. A. Suleri*

That the Indians have backed out of the Foreign Ministers' meeting on the Rann of Kutch, is a measure of the success which the freedom-fighters have already achieved in Kashmir. When the Revolutionary Council raised its clarion call some twelve days ago, the Indians tried to ridicule it; they did not take it seriously. With bravado it was put that "the infiltrators" would in no time be crushed and no change in the scheduled meeting was called for.

Now bad Pakistan-Indian relations are given as the plea for its cancellation. They were certainly no better ten days ago. Why then was the atmosphere not considered uncongenial for the meeting? Clearly the change in the Indian attitude has been induced by the impact of the freedom-fighters. The Mujahids are proving a hard nut to crack and all Indian energies are required to face the challenge. Otherwise, as Mr. Bhutto argued, the worse the relations between the two countries, the greater was the need for talks.

The Kashmir patriots are thoroughly justified in taking up arms against the Indian oppressor. In a life-and-death issue, verbal arguments have rarely availed. No dispute has hung fire for as long as Kashmir's. The Security Council decisions remain unimplemented for over 16 years. They envisaged demilitarisation of the State—that is, removal of the Indian occupation forces and the holding of a plebiscite. The plebiscite was pledged by India itself at the time of the Maharaja's fraudulent acces-

sion to Delhi. Yet nothing happened. Having secured release from a tight corner on the battlefield through UN intervention by Cease-fire the Indians just sat pat. While their stranglehold over the State has been steadily tightened on the one hand, on the other, arguments for international consumption have been advanced against the plebiscite on this ground and that. First, it was that the people of Kashmir had given their verdict through the election of the so-called Constituent Assembly. Then it was contended that Pakistan's military pacts with the United States had prejudiced the whole case of plebiscite.

India has counted on time; that time was in its favour and all that it had to do was to stonewall moves to clinch the issue. So determined was India to hold on to what it had usurped that Nehru felt no qualm of conscience in throwing into jail his friend, Shaikh Abdullah—the man who provided the primary sanction for Indian presence in the State—once he began to remind Delhi about redeeming the pledge on plebiscite. After a few months' liberty, he has again been imprisoned because he would not retract his demand for Kashmir's liberation.

India's attitude to Kashmir springs from its fundamental opposition to Pakistan and irreconcilability to its emergence. They called Partition the cutting of the sacred cow. If they did not succeed in maintaining India "akhand," united, they were then determined to undo Pakistan after it came into being. The policy to deny us our share of financial assets, army stores and to perpetrate mass butchery on the Muslims in



East Punjab in order to drive them in their millions from their hearths and homes as penniless refugees—all these measures were aimed at overwhelming the fragile structure of the new State.

If these steps were taken to blot out Pakistan physically, its spiritual justification was sought to be eroded by the annexation of Kashmir. For if the principle of self-determination in the contiguous Muslim areas could be breached in Kashmir, then the whole edifice of Pakistan was bound to crumble. There is no doubt that without Kashmir Pakistan's existence is precarious and incomplete. Pakistan's dispute with India is basic. Ours is still the fight for the self-determination of the Muslims in the sub-continent.

India's intransigence has been reinforced by the power politics of the great Powers. Out of hostility to the West with whom we sided, the USSR inclined towards India and vetoed every proposal to implement the Security Council's resolutions. Out of enmity for China, America coalesced with India and did not raise its little finger to help resolve the Kashmir deadlock even though Washington preached a joint front to contain Communism in South-East Asia. But most of all the UN stalemate is due to the fact that the super-Powers are not willing to make it a decisive body lest their own initiative be curbed. America is pursuing a unilateralist policy in Viet Nam even as it did in Dominica, while the UN looks on helplessly.

The irony is that while the UN has lost power and humanity is practically living in conditions of international lawlessness, Pakistan conti-

nued to put implicit faith in its competence. Pakistan regarded the Security Council resolutions as operative and binding and consequently kept the Cease-fire Line intact even while they were flagrantly ignored by the Indians with complete impunity. We treated the UN as the highest judicial tribunal, tampering with whose verdict amounted to contempt of which we could never be guilty.

It is indeed this legalistic attitude on the part of Pakistan which seems to have driven the patriots in Kashmir to desperation and self-help. Enough words. But now that, in an acutely correct grasp of the world situation, the Mujahids have taken to action, Pakistan's duty is clear. The Mujahids are not merely fighting for their liberation but also to make whole and enforce the principle on which our independent existence depends, without whose full vindication Pakistan's survival is in jeopardy. We cannot do less than follow the dictates of reciprocity.

So far great Powers have stood aloof. India is however trying to instigate America—and indirectly Russia—by brazenly false statements that the Mujahids are in collusion with the Chinese. China being a red rag to Washington, Indians consider it a trump card in their game of propaganda. Were these Powers aroused to intervention, they might try to reactivate the UN hitherto the target of their neglect. While America would not tolerate its interference either in Viet Nam or Dominica, it might not mind strengthening its voice in Kashmir.

The question is: what for? If the UN is to be activated to take note of what is happening in Kashmir,



it should not be to pontificate on the sacrosanctity of the Cease-fire Line. Then let it do its real job. Let the big Powers undertake to put all their influence behind it for the Security Council's resolutions. Otherwise, the interference of the UN, as the cat's-paw for the global strategy of the big Powers, must be resisted. If it cannot do the principal duty then let it also retire from its peripheral obligations. The victims of Indian aggression cannot for ever be helpless witnesses of its impotence.

The stark truth is that today no international law obtains. We have to bow before the present world order of free-for-all. If in this milieu,

some countries feel free to commit aggression, let those the resolve to win freedom depend on their own resources and devices. The Mujahids may not have the support of the big Powers, but they will enjoy world-wide human sympathies as the Algerians did, as the Viet-Nameese do. They will certainly be sustained by the good wishes and prayers of millions upon millions of Afro-Asians who know how freedom is fought and what it costs. For ourselves, let us not hesitate to give a blow for freedom. We are ever prepared to support causes of the oppressed all the world over. Let charity also be dispensed at home.



# 4

## INDIAN ATROCITIES

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The Indians have let loose a reign of terror since the Kashmiris started demanding their right of self-determination. Indian efforts to quell this popular demand were horribly intensified during the recent war of liberation. Through frequent blood-baths and constant terror and uprooting India in vain tried to suppress the Kashmiris.

The state Muslims were ceaselessly subjected to extermination, incendiaryism, torture and eviction. The occupation forces with the help of RSS launched systematic campaigns of loot, arson, rape and slaughter against the Kashmiri Muslims only because they demanded a vote to decide their fate. Unrestrained brutalities of the occupation forces stand unique in the history of suppression.



*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 24.* The Indian authorities have been unnerved by the popular uprising and they are now threatening the genocide and forcible eviction of Muslims.

The Deputy Commissioner of Poonch has publicly threatened that the rural areas of Loran and Mandi will be put to fire as the people there were openly co-operating with the Mujahids. In fact, the Indian authorities have already started implementing these threats. Two villages have been burnt down in which 50 Muslims, including women and children, were burnt alive. They also destroyed the standing maize crop.

The Indian Army has, as usual, accused the freedom-fighters for these acts of arson and barbarism.

*Karachi, Sept. 16.* Mr. Chavan elaborated his plan during his recent visit to Srinagar at a series of secret meetings with Jan Sangh leaders and other prominent Hindu communalists. He told them that it was their duty to help the Indian Army by terrorising the Muslim population so as to prevent them from collaborating with the freedom-fighters.

The first indication of the massacre plot was given by the Srinagar Radio which gave the blunt warning that "the only outcome of the present revolt would be a massacre of Muslims."

The warning was followed by large-scale distribution of arms among the non-Muslim population

of the State, which was again confirmed by the Srinagar Radio. Bands of Hindu marauders, in an ominous repetition of the 1947 murder strategy, have already begun to organise themselves.

*Muzaffarabad, Nov. 21.* 122 Muslim prisoners were murdered in cold blood on Nov. 16 by the Jan Sanghi and Mahasabhite goondas supported by Indian troops in the Chinhari forest.

The prisoners were being transferred under military guard to Udhampur and other jails and military camps. Heavily armed Hindu militant groups attacked them when the convoy reached a secluded point in the forest and all the handcuffed patriots were massacred. The Indian military escort did not interfere.

This is the second massacre of Muslim prisoners during the last few days. Ninety-five patriots had been murdered on Nov. 3 in the same way in the same forest.

The Indian plan to shift gradually all Muslim prisoners to Udhampur jail and concentration camps around it was, in fact, a calculated attempt to quell Muslim resistance. Most of the victims of the two massacres were Plebiscite Front workers.

The Kashmiri Muslims taken to India on Nov. 16, on the pretext of providing better jobs there, had so far not reached Simla. Their whereabouts were not known and it was feared that they might have been murdered



on the way by the Hindu goondas. Among them were 28 persons from Srinagar, 88 from Bandipur and some others from Khutoa, Hindpara and other areas. The Radio warned the Muslims not to leave their motherland on the false promises of Hindus.

Three Muslim villages in Kishtwar were burnt by Indian Army. About 1,200 patriots were arrested from these villages. The villages were burnt because someone had burnt the picture of President Radhakrishnan in the Deputy Commissioner's office.

*October 2.* Four refugee camps in Azad Kashmir today eloquently belie Indian claims of secularism and non-violence. One has only to look at the 20,000 sick and wounded—in many cases heinously mutilated—men, women and children to realise the plight of the helpless, unarmed Muslim population of Occupied Kashmir.

These 20,000 have harrowing tales to tell of the atrocities of Indian Forces in the held State. They have been tortured out of their homeland, their houses burnt, their kith and kin butchered.

These victims of India's communal barbarism were hounded out from over 100 villages inside Occupied Kashmir and below the Haji Pir Pass. They reached Azad Kashmir after days of trekking through thick jungles in a condition that can hardly be described.

Beaten and mauled by Pakistan Armed Forces on West Pakistan borders, the Indians seem to have gone amuck. They embarked upon wholesale genocide of Kashmiri Muslims when the cease-fire was enforced in the early hours of September 23.

They instantly surrounded 38

villages in the Haveli and Mendhar tehsils of Poonch District and asked the people to get out of their houses. Those who resisted or hesitated were shot dead.

Simultaneously, they started shelling about 70 villages within their range from the Haji Pir Pass.

Several villages were burnt, others were evacuated and the entire Muslim population—or what was left of it—was pushed into Azad Kashmir.

An American correspondent, almost in tears, said: "I wish President Johnson could come here to see what was happening to these people." Another foreign correspondent became literally mum but his looks mirrored his feelings.

A 10-year-old girl, Sharif Jan of Khaliana, was picked up from the jungle seven days after she had run out of her house. Her parents, brothers and sisters—15 in all—were either killed or imprisoned.

A woman of Shahpur Mendhar said, her two brothers and two sisters were killed. A sickly woman hugged two of her children—a 10-year-old girl and a seven-year-old boy—all that she had left. Both of the children had bullet wounds.

Muhammed Azir, of Azad Bara, had both of his legs bandaged. A wailing woman with a two-year-old child in her arms said, her husband was killed before her very eyes. She escaped to Azad Kashmir during the night.

Another woman told how the eyes of her husband and brother were taken out while another said that her father and brother were skinned.

Indian soldiers killed indiscriminately—men, women and children. Some of the women were found in



the jungle with hardly anything on.

Could not the United Nations or any other humanitarian organisation come over to these people and see for themselves what was happening to unarmed and helpless Kashmiris whose only crime is that they are Muslims and want their right of self-determination.

*Mirpur, Oct. 18.* More than 40 villages were burnt by the Indians in Rajauri area of Occupied Kashmir during the last two months, according to a Muslim refugee from the held territory.

The refugee, Master Muhammad Dilpazeer, who crossed over into Azad Kashmir recently from village Ghamir Mughlan in Rajauri tehsil, said 10 girls from his village were kidnapped by the Indian soldiers. These helpless girls were beaten by rifle butts and criminally assaulted during their detention, and one girl died while returning to her home when they were set free.

Another refugee, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, Chairman of the Panchayat of village Gothi from Rajauri tehsil, stated that the Indian army was determined to exterminate the Muslim population in Occupied Kashmir because of the people's revolt against the Indian rule.

He said that about 20 families of Muslims including men, women and children, were burnt alive in two villages by the Indians under the pretext that they had given shelter to the freedom-fighters.

Sardar Muhammad Akbar stated that the District President of the Revolutionary Council in Rajauri, Al-Haj Muhammad Salim Khan, who was formerly the General Secretary of

the National Conference, was arrested by the Indian army and taken to the Brigade headquarters.

Though nothing was known about his fate till the day he crossed into Azad Kashmir, according to the statement of some refugees who followed him, Sardar Muhammad Salim Khan was murdered in cold blood and his body was cut into pieces by the Indian soldiers.

Munshi Talab Husain, a refugee from village Draba of Mehndar tehsil, stated that his four shops and two godowns were looted by the Indian army. When his house was set on fire in his presence, he crossed the Cease-fire Line to save his family from the Indian brutes. About 40 villages in Mehndar tehsil were burnt to ashes by the Indians and 13 young girls were abducted from two villages within one month.

Another refugee, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, of village Gundi, said it had become impossible for Muslim women to come out from their houses in Mehndar district for their routine work. Whenever any Muslim woman moves out, she is chased and molested by the Indian troops. On every occasion, he added, the people protested to the Indian authorities against the inhuman treatment of their troops but no action was taken.

At present there are over 70,000 refugees in Azad Kashmir. There are 30,000 refugees in Mirpur district, over 36,000 in Poonch district and about 5,000 in Muzaffarabad. They have been accommodated in various camps for the time being.

*Mirpur, Nov. 1.* The refugee families pushed into Azad Kashmir on point



of bayonet by the Indian army from the Rajauri and Mendhar tehsils, have narrated stories of barbarism and intolerable inhuman treatment meted out to them before their eviction a few weeks ago.

Tears rolled down the eyes of these refugees while narrating that the Indian army and local Hindu goondas and Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha desperadoes forcibly lifted their young women on point of gun. If these unarmed poor women resisted, the Indian army tore off their clothes and cut their breasts.

Not content with this diabolical action they threw powdered chillies and salt on the wounds and let the injured women die in pain and agony.

Similarly, the Indian army would dub the young Kashmiri Muslims as the helping hands of the Mujahids, and on this assumption, they made deep cuts with knives and bayonets on various parts of their bodies, particularly the arms and thighs, with hands folded and tied at their backs, and filled these wounds with chillies and salt.

Narrating these atrocities, an old man, Fazal Husain of Bhattian Sharif in the Rajauri tehsil, explained how his young son, Abdul Rashid, aged 22, along with 20 other young boys was mercilessly butchered by the Indian army and goondas. They also abducted 21 girls of village Ghumir Mughlan. The women who resisted were hacked to pieces.

The refugee families were, however, more than ever determined to overthrow the Indian usurpers of their freedom and said with full conviction, these barbarities would not enable India to reduce the Muslim majority in Kashmir nor shake out

their determination for liberation.

*Srinagar, Aug. 28.* The Indian forces, demoralised by their failure to suppress the revolt, have burnt the villages of Yechmar and Maagan.

The Indians have already burnt over 50 villages in Poonch and Rajauri areas rendering thousands of Muslims homeless.

*Muzaffarabad, Nov. 12.* Nangabaji Pir Sahib had gone underground after the Indian police and the Hindu militants began rounding up leaders of the Freedom Movement.

Following his disappearance, the Indian authorities had announced a reward of Rs. 1,000 for anyone who got him arrested or provided information leading to his capture by the Indian police.

Several Muslims were killed and a large number were arrested by the Indian police assisting the Hindu militants in their nefarious mission.

The attackers ransacked the houses in the four villages before setting them on fire. Sada-i-Kashmir named the villages as Puzzlepura, Bunkot Matrigram, and Sanarwani.

It said that the Indian police were forcibly entering the houses of Muslims on the excuse of searching for hidden weapons.

It said that the Indian police continued to be posted at the mosques and shrines in the occupied territory.

Many imams belonging to various mosques have been taken into custody on the charge of inciting the people to agitation.

*Muzaffarabad Aug. 25.* According to an eye-witness account of the tragedy of Batamalu, which was burnt down by



the Indian army on Aug. 14, 436 houses and three mosques were set on fire. A large number of people were burnt alive and over 4,000 rendered homeless.

The Indian army planned the burning of Batamalu well in advance. On the morning of Aug. 14, they ordered evacuation of the population.

Later in the afternoon the army placed fire-booms on roofs of the houses and pumped petrol, while the people were still inside. Showing their characteristic cruelty the occupation forces did not allow them to leave the area to escape the fire nor was anyone from outside permitted to go to the rescue of the victims. The area was in fact completely sealed off.

Some of the people, the account said, attempted to rescue the victims, but they were shot at and pushed into the fire to die.

India has alleged that Mujahideen put the area on fire, but the foreign Press correspondents in Srinagar have confirmed that it was the work of the Indian army.

The affected people have also been demanding that the International Red Cross send a team to see for itself the inhuman actions of the occupation army.

The account further reveals that the Indian army resorted to firing at Jugebogh and Beroo on the outskirts of Srinagar, to kill the Muslims.

The Chattabal and Butwara areas were also got evacuated by the army, on Aug. 15, under the order of Srinagar brigadier, who earlier visited these places. It was feared that these areas would also be put to fire.

The army has also put on fire a number of villages in Poonch and Rajauri areas and has resorted to

firing on innocent Muslim population.

The plight of the Muslims was pathetic and a large number of them were leading a miserable life without food and shelter.

The Indian authorities have resorted to these atrocities on Muslims on the charge that they were Mujahids. The effect has, however, been quite different. The people have intensified their co-operation with the Mujahids.

*Muzaffarabad, Oct. 4.* The Indian authorities have inducted thousands of Jan Sangh "goondas" into Rajauri for loot and arson. This is the area where freedom-fighters have been inflicting hard blows on the occupationary forces with the help of the villagers.

Evacuation of the Muslims also continues in other parts of the State. Their houses are set on fire and men, women and children are subjected to indiscriminate firing.

The Indian cowards did not have the courage to fight the patriots and had therefore resorted to atrocities.

*Muzaffarabad, Nov. 1.* The Jan Sangh "goondas" this morning burnt Gandharbal and some other villages around it.

The Indian army gave the Jan Sanghis a protective shield when they were attacking the unarmed Kashmiris. Many were burnt alive while others fired upon as they ran for safety.

Later in the evening the enraged Muslims in Rajauri and Mendhar area took out a protest procession against the arson and massacre let loose by the hired goondas. The demonstrators consisted of women and



students and were shouting slogans against the Indian occupation of the state.

A violent clash took place when Jan Sanghis supported by Dogra police attacked the procession. Many patriots, including ten students and two women, were injured while 70 others were arrested.

Later the Jan Sanghis set on fire villages surrounding the scene of clash. The villages were seen burning late in the evening.

Among the victims of Indian atrocities in Rajauri area on October 27 last was the Zaildar of the area, Karamatullah. The Indian army had burnt all the three villages in his area when he refused to meet Indian Major-General Gopal Singh for "Straightening out things in the area." Instead he organised the Muslims of the area and drove out five hundred Indian police or agents from the area and hoisted the revolutionary flag over the local police post.

The Indian army attacked the area the same night, ransacking the three villages and then setting them afire. Karamatullah along with two other patriots was arrested and the three were killed after being subjected to most inhuman treatment. Their bodies were left hanging from a tree, along with a wooden board on which was written: "These are freedom-fighters."

Indian army had completely destroyed the Bandi area. The Muslim population of the area had either been pushed into Azad Kashmir or killed while all villages had been burnt. Indian army had attacked this area immediately after the start of the freedom struggle last August.

The Central Organising Committee of the Kashmiri Students today issued

a statement warning the Indian Government of the people's reaction against its ruthless brutalities on them. The statement said, the death through torture of Nisar Ahmad and three other students in a military camp near Srinagar yesterday had only left the students and patriots more determined to carry on their fight for freedom. Praying for the martyrs and praising the role played by Nisar Ahmad and his companions, the statement said, their deeds had put new vigour in the freedom movement. Their deaths will not go unaccounted for, the statement added.

*Muzaffarabad, Oct. 31.* The Jan Sanghi 'Goondas' today burnt 16 Muslim villages in Rajauri area. Many villagers were burnt alive. Hundreds of goondas who were celebrating the Patel Day also looted the villages and kidnapped more than 100 Muslim women.

Among the victims of the large-scale arson and massacre was the family of one of the Hindus' own agent, Jama Seth, whose whole family was burnt alive. The goondas killed many villagers when they tried to escape.

The Jan Sanghis carried out their operations with the active support and help of the Indian occupation forces.

The Jan Sanghis who were fully armed with guns and hand-grenades held a meeting in the morning and then attacked the villages from all directions. Jama Seth has been a very active Indian agent in the area and had presented the Jan Sangh goondas with three hundred rifles but his own family could not escape the Indian brutal scorched-earth policy.



*Karachi, Oct. 17.* Hair-raising stories of the brutalities and inhumane acts committed by the barbarian Indian forces on the Kashmiris were today narrated by Kashmir refugees belonging to village Taachan in Poonch district.

Eight families—consisting of 32 persons, including six women and six children—who took refuge in Rawalpindi after suffering inhumane miseries perpetrated on them by the Indian forces.

Ataullah, about 35, who ran a general provision store in the village, about five miles from the Haji Pir Pass in the Poonch district, said that innocent Kashmiris were massacred, women molested and children brutally killed before their parents.

Ataullah and others, who left their native village after the Indian invasion on September 6, reached Lohian in Azad Kashmir on foot and from there proceeded to Rawalpindi.

Ataullah said that after capturing Haji Pir Pass, the Indian forces heavily bombarded the forward areas. "We saw the nearby village, Chand Tehkri. There the Indians set on fire the homes of Kashmiri Muslims after massacring them."

Aziz Din, another refugee who was a "Lumberdar" in Tachan, told that the main target of the barbarity of Indian forces were Kashmiri Muslims. He said that the homes of Kashmiris were looted and the articles which they could not carry were set on fire.

"I saw that scores of people were pushed inside their homes which later were set ablaze."

Another victim, Ghulam Nabi, about 25, told with tears rolling on his cheeks that he was the only man out

of a family of 16 persons who could reach here after the Indians invaded his home town, Kala Mola in Poonch district.

He said that a mother with infant in her arms was trying to flee but an Indian brute lifted her child on the bayonet and then cut it into pieces. The pieces of the child were then offered to the horrified mother, who fell unconscious. Later, she was also killed by the Indians. He said that the Kashmiri girls were molested by the Indians. They did not even spare the pregnant women and outraged their modesty.

Ghulam Nabi, who also owned a general provision store in Kala Moia, said that the houses of villagers were used as "morchas" against the Pakistan forces. They took out all wooden material and roofs of their houses for this purpose. When some of the villagers offered resistance they were shot dead and their houses set on fire. In Kohotta village, they demolished a number of houses to make runway. The Indian invaders also took away on their helicopters all wheat which was just ready after the crop.

The refugees said that they were about 150 when they left their native village. After a 24-hour journey on foot with nothing to eat and drink, they reached Lohian.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 18.* A deputation of the refugees from Indian-held Poonch and Rajauri called on the Minister for Home and Kashmir Affairs, Chaudri Ali Akbar Khan, in his office, here today.

The leader of the deputation narrated harrowing tales of the atrocities committed by the Indian troops on unarmed Muslims in Occupied Kashmir.



The Minister assured the deputationists that the Government of Pakistan would provide all possible facilities to the refugees who had crossed into Azad Kashmir due to the Indian repression.

Chaudhri Ali Akbar is himself very active and is using his personal influence to collect more and more quilts and warm clothes for the refugees. He has sent word to his home-town to send as many quilts as possible. Supplies would soon be rushed to Pindi from his district, he said.

*Muzaffarabad, Oct. 28.* Demonstrations by Kashmiri patriots and students in Occupied Kashmir in connection with the "Black Day" continued till late night, Radio Sada-i-Kashmir reported tonight.

A spokesman of the Revolutionary Council broadcasting from the Radio Sada-i-Kashmir tonight congratulated the Kashmiris for their defiance the restrictive measures yesterday. The spokesman said that successful demonstration against Indian imperialism all over Occupied Kashmir in spite of two and a half lakh Indian army proved that Kashmiris' struggle for freedom had entered a decisive stage.

The statement said as most of the Muslim students in France were Algerians, the support extended by them was no surprise as they had themselves passed through similar circumstances.

Appealing to students all over the world for support, the statement said that Kashmiri students were ready for all sacrifices to free their motherland.

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 18.* The Indian army was engaged in the "worst type of barbarism" in Occupied Kashmir in a desperate bid to quell the people's revolt.

The Indian soldiers, unnerved by their defeats at the hands of the freedom-fighters were ransacking the houses of civilians. Many villages had been set on fire during the past few days, the commentator said.

But, he said, the people of Kashmir had swung into action and nothing could now deter them from helping the freedom-fighters.

*Gujrat, Sept. 27.* According to an Inspection Note by Mr. R. L. Basur, the then Deputy Director Education, Jammu, the children belonging to the Harijan community were treated as sub-human beings by the Brahmin headmaster of the Government High School (now Higher Secondary School), Chhamb.

The Deputy Director held an inquiry, on a representation made by the Harijans of Chhamb, against the behaviour of the headmaster (Shri Vishno Sharma) towards the Harijan students. The representation alleged that:

(1) The Headmaster has asked the Harijan students to sit on the last benches in the classes.

(2) The Headmaster has not made any provision of drinking water for them.

(3) The Headmaster employs the Harijan students to remove dirt, rubbish and bones from the classrooms and playing fields.



(4) The Headmaster beats the Harijan students mercilessly and compels them to discontinue their studies.

(5) The Headmaster believes in untouchability, and accords step-motherly treatment to the Harijan students on the whole."

Mr. Basur admitted, in the course of his findings, that "the moment I reached Chhamb, a large number of people, including Harijans and others, raised protest slogans against the Headmaster and shouted 'Remove Untouchability,' etc. The above complaints against the Headmaster were repeated. On detailed inquiry, I have come to the conclusion that some of the complaints are correct. A meeting of the school staff and the public was held in which I tried to allay the fears of the public, and exhorted the Headmaster to see that no complaint regarding the maltreatment of Harijan students is heard in future. I may once again bring home to the Headmaster and his staff that perpetuation of untouchability will not be tolerated any longer, and if any man with a perverted brain still continues to believe in it, he shall be severely dealt with. In case any member of his staff refuses to co-operate with him in 'Eradicating' the evil of untouchability, his name may be reported for suitable action."

*Muzaffarabad, Dec. 2.* About one and a half lakh Hindu militants will shortly be settled in Rajauri, Poonch and Riasi areas of Occupied Kashmir under a plan prepared by the puppet regime.

Over two and half lakh Muslims have already been evacuated by the Indians from these parts of Kashmir.

Under the scheme the Jan Sangh

families, who will be settled in houses and on lands left by Muslims, will also be paid substantial amounts by the puppet Government. Those occupying Muslim places in cities will be given Rs. 2,000 per family and the Hindu settlers in villages will receive Rs. 1,000 per family.

Besides cash, the Hindu settlers will also be provided facilities of employment, building material and essential articles of daily use free of cost.

*Mangla, Nov. 10.* Mr. M. A. Bari, Senior Secretary to Azad Kashmir Government, said that the number of refugees being pushed into Azad Kashmir from held territory had exceeded one lakh, according to the latest figures.

In an interview, Mr. Bari said that a census of the refugees showed that most of the refugees were infirm and old persons or women and children. He said, the Indian army and the Jan Sangh workers were throwing them out of Held Kashmir under a pre-planned scheme.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 2.* More than 5,000 old men, women and children have trekked their weary way from the Poonch and Uri sectors in the Indian occupied territory to Azad Kashmir.

Grim-faced, but determined, these old men, women and children narrated tales of Indian atrocities. They were tired, soar-footed, but ready to join the struggle against the Indian tyrants who burnt their houses and threw them to the wolves.

These 5,000 helpless victims of Indian tyranny are among those who have been pushed into Azad Kashmir as part of clearing the Kashmir Valley



Young men have mostly joined the forces of the Revolutionary Council or have been killed by the Indians in their campaign of burning villages and scattered huts.

The Indians surrounded their villages, ordered the people to come out of their houses, and then looted their belongings. Women were molested and houses were burnt.

When this happened, young men who had not joined the ranks of the Mujahids, bade good-bye to their families and left their devastated villages to join the freedom-fighters.

Some of the refugees said that they had to walk barefooted for 10 days to reach Azad Kashmir. An old man said that his four sons were fighting along with the Mujahids. He had come with his daughter and wife to Azad Kashmir.

The old man had a spark in his eyes as he spoke of his "brave sons." He said that he was sure they would help finish the days of tyranny and oppression.

Another family was left with four children only. The eldest was eight years old. The boy said that his mother was beaten up by the Indians and shot dead. His father was away in Jammu and he did not know what he was doing.

*Muzaffarabad, Nov. 28.* At least 230 Kashmiri patriots were killed by armed Hindu bandits supported by Indian troops in clashes during last 24 hours in different parts of occupied Kashmir. Three of the major clashes between Kashmiri patriots putting up resistance to Indian excesses and Hindu bandits occurred in Mendhar tehsil, in a village Morha and in a village Kayan near Poonch city.

The Radio also reported tonight the death of five students and twelve other Kashmiri leaders recently because of excessive torture in different prisons and army concentration camps.

In a clash a large number of Hindu bandits entered the area with burning torches and tried to put on fire all the houses in the area. The armed Hindu goondas were supported by a strong contingent of the Indian army which fired indiscriminately when the infuriated Muslims put up a tough fight.

Another 60 Kashmiri patriots died of Indian troops firing during a clash in the village Morha. The village was attacked by Hindu bandits who desecrated the Holy Quran and threw pages from it on the ground. The Muslims of the village took a vehement exception and attacked the Hindu goondas. Indian troops backing the bandits fired on them killing at least 50 of the Muslims while the rest were handcuffed and taken to a military camp.

The Radio also reported that Indian authorities had prepared a plan to push the Muslims of Haveli area into Azad Kashmir by unleashing a second round of atrocities on the residents of the area. The Indians have appointed two army officers, Kaldev Mehta and Daljeet Singh for its execution. The Radio said that recently the Hindu barbarians abducted 82 Muslim women from this area and took them to forced labour camps.

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 23.* The following protest note was delivered to the Indian High Commission:

"It has been reported to the Government of Pakistan that two Pak-



istani nationals, viz. Niaz Ali Khan of Calcutta Police and Abdul Quddus of R.N.S. "Company" both interned in Alipore Central Jail, expired on November 19, 1965. In view of the deplorable conditions prevailing in Indian concentration camps, it is very much to be feared that their death is the result of inhuman treatment meted out to the Pakistan internees. The Government of Pakistan has also received reports that some more Pakistani internees have died as a result of the privations faced by them. Information so far received indicates that the internees are suffering intolerable hardships due to insufficient supply of food and drinking water. No medical facilities are provided. They are made to perform hard labour.

"It has also been reported that the internees are being compelled to donate blood to the West Bengal Blood Bank.

"The Government of Pakistan protests most emphatically against these exercises in subhuman behaviour on Pakistan internees, which is in complete disregard and violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 to which India is a signatory. The Government of Pakistan demands that an immediate investigation be conducted into the state of affairs prevailing in the Alipore Central Jail and elsewhere and steps be taken to ensure that for the period of their detention, internees should not be treated like criminals and exposed to suffering, privation and humiliation."

*Muzaffarabad, Nov. 5.* The Indians have prepared a plan of unprecedented Muslim extermination in Occupied Kashmir.

The heinous plan will be put into operation by the Indian authorities when the held territory is snowbound and cut off from the outside world.

The cruel scheme had been drawn up in collaboration with the Occupied Kashmir Inspector-General of Police, Lachman Das Thakar, and will be carried out with the active support of Hindu militants.

Thirty-two thousand Jansanghis and Mahasabhites had been brought into the valley from Jammu, Udhampur, Riasi, Kathuwa and other places for the execution of the secret extermination plan.

These Hindu militants had been given training in Indian army camps in the use of automatic weapons. They have been dispatched to various parts of the valley to wait for the signal to start wanton genocide of the Muslim population.

The Revolutionary Council, the Radio said, had appealed to the world to take notice of the carnage of Muslims in Occupied Kashmir and save them from murder, loot and arson.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 28.* The representative of the International Red Cross, Mr. Michian Martin, visited the refugees who have been driven out recently by the Indian army.

These refugees, who arrived from Mandi and Kapwara area of Occupied Kashmir, related to him their tale of woes and sorrows, how their villages were looted and how hundreds of them were shut up in their houses and burnt alive on charge of participating in the freedom fight.

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 23.* A master plan to massacre the Muslims of Kashmir in reprisal for their part in



the current revolt has just come to light. It was conceived by the Indian Defence Minister, Mr. Chavan, as a way to help out the Indian army pressed hard by freedom-fighters from all sides.

Mr. Chavan elaborated it during his recent visit to Occupied Kashmir at a series of secret meetings with Jan Sangh leaders and other top-level Hindu communalists. He told them that it was their duty to help the Indian army by terrorising the Muslim population so as to prevent them from collaborating with the freedom-fighters.

The first indication of the plan was given by Radio Srinagar which gave the blunt warning that the "only outcome of the present revolt would be the massacre of the Muslims."

The warning was followed by large-scale distribution of arms among the non-Muslim population of the State, again confirmed by Radio Srinagar. Bands of Hindu marauders, in an ominous repetition of the 1947 murder strategy, have already begun to organise themselves.

Apart from carrying fire-arms and swords to "flush out" freedom-fighters, the Indian army is resorting to trickery to achieve their aim.

A large number of Indian soldiers have changed to civilian clothes to

mix with common people and detect and pick up the freedom-fighters.

They have found it necessary to employ such tactics as the people have refused to betray the Mujahids for love of money or under threat or reprisal and the movement is gaining momentum, causing grave concern to the Indian army of occupation.

Muslims in Indian-held Kashmir can now travel only after obtaining police permission. Those found travelling without these permits are summarily arrested and are then sent to various army camps to be used as "forced labour."

A large number of Muslims were burnt alive yesterday at Gandharbal, an important suburb of Srinagar, major part of which was reduced to ashes by the Jan Sanghi goondas.

The exact number of those who perished in yesterday's massacre was still not available. One hundred and eighty-five houses were gutted in the cowardly attack on Gandharbal and some villages around it.

Muslims from adjoining villages this morning tried to enter the smouldering houses in Gandharbal to take the dead bodies for burial, but they were prevented by the Indian army. Instead they were arrested and taken to an unknown place.



## WORLD PRESS SUPPORTS PLEBISCITE IN KASHMIR

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The Atlantic Charter, planned, drawn up, signed and delivered by the Three Bigs, viz. U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and U.K., lent strong support to the right of self-determination for small nations and freedom for the oppressed ones. It was a wise enforcement of this Charter which ultimately resulted in the freedom of many Afro-Asian and Middle East countries including Pakistan and India.

This Charter allows the right of self-determination to the people of Kashmir. Britain and India through official announcements supported this right for all nations including the state of Jammu and Kashmir and UN duly endorsed it.

India's claim of Jammu and Kashmir as her "integral part" came to the nations of the world as an utter surprise. She backed out of her international commitments with the least prick of her conscience, but this act on the part of India could not beguile the world and the world press immediately started supporting a UN-supervised plebiscite in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.



*London, Oct. 3.* Pakistan Society, met to discuss the current situation in Kashmir and India's aggression against Pakistan and passed the following resolution:

"This meeting recognises oppression and sufferings undergone by the people of Kashmir ever since the revolt of 1931. The Maharaja acceded to India in 1947, and the acceptance of this accession by India was conditional upon a reference to the people of Kashmir. In spite of negotiations and debates in the United Nations, and resolutions of the United Nations over a period of 13 years, no plebiscite has been held, and Shaikh Abdullah has been in jail without trial for the last 11 years.

"Integration of Kashmir into the Indian Union led to resentment in the State which resulted in the recent armed uprising by Mujahids. The Pakistan Society urges the British Government to lend its full weight to the securing of self-determination for the people of Kashmir."

*Muzaffarabad, Dec. 2.* Mr. Maydon, a member of the visiting British Parliamentary delegation, said here that India must honour her commitment to hold plebiscite in Kashmir and nothing short of it would be acceptable to peace-loving countries.

He stated that it was an accepted principle to which India, Pakistan and the United Nations were parties, that the Kashmir problem should be solved through a free and fair plebiscite and

the people of the State should exercise their right of self-determination to decide their own future. He stated that the late Mr Nehru made this commitment expressively and repeatedly to hold the plebiscite.

Mr. Maydon regretted that both the United Nations and Mr. Nehru did not hold the plebiscite in Kashmir. Although Mr. Nehru was postponing the holding of a plebiscite in Kashmir on one pretext or the other he dared not back out altogether.

Mr. Maydon said that the British people would do their best to find a peaceful solution of the Kashmir dispute. India and Pakistan being in the Commonwealth, the British people would not take side with one or the other. They, however, would spare no efforts to see that there was no war between these two countries on the Kashmir issue, he added.

*Lahore, Nov. 28.* Leaders of three Opposition parties, Nizam-e-Islam Party, the Pakistan Council Muslim League and the Awami League, stressed that President Ayub should not whittle down Pakistan's stand on the Kashmir question in his parleys with American, Russian and Indian leaders.

The leaders assured the President that all political parties stood behind him for securing the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir and, therefore, no formula which did not meet that demand would be acceptable to the people of Pakistan.



They warned that what India had not been able to achieve in the battlefield, she was trying to obtain through negotiations on the diplomatic level. The Colonial Powers were backing India in that effort and therefore Pakistan should play her cards well.

It was presided over by Syed Muhammad Afzal, President of the Council Muslim League.

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 28.* In an article published in *Prabhat*, Jallundur, of 7 Oct. 1965, Master Tara Singh, wrote: "If no other proposal can be agreed upon to ascertain the wishes of the people of Kashmir, the only just and democratic method of doing it is a plebiscite, which is recognised the world over. This is what Pakistan demands. But to counter this, it is said that Pakistan has no right to interfere in this matter. True, but the Kashmiris have the right to decide their fate as they like, and their opinion should be ascertained through an impartial plebiscite conducted under an impartial auspices.

"When Pakistan demands a plebiscite in Kashmir and India opposes it one is bound to conclude that Pakistan is confident of winning it, while India is not. The Indians say why should there be a plebiscite when the issue has been settled finally. The answer to this is simple. If the Indians are sure that the people of Kashmir are with them they should agree to a plebiscite to avoid war, bloodshed, and destruction. Why should not the danger of war be thus averted? If it breaks out again, it may engulf the whole world. Why should then any reasonable proposal to prevent it be spurned?

"The Indian assertion that the issue

has been finally resolved is meaningless. There is a cease-fire line which is supervised by neutral observers. Moreover, India herself insists that Pakistan should vacate the area under her control. This shows that India too does not consider the present position as being the final disposition of the State.

He pointed out that as a party to a dispute India cannot become its own judge. India is just a party. How can it deliver the judgment? It is for an impartial arbitrator to do it. Of course, it would be open to India to plead before him that the issue has been finally settled.

"It is no longer possible to hold down a people by force. With the present developed means of communications, oppression anywhere gets known. No oppressor can hide it for long through lies. That is why I say that neither India nor Pakistan can keep their hold over Kashmir against the wishes of Kashmiris."

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 22.* The Nationalist Government of Nagaland has supported the cause of self-determination of the people of Kashmir, according to a broadcast of the Free Nagaland Radio.

*Kracahi Oct. 22.* The right of self-determination for the Kashmiri people was unequivocally demanded by foreign students studying at Karachi University.

Mr. Gamal Abdul Latif, a Palestine student, said the right of self-determination was a Wilsonian right—a birthright of human beings.

This right was recognised by the United Nations in 1949, but it has not been able to enforce its own resolution.



It only makes recommendations, he added.

Mr. Gamal declared: "The threat to withdraw from this organisation, to my mind, is a nail in its coffin; and President Soekarno of Indonesia hit the first nail. This world body should understand that Muslims cannot be easy victims."

Mr. Amir Ali M. Hasan Ali of Zanzibar (Tanzania) said: "I strongly believe that the fight for the right of self-determination must be fought as hard as for saving Africa from slavery."

Miss Lydia P. Eloo Santos, of Philippines said, "I can say Pakistanis are fighting for a principle, and I have all the confidence that Pakistan will win." She reiterated the words of the Filipino Secretary for Foreign Affairs that the Philippines Government was in favour of holding plebiscite in Kashmir.

Iranian student Hamid Meheragan said: "As Muslims with one faith, one history and one future, we shall fight the tyranny." During the war, he said, "I joined the civil defence and patrolled the city."

Mr. Zakaria Kitabchi, a Turkish student said, "The Turks were willing to fight against the Indian aggressors because self-determination was a natural right of humanity and the only way to solve the Kashmir problem."

Miss Yashiko Satoh from Japan: "Keeping deep sympathies for Pakistanis, I hope that this Kashmir dispute will be solved through the right of self-determination under the international law."

Chinese student Lu Shu Lin: "We Chinese peoples stand with you against the Indian invasion over Kashmir and Pakistan."

*Srinagar, Oct. 21.* The General Assembly of the pro-Shaikh Abdullah Plebiscite Front yesterday called on Kashmiris to continue their struggle for self-determination.

*Karachi, Oct. 8.* Several students were injured when a hand grenade was thrown on the demonstrating students in Srinagar.

The students had come out to voice for plebiscite in the valley to decide the future of Jammu and Kashmir State. Seventy of them were rounded up by the police.

*United Nations, Oct. 7.* The Moroccan Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ahmed Taibi Benhima called for the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir in his speech at the U.N General Assembly session.

*London, Sept. 21.* It is imperative that the Security Council grasp the nettle of self-determination for Kashmir. This would demonstrate the United Nations' will to exercise its moral authority backed by an overwhelming world opinion."—*The Times.*

"The Indians feel that failure to hold Kashmir would threaten, the precarious unity of India."

"If the predominantly Muslim Kashmiris can vote themselves out of the Indian Republic, so may some of the other discontented nations and tribes, which differ from the prevailing Hindus in religion, language and interest."

"For the Pakistanis, India's taking over Kashmir is regarded as evidenced that India intends eventually to end the partition and to reunite the sub-continent establishing Hindu rule



for democracy and plebiscite for the colonised peoples such as in North Kalimantan Malaysian territories in Borneo). So, in the Kashmir problem, we side with the Kashmiri people and Pakistan's policy."

Former Premier Ali Sastroemidjojo said, any effort to solve the Pakistan-India dispute would be futile unless it was made on the basis of the complete withdrawal of Indian "aggressive troops" from Pakistan and the recognition of the right to self-determination of the Kashmiri people.

*New York, Sept. 13.* Syed Amjad Ali Pakistan's Chief UN delegate, said: "Pakistan had been demanding for the last 18 years a plebiscite in Kashmir, which India had promised but not honoured.

"If we, what India says, were doing anything of military move they should have faced us. Why didn't they do it?" he asked.

The Pakistani chief delegate said, India had promised self-determination to Kashmiris in 1947 but had not honoured that promise.

He added: "All we ask today and have been asking for the last 18 years, is that this assurance, this agreement should be fulfilled."

*Karachi, Sept. 10.* The Federal German Government had made it known that it supported the right of self-determination throughout the world.

A Press release by the German Embassy in Karachi quoted a spokesman of the Federal German Government in Bonn while answering question related to the Kashmir problem on Sept. 8.

He said that the Federal German Government's support for the right of self-determination was unconditional

and consistent throughout the world.

*Karachi, Sept. 9.* The United Nations Secretary General was greeted with slogans of "We want plebiscite in Kashmir," and "No cease-fire," on arrival here from London.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 8.* Finishing touches were being given here this evening to the Pakistan brief for tomorrow's talks with the United Nations Secretary-General, U. Thant.

According to informed sources, any cease-fire understanding will have to be related to the holding of the plebiscite promised by the UN to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, 17 years ago.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 19.* An official spokesman here today exposed the absurdity of the Indian contention that any self-determination for Kashmir would confront India with similar demand from other areas.

He said, he did not realise that India was such a flimsy patchwork, but in any case there was no analogy between Kashmir and the states constituting India proper. No state of India has a Muslim majority the way Kashmir has; no Muslim majority area of India is contiguous to Pakistan as Kashmir is; and no area of India is geographically, economically so integrated with Pakistan as Kashmir. No other area in the sub-continent, save Junagadh, Manavadar, etc., is in dispute between India and Pakistan and no other state has been officially described by the United Nations as disputed territory. In the case of no other state is India committed internationally to holding a plebiscite. For no other area did the Indian Constitution pro-



vide for special articles, and no state of India proper has clamoured for self-determination, with the blood-stained resolve with which the people of Kashmir have been doing.

The spokesman pointed out that having agreed to the partition of the sub-continent on the basis of Hindu-majority and Muslim-majority areas, it was now absurd for Indian leadership to want to use Kashmir to prove anything different. At the time of the seizure of Junagadh, Mr. Gandhi publicly proclaimed that Hindu-majority states should accede to India and *vice versa* and specially stated that Kashmir would be given an opportunity to fall in with this principle.

In any case, added the spokesman, keeping Kashmir tied by force to India does not prove Indian "secularism" nor the Indian contention of a "peacefully co-existing multi-religious, multi-racial society." That could be proved only if the Kashmiris on their own free will opted for India. Far from it, the carnage in Kashmir today disproves the very fact India is trying to establish. Kashmiris refuse to co-exist peacefully or otherwise with the bigoted caste-ridden Hindu society of India and not even the 100,000 bayonets in the held State have been able to change their mind.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 8.* The well-known American broadcaster, Mr. Fulton Lewis Jr., says that "the fundamental keystone in the entire structure of the United Nations is the right of all peoples to self-determination and establishing and maintaining a Government of their choosing."

"There is nothing in the Charter which says that all peoples except the people of Kashmir should have this

right," he remarks, "it just says all peoples."

Mr. Lewis commented on the Indo-Pakistan war and the Kashmir dispute in several broadcasts, listened to by millions of people during September.

According to transcripts now available here, he said about the Kashmir dispute: "This is not a difficult question to resolve. The facts are all on the record, and the equities in the matter are as clear as crystal.

"The fundamental keystone in the United Nations Charter is that all peoples have a right to determine their own form of Government and their own destiny, and that, really, is the only reason for the existence of the United Nations."

"The history of the 18-year-old dispute," he adds, "is a history of continuous and persistent Indian perfidy and infamy in the dealing of Kashmir, and one in which it is impossible to read the balance-sheet of right and wrong in anything but one set of figures. The Indians have made repeated promises and guarantees, only to break them on repeated occasions.

"They have lied about incontrovertible facts. They have practised the same routine of double-dealing and double-talk that they have used to make fools and laughing stocks of our (American) ambassadors to their country (India) and of our State Department in Washington."

The commentator says: Kashmir is 80 per cent Muslim, and if the people were granted the right to exercise their own self-determination and decide for themselves whether they want to be part of India or part of Pakistan, they would vote at least by that



percentage margin to join Pakistan. But India, occupying the country by military force, has refused to permit any such plebiscite because they know it would go against them, and Pakistan's present action is simply a challenge to India's power to continue to occupy Kashmir by military force any longer, and an ultimatum that there is going to be a plebiscite, whether India wants it or not."

Mr. Lewis emphasised: "Let's be sure we get this straight, regardless of what the State Department may whimper behind its lace-handkerchiefs. The real military aggression in this case has not been by Pakistan, but instead, over the last 18 years, by India, in the form of its military occupation and forcible subjugation of Kashmir. Pakistan is now only challenging the military aggression, and meeting it in kind."

"Under such circumstances," asks Mr. Lewis, "how is it for us to be neutral? Are we saying that the merit of the case is equal on both sides? Are we pretending that of all this record of the past 18 years never took place, and the promises that were made were never made at all, and that India shall be judged by some privileged set of rules that do not apply to us or to the other nations of the world?"

"What obligation we hold to India," he says, "I have never been able to understand. But India, somehow, has some magic, fatalistic, mystical charm over the State Department. The Government won't do anything to cure the problems of the country, socially, economically, or otherwise. The caste system is the worst in the world. So far as our foreign aid goes, it has simply helped the rich to get

richer, while the poor get poorer. But the magic charm is there, nevertheless, so we give them a different set of rules in the Kashmir case while justice hides her face in shame."

The two leading papers of Algiers have strongly urged for a plebiscite for the solution of the Kashmir dispute.

Commenting editorially, *el Moudjahid* said, "Nothing can be done against the will of the people. It is only the respect of the people's will which will lead to a genuine solution in Kashmir."

Writing editorially, another daily, *el Djeich* commented, "there is not the least doubt that the majority of the population of Kashmir would be only too happy to get rid of the tutelage of New Delhi's Government. This is the opinion of almost all observers of Asian Affairs."

*Peshawar, Oct. 8.* The people of Cortland City in the New York State have expressed their grave concern over the imposition of war on Pakistan and have sympathised with the people of this country.

Under the caption, "Pakistan's War Saddens Cortland Friends," the American city's Paper "Herald Journal," wrote: "The undeclared war in Pakistan hangs heavier in Cortland than perhaps any other U.S. city."

"For Cortland people know Pakistan people as friends in an unusual and unique sister city of Peshawar, an agricultural city like Cortland," the paper said.

Recalling the Cortland people's "bond" with the Pakistani people established through exchange visits, the Paper said that the Pakistani flag had a "place of honour" in their city.

The Paper complained that the



people of Cortland felt that "a biased version" was being given of the Indo-Pakistan conflict and quoted Senator Hope holding the United States "responsible for the flare-up and its neglect to press for the promised plebiscite" in Kashmir.

"The Pakistan people pleaded for a plebiscite to decide the Kashmir boundary, and they were promised it by a treaty.

"The United Nations failed to insist upon it and our Government preferred not to use its influence," Sen. Hope said.

As an expression of special attachment to Peshawar, Sen. Hope believed if that city should participate in the war for Kashmir settlement, "some sort of relief might be sent from Cortland."

"Pakistan has been a close ally and friend of our country for a number of years and they have been urging us since 1956 to help them achieve the goals of the treaty," he firmly agreed.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 11.* A spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs today outlined a three-point Pakistan proposal: complete withdrawal of Pakistan and Indian forces from Jammu and Kashmir, induction of a U.N. force drawn from Afro-Asian nations, and a plebiscite within three months of the cease-fire as the basis for settling the present conflict and securing lasting peace in the region.

He said that Pakistan was not seeking a military solution of the problem of Kashmir. Her past conduct in the forum of the United Nations bore testimony to this. Pakistan had accepted 14 proposals to solve this problem through the agency of the United

Nations but India had rejected them. It was in fact India which was seeking to maintain its stranglehold over Kashmir and trying to perpetuate it by military aggression.

"We want peace and are ready for a cease-fire with immediate effect, but it must accompany a self-executing agreement, assuring the right of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir," he added.

Addressing a crowded Press conference attended by over 30 foreign correspondents besides local correspondents, the spokesman expressed his disappointment with the resolution of the Security Council of September 6, which he described as conforming to the Indian stand. "The Security Council wants to achieve exactly what India desires, namely, the refreezing of the Cease-fire Line. If this is done, it would be a very poor solution of the conflict," he said.

The spokesman said, if the sacrifices of the Kashmiris for determining their own future were not to go in vain, the forces of India and Pakistan must withdraw completely and simultaneously from the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir, which was a disputed territory. In order to maintain the security of the State, the U.N. force drawn from Afro-Asian countries should be taken to hold the UNCIP resolution of January 1949, to decide the future of the disputed territory within three months.

Asked if three months would suffice for the purpose of holding a plebiscite, the spokesman said that this process could be worked out. If it was found that plebiscite within three months was not feasible, the period could be extended to four months or a little more.



He said that there was no danger from China in the Laddakh sector, because every inch of the disputed territory in the area was already in the possession of the Chinese. It was fruitless to conceive that with the withdrawal of the forces from Kashmir there would be an invasion from China. He said this in reply to a question by an American correspondent.

He said that the present solution suggested by the United Nations for a cease-fire was unrealistic. It did not take into consideration the efforts and sacrifices of the Kashmiris and Pakistan's commitments to them in their struggle for freedom. Peace could return to this area on a lasting basis if the genesis of the present crisis was taken into account. The Cease-fire Line was merely a symptom not the cause of the conflict.

If the cease-fire was brought about without ensuring lasting peace it would merely mean a lull in the fighting but no permanent peace.

Asked if this three-point proposal was put forth during the discussions with the U.N. Secretary-General, U Thant, the spokesman said that the discussion covered various aspects of the problem and was over a vast ground and that these points were put forth. This proposal would be put forward on behalf of the Government when the Security Council reassembled and resumed its consideration of the situation in the Pakistan-India sub-continent and of the present conflict.

The spokesman said that it was essential for the world to realise that the genesis of the present conflict was the denial by India to the people of Jammu and Kashmir of their right

to determine their future through a fair and impartial plebiscite. This had been denied all along by India and the late Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, through one pretext or the other.

The latest among the Indian arguments was that if the Indian Government allowed Kashmir to secede through a plebiscite, there would be similar secessionist movements by the Sikhs in East Punjab, by the Nagas, and possibly in South India also. This argument was misleading. Kashmir was not a part of the Indian Union, even if she claimed it to be so. The State of Jammu and Kashmir was a disputed territory, and it had been given a pledge that the people in it would get an opportunity to decide their own future by the United Nations, India and Pakistan. No such pledge had been given to the Sikhs, the Nagas or to any other territory of India.

India, he said, had frustrated all attempts to settle this dispute through peaceful means. The United Nations had also been powerless. The Indian Government had been trying to retain the State of Jammu and Kashmir within the Indian Union by force. She had been building up a case for launching an offensive against Pakistan for the purpose of settling this dispute "once for all" as put by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Indian Minister for Information.

He said, India had also refused a reference of the dispute about the implementation of the U. N. resolutions to the International Court of Justice, because as members of the Commonwealth of Nations they could refer the dispute to the International Court only by concurrence, and India had never agreed to this.



The spokesman said that the Indian Prime Minister had announced, during the fighting over the Rann of Kutch territory, that they would have a front of their own choosing and time. This threat was realised when the Indian forces occupied the Kargil post towards the middle of May last. This was followed by the Indian crossing of the Cease-fire Line in the Titwal and Uri-Poonch sectors. The Indian leaders, all this time, had put forward the excuse that they were plugging the routes of ingress of the so-called infiltrators in Occupied Kashmir, but India's arguments were warped.

She had built up a myth that the people of Kashmir were with her. Therefore, when the revolt broke out, she had no choice except to accuse Pakistan of sending "infiltrators" across the Cease-fire Line. The fact, however, was otherwise. It was a popular revolt of the people.

The spokesman said that India was preparing the Chhamb area as the launching pad for a big offensive to seize Azad Kashmir. Their intelligence had informed them of the Indian intentions, and they had taken the counter-action to forestall the Indian move. The Indians, however, immediately swung their Air Force into action, thus escalating the conflict. Later, they widened the area of conflict when they crossed the international boundary and launched a massive attack on Lahore.

"These facts are clear. India has been guilty of naked and unabashed aggression against Pakistan. We will now take all measures to which we are entitled under the United Nations Charter to defend ourselves, through individual action as well as collective

help," he added.

## NEHRU'S PLEDGES ON KASHMIR

India's *volte face* on the pledges given by her to the United Nations, the people of Kashmir, Pakistan and the world to hold a UN-supervised free and fair plebiscite in Kashmir has no parallel in the history of the world.

The solemn pledges given by India are documented in the United Nations records.

Leaving aside the pledges given by India to the Security Council the late Mr. Nehru has made the following solemn declarations:

*October 27, 1947* (Indian Prime Minister's telegrams to British and Pakistan Prime Ministers):

"Our view which we have repeatedly made public is that the question of accession in any disputed territory or State must be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people, and we adhere to this view."

*October 28, 1947* (Indian Prime Minister's telegram to the Prime Minister of Pakistan):

"In regard to accession also, it has been made clear that this is subject to reference to people of State and their decision."

*November 2, 1947* (Indian Prime Minister's broadcast to the nation from All India Radio):

"We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given (and the Maharajah has supported it) not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not and cannot back out of it. We are prepared when peace and law and order have been established to have a referendum held under international



to be a fair and just reference to the people, and we shall accept their verdict. I can imagine no fairer and juster offer."

*November 4, 1947* (Indian Prime Minister's telegram to the Pakistan Prime Minister):

"I have stated our Government's policy and made it clear that we have no desire to impose our will on Kashmir but to leave final decision to the people of Kashmir. I further stated that we have agreed on impartial international agency like U.N. supervising any referendum."

*November 8, 1947* (Indian Prime Minister's telegram to the Prime Minister of Pakistan).

"... Where the State has not acceded to that Dominion whose majority community is the same as State's, the question whether State has finally acceded to one or other Dominion should be ascertained by reference to the will of the people."

*November 21, 1947* (Indian Prime Minister's letter to the Prime Minister of Pakistan):

"Kashmir should decide the question of accession by plebiscite or referendum under international auspices such as those of United Nations."

*November 25, 1947* (Indian Prime Minister's statement in Constituent Assembly):

"In order to establish our *bona fides*, we have suggested when the people are given the chance to decide their future, this should be done under the supervision of an impartial tribunal such as the United Nations Organisation. The issue in Kashmir is whether violence and naked force should decide the future or the will of the people."

*December 12, 1947* (Indian Prime Minister's telegram to Pakistan Prime Minister):

"... I confess, however, that I find myself unable to suggest anything beyond what I have offered already namely, to ask U. N. O. to send impartial observers to advise us regarding the plebiscite."

*March 5, 1948* (Indian Prime Minister's statement in the Constituent Assembly of India):

"Even at the moment of accession, we went out of our way to make a unilateral declaration that we would abide by the will of the people of Kashmir as declared in a plebiscite or referendum. We insisted further that the Government of Kashmir must immediately become a popular government. We have adhered to that position throughout and we are prepared to have plebiscite, with every protection for fair voting, and to abide by the decision of the people of Kashmir."

"... Ultimately there is no doubt in my mind that, in Kashmir as elsewhere, the people of Kashmir will decide finally, and all that we wish is that that they should have freedom of decision without any external compulsion."

*January 16, 1951* (Indian Prime Minister's statement at Press conference in London):

"... We all agreed that it is the people of Kashmir who must decide for themselves about their future externally or internally. It is an obvious fact that even without our agreement, no country is going to hold on to Kashmir against the will of the Kashmiris."

*February 12, 1951* (Indian Prime Minister's statement in the Indian



Parliament):

"We had given our pledge to the people of Kashmir, and subsequently to the United Nations; we stood by it and we stand by it today. Let the people of Kashmir decide."

*July 9, 1951* (Indian Prime Minister's report to the All-Indian Congress Committee):

"People seem to forget that Kashmir is not a commodity for sale or to be bartered. It has an individual existence and its people must be the final arbiters of their future."

*January 2, 1952* "Kashmir is not the property of either of India or Pakistan, it belongs to the Kashmiri people. When Kashmir acceded to India we made it clear to the leaders of the Kashmiri people that we would ultimately abide by the verdict of their plebiscite. If they tell us to get out, we would have no hesitation in quitting Kashmir . . . .

"We have taken the issue to the United Nations and given our word of honour for a peaceful solution . . . . As a great nation we cannot go back on it. We have left the question for final solution to the people of Kashmir and we are determined to abide by their decision."

*June 26, 1952.* (Indian Prime Minister's statement in the Indian Parliament):

"If, after a proper plebiscite, the people of Kashmir said: 'we do not want to be with India,' we are committed to accept it though it might pain us. We will not send an army against them. We will accept that, however hurt we might feel about it, we will change the Constitution, if necessary.

"India is a great country and Kashmir is almost in the heart of

Asia. There is an enormous difference not only geographically but in all kinds of facts there. Do you think (in dealing with Kashmir) you are dealing with a part of U. P. or Bihar or Gujerat!"

*July 1952* (Indian Prime Minister's speech at public meeting in New Delhi):

"In any event, from the start India was committed to the principle of letting the final word regarding accession rest with the people of the princely States and there could be no getting away from that commitment. In fact, that was why India had accepted Kashmir's accession only provisionally in 1947, pending the expression of the will of the people."

*August 7, 1952* (Indian Prime Minister's statement in the Indian Parliament):

" . . . . With all deference to this Parliament, I would like to say that the ultimate decision will be made in the minds and hearts of the men of Kashmir and not in this Parliament or at the U. N. . . . First of all, let me say clearly that we accept the basic proposition that the future of Kashmir is going to be decided finally by the goodwill and pleasure of her people. The goodwill and pleasure of this Parliament is of no importance in this matter not because this Parliament does not have the strength to decide the question of Kashmir but because any kind of imposition would be against the principle that this Parliament holds. . . . If, however, the people of Kashmir do not wish to remain with us, let them go by all means; we will not keep them against their will, however painful it may be to us. We want no forced marriages,



no forced unions....

"I want to stress that it is only the people of Kashmir who can decide the future of Kashmir.

"I started with the presumption that it is for the people of Kashmir to decide their own future. We will not compel them. In that sense, the people of Kashmir are sovereign."

*August 20, 1953* (Joint communique by Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan):

"The Kashmir dispute was specially discussed at some length. It was their firm opinion that this should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people of that State with a view to promoting their well-being and causing the least disturbance to the life of the State. The most feasible method of ascertaining the wishes of the people was by fair and impartial plebiscite. Such a plebiscite had been proposed and agreed to some years ago. Progress, however, could not be made because of lack of agreement in regard to certain preliminary issues. The Prime Ministers agreed that these preliminary issues should be considered directly in order to arrive at agreements in regard to this. These agreements would have to be given effect to and the next step would be appointment of a Plebiscite Administrators."

*September 3, 1953.* (Indian Prime Minister's letter to Prime Minister of Pakistan):

"As a result of the plebiscite over the entire State, we would be in a position to consider the matter, so that the final decision should cause the least disturbance and should take into consideration geographical, economic and other important factors.

"I should like to make it clear

that there is no intention on my part to exclude the U. N. from this question of Kashmir."

*November 10, 1953* (Indian Prime Minister's letter to Pakistan's Prime Minister):

"You refer to the question of regional plebiscite. I can only repeat what I endeavoured, to put before you when we met. Our object is to give freedom to the people of Kashmir to decide their future in a peaceful way so as to create no upset as we said in our joint statement....

"Therefore, I had suggested that the plebiscite should be for the State as a whole and the detailed result of the plebiscite would then be the major factor as indication of the wishes of the people not only in the State as a whole but in different areas."

*February, 1954* (Indian Prime Minister's statement in the Indian Parliament):

"The Constituent Assembly (of Kashmir) did not come—it cannot come in the way of our observing our international commitments in regard to a plebiscite, in regard to anything."

*May 16, 1954* "India will stand by her international commitments on the Kashmir issue and implement them at the appropriate time.

"The repudiation of international commitments would lower India's prestige abroad."

*May 8, 1954* (Indian Prime Minister's statement in India's Council of States):

"Every assurance we have given, every international commitment we have made in regard to Kashmir holds good and stands. Difficulties have come in our way and may come



in its fulfilment, but the difficulties are not of our seeking but of others. But so far as the Government of India are concerned, every assurance and international commitment in regard to Kashmir stands."

*March 31, 1955* (Indian Prime Minister's statement in the Indian

Parliament) :

" . . . . Kashmir is not a thing to be bandied about between India and Pakistan but it has a soul of its own and an individuality of its own. Nothing can be done without the goodwill and consent of the people of Kashmir."



# 6

## NEWS BULLETINE

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A short account of war may be of great help in casting away certain doubts and understanding many a tricky point and puzzling problem with clarity and ease.



*Rawalpindi, Sept. 6.* The Indian armed forces this morning crossed the international border and launched an attack on Pakistan mainland on the Lahore front.

The Indian attack was preceded by heavy artillery shelling. Early morning the Indian air force strafed the area.

The Pakistan Army this evening recaptured the enclave south of River Ravi which was occupied by the Indian Army in the Jassar area of Lahore front in their first push early this morning.

In addition, the Indian enclaves north of the river were liquidated by the Pakistan Army.

In the Jassar fighting 200 dead bodies of the Indian soldiers were physically counted and listed after the enemy had been beaten back.

In the other two sectors of the Lahore front, Wagah and Bedian, the enemy has been halted, cornered and contained. The Pakistan Army is in full and effective control of the situation, as fighting goes on to throw the Indian aggressor back from Pakistan territory.

An official spokesman said that the enemy was only a couple of miles within Pakistan territory where they had been halted.

The spokesman pointed out that in their early push the Indians had seized the southern tip of the Pakistan enclave south of the River Ravi in Jassar area. When it was cleared the area was found littered with weapons and

equipment left by the fleeing Indians who had also left 200 dead. In other sectors of the Lahore front, namely, Wagah and Bedian, the Indian attacks were repulsed by the Pakistan Army with heavy casualties to the enemy.

A number of Indians were taken prisoner. The situation, according to the official spokesman, has stabilised at both Wagah and Bedian.

The spokesman said, a number of Indian tanks were also destroyed during the fighting in various sectors of 50-mile wide Lahore front.

The Pakistan Air Force continued its strikes on Indian ground forces and armour on this front.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 7.* India today opened a new front when its bombers made attacks on five towns in East Pakistan.

The Indians also extended their aerial operations to the whole of West Pakistan and bombed Karachi, Rawalpindi, and Sargodha. In East Pakistan the Indian Canberras bombed civil areas in Chittagong, Jessore, Lalmonirhat and Rangpur.

In all these attacks the civil population was made the target of the bombing.

The Pakistan Air Force destroyed 31 Indian bombers and fighters in one day today. This carries the total of Indian aircraft destroyed by the PAF to 53.

Indian aircraft made two attacks at Sargodha airport. Each time they



received humiliating defeat and lost nine jet bombers.

The Indian Air Force continued their unsuccessful attempt to attack the Pakistan Air Force base at Sargodha, this time sending bombers with 1,000 pound bombs.

The Indians launched a fresh attack with a full brigade about 10 miles from Wagah. The attack was a concerted push to get into Pakistan territory after bypassing our defences. The Pakistan Army promptly met the attack and beat back decisively and forcefully. The Indians suffered heavy casualties as a result of this unsuccessful aggressive measure.

Another Indian attack on a Pakistan position some eight miles south of Khem Karan in the Kasur area was also repulsed. In addition to the large number of casualties inflicted on the enemy, an Indian Major was taken prisoner.

*Rawalpindi, September 8.* The Pakistan Army has beaten back all the Indian attacks, consolidated its position and made "tactical gains" all over the Lahore front.

The Indians are being subjected to increasingly heavy pressure all along the front from where they launched their attack on Monday morning.

The Indians today opened two new fronts.

They violated border at three places in Sialkot-Jammu area but they had been beaten back.

The Pakistan Army knocked out 15 Indian tanks. Five field guns and a number of prisoners had also been captured.

The Indians today subjected Sialkot hospital and Civil Courts to indiscriminate shelling.

The other front opened by India was in Gadro area of Hyderabad where they captured two small isolated posts held by West Pakistan Rangers.

Here too the Indians were halted, resulting in heavy casualties to them. Counter measures were in hand to deal with the enemy.

In an encounter in the Chhamb sector heavy casualties were inflicted on the Indian troops when they tried to intrude into the freshly liberated area.

While withdrawing in a hurry the Indians left behind the entire equipment of one complete artillery regiment. A number of Indian tanks were also knocked out in the encounter.

Pakistan Air Force fighters today continued to give close support to the Army.

The Army bagged another Indian jet aircraft when it shot down a Gnat fighter bomber over Kasur area this morning. Another Gnat was brought down by machine-gun fire in the Narowal area yesterday. The pilot of the plane was killed.

The PAF bombers last night carried out low-level precision attacks on the Indian Air Force bases at Halwara, near Ludhiana, and Jodhpur inflicting heavy damage to the runways and destroying a number of aircraft.

One-fifth of the total strength of the Indian Air Force has by now been destroyed by the gallant and effective Pakistan Air Force.

According to well-informed sources the total estimated strength of IAF stood at 400 out of which 350 were operational planes.

More than 60 Indian planes have already been destroyed which works out to one-fifth of the total IAF



strength.

The PAF base at Sargodha which faced the heaviest brunt of the enemy attacks throughout the day yesterday was again raided last night by over 20 Indian Canberra bombers. The enemy attempted a low-level attack at the PAF but our interceptors prevented them from doing any damage to the base. None of our aircraft was lost.

The enemy also tried a high-level attack at Manora, Karachi, yesterday evening when Canberras dropped bombs. But no damage was done to any military installation.

*September 9.* Pakistan forces have thrown back the Indian forces in the Wagah, Jassar and Kasur sectors after some of the toughest battles. The fighting in these sectors is now being waged on Indian soil.

Heavy losses in men and material have been inflicted on the enemy who is under increasing pressure from the Pakistan forces even while withdrawing. A large number of Indian prisoners and equipment have been captured.

The Pakistan forces today pushed the Indians beyond the international boundary in the Kasur sector.

The Indians had already been driven out earlier from the Jassar and Wagah sectors with decisive counter attacks by the Pakistan forces.

The Pakistan forces today pushed the Indians further back in the Kasur sector, in spite of Indian resistance. The Pakistan Army is subjecting the withdrawing enemy troops to increasing pressure. Heavy losses have been inflicted on the Indians in this sector.

In the Wagah sector, Pakistan forces have driven the enemy out of Pakistan territory with a decisive

counter blow.

Already on the defensive, the Indian Army continues to lose ground under the relentless pressure which is being exerted and maintained by Pakistan forces.

All the Indian attacks in the Sialkot sector on Jammu front, which was opened on Wednesday, have been beaten back with heavy casualties to the enemy.

The Pakistan Army took particularly big toll of enemy armour in this sector knocking out 35 Indian tanks. In addition, five artillery guns have been captured.

India made a frantic bid to achieve results in Sialkot area and they reinforced the sector with more troops, weapons and equipment.

The fresh attacks were beaten back and the Indian advance was halted.

In addition to their bag of tank and artillery guns, Pakistan troops also captured five ammunition vehicles and four jeeps in the Sialkot sector.

At Jaurian in the Chhamb sector, Pakistan forces fully consolidated their position and continued to keep up the pressure on the enemy.

At Gadro on the Sind-Rajasthan front Indian troops have failed to make any headway and their advance has been effectively checked by Pakistani forces.

The Indians are reported to have been reinforcing their positions in this area. They have commandeered civilian trucks to move their forces to this sector.

During the fight in this area Pakistani forces inflicted heavy losses on the enemy.

The Pakistan Air Force carried out interdiction missions and a number of strikes on enemy positions in



close support of Pakistan throughout the day today.

Last night, the Pakistan Air Force bombers again bombed the enemy air bases of Pathankot and Jodhpur, and further damaged the runways and other installations.

The P. A. F. also acted in support of Army operations at different points. A number of tanks, guns, armoured cars, and other vehicles carrying troops were destroyed or damaged.

Indian planes, however, dropped bombs over Lahore Airport and tried to shoot down a small communications aircraft, which was slightly damaged, but landed safely at Lahore.

A number of Indian Canberras bombed Karachi last night. Indian bombers also attempted bombing attacks over Sargodha and Peshawar but no damage was done to any P.A.F. installations.

*Rawalpindi, September 11.* The Indian forces today once again attempted to rush forward in Sialkot sector, according to an official spokesman tonight. The enemy brought forward more Tank Units this time, and a fierce battle ensued with Pakistan Armour, which had knocked out 36 of the enemy tanks till this afternoon.

In the Lahore sector, the Indians made a bid to advance on the Harike-Burki road this morning, but their attempt was foiled with heavy losses to the enemy.

In the Sind-Rajasthan sector, the Pakistani Forces have recaptured one of the posts in the Gadro area, which the enemy had taken two days ago.

The Pakistani Forces have also captured another post of the enemy today further north.

In the Bedian-Khem Karan sector,

Pakistani Forces are making steady progress and have advanced well beyond Khem Karan.

In the Chamb-Akhnur sector, Pakistani Forces have captured another post north of Deva and are consolidating their positions, the spokesman added.

The Pakistan Air Force, according to a spokesman, today continued to keep the skies over West Pakistan clear of the Indian Air Force for the fourth day in succession.

The Pakistan Air Force fighter-bombers carried out strikes on enemy ground forces, armour and military targets in support of the Pakistan Army, destroying or damaging eight tanks, eight field guns, and about 15 military vehicles carrying troops P.A.F. fighter-bombers attacked a military convoy on the road near Gulmarg, and destroyed or damaged three tanks and 15 military vehicles.

In the Akhnur sector, our Forces have inflicted more casualties on the Indian troops and are consolidating their gains.

The Pakistan Air Force operating from East Pakistan destroyed one Hunter, one Vampire and a number of installations of the Indian Air Force when they attacked its base at Baghdogra in West Bengal.

Last night the P. A. F. bombers again attacked the Indian air base at Halwara and inflicted further damage on military installations there.

The enemy bombers, in large numbers, attempted indiscriminate raids on Sargodha and a number of other places in West Pakistan last night. No damage was done to any P. A. F. installations.

On the Sind-Rajasthan border, further enemy moves have been com-



pletely checked.

*September 12.* The heroic Pakistan forces, after a bloody battle, halted and beat back on Sunday the heavy tank attack of the enemy in the Sialkot sector.

The attack was launched by the Indians on Saturday and they used the major portion of their armour in it. The enemy had thrown 50,000 men into this fiercest battle of the war so far. One Armoured and two Infantry Divisions were deployed.

Our forces inflicted heavy casualties on the Indian troops. The enemy lost a total of 187 tanks and other weapons and equipment. Our losses in the battle were substantially less.

In Khem Karan sector, 358 Indians, including one Lt.-Col. Anant Singh, seven officers and 350 other ranks, surrendered to the Pakistan Army and were taken prisoner. Our troops have been mounting a steady pressure on the enemy. Here also the enemy suffered heavy losses.

In the Lahore sector, according to an armed forces spokesman, the enemy launched a number of counter attacks. All of them were beaten back with heavy losses.

Our forces have captured a number of Indian posts in the Sulemanki area. During the last 24 hours, however, there has been a comparative lull. In this sector, our forces have captured a sizeable chunk of the Indian territory and are now consolidating their gains.

The Pakistan Air Force did a magnificent job and destroyed 28 enemy tanks and about 123 heavy vehicles, including troop-carriers during attacks on the Indian Army positions on Saturday evening. The PAF operations were carried out in various sectors, in

close support of the Pakistan Army.

According to a Radio Pakistan report, the P.A.F. carried out a number of air raids on military targets near Amritsar.

Our bombers continued pounding the enemy air bases inflicting further damages to the Indian Air Force installations.

The enemy bombers came into West Pakistan on Saturday night and raided Multan and Nawabshah airports. But no damage could be done to any military installations.

Our forces have also captured another post well inside the Indian territory on the Ramgarh-Jaisalmir axis.

It has been reported that the Indian border police has vacated most of the border posts for fear of being captured.

According to another Radio Pakistan report, a post north of Dewa has also been captured by Pakistan and Azad Kashmir forces.

The Indian Forces in the Sind-Rajasthan sector have been routed by the Pakistan civil armed forces in that area.

According to official information received here tonight, the enemy could not withstand the attacks launched by the Pakistani forces and had to beat a hasty retreat back into its own territory having suffered heavy casualties and extensive damage to the equipment.

The Pakistan Civil Armed Forces have been pursuing the Indians and pushing them deep into their own territory.

The equipment captured by the Pakistanis includes a Shaktiman tank loaded with 120 mm. ammunition.

A few days back, the Indians had claimed that they had succeeded in open-



ing another front in Gadro area in the Sind-Rajasthan sector and has thus created a direct threat to Hyderabad and Karachi. This so-called Indian offensive was effectively halted by the Pakistan forces in the area right from the start.

*September 13.* The gallant armed forces of Pakistan performed some heroic deeds on Monday and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. In air and land operations, they destroyed nine aircraft and 47 tanks of the enemy, set two Indian Air Force bases ablaze and captured a number of enemy posts.

Thirty enemy tanks were destroyed or damaged when the Indians put in a strong attack supported by armour in the Khem Karan sector. The attack was repulsed.

Pakistani troops kept up pressure on the enemy in Lahore sector, repulsed several enemy attacks on Sialkot-Jammu sector, and forced him to withdraw, and captured Munabao railway station inside the Indian territory facing the Gadro sector on Jodhpur-Mirpur Khas railway line.

In the Ramgarh-Jaisalmer sector Pakistani forces have captured yet another post well beyond the Indian territory and are now consolidating their positions.

In Lahore sector after having been beaten back on Saturday, September 11, the enemy has not been able to make any headway in this sector. Our forces in this area have kept up their pressure on the enemy and have inflicted more casualties. Several more posts in the sector are now in our possession.

In the Sialkot-Jammu sector, the spokesman said that the enemy again made several attempts to advance into

our territory. The attacks were supported by air, armour and artillery. Not only were all these attacks repulsed by our troops but the enemy had also to withdraw on account of heavy casualties suffered by him.

Two enemy aircraft were also shot down by anti-aircraft artillery.

In Gadro area our troops are pursuing the enemy who had crossed a few days back and is now hastily withdrawing into his territory under the pressure exerted by our troops. Our troops have inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy and have captured a lot of equipment.

According to Radio Pakistan, the Indians have lost 209 tanks in seven days, fighting in various sectors' majority of them lost in Sialkot fighting, the biggest tank battle since the Second World War.

*September 14.* The Indian army was routed on all fronts and in the various encounters with our ground and air forces the enemy lost 14 more planes, according to latest information.

In Gadro (Rajasthan-Sind) we captured yet another enemy post and a lot of weapons and equipment. Fifty Indian troops were killed and 36, including an officer, were arrested in the encounter.

In Lahore sector, the Indians having suffered setbacks at all points where they had previously tried to advance, made a similar attempt in yet another area, but had to run back in face of stiff resistance and heavy casualties to them.

This time, the enemy launched attacks three times yesterday in Maqboolpur area but all these attempts failed.



One hundred and fifty Indian dead bodies have been counted in this area, and it is believed that at least twice the number has been wounded.

Five enemy tanks were also destroyed. One Indian army officer has also been taken prisoner. One of the Hunter aircraft which had supported this attack was also shot down by our ground forces.

In Sialkot sector, where a fierce tank battle had been going on for the past few days, the enemy yesterday did not make any effort to advance.

Our forces, according to the spokesman, have maintained constant pressure on the enemy.

Our forces in Khem Karan-Kasur sector yesterday shot down two Mystere aircraft of the enemy by ground fire. Our ground forces have inflicted more casualties on the enemy, and are consolidating their gains.

In Akhnur sector our troops have made further tactical gains. The enemy has suffered heavy casualties, both in men and material.

*September 15.* The Indian forces launched fresh attacks in Sialkot and Lahore sectors. They were beaten back with heavy casualties. Our forces are maintaining strong pressure on the enemy.

In the Sialkot sector in the morning our forces pushed the enemy back at a number of points and inflicted heavy casualties on him. Eight enemy tanks were destroyed in this encounter.

In the evening again the Indians launched an attack supported by armour, on two axes. Once again our forces foiled the enemy efforts. Our ground forces supported by the Air Force inflicted heavy casualties on the

enemy who was forced to withdraw.

In the Lahore sector also our forces have inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy and captured an officer.

In the Khem Karan sector our forces are maintaining constant pressure on the enemy and are consolidating their gains.

In the Gadro sector, our forces captured another enemy post. The Indian troops ran away as soon as our troops closed in on the post.

The fleeing Indians left behind their weapons and equipment.

Our ground forces shot down three Indian planes, two Gnats and one Hunter. All the three Indian planes fell into the Pakistan territory along with the pilots who were killed.

*September 16.* The enemy, who put in the bulk of his tank force in the Sialkot-Jammu sector, received a crushing defeat in a major clash with the Pakistan army.

In a fierce battle, the enemy attack, which he launched from two directions, was beaten back resulting in the death of hundreds of Indian troops. As many as 36 enemy tanks were destroyed.

In Wagah-Attari sector, the enemy has not been able to move even an inch forward over the last seven days, while in the Gadro area our troops have continued their offensive and are now dominating a large stretch of the Indian territory.

More details are now available of the battle that was fought on Wednesday evening by our forces in Sialkot-Jammu sector. The Indian troops had launched a strong attack from two directions. Their attack was supported by armour and artillery. As soon as the enemy started moving forward, our Air Force and artillery came into



action and caused substantial damage.

*Rawalpindi, September 17.* Pakistan army is now in control of about 500 square miles of Indian territory in various war fronts.

The area so far surrendered by the Indian army to Pakistan troops includes 200 square miles in the Chhamb-Jaurian sector (20—10 miles), 80 square miles in the Khem Karan sector (10—8 miles) and over 200 miles in the Rajasthan sector (20—10) miles).

Giving the breakdown of the area so far gained by Pakistan Army, a Government spokesman said this evening that in the two sectors of Wagah and Sialkot the desperate attacks of the invading Indian army had been beaten back and that the Indians had also suffered heavy losses in men and armour.

A fierce battle raged in the Sialkot-Jammu sector throughout yesterday. The official spokesman said that the Indian troops launched a strong two-pronged attack, using the same axes which they used twice before, and made a desperate effort to advance. The attack was met squarely by our ground forces which inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy.

The Pakistan Air Force dominated the battle area and helped the ground forces in beating back the enemy attack. By the end of the day the enemy had lost 51 tanks and 14 guns. The enemy infantry casualties are estimated to be in hundreds. We had only 12 casualties, the spokesman said. Fighting is going on on this front.

In the Kasur-Khem Karan sector, the enemy attempted two counter attacks but both were broken up by our accurate artillery shelling, before the enemy could make any headway.

Four enemy tanks were destroyed and our forces captured some bridging equipment also. One Austere aircraft of the enemy was also shot down by our ground fire.

On the Wagah-Attari sector no significant activity has been reported, except that there has been an intermittent exchange of artillery fire.

In the Gadro (Sind-Rajasthan) and Akhnur (Akhnur-Jammu) sectors, the Pakistan forces have maintained their pressure on the enemy. Our forces in Gadro area have captured more Indian territory.

The PAF continued to maintain a favourable air situation and directed its main efforts in close support of the Pakistan ground forces, during the past 24 hours. The PAF fighter-bombers destroyed or damaged 41 enemy tanks, during attack on enemy positions throughout the day yesterday, leaving 21 tanks in flames. They also shot down one Indian army observation plane and destroyed 21 heavy guns, two armoured vehicles and 11 other heavy vehicles during attacks in close support of the ground forces.

*September 18.* The Pakistan armed forces have so far destroyed 106 Indian Air Force planes besides damaging 17, according to the latest official figures.

Of them 88 were destroyed by the PAF, 15 by the Army and three by the Navy. In addition, the PAF also damaged 17 enemy aircraft.

The Pakistan Air Force bombers for the first time carried their attacks deep into the Indian territory when they struck IAF base at Ambala on the night between Friday and Saturday. Four Indian Canberras were destroyed. All our aircraft returned



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safely.

Today at 1-30 p.m. six Gnats of the Indian Air Force came to attack our ground position in the Kasur area. The PAF fighters intercepted them and shot down two of them while the rest escaped into the Indian territory.

The total number of enemy tanks destroyed by the Pakistan forces has gone up to 463. Besides, Pakistan Army captured 19 enemy tanks in perfect condition.

In day and night attacks during the past 24 hours, the PAF bombers continued strikes on an important railway junction in the rear causing disruption to military communications in the forward areas. After repeated strikes by the PAF on ammunition and supply concentrations, as many as 15 fires were left burning.

Our forces are maintaining pressure on the enemy in all sectors. In Sialkot-Jammu sector the enemy suffered heavy losses, both in men and material.

During past 24 hours, the enemy lost 12 tanks on various fronts, one of which was captured by our forces in good condition.

The enemy in this sector yesterday lost four tanks. In addition, one was captured. An Indian officer has been taken prisoner in this sector.

In the Wagah-Attari sector yesterday, the enemy made three limited attacks, but these attempts were foiled by our accurate artillery and anti-tank fire before the enemy could close in on our position. Our anti-tank guns and artillery destroyed seven enemy tanks. Ten Indians were taken prisoner in this sector.

In the Khem Karan sector, our forces kept pressing the enemy. Indian troops tried to counter-attack

twice yesterday, at a certain point on this sector, but had to withdraw because of accurate fire by our ground forces and the casualties suffered by the enemy.

*September 19.* The enemy got a severe beating in almost all sectors on Sunday when 41 tanks were knocked out and 130 Indians taken prisoner, including three officers and JCOs. Several hundreds were killed.

The PAF shot down one Hunter in the Sialkot-Jammu sector after a brief encounter this afternoon.

The Sialkot-Jammu sector remained the scene of fiercest battle where the enemy was badly mauled. In an early morning battle on Sunday, our forces inflicted heavy casualties on the Indians and took 109 prisoners, including three officers and four JCOs.

An enemy post was destroyed and heavy casualties were inflicted on him in the Rajasthan sector. A tank was knocked out and 150 Indian troops were killed. The total number of tanks destroyed so far is 494.

The Pakistan Air Force maintained superiority in the air and there was only spasmodic enemy activity over the battle area. The PAF continued to support our ground forces in the various sectors.

Enemy bombers attempted raids in Sargodha area last night. No damage was done to the PAF installations.

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 20.* Irrespective of whether India and Pakistan cease-fire in obedience to U.N. Security Council Resolution, the Revolutionary Council in Occupied Kashmir will continue its war of liberation, said Radio Sadai-Kashmir tonight.

"We are not concerned with the



decisions of the United Nations. Nor are we bound by what India or Pakistan choose to do," the Radio declared.

"If the United Nations had no respect for its own commitments made to the Kashmiri people seventeen years ago, it was ridiculous on her part to expect them to bow down to her dictates now," Sada-i-Kashmir observed.

*September 20.* India lost another four planes on Monday and remained under constant pressure of our forces in all the sectors.

Two planes, a Hunter and a Mystere, were destroyed by ground fire while two Hunters were shot down by the PAF fighters over Lahore sector.

The much battled area, the Sialkot-Jammu sector remained relatively quiet on Monday but our forces are dominating the battlefield and are mounting constant pressure on the enemy.

According to further details of Sunday action in this sector, our forces captured one more officer and 33 other ranks, bringing the total prisoners of war from this area to four officers, four JCO's and 135 other ranks. Two enemy tanks have also been captured intact.

Out of the 40 tanks which our forces destroyed on Sunday, the enemy had to abandon nine in the area, since regained by our troops. Our forces also hit a Mystere aircraft by ground fire. The aircraft was seen ablaze and a few minutes later crashed into enemy territory along with the pilot. The battlefield is littered with enemy dead bodies and wreckage of tanks, vehicles and other equipment.

The Pakistan Air Force bombers carried out successful precision attacks on the Indian Air Force bases at Ambala, Jodhpur and Halwara on Sunday night. They also attacked important IAF installations in Jammu on Sunday.

*Kabul, Sept. 20.* The Chinese Foreign Minister, Marshal Chenyi, made a brief stopover here on his way back of Peking and met the Prime Minister, Dr. Muhammad Yousuf, at his residence this morning.

Afghan sources said later that Dr. Yousuf and Marshal Chenyi discussed the Indian war of aggression against Pakistan.

*Lahore, Sept. 20.* The Indian and Pakistani jet fighters battled in the sun over Lahore on Monday afternoon, watched by thousands of residents of Pakistan's second largest city, writes John Chadwick, Reuter's special correspondent.

Pakistanis stood shirt-sleeved in the 90 degree heat and cheered as one of the six Indian fighters burst into flames and spiralled earthwards from the clear blue sky, trailing smoke.

It disappeared behind the rooftops in the direction of the fields north of the city.

The Pakistani F-86 Sabre jet-fighters chased the Indians at about 10,000 feet, weaving and twisting across the sky in the first dogfight witnessed by residents of this city 14 miles from the frontline.

I watched from the lawn in front of a city hotel, surrounded by scores of other visitors and the hotel staff.

The alarm siren sounded and anti-



aircraft guns boomed as the raiders approached the city.

White puffs of smoke from Ack Ack shells burst high in the sky in an attempt to down the Indian jets.

Then three Pakistani jets appeared and fastened on the tails of the raiders. Within five minutes one Indian jet was hit and spun earthwards.

The nearest remaining Indian jet was clearly seen diving and climbing in a long snaking pattern across the sky with a Pakistani jet on its tail, firing intermittent bursts.

Four fighters disappeared from view towards the Indian border with Indian still twisting to evade his pursuer.

A Staff Reporter adds: When the "clear" siren was sounded and the people saw that the PAF had shot down a Hunter and damaged another, groups of people, overjoyed at the performance of the Pakistan Air Force, raised slogans of "Air Force Zindabad."

A large number of people went to the place where the debris of the Indian plane was lying. When this reporter reached there some people had already collected small parts of the wreckage as souvenirs. Those who were unlucky contented themselves with charred earth which they collected in handfuls.

*New York, Sept. 20.* The Pakistan Law Minister, Mr. S. M. Zafar, warned the Security Council early this morning that if the basic cause of the Indo-Pakistan conflict was not eliminated, a further wider conflict was bound to result.

He gave warning immediately preceding the passage of a resolution which "demands that a cease-fire

should take effect on Wednesday, September 22, at 07-09 GMT" and also provides for consideration of steps towards a settlement of the "political problems underlying the present conflict."

The resolution, passed by 10 votes with Jordan abstaining, was evolved after day-long horse-trading by the Big Powers, principally the United States, Britain and Russia.

Mr. Zafar had asked the Council to reject the resolution on the ground that it only provided for direct talks. Pointing out that India was not prepared to negotiate, he emphasised that the Council must call for self-determination in Kashmir. He went to add that if India were allowed to get away with her usurpation of Kashmir "there would be no end of colonialism."

Mr. Zafar's charges about Indian intransigence were soon fully borne out when Mr. Chagla told the Council that while his Government were prepared to accept the cease-fire, the rest of the resolution dealing with negotiation of the Kashmir dispute was not acceptable. He pointedly referred to his own earlier statements and Mr. Shastri's letter to U Thant maintaining that Kashmir was an integral part of India and there was, therefore, no question of negotiations.

The Jordanian delegate supported Pakistan position by emphasising that the basic UNCIP resolutions on Kashmir should have been included in the present resolution. Was the Council "on the threshold of burying" these relevant and pertinent resolutions? he asked.

France, the Ivory Coast and Holland also underlined the necessity of tackling the basic problem of Kashmir



after the achievement of cease-fire. The American President of the Council uttered a lot of pious but vague hopes about an Indo-Pakistan settlement.

It is understood that much of the manoeuvring today was done by the Americans and the British. All they were interested in was the setting up of a time limit for a cease-fire. Their interest in a cease-fire was inspired principally by the consideration that once this was achieved they could resume their military aid to India. The emphasis on time limit was obviously inspired by considerations of Chinese ultimatum to India to dismantle her defence installations in the disputed territory by Wednesday.

Mr. Ramani, the Indian Hindu masquerading as the Malaysian delegate, was again openly hostile to Pakistan. Although he supported the resolution, he nevertheless made it quite plain that he objected to that part of the resolution which called for negotiations on the Kashmir dispute. Earlier, he was taken to task by Mr. Zafar for having cast aspersions on the creation and integrity of Pakistan and for having questioned the validity of the UNCIP resolutions.

*Karachi, Sept. 20.* Political observers here today contrasted India's abject pleadings for an immediate cease-fire with the bravado with which she had launched her ill-fated invasion of Pakistan.

Begging for an immediate cease-fire, Mr. Chagla told the Security Council on Saturday night: "We accept a cease-fire now and here unconditionally." This offered a sharp contrast to the jingoistic applause with which the Indian Parliament greeted the

War Minister's announcement of the Indian attack on Pakistan on September 6.

This abrupt change in India's attitude, observers said, springs from the change in her fortunes on the battlefield. In spite of initial advantage that all aggressors enjoy, the Indian offensive has not only been smashed but thrown back. In a series of powerful counter-thrusts, Pakistan has seized about 500 square miles of enemy territory. It has occupied about 200 square miles in the Jammu-Akhnur sector, dominating India's lifeline from Jammu to the Uri-Poonch area. Away to the south, the Pakistan Army has crossed the border into East Punjab, capturing the town of Khem Karan and occupying nearly 80 square miles of Indian territory. Further down, Pakistan has not only stemmed the Indian attack but also thrust far deep into Rajasthan, occupying nearly 200 square miles of Indian territory.

At no place has India achieved any of its objectives or even made strategic gains. Lahore stands out as a symbol of the frustrated ambitions of India.

Not only has India lost territory in senseless and futile invasion of Pakistan, added observers, but her armed forces also have been seriously mauled. Her armour has received crippling blows. According to an incomplete tally, 494 Indian tanks have been destroyed or disabled. The Indian Air Force has lost more than 110 aircraft destroyed and 17 damaged. There is no way to count Indian losses in guns, vehicles and other equipment. In one sector alone—that of Chhamb—the Indians left behind the entire equipment of completeartil-



lery regiment. The number of Indians killed in action exceeds 7,000.

The debacle of the Indian armed forces in their confrontation with Pakistan has exploded once for all the myth of the armed might of India and convinced the Indian war-lords once for all that Pakistan is invincible.

Contrasting the performance of the armies of Pakistan and India, Douglas Brown said in the *Sunday Telegraph* of September 12: "Victory now seems in Pakistan's grasp" and Charles Douglas Home of the BBC added: "Man for man, unit for unit, Pakistan's smaller army is at a higher standard of training than the Indian Army."

The *New York Times* of September 11, summing up the war news said: "Although India has made public no figures the Indian Army has apparently suffered extensive casualties in the last week. She has also lost substantial number of tanks, planes and other military equipment.... India was suprised by Pakistan's toughness and dismayed by world's attitude. . . . Prime Minister Shastri's Government may be looking for a way to end the war on a basis that could be explained to a roused nation."

As indicated by the *New York Times*, the Indo-Pakistan confrontation has also underlined the complete political isolation of India, the leading French paper *Le Monde* in its issue of September 16, says: "The Indo-Pakistan conflict has, in the first place, brought to light India's extraordinary diplomatic isolation. . . . No one has sided with India which, not long ago, was the respected leader of non-aligned nations."

The *Hindustan Times* (August 25) bemoans that "no country has declared

itself publicly to be categorically on India's side and this includes such friends as Egypt and Yugoslavia."

The Associated Press of America (September 16) quotes the Prime Minister of India as saying that the world opinion was going against the Indian cause. And an Indian leader Mr. Nath Pai, *Times of India*, Bombay (September 3), deeply regretted that "no Government has come forward to condemn Pakistan or support India...not a single Afro-Asian nation has given any indication of support to India."

Summing up the observers said: In this war the major casualty has been India's self-projected image of a strong peace-loving, neutral country. Her blatant acts of imperialistic aggression and reverses on the battlefield; her isolation in the chancellories of the world and her political and economic crises at home have dealt a shattering blow to India's aspirations as an Afro-Asian country of any consequences.

*United Nation, Sept. 20.* The 11-Member Security Council today called for a cease-fire in the Indo-Pakistan fighting, effective at noon on Wednesday, "as a first step towards a peaceful settlement of the outstanding differences between the two countries on Kashmir and other related matters."

The resolution, tabled by the Netherlands, provided for steps to be undertaken for a settlement of the political problems underlying the present conflict and withdrawal of all armed personnel back to the position held on August 5, 1965.

The resolution requested the Secretary-General to provide necessary assistance to ensure supervision of the



cease-fire and to exert every possible effort to give effect to the resolution to seek a peaceful solution and to report to the Security Council thereon.

The vote at the post-midnight session of the Council was 10-0 with Jordan abstaining.

The resolution made no mention of the possible threats for economic and military sanctions for non-compliance, as was earlier recommended by the Secretary-General.

Pakistan's Law Minister, Mr. S. M. Zafar who is leading the country's delegation to the Security Council, promptly registered his strong objection, "because the resolution made no provision for a plebiscite in Kashmir."

Exercising his right of reply Mr. Zafar took the floor to remind the world body that the people of Kashmir "must be allowed to record their true wishes on their future."

Mr. Zafar said that India did not offer a free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir under the United Nations auspices, because it feared the vote would go in favour of Pakistan.

"It is our earnest hope that the Council will have the determination, hope and strength to bring about the solution," Mr. Zafar added.

Mr. Zafar said, he had information that the Arab summit conference of Casablanca had called anew for settlement of the dispute by peaceful means and respect of right of self-determination, and had appealed to India and Pakistan to stop fighting and settle their disputes in accordance with U.N. resolutions.

"We are also asking the same thing from this Council," he said, "to determine clearly and without ambiguity that the right for determination

has got to be given to the people of Kashmir."

He said, that had been pledged and, unless it was given, their faith in the United Nations would be shaken.

The Security Council met at 08.53 WPST today after more than 14 hours of consultations in an attempt to end the fighting.

The United States and the Soviet Union joined early today in supporting the resolution.

Approval of the proposal was assured as the Security Council met in an emergency post-midnight session after hours of private negotiations.

The intensive behind-the-scene talks began yesterday morning and continued both during the afternoon and evening. U. S. Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, Council President for September, was reported to have talked to President Johnson at least once.

Mr. J. G. De Beus, the Netherlands delegate, putting the draft to Council, said it was in a much stronger language than previous resolutions which appealed for a cease-fire.

"The draft demands that it take effect on a given date and at a given hour," he said.

The Council has only on one previous occasion issued a demand for a cease-fire — during the Arab-Israel war in 1948.

Mr. De Beus asked that in view of the gravity of the situation, a vote be taken immediately on the resolution.

The following is the text of the Security Council resolution on the India-Pakistan fighting:

"The Security Council, having considered the reports of the Secretary-General on his consultations with the Government of India and Pakistan;



Commending the Secretary-General for his unrelenting efforts in furtherance of the objectives of the Security Council's resolution of September 4 and 6 ;

Having heard the statements of the representatives of India and Pakistan ;

Noting the differing replies by the parties to an appeal for a cease-fire as set out in the report of the Secretary-General (S/6683), but noting further with concern that no cease-fire has yet come into being ;

Convinced that an early cessation of hostilities is essential as a first step towards a peaceful settlement of the outstanding differences between the two countries on Kashmir and other related matters :

1. Demands that cease-fire should take effect on Wednesday, September 22, 1965, at 07-05 hours GMT and calls upon both Governments to issue orders for a cease-fire at that moment and a subsequent withdrawal of all armed personnel back to the positions held by them before August 5, 1965 ;

2. Requests the Secretary-General to provide the necessary assistance to ensure supervision of the cease-fire and withdrawal of all armed personnel ;

3. Calls on all States to refrain from any action which might aggravate the situation in the area ;

4. Decides to consider as soon as operative paragraph 1 of the Council's resolution 210 of September 6 has been implemented, what steps could be taken to assist towards a settlement of the political problem underlying the present conflict, and in the meantime calls on the two Governments to utilise all peaceful means, including those listed in article 33 of the Charter, to this end ;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to exert every possible effort to give effect to this resolution, to seek a peaceful solution, and to report to the Security Council thereon."

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 20.* The families of Central Government servants reported missing or killed in enemy action during the present emergency will be given immediate monetary relief, it was officially announced here today.

In the case of a Government servant reported missing, his family will be given an advance equal to 75 per cent of his pay and allowances at the existing rates for three months. It will be paid to his wife, to any other adult member of his family who undertakes in writing to be responsible for their upkeep.

If the missing Government servant reports himself for duty during this three-month period, the payment of advance will be stopped immediately. But if in the meantime he is reported killed, the advance for the remaining period will still be made but treated as an advance against family extraordinary pensions and/or gratuity due to him.

In the case of a Government servant killed due to enemy action, an advance equal to three months pay will be made to the member of his family entitled to receive payment after he undertakes the advance will be adjusted against the final amount due by way of gratuity and pension and provident fund accumulations, if any, which will be worked out and sanctioned as quickly as possible.

Payment of these advances will be authorised by the accounts officer on



the certificate of the the head of the department that the Government servant is reported missing or has been killed due to enemy action and that the identity of the claimant as a member of his family has been verified.

Action on these measures has started from the current month.

Similar measures are being taken by the two Provincial Governments in the case of their employees.

*September 21.* Pakistan Forces are dominating the battlefield in Sialkot and Khem Karan sectors and are engaged in aggressive patrolling in Lahore and Akhnur sectors.

In Rajasthan, they have penetrated further deep and are now in control of an area much larger than the previous one.

In the various encounters, the enemy lost ten tanks and three anti-tank guns. Besides our forces have captured six machine-guns, a jeep mounted with anti-tank gun, one ordinary jeep, three Dodges and three 2-1/2 ton vehicles.

The PAF interceptors on Monday night shot down one Indian Air Force Canberra when the enemy bombers tried an attack on Sargodha.

The PAF bombers attacked IAF bases at Adampur, Halwara and Jodhpur. At the last two, the enemy air force installations were set on fire.

*Sept. 22.* Pakistan Forces continued to dominate the battle front today. They pushed the enemy back from his advance positions in the Wagah-Attari sector and inflicted heavy casualties on him.

Our forces further penetrated into the Rajasthan area and captured six more posts.

The enemy was badly mauled in his attempt to attack Dali in this area. Five Indian officers, two JCO's and 90 other ranks have been captured.

Enemy attacks in the Khem Karan sector too were repulsed and a Hunter aircraft shot down.

Pakistan Air Force aircraft bombed the Indian Air Force base at Jodhpur and attacked enemy tank concentrations and gun positions in the Khem Karan sector on Tuesday night.

During the day, on Tuesday, PAF fighters destroyed or damaged 11 tanks, 25 heavy and medium guns, 39 vehicles and a number of ammunition dumps while providing close support to the Pakistan ground forces in various sectors.

According to latest reports, the Indian Air Force bombed a hospital and a village in Dali area in the Rajasthan sector today and caused damage to the hospital and civilian property. The IAF bombing also damaged two ambulance trucks and a civilian helicopter in the area.

Meanwhile, details are now available of the enemy's futile attempt to advance towards Dali in the same sector.

The enemy had attacked with more than one battallion. Pakistani forces in that area first lured the enemy into Pakistan territory and then manoeuvred to encircle him from the rear. In the encounter that followed Indian troops suffered very heavily. The battlefield is littered with enemy dead bodies, arms and equipment.

In this encounter, Pakistani forces also captured five Indian officers, two Junior Commissioned Officers and 90 other ranks. Mopping up operations are still in progress and more details



of enemy losses are awaited.

At other points in this area, Pakistani forces have made rapid gains and are still advancing in areas east of Munabao railway station.

In this sector alone, Pakistan Forces have captured 500 square miles of enemy territory so far.

It was also learnt this evening that in yesterday's battle in the Khem Karan-Hussainiwala sector Pakistan Forces destroyed seven Centurian tanks and captured one tank intact.

*September 23.* Indian and Pakistani Forces ceased fire at 3-00 a.m. on Thursday, but before the deadline, the beaten and frustrated Indians made several abortive attempts to regain ground. For these last-minute sneaky moves, the Indians had to pay heavily.

One of our Naval Units sank an enemy frigate—a small warship—when a few hours before the cease-fire Indian warships attacked our unit on the high seas.

An official spokesman said here today that "events have revealed a sinister purpose behind India seeking a 15-hour extension of the cease-fire deadline."

Even as India was informing the United Nations of her acceptance of the cease-fire resolution and asking for a 15-hour extension of the deadline, he said, Indian forces were massing for a major offensive against Pakistan in utter violation of the spirit of the cease-fire agreement.

The Indians obviously had made advance preparations for fresh attacks on Pakistan and their request for extension was not intended for communicating the cease-fire orders to the forces but for giving them more time

to launch their offensive against Pakistan.

Just a short while before the expiry of the original cease-fire deadline yesterday (12-00 noon WPST). India launched an offensive on two fronts with the help of fresh reinforcements.

While pretending to be getting ready for a cease-fire, it tried to move over an entire division to the Khem Karan sector. But all these last-minute bid to regain lost ground were frustrated and the enemy received terrible punishment, losing more territory into the bargain.

Similarly, on the Wagah front, India launched, at the last minute, a massive two-brigade attack but it was beaten back and the enemy got pushed back further in the process.

The obvious design was to surprise us with a last-minute attack before the cease-fire, leaving us no time for a counter-attack. But they were sorely disappointed.

Knowing the character of the enemy Pakistani forces were ready for just such a trick. Not only did they smash the offensive but also pushed the Indians back even beyond their original positions.

A similar fate befell the Indian Navy's first attempt of the war to measure strength with the Pakistan Navy. A unit of the Pakistan Navy was attacked on the high seas by Indian warships. Our Navy carried out a successful counter-attack and sank an Indian frigate.

The Indians' attempt to take advantage of an extended cease-fire backfired and cost them heavily in men, material and territory.

"According to the latest reports from Rajasthan sector, Pakistan forces last night captured two more officers,



five JCO's and 60 other ranks in Dali area.

"This brings the total of prisoners captured in this sector to seven officers, seven JCO's and 153 other ranks."

*Muzaffarabad, Sept. 27.* Pakistani Forces today foiled a number of attempts by Indian troops to occupy a feature near Shahkot, in Tithwal sector of Azad Kashmir, an official spokesman said here this evening.

The Indians shelled the area the whole day today. Shelling by Indian

troops was still going on when the last reports came in.

It has been reported that the Indian troops committed more cease-fire violations yesterday and occupied some places in Akhnur sector, which were not occupied by them before the cease-fire. They also put in attacks supported by artillery and mortars, to seize two posts in the same sector. These attacks were beaten back by our troops, and the casualties inflicted on the enemy were heavy, said an official announcement.



# 7

## SALUTE TO ARMED FORCES

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We are a small nation ; our armed forces are, therefore, proportionately small. We have limited resources which do not allow us to equip our forces with modern weapons of war. Naturally when in September last India committed an act of naked aggression against Pakistan our forces had to defend our sacred land with whatever war equipment they had.

But once our brave soldiers entered the arena of battle they proved beyond any doubt that superiority in arms does not necessarily mean victory. It is the firm faith in the cause of righteousness which finally comes out victorious.



*Rawalpindi, Sept. 17.* Standing on the Troti hillocks near Jaurian, one is wonder-struck as to how a well-entrenched army could flee from such a commanding position virtually without any resistance.

An APP correspondent who extensively toured the recently liberated territory of Chhamb area writes that the Troti feature which overlooks the vast stretch of land beneath could easily withhold any number of attacking columns for several days whatever the odds.

The Indians sitting in three-layer concrete trenches perhaps did not visualise that undaunted jawans of Azad Kashmir forces supported by the Pakistan Army could climb right up to their positions leaving no alternative with them but to surrender.

The fleeing Indian army could only stop in the outskirts of Akhnoor where gun battle has been continuing in the surrounding hills since then.

Although India has not even till now officially admitted that Jaurian has fallen to the liberating forces, the fact remains that the Crescent and Star National Flag of Pakistan is flying on what was once the luxurious dak bungalow of Indian officers while the Mujahids take leisure in the cool waters of the canal, which takes off from river Chenab a few miles eastwards near Akhnoor.

The Indian army's two mountain divisions plus infantry have now dug themselves in on the Akhnoor hills. The plains below, right from the boundary of Kashmir State adjoining Gujrat to the rugged terrain of Aknoor, is in the hands of the Azad Kashmir and Pakistan Army.

On the northern and western sides of Akhnoor hills runs the main supply line of India, an all-weather road from Jammu to Poonch passing through Akhnoor.

In the Chhamb area which fell on the very first day to the liberating forces on the first of this month, the Pakistan Army has since been busy collecting the abandoned arms and ammunition of the Indian Army. A number of dumps in this area were found intact and many vehicles left by the Indians are now being used by Pakistan Army.

A young Pakistani officer told this correspondent that during the last few days over 100 tons of explosives and ammunition had been collected from the Chhamb dump alone. From Chhamb to Jaurian towards Akhnoor one can see scores of damaged Amex tanks and Shaktiman trucks used by the Indians. Some of them are being repaired by the Pakistani technicians.

Between Chhamb and Jaurian runs the lower Tawi, a river which could have served as a natural defence line for Jaurian. The Indians could not take any advantage of this river either.

It seems that the retiring 20th Lancers of the Indian Army who were stationed at Chhamb had thought of only one strategy and that was to beat a retreat up to Akhnoor irrespective of any amount of humiliation.

From Chhamb to Jaurian, one sees along the road communication poles with wires intact. The Pakistan Army are now using this line of communications in the area.

Six of the right spans of the bridge under construction on River Tawi were almost complete and the bridge



was to be ready within this year. All the material for the bridge is lying near the site of the bridge.

It includes steel, cement and bricks in substantial quantity. An engineer of the Pakistan Army showed me the complete layout and drawings of the bridge and said it is not understandable as to why the Indians could not carry while retreating even this sketch map.

There are quite a good number of Hindus still living in their houses although the majority of them had been evacuated at the time the Indian Army launched its offensive across the Cease-fire Line.

Bhagat Ram, a Brahmin by caste whom this correspondent visited, said that he was being well looked after. His wife and sister were all praise for the authorities. The Hindu women folk freely move around, they said.

When asked whether they wanted to migrate to the Indian side of Kashmir, most of the Hindus said they would prefer to live here. They would be happy, they said, if the Muslims of the State were given the "raj" (government) of this land. "We have no quarrel with our Muslim brethren." "The Congress Walas in Delhi have ruined our homeland," they bitterly complained.

One of the refreshing features of the liberation of the Chhamb area is that it is one of the most fertile areas of Kashmir State. Canal-irrigated as it is, its greenery with rich orchards at once enchants a visitor. The area can well be compared to any part of Pakistan's colony districts. The Partab Canal with scores of its feeders is the main source of irrigation.

According to an estimate, about one lakh Hindus have left this area for India. Chhamb and Jaurian are

not small posts. They were medium-sized towns having high schools for boys and girls, post offices, hospitals and above all newly-built cantonments with playgrounds and recreation centres mostly on the banks of the canal.

*From the Front, Sept. 27.* "I was having a meeting with the Commander-in-Chief of the Army in his austere office," writes Mr. Altaf Gauhar, Secretary, Ministry of information and Broadcasting.

Stately, and forthright he had just come out of the Operations Room satisfied that the complex GHQ machine had operated throughout with absolute precision. The first impact of the enemy's treachery was quickly absorbed and thereafter every enemy move was forecast, analysed and foiled.

He looked at me, as one always looks at a publicity man, with undisguised curiosity. "You want me to tell you what happened out there. Why don't you go and see yourself?"

Before I knew, I was in a chopper, my shoulders and waist, strapped to the seat with the wind blowing through. A chopper, I realised in a moment of panic, expects its passenger to be well versed in acrobatics. It heaves itself into the air with one swift jerk and then merrily chops along at all angles.

Back on the ground, I was driven through a cloud of dust along a winding track. I was briefed and sent to the Brigade Headquarters in a forward area. The Brigadier, a debonair in his late thirties, explained the operations to me and concluded by saying: "I have learnt more in these 18 days than I did in the last war."

He showed me his forward positions well beyond the BRB Canal in



the Wagah Sector, and I talked to his men and their officers. They had been there in the trenches day and night. Around the trenches were deep holes to remind of heavy enemy shelling. They took the enemy on as he came and beat him back. They asked for no relief or support. In utter desperation, the enemy kept running in fresh troops and reinforcements and kept going back stunned by the determined blows which were delivered at him.

He had only one machine-gun, Havildar Sharif, and he kept changing its position to fire in different directions, until the enemy gave up, convinced that he was facing a strong gun position. "Later I captured an enemy gun," said the wiry Havildar, "and used it on him."

At a little distance, an enemy one thousand pounder was lying harmlessly in a field. They call it "dada." "Comes in useful when you need something to sit on," laughed Colonel Mirza, who had crushed a squadron of enemy tanks while protecting a bridge and the only injury he had to show for, it was a sprained ankle.

In 10 days, the enemy mounted more than 20 attacks each with two companies and a battalion and was not allowed an inch of ground.

"He acted like a sneak during the 15-hour extension," said the Brigadier, "the whole night there was a down-pour of artillery shells. It was quite a party."

I left this band of gallant fighters whose eyes were shining with the light of faith. "We have given him a bloody nose and he dare not move."

Back again in the jeep, the wind-screen pushed down for my convenience, and the wind rushing into my face I found myself on the Harike

Road. The young Major, who was driving, did not notice that I touched the seat only to bounce into air. We arrived in the Burki-Harike sector.

It was here that I met him, the first Tariq of this war. Modest, unaware of the significance of his achievement, Major Shafqat Baluch was the first to engage the enemy in the extreme forward position in this sector. He got the signal at 03-00 hours on 6 September and rushed forward with his Company.

"We had hardly started digging when the onslaught came. It was a whole enemy brigade which pressed down on this modest force. As the enemy tanks drew ominously close, Major Shafqat Baluch knew that the moment had arrived. He knew, he did not have the force to engage the enemy but he knew also that the first defence line needed time. He decided to open fire. It was a head-on clash—tanks against men. One, two, three, he knocked down the enemy tanks. Surprised by the stiff offensive offered by a thinly manned forward position essentially meant for patrol purposes, the enemy stood rooted to the ground in bewilderment. What had this Company Commander got which gave him the confidence that he could fight a whole brigade? What had he got indeed? The enemy regrouped and moved again, this time more vigorously from the flanks. Major Baluch repulsed the advance on one flank and turned to the other and put in all that he had. He hit him again and again and yet again. Minutes passed and turned into hours and he kept the enemy engaged hour after hour. For nine solid hours with no more than a company, he kept the enemy brigade and the enemy armour at bay. Every



time the enemy made a move he hit him in the face and sent him swirling back. Every single man in the Company was fighting the first battle of Pakistan. Inspired and dedicated, these brave hundred held their ground until the signal came to Major Baluch that he had accomplished his task.

With a bullet in his arm (which he described as a minor injury), Major Shafqat Baluch gave me the outlines of his action. He did not know that poems were being written about his Company, and the whole nation was admiring what he had done for Pakistan. An old Ravian, Major Baluch comes from Sargodha. In the last few days, he had acquired a beard. He is there, the bullet wound notwithstanding, ready and eager.

Between the 8th and 11th of September, the enemy launched seven major attacks in this sector, each one of which was repulsed. "He left here hundreds of dead bodies."

Major Baluch talked of his two companions, Major Raja Aziz Bhatti and Major Abdul Habib Khan. Both had their companies in the same sector and both of them laid down their lives while defending their positions. Major Bhatti had a distinguished record and was a winner of the Sword of Honour in 1950. He was ahead of his men facing enemy fire.

Major Abdul Habib Khan got a direct tank burst as he was handing out ammunition to his men.

It was the action in this section which contributed to the halting of the enemy advance on Wagah road. It was here that the enemy kept attacking for 18 days and 18 nights. It was here that the enemy ambition to get on to the main road was frustrated and paralysed.

These brave men had not time for rest. They had no use for rest. "The trenches are where we belong." The Commander-in-Chief had told me, "That is where we live and that is where we die."

This is my first glimpse of the place which is alive with deeds of heroism, deeds which will be immortalised by our poets and singers, deeds through which we have discovered our soul and on which will be based the history of our future.

*From the Front, Sept. 28.* The Brigadier, dynamic and bursting with energy, pointed out toward a small culvert on the Khem Karan distributary: "That is where I had my first anxious moment."

It was here that the first major battle of Khem Karan was fought. Near by, an Indian Centurion lay shattered. It had rolled over one of our bunkers, pressing the heads of our "jawans" who stayed there to knock it out. Beyond our forward positions I could still see the dead bodies of some Indian soldiers left behind by their fleeing companions. The air was thick with stink. It was here that the Indian force made a desperate bid to break through and suffered wholesale slaughter.

I walked up to the culvert, as the Brigadier told me the story of his first anxious moment.

The Indian tanks had rolled up to our forward positions and an intercepted message was urging them to cross the Khem Karan distributary. The Brigadier was informed that the forward posts were becoming an indefensible platoon. Commander Hayat, who was in charge of one of the positions, said that there was so much



dust, "I could hardly see anything." His first rocket landed in the sugarcane field. The second misfired too. "Four times I got on top of my Major's tank to spot the enemy moves. Eventually we hit the first tank, but the advance continued."

It was here that Maj. Khadim Husain got his opportunity to make the supreme sacrifice which altered the course of the battle. He was taking an ammunition convoy to forward positions when he saw an empty gun-position. The gunner had been shot and the enemy tanks were roaring down on that position. He got behind the gun, and hit one enemy tank and shattered another to bits.

The third one rolled over him, leaving nothing of the gun or the man behind it except a shining memory, which will for ever beckon others to the path of sacrifice, and glory. He lost his life, but saved the battle for Pakistan. The enemy advance was blunted, and soon the roar of his tanks turned into a wail.

Lt. Gill, who was in a Sherman tank, raised his hands and surrendered. The enemy was then mowed down, and the fields were left littered with bodies.

Maj. Khadim Husain was not supposed to be there, said the Brigadier. "He appeared from nowhere, and occupied the one gun that saved the battle."

The whole of Khem Karan lies prostrate at the feet of our brave soldiers who fought undaunted by the massive enemy forces. Every time it was a company against an enemy brigade, supported by an armour regiment. Every time, it was the same company facing fresh enemy troops. For days and nights our men had no

sleep, no wash, no change.

"How do you explain all this, Brigadier?" I asked. "I suppose," he answered thoughtfully, "poor planning. But, they never really closed up with the infantry. Never really wanted to come to grips."

It all seemed so mysterious. Was it the fact that our men never left a position once it was occupied? For them there was no going back. "It was always that last-minute effort which made the enemy lose nerve and break away," the Brigadier concluded.

In this sector, too, the enemy treachery during the 15-hour extension in cease-fire was repeated. He kept building his positions the whole of the 22nd of September. "I know it was going to be a difficult night." The enemy started shelling at 10-00 p.m. He must have fired something like 15,000 shells: the first at about 10-00 p.m. then at 2-00 a.m. and finally at 5-00 a.m. But, he was shelling the same position every time. For four hours he kept pounding at the same spot, and in the same direction. "We were nowhere near that position," observed the Brigadier with satisfaction. The enemy was taken on after he had exhausted himself, and his last-minute effort to make any advance in the Khem Karan area was finally and ignominiously repulsed.

Lt. Gill, who had surrendered earlier, confessed that they had been told that they would meet with no resistance, and the field was clear right up to Kasur.

I left the culvert, after paying my humble homage to the late Maj. Khadim Husain. I had tears in my eyes—tears of pride.

I saw at a little distance four



Centurions. As the Brigadier was pointing toward them, out popped from one of them a man with a thick, black beard. "That is Rizvi, one of our engineers. He is a fantastic chap. He has managed to pull four enemy Centurion tanks, abandoned by the enemy. He quietly slips into enemy territory under cover of night, fixes the tanks and brings them over. Makes quite a habit of it."

I came back through Khem Karan, past the headquarters of the East Punjab Armoured Police. The gurdawara is intact and humming with life.

At the operations room I was given details of the battles fought in this sector. The enemy objective was to cut through our defences on the BRB Canal. He launched successive attacks towards Bedian in the north, Balawal in the middle and Roohiwal in the south.

Every enemy advance was halted and repulsed. On Bedian alone the enemy launched 11 attacks, while he kept bombing civilians in Kasur. Our anti-aircraft guns brought down 11 Indian aeroplanes. Not only was the enemy advance repulsed, but our forces were able to establish a strong bridgehead in enemy territory. It was here that Col. Anant Singh surrendered with his battalion.

After the Staff Colonel had explained the operations, the General, in his soft and genial voice, said: "I would like to add two points.

"Our Air Force did a magnificent job in this sector. Every time they came they kept attacking enemy positions to the last minute of their endurance. And, it was in this sector that a battalion of East Pakistani soldiers had their first battle exper-

ience. They fought with tremendous courage and surpassed everything."

Before I flew away from this section I had a word with the East Pakistani stalwarts. Sturdy little fellows, with honey complexion and sparkling eyes, they fought the Sikhs and they fought the Gurkhas, and taught them both a lesson in the art of war. Behind them was fighting the whole of East Pakistan. "Since the enemy had not dared to cross into East Pakistan, we thought we will fight him here."

*Lahore, Dec. 1.* Cool courage, dogged determination and sheer valour of the Pakistan Forces in the Sulemanki-Fazilka sector humbled the might of the Indians. Pakistani troops not only successfully defended the important Sulemanki Headworks but also captured some 40 square miles of the fertile Indian territory.

While power-drunk hordes of the Indian troops embarked upon their futile three-pronged venture on Lahore on September 6, the Pakistan Armed Forces in the Sulemanki sector moved forward to the battle location. In the initial assault on the Indian positions on the 6th/7th night Pakistan captured Sadiqia and Pakka outposts. At Jhangar the enemy put up very stiff resistance. Heavy fighting ensued. The Indians received heavy poundings and were forced to leave their posts but got themselves strongly entrenched in the nearby open ground. From these positions they were literally bayoneted out by our valiant troops and the whole of Jhangar village was cleared of the enemy by 10 p.m.

The dismal failure of the ground forces to stem the advance of Pakistani forces unnerved the Indians. Next



morning in their anguish they sent in five Indian jet aircraft to assist their ground forces as also to destroy the Sulemanki Headworks. Indian jets carried out bombing and rocketing of the Headworks for quite some time. But fortunately for Pakistan, the Indians miserably failed in achieving their objective. As everywhere else their bombs fell quite off the target, four fell in the water and one on the Sadiqia Canal branch. Two rockets were dropped at Haveli, some five miles from the Headworks, killing two innocent civilians. The Indians also succeeded in killing two buffaloes. The Indian propagandists transformed the buffaloes into tanks and jubilantly claimed destruction of two Pakistani tanks.

The Indian planes vainly tried to demolish a watch tower on the Pakistan side of the border. This tower was being used by Pakistan as an observation post for directing artillery fire on enemy concentrations. Except for pockmarks of machine-gun firing the tower stands erect as ever ridiculing the "marksmanship" of the Indian pilots.

The Indians later moved in tanks to stop the advance of the Pakistani troops. Notwithstanding heavy odds our gallant forces continued their march forward, capturing one Indian post after another. They occupied Sawarwali, Chananwala, Khanwala, Tejasingwala, Khokhar and Maharsona. Indian posts GG1, GG2, GG3 and GG4 were also captured.

On Sept. 23, when cease-fire was ordered Pakistani forces were in occupation of nearly 40 square miles of the Indian territory. A vast cultivated area with ripe flourishing cotton crop fell to Pakistan. The enemy suffered heavily both in material and man-

power. Thirty-eight of his men were killed, 12 wounded and 14 taken prisoner. He left behind quite a large quantity of war hardware.

In this campaign, the Pakistani troops displayed remarkable fighting qualities. Their valour was recognised and amply rewarded. Lt. Col. Amir Hamza and Major Muhammad Aslam Janjua were awarded the coveted Sitara-i-Jurat. Sepoy Muhammad Asghar was honoured with Tamgha-i-Jurat.

The abject defeat at the hands of Pakistani forces was too bitter for the Indians to swallow. They were extra keen to accept the cease-fire "here and now." But on the quiet they were busy in a heavy build-up to wrest the lost territory from Pakistani forces.

On September 23, the Indians sent in a request for a meeting of the local commanders ostensibly to settle the details of the cease-fire line. The following day a meeting took place. The Indians demanded evacuation of Chananwala on the plea that it was occupied by Pakistan after the cease-fire. Pakistan forcefully denied the charge and refused to pull back. Instead, Pakistan offered to make Muthianwali an adjacent village, as no-man's land. This the Indians refused to accept.

On September 25, the Indian Brigade Commander, a Lt.-Col., and a captain met one of our battalion commanders in the afternoon. The Indian Brigadier told our representative that he wanted Pakistan to vacate Chananwala area. Our battalion commander replied that we had occupied the area before the cease-fire and there was no question of getting out of it. "We are here and we shall stay," he added. The Indian Brigadier looked at his watch. It was 16-35 hours. He said, "All right, I give you 25 minutes



to vacate Chananwala. If you don't, I will take it by force."

Our battalion commander said: "You are welcome." The battalion commander returned to his post and forthwith alerted his troops and at the same time informed the force commander about the challenge thrown by the Indian Brigadier and the time limit. Within minutes everyone was in position awaiting Indian action.

Exactly at 17-00 hours the Indian troops and tanks started advancing. The first round of shells from an Indian tank was fired ten minutes later. Pakistani guns were also opened up. So intense was the shelling that the whole area literally turned into hell. The enemy in his massive offensive had thrown in a Gurkha battalion to spearhead the attack. The Gurkhas fought in their traditional fierce manner but were thrown back badly mauled. Some of the Gurkhas, however, managed to infiltrate behind our defence lines. They were either captured or killed.

The battle lasted till 11 a.m. on September 26. The Indians were severely mauled and bled and were forced to request for a cease-fire. Our jawans put up a remarkable performance. Bravery of some of the officers and jawans was simply amazing. Hav. Anar Khan single-handedly knocked out two enemy tanks. He laid down his life to live for ever in the memories of his comrades and compatriots.

Young Lieut. Muhammad Saeed Tiwana set an example of leadership, cool courage and extraordinary valour. He was in a rear workshop to fetch a repaired tank. On hearing the battle noise, he hurriedly collected a crew for the tank and proceeded to the forward line. The massive artillery and tank fire from the enemy made it impos-

sible for him to see the troop position at Chananwala. He took the wrong route to the village Muthianwali which the enemy had occupied.

Fully conscious of the peril he was placed in, this officer decided to wrest the village from the enemy single-handedly. Unconcerned about the presence of a complete enemy tank squadron and a battalion around, he charged forth with the fiercest determination and fought out all enemy fire directed at him. A marathon fight ensued for over 90 minutes. The enemy mistook his one tank to be a squadron. He brought down the SOS artillery fire. This target was also being engaged by our own guns.

Caught between the severest of fire Lt. Saeed rammed a wall and entered a jawar field. He remained there later to benefit from his position. Meanwhile, a Gurkha company surrounded the field. Fortunately for him the dust kicked up from shelling made aimed fire impossible. After the fire stopped, he charged the enemy strong points again. He stopped only when his ammunition ran out but the enemy was forced to vacate Muthianwali village completely unnerved and disorganised.

Again at 3 p.m. Lt. Saeed proceeded to his troops position and directed fire from another tank at the vital target of the enemy. After a while he went again to Muthianwali and sprayed the whole area with machine-gun fire. This disorganised the enemy so much that his entire company which occupied the forward position at Muthianwali was either killed or captured at daylight.

Such deeds of exceptional bravery forced the enemy to request for a cease-fire. In the Chananwala encoun-



ter the enemy lost 140 killed, 54 wounded and 75 captured including two officers of the Gurkha battalion.

It would be of interest to know that the Gurkhas had made a solemn pledge to annihilate the Pakistan force in a matter of hours. They had promised not to take their meals before they had achieved their task. This was confirmed by the POWs. They were carrying their evening meals on their persons.

Ever since the Chananwala battle the enemy has been lying low. There have been minor violations of cease-fire now and then. Every time they open up they are hit back and silenced.

### 'OPERATION NEPAL' AND THE MEN OF STEEL

*Jehangir A. Khan*

Forty-eight hours before cease-fire, *The Times of India* carried on its front page a boldly displayed War Flash! Date-lined Sialkot, September 19, the news item stated: "The enemy has been cleared from the Jasoran area on the western side of the Pasrur-Sialkot Railway Line . . . our forces are now advancing south-west and have reached Butur-Dograndi south-west of Chawinda."

On the same date, and near about the same time, Indian News Desks were rushing the Sialkot war despatch to the Press, Pakistan's War Command were giving the final touches to despatches needing the Supreme Commander's approval; coincidentally these were closely linked with the action mentioned in the *Times of India* War Flash.

Four days later, the Pakistani war despatches were made public.

They concerned the acts of courage of 42 brave and valiant men—recipients of immediate battle-field honours.

The gallantry awards were conferred on them by the President for: "Holding and destroying the enemy's main offensive launched in the salient between Sialkot and Chawinda."

India's War Command baptised their main offensive "Operation Nepal": decoded this meant the Armour Putsch on the Sialkot Front.

The success of "Operation Nepal" would cut the Province in two halves and place under enemy occupation all territories up to the Chenab.

For a fast-moving tank force having the advantage of surprise, the operation was by no means an impossible feat. "Operation Nepal" was timed to go off on the night of September 7 exactly 24 hours after Lahore was invaded.

President Ayub Khan accurately summed up India's war aims and strategy in his momentous Rawalpindi Press conference: The enemy's plan expected to split Pakistan defence at two assault points at Lahore and Sialkot, then, pierce through with a lightning armour thrust.

In point of fact the fate of the entire Indian offensive on the western front hinged on the ability of Indian armour breaking through at Sialkot. The decisive battle tactic was a diversionary attack on the city, then a massive armour jab bypassing Sialkot to knife through Chawinda and stab West Pakistan's main supply artery—the Grand Trunk Road—anywhere in the vicinity of Gujranwala and Wazirabad. The manoeuvre would be followed through by encircling the defences of Sialkot and Lahore in



of Pakistan—lent resolution and confidence to the Indian offensive. Large amounts of Indian currency found on the enemy dead was for victory celebrations in the West Pakistan metropolis.

The entire operation was timed to end in 72 hours. Victory celebrations would be capped with a gala cocktail in the Lahore Gymkhana. A chosen section of the Press had been briefed to produce advance supplements of the subjugation of Lahore and Sialkot.

Foremost, the enemy banked on the element of surprise. Lahore had been attacked in the classic Sivaji tradition. The assault on Sialkot was equally treacherous.

On the midnight of September 7—zero hour on the Sialkot sector—enemy infantry ran through sleeping border villages to establish a bridgehead for the armour putsch.

On the morning of September 7, Indian Defence Minister Shri Chawan missed his date with the Lok Sabha. Reason: War Chief General Chaudhry wanted him for an unscheduled broadcast from Radio Pakistan. Instead of the victory broadcast from Lahore, the cheated Chawan hot-footed it back to New Delhi next day to announce to a hysterical and crestfallen House of the People: "Our forces have crossed the Jammu-West Pakistan border and are advancing." Lok Sabha and Junta-wise the fate of the Lahore offensive was sealed as a closely guarded military secret.

Delhi-based Pak journalists lingered in the lobbies long enough to politely inquire whether Shri Chawan and Saina-Pati Chaudhuri had an encore written into the Sialkot act?

The Indian Defence Ministry Communique chortled:

"The move will certainly split West Pakistan militarily. Lateral lines of road and rail communications will be cut. . . . Whatever doubts Pakistan might have had till now about India's capacity to do this have been dispelled by the new front opened at Sialkot" (*Times of India*, September 8).

Unsuspecting peasants fell by the score as the murderous surprise attack rolled down from across the border. The Indian armour was now hurtling through a 20-mile corridor in the first phase of a three-pronged attack.

Column one, smashed through Nakhnal and Dugri—east of Chawinda; Column two, pierced through Charwa-Chabara and Phillaura; and Column three, rolled down Mahrajke and Rajra-Ghari.

What follows is an account of the immortal saga of the battling 25th, its officers and men who overnight became a legend. For it was much later and after the Regiment had actually engaged the enemy that the 25th Cavalry discovered it was facing the full might of the frenzied armour offensive known as "Operation Nepal." A quirk of fate had chosen the youngest Regiment for the savage fight in which it was outnumbered 6 to 1.

This is the story told by the men who fought and lived the combat.

The field wireless at Col. Nisar's side crackled. It was early dawn of September 8—time 04.00. The C.O. of the 25th Cavalry heard his Brigade Commander, A. A. Malik, bark a sharp order, "The enemy has attacked; general line of advance Phillaura. Destroy him." The C. O. alerted his



Squadron Commanders. The 25th rumbled into action.

Major Muhammad Ahmad, commanding "B" Squadron, was assigned the task of blocking the enemy advance at Phillaura. Protecting the leading squadrons left and right flank were Major Raza Khan and Major Effendi. The enemy planned an encircling movement to attack Chawinda from the rear.

Minutes later, Major Ahmad's "B" Squadron had sighted the first enemy formation. The battle began with a crash of heavy guns. The Pakistani Squadron made a frontal attack and after a quick exchange of fire the enemy were seen to withdraw. Huge clouds of dust rendered visibility nil.

Later day descriptions have fondly described the terrain ideal for tank warfare. They overlooked an appalling handicap. The rain-parched rural countryside denuded of its fall harvest is a featureless sun-baked plain which billows with acres of dust in places a foot deep. The huge steel monsters (over 50 tons) churning through the fields kick up an avalanche of dust that engulfs the landscape and everything on it. One can only shoot at gun flashes as the target is almost invisible.

Taking advantage of the dust screen, the enemy withdrew to another small hamlet called Gadgore. In the engagement, Lance Dafadar Atta Muhammad was isolated. A troop of enemy tanks had surrounded him. Atta held his fire to prevent the tell-tale gun flash betraying his position. As the dust settled down he let go at close range. With dead accuracy his gunner Ghulam Jilani blasted four enemy tanks. Chawinda had produced

its first war heroes. Lance Dafadar Atta Muhammad and Sowar Ghulam Jilani were awarded the Tamaga-i-Jurat "for their act of courage and gallantry when faced with heavy odds." Approximately at the time Atta engaged, his Squadron Commander's tank was hit. Major Ahmad scrambled into another. This too was hit. He got into the third. He was again hit. This time Major Ahmad was not so lucky. Lance Dafadar Wahab Gul with great presence of mind pulled out his wounded Commander and defying the enemy's heavy shell-fire carried Major Ahmad to safety. In the process he was wounded. For this "act of courage Wahab Gul has been given the Tamgha-i-Jurat." Plucky Major Muhammad Ahmad got the Sitara-i-Jurat.

It was now Major Effendi's turn to engage the enemy. Major Effendi, swarthy and tough-looking, describes the engagement:

"A shell screams overhead; it comes from an enemy tank on our territory. I am bloody angry. I want to eat them up." As Major Effendi was planning "to eat them up," he learnt on the wireless net that the Regiment had its first martyr. Sowar Muhammad Karim of the leading Squadron was killed in action. Karim, it transpired, had "with great devotion and courage helped his wounded Squadron Commander when under heavy tank fire." For this act of gallantry Karim got the Tamgha-i-Jurat.

Major Effendi's action bagged four enemy tanks. The enemy had lost eight tanks in the engagement in the first round. Heavy reinforcements were now brought in. The Indians



had apparently decided that Gadgore was to be held at all cost. . . . It was on the main approaches of Chawinda.

On the left flank, Major Raza Khan saw the enemy forming up for a counter-attack. Swarming behind the Squadron of Centurions was a Company of Infantry 500 strong. Unless something were done quickly the position would be overrun. He took a quick decision. The only way to break up the attack was to launch one himself. He sought the C.O.'s permission to take on the enemy. The battle had now been raging eight hours. It was late afternoon. Tank operations would not be possible after sun-down. It was 5 p.m. when Major Raza decided to clear Gadgore of the enemy and if possible pursue him up to Chabara, the next village. The attack is described in Major Raza's words: "My hunch was that the enemy would expect us to take it easy after the hectic day-long engagement. In half an hour we organised the plan of attack and struck a little before sunset. Moving in from the flank my Squadron ploughed into them. It was a savage encounter. We accounted for most of the tanks with small damage to ourselves. Deprived of tank cover, the infantry company were pulverised. A number of machine-gun nests were wiped out and by dusk all signs of the enemy at Gadgore had been obliterated."

The September 10 issue of *The Times of India* recounting the battles of September 8 and 9 confessed, "The Defence Ministry admitted today that Indian troops suffered a substantial loss of armour in the fierce tank battle at Sialkot."

Gadgore, it turned out, was the

enemy Regimental Headquarter. Soon the suspicion was confirmed. Major Raza espied an abandoned enemy jeep. Deciding to search it for papers, he was climbing out his tank when crack . . . . crack . . . . two shots blended into a single explosion. Enemy snipers got him. He felt something sharply graze his forehead and at the same time a searing pain in the back of his head. His hand came away bloody as he touched his head. One of the boys fished out the First-Aid Box and he bandaged himself as best as he could. Documents secured, the position was consolidated. As a result of Major Raza's action, the momentum of the massive attack was arrested at Gadgore.

On the credit side, the day's battle gave Pakistan a bag of 15 tanks, a score of anti-tank guns and machine guns. Over 150 enemy dead lay scattered on the field. Most significant was the fact that 30 Pakistani tanks had fought a successful action against two full Regiments of near about 100 Indian tanks.

The Commanding Officer said later that when Major Raza turned up wounded he insisted that he should be allowed to press home the thrust. The mission to clear Gadgore had been accomplished with the destruction of seven more enemy tanks. Major Raza was sent back to base hospital. During this engagement Lance Dafadar Muhammad Aslam found himself stranded in enemy territory. He did not surrender or abandon his tank and kept the crew under control till Major Raza's attack recaptured the position. For this act of bravery Lance Dafadar Muhammad Aslam has been awarded the Tamgha-i-Jurat.



Major Effendi was rummaging through one of the captured tanks and looking around for "souvenirs" when he made a prize discovery. The operational documents recovered from the tank confirmed the full magnitude and force of the Indian armoured offensive. It was now certain that the enemy had launched its formidable first armoured Division on the Chawinda-Sialkot sector.

Recalling the incident wryly, the C.O. said: "At the time the realisation came as a shock. We had taken on the spearhead of the main attack and we could only attribute our success to the Divine Will.

The battle of Gadgore was a turning point in the campaign. The spearhead of the Indian armour offensive had been blunted by a pugnacious force one-sixth its size. It would be fatal to bypass Gadgore and expose an entire flank to the Pakistani hornets. This is one battle which had to be fought to its bitter end in order to pursue the planned tactic. Unless this were accomplished the entire Indian armour thrust on Sialkot would falter and eventually stall.

Consequently on the morning of September 9, the enemy sought air support. Heavy aerial bombardment and strafing was followed by a prolonged artillery barrage. H.E. (High Explosive) shells and mortar bombs showered steadily over the defenders of Gadgore. The wild salvos shattered everything in sight except the intended target. The expected attack consequent to shelling failed to mature. The enemy was averse to another tank engagement after the loss of a full squadron in the previous day's encounter.

Intermittent shelling was resumed on the night of September 9. The defenders believed that the counter-attack would be mounted the next morning—September 10. For the officers and men of the Regiment sleep or rest was out of the question; none expressed the desire for food.

The 25th had been in constant battle for 72 hours and was due for relief. At 3 o'clock past midnight September 10, the Regiment was moved back to Chawinda for rest. The men had barely relaxed when an SOS ordered them back to the front lines.

A determined and powerful counter-attack launched by the enemy had breached the forward defence and was now threatening the main approaches to Chawinda. The officers and men of the battling 25th eagerly looked forward to what they fondly considered had originally been their own show.

Adjutant Major Sikander substituted for wounded Major Raza. He was in a jeep and speeding headlong towards enemy positions when he ran smack into an ambush. Staring at him from a few hundred feet were enemy Centurions! With great presence of mind the Major did a quick turn-about and ducked into cover as enemy guns found their range. For Naib-Risaldar Sultan Bahadur there was no retreat. He sold his life dearly. Before he died the fighting Sultan had knocked out two enemy tanks.

By the dawn of September 12 the 25th Cavalry had once again stabilised its battle positions on the perimeter of Chawinda. Began the long wait. September 13, 14 and 15 were restricted to containing the enemy as



it probed soft spots for the planned break-through. A series of sharp frontal skirmishes took place. It was a rehearsal for the main attack.

On September 16, the attack came. The latest order from Headquarters said: "Hold Chawinda to the last man; to the last round." The battling 25th was now on the threshold of glory. The C.O. summoned his Squadron Commanders and tersely told his Squadron Commanders, "Gentlemen, we shall fight to the end. Good luck and Allah be with you."

Accounts of battles frequently suggest that the Commander has moved each of his formation around like men on a chessboard but this is seldom the way it happens. Conditions change with lightning speed; orders become inapplicable to the situation before there is time to carry them out. After the fighting begins, most decisions are made by the subordinate Commanders on the spot; junior Commander's actions assume greater influence; their errors of tactics, judgment and decisions may easily decide an action. Major Raza proved himself one such man. His colleagues describe the dapper blend and blue-eyed officer as friendly and unassuming. A quiet person but a fighting tiger. Back in command of "C" Squadron, Major Raza was assigned the left flank. He took up position between Chawinda and Jassoran.

Major Effendi was protecting the right flank between Chawinda and Dogranwali.

At 2 p.m. the enemy attacked the left flank. A savage encounter took place. Once again the natural dust screen concealed the enemy's move-

ments. Disengaging under the natural cover the enemy outflanked "C" Squadron in an attempt to assault from the rear and thus pave the way for the main armour putsch to Pasrur. After an hour of heavy battling, the enemy withdrew to a fruit orchard adjacent to the Dogranwali village.

An ambush was prepared to wipe out the irksome "C" Squadron. Major Raza decided to attack. He sought artillery cover. Lt.-Col. Nisar personally took charge of guiding artillery fire. Assisted by Major Sikander, the two crawled to a high mound identified as the Naugaza Grave—a prominent landmark on the Chawinda landscape.

As the barrage lifted, Major Raza mounted the assault. A vicious battle was fought. "C" Squadron rammed into the enemy, its tanks belching death and destruction. India's famous Poona Horse Regiment was fighting this action. It was a bitterly contested and pitched battle fought with unabated fury and the ground for miles around shook and reverberated as heavy shells tore across the orchards and fields and rent gaping craters where they fell. The attackers scored a direct hit on the enemy Commander's tank. It turned out to be the C.O. of the 17th Poona Horse famed as the "Fakhr-i-Hind" Regiment. News of the important casualty was picked up by our wireless net. Immediately afterward the enemy formation began to crack up. Now their tanks were on the run. One Company of enemy infantry was abandoned to the mercy of the fast converging "C" Squadron. By the time the action finished the Company had been completely annihilated. Some 300 enemy troops had died in the



action and a large number of tanks lay shattered. Major Raza's assault was totally successful.

Spectacular acts of heroism took place at Jassoran. It transpired that during the tank battle one of our tanks was hit and destroyed by enemy fire. The Tank Commander Lance Dafadar Ghazanffer bailed out with his crew. Unfortunately, however, gunner Sajawal was hit and could not take cover. Seeing his companions dash for safety, he called out to Ghazanffer. The Tank Commander had been pinned down by enemy firing and could not immediately come to the gunner's rescue. The battle was raging in full fury. Shells were bursting all around the tanks and the air was thick with sharpnel as Ghazanffer slipped out of his protected position and crawled back to his wounded Comrade. Sajawal was dead. Ghazanffer turned back to run the gauntlet of fire and death. He found himself close to an abandoned enemy Centurion. The intrepid fighter popped into it and took over the controls. He nosed the tank towards his lines. Major Raza saw the enemy tank bearing down for attack. As he zeroed his gun sights to blow up the intruder, the hatch opened and out popped Ghazanffer waving a white Dhoti.

A roar of hurrahs split the air as it was discovered that the tank belonged to the Commander of the 17th Poona Horse. It contained very valuable documents. For this act of courage and gallantry Dafadar Ghazanffer got the "Tamgha-i-Jurat."

Equally memorable and distinguished were the daring performances of Naib-Risaldar Muhammad-

Khaliq, Acting Lance Dafadar Saleem Akhtar and Acting Lance Dafadar Muhammad Saleem. During a crucial stage of the battle the enemy outflanked fighting Squadron at Jassoran. Muhammad Khaliq decided to checkmate the manoeuvre. In the attempt to run the deadly gauntlet of enemy cross fire to save the threatened flank his tank was destroyed. His posthumous citation reads "He held a strong enemy point against heavy odds till he was killed in action."

The sanguinary engagement had lasted one hour. It was now established beyond doubt that Sialkot was facing the main offensive on the Western Front.

On the morning of September 17, the battling 25th had re-established its left flank and cleared Butur-Dograndi of the enemy to which the *Times of India* referred in its September 19 despatch. Butur-Dograndi, a non-descript little village, was destined to become the graveyard of India's Armour Pride for the important Pasrur-Sialkot railway link was less than 2,000 yards from the enemy's forward positions. A counter-attack was considered imminent. The night of September 17 was tense. A strange quiet prevailed on the field which a few hours back had resounded to the savage din of battle. Very few had slept or eaten. The danger to tanks is greatest at night; the tank is "blind" and a sitting duck for marauding bazooka parties prowling in night patrols.

All day of September 18, the expected attack failed to materialise. Tension continued to mount as the uncertainty grew. The moon was near full, the sky very clear and not a



rustle stirred the trees or the nearby cane fields. The scene could not have been more serene or tranquil and yet it was macabre. In the eerie night shadows of the moon-drenched countryside lurked a thousand unseen dangers.

A pack of dogs shattered the morbid silence with a horrible chorus of howls. Major Effendi wisecracked: "Colonel, sir, do you think they mourn for us or them." "I asked him to shut up," said Col. Nisar, "and go show them off." Major Raza suggested that it would be wise to spread out since there was no point in everyone getting blown up in case of a direct hit. Saying this he moved off and stretched himself a dozen yards away.

Suddenly and with earth-shattering explosions, shells started to burst all around.

Enemy artillery cut loose with all its fire power and everything it had. A deadly barrage of shells screamed over and down on the scantily entrenched force. Each explosion seemed to tear the bowels of the earth convulsively as the bursting shrapnel ripped through the trees, shredding and striking them down like match sticks and pulverising everything which stood in the way.

A continuous sheet of flame flickered over the horizon setting it ablaze with a red glow. A heavy pall of acrid blue smoke drifted across the battle area mingling with huge dust clouds rising from a myriad of smoky shell craters. Though pinned down in their improvised dug-outs during the fireworks that pounded them for three hours, the small force miraculously escaped without a scratch.

There was a slight pause in the incessant barrage from the enemy batteries. Major Raza sprang out from the trench and made a dash for the tanks. Even as the artillery bombardment was resumed with savage fury the Major eased his Squadron out of the range of enemy guns. He was about to embark on an undertaking that would rank high in the annals of courage.

By first light, the enemy had advanced in Brigade strength up to the railway line running alongside Chawinda. The rail-road embankment provided sufficient cover for the attack force, consisting of a conglomeration of Gurkha, Sikh, Rajput, Jat and Marhatta units. Under cover of the night, long artillery barrage and their advance concealed by the sprawling cane and corn fields, the enemy had crept up to its assault position less than a thousand yards from the main road straddling Chawinda. This was to become the decisive action of the entire armour battle. I described this in Major Raza's words: "I suspected that the nightlong artillery barrage was a prelude to something big. My conviction was that the likeliest manoeuvre from the enemy viewpoint would be an attempt to encircle Chawinda from the rear and capture the vital rail link with Sialkot. Accordingly I moved my Squadron and concealed it behind a clump of trees in a way that would dominate the rail-track leading to Chawinda.

"The sound of running tank-motors would have betrayed our ambush. On second thought I switched off the motors and we waited. The tension and suspense of the long wait is agonising. The deathly stillness and



the bleak and desolate battlefield inspires strange thought. It is not the fear of death or oblivion. It is the tingling sense of danger almost sensual which stimulates one's inner self preparatory to combat," said the young Major describing his feelings. "And what of your thoughts, Major?" I asked. "Did you think of your folks, or family and perhaps your infant son you had barely seen when duty beckoned?" He looked a trifle lost at that. His steely blue eyes softened and his lips curled into a hint of a smile. "Now that you ask, it seems so queer. I didn't think of any of those things. They all seemed so remote and so obscure. But I certainly had other things on mind," he added. "I seemed to be living a familiar scene; of course, with a slight difference. For this was no sand-model exercise. This was the big moment. All that we had learnt through the vigorous years of training was on trial and human lives were at stake. Valuable tanks manned by dear comrades who had toiled side by side and who were prepared to die on a word of command became the biggest reality. One shuddered with the total sense of loneliness and responsibility. Images of my brother officers filtered through the mind. I thought of Captain Mahmud Ali Durrani manning the nerve centre day and night and who would rather die than let communication fail. He was perfect even when exposed to heavy enemy shelling. Captain Farrukh—Technical Adjutant—who made sure that the Regiment was roadworthy and was well supplied. He had acted as recovery officer and also replaced Major Ahmad when the latter was wounded. Major Sikander

dashing and keen who assisted throughout and who replaced me when I was wounded. And last but by no means the least Lt.-Col. Nisar, our Commanding Officer, whose deep concern for us had driven him like a dynamo all through our crucial days. Always at our side and looking after his Regiment, and inspiring them to give their best. There were the jawans—sowars to us—whom we were proud to lead. The toughest, and most loyal body of fire-eaters who would not hesitate to charge the enemy on foot and tear them apart when occasion arose. I felt my spirits surge and soar. My thoughts were interrupted by an urgent whisper. It was one of the boys who said, Sir, I think I can see them creeping forward on our side. Immediately I alerted the Squadron. Then I heard our own war-cry and it kept coming closer to our position. I wondered how the 'Na'ara-i-Haidry' was being raised in the enemy positions. The battle-cry came still nearer. Then one of my boys sighted a shadowy figure. He whispered: 'Sir, the jawans are in Sabz Wardy (the enemy wore battle green).' I cautioned silence. Apparently the attack force was still not aware of our presence. We had spread out in crescent formation. At the crack of dawn, the enemy line stood up and advanced on the double. Still they had not espied us. As they saw the kutchra road ahead a full-throated cry of *Jai-Hind* went up. They charged. We opened fire and simultaneously I ordered the assault. Full throttle, all guns ablaze we bore down on the surging waves of the attackers. The unexpected suddenness and hurricane fury of our momentum had a sledge



hammer impact. The enemy reeled under the onslaught and scattered in disarray.

"The enemy defence disintegrated and panic set in. Our machine-guns mowed them down in heaps. As the infantry formation broke and ran we chased them across the railway line and beyond.

"Inexorably and relentlessly the battling 25th's phalanx of fire and steel converged on the enemy's field headquarter. No escape was possible. Within close range of our machine and tank guns, the enemy's will to resist was totally shattered. They surrendered *en masse*." From his tank turret, Major Raza Khan witnessed a scene that would for ever sear itself on his memory. The stench of death was in the air. It looked as if a gigantic meat cleaver had clawed and hacked human bodies into mangled pulp. They lay grotesquely scattered on the battleground which appeared as if struck by a cataclysm. The battlefield reeked of death and desolation.

From their lofty perches atop the shell-blasted trees, denuded of foliage, buzzards peered down at the putrifying and tragic remnants of the attack force. Of what was once a thousand strong battalion, only five officers and 105 combatants lived. They were rounded up. Major Raza Khan, whose Squadron was deployed in that area, took immediate command of the situation and personally led the attack of his Squadron and succeeded in pushing the enemy out of our territory. It was due to his complete disregard for his personal safety and determined action that the severe enemy attack was repulsed with very heavy losses. For this gallant perform-

ance he has been awarded "Sitara-i-Jurat".

Lt.-Col. Nisar was also given the "Sitara-i-Jurat" and Major Sikander received the "Imtiaz Sanad".

In the Honours List the Battling 25th now occupies top position.

The rising sun of September 19 shown brightly over Chawinda. The small shell-scarred village stood as a defiant symbol of the faith, courage and valour of Pakistan's "Men of Steel."

In his address to the recipients of the "immediate gallantry awards" General Musa observed: "Your valour, heroism and chivalry will illuminate the pages of history. And the deeds you have performed on this battlefield will be everlastingly written in the book of Pakistan."

These words are a compelling epitaph of what the Indian Army had fondly baptised "Operation Nepal."

## INDIANS HUMBLLED IN JAISALMER SECTOR

Pakistan Desert Force was assigned the task of defending a vast frontage, an area of 250 miles right from Bahawalpur down to Ghotki. This was a stupendous job particularly when the bulk of Pakistan forces were engaged in frustrating the evil designs of the enemy to storm Lahore and Sialkot with all its might. Along the border in this area lies the Cholistan Desert which in many respects is a miniature Sahara. For miles together there is nothing but a never-ending chain of sand-dunes, small and big. There are virtually no lines of communication, barring a few



tracts, where powerful yet light vehicles like jeeps get bogged down negotiating one dune after the other. Two or three trips from one post to another are enough to call for a replacement of transport. Water is an extremely rare commodity.

Notwithstanding the hazards involved, our Desert Force not only accomplished the task of safeguarding the frontier but took the enemy by surprise. On the night of September 8/9, Pakistan force took a very bold and courageous action and mounted attacks on two Indian posts in the Jaisalmer area. The enemy was shocked beyond recovery at the quick action. He put up some resistance and hurriedly packed up and fled for his life. Important Indian posts of Achchitoba and Sadhewala were captured.

Having consolidated their gains, the Pakistan Desert Force continued forward patrolling of the enemy area. Probing missions to gauge the enemy strength and build-up were also sent out one after another.

In this difficult task Pakistan forces were admirably assisted by Mujahids from the border areas and Hurs who are the followers of the Pir of Pagaro. These sons of the desert are not only fully conversant with every sand-dune in the area but are known footprint experts. They could make out with ease how many heads of cattle and men were there in a given area, when were they last there and where they had gone. They also could make out if any stranger had been there.

Information thus collected was sifted carefully. After taking into account the resources available, our forces decided to deliver a really hard punch at the enemy. On September 21/22 night an all-out attack was

launched on a number of enemy posts spread over a vast area in the Cholistan desert. In this spectacular assault Pakistan forces captured Shahgarh, Ghotaro Fort, Bhuttewala, Longanewala, Dharmi Khu, Serkaritara, Sanchu, Raichand Maleshar and Kishangarh Fort.

The whole action was so masterfully planned that the enemy could do very little to defend the posts. The going for Pakistan forces through the desert and across the soft, shifting sand-dunes was extremely difficult. At places some of our vehicles got bogged down deep into the sand and some failed to negotiate high sand-dunes. But the assault proceeded apace after transferring the urgently needed equipment and men into the transport that sped further up. In most of the posts the enemy offered little resistance. He ran away post-haste. But wherever he put up a fight he was overpowered.

The object of the operations in the Jaisalmer sector was not so much to conquer a vast enemy area but to frustrate any enemy plan to concentrate at these posts and then pose a threat to Pakistan by opening up yet another front.

Every Indian post that Pakistan captured was tactically very important for the enemy. Almost all these posts have a reservoir of water. Two forts—the Ghotaro Fort and the Kishangarh Fort—need special mention. They are 300 to 400 years old. Although they are rapidly on the decay because of lack of maintenance, yet they look impressive. One can see the glimpses of their past glory. The Kishangarh Fort is the old Dingarh Fort. There used to be a mosque there of which one can only see the outlines.



Around these forts, as also near other posts, live Muslims of Sindhi stock. In the whole area of about 1,000 square miles now under Pakistan control there were only a handful of Hindu Banyas who ran petty shops and prospered on usury. They would get their "pound of flesh" even if a Muslim had to part with his sole means of livelihood—his herd of sheep or a few camels. The Muslim population of the area is happy and is co-operating with Pakistan forces.

As is their wont, the Indians have been desperately trying to regain the lost territory violating the cease-fire. They mounted several attacks ever since. They desperately tried to recapture Ghotaro Fort on October 12 with the help of artillery fire and air strikes. But at the intervention of the UNIPOM the firing was stopped. Only the other day the enemy launched a heavy attack on one of our posts near Sadhewala. Our forces are ready as ever before to meet the Indian challenge and frustrate the enemy designs.

## RAJASTHAN : MOODS AND MOVES

*By A. R. Siddiqi*

After about three hours of hard jeep riding, the desert suddenly gave way to thinly-grown oasis. That was Dali which means a banquet in Urdu. The sun by now rode the sky in full glory and was close to the meridian. Tiny sand molecules peppered my face and pricked at the back of my nape; the wind hit one in the face like a blast from hell. The force commander and his officers were received by the unit commander. The unit headquarters offered much the same spectacle

of quiet efficiency and neatness as the force headquarters. Here also was a reception or recreation room described as the "Hotel Continental." On one side of the wall newspapers and journals were neatly lined up with placard in front, saying, "Don't take me along please." Dali is about 33 miles south of Khokrapar and is a vital point on the Chhachharo-Umar Kot Gadaro-Khokrapar axis to Hyderabad. The Indians first tried to capture Jaso Ka Par, about five miles from Dali. They were looking desperately for water and Jaso Ka Par was the only place in the area where water was available. When captured, a number of Indian soldiers confirmed that they were part of an advance party looking for water.

Subsequently, the Indians mounted a full-scale offensive against Dali and came in for heavy punishment from the Pakistan Forces. The Indian officers, following their reverses, flashed false messages of their successes to their own force headquarters. But it did not take the world long to know the terrible fate which the Indian army met here at the hands of Pakistan Forces. In a day's operation they lost three tanks, about 33 vehicles of different kinds and a whole bag of light machine guns, sten guns, 303 rifles and 3" mortars.

The unit commander said that it took them a whole week to salvage the weapons and equipment left behind by the fleeing Indians. The Indian casualties included about nine officers, 12 JCOs and 170 other ranks. Some 200 were taken prisoner. In all, nearly two complete Indian infantry battalions, namely, the 5 Marhattas and 7 Madras, were practically wiped out and removed off the Indian order



of battle. The battalion headquarters at Dali was completely blasted and occupied.

Fighting continued throughout the night and the Indians were completely trapped. Taking advantage of the darkness, however, they fled for their lives without once looking back. "There seems little doubt," remarked the unit commander, "that once beaten and demoralised the Indians do know how to run for life. They make excellent fugitives from the vicissitudes of war."

The place proved to be the movie-man's paradise and he let his camera whirr merrily taking shots of the Indian tanks and vehicles which are now being put to better use by the Pakistan Forces.

Smarting under the burden of their crushing defeats, the Indians tried desperately to avenge themselves after the cease-fire. They launched their so-called "Operation Liquidation," which was a mad attempt to recover and reclaim the ground they had lost to the Pakistanis during the actual fighting. They attacked Sohala and Kelnor posts, both lying vacant at the time. This was done after the U.N. Observers had already carried out a survey of the area and seen for themselves that the posts were on the Pakistan side captured during action well before the cessation of hostilities.

In their usual manner, however, the Indians showed little regard for either the U.N. Observers or the facts of the situation. They went on with their sly, sneak manoeuvres until the Pakistani forces retaliated, and after a strong counter-attack threw them reeling back with heavy losses.

In the action that followed the

Indian 4 Marhatta Light Infantry and the 3rd Guards received a severe drubbing and the battlefield was covered with their dead bodies. The prisoners confirmed that the 4 Marhatta was so badly mauled that there was hardly anything left of it. The survivors fled towards Barmer in complete disorder to lick their battle wounds.

Latest Indian army messages as intercepted by our forces confirm that all the battle-battered Indian battalions are now being regrouped obviously with a view to launching fresh attacks.

We had a wholesome lunch at Dali with chicken, rice, cutlets, vegetables, fresh fruits and lots of Cokes to wash it down. An iced Coke may mean very little in the club; but in the desert it tasted like nectar and every sip of it put new life into us. Full credit must be given to the Army administration under which all the fresh supplies and drinks were being conveyed daily from the rear to the forward-most outposts. On the contrary, the administration arrangements on the enemy side had virtually collapsed, and the Indians, when captured-asked for nothing else but food and water. In many cases they were found to have remained without either food or water for days together. While the Indian troops were thus starved, it was strange that where hard liquor was concerned they seemed to be generally quite well provided for. The idea was obviously to keep up their sagging spirits. They often came drunk but would raise their hands at the first sight of our forces without offering any resistance.

The Indian military adventure in Rajasthan was foredoomed to failure.



so tired and famished that they cared for little else except for a mouthful of food and a drink of water. Needless to say, they were given both plentifully, in keeping with the hospitality which the Pakistan Forces never fail to extend to the POWs.

The Indians had launched this concerted attack against our northern salient in complete disregard of the complaints already lodged with the UNIPOM by Pakistan concerning their repeated violations of the cease-fire line.

As I arrived at the Sundra post, an IAF Vampire zoomed overhead, committing another of the numerous violations of our airspace. The Vampire came low but in a split of a second turned on its tail and disappeared for life much in the same fashion as the Indian foot-sloggers in the ground action. Incidentally, this incident occurred on the day when the Chief of the UNIPOM, Major-General Bruce McDonald, along with several of his staff officers, was himself on a visit to the Rajasthan area.

For me, talking to the men and officers in the Rajasthan area from Dali and Monabao in the south to Sundra in the north, was not only excellent education on the course of events in the area but also a source of great inspiration.

Our victory over a much superior enemy was a triumph of undaunted courage, great morale, an unflinching faith in our cause, full trust in God, perfect team-work and camaraderie. Unlike the Indian army, where the jawans hardly ever saw their officers, our officers worked side by side and shoulder to shoulder with the men under their command. It was the complete confidence which the men

had in their officers which made them take any number of risks any time, anywhere. As an Indian POW said, their officers "drove" rather than "led" their men. When the battalion headquarters at Dali was captured, the commanding officer was not there; the prisoners confirmed that in the thick of the battle, the C.O. had gone to the rear on the pretext of bringing up rations.

Another Indian POW, a JCO, confessed that most of them did not even know the names of their brigade and divisional commanders. "The only time, I ever saw our brigade commander was," he said, "when the brigadier sent for some of us to give us a rocket for our bad performance during the battle." On our side, the officers went into the attack in leading waves at the head of their men. On a certain occasion, an artillery officer volunteered to command an infantry post.

It was this spirit that accounted for our many victories and successes in Rajasthan. We were thin on the ground, but our morale was high and our resolve to meet the enemy and crush him completely was firm as a rock. Above all was the mutual trust and confidence that existed between the high and the low, the men and the officers and the spirit of a collective enterprise that pervaded the rank and file from the top to the bottom.

## THE CHHAMB BREAKTHROUGH

*By A. R. Siddiqi*

The Chhamb Operation was a masterly combination of lightning speed, superb strategy, bold tactics, and, above all, of an unparalleled



courage and determination of our men and officers in the face of a well-entrenched and fully fortified enemy. It swept the enemy off his feet completely, and its dramatic sweep left him utterly stunned.

Within five days of the crossing of the cease-fire line, the Pakistan Army, operating in close support of the Azad Kashmir forces, was in full possession of Chhamb, Dewa, Sukrara and Jaurian and dominated the area within four miles of Akhnur. In addition, it captured a large number of the Indian prisoners of war, most of them Sikhs, 42 artillery pieces along with an enormous amount of ammunition and 24 tanks of which 21 were runners.

The artillery pieces also included the "Chhamb di Rani"—an affectionate appellation given by the Pakistani gunners to a 25-pounder gun abandoned by the Indians in their disorderly flight. During a visit to the Chhamb area the Commander-in-Chief very graciously presented the "Chhamb di Rani" as a war trophy to the battery operating with the forward battalion which captured the line of the river Tawi, south of the cease-fire line.

The Chhamb operation was undertaken by the Pakistan Army on September 1, in reply to the repeated serious violations of the cease-fire committed by the Indian army in the Tithwal sector, and their concerted thrust against the Haji Pir Pass. The Indian army took advantage of the fact that the pass like the three Kargil posts that they re-occupied earlier, was thinly held by the Azad forces.

The Indian attacks came in strength supported by the divisional artillery. It was a wholly unequal battle, and its outcome, a foregone conclusion,

reflected little credit on the skill and prowess of a professional army. The Indian strategy underlying the capture of the Haji Pir Pass and the elimination of the Uri-Poonch bulge formed a part of their grand design to conquer the whole of Azad Kashmir. This was the task given to the Indian C-in-C direct by his Government. In this, however, he and his army failed wholly and miserably. The timely move made by Pakistan forces in Chhamb not only fully contained the enemy in the Tithwal sector but also forestalled his further aggressive moves towards Bhimber and Muzaffarabad. Henceforward, the Indians were put wholly on the defensive in Kashmir, and the oft-repeated threats of their leaders to cross the Cease-fire Line where and when they chose, fell flat with a bang.

It can't be said that the Indian forces were taken by surprise in the Chhamb area. It was their most well-defended locality "like the Maginot Line itself" as a commander described it. The area had been fully fortified with concrete bunkers and traps baited with 106 mm. recoilless guns all along the line of the river Tawi and across. Luckily for them also the river which is normally fordable, was in spate at the time the Pakistan forces launched their attack. Besides, the area on both sides of the river also enjoyed excellent natural covers, like tall thick grass, trees and hillock which made it ideal for anti-tank defence.

In short, conditions would not have been more ideal for the Indians to stem the Pakistani advance. But the speed with which the Pakistani forces forged ahead so unnerved the well-entrenched Indians that they scurried out of their concrete bunkers like a pack of frightened hares and,



instead of engaging the advancing forces, sought refuge in a hasty retreat.

Unlike the Pakistanis, the Indians also enjoyed full knowledge of the ground which they had been holding for the last 18 years, but neither their weapons nor their knowledge of the area stood between them and their disorderly flight once they were within sight of the Pakistani troops.

There is no doubt that in addition to their great morale, and superior tactics the Pakistani forces also showed what Clausewitz called a rare "sense of locality" in their onward march towards Jaurian. It was this uncanny sense or feel of the ground which enabled our forces to skirt around the well-concealed enemy weapon traps and get on to his rear in a wide outflanking move thus surprising him completely. The enemy, banking too much on the Pakistanis' unfamiliarity with the area, ruled out a frontal attack against their well-defended positions. A concerted frontal attack could have possibly led to a possible delay in Pakistani advance, but our commanders knew better, and let the enemy vanguard wait in vain until it was too late for him. Within four to five hours of H-hour, the Pakistani forces had completed their outflanking manoeuvre making Chhamb from the right and Sukrana from the left.

The sudden unexpected appearance of the Pakistanis from the rear threw the Indians into complete confusion. In sheer desperation they offered stiff resistance throwing all their men and wherewithal into the action that ensued. The Indian artillery, anti-tank weapons and machine-guns opened up and belched fire and thunder from all sides. It was a pitched battle lasting

for about five to six hours. As usual the Sikhs came in the leading waves while the others, mainly the Jats and the Rajputs, made good their escape by crossing the river Tawi. Such was the haste shown by the fleeing Hindus that they left their vehicles with the ignition on. At a point in the Tawi, an Indian tank with its guns trained on the Pakistani side was found intact followed by a Shaktiman truck and a jeep. With a little courage and patience the Indian tank crew could have easily opened up its guns against the Pakistan pursuers, but that was precisely what the Indian army never seemed to have.

The Pakistanis chased them ceaselessly without taking cover or positions, as the Indians ran "like hell." It was obvious that the Indian soldier did not have his heart in the battle and never for once believed in the cause he was supposed to have been fighting for.

On September 2, the Pakistan forces were in full possession of Chhamb, Dewa and Sakrana. Since the Tawi was in a medium flood a bridgehead had to be established over it, and by midday next day our troops broke out of the bridgehead and made up to the general line Pallenwala on way to Jaurian. The enemy after his hasty flight from Chhamb had time enough to build up his defences in depth and as we advanced his resistance stiffened. The Indians had their anti-tank defence specially strengthened here. The ground being boggy also suited the pattern of their anti-tank defence. At Troti which was the main defence for Jaurian, the Indians had concentrated the bulk of their armour and infantry supported by divisional artillery.



It was at Troti that a major armour battle ensued, and for a little while the enemy did seem to force a stalemate. The leading Pakistani squadron contacted the enemy at Troti. It closed in with a complete armour regiment of the enemy followed by an infantry battalion. Owing to the proximity of the river Chenab, the ground was soft and swampy and therefore not ideally suited for lightning tank manoeuvres. Fierce fighting ensued on contact with the enemy which continued throughout the night. The leading squadron took the enemy on frontally and engaged him so thoroughly that the remaining component of the Pakistani armour developed an outflanking movement. The enemy had the distinct advantage of having his infantry well dug-in in the area, but despite that, and concerted artillery support, was presently on the defensive and started to thin out by the next morning (September 5). On the same morning Jaurian fell.

Troti in the Chhamb area was a great triumph for the Pakistani armour and a severe blow to its Indian infantry armour and artillery concentrated there well in advance of the Pakistani move. The Indians knew that Troti was the gateway to Jaurian and were therefore naturally quite sensitive to its occupation by the Pakistani forces. They also knew that the Pakistani attack was coming and had made all the preparations to meet that. But when the attack came, the Indians found themselves as helpless against it as at other places before. The Indian armour was thrown into the affray mindlessly, and the infantry fought shy of closing in with our defences and carrying out physical assault. On the contrary, the Pakistani

armour fought boldly and aggressively. While developing its outflanking movement it almost ran into mine-fields to overrun the enemy gun positions. Whether it was the leading squadron engaging the enemy frontally or a manoeuvre from the flank each move was carried to a finish. In addition to heavy ground fire, the enemy also enjoyed aircover as its fighter aircraft came in waves to attack the Pakistani positions. But a singular lack of co-ordination and timing rendered the Indian operations largely ineffective.

The secret of Pakistan's success at Troti, the key point on road to Jaurian lay not in the superiority of her forces but in the perfect co-ordination amongst her armour, artillery, infantry and other arms and services.

Chhamb proved to be the graveyard of the morale of the Indian rank and file. As the Indians fled from the area they dropped whatever they had from the field guns to their field rations. It was also here that Brigadier Behram Master of the Indian army was killed and his jeep was captured by the Pakistani forces. An officer of the battalion which captured the command jeep retains the late Indian brigadier's briefcase as a war trophy. The Pakistani breakthrough in Chhamb shattered Indian war machine in the area to pieces. For miles around one could have seen the land strewn with its remnants. There was everything that a professional army needs and the Pakistan army did put it to better use. From the amount of food and other accessories that the Indians left it also appeared that the Indian army suffers from a chronic imbalance in its tail-to-tooth ratio. It was clear that the Indian army had an inordinately large administrative tail, and their



officers fought like pampered princes rather than professional soldiers.

Hundreds of bottles of spirituous drinks were found littered all over the place: mess wine registers showed that almost cent per cent of officers were classed as "drinkers," and in one company only three other ranks were "non-drinkers." Medicines like Salon's Linament (for muscular pains), Vision eye drops and packets of water sterilisers were recovered from officers' jeep and bunkers.

Their double-decker bunkers were like mini-fortresses and they drew their strength from their concrete-walled safety. Once out in the open they would feel utterly defenceless and take to their heels at the first sight of the Pakistanis. That explained the pill-box complex or Maginot-mindedness—a strange psychological aberration, which the Indian soldiers, both men and officers, had acquired while facing the Pakistanis.

The fall of Jaurian came as a stunning blow both to the Indian army and the Indian politicians. From here the Pakistanis dominated their entire line of communication in Kashmir—a fitting reply to the Indians' manoeuvres in the Tithwal sector.

Quite significantly, the day after the fall of Jaurian, India mounted her treacherous aggression against Lahore thus carrying the war from the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir to the international boundary line. The centre of gravity shifted suddenly from Chhamb to the Wagah-Attari, Jammu-Sialkot and the Rajasthan sectors. In all these sectors, India was thoroughly frustrated in her evil designs against Pakistan. Not only that the Pakistan Army was soon able

to carry war into the Indian territory as Khem Karan, Munabao and areas beyond the Sutlej river near Fazilka fell to the Pakistan Army one after another.

In Chhamb, the Indian army, despite continuous pressure and reinforcements failed to make any tactical or strategic gains. The Pakistan Army kept them well in their place until the Indian Government sued for peace and accepted the cease-fire on 23rd September. Soon after the acceptance, however, the Indian army started indulging in wanton violations of the cease-fire. In Chhamb they had been particularly sensitive to a salient called Kali Dhar about ten miles northeast of Chhamb. From here the Pakistanis dominated Akhnur-Nowshera-Rajauri road.

Within three days of the cease-fire the Indians started encircling the area and presently mounted a brigade attack against a company position of the Azad Kashmir forces. The attack was preceded by night-long artillery shelling but the Azad Kashmir company not only held out but also repulsed the Indian attack with heavy casualties. Some 350 of the enemy dead were physically counted on the spot.

Despite the heavy cost in term of human life (mostly Sikhs) the Indians continued their attacks against the feature. For them the cease-fire did not mean a cessation of hostilities, but a covert and surreptitious campaign for land-grab based on seize-and-fire. According to the diary of an Indian battalion commander, Lt. Col. Satranjan Singh of the 2nd Grenadiers, in spite of the cease-fire there was no respite for the Indian troops as "thoughtless and purposeless



orders were given to keep the fighting on."

By sheer weight of numbers and supported by the divisional artillery, the Indians were able to capture a portion of the salient. But for that they had to pay a staggeringly high price of about 800 to 900 men and officers killed. An Indian prisoner of war, an NCO, confirmed that they had been ordered to continue violating the cease-fire line and playing "Kabbadi, Kabbadi" (a wrestling bout) with the Pakistanis. They came in waves with the Sikhs invariably in the vanguard and the Gurkhas following them. Needless to say that they suffered the maximum casualties.

As in other sectors, it has been a very uneasy truce in Chhamb with the Indians never missing an opportunity to violate the cease-fire line in a bid to regain the ground they lost during actual fighting. But the Pakistan forces are keeping the Indians well on their side. Our guns are trained on their vital positions, and they are ready to open up should the Indians refuse to behave.

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 3.* The story of the heroic capture by Azad Kashmir forces of an important hill feature in the Kotli sector during the Indo-Pakistan war and its determined defence by them against repeated Indian attempts to recapture it, can now be told, writes an Army observer.

The feature, known as Mahl, is situated on a 5,138-foot high ridge on the other side of the 1949 Cease-fire Line. It takes some extremely tricky hill-climbing to reach it. A constant challenge, the Azad forces captured it during the war with masterly strategy and heroic fighting, leaving the enemy

stunned by their virtually super-human achievement.

The feature soon became an eyesore to the Indians and a glaring symbol of their inferiority as soldiers.

Consequently, with their customary disregard for international agreements, the Indians were committing countless cease-fire violations in the area, mounting one treacherous attack after another, to regain the lost ground.

But with their undaunted spirit and indomitable will, not to mention their superior fighting skill, the Azad forces have, however, held the enemy at bay and blunted all his attacks.

The Indians commenced their preparation for their onslaught on the post immediately after the cease-fire deadline on September 23, when, relieved of the pressure of fighting in the surrounding areas, they disengaged as many of their troops as they possibly could.

Soon they massed a force of one full brigade and looked for an opportunity to launch a major offensive on the captured post. On the Azad Kashmir side, the post was defended by only a small force of the A. K. troops led by a young and valiant Lieutenant Rabnawaz.

On Oct. 6, after sunset the enemy guns opened fire on the post from three different directions: their deadly recoilless rifles from the right and left flanks and 3.7 inch howitzers and 25-pounders shook the ground and virtually smashed everything that came their way. Yet, as the smoke cleared away, the post could still be seen intact, still confidently held by Lt. Rabnawaz and his men.

The artillery barrage was followed by a brigade attack. Company after company was deployed by the enemy



as the terrain did not let him deploy more troops at one time.

As darkness enveloped the hills, the first wave of attack hit the post. The challenge was resolutely met. The Azad troops fired back at the enemy with their infantry weapons and small arms and bitter fighting ensued. Two of the enemy companies attempted to advance from the left and right sides of the post, while a third tried to climb up from the front. Their objective seemed to be to overwhelm the Azad defenders by sheer number and storm the post.

The Azad troops, though thoroughly outnumbered and equipped with inferior type of weapons, fought gallantly. Two Indian platoons which managed to advance to within a few feet of Lt. Rabnawaz's position were immediately engaged in a bitter hand-to-hand fighting. The Lieutenant personally accounted for at least six of the enemy soldiers killed by his own Sten gun and grenades before he was seriously injured by an enemy grenade which landed direct on him.

As the brave leader had to be evacuated, the command of the Azad troops devolved on Sub. Mohammad Yaqoob Khan, a dauntless veteran. Shortly before midnight, there was a brief lull in the fighting and the enemy brought up fresh troops. Half an hour later, he made his second major attempt to dislodge the Azad Kashmir forces. This attempt too was resolutely and firmly foiled. The enemy then desperately made a series of attacks with short pauses for breath and replenishment in between. Fighting went on until the small hours of the next morning.

At about 3-30 a.m. on Oct. 7, the enemy made one final onslaught, mak-

ing full use of mortars, machine-guns and artillery. He came in wave after wave only to be repulsed and driven back. Once again, an enemy platoon commanded by Maj. Sethi managed to come close to Sub. Yaqoob's position, but the Subedar, with four of his men, immediately engaged it in a hand-to-hand fighting as his leader had done a little while earlier. Meanwhile the rest of the troops defended other vital positions all along the post.

At one stage during the bitter hand-to-hand fighting, the Subedar suddenly found his Sten gun damaged. Discarding it, he charged at the enemy with a hand-grenade and then leapt for rifle from one of his own jawans positioned nearby. The Indian Major, finding the Subedar unarmed for a moment, drew menacingly closer but at this critical moment Sep. Gulzar, firing from behind a chinar tree, took a deadly aim and killed the Indian on the spot.

In the latter part of the fierce battle Sub. Yaqoob had to pass his words of command by shouting to his men. His telecommunication apparatus had been damaged. When he tried to use his wireless set, it did not connect him with his battalion commander. Luckily, another officer of the Azad forces positioned in a different part of the same sector, though not directly involved in the battle picked his voice and passed his message on the battalion commander.

This lucky chance gave an opportunity to the commander to ask for artillery support and soon the enemy forces storming the post came under heavy shelling. The Indians then lost all hope of recapturing the post and withdrew leaving the Azad units in full command of the strategic post.



The morning of Oct. 7 saw the entire range of hills around the post littered with the enemy dead and wounded. According to a conservative estimate, the enemy lost at least 500 of his men including two officers, lead by Maj. Sethi and Lt. Khera, besides a huge quantity of weapons and ammunition.



# 8

## SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT AYUB

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President Ayub firmly believes in a dynamic and democratic leadership. Right from the day he came into power he has been working hard for the prosperity and solidarity of Pakistan. His untiring efforts have given political stability to the country. The reforms introduced by him in various fields of national development would go a long way in the history of Pakistan. This has endeared him to every Pakistani.

But the sagacity, wisdom, foresight, vision and courage with which he acted and guided the nation during the recent war with India has undoubtedly made him a national hero. The inspiring speeches he made during this period are marked with his abiding faith in an Absolute Power, his love and respect for Islam, his country and her people.

The next few pages contain some of his spirit-infusing speeches.



Sept. 1, 1965. I am speaking to you tonight under the threat of war in Kashmir which is being forced on us by India. The exchange of desultory fire which had been going on for months across the Cease-fire Line in Jammu and Kashmir, has now assumed a grimmer aspect. In certain sectors the armies of the two countries have clashed.

Failing to suppress the freedom-fighters in the occupied territory of Jammu and Kashmir, India has embarked on a course of aggression across the Cease-fire Line. Indian artillery firing across the border on August 23 hurled several shells into village Awan of Gujrat district, destroying houses and killing 20 innocent people and injuring another 15.

This was preceded by persistent violations of the Cease-fire Line, a glaring example of which was the re-occupation of the three vacant posts on our side of the Cease-fire Line in the Kargil sector. It is significant that this forcible re-occupation of the posts came within hours of the threat extended by the Indian Prime Minister in a public address in Delhi. The Indian Defence Minister later confessed in Parliament: "Whenever India had found it necessary to cross the Cease-fire Line to defend it, she had done so, and I have no doubt we are ready to do so again."

This readiness to use force in defiance of international agreement was further demonstrated by fresh incursions in the Poonch-Uri sector. These blatant acts of aggression cannot and shall not be allowed to go unchallenged.

The world might well ask why the Indians are so anxious to precipitate this war. The answer is simple:

the Indian rulers find that their adventure in imperialism which started with the subjugation of Junagadh and Hyderabad and later brought Goa under their occupation is in serious jeopardy in Kashmir. The people of Jammu and Kashmir who had been living under Indian colonial oppression have risen in open revolt. The Indian attempt to dismiss this popular uprising as the work of some infiltrators from across the Cease-fire Line is a pathetic attempt at deluding the world and will deceive no one who is even vaguely familiar with the history of the freedom movement in Indian-occupied Kashmir.

The Kashmiris first rose in revolt against the Dogra tyrant as early as 1931. This was followed by the Quit Kashmir Movement of 1948 and the open rebellion of 1948 when part of Kashmir broke away from Srinagar. There were large-scale disturbances in 1953 when Shaikh Abdullah was dismissed and imprisoned. Five year later on February 8, 1958, there was another outbreak of popular insurgence on the re-arrest of Shaikh Abdullah. Again in 1963 the State was rocked by a rebellion touched off by the theft of the Holy Relic. For months the Administration was virtually paralysed and according to independent observers "an incredible drama of religious and political rebellion" was witnessed throughout the State.

Again in May this year the people of Jammu and Kashmir rose against Indian authority in violent demonstration when Shaikh Abdullah was re-arrested after a brief reprieve. Scores of people were killed, hundreds wounded



and thousands detained. To prevent the world from knowing details of the people's movement 16 Kashmiri newspapers were closed down.

The present revolt comes as a final culmination of a brave and determined struggle to rid Jammu and Kashmir of the Indian stranglehold. On August 8, the Voice of Kashmir announced the formation of a Revolutionary Council and the setting up of a National Government. Fighting broke out in all parts of the State and clashes between the patriots and the Indian occupation forces took place right in the heart of Srinagar. Since then bands of freedom-fighters have been valiantly defying the Indian occupation army which has let loose a reign of terror against the local population. It has gone to the extent of setting fire to whole villages and shooting indiscriminately innocent men, women and children fleeing from the flames. The cruel burning of Batmalu in Srinagar with its Muslim inhabitants will sear the conscience of the world.

The heart of everyone who holds the cause of freedom dear is filled with respect and admiration for the valour of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The successes achieved by the freedom-fighters have been striking and their heroic deeds will be a source of inspiration to all those engaged in the struggle for freedom in different parts of the world. The torch of freedom lit by these patriots has been carried from village to village and city to city.

There has been a natural and spontaneous outburst of sympathy and support for the people of Jammu and Kashmir throughout the world. Res-

ponsible world opinion has urged upon Indian leadership to honour their commitment to the United Nations to hold a free and fair plebiscite in Kashmir.

When the popular revolt broke out on the 8th of August Indian leaders came out with a long wail that the Cease-fire Line has been violated. Their sudden concern for the Cease-fire Line was nothing more than an attempt to divert world attention from the moral basis of the Kashmir dispute. Soon, however, the Indians revealed themselves in their true colours by repeatedly transgressing the Cease-fire Line and occupying certain isolated positions in Azad Kashmir territory.

The Indian leaders and the Indian Press have been proudly announcing that India has crossed the Cease-fire Line. So much for Indian respect for the Cease-fire Line. How can she blame anyone from Azad Kashmir, or for that matter from any part of Pakistan, to go to the assistance of those brave people in Jammu and Kashmir who are locked in a life-and-death struggle against the brutal occupation forces of India.

India blames us for supporting these valiant fighters against Indian tyranny. We are doing no more than what we have always pledged to do, which is to support the people of Kashmir in exercising their right of self-determination as pledged to them by the United Nations, Pakistan as well as India. India has dishonoured her pledge. Pakistan shall honour it.

Indian policy towards her neighbours especially towards Pakistan and Kashmir has from the very beginning been set on a collision course. The present conflict in Kashmir is the



inevitable outcome of that policy. She alone will be responsible for the consequences that are bound to follow.

The people of Jammu and Kashmir will have the support of all those who believe in the freedom of man. Sheer physical force cannot break the spirit of a brave and determined people. If might and power could determine the fate of nations, no country in Africa and Asia would be free today.

India's history is replete with broken pledges. A recent example of her disregard for the sanctity of international commitments is her last-minute decision to call off the Ministerial talks on the Rann of Kutch Agreement. The provision of these talks was included in the agreement at India's insistence. Yet she chose not to honour it on the spurious ground that these talks were unlikely to yield any results.

Even personal undertakings lose their sanctity with Indian leadership if expediency so demands. In a recent statement to a foreign correspondent, the Prime Minister of India claimed that, during his meeting with me in Karachi on 12th of October, 1964, he told me that India was not going to change its position on Kashmir and that if I wanted to improve relations between the two countries we ought to tackle other problems one by one.

To put the record straight, I would like Mr. Shastri to recall that when I told him that the biggest obstacle in Indo-Pakistan relations was the question of Kashmir he readily conceded that the issue needed to be resolved but that he did not think himself strong enough to carry it through with his people at that moment. I told him that as Prime

Minister of India, it was his duty to build public opinion in favour of a satisfactory Kashmir solution. He might be criticised for it by some elements but the bulk of the Indian people would thank him for relieving them of a great anxiety. While agreeing with me he pleaded for time but instead of using time to build up public opinion, he allowed himself to be forced into making an ill-conceived attempt to "integrate" Kashmir with India through some constitutional device which has neither any moral validity nor any legal force in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

As to the other problems which Mr. Shastri wanted to be tackled one by one I would like him to follow the course of evictions of innocent Muslims from the Indian States adjoining East Pakistan since our meeting. I told him that this inhuman expulsion of Indian citizens from their homes merely because they happened to be Muslims, must stop. He agreed and promised to let me know how soon a discussion on this subject could be arranged. While meeting still remains to be fixed eviction of innocent people continues in a ruthless and planned manner. Since our meeting in October, more than 75,000 people have been thrown out of their homes and pushed into East Pakistan bringing the total number of evictees to more than 5 lakhs.

The patience and restraint which we have imposed on ourselves in the interest of peace in this area has been misunderstood by India. The sense of discipline shown by our people springs from their faith and ability to defend their country. In this supreme hour of their trial, the people of Pakistan will rise like one man and give a befitting



reply to Indian aggression.

Fellow countrymen, we are faced today with two challenges: one no less grave than the other. The first challenge is posed by India's hostility which has been mounting ever since she started receiving massive arms aid from some of our friends and allies. We had warned our friends time and again that this aid would not be used against China, but against Pakistan. This has come to pass. The second is the challenge to our self-reliance. We can turn both these challenges into an opportunity to release the creative energies of our people bringing out qualities of resourcefulness and dedication. It is in times like these that nations fulfil their destiny. They survive by the strength of their faith and character. May God grant us the courage to face this trial with unity and determination.

### EMERGENCY DECLARED

My dear countrymen,

*Assalam-o-Alaikum.* The hour of trial for a 100 million of Pakistan has struck. The Indian Army attacked the Pakistani territory in the early hours of Monday morning on the Lahore Front.

In a cowardly fashion they also strafed from the air a stationary passenger train in Wazirabad.

This is a grim sequel to the chain of wilful acts of aggression which the Indian rulers have been committing for the last five months.

It started with their violation of the Cease-fire Line in May when they occupied three posts on our side in Kargil sector. At the intervention of the United Nations the Indians temporarily vacated these posts and then

reoccupied them in August.

In their aggression, they proceeded to occupy posts in Tithwal sector and then moved in full strength in the Uri, Poonch area. Not content with shattering the Cease-fire Line they shelled village Awan in the Pakistan territory. It was clear that the restraint which we had exercised in the face of all these provocations was misunderstood by the Indians.

To contain the Indian aggression, the Azad Kashmir forces were obliged to move in the Bhimber sector.

The Indians recklessly swung their Air Force into action, thus precipitating a grave crisis. By then it had become clear to the whole world that Indian aggression in Kashmir was only a preparation for an attack on Pakistan.

Today they have given final proof of this and of the evil intentions which India has always harboured against Pakistan since its inception. The Indian rulers were never reconciled to the establishment of an independent Pakistan where the Muslims could build a homeland of their own. All their military preparations during the last 18 years have been directed against us.

They exploited the Chinese bogey to secure massive arms assistance from some of our friends in the West who never understood the mind of the Indian rulers and permitted themselves to be taken in by India's profession that once they were fully armed they will fight the Chinese. We always knew that these arms will be raised against us. Time has proved this so.

Now that the Indian rulers, with their customary cowardice and hypocrisy, have ordered their armies to



march into the sacred territory of Pakistan, without a formal declaration of war, the time has come for us to give them a crushing reply which will put an end to India's adventure in imperialism.

The brave people of Lahore have been chosen as they first to confront the enemy. They will remain in history as the people who delivered the last blow to destroy the enemy. The 100 million people of Pakistan whose hearts beat with the sound of "La ilaha illallah, Muhammad ur Rasool Ullah" will not rest till India's guns are silenced for ever.

The Indian rulers do not yet realise what people they have taken on. Dedicated to their faith and convinced of the justice of their cause, they will fight as one man in the name of God whose promise to the mankind is that the right shall triumph.

A state of emergency has been declared. We are at war. Our brave soldiers have gone forward to repel the enemy. The armed forces of Pakistan will prove their mettle. Armed with an invincible spirit and a determination which has never faltered they will give a crushing blow to the enemy.

The Government of Pakistan is fully prepared and all its resources will be employed to deal with the situation.

In our struggle against the aggressor we will no doubt have full sympathy and support of all those who believe in peace and freedom. We are invoking the United Nations Charter to exercise our inherent right of individual and collective self-defence recognised in Chapter VII (VII) of the Charter.

My dear countrymen! In this hour of trial you have to remain absolutely calm. You must know that each one of you has to perform a supreme duty which demands complete dedication and devotion. God in His infinite mercy will grant you success as He has always granted success to those who are engaged in a just cause. Be prepared to strike, and to strike hard, for the evil which has raised its head against your borders is doomed to destruction. Go forward and meet the enemy, God is with you. "Pakistan Paindabad."

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 6.* The following Press communique was issued here today after a special Cabinet meeting:

"Whereas the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists in which Pakistan is in imminent danger of being threatened by war ;

"Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (1) of Article 30 of the Constitution, the President is pleased hereby to issue this proclamation of emergency."

The President has promulgated an order suspending the right to move a High Court for the enforcement of fundamental rights under the Constitution. Proceedings pending in courts for the enforcement of these rights have also been suspended.

The order will remain effective for the period during which the proclamation of emergency is in force.

The President proclaimed a state of emergency in the country today.

The Defence of Pakistan Ordinance and Rules provided for special measures to ensure the security, public safety and interest and the defence of Pakistan, and for the trial



of certain offences. The rules extend to whole of Pakistan and come into effect at once.

The Rules apply to all citizens of Pakistan, to all servants of State, members of the Armed Forces, and to persons on ships or vessels registered in or chartered for Pakistan and aircraft chartered or registered in Pakistan.

The Rules empowered the Central Government, through a Gazette Notification, to make such rules as appear to it to be necessary or expedient for ensuring the security, the public safety and interest and defence of Pakistan, or for the efficient prosecution or for maintaining supplies and services essential to life of the community.

The Rules included a list of subjects concerning which order could be made. It included ensuring the safety and welfare of the Armed Forces, prohibiting anything likely to prejudice the training, discipline or health of such forces and persons, preventing any attempt to tamper with loyalty of persons in service of the State, and preventing anything likely to assist the enemy, or to prejudice successful conduct of war.

The orders could also be made for preventing the spread without lawful authority or excuse, of false reports, for prosecuting on charges of creating disaffection, publication of news and information, for regulating conduct of persons in respect of areas the control of which was considered necessary or expedient, and removal of persons from such areas, and for making any person or class comply with a scheme of defence.

The Government would be empowered to pass order with a view to ensuring safety of ports, dockyards,

lighthouses and aerodromes, railways, roads, canals, carrier and wireless stations, vehicles, vessels and aircraft, railway rolling stock, mines and factories, all works and structures being part of, or connected with, anything mentioned in this clause.

The list of subjects included the apprehension and detention in custody of any persons whom the authority empowered by Rules to apprehend or detain, as the case may be, suspects, on grounds appearing to such authority to be reasonable, of being of hostile origin, or likely to act in a manner prejudicial to external affairs, the security, and the public interest, or the defence of Pakistan.

The Rules provided that if any person, with intent to wage war against Pakistan or to assist any state at war with Pakistan, contravenes any provisions of the Rules made under Section three or any order issued under any such Rule, shall be punishable with death, or transportation for life, or imprisonment for a term which may extend to 10 years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Special tribunals may be appointed by the Central Government for the whole or any part of Pakistan, to try any general or specific offences. The Rules also laid down the procedure of special tribunals. A special tribunal might pass any sentence authorised by law, and shall have powers conferred by the Code on a court of sessions exercising original jurisdiction. The appeals against death penalty or transportation for life and the imprisonment for a term not exceeding 10 years, could be made to High Court within whose jurisdiction the sentence has been passed.

The following is the text of the



order :

"Whereas the President has issued, on proclamation of emergency under Clause (1) of Article 30 of the Constitution, and whereas Clause (9) of the said Article 30 provides that, while a proclamation of emergency is in force, the President may, by order, declare that the right to move a High Court for the enforcement of such of the fundamental rights conferred by Chapter I of Part II of the Constitution as may be specified in the order and all proceedings pending in courts for the enforcement of the rights so specified, shall remain suspended for the period during which the proclamation is in force;

"And whereas the aforesaid proclamation of emergency is in force ;

"Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by the said Clause (9) of Article 30, the President is pleased to declare that the right to move a High Court for the enforcement of the fundamental rights provided for in Paragraphs 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14 and 17 of the fundamental rights in Chapter I of Part II of the Constitution, and all proceedings pending in courts for the enforcement of the said rights, shall remain suspended for the period during which the said proclamation is in force."

*Karachi, Sept. 7.* "I am writing this to congratulate you and all ranks of the Air Force for their deeds of valour. This has heartened the nation and justified their confidence in their ability to defend the country. We are proud of you."

Another message of the President broadcast by Radio Pakistan said : "The warlords of India have now introduced air action in East Pak-

istan." I take this opportunity of congratulating the East Pakistanis on the calm and unperturbed manner in which they are facing the enemy aggression. Every inch of Pakistan will be defended by the whole of Pakistan."

### MESSAGE TO THANT

Given below is portion of President Ayub's message to the U.N. Secretary-General, U Thant :

"To my infinite regret, our experience of seeking redress in the forum of the Security Council has, time and again, turned out to be disheartening. You will recall that in 1964, the members of the Security Council would not even agree to recommend direct negotiations between India and Pakistan with the assistance, as may be mutually acceptable, of a third party, or even the Secretary-General. To our deep sorrow and regret, the end of the debate in that forum did not end in a consensus, much less a resolution.

"This is not to say that Pakistan has lost all faith in the efficacy of the United Nations as an instrument of peace. We reaffirm our confidence in the solution of international disputes by peaceful means. This confidence extends to settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

I trust that in view of what I have stated in the foregoing part of this reply to your message, the action which the Pakistan Army has taken in Jammu and Kashmir in support of the Azad Kashmir Force, to defend Azad Kashmir and Pakistan territory against Indian occupation and territorial designs will not be construed by you as indicating our the intention to resolve Kashmir dispute by force of arms. This is a purely defensive measure forced on



defensive measure forced on Pakistan.

You have expressed your conviction that a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute can be found and have appealed to me to indicate immediately our intention to respect the Cease-Fire Agreement and return to the *statu quo ante*. You have also assured me of the fullest possible assistance by you in the restoration of peace in Kashmir and the solution of this dispute.

A number of Chiefs of State and Government of friendly countries have associated themselves with your appeal and some have offered their good offices for mediation.

I am grateful to you and to them for these assurances and offers, which I find heartening.

At the same time, I cannot but be candid and express to you our misgivings.

Your appeal seeks nothing more than a return to the *status quo ante* without any assurance that you and Security Council will strive to implement the U.N. resolutions, pertaining to the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. You say that the quiet which would result from mutual observance of the cease-fire would afford the most favourable climate in which to seek a resolution of political differences.

I would like to recall that the Cease-Fire Agreement was observed from 1949 to 1965, when India chose to reduce it to a scrap of paper. Yet, during these 17 years, tranquillity along the Cease-fire Line did not lead to that result. The Security Council, faced with India's bad faith, intransigence and growing power, chose practically to wash its hands of the responsibility for a peaceful and honourable settle-

ment. It did not seem concerned about redressing the injustice meted out to the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

I fear that your present appeal will only serve to perpetuate that injustice by leaving the people of Occupied Kashmir to the mercy of India. What is to become of the brave people of Kashmir who are fighting for their freedom? I cannot believe that it would be the intention of the United Nations to permit India to liquidate them and to consolidate its stranglehold over Occupied Kashmir.

This leads me again to repeat what I have stated earlier—that if a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute is to result from the intervention of the United Nations, it is necessary for the world organisation to go to the heart of the tragic problem and not merely to deal with its periphery. It must turn its attention to the issue of self-determination and not only with the Cease-fire Line. The concern of the United Nations must extend to the implementation of the UNCIP resolution as well as to the observance of the Cease-Fire Agreement. The cease-fire was only the first part of an interrelated and integral whole. Therefore, insistence on a cease-fire can only be meaningful if there is a self-implementing agreement to follow it.

I should not be misunderstood as implying that I underestimate the importance of your assistance in the restoration of peace in Kashmir and the solution of its problem. On the contrary, I welcome your assurance in this regard as a step forward by itself. However, there is no evidence yet that your assistance would be equally welcome to India, much less that India is prepared to reverse the dangerous and ill-conceived course of



her policies in Kashmir.

If this armed struggle for freedom is to be halted and calm is to be restored in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, if, indeed, peace in this region is to be preserved, then the right course for the United Nations, India and Pakistan is to proceed immediately to fulfil the pledge they gave to the people of Jammu and Kashmir 18 years ago. It is they who must be permitted freely to decide the question of accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan as stated in that pledge.

### CARRY FIGHT TO ENEMY'S SOIL

*September 10.* The following is the text of the President's message :

"The Quaid-i-Azam's death anniversary this year comes at a time when the 100 million people of Pakistan are engaged in a deadly war with an enemy whose hatred for Pakistan is matched only by his perfidy. India tried to stifle Pakistan at its very birth. Undaunted by her machinations, the Quaid-i-Azam gave the clarion call, 'Pakistan has come to stay,' and God willing, stay it shall, the sacrifices that Pakistanis are making for the preservation of their homeland will not be in vain. Pakistanis are steeled in their resolve, not only to throw the intruder from their soil, but to carry the fight to the enemy's country.

"In this hour of reckoning, Pakistan has the sympathy and support of many a nation of the world who believe in justice and freedom. In fact it is in times like this that friendship among nations is put to test. It is by going through a crisis together that

lasting relations are established between individuals and nations. India's naked aggression has provided us with an opportunity to know our friends.

"No better homage can the people of Pakistan pay to the memory of the Quaid-i-Azam than to go on striking harder blows on the enemy. Indian rulers will fail as miserably in their designs today as they failed then in their designs to frustrate the Pakistan movement led by the Quaid-i-Azam.

"No impediment was too big for us then, and no trial will be too severe for us now. Our victory will be victory for a just cause and with faith in God, we shall move forward to greater glory."

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 15.* The United States should play a more "positive role" in the present Indo-Pakistan armed conflict, President Muhammad Ayub Khan told a Press conference here today.

He said the United States had an important role to play in this part of the world. It had both power and influence, and with its influence, the United States could further its own interest of having a strong Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

This, said President Ayub, was the essence of the United States policy towards India and Pakistan. If the U.S. did not use its influence at this stage, it would not be doing any good to itself. The President was of the view that the United States had an enormous influence in India and also in Pakistan.

Asked whether Pakistan would welcome a five-man Commonwealth Prime Ministers' peace mission to the



sub-continent, he said, "It will be welcome."

He was also asked if Pakistan had any complaints about the United Kingdom's role in the present situation. President Ayub said, "They haven't played any role so far, so there are no complaints yet."

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 15.* President Muhammad Ayub Khan said here today that Pakistan was prepared for a purposeful cease-fire and an honourable settlement with India on the Kashmir dispute.

This was necessary so that the cease-fire was not used to prepare again for another armed conflict, he said.

Answering questions on Pakistan's three-point peace proposal, the President told a foreign correspondent that the three months' time limit proposed in this plan for the plebiscite could be further discussed.

The three points are: an immediate cease-fire, a simultaneous withdrawal of Pakistan and Indian forces from the disputed territory and the induction of a United Nations force drawn from Afro-Asian countries, and a plebiscite in the State within three months of the cease-fire.

The President made it clear that whatever the solution of the Kashmir dispute, the people of Jammu and Kashmir should be consulted. He added there were several resolutions of the United Nations on the Kashmir dispute which India unfortunately had rejected.

Answering a question as to what would be Pakistan's reaction if India ordered a unilateral cease-fire, the President said: "Our reaction will depend on the spirit in which India

does this."

The main thing, the President said, was that good common sense should be to the mutual benefit and self-interest of both the countries.

The President said in reply to a question that Pakistan would go on "so long it is necessary in the present war imposed by India. He pointed out the military action had been forced upon Pakistan. He said that good common sense should prevail in reaching a purposeful agreement for a cease-fire. He would prefer this to a military decision.

Answering a question on U Thant's peace mission, the President said, Pakistan had explained its position to the Secretary-General. He, however, did not give any indication of U.N. Secretary-General's reaction to Pakistan's peace proposal. Currently, said the President, the U.N. Secretary-General was holding talks with Indian leaders.

Answering a question whether a solution of Kashmir dispute could also be on the basis of an independent Kashmir State, the President said that the demand for complete independence for Kashmir would open up "bigger issues." He observed that an independent Kashmir would become a cockpit of power politics.

*September 15.* President Ayub told about a hundred Pakistani and foreign correspondents today that Pakistan was determined to carry on the war imposed on her by India to its utmost limit whatever the cost.

Pakistan believed in a purposeful cease-fire, a cease-fire that would ensure the people of Jammu and Kashmir their right of self-determination. Until that was achieved, Pakistan



would continue the struggle, the President said.

Pakistan, he said, was fighting a battle for its survival.

In a 25-minute address the President reviewed the entire background leading to the Indian massive attack on Pakistan. The President, who was very calm and relaxed, said, "India had mounted the aggressive attack on Lahore and Sialkot with the purpose of occupying Lahore and Sialkot and then joining their forces in order to dictate their terms to us. The invading forces have however been already pushed back."

India, the President said, had attacked Pakistan after due planning. Their hostile intentions had been clear since the inception of this country. But their refusal to withdraw troops, following an agreement over the Rann of Kutch territorial dispute indicated that they were meditating an attack on Pakistan. "We were all the time prepared for this aggression, and we knew it would come."

President Ayub said, this conflict had been thrust on Pakistan by India. Pakistan had always wanted to live in peace with India and he had during the last seven years made several attempts to convince the Indian leaders, including the late Prime Minister Mr. Nehru, and the present Prime Minister, Mr. Shastri, the desirability of finding a method for the two countries to live together in peace and good neighbourliness, decency and honour.

He said, he had undertaken a special journey to New Delhi to advocate good neighbourly relations between the two countries during the lifetime of the late Prime Minister Nehru. But all his appeals had fallen on deaf ears.

All his advocacy for a working agreement to live with India on the basis of equality and an honourable basis for settling the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the UN resolutions had not been heeded to by the Indian leaders.

"The present conflict will do us no good. It will do no good to India either. What will India get out of this struggle, I have not been able to fathom."

He said, Pakistan had all along been aware that being a smaller country she could not take the place or assume the role India is capable of playing.

But Indian leadership should also realise that they could not play their due role unless India secured the help of Pakistan for it.

The President outlined features of the India offensive from a map of the war area and said that the Indians had started concentrating their forces in Akhnur sector from where they posed a direct threat to Pakistan's vital line of communication near Gujrat. In order to forestall this offensive Pakistan had to cross the Cease-fire Line in the Chhamb area. But before this happened the Indians, besides concentrating their forces at this point, had shelled villages in Pakistan territory. These villages were not located in the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir State.

He said that by attacking Pakistan the Indians had extended the area of conflict. Their offensive on Lahore and Sialkot, however, had been halted and the Indian army pushed back.

President Ayub said, the Indian intentions had become clear when they had refused a Pakistan offer for a meeting between the Chiefs of the



General Staff of the two countries to discuss and agree upon the withdrawal of the troops of the two countries from the international boundary and from positions they had taken up during the Rann of Kutch fighting. But India wanted to keep them deployed at such points from where she could pounce upon Pakistan territory. In fact after this offer the Indians had moved an armoured Division and Infantry to Jammu sector facing Sialkot.

President Ayub then reviewed the Indian hostile moves since the Rann of Kutch fighting. He enumerated the occupation of posts in Kargil, Tithwal, Uri and Poonch sectors as aggressive Indian actions in which they crossed the Cease-fire Line to invade the Azad Kashmir territory. By these moves India had dishonoured completely the Cease-fire Line in Kashmir, he said.

Giving a background to the events in Kashmir the President said, "It had its genesis in the repression. In the face of such repression even the most docile people rise."

He said that it was true that the people from Azad Kashmir had joined those who had risen in revolt against the Indian repressive rule in Kashmir. There were two reasons for it. Firstly those who lived on this side of the Cease-fire Line had on the other side their relations who were subjected to all possible discriminations and hardships.

He pointed out that along the Cease-fire Line was a neutral belt 1,000 yards wide and that only the Muslims lived in this area. Recently the Indians had by constant firing and other hostile acts forced these people to leave this area.

"These people had the worst time. Indian troops fired on them killing them and their children. At night they were rounded up and insulted. These people approached the Government of the Azad territory to provide them police or troops. This was not accepted because it would have been against the Azad Kashmir Government's international obligations. The Azad Kashmir Government, however, provided them arms to defend themselves."

President Ayub Khan said that Pandit Nehru had openly and publicly stated that once peace had been restored in Kashmir the people of the area would be provided with an opportunity to determine their own future. This plebiscite he had promised under the neutral auspices of the United Nations or any other authority. But he went back on his solemn pledge and then steps were taken to swallow this territory by stages.

India had done this through hirelings. In such circumstances any country could find hirelings. But the fact remained that the people of Kashmir had not reconciled to the Indian rule. All efforts to convert the people of Kashmir during the last 18 years had failed and they had not accepted the Indian hegemony.

The Government of India had imposed a most tyrannical rule in Kashmir and had applied the most iniquitous laws like the Defence of India Rules. The application of these rules in Kashmir had been specially severe. These Rules were imposed under the pretext and bogey of fighting against China but they had been continued and used more harshly in the valley of Kashmir. Thousands of people in Kashmir, including the leaders of



the Kashmiris, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg, had been put behind bars for the crime of asking for freedom for their people.

### NOTE TO TUNKU

“With the Indian armed forces attacking the sacred territory of Pakistan, our duty is clear. The people of your country who were themselves victim of imperialist aggression, and have fought against tremendous odds will, I am sure, understand the resolve of our people to defend their homeland. In accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, Pakistan has invoked the right of individual and collective self-defence. We have also requested the Security Council to take action, including action to suppress and vacate Indian aggression against Pakistan, and Jammu and Kashmir.

“While we remain ready for a peaceful and honourable settlement based on the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir, as pledged to them by India and Pakistan, our immediate objective must be to throw the India aggressor off our soil, to preserve security, and a U.N.-supervised plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir on future accession to either India or Pakistan.

“This is the only way peace can permanently return to this land. There is no other way.”

*September 17.* President Ayub reiterated in two communications to the U N. Secretary-General, U Thant, that cease-fire could be meaningful only if it was followed by steps which would lead to a lasting and honourable settlement of Kashmir. That alone

would prevent the recurrence of a catastrophe “such as no threatens India and Pakistan,” he added.

To bring about such a settlement, the President has informed U Thant, it would be necessary to evolve an effective machinery and procedure that would lead to a final settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

U Thant addressed two letters to President Ayub from New Delhi—one on September 12 and the other on September 15. He addressed similar letters to the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. L. B. Shastri.

In his first letter, U Thant called for an immediate cease-fire, after which, he said, the Security Council would wish to provide necessary assistance to ensure cease-fire and the withdrawal of armed personne on both sides back to the positions held by them before August 5.

### LETTERS TO U THANT

(1) September 13, 1965.

Excellency—I am in receipt of your letter of September 12, requesting that I order a cease-fire, to take effect at 11-00 hours on September 14th.

I fully appreciate the weight of the considerations that have led you to make this suggestion. I am aware too of the dangers implicit in the present conflict and, in particular, of the likelihood of this conflict assuming wider dimensions involving a threat to world peace.

The current war is not of Pakistan's seeking. The records of the United Nations, during the last 17 years, bear testimony to the fact that Pakistan has accepted every proposal of the United



Nations or its mediators to settle the Kashmir dispute peacefully, while India has rejected every one of those proposals. The responsibility for unleashing the present war lies squarely on India, which is seeking to perpetuate her stranglehold on the State of Jammu and Kashmir by means of a military decision. It is this Indian design that lies at the root of the present conflict. It was in pursuance of this same design that India attacked Pakistan on September 6. This was an act of naked aggression. It is astonishing that the Cease-fire Resolution of the Security Council of September 6, which you are urging us to implement, completely ignores this basic fact.

Nevertheless, Pakistan is not against a cease-fire as such. In fact, in order to save the sub-continent from being engulfed in what would clearly be an appalling catastrophe, we would welcome a cease-fire. But, it must be a purposeful cease-fire: one that effectively precludes that catastrophe and not merely postpones it. In other words, it should provide for a self-executing arrangement for the final settlement of the Kashmir dispute which is the root cause of the India-Pakistan conflict.

While you propose a "cease-fire without conditions" you go on to add that the Security Council would, soon after the cease-fire, proceed to implement its Resolution of September 6. The provisions of the Security Council Resolutions of September 4 and September 6 that the cease-fire be followed immediately by withdrawal of all armed Pakistan personnel to the Pakistan side of the Cease-fire Line and the consolidation of the cease-fire Line through the strengthening of the

U.N. Observer Group would result in restoring India's military grip over Kashmir. We would thus merely revert to the same explosive position which triggered the present conflict.

Moreover, India has committed wanton aggression against Pakistan. The foregoing cease-fire proposals, if implemented, would in effect reward the aggressor.

We would, therefore, urge that, if the conflict is to be resolved and this sub-continent spared the horrors of an even wider war, the cease-fire must be accompanied by action which would resolve the real cause of this conflict. This would be possible if the cease-fire is followed immediately by complete withdrawal of the Indian and Pakistan forces from the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the induction of a U. N.-sponsored Afro-Asian Force to maintain order in the State and the holding of a plebiscite in the State within three months.

What we suggest is just and fair and necessary in the present circumstances. In making this suggestion we are not imposing any disability on India, which we are not ourselves prepared to accept. In our judgment, the only honourable way to resolve this conflict over Kashmir is for both India and Pakistan as well as the United Nations, to full their pledge to the people of Kashmir contained in the UNCIP Resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, and permit them, in exercise of their inherent right of self-determination, freely to decide the question whether their State should join India or Pakistan. This is the only way in which we can achieve enduring peace between Pakistan and India.



(2) September 15, 1965.

Your message of September 15 has been received by me today.

You propose that since you have not found it possible to bring about a cease-fire as required by the Security Council, Pakistan agree as first step to stop fighting and, following the Agreement of 1962, I meet the Indian Prime Minister in a new effort, through bilateral negotiations, to reach an honourable and equitable settlement of the Kashmir dispute and other related differences. You have been kind enough further to offer your own good offices in this connection.

While we are agreeable to stop fighting in principle, I must point out that despite Pakistan's most earnest efforts, the Ministerial level talks that followed the 1962 Agreement proved barren and abortive because of India's firm refusal to arrive at an honourable settlement of the Kashmir dispute. On the other hand, India let loose a reign of terror and repression in the State and proceeded to adopt measures to "integrate" the State of Jammu and Kashmir in the Indian Union. In adopting these measures, India showed once again that she has no regard for her own solemn commitments and treats them merely as scraps of paper whenever it suits her.

We are fully conscious of the gravity of the present situation and also of the dangers inherent in the catastrophe that threatens to engulf the sub-continent, particularly because of the certainty that as time goes on the present conflict would necessarily assume graver and wider dimensions.

However, a cease-fire can be meaningful only if it is followed by such steps as would lead to a lasting and honourable settlement in order to pre-

vent the recurrence of a catastrophe such as now threatens India and Pakistan. To bring about such a settlement, it would be necessary to evolve an effective machinery and procedure that would lead to a final settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

## CEASE-FIRE

*September 22.* President Ayub today ordered the brave Armed Forces of Pakistan, who shattered the myth of India's armed might in 17 days of memorable fighting, to cease fire at 30-00 a.m. on September 23. Our Armed Forces will, however, continue to stay in their present battle positions for the time being.

Announcing the issuance of the Cease-fire order in a nation-wide broadcast, the President said that Pakistan had received firm assurance from the world powers represented in the Security Council that they were aware of the gravity of the Kashmir dispute and of the urgency to resolve it.

Pakistan, he said, had agreed to the cease-fire to prove to the world our determination to pursue the path of peace and hoped that world powers would translate their assurances into concrete steps for an honourable settlement of the dispute.

"If they fail in this," President Ayub warned, "this continent will again be engulfed in a much wider conflict." He said, from now on we enter a new phase in our struggle to vindicate the righteousness of our cause.

Pakistan, he said, had informed the U.N. Secretary-General that the Security Council resolution of September 20 was inadequate and



unsatisfactory. We had also informed the Security Council that the United Nations was on trial and was faced with a grave responsibility, he added.

The President paid rich tributes to our gallant Armed Forces who, far outnumbered by the enemy forces, routed the Indian forces in every engagement. The undeclared attack on Lahore, he said, would go down in history as the most treacherous attack launched by a country against another sovereign State.

The huge force of the enemy was outflanked and beaten through sheer gallantry and determination of our Armed Forces, the President said. He termed the Sialkot Battle as the greatest tank battle of history fought on a single day. In it, he said, some 600 tanks, apart from other military weapons, were involved.

About the PAF, he said this small but dedicated Air Force kept up a relentless offensive on an enemy six times its size and destroyed a large part of his operational strength. Its achievements would be long remembered and serve as a source of inspiration and pride to all of us, the President said.

The President said: "By his faith in God and in his cause and by his indomitable courage and superb craftsmanship, the fighting man of Pakistan has written in his blood a golden chapter in the history of Islam."

President Ayub said, the myth of India's armed might had been shattered. Pakistan had fought for the right of self-determination of a people and the whole world had come to acknowledge the just and moral basis of our struggle.

The President made an impassioned appeal to his countrymen to main-

tain unity and resolve. "Let us not forget for a moment," he said, "that the struggle is not yet over." He knew, he said, the feelings of the people, but "we must do nothing to disturb the image of a united and disciplined nation." The world, he said, could not resist the moral forces which the people of Pakistan had released. The goal, though it might appear distant, was nearer than ever before, he said.

### THE KING OF NEPAL

*Kathmandu, Sept. 25.* The President told King Mahendra in his reply to the latter's appeal for peace: "While we remain ready for peaceful and honourable settlement on the bases of the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir as pledged to them by India and Pakistan, our immediate objective must be to fight against aggression.

"We are fighting for the right of all small States against larger and predatory States. In this duty we seek the moral and material assistance of all freedom-loving countries to foil the expansionist ambition of our enemy . . . .

"The people of Your Majesty's country who were themselves victims of imperialist aggression and have fought against tremendous odds will, I am sure, understand the resolve of our people to defend our homeland."

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 25.* President Muhammad Ayub Khan in reply to Soviet Prime Minister's letter said that the Soviet Union could lend a powerful helping hand in the framing of a meaningful resolution that could lead to an honourable settlement of the Kashmir dispute.



In a subsequent letter delivered on September 19, Mr. Kosygin had reiterated his earlier offer of good offices, proposing specifically that the meeting be held on Soviet soil between the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India in order to reach an agreement on restoration of peace between Pakistan and India. The Soviet Prime Minister made an offer to participate in such meeting.

President Ayub, in his reply to the Soviet Prime Minister's gesture of goodwill, expressed his deep appreciation of this initiative.

But the President has expressed doubt that such a meeting at this stage would be appropriate or productive of the result that he and the Soviet Prime Minister both ardently desired. For such a meeting to be fruitful, the President pointed out, ground would have to be adequately prepared in advance.

He has suggested that this could be done, in the first instance, with the help of the Soviet Union's good offices in the Security Council, where the Indo-Pakistan conflict is under consideration.

As a most influential and important member of the Security Council, the Soviet Union could lend a powerful helping hand in the framing of a meaningful resolution that could lead to an honourable settlement of the Kashmir dispute so that, following a cease-fire, the cause of the conflict between India and Pakistan would in fact be removed, the President added.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 1.* The following is the English rendering of the President's speech.

My dear countrymen,

*Assalaam-o-Alaikum!* The people of Pakistan were put to a great test during the month that has gone by.

A treacherous enemy applied his entire armed might in a bid to conquer Pakistan. He respected no principles, recognised no rules. His sole purpose was to demonstrate to the world that his forces could subjugate a smaller neighbour. But he reckoned without the will of the people of Pakistan which proved mightier than all that the enemy possessed. Pitched against the faith and determination of our people, his vast forces dispersed and retreated. Wherever they made an attempt to advance, they were thrown back in one powerful sweep.

While the enemy continues to hold bits of territory along our borders, he has surrendered substantial territory in Chhamb, Khem Karan, Fazilka, and Rajasthan sectors. The maps of these areas have been given to the United Nations observers who have arrived on the scene to supervise the cease-fire.

These facts are still unknown to the people of India because they have been drugged on the false stories of imaginary successes achieved by their rulers. But the moment of truth is not far, and soon they will know how they were duped and pushed on to a course of premeditated and unprovoked aggression which has done neither the Government nor the people of India any good. They stand exposed before the whole world as aggressors and the tremendous force which the rulers of India had built up with the assistance of other countries and by denying their people their daily needs, have little to show for it.

The Indian Air Force has been



crippled, their vital air bases demolished and the Indian army's armoured might badly mauled. In return, the Indian forces can show a few strips of land here and there well away from our forward defence lines and a number of civilian areas which they indiscriminately bombed.

Praise be to Allah who, in His infinite mercy, granted us the strength to repel enemy aggression. The whole nation has offered its grateful prayers to Him.

Praise also to the dauntless people of Pakistan who displayed faith and fortitude worthy of a great nation. In both East and West Pakistan, men, women, and children from all walks of life demonstrated the heroic mould in which they are shaped. All considerations of self disappeared and it was the united will of the people which crushed all enemy designs.

There was no warning or preparation, yet everyone found himself ready to do what he was expected to do. The people were welded into a single resolve to put the enemy war-machine out of action. Voluntary organisations of men and women sprang up overnight and they devoted themselves to the welfare of the Forces and of those who had suffered on account of enemy attack.

The national press throughout the country did a magnificent job. The students all over the country organised themselves into a defence force and they took to every job that offered itself to strengthen the national effort.

Government servants worked round the clock and the civil administration throughout the country performed its duties with exemplary courage and rare devotion.

The workers in factories and farmers in the fields stepped up production undisturbed by any fear or risk.

The traders established an example of commercial morality which should be the envy of any nation. They did not allow the common man to experience any shortage of goods and throughout the country prices maintained a stable level. There is no instance in history where trade during a period of war has exhibited such discipline and selflessness.

Where people were affected by enemy air raids and had to leave their homes, they returned to find that not an article of theirs had been touched or taken away. Even ordinary crime disappeared.

These are things which will never be forgotten. The nation discovered itself during this period, it found its identity and its future. Everyone of us was seized by the sudden realisation of his unlimited capacity—capacity to work selflessly and ceaselessly. The doubts and misgivings of years disappeared, all differences and disputes lost their meaning and all ranks were united regardless of political and social distinctions. Our thinkers and writers found a new expression and the whole nation throbbed with a new awareness and a new determination.

We found the meaning of sacrifice. The legends in our blood reasserted themselves and a new validity was affirmed of all we had learnt in the history of Islam. Characteristic of this spirit of sacrifice is the incident of a person who lost five members of his family in an air raid and when neighbours went to condole with him he said, "I am grateful to God that my house was chosen, for this and some vital installation required for the



defence of the country was spared.”

All this has been a profound experience. It was no temporary outburst of passion. Nor a passing phenomenon. It has established for us a permanent code of conduct in all walks of life which in fact is the true Islamic code of life. It is this code which from now on should fashion and govern our thinking and our action.

How did this miracle happen? It happened because our cause was just and moral. We were fighting for the democratic right of a people to determine their own future. We were fighting for the defence of our country and the protection of our ideology.

The President of India and the Prime Minister of India have tried to tell the world that they unleashed this war on us because their system of democracy finds our way of life repugnant. They claim to be a secular State in spite of all the oppression which is being exercised by them on every minority group. They claim to be a democracy when their life is divided by rigid barriers of caste. They have put on a cloak of Western liberalism under which they conceal a dagger of fanaticism. For the last 18 years they have denied the right of self-determination, a right basic to all forms of democracy and a right pledged by them in the United Nations, to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Yet they call themselves a democracy. It is a democracy controlled by a small and all-powerful High Command whose sole aim is to enforce Ram Rajya in India, stifling all expressions of cultural identities by Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and other religious groups.

Islam enjoins that when the enemy

does not want to fight any more you should hold your hand. It is in this spirit that we agreed to the cease-fire. Yet at the very moment when Indian leaders were accepting unconditionally the Security Council resolution they asked for an extension of 15 hours in the cease-fire deadline to communicate with their forces. These are the 15 hours which were used by the Indian warlords to launch yet another treacherous and desperate offensive on all sectors. They did not hesitate to expose a large number of their men to certain death in the vain hope that they might conquer a few inches of our territory while our forces were exercising restraint. They failed in this as they failed in all their attempts.

Since the cease-fire they have been indulging in all kinds of provocations and violations because they feel that they can get round and deceive the U.N. observers. We have great patience but let the Indian rulers not forget that our forces are there on the very first line of defence and they will adequately deal with any challenge that may be offered to them. We have not lowered our guards, for we know the kind of enemy we are dealing with.

I have said this before and I repeat it again that we want to live at peace with India. We want to establish normal relations with India as we have done with all our other neighbours. But this can be done only on the basis of honour and equality. This way lies the prosperity and future of the people of the two countries. Let us face realities and come to an honourable settlement of the Kashmir dispute without which there can be no peace.

We know that so long as forces



remain facing each other tensions and passions get easily provoked. But a military disengagement can occur only after there is a clear realisation on all sides that there is a basic dispute on Kashmir between India and Pakistan and steps must be taken to bring about a fair and lasting settlement of this dispute.

Our people know how to control themselves as they know how to express themselves. But exercise in control cannot be a one-sided affair. There has to be unreserved and positive reciprocity. By violating the cease-fire the Indian rulers are not helping toward military disengagement, they are making it more difficult. The withdrawal of forces has to be on the basis of an agreed programme capable of being properly supervised and must be accompanied by the evolution of a procedure for a meaningful settlement of the basic political problem of Kashmir which is the source of the present conflict.

Consultations are in progress in the United Nations in this direction and the big Powers in the Security Council are pledged to exercise their good offices and their influence to bring about an understanding on these lines.

I salute once again the brave Armed Forces of Pakistan. Our soldiers, airmen and seamen fought like men possessed and defended the honour and security of their country. The officers fought shoulder to shoulder with their men and gave them a lead by laying down their lives. The whole nation is proud of them and the whole world is full of admiration for their spirit and their skill.

The response to my appeal for contribution to the National Defence

Fund has been most generous and heartening. Donations have come from all quarters, at home and abroad, from Pakistanis and non-Pakistanis who believe in our cause.

Let us go on making our contribution to the defence effort for, as I said, the struggle is not yet over. We should work day and night to step up production and to build a strong country with a strong economy. It is this basic strength which we will need to face any aggression which may be forced on us. Every bit that you have contributed to the Defence Fund is being put to the maximum use.

Our first responsibility is to rehabilitate those civilians who have suffered during these days and to provide for the relief of those poor Muslims who are being evicted from India and from those parts of the State of Jammu and Kashmir which are still under the forcible occupation of India. Simultaneously, we have to provide adequate assistance to the families of our soldiers who died as 'Shaheeds' and whose memory will always be a source of inspiration and pride.

The nation has found its glory. It has found its unity and its strength. Let us preserve what we have gained and go on working for the greater strength and prosperity of our people with full faith in God and in our cause.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 14.* "We want to live in peace with India. Let her scrupulously observe the cease-fire agreement she was so anxious to have, and settle the problem underlying our conflict. Otherwise, our Armed Forces have no choice but to remain harnessed in eternal vigilance."



The President said that he wanted personally to congratulate the Armed Forces whose feats of bravery and dedication to the national cause have provided rich material for a new chapter in world history.

He especially congratulated those who have been awarded decoration. He, however, added that the performance of officers and men was so great that the task of picking and choosing had become difficult.

"Actually, ours is an armed force of heroes. Everyone has done wonderfully well. I have not the language to express my admiration. Look at the example of sheer guts which our Air Force has set."

The President congratulated the decoratees and feelingly mentioned those who were wounded and those who were 'Shaheed'. "We owe our victory to these 'shaheeds'," he said, "and they are in heaven."

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 14.* In dealing with India, President Ayub has shown greater far-sighted statesmanship than Winston Churchill.

This has been contended by a writer in the *Washington Post* of Oct. 4, who has taken to task his President (Johnson) for failing to respond to President Ayub's appeal for intervention in the Indo-Pakistan conflict over Kashmir.

The writer said: "Despite the fact that Pakistan is still our ally, President Johnson failed to respond to President Ayub Khan's plea that we assert our power and influence to stop the war by a just settlement of the vexed Kashmir question."

The letter continued: "The fact that Ayub Khan agreed to a truce instead of calling in Communist

China to destroy India, indicated he is a more farsighted statesman than Winston Churchill who, in commending Britain's alliance with Soviet Russia against Nazi Germany, said he would 'take the aid of the devil himself to save his country.'"

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 23.* President Muhammad Ayub Khan urged upon officers of Government publicity organisations the need for a planned and purposeful approach in publicity to accelerate the morale and economic rearmament of the nation.

The President congratulated them for the wonderful work done during the recent emergency. The Radio, he said, had given directions to the people's feelings and effectively disseminated the aims, ideals and values which inspired Pakistan. Other publicity media, he added, had also effectively fulfilled their task.

The President felt that the experience gained through the stresses and strains of the recent crisis should be reassessed, and a philosophy evolved for the publicity approach for the future.

It was through shared aims, shared values, shared ideals, he said, that nationhood evolved. Publicity media, he emphasised, had a meaningful role to play in helping consolidate the nation.

In translation of philosophy and thoughts, the President urged the publicity media to use the simplest language and the simplest terms so that the message could be understood by all.

**CLASS FOR U.N. COMMISSION**

"Pakistan accepts the proposal



contained in para III of your message.

"I trust that it will be possible for the Security Council to give urgent consideration to our proposal for the setting up of a Security Council Commission, so that negotiations for the settlement of the basic cause of the present conflict can proceed hand in hand with arrangements for the withdrawal of armed personnel.

"I stress this because developments hitherto have proved that peace in the sub-continent can be assured only if the basic cause of the India-Pakistan conflict is removed, not otherwise. As the Security Council is doubtless aware, a cease-fire was effected and the troops were withdrawn after the Rann of Kutch conflict of April this year. This did not prevent a war between India and Pakistan. To effect a cease-fire and the withdrawal of troops would be dealing with the symptoms, not the disease. Present indications are that unless the Security Council gets down to dealing with the root cause of the conflict, the present cease-fire may prove to be only a short-lived lull in fighting. The institution of a Security Council Commission, such as we have proposed, would be evidence of the determination of the Security Council to see this conflict urgently and peacefully resolved—a fact which should result in a lowering of tension in the sub-continent and thereby help strengthen the expectation that the cease-fire would endure."

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 27.* President Ayub Khan said that India was trying to build up her war machine still further; therefore "We had to prepare ourselves for all eventualities."

The President regretted that India had been resorting to repeated breaches

of the cease-fire in a bid to grab her lost territory. "Pakistan had to be on its guard fully prepared to meet any challenge," he said.

The President paid warm tributes to the Armed Forces for doing a "magnificent job." He also paid tributes to the National Press for its effective projection of the nation's glorious performance during the emergency.

The President said, while country's Armed Forces had done a magnificent job the on battlefield, the national Press was handling the equally important task of revitalising the home front.

He said, a people with faith in themselves and their cause, kept their heads cool, maintained their solidarity, hoped for the best and were prepared for the worst. The same was true of Pakistan today.

While sincerely hoping that there would be no fresh outbreak of hostilities, Pakistanis had to prepare themselves for all eventualities for it was obvious that India was trying to build up her war machine still further.

India had planned her aggression for a long time. As a matter of fact, she never withdrew her troops from their forward positions. After the Kutch cease-fire they remained poised along Pakistan's frontiers.

The President said that Pakistan troops gave a glorious account of themselves and heroically took on an enemy several times their strength. And the entire nation rallied behind them, in an unprecedented display of unity, faith and discipline. Even business men, who normally go for profit, showed patriotism and kept the distribution machinery going.

He said that young men and young



women offered their services for all kind of voluntary work, such as looking after the sick and the wounded.

President Ayub regretted that India had been resorting to repeated breaches of the cease-fire in a bid to grab her lost territory. Pakistan had to be on its guard, fully prepared to meet any challenge.

### WARNS INDIA

The President's message on Revolution day: "Seven years ago today, the nation took a momentous step forward towards political stability, economic regeneration and national reconstruction. The Revolution of 1958 came at a time when Pakistan was facing grave internal problems, which, if left unattended, would have shaken the very foundations of the State. The Revolution not only saved the State from crumbling but ushered in an era of reform, thereby providing a socio-economic base on which it was possible to build a stable edifice of progress and development with the participation of the people.

"A new set of problems confronts us today. India embarked on reckless aggression against us in the vain hope that she will destroy us and shake our faith. She has failed in this. Her dream of victory has been shattered on the formidable rock of the unity, discipline and faith of our people. Indian leaders, instead of thinking in terms of peace, are devoting all their resources to repairing and replenishing their war machine in order perhaps to make yet another attempt at aggression. Let them pause and think whether their people want a future full of tension and chaos. Let them ask themselves whether their people

want to live in a perpetual nightmare of war.

"Force has never solved international problems. The future of both Pakistan and India lies in peace and peace is what the people all over the world cherish. If human happiness is the ultimate goal, which all the civilised Governments strived for, then aggression and provocation are not the means to reach it. I hope that Indian rulers will realise even now for the sake of their people, if not for the cause of good neighbourliness, that their best interests lie in peace, not in war.

"So long as India maintains a posture of hostility and aggressiveness, Pakistan cannot lower its guard. The bigger the challenge posed to us, the greater will have to be our capacity and the greater the resolve with which we must meet it. With their indomitable faith and courage, the people of Pakistan have already demonstrated that they are a force to reckon with. These qualities stem from their belief in God and in the righteousness of their cause.

"Recent events have led to a remarkable resurgence of faith and revived among the people of Pakistan the Islamic spirit of sacrifice and discipline. Let us keep this spirit alive and go on with the task of reconstruction, mindful of the dangers that now face us—dangers that threaten our very existence and way of life—in the sure belief that right will ultimately triumph. Amin!"

*Sargodha, Oct. 30.* President Muhammad Ayub Khan declared that he did not want war, but if it was forced on Pakistan, it would be countered as effectively



as it was done in the past. He was confident, he said, that the nation and the armed forces would face such an eventuality adequately.

The President made these observations in a brief speech to the officers and men of the Air Force. He said, only unwise people wanted war and added that wars should not be fought unless the safety and freedom of the country was involved.

The President flew into Sargodha at 8-30 a.m. and stayed at the airbase for about 90 minutes. He was accompanied by the Air Force Chief, Air Marshal Nur Khan. Also accompanying him was General Muhammad Musa, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army.

The President paid rich tributes to the Air Force and said that their valorous and heroic performance against massive enemy attacks would remain memorable in the history of our Armed Forces. They withstood the onslaught by a force six times their strength and paralysed the enemy air power, the President said, and added: "This is unparalleled and you demonstrated this because you had faith in God Almighty, you had faith in your country and in your cause, you had faith in your weapons and machines and, above all, you had faith in yourself."

It was an Air Force officer, he said, who first informed him of the Indian attack on Lahore and on our trains on September 6, he immediately got in touch with the Army Commander-in-Chief, he said, to learn that our forces were prepared for the attack and were meeting it already.

Wherever he went, the President said, the Army people were all praise for the Air Force. Air assistance

came to them in minute for precision and low-level attacks on the enemy. These things, he said, filled our hearts with joy and added "the nation is proud of you."

He congratulated those who had received awards of gallantry and said that the acts of their valour narrated in their citations were awe-inspiring. But at the same time, the President said, those who had not received awards equally deserved his congratulations.

The mere fact that they did not receive any award did not mean that they had not performed acts of courage and valour. Theirs was as equal a contribution as made by the recipients of decorations, he said.

The President prayed: "May God be with Pakistan, may God be with you. I am sure in any future eventuality, you will act with the same passion, valour and patriotism as you did last time."

The PAF officers and men were also addressed by General Musa who thanked them on his own behalf and on behalf of all the officers and men of the Army. He could not explain, he said, what the Air Force had done for the Army and the country. His officers talked so much of it wherever he went, he said, and expressed his gratitude to the President for providing him this opportunity to thank the officers and men of the Air Force.

Their action had a tremendous effect on the course of events, General Musa told them and said, "We pray to God Almighty for you."

APP adds: General Musa said what the Air Force had done for the defence of the country could not be with full justice expressed through



words. It was beyond description.

He touched the hearts of the PAF personnel when he told them how concerned the ground forces were for them when they provided them the air cover. Our aircraft flew so low and the pilots were so oblivious of their personal safety that the ground forces kept their fingers crossed for them. But every time they returned safely and came back to repeat their performance of destroying the enemy.

The President, who was dressed in Field Marshal's uniform, accompanied by Gen. Musa visited the various sections of the base. He was conducted and briefed about the 17-day war by the Air C-in-C, Air Marshal Nur Khan.

The President also had tea with the officers and airmen at the base. It was here that Group Captain Masud, Commander of the base, presented Squadron Leader Muhammad Mahmud Alam, who was congratulated by the President. The PAF hero also met General Muhammad Musa. The President also met Squadron Leader Najib Ahmad Khan who bombed the IAF base of Ambala and others who had been decorated.

Later the President posed for a group photograph with those decorated.

The President also saw from a distance the IAF Gnat which was forced down at Pasrur. It is described as "prize possession" and is displayed at Sargodha base. The Indians did not acknowledge the fact that a Gnat was lost on September 7, the day the aircraft was forced down.

The President and his party returned to Rawalpindi after the visit and was seen off by Air Marshal Nur Khan, Group Captain Masud

and other senior officials of the PAF.

November 7, 1965

My dear countrymen : *Assalam-o-Alaikam*. It is now more than a month since the cease-fire was agreed to under the Security Council resolution of September 20. We had hoped that, during this period, the Security Council would be able to devise some machinery for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Progress on this account has hitherto been slow.

We have warned the Security Council that working on the arrangements for making the cease-fire effective and effecting a withdrawal of forces alone will not be sufficient. Important though these preliminary steps are, peace can return to this sub-continent only if the basic cause of the India-Pakistan conflict is resolved. For this purpose it is essential that the Security Council institute a meaningful procedure such as would help bring about a settlement of the Kashmir dispute on an honourable basis.

We have reminded the Security Council that only recently a cease-fire was effected and troops were withdrawn after the Pakistan and Indian forces clashed in the Rann of Kutch. This did not, however, prevent war between India and Pakistan. Clearly, therefore, so long as the Kashmir dispute remains unsettled, the cease-fire, even if reinforced by a withdrawal of forces would not by itself assure lasting peace to this area.

It is reassuring that the moral basis of our struggle is now recognised throughout the world. There is recognition also among the members of the United Nations and in the Security Council of the dangers implicit in the



present situation in the sub-continent, the Security Council is earnestly debating the vital issues involved.

There is however, danger that peace in this area may become the victim of considerations of power politics which inhibit some of the big Powers from taking precisely the kind of action that would help establish it. We hope that this danger can be averted and the Security Council will proceed resolutely with the arrangements for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with its resolutions. We on our part will continue to lend it our full support and co-operation in this task.

India's attitude, on the other hand, remains obstructive and short-sighted. While the Indian forces have been repeatedly violating the cease-fire in the hope of regaining the lost territory, the Indian leaders have been at pains to confuse the issue in the United Nations and to poison the atmosphere in the sub-continent with intemperate outbursts. Mr. Shastri is reported to have said: 'This time it will be peace on Indian terms.' Peace to be viable and lasting has to be on terms honourable to both the countries.

On the Revolution Day, I invited the Indian leaders to pause and consider whether their people want a future full of tension and chaos and whether they should continue to live under a perpetual threat of war. Clearly, the future of the peoples of both India and Pakistan lies in peace, and peace can be established only if the basic cause of the present conflict is resolved in a just and honourable manner. There is no other way which would assure peace in this region.

"In the meantime inside the Indian

occupied Kashmir conditions are rapidly deteriorating. We had hoped, along with the rest of the world, that the Indian rulers would adopt a more humane attitude towards the innocent people of Jammu and Kashmir whom they claim as their own nationals. Instead, they have unleashed a reign of terror in the State. In the massacre of countless civilians, the wholesale arrests, the burning of villages in the valley, the forcible eviction of thousands from Indian-held Kashmir and the destruction of their property, we see the unfolding of Indian plans for genocide in the State. Undaunted, the brave people of Jammu and Kashmir have hurled defiance at their tormentors and proved to the world that they will not accept Indian rule, come what may. All their leaders who were still at large are clapped in jails. Not all the might of the Indian arms will, however, prevent the Kashmiris from carrying on their just struggle.

The young men, women and students of colleges in Kashmir are daily facing Indian bullets and bayonets. But India calls all this a domestic matter and tells the world that everything is peaceful in that happy valley. If that is so, why is India reluctant to let outside observers come in to have a look? If India has such a good case, why is she reluctant even to attend the meetings of the Security Council? The truth of the matter is that Kashmir is no longer only a political issue, a mere dispute between two neighbours as it has been termed in some quarters. The sacrifice of the Kashmiri people and their steadfastness in fighting for their right of self-determination have made it a human problem of world-wide concern. The cause of the people of Jammu



and Kashmir is not now a cause espoused only by Pakistan. It is one which is supported by freedom-loving people all over the world. History's verdict will be on the side of the people of Kashmir.

We have so far received 80,000 Kashmiri refugees, who have been driven from their hearths and homes by Indian oppression. All have been deprived of their belongings and many dispossessed of their honour and dignity. We are looking after them, as we have looked after those unfortunate refugees who came earlier. But let the world know that genocide is going on inside Kashmir, in which the will of a whole people is sought to be crushed by the military might of a country which professes to be peace-loving, pacifist and democratic.

Not content with terrorising the people of Kashmir, the Indians continue to maintain a threatening posture against Pakistan. A massive military build-up is going on behind the Indian line. They are reinforcing and deploying their forces. They are raising fresh units. Their leaders are not talking the language of peace. We have brought this to the notice of all concerned, and if the need should again arise, we shall not be found wanting in the defence of our homeland.

We on our part shall continue to strive for peace while keeping ourselves thoroughly prepared to meet any aggression. For this purpose we must record the priorities in our development programme. Defence comes first. Everything else takes a secondary place. The magnificent and spontaneous response to the National Defence Fund shows that the need for making the defence of the country strong is fully recognised by our people. We

know that this will entail hardship and sacrifice. But our people are fully prepared for this. They will cheerfully accept a life of austerity rather accept than allow their freedom to be trifled with.

With this end in view, we have reviewed our development programme and given it a new orientation. We are conscious that defence needs a strong economic base and we shall broaden this base. Basic necessities of life should be within the reach of every citizen but luxuries we cannot afford at this time.

We shall press on with all on-going projects and find the resources for the purpose. As for the future, we have entered into bilateral talks with friendly countries for loans to meet the foreign exchange cost of the Third Plan. Experts from some of these countries, notably from the Soviet Union, are currently engaged in studying some of our vital development projects.

My dear countrymen, with faith in God, we were able to silence the enemy guns that dared to open fire on our homeland. The flame of national fervour and dedication now burns in every home in Pakistan, lighting the path along which the people of Pakistan are prepared to march as one man when the duty calls.

God in his infinite mercy granted us the unity and determination to fight the aggressor. This unity and determination must become an essential part of our daily life. The struggle ahead of us is going to be a long one but you are are blessed with a Faith which provides you with all that struggle.

Nov. 9, 1965. Message for the monthly *Umma* (Institute of Islamic



Research): "Today the nation is united in the defence of Islamic values of justice and freedom. During the recent war which India imposed on Pakistan, the nation did not consider any sacrifice too great. Nor would we do so in future for the defence and preservation of these values.

We are linked in inalienable bonds of Islamic brotherhood with other Muslim countries of the world, and we are sure that the Muslim countries are conscious of the moral basis of our struggle. Pakistan has full support and sympathy of these Muslims in her present struggle.

### ADDRESS TO NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 15.* Following is the text of the address to the National Assembly by the President:

This session of the National Assembly of Pakistan has been convened to consider matters of grave import and issues of vital concern to our people.

You are meeting in the wake of historic events which have had a profound impact on our nation and caused a transformation in the character of our people. Together we have lived through a great experience, in many respects tragic for the suffering it involved, but great nonetheless, for the moral regeneration and social awakening which it produced among our people. Together we must now deliberate on various facets of this experience, in all earnestness, to determine how best we can serve and guide our people in the struggle which lies ahead of us.

It was the faith of our people and their willingness to accept sacrifice

which brought Pakistan into existence. The same faith and willingness has enabled us to protect and preserve Pakistan.

The forces which opposed the creation of Pakistan have continued ever since to obstruct its growth and to plan its downfall. By the Grace of God, we have weathered all storms and charted for ourselves a course of peace and progress. Along this course we gained the friendship of many countries and secured their sympathy and understanding for our way of life. With our neighbours, in particular, we endeavoured to establish peaceful relations based on mutual respect and harmony. With the sole exception of India, we succeeded in improving our relations with all.

We wanted to provide for our people a future of peace and prosperity, and we devoted our energies to fighting poverty, hunger and disease. By trial and error we were able to establish a strong and stable political and social base and, step by step, we moved on the road to economic development. We were always aware of the forces inimical to us but we hoped that with the passage of time, these forces would learn to accept the fact of our presence and agree to live with us in peace. While we cherished this hope we took adequate measures to prepare for the defence of our country.

For 18 years we have tried to come to some understanding with our immediate neighbour, India, whose attitude towards us has been one of continued hostility. It is this attitude which has bedevilled our relations and which is the root cause of all India-Pakistan tension.

There was no legal, moral, geo-



graphical, ethnical or political justification for India to create the Jammu and Kashmir dispute except as a deliberate and calculated device to pose a lasting threat to the existence of Pakistan.

This is precisely what India has done by her forceful occupation of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Ever since the inception of the dispute India has resorted to one device after another to perpetuate this crime against the people of Jammu and Kashmir and against the hundred million people of Pakistan. She entered into a solemn international agreement in the United Nations to allow the people of Jammu and Kashmir to exercise their right of self-determination. Every procedure which was suggested for the exercise of this right was accepted by us and frustrated by India. All along her intention was to compel Pakistan to accept the *fait accompli* of India's forcible and illegal occupation of the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

But India reckoned without the people of Jammu and Kashmir. She thought she could silence the voice of freedom by force and oppression. One by one the Kashmiri leaders were thrown in prison and hundreds of innocent men, women and children were driven away from their homes or subjected to inhuman atrocities. But the freedom movement was not to be halted. For the people of Jammu and Kashmir the choice was self-determination or extinction, honour or humiliation, freedom or slavery. They made their choice as an honourable people and, with grim determination and courage, launched a war of liberation against the forces of Indian occupation.

While India was engaged in tightening her stranglehold on Jammu and Kashmir as a prelude to aggression against Pakistan, she clashed with the People's Republic of China in October 1962, with results well known to the world. From then on India started feverishly expanding her armed forces. Some of our Western allies provided her with massive arms assistance in pursuit of their objective to contain China and to build India into a mighty fortress for this purpose. We warned them that India was only exploiting great Powers' rivalries to extract the maximum amount of military aid for herself. Her real object was to build an army of sufficient strength to be able to intimidate her smaller neighbours especially Pakistan into submission.

As India acquired more arms and built a powerful war machine she began to care less and less for her international commitments and felt more and more emboldened to pursue her policies of intransigence and provocation. So, far from moving towards a settlement of the Kashmir dispute in fulfilment of her pledges, she proceeded to integrate the state of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Union.

Her hostility towards Pakistan also became more open, her armed forces tried in 1964 to occupy first Chaknot on the Cease-fire Line and then earlier this year Dahagram in East Pakistan. She followed this with a military take-over of some 3,000 square miles of disputed territory in the Runn of Kutch despite the existence of an agreement to settle this dispute by negotiations. We naturally had to react and thwart her designs. Realising the futility of the course



she was pursuing, India for the first time in 18 years agreed to submit a dispute over what she claimed was Indian territory, to impartial arbitration and to abide by its decision.

There was, however, no change in the basic Indian attitude towards Pakistan. Even as the details of the Runn of Kutch agreement were being discussed, Indian leaders were holding out threats that India would attack Pakistan at a point and time of her own choosing and in order to do so deployed her armies all along our borders. Despite our offer, India could not be persuaded to agree to any programme of planned withdrawal.

After a brief lull, the Indian army re-embarked on its long-planned course of aggression. In the middle of May this year, Indian forces seized three isolated and thinly manned outposts in Kargil on our side of the Cease-fire Line in Azad Kashmir. They temporarily vacated these posts under pressure from the United Nations only to re-occupy them in the middle of August.

As evidence of Indian aggressive designs and her determination to destroy the freedom movement accumulated, the long suffering people of Jammu and Kashmir reached the limit of their endurance. They knew that if they did not take to arms, they would be completely wiped out. Following the arrest of Shaikh Abdullah, Mirza Afzal Beg and other Plebiscite Front leaders, Kashmiri freedom-fighters rose in open revolt. As their activities gained momentum, Indian leaders decided to launch a massive attack on Azad Kashmir for which they had been preparing since their aggression in the Kargil sector.

They strengthened their hold in Kargil and proceeded to occupy our posts in the Tithwal sector. These reckless acts of aggression were wildly acclaimed in the Indian Parliament and in the Indian Press. Thus emboldened, the Indian forces violated the cease-fire line yet again and moved into the Uri-Poonch sector.

We continued to exercise restraint in the vain hope that the Indian leaders would realise the dangerous potentialities of their conduct and desist from further aggression. But they interpreted our restraint as weakness and went to the extent of shelling the village of Awan Sharif in Pakistan on August 25. Simultaneously, they were preparing the ground for launching a direct offensive against Pakistan from the Chhumb sector. The time had come for us to defend ourselves and to forestall further Indian aggression. Our forces moved in support of the Azad Kashmir forces into the Chhumb sector and destroyed the aggressive positions which the Indian army had taken for an attack on Pakistan.

The operations so far were confined to the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir. But India was soon to expose her real designs by violating the international boundary and turning what was essentially a conflict in the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir into a full-scale war of aggression against the sovereign State of Pakistan.

On September 4, the United Nations issued an appeal for peace. The Indian response to this appeal from the world body was a treacherous attack on Pakistan on September 6 in the Lahore area. It was a three-



pronged thrust. Anticipating this, our forces had occupied forward positions and within a matter of hours, the massive Indian advance was halted and repulsed. Outnumbered four to one our gallant forces, supported by our valiant Air Force, delivered crushing blows on the aggressor and pushed him back to positions from where he was not allowed to advance.

Frustrated in the Lahore sector, the Indian forces launched another offensive towards Sialkot. It was here that for ten days and nights some of the grimmest battles were fought and it was here that the Indian dream of subjugating Pakistan was finally shattered.

In the meantime, our forces launched a counter offensive in the Khem Karan and Fazilka sectors and occupied strategic positions in Indian territory. The Indian Army then opened another front by moving across our border in Rajasthan and occupied a small post in our territory. In response, our forces struck back hard and captured extensive areas deep in Indian territory.

When the cease-fire came on September 23, the Indian forces had little to show for all their aggression. They had suffered heavy casualties on the battlefield and their war-machine had been badly mauled. They were in occupation of an area of 430 square miles in different sectors as against which they yielded over 1,600 square miles to our forces.

The Pakistan Air Force had struck at vital air bases in India causing heavy damage. The Indian Air Force suffered grievous losses and surrendered the command of the air

to the Pakistan Air Force, who throughout the war exhibited great qualities of imagination, valour and precision.

The Pakistan Navy maintained a constant vigil on the seas and inflicted swift and telling blows.

Days before the cease-fire agreement was reached the Indian leaders were announcing that they were prepared to accept the cease-fire, "here and now." Since the aggressor decided to abandon the course of war, we decided to hold our hand.

India attacked Pakistan without even a declaration of war. The purpose was that in the event of failure she should be able to claim that she had committed no aggression. This is precisely what she has attempted to do, but her crime is known to the world. The false image of India as a peace-loving country devoted to the principle of non-violence has been completely shattered.

We accepted the cease-fire because we believe in peaceful settlement of all international disputes. We accepted the cease-fire because we were given assurances by the Big Powers in the United Nations, particularly the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom that they would use their influence and their good offices to bring about a settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

We accepted the cease-fire because we never get out to conquer or occupy Indian territory. All we want is to preserve the security and integrity of our own country and uphold the righteous cause which forms an imperishable link between the people of Jammu and Kashmir and the people of Pakistan. This objective we have fully achieved by the Grace



of God.

The war was not of our seeking. It was forced on us. At every point—whether it was preparations for an attack on Chaknot, the forcible occupation of Dahagram, the military take-over of the disputed Rann of Kutch, the capture of Pakistan's outposts in Azad Kashmir, or finally the attack on Pakistan—it was India that acted first. In every case the Indian forces took the initiative and it was India which moved the theatre of conflict from the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir to the territory of Pakistan. We responded effectively and decisively to thwart each Indian aggressive move. To have brought the Indian attack on Pakistan to a decisive halt and to have compelled her to seek a cease-fire is an achievement of which the people of Pakistan can well be proud.

This, however, is not the sum total of our achievement. Through this war the people of Pakistan have discovered their soul. They have discovered the strength of their character and the full significance and vitality of their faith.

The whole world is full of admiration for the unity and solidarity displayed by our people throughout the country. Isolated though they were by a long and hostile distance, the people of East Pakistan found themselves united in thought and action, in emotion and spirit with the people of West Pakistan and shared with them every sacrifice and glory. In the moment of trial, all doubts and differences disappeared and every man, woman and child fought as a soldier of Pakistan. In doing so we established once for all

the unity of Pakistan in its faith, in its heritage and in its destiny and proved beyond a shadow of doubt that our nation was conceived in a spirit which rises above mere geographical separation and the hearts of our hundred million people beat as one. No nation could have asked for more from its people.

These are indestructible moral and spiritual gains, these are the pillars on which we must raise our future society.

There are also many lessons which we have learnt during the war, the most important of which is that the defence of the country comes first. We must, therefore, bring about a fundamental reorientation in our plans of future development. While we have no intention to engage in an arms race with India, we have to build an effective force to deter those who may harbour aggressive designs against us.

A special organisation has been set up to deal with the problem of defence production and procurement in both the Wings. What we can spare from our own resources may not be adequate for all our defence requirements. We have, therefore, to seek assistance from others to supplement our efforts. In obtaining assistance from other sources we have to guard against the danger of relying too heavily on any single source of supply. Already we have suffered on this account. We cannot afford to repeat the same mistake. We must secure what we need for our defence from whatever avenues may be available to us for this purpose.

The inadequacy of communications between the two Wings of Pakistan was brought home to us



during the war. We are taking steps to ensure direct and constant contact between the two Wings under all circumstances.

The special defence needs of East Pakistan are receiving careful attention. I want to assure you that whatever is possible will be done to strengthen further the defences of East Pakistan. Certain concrete measures are under implementation. Others are under examination. But you should rest assured that every inch of East Pakistan, as of West Pakistan, will be fully and effectively defended.

There is a great urge amongst our people to prepare themselves for the defence of the country. The Provincial Governments are adopting necessary measures to impart training in civil and military defence to the people, in particular to our young men and women in schools and colleges. Various other avenues of social and welfare work have also been opened to enable popular participation in the national defence effort.

The United Nations, both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, have recognised the gravity of the Kashmir dispute and have called for its settlement. The Indian hope that the world will gradually forget the problem of Jammu and Kashmir has been frustrated. The freedom-fighters, who took to arms in a bid to throw off the yoke of their colonial masters, have succeeded in rousing the conscience of the world. The resolution passed by the Security Council on 20th September fully recognised the dispute and called for its settlement. In support of this resolution we have the assurances of some of the permanent members of

the Council.

It remains to be seen how the Big Powers act to fulfil their undertakings. The Security Council reiterated on November 5 the resolution of September 20. They did so in spite of Indian pressure to prevent a debate on Kashmir and to separate the question of the settlement of the political problem from the question of withdrawal of forces. The Big Powers have reaffirmed their resolve to bring about a settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. We must now give them a chance to establish meaningful procedures for an honourable and peaceful settlement of the dispute.

It was heartening to get almost unanimous support for our cause in the recent debate in the General Assembly of the United Nations. Almost all member states emphasised that if a second and wider war is to be avoided, a solution must be found to the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. A large number of delegations in the General Assembly expressly upheld the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir as embodied in the UNCIP resolutions. A large and influential section of the world Press has also fully recognised the need for a settlement of the dispute on the basis of the implementation of the people's right of self-determination.

As against this, India, on the admission of her own leaders, stands isolated in the world morally as well as politically. Indian aggression against Pakistan has been widely condemned. India's continued occupation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is regarded as an act of blatant colonialism.



Pakistan's prestige today stands at a high peak throughout the world. There is great admiration for the valour of our forces and great praise for the consistency and steadfastness with which Pakistan has striven for the cause of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

Mr. Speaker, honourable members, we have vindicated our position in the battlefield. We have vindicated the justice of our cause before the world. Let no one minimise the achievement of the people of Pakistan. Let no one forget the heroic deeds of our men in the armed forces. Above all, let no one treat as ephemeral or transitory the great qualities of unity, selflessness, courage and fortitude which people in all walks of life demonstrated during this ordeal.

The Indian leaders are now engaged in a war of nerves. They are making provocative and reckless statements. Attempts will be made to sow among our people seeds of doubt and cynicism. We have to be beware it. The unity and solidarity which we have achieved with our blood must become a permanent feature of our life.

It is not possible to forecast what the Indian leaders will do next. They have so far concealed the results of war from their own people and they are keeping them in a state of war hysteria. Appeals from various quarters to Indian leaders for establishing a peaceful atmosphere have evoked no response so far, just as the United Nations' appeals for peace have not deterred them from the path of aggression.

I only hope that the results of the recent war and its implications which the Indian leaders must know, even

if their people do not, would deter them from pursuing a sterile and dangerous course. In any event we are prepared. If they decide on yet another trial of strength, they will, Insha Allah, again find the people of Pakistan ready to face them.

In the meantime, I will counsel patience. We are still in the midst of the emergency. The coming days are going to be difficult. The struggle ahead will be long and arduous. To wage it successfully will need the united will and collective effort of us all. At every step we must seek the guidance and blessing of God. Our cause is just and victory will be ours.

While we must prepare ourselves for the struggle and for the defence of our country, we must constantly remember that peace is our ultimate objective. All our struggle is devoted to the quest for peace. Remember that the edifice of peace can be raised only on the foundations of justice and righteousness. It is this peace which we cherish—peace with honour, peace with justice.

May God guide you in your deliberations!

*November 16.* The President referred to the geographical location of the two Wings and is reported to have said that another air route would be found.

About the foreign policy, he said, Pakistan wanted peace and good relations with all and friendship with neighbours. He also explained the Security Council deliberations on Kashmir.

The President told the members of the National Assembly that the Armed Forces of Pakistan had achieved a tremendous success during



the 17-day war.

They had prevented the Indian army, which was four times their strength, from achieving any of its objectives. Other gains were that the nation had discovered itself. He hoped Pakistan's gains would be lasting ones.

*December 1, 1965.*

My dear countrymen: *Assalam-o-Alaikum*. In my address to the National Assembly a fortnight ago, I dwelt at length on the genesis of the war with India, the course it took and its aftermath. Since then there have been numerous breaches of the cease-fire by India, particularly in Rajasthan and some sectors of Kashmir on the pretext that these areas were occupied by us after the cease-fire. This simply is not true. We supplied complete information about areas under our control at the time of the cease-fire to U.N. Observers. We accepted the cease-fire in good faith and have every intention of observing it if India does the same. The Secretary General of the United Nations has yet to draw up an agreed programme of disengagement. As a first step, he has nominated a Chilean General to co-ordinate work in this regard.

Meanwhile, there is no perceptible let-up in India's arms build-up. Persecution of innocent people in Kashmir continues unabated. Large numbers are being driven into Pakistan in a state of utter destitution. We, too, are maintaining our vigil. Alertness has become the nation's watchword. Each day that passes brings heartening evidence of the people's resolve to defend the country's integrity. The mood of the nation

was reflected in all its intensity in the recent session of the National Assembly which concluded two days ago.

In the foreign affairs debate, all members of the legislature, rising above party considerations, gave expression to sentiments which find an echo in the hearts of our people. In unmistakable terms they demonstrated the unity and solidarity of the nation which was forged during the recent conflict. This must be a source of gratification to all of us.

The willingness with which people in all walks of life have welcomed the additional taxation, announced by the Finance Minister, is one more piece of evidence of the determination of our people to make every sacrifice for the defence of their homeland. In formulating the proposals in the Supplementary Budget every care has been taken to see that the burden of additional taxation does not fall heavily on the common man. We have rearranged our priorities, effected large-scale economies in Governmental expenditure and non-developmental outlays without effecting the pace of economic growth. Side by side with increased import duties and sales tax, additional incentives have been provided to boost exports and rehabilitate industries in areas affected by the war. Steps have also been taken to arrest the downward trend in business activity. It has to be remembered that the defence effort can be sustained and the defence potential augmented only by maintaining the tempo of fruitful economic activity.

Bilateral negotiations with members of the Consortium countries and other friendly nations are bearing fruit. A number of them have already



announced their pledges, some of which are significantly more than their contribution to our developmental effort in previous years.

While we are thus engaged in mobilising our resources and gearing our economy to preparedness for defence, we are not neglectful of the fundamental aim of our policies, namely, the pursuit of peace. It will be in this quest for peace that I shall shortly be proceeding to the United States of America, where I shall be addressing the United Nations and then go to meet President Johnson in response to a long-standing invitation from him.

During the last three years certain strains have developed in our relations with the United States. They seem to have some grievances against us as we have against them. We appreciate that nations do not enter into alliances from purely altruistic motives. They do so in furtherance of their national policies and objectives. These policies and objectives keep on changing with changes in the world situation.

It is not possible that the USA's global interests should coincide with our national interests in every respect all the time. Some adjustment in relations becomes inevitable from time to time, but so long as there is understanding of each other's point of view, adjustments can be effected without rancour or ill-will. It may suit USA to build up India by massive doses of arms and economic aid, but we have every reason to complain if American aid guns are trained against us and pose a threat to our existence.

The U.S. have assisted us in many fields in the past and we are appreciative of their assistance. Now they have

pledged to put their weight behind a settlement of the Kashmir dispute. They are interested in removing tensions in this sub-continent. I do not have to repeat that tensions between India and Pakistan can be eased if there is a just and honourable settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

We do not want to get involved in the hot or cold wars of the big Powers. We have enough problems of our own. It is in our national interest to have friendly relations with all countries, particularly with our neighbours. The promotion of this interest is the cornerstone of our foreign policy. Development of cordial relations with our neighbours is not incompatible with the maintenance of amity with our other friends. Nor does it rule out the promotion of friendship with other Powers.

In the course of my trip, I shall be holding talks with Prime Minister Wilson in London and some other European leaders. They have been showing keen interest in recent developments in this part of the world and there are many matters on which I would like to exchange views with them.

The Foreign Minister has had very useful talks in Moscow with the Soviet leaders. Our relations with USSR are developing favourably. As you know, we have accepted Premier Kosygin's offer of good offices in settling the Kashmir dispute in all sincerity and in the hope that his efforts will bear fruit.

The present emergency has taught us a number of lessons. One lesson that we should particularly take to heart is the need for austerity in our personal as well as social life. There is no room for ostentatious living.



conspicuous consumption and waste of any kind in our present national circumstances. We have learnt to work in unison. The united will of the people will be our strongest shield against the designs of those who do not wish us well. United, we shall brave all dangers and weather all storms. May God bless our efforts!

*Pasrur, Dec. 3.* President Muhammad Ayub declared that Pakistan was well aware of India's renewed arms build-up and warned the war-mongers that the country was fully prepared to meet any challenge and give them a crushing defeat.

He added that Pakistan earnestly wished to maintain friendly relations with her neighbours but the could not do so single-handed. India was busy whipping up war hysteria and was arming herself to the teeth despite food shortage and many a crisis that it faced.

War was a luxury which countries like India and Pakistan could ill-afford to indulge in and he wished the Indian leaders realised it.

Continuing the President said that India had treacherously launched an attack firstly in the Lahore sector and then in the Sialkot sector. They had planned to capture Sialkot, cut off the means of communications and besiege the Pakistan Army.

He said, the manner in which the members of the Armed Forces had performed their duties would be cited as an example for a long time. They had written a glorious chapter in the history of Islam and had established that the Pakistan Armed Forces were less than none in the world. It had been possible for them to achieve what they did because they were fighting for the defence of an ideology

and not for territorial gains.

The nation had also exhibited its sense of patriotism and unity which was evinced from Peshawar to Chittagong. Character formation of a nation was accomplished when it faced crisis. What had to be remembered was that the patriotism and sense of duty which they showed should not be shortlived. It was, in fact, the basis on which the structure of Pakistan and the ideology of Islam was laid.

He said that there should be no differences so far as national issues were concerned. Human beings were bound to differ with each other but such clashes of opinion should be on a lower level—subordinated to the national welfare and the defence of sovereignty of the country.

He told the war-affected people that the Government was doing all within her power to habilitate them.

However, he felt confident that the day was not far when they would go back to their homes which they had lost as a result of Indian aggression.

Pakistan was well aware, he said, against whom the arms build-up was taking place and it was determined to crush any evil design that India might inflict on her. The authorities were not unmindful of what was going on in India but he exhorted the audience to remain prepared and vigilant to nullify any aggression on Pakistan.

The President added that Pakistan stood for peace and for maintaining the most cordial relations with her neighbours but that could not be done single-handed. India had not accepted the very creation of Pakistan and wished to undo it. What price she would have to pay for such a design she did not know.

President Ayub Khan wished that



Indian leaders realised that war was a luxury which neither of the two countries could afford.

He said that people might have to make sacrifices for safeguarding their sovereignty. The defence of the country was directly connected with its economic well-being and, therefore, the people should actively engage themselves in their professions with a view to enriching themselves and making the country more productive.

### PRESIDENT'S SPEECH IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

I thank you Mr. President for having provided me with the opportunity to address this august Assembly. I had a similar opportunity three years ago.

These three years have been dramatic events which have transformed much of the world pattern and its premises.

The frontiers of freedom have been pushed farther and wider, illuminating vast areas from which the light of self-determination had remained shut out for many a dark century. I see that light shining brightly in the many new faces here today representing the newly-independent countries of the world who have found their rightful place in the comity of nations.

Further, a fuller and deeper awareness of the need to coexist peacefully as the only hope for the survival of mankind has created a new compulsion for co-operation amongst the people of the world, irrespective of race or ideology.

While many for the tensions and conflicts which loomed large on the

political horizon three years ago, still cast their menacing shadows across the world, there is still a growing sense of urgency to establish areas of understanding if the nations are to be spared the horrors of a nuclear war and mankind is to survive at all. This awareness has helped to promote the concept of equality of nations.

"The measure of a nation's self-esteem and sovereignty is not determined by the magnitude of its territory or its resources. All nations, big or small, are equal in terms of their will and determination to secure and preserve their freedom, to maintain the integrity of their thought and action and strive for the welfare of their people.

The United Nations has provided a forum for the expression and development of this high concept of equality and the United Nations must continue jealously to nurture and sustain this wondrous and delicate plant so that it may in course of time bloom into flowers of human happiness and bear fruits of human prosperity.

This can be achieved, I am convinced, only in a spirit of humility and tolerance and in the knowledge that all nations are entitled to equal consideration and equal opportunities.

No country of the world, big or small, should be denied full representation in this world organisation, because of its ideology.

A new and hopeful outlook is steadily emerging for this organisation. The fact that 117 nations are assembled here today, to identify problems and to seek solutions, demonstrates the deep desire of the people of the world to live together,



in purposeful amity and peaceful accommodation.

The great ideals enshrined in the United Nations Charter represent the spirit of the times. On occasions, performance may not have fulfilled the promise, and often the keepers of world peace may have taken a narrow national view of international issues. On occasions, too, they may have allowed matters to drift, matters affecting the destiny of the peoples. Sometimes, they may have been blocked or thwarted constructive action.

But these are aberrations that must be corrected and it is for this great assembly to foster respect for world opinion to which all nations must respond. No nation, however great, must be able to secure a political advantage in defiance of international morality.

Time was when mankind was divided by vast oceans, high mountains, waterless deserts and immense distances. A nation could then live in seclusion and even prosper in isolation. Not so now. Today we all live next door to one another. Geographic dimensions have shrunk visibly, and with the development of means of communication distance has been virtually annihilated. Mankind is fast becoming one, as the great Creator intended it to be. The affairs of one nation now impinge upon the affairs of others. And a new world of interdependence has now emerged demanding urgent understanding of one another's needs and problems, and their co-operative fulfilment and resolution.

The greatest threat to this new world springs, however, from ever-widening inequalities within societies and between one society and another.

With the rapidly rising aspirations of the people, the stampede for freedom, in Africa, as in Asia, is a spectacular display of the spirit of man bursting forth to fulfil itself. With political freedom has come the demand to live a richer and fuller life.

Although old brands of political domination have receded from most of the world, their economic versions are still trying to persist. The developed nations are joining together in an unwise effort to lay down the ground rules for the developing nations. A sort of trade union of the rich is emerging and hence we witness such unwelcome developments as the holding down of prices of primary commodities, the unchecked movement of terms of trade against the primary producers, and the marketing restrictions on the manufactures of developing countries. This strategy inevitably creates unfair conditions. It inhibits the capacity of the developing countries to raise the standard of living of their people, to improve their economic productivity to increase their purchasing power, to buy more from the developed countries and to repay their loans, and, by accentuating inequalities of the world situation.

Even the nations which have the vision and generosity to provide economic assistance to the developing nations and to equip them for the manufacture of finished products so that they may raise their living standards, have largely frustrated that objective by denying the developing nations access to more than a limited share of the markets. No doubt, the developing nations have their own problems and limitations but such a policy is self-defeating. The developed nations will need to show greater



imagination and statesmanship in their approach to the problems of the developing nations, not only in the enlightened interests of each other, but also for the sake of both social justice and world peace.

These persisting inequalities and lingering reservations about the sovereignty of all nations, however small, are at the root of many of our present-day tensions and conflicts. While we all talk of peace, there are those amongst us who break it with an impunity which is as tragic as it is astounding.

We too have suffered on this account. It is with a sense of deep sorrow that I turn to the tragic developments that recently overtook the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The facts of the violent upheaval which shook the sub-continent last September are well known to the world. I will, therefore, not dwell upon the details but this august Assembly must know that we have been through one of the bloodiest of armed conflicts in the history of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. It ended with a cease-fire on September 23, in compliance with a resolution of the Security Council. But the two armies still face each other. The cease-fire is violated practically every day and we continue to hear from the Indian leaders highly provocative and inflammatory speeches indicating a desire to re-open the hostilities.

You must know that grave situation still exists and if the peace of the sub-continent is again broken the rest of the world may also be sucked into the resulting conflict.

We have been urging the United Nations that it should adopt effective means to implement its resolutions concerning international disputes.

Our repeated requests for the implementation of the UNCIP resolutions on the State of Jammu and Kashmir went unheeded. The results are now before you. An act of injustice or of defiance of international commitments does not become just with the passage of time. The Kashmir dispute is today more explosive than at any time in the past.

The need to resolve it in a fair and honourable manner in accordance with international commitments is today more urgent than ever before. That a large part of the disputed territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir has remained under the forcible occupation of India does not mean that the spirit of the people of that area has also become captive. These hearts remain free a sevir and their will to determine their own destiny can never be suppressed.

Demonstrations are a daily occurrence in the Kashmir valley in which thousands of men, women and students have taken part. Every political leader of any consequence has been arrested. There is independent testimony that the Indian prisons are crammed with those who demand a plebiscite to determine the future of the State. The Indian army has burnt down Kashmir villages wholesale and 1,20,000 Kashmiri men, women and children have fled in terror from Indian-occupied territory into Azad Kashmir.

But no amount of force or oppression can frustrate the self-determination movement in Kashmir. The right of self-determination can never be suppressed. It must ultimately triumph.

The movement for self-determination is universal. It is now in full flood. As President Wilson warned the world, self-determination is an



imperative principle of action that statesmen will ignore at their own peril. Whether the question relates to the continent of Asia or of Africa, whether the people involved live in Jammu and Kashmir or in Rhodesia, that warning holds equally true today.

You may ask: What is the future of relations between India and Pakistan? What are the prospects of peace in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent?

The recent Security Council resolutions call for a cease-fire, withdrawal of Indian and Pakistan forces and a settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Obviously, a cease-fire and withdrawal would not by themselves be enough. There was a cease-fire and withdrawal of forces after the Rann of Kutch clashes but that did not prevent an Indo-Pakistan war. Clearly, so long as the basic cause of the India-Pakistan conflict, namely, the Kashmir dispute, is not resolved, tension between India and Pakistan will continue to pose a threat to the peace in Asia.

It is vitally important that India and Pakistan live in peace as good neighbours. It is important in the interest of peace and stability in Asia. Like all emergent nations in Africa and Asia, the most challenging problems that face India and Pakistan are basically economic. The two countries cannot afford to live in a state of constant tension, necessitating massive diversions of their scarce resources to armed preparedness against each other.

I am acutely conscious of the tragic predicament in which India and Pakistan find themselves today. Neither of two countries can afford to spend any sizeable proportion of its budget on defence. Nevertheless, both countries are today devoting the maxi-

imum of their resources to the acquisition of arms and, inevitably, this further aggravates the existing tension.

Clearly a way must be found out of this dangerous vicious circle. The interest of 600 million people of the sub-continent are at stake. More than that, international peace is in jeopardy. What is of prime importance is that leaders in both India and Pakistan resolve, in all sincerity, that they shall compose their differences. Given this, it should not be difficult to find the means of doing so.

For my part, standing here in this world forum, I make this offer. Let India honour her agreement, as we would, to allow the people of Kashmir to exercise their right of self-determination in compliance with her own past pledges. Let her also agree, as we do, to settle other India-Pakistan differences also through the peaceful methods of negotiation or mediation, or if these fail, through arbitration. And then, let India and Pakistan sign a no-war pledge.

In making this proposal I am not asking India to accept any commitment which we ourselves are not prepared to accept. Nor is the proposal I have made intrinsically difficult of acceptance. Only recently, both India and Pakistan have agreed to submit the dispute relating to the Rann of Kutch to international arbitration. This was an act of high statesmanship. It should be possible to follow a similar procedure in settling other differences between India and Pakistan, should negotiations or mediation prove unavailing. I make this offer in all earnestness, because I am profoundly conscious of the tragic consequences of a continuing India-Pakistan conflict. This conflict must



be resolved, if India and Pakistan are to survive and prosper as free nations and if peace is to be preserved in Asia.

Mr. President, the United Nation is dedicated to peace with justice. In the sub-continent, both are at stake. Where can the nations, more particularly the newly-independent nations, turn to avert war, except to this world organisation, which has outlawed war? Where can the people invoke their rights against abuse of power except in this forum which is the repository of world conscience? It is incumbent on the United Nations and, more particularly on the great Powers, to see that justice is done and peace is maintained throughout the world.

I thank you.

President Johnson and President Ayub have had frank wide-ranging and productive talks for the past two days. President Ayub's visit has given

the two Presidents the opportunity to renew their warm personal acquaintance and so recall with pleasure their respective visits to Pakistan and the United States in 1961.

The two Presidents discussed at length recent events in South Asia, including the tragic conflict between India and Pakistan.

In this contest they reaffirmed their Governments' support for the United Nations Security Council resolution of September 20, 1963, in all its parts, as well as the resolutions adopted on September 27 and November 5, 1965.

President Johnson reaffirmed that the United States regards as vital for world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of Pakistan and expressed the continuing interest of the United States in Pakistan's economic and social development.



# 9

## SPEECHES BY THE GOVERNORS

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During the critical days of the recent war with India the way the Governor of West Pakistan—Malik Amir Muhammad Khan—acted as the head of the province is sure to assign his role an exalted place in the political history of the province. With his effective administration and control and patriotic speeches he infused a spirit of courage and confidence among the people of West Pakistan. He set a personal example of a deep sense of patriotism and service to the nation by donating generously his entire pay to the National Defence Fund. Some of his important speeches made during this critical juncture are included in this anthology.

The Governor of East Pakistan, Mr. Abdul Monem Khan, also showed great courage and determination during the war days. As Governor and as a true Pakistani he faced the situation calmly and effectively. Some of his speeches of the war days are also recorded here.



## SPECIAL BROADCAST

*September 7, 1965.* "As you know, India has attacked Pakistan without making a declaration of war. It gained an initial advantage which it has now lost. Our forces, both on land and in the air, are giving a crushing reply to the enemy. They are the embodiment of courage and resourcefulness. Their spirit of faith and sacrifice are unparalleled. The whole nation is proud of them.

"It is our good fortune that in this hour of great trial we have Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan as our Head of State and guide. His leadership itself is sufficient guarantee that Insha Allah victory will be ours.

"I am indeed happy to see that the morale of the people all over West Pakistan is high and that they are anxious to come to grips with the enemy. This is in keeping with the traditions of this sacred country of ours. This is the land of brave soldiers: the land of warriors and Mujahids. The Indian rulers perhaps do not realise that every child of West Pakistan is a fighter and is ready to give his life for the honour of his motherland.

"Everyone of us knows that Pakistan is our very life and honour. No sacrifice is big enough to protect it. This spirit and determination are our most effective weapons against the invader. But every individual has his own sphere of duty. What we have to do is to perform this duty with readiness and with honesty and composure.

"We have to ensure that there is no disturbance in our supply line. This supply line is in the factories, in the fields, the offices, in trade and in day-to-day administration. Our highest duty is to maintain this line and our best service is to constantly improve the standard of performance in every walk of life and at all levels.

The enemy has challenged our sense of honour and self-respect. He has chosen the district of Lahore as the target of his cowardly attack. His primary objective has been shattered and the invader has been turned back. The defence of Lahore is very strong. The citizens have kept up a tradition of courage and fortitude in the face of peril. Now they are adding another glorious chapter to their magnificent history.

"We are on the right. We are fighting for the sake of truth and justice. Insha Allah we shall inflict such a stunning blow to the enemy that all his illusions will vanish and he will be obliged to give up his unholy designs for ever.

"Have faith in God. He is with us. Victory will be ours."

## MIDDLE OF THE MONTH TALK

*September 16, 1965.* "Dear countrymen! I am addressing you at a time when war has been forced on us and we are fighting for the freedom, honour and survival of our homeland. The invaders are being given a suitable reply on the front. The valour, courage and skill displayed by our forces



is a source of pride for every Pakistani.

"Valour and sacrifice are enshrined in our glorious traditions. Our brave forces have kept up this tradition. They are writing a brilliant chapter of the history of Pakistan with their pure blood. They have dispelled all the illusions of the enemy, and frustrated his unholy designs. The enemy has been taken aback to see their firmness and dexterity in warfare.

"On behalf of all the people of West Pakistan I send tributes to our Armed Forces who are a part of our body and assure them that the whole nation is with them in this Jihad. Every Pakistani is prepared to make the greatest sacrifice for keeping the Pakistan flag flying.

"The cause for which we are struggling is just, falsehood is sure to be defeated and by the grace of God, victory will be ours.

"You know that it is not time for talking but for action. The superb standard set by our Forces in the performance of their duty is an example for us all. It is obligatory on all of us to come true to this standard.

"The present-day war is not fought only on the battleground; it is fought at every level and on every field. Viewed in this context, every factory, every bit of land, every office, every commercial centre and every social organisation is an important front.

"In order to inflict a crushing defeat on the enemy it is essential to protect all these fronts in the same way in which our jawans are protecting the frontiers of our sacred country.

"In this great trial it is the duty of every citizen and villager to maintain our supply line and not to provide the enemy with a chance to dis-

rupt it. This is possible only if the pace of agricultural and industrial production is not only kept up but increased and the inspiring and encouraging process of discipline and unity is maintained.

"Every one, wherever he is, or in whatever sphere he is working, must discharge his duty with promptitude, integrity and courage.

"As I had said earlier at every level and in every sphere the performance of one's duty is the greatest service to the country and the most obvious proof of patriotism and nationalism.

"In this trial every inhabitant owes it to Pakistan that he should utilise all his potentialities and reserve them for the country and national freedom and make sacrifices even beyond his own resources. Our honour, our life and our glorious future are connected with the freedom of our country. No sacrifice is too great for the defence, glory and solidarity of Pakistan. In an emergency like this we should be prepared for any eventuality.

"Centres of first aid and civil defence have been established everywhere. Avail yourselves of their services so that in time of need everyone is capable of protecting and helping himself and others. To show affection to one's countrymen and to help each other in the time of trial and tribulation is the basic principle of patriotism and is obligatory on us by virtue of Islam.

"The enemy has made some civil areas a target of his cowardly attacks. Several Pakistanis have been killed by these barbaric acts and their blood joins the blood of the martyrs who are laying down their lives on the front for the defence of their country. Pre-



caution demands that a large number of people should get training in first-aid and civil defence. The courage, firmness and resoluteness with which the masses have confronted the situation is a pride for us. They have inflicted a crushing blow on the enemy by maintaining the normal flow of life. After obtaining training in first aid and civil defence their morale will be still higher and they will feel confident that if the need arises they will be able to serve their brothers and sisters effectively.

"Through the combined efforts of the Government and the masses we shall, by the grace of God, come out of even the greatest ordeal with flying colours and we shall not allow the glorious traditions of this land of valiant soldiers and self-sacrificing to be tarnished. And, during and after this trial, we shall march forward with anew confidence, a new vigour and steel like unity. Pakistan has come to stay, and by the grace of God it shall stay for ever."

### MIDDLE OF THE MONTH TALK ON 16 OCT. 1965

When I addressed you this day last month, a war was raging along the long frontier of West Pakistan and our gallant Armed Forces were inflicting a crushing blow on the enemy on land, in the air and on the sea.

There are very few instances in the history of the world where a country five times bigger than its neighbour attacked it with full military might, without declaration of war, and in which the advance of the invaders was halted so quickly, their hordes flung back and parts of their own territory turned into a battlefield. Our gallant Forces, by their unique courage and skill in warfare, have performed a feat

of which every Pakistan feels proud. The Pakistan Armed Forces are a part of our body and soul. They have made a magnificent defence of their country's honour and freedom, and have set a lasting example in sense of duty, spirit of sacrifice and enthusiasm for Jihad.

One sinister object of the enemy, in launching a sudden attack, was to terrorise the people of Pakistan and disrupt the country's economic system.

On this front too, the enemy sustained an inglorious defeat and failed in the attainment of his despicable object. By their deeds and character, the people of Pakistan have shown to the enemy that he had challenged a nation endowed inherently with courage and valour, imbued with the spirit of sacrifice and equipped with a capacity to discharge every obligation and respond to every call for duty.

The way in which the whole nation responded to the historic speech of President Muhammad Ayub Khan, on September 6, baffled the enemy but enthused Pakistan and her well-wishers. Every individual turned into an impregnable bulwark to defend Pakistan, and every national of the country extended co-operation to the Government according to his capacity and sphere of duty.

In his last first-of-month broadcast, the President paid tributes to the nation and different sections of the people, which they richly deserved. In this trial a high standard of national character has been established, to maintain which is as much necessary as to defend the sacred soil of Pakistan itself.

In modern war, the collective potentialities of the nation and its behaviour and character play a decisive role.

The memory of the soldiers and



officers who attained martyrdom in the war will always remain fresh in our hearts. The fortitude and patience with which their near and dear ones heard the news of the great sacrifice by a father, a son, a brother or a husband, and their expression of gratefulness to God for such sacrifice, is an example for us all. This brave attitude will be a source of peace for the souls of the martyrs. To afford succour to the survivors of each one of them is our national obligation and an acknowledgement of our gratitude.

I also want to express my heartfelt sympathy for the kith and kin of those who fell victim to the barbarous enemy bombing. Suitable steps are being taken for the help of their dependants and relations. Many border villages have been damaged by the sudden attack of the enemy and their inhabitants have been rendered homeless.

Several measures are afoot for rehabilitating them in their houses and also for the temporary resettlement of those who cannot return to their homes for the present. They will shortly be able to resume their normal work.

Lahore, Sialkot and their suburban areas were directly within the range of the enemy's attack. The residents of these places have displayed the height of courage and steadfastness and kept up their spirit in a patience-taxing situation. The whole world is commending their determination and valour. In addition, the enemy has been bombing Sargodha, Kohat and Peshawar and caused a good deal of damage to the civil population there. A large number of civilians, including children and women were killed by the barbarous bombardment. Their blood too has mixed with the blood of those

brave people and men of the Pakistan Armed Forces who were martyred in the defence of the country. The enemy failed to harass even the civilians—rather, their spirit and zeal was further heightened by seeing this barbarity.

The Government is straining every nerve to make good the damage caused to the people in these cities, and restore the means of livelihood of the people concerned. The Government is fully alive to the problems and difficulties of all the Pakistanis affected by the aggression of India, and I assure all of you that every effort would be made to solve them without delay. The Government is grateful to all these people who are donating in cash and kind and who are helping the families of the Armed Forces and civilians killed in the war and other homeless people. This process, which exhibits a sense of brotherhood and patriotism and love for humanity, must continue. The noble and great spirit motivating this process is an effective weapon of Pakistan. In fact, in such ordeals and trials the whole nation, by pooling and utilising its individual and collective potentialities, has always come out with flying colours.

After the cease-fire, the responsibilities of all of us have further increased. In order to inflict a final defeat on the enemy, it is necessary that work on the home front should continue with the same spirit and intensity as has been exhibited by our Armed Forces. Our Forces are still in their positions, and we too must discharge our duties with honesty, promptitude and steadfastness on our respective fronts.

By now, we know the real aims and designs of the enemy, and we are aware that for the preservation of our freedom, honour and survival we have



to frustrate the unholy designs of the enemy, and finish for good his expansionist and imperialist aims. With this realisation and awareness, negligence, dereliction or indifference is unpardonable. Anyone who overlooks his responsibilities will, in fact, be betraying the great crusade and will remain deprived of the pride, peace of mind and moral happiness which can be derived by participation in this Jihad. As I have already said, this is the time to work and to work tirelessly. On this occasion, even the slightest negligence on the part of those connected particularly with matters of production, development and administration, will be highly detrimental to the national interests.

I would especially appeal to the toiling cultivators, that they should launch a vigorous campaign for making the 'rabi' crop successful. There is abundance of foodgrains in the country, but in order to maintain this happy situation it is necessary to raise foodgrains production and get rid of the necessity to import food from abroad. This task is no wise less arduous. If we realise that increase in the production of foodgrains and of wheat in particular is as essential as to defeat the enemy, we can become fully self-sufficient in the matter of food.

The Government is alive to its responsibilities in this behalf, and is making arrangements for different kinds of facilities, which include supply of better seeds and fertilisers and expansion of irrigational facilities. You are aware that the Government has set up a Provincial Committee for increasing the production of foodgrains. Under this Committee, Divisional and District Committees will function. They will include, besides

the authorities concerned, members of the National and Provincial Assemblies, and they will also enjoy the co-operation of the Basic Democrats. These Committees will play a helping, co-operative and guiding role, and the campaign for enhancing foodgrain production will be conducted through them in an organised manner.

These arrangements and facilities can be fruitful only when all cultivators profit by them. It is the duty of the educated people in rural areas to impress upon the farmer at large the extraordinary significance which agriculture enjoys in the present situation. The spirit, enthusiasm and will is there; it only needs correct guidance at local level. The educated farmers, by setting an example by their own actions, can persuade their fellow-beings and thus render a service to the nation. This is not merely a slogan but a reality, that every field of ours is an important front, and to secure the maximum production from every field is vital for bringing glory to the nation and solidarity and progress to the country.

The meritorious service by the women of Pakistan during the war are also commendable. They have set glorious examples of sacrifice and courage. Their spirit and enthusiasm are our valuable asset.

Every Pakistani owes an obligation to the country for enabling it to come triumphant out of its great ordeal, and the continuous co-operation of the women who constitute one-half of the country's population is as important in this national struggle as that of Pakistan's men. The women know their duties, and during the last one month they have proved that they possess the capacity and courage to perform these



duties admirably, I am sure our women have the appreciation and realisation of how urgently austerity and economy is needed in the existing situation, and they will certainly give practical shape to this necessity at all costs.

Each and every child of Pakistan has the confidence—and the whole world endorses it—that we are on the right and are engaged in a struggle for the vindication of justice and freedom. God willing, victory will be ours. I must say once again that the overwhelming enthusiasm and spirit with which the people of Pakistan are working for the discharge of their duty unitedly, and in a disciplined manner, for the glorification of their country and nation, should not be allowed to cool down even for a moment. We must actively remain at work with a full sense of responsibility and dutifulness in our respective spheres.

The job of our gallant and valiant Armed Forces will become easier by the awareness, promptitude, discipline and unity of the civilian population of Pakistan. Fresh glory and greatness lie in store for Pakistan. Come and work in union, to carry Pakistan to that height of glory in the history of the world, which is our legitimate right and due.

*Nov. 16, 1965.* Following is the English version of the speech by Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, Governor of West Pakistan, broadcast on the Provincial hook-up of Radio Pakistan, on Tuesday, November 16 :

Dear countrymen ! Last month the Executive Committee of the National Economic Council approved the development programme for the current financial year. A review of the programme was inevitable as comparatively less

capital has been provided in the public sector. According to the original project, it had been decided to spend Rs. 181 crore on development schemes, but now a sum of Rs. 140 crore has been earmarked for this purpose. This reduction will not adversely affect the schemes aiming at national prosperity and well-being.

The national economy and the country's defence are inseparable. At the present juncture, our defence requirements enjoy top priority, and we cannot ignore them even for a single moment. We have to fulfil them at any cost. President Muhammad Ayub Khan has amplified this point in his broadcast speech. He has said that at the moment defence enjoys priority over all other matters. Immediate and direct defence requirements undoubtedly take priority. They will be fulfilled in any case. When the freedom and honour of the country and nation have been assaulted, every sacrifice and demand for their protection is lawful. If, God forbid, the independence of the country is not safe, there would be nothing left; but if independence is preserved, everything else can be achieved. President Muhammad Ayub Khan has elucidated this principle in his recent broadcast. He has said that at the moment all other matters pale into insignificance in front of national defence. At the same time he feels that for the defence of the country, it is imperative to build its economy on a sound footing. This realistic approach is the keynote of all Government policies.

We all know that the unholy aim of the enemy's dastardly attack was to undo the magnificent progress made and the unprecedented success in the economic field achieved by the coun-



try under the leadership of President Muhammad Ayub Khan; to disintegrate the economic and social system of Pakistan and cripple Pakistan's potentiality to implement its development programmes. This despicable object is evident even from the enemy's recent aggressive action. The Indian leaders are trying to convince the world that they adhere to the Indus Water Treaty, but their action is quite the reverse. They have deprived West Pakistan of the waters of the Central Bari Doab Canal system since September 21. According to the Treaty, the share of Pakistan in the waters of the Sutlej and the Beas and Ferozepur, is earmarked. Even that has not been supplied since September 23. We had informed the Indian authorities of our requirements for the Dipalpur Canal, in accordance with the Treaty, but they have ignored it. The Indian rulers know that the suspension of canal water supply at this juncture will adversely affect the standing crops of kharif and the sowing of the 'rabi'. Therefore, this action is not only another addition to the long list of breaches of India's pledges but is open aggression and an attack on Pakistan's economy.

If the enemy is still labouring under the delusion that he can cow down Pakistan by different aggressive acts, it will cost him dear. No move whatever to overawe Pakistan can succeed. The enemy has seen it by taking the extreme step, and what did he gain except destruction and ignomy? We, as a nation, recognise our rights and interests and are determined to preserve them. We are conscious of our obligations and are engaged in their fulfilment. We are ready to accept even the biggest challenge for the sake of justice

and truth, and by the grace of God we have the strength, capacity and courage to prove equal to any test.

At the moment our most important object is an honorable independence and a safe future. To achieve this object we will have to struggle for a long time and act with the utmost patience, restraint, industry and sacrifice. Our immediate duty at the moment is to make contentment and austerity our motto. The savings effected will indirectly or directly help us in national development and defence.

By the grace of God the situation is favourable for Pakistan. Here, the Government neither exhorts the masses to strave nor does it call upon them to do away with their basic requirements. On the other hand, in accordance with the advice of President Muhammad Ayub Khan, it has been the firm policy of Pakistan that the people should get their basic articles of use at cheap rates, and their supply should be nowhere hindered. Wasteage, of course, is undesirable even in the time of peace and is most objectionable and improper now. We must shun it. In the same way, if we care to observe carefully, there are many luxuries of which we have become accustomed simply because they are available. To abandon them will make little difference in the normal routine of our lives. And, when one has a supreme and noble objective, every discerning man can cheerfully afford to do without even many pressing amenities.

There is a scope for saving in every walk of life and at every level. Great care is even now being exercised in the Government in developmentalexpenditure. The Government is endeavouring that without impairing the desired targets, saving should be effected



wherever possible, and care should be taken not to waste even a single penny under any head. A principle applicable to an individual applies to the whole community and covers the Government and all its departments as well. All must have equal respect for it. If we do away with the possibility of wastage and, succeed in saving, i.e. in the campaign for spending methodically, and with a sense of responsibility, and make full use of the national resources, the budget of foreign exchange will be far less cumbersome and all the developmental requirements of the national economy will also have been fully achieved.

Agriculture is the cornerstone of our economy. It has been enjoying this position for several years. If full attention had been devoted to agricultural development after the attainment of independence, the shape of our economy would have been different today, and we have need not have to insist so much on increasing agricultural production now. But, in the past, this important aspect had been ignored. This indifference cost us dearly and the whole economy, along with agriculture, became bogged down. A phase of agricultural production and reformation was started after the Revolution, and full-fledged efforts were made for solving the agrarian problem and for implementing modern agricultural theories and resources and for the fulfilment of cultivators' requirements. This gave us satisfactory results and now our agriculture has entered a new phase. It is now on the threshold of progress and a favourable situation exists for further stepping up this progress.

The projects under consideration for agricultural development include the scheme to construct small dams.

Several dams have been constructed near Rawalpindi and in the Campbellpur district. Besides providing irrigation facilities, the local people are also being supplied drinking water. Last month, the President inaugurated a dam at Khal, in Hazara district, by which an area of 4,000 acres of the surrounding villages will be irrigated. Similar small dams will be constructed in the Rawalpindi-Peshawar and D.I. Khan Divisions, as a result of which centuries-old arid and parched land would be able to get water in requisite quantity and the cultivators would derive the full benefit of their labour.

Agriculture was not the less important for us previously too, but its importance has further increased on account of the emergency. You will recall that in my last broadcast I appealed to the hard working cultivators to make sincere efforts for the success of the 'Rabi' crop and to strain every nerve to get the maximum production from the fields. They should work for the success of 'Rabi' with the realisation that they are engaged in crushing the enemy and glorifying their own country. I want to repeat this appeal once more and hope that all individuals connected with agriculture will not rest till the success of this campaign is achieved. The Government is doing all it has to do. Arrangements have been made for the supply of good seeds and chemical fertilisers. A decision has been taken to give 'taccavi' to the needy cultivators. Further arrangements have been made for irrigation wherever possible, and several facilities and concessions have been sanctioned for enhancing the produce of wheat. Now it is up to our cultivators and leaders in the rural areas to get the maximum benefit out of these facilities. They



should induce their comrades and co-workers to profit by them. Their joint efforts and help and guidance to each other will surely bear fruit.

In the end, I, on behalf of the Government and people of West Pakistan, thank the people and Government of East Pakistan, for having stood by us during and after the war. They demonstrated such an excellent example of national solidarity and brotherhood that it will be written in letters of gold in our history. This unity and oneness has made it clear to the enemy that we, the people of East and West Pakistan, are part of the same body and soul and that, whether it is peace or war, we are one in both situations. This practical demonstration has been most disconcerting for the enemy and most encouraging for us. I assure my brethren in East Pakistan that in the event of an ordeal and trial they would always find us steadfast, and that if ever the shadow of danger moves to their side, the full might of West Pakistan will be ready for their protection and help. Khuda Hafiz! Pakistan Paindabad.

*Dacca, Sept. 15.* The Governor of East Pakistan Mr. Abdul Monem Khan, declared that if the United Nations failed in its efforts to secure the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir, Pakistan would alone crush the imperialistic lust of India permanently and restore peace and security in this sub-continent.

In his monthly broadcast to the people, the Governor said that today Pakistan was not alone in her crusade against the Indian imperialism. Pakistan enjoyed the support of the whole world, he reaffirmed.

The Governor said that India had

now made the Charter of Human Rights and principles of security of the U.N. an object of ridicule. By setting Indian Armed Forces against Pakistan, they were mercilessly crushing peace and humanity under the wheel of brutality.

The Governor lauded the patriotic feeling and strong morale of the people.

Mr. Monem also commended the role of the traders and industrialists who by maintaining the normal supply and fair price of various commodities at this critical time had established a great example of patriotism.

*Dacca, Oct. 10.* The East Pakistan Governor said that Pakistan's grim struggle would not end until the right of self-determination for the Kashmiris was achieved.

The unique national unity and discipline demonstrated during the war, so cowardly imposed on Pakistan last month by India, should, therefore, be maintained to attain the noble object, he stressed.

Mr. Monem Khan told the cheering crowd that the enemy was beaten back effectively and was made to suffer heavily but, he reminded them, it should not make us complacent because the enemy "is treacherous and evil-minded."

We should remain ever vigilant and give a crushing final blow to their naked imperialistic and expansionist adventure, if they again try to raise their heads.

Paying high tributes to our brave Pakistan Forces, he said, they fought the enemy heroically.

The Governor said, our fight was for the cause of justice and reminded his audience of the message of Presi-



dent Ayub to fight the enemy until he was finally crushed.

Victory is ours, he said, because we are fighting for truth and justice. We can attain greater glory by following the ideals of "faith, unity and discipline."

*Dacca, Oct. 15.* The Governor of East Pakistan, Mr. Abdul Monem Khan, declared that the people of Pakistan were ever ready to give a crushing reply to the enemy wherever he tries to attack Pakistan, whether in the east or the west.

In his middle-of-the-month broadcast, the Governor reminded the Indian warlords that the hot blood of the martyrs was flowing through the veins of every Pakistani, from Peshawar to Teknaf.

All sections in East Pakistan, irrespective of their belief and party affiliations, he said, have already given a crushing reply to the provocative design of India. He was obviously referring to the discovery of the master plan hatched by India to invade East Pakistan.

The Indian ruling clique, he said, had been artfully trying to disrupt our unity by spreading various kinds of lies, but the people of Pakistan believed in "Tawheed" and the Pakistani nation had become stronger than ever

in the face of the crisis and the whole world had appreciated the unity and high morale of the Pakistani people.

Emphasising that our struggle for achieving the right of self-determination for the Kashmiris was not yet over, the Governor said it would be a fatal mistake on the part of Indian war-mongers to consider that Pakistan's acceptance of the cease-fire was a manifestation of her weakness. It was for the sake of international peace that Pakistan accepted, he added.

He called upon the people to maintain a constant vigil.

The entire nation, he said, stood behind the inspiring leadership of President Ayub Khan to inflict a crushing blow to the cowardly and treacherous enemy.

"Ours is a fight for truth and justice," he said.

He appreciated the role of the Press and Radio.

Mr. Monem reminded all sections of the people of their sacred duty in keeping intact their unity and solidarity. The ideals and examples of sacrifice set by our gallant fighters in the battlefield and the way they had embraced martyrdom to protect the honour of their motherland, he said, should be the guiding light for the entire nation.



# 10

## SPEECHES BY MINISTERS

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During the recent war with India all the Central and Provincial Ministers encouraged and kept up the spirit of the masses with their patriotic words and deeds for which they deserve an all-out praise. They fully realised the grave situation caused by war and fulfilled their obligations with a keen sense of devotion.



*Barisal, Aug. 15.* The Speaker of the National Assembly, Mr. Abdul Jabbar Khan, deplored Indian action in accusing Pakistan for the uprising by the freedom-fighters in Kashmir to assert their right of self-determination.

Mr. Jabbar Khan said, while India was claiming herself to be democratic she was at the same time denying the Kashmiri people their right of self-determination. He recalled violation by India of United Nations resolution on plebiscite in Kashmir and her obstinate policy to keep the Kashmiris under perpetual bondage.

The Speaker said, after the recent happenings in Kashmir and India's "wild accusations" against Pakistan "we should be alert and guard against disunity and confusion." He said, there was now an imperative need for national unity to face the challenge.

He urged the people to unite and support the Government. Pakistan, he said, was passing through difficult days.

The Speaker reiterated his earlier appeal to people to co-operate with this Government to face the challenge that President Ayub had boldly accepted after the USA brought pressure on Pakistan by postponing the Consortium meeting. Deploring the U.S. attitude, he said, Pakistan had already refused to accept aid or assistance with strings. To accept aid with strings, he said, was beneath the dignity of a free nation.

The Speaker said, Pakistan was

grateful to US for assistance she had given in the past and still wanted to retain existing friendship but not at the cost of nation's honour and prestige.

The Speaker explained to his audience that the US was unhappy over President Ayub's dynamic foreign policy which had brought neighbours like Russia and China and some other countries closer to Pakistan.

"They (Russia and China) want peace and we want peace," he said.

The Speaker also referred to President Ayub's achievements in founding the Regional Co-operation for Development (RCD) among Turkey, Iran and Pakistan.

The Speaker was confident that the Third Five-Year Plan would be duly implemented despite the American attitude in regard to the Aid-to Pakistan Consortium meeting provided the people made necessary sacrifices. He said, with the sacrifice and proper utilisation of the internal resources, the nations would be able to withstand the challenge of the United States.

*Dacca, Aug. 15.* The Central Communications Minister Khan A. Sobur, accused India of making baseless and malicious allegations against Pakistan in connection with the freedom-fighters' revolt in Occupied Kashmir.

He said in an interview: "This is a heinous attempt on the part of India to blackmail Pakistan before the rest of the world, but their attempt is bound to be frustrated. Held Kashmir



is in a state of revolt.”

He said, it was baseless and untenable that Pakistan had sent “infiltrators” into India-held Kashmir. “India will never be able to befool world opinion by this type of blackmail,” he added.

The Minister deplored that India not content with putting the Kashmiris’ beloved leader, Shaikh Abdullah and others behind the bars, had let loose inhuman torture on the people in Occupied Kashmir.

Since the detention of Shaikh Abdullah, he said, intermittent firing by Indian Police, indiscriminate arrests, lathi-charges and various other oppressive measures had become the order of the day in Held Kashmir.

The current upsurge in Occupied Kashmir was an expression of the oppressed people’s intense desire to give vent to their feelings against the Indian occupation. Pakistan had no need to send infiltrators, not to speak of army.

Following is the text of a statement issued by the Kashmir Affairs Minister, Chaudhry Ali Akbar, on Aug. 18:

The struggle for liberation in the Indian occupied areas of Jammu and Kashmir has reached a critical stage. The whole world knows that the people of Jammu and Kashmir, having waited for 18 long years in vain, have risen in revolt against the oppressive Indian rule.

Conditions inside Jammu and Kashmir have been chaotic throughout the last 18 years. There have been large-scale arrests of Kashmiri leaders and all civil liberties have been ruthlessly suppressed. After languishing in Indian jails for many years, Shaikh

Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Baig, who have been in the vanguard of struggle for liberation, were recently re-arrested. There is little hope that these leaders will ever be allowed by the Indian rulers to breathe the air of freedom. Killing of innocent Kashmiris and complete contempt for their religious feelings have been the hallmark of Indian rule.

Successive puppet Governments have been imposed upon the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The latest in this series is the so-called Government of G. M. Sadiq which operates from within the well-guarded four walls of his house. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have never concealed their hatred for these Governments and have maintained an attitude of determined resistance throughout this period.

The story of Indian treachery is well known. The technical methods which India has been employing to keep the people under the heel of its armed forces are known to the world. Hardly a day ever passed without the people coming into clash with the Indian usurpers.

The people of Jammu and Kashmir had pinned their hopes on the United Nations to arrange for the exercise of their right of self-determination in fulfilment of a solemn international pledge given by India. These hopes have been completely belied and the patience of the people has been exhausted. Instead of preparing the ground for the holding of a free and fair plebiscite, the United Nations has been acting as idle spectator while India has gone on with its evil designs for a complete integration of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The



United Nations has shown indifference to the fate of four million people fighting for their freedom. All it has done is to receive protests on violations of the Cease-fire Line and to pass judgement on them.

Recent events have shown that the brave people of Jammu and Kashmir have taken to arms realising the futility of depending on the United Nations to arrange for the exercise of their right of self-determination.

The people have now risen in open revolt. These are the very people who have been the victims of Indian deceit and oppression. And these are the people who are being called "Pakistani infiltrators" by India. The history of imperialism is full of instances when freedom-fighters were dubbed as traitors, intruders and mercenaries. By whatever name India may choose to call them, they remain the brave freedom-fighters with whom India will have to contend.

Is it India's case that in spite of their massive forces, people from Azad Kashmir were able to defy them and proceed right to the heart of Srinagar? If six divisions of Indian army, manning the Cease-fire Line, could not prevent the so-called infiltrators, how could they expect the limited Azad Kashmir forces to stop the popular movement of people determined to lay down their lives for the emancipation of their enslaved homeland.

It appears that India has started calling the freedom-fighters of Jammu and Kashmir as Pakistani infiltrators as a prelude to some aggressive action against Pakistan. India sees Pakistan's hand behind all her troubles. More recently, she has been exploiting

the Chinese bogey. One wonders whom they are trying to deceive. Throughout the last 18 years India has pursued a path of collision with Pakistan.

There is time still, as the President of Pakistan said the other day, for India to realise the gravity of the situation and to come to an honourable settlement of the Kashmir dispute with Pakistan. That is the only way which will lead to peace and harmony in this disturbed part of the world. This might well be the last opportunity for collective action by peace-loving nations of the world for an effective resolution of this explosive conflict. It is natural that the people of Azad Kashmir should have the fullest sympathy for their brethren in Occupied Kashmir. Who can question their right to go to their help? They have a right to be there.

In their moment of trial the freedom-fighters of Jammu and Kashmir are entitled to the sympathy and support of all those who believe in the people's right of self-determination. They will not find Pakistan wandering in their hour of need.

Mr. Abdul Rahman Khan, MPA, Hazara, said in Lahore on Aug. 18, 1965, that, if allowed, two lakh Hazara tribesmen were ready to march into the Indian-held Kashmir to help the freedom-fighters in their war of liberation from the Indian colonial rule.

In a Press statement he described their fight against Indian imperialism as "jihad" and said every Muslim irrespective of his nationality was religiously bound to take part in it.

Syed Ghulam Hasan Kermani, and Mr. Nazar Husain Khan, Advocate Chairman and General Secretary res-



pectively of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation League, Lahore District, in a joint statement, welcomed the assurance to the Kashmiri freedom-fighters given by the Central Minister for Kashmir Affairs, Ch. Ali Akbar, that the Government and people of Pakistan would give them every help in the event of need.

They said that the Minister's assurance had endorsed the feelings of Kashmiri refugees in Pakistan and provided great encouragement to the Mujahids who were waging a life-and-death struggle to liberate their homeland from Indian occupation. The day was not far off when the Mujahids would make the Indian Army lay down their arms, they observed.

Kashmiri nationals residing in Karachi urged the Pakistan Government to renounce the Cease-fire Agreement with India so that they could join their brethren in occupied Kashmir to drive out the Indian imperialists.

At an emergency general meeting the All-Party Kashmir Committee told the Pakistan Government that the time for "lip-service" was gone. The open revolt of the freedom-fighters in occupied Kashmir demanded that Pakistan should lend practical support to them. The Committee appreciated Pakistan's past efforts in keeping the issue alive.

Expressing indignation over Indian brutalities speakers at the meeting extended whole-hearted support to the measures taken so far by the Revolutionary Council to throw off Indian yoke.

A message from Quetta adds: Four Sardars of Mohmand Tribe today sought Government's permission to fight beside the patriotic forces in

beleaguered Kashmir.

The four Sardars—Malik Badam Khan, Namad Khan, Gul Muhammad Khan and Ajab Khan—said in a statement that 3,000 Mohmand tribesmen were battle-ready to join the freedom fight being waged in occupied Kashmir. They said, the tribesmen were impatient to go and liberate the Indian occupied valley of Kashmir.

### WE MUST QUIT UN IF KASHMIRIS ARE LET DOWN AGAIN

The Speaker of the National Assembly, Mr. Abdul Jabbar Khan, said on Oct. 14, 1965, that Pakistan must quit the United Nations if the world body fails to honour its pledge to the people of Kashmir.

The Government action in that event, he added, would conform to the unanimous national demand at home as the people of Pakistan had scant regard for the world organisation which had no respect for its own decisions.

Mr. Jabbar paid glowing tributes to the Armed Forces which had created a tradition of valour, bound to go down in world history. He described his visit to Lahore and Sialkot sectors as a "discovery" and the discovery was that the nation had come to maturity and that it was a nation of a dedicated self-reliant and self-sacrificing people.

Talking of the United Nations, the Speaker said that it had been proved beyond doubt that it served the interests of the big nations, and



problems facing the smaller nations were taken up only if that meant some political gain for the big nations.

If Pakistan continued to be associated with the United Nations, knowing that the organisation had a purposeless existence, he said, she would be wasting her time.

It had become evident that the big Powers were more interested in India and they became active only when they found Indian interests in jeopardy.

Giving impressions of his tour he said, "This tour of mine may be described as a voyage of discovery. From what I have seen and heard, I can say that it was a discovery of Pakistan, a nation come to maturity. Aply led by our dedicated and inspiring President, the Armed Forces, the civil administration and, above all, the people of Pakistan, have given a clear proof of the fact that Pakistan lived up to its motto of Unity, Faith and Discipline."

Valour of the Armed Forces is easy to believe. But who could believe that in war time, smuggling and all crimes would disappear and prices would go down instead of spiralling higher. And this is what unbelievably happened. Such a miracle can only be found in a nation of dedicated, disciplined, self-reliant and self-sacrificing people.

He said: "The naked and treacherous Indian aggression was combated successfully and the enemy has been taught a lesson which, if it were wise, it should not forget. Without a declaration of war, in the dead of night, the enemy sneaked into Pakistan and an attack was launched on the historic cities of Lahore and Sialkot.

The enemy massed its forces on such a large scale that it took for granted that it would run over Pakistan. In any other circumstance, the enemy's calculations might have come true but they forgot that they were up against the armed forces of a nation which is composed of the stuff and mettle which great nations alone are made of.

"The odds were against us but with the grace of God and the heroic determination of our Armed Forces and unparalleled discipline of all sections of people were able to foil the enemy on every front. We are grateful to God that He helped us in not only repelling aggression but also teaching a bitter lesson to the enemy.

"There is no parallel in history to show that such a numerically small army fought so well against invaders many times more than itself and that the enemy met such a crushing defeat. It would need volumes to record their heroic deeds. It was inspiring to hear the firsthand account of their valour and against heavy odds. This was because the entire nation was behind them and they knew that they were fighting for a cause.

"During my recent tour of the interior, I also met a large number of people affected by ruthless Indian bombing and strafing civilians. I was amazed to find the degree of their high morale. I admire this spirit, for without it victory against such a formidable and treacherous foe was not possible. It was obvious from my visits to Kasur, Batapur, Sialkot that the main target of the Indian Air Force was the defenceless and innocent population.



"The people of Lahore deserve special mention in this connection for they were the first to be attacked by the enemy which wanted to capture Lahore in one day and disrupt the communication line from the north to the south. Thank God, the joint efforts of the Armed Forces as well as the civil population frustrated the enemy who was thrown back."

The Speaker also visited a number of hospitals. He talked to the wounded officers and soldiers who looked very cheerful and were anxious to go back to the battlefield to fight with the enemy again. He said, "This is a very heartening sign of which any nation would be proud."

"This war has exploded the myth that the overwhelming number of the Indian forces with vast resources of arms and ammunition were too strong for the smaller Pakistani forces.

"Such achievements were possible because of a team spirit in the nation to work in co-operation with various Government agencies. I have no doubt that they will continue to work like this in the larger interests of the nation."

*Karaahi, Aug. 23.* Mr. S. M. Zafar, the Central Law Minister, said, the revolution-like situation prevailing in Indian-held Kashmir was the obvious outcome of justice delayed to the people of the State.

Talking to newsmen he said that Kashmiris seemed to have become desperate so as to resort to the present method of deciding their future.

The entire civilised world, he said, believed in quick dispensation of

justice. According to the Magna Carta, of which the British were proud of, delay in justice was like selling justice.

The Minister said, for long the people of Jammu and Kashmir State were hoping that they would be given a chance to exercise their right of self-determination. The United Nations also upheld this right and so did India and Pakistan.

The Kashmiris, he added, took to the present course after waiting to long and after trying constitutional and other civilised methods to get their right of self-determination.

There was still time, he said, for the United Nations to take notice of the developments in the held State and implement its resolution. Otherwise the Kashmiris would be justified to continue the struggle which they had already taken upon themselves.

Asked if the people of the State would stop the present freedom struggle if the United Nations intervened and promised to implement its resolutions. Mr. Zafar said they should stop it.

But, he added, that he could not say whether the Kashmiris would rely on UN promises any more. For they had already seen the fate of the previous ones.

He was of the view that once a people wanted to dissociate themselves from another people no force could stop them from doing so. Singapore did not want to continue in the Malaysian Federation and other components of the Federation, including Malaya, agreed to this without causing any bitterness. Why could not



the same thing happen for Kashmiris, who wanted to get rid of Indian rule, he asked.

As regards Pakistan, Mr. Zafar continued, it was constitutionally committed to the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

He then read out Article 221 of the Constitution of Pakistan which says that "relationship between Pakistan and the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State."

Whatever is happening in Kashmir today, he said, was nothing but a revolution.

The people of Kashmir, Mr. Zafar said, had risen in revolt against tyrannical forces because they felt that justice which was promised to them more than a decade ago had been denied.

Amends, he said, could still be made by UN to satisfy the Kashmiris. If an agreement for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute, like the one reached on the Rann of Kutch, was evolved, he added, it could be helpful for both India and Pakistan.

*Karachi, Aug. 24.* Mr. Mahmoud A. Haroon, West Pakistan Minister for Co-operation and Labour, said that the people of Pakistan were strong enough to face the aggressive designs of India and protect their homeland.

The Minister said that the people of Pakistan were united under the able and dynamic leadership of President Ayub Khan and were also alive to the present threats of India.

Mr. Haroon said, despite India's military threats to Pakistan and

America's aid freeze, Pakistan will continue to march towards progress.

*Moscow, August 25.* Mr. Iqbal Athar, Pakistan's Ambassador to USSR, said, Mr. Kosygin's visit will take place in not too distant future, maybe at the end of this year. The exact date will soon be fixed.

Mr. Iqbal Athar said that President Ayub's visit to the Soviet Russia and his frank and cordial discussion with the Soviet leaders represent "historic turning point in our relations with this country."

He said: "The President's frank personality and sincerity has left a lasting impression on them (Soviet leaders)." The Soviet leaders, he said, understood him well and now they know that Pakistan has a leader who speaks the mind of the people.

The "historic turning point" between Pakistan and the Soviet Union following President Ayub's visit is easily noticeable. "I find a lot of goodwill for Pakistan among people here and they know more about the country now than they ever did before.

"The people on sidewalks stopped me when I went out with my interpreter. They sought more information about Pakistan, particularly about the Kashmir dispute. The Soviet people firmly believe in the principle of right of self-determination.

Informed sources here say that Mr. Nikita Khrushchev's stand on Kashmir did not correctly represent juridical understanding of the situation. It was more of emotional, personal view of the ousted Premier who took this stand as an answer to Pakistan's collaboration with the United States.

The sources said that it may



reasonably be assumed that with the departure of Mr. Khrushchev the emotion aspect of the Soviet attitude has also gone into the limbo of oblivion.

The Soviet-Pakistan joint communique issued at the end of President Ayub's visit to USSR forcefully upheld the principle of self-determination.

The sources said that the Soviet leaders do not say that there is no dispute in Kashmir. Their use of veto in the Security Council was understood to be aimed at blocking any third party from intervening in the dispute as they were of the view that India and Pakistan should sit across conference table and sort out the problem.

With natural caution, the Kremlin has not so far made any statement on the present revolt in the Indian Occupied Kashmir, but observers here feel that they are not likely to take sides. Observers also say it seems that the settlement of the Rann of Kutch dispute was welcomed here as a model of settling all disputes between India and Pakistan, including Kashmir.

### **NATION READY TO INFLICT FINAL BLOW ON ENEMY**

The Provincial Communication Minister, Mr. Muhammad Khan Junejo, said on Oct. 19, 1965, that the nation was well prepared to inflict final blow on the enemy if the enemy would ever dare to put his dirty foot on the sacred soil of Pakistan again.

He said, he had been to Umarkot where the majority of non-Muslims reside. He called a meeting of B.D. members of that area majority of whom were non-Muslims. Like true

Pakistanis they assured him of every help to crush the enemy.

The minister said that both the armed forces and the civilian population had faced the naked Indian aggression with commendable courage and determination. In the deserts of Sind-Rajasthan, as everywhere else, a humiliating defeat was inflicted on the enemy.

He said that he visited the front-line and was astonished to know that iced water was being supplied to army jawans in trenches.

He said that "Hur Mujahideen," fighting without the help of the army, had repulsed the enemy attack on Tharparkar, Sanghar, Sukkur, and Rahimyarkhan borders.

He said that the rangers also gave a commendable account of themselves in liquidating Indian aggression. He added, the Indians took to their heels at the very sight of Pakistan army.

The Minister said that the Indian Army had uprooted the Muslim population of India in border areas and had forced them to quit their hearths and homes and cross into Pakistan.

### **KASHMIR—A TEST CASE FOR U.N.**

Chaudhry Ali Akbar, Pakistan Minister for Home and Kashmir Affairs, said in Lahore that Kashmir was not only a matter of life and death for Pakistan but was also a trial of the Security Council.

He said that the Security Council had been obstructing the solution of the Kashmir dispute for the last 18 years but now it had become a test case and could not remain unsolved



any longer.

Addressing a public meeting held at the Youth Centre under the auspices of the West Pakistan Youth Movement, the Minister said that Kashmir was part and parcel of Pakistan and the fight for its liberation would be continued till the last Pakistani lived.

He said that the Indians had let loose a reign of terror on the Muslims of Kashmir over the last 18 years, yet they could not curb the spirit of freedom in them.

*Karachi, Aug. 31.* The Central Information Minister, Kh. Shahabuddin, today warned India that if she continued her aggressive actions across the Cease-fire Line in Kashmir, the Pakistan forces would be forced to retaliate and would "teach them the lesson of their life."

The Minister was replying to an address of welcome presented by Hafiz Habibullah, Vice-Chairman of the KMC, on behalf of the local members of Basic Democracies.

He said, under the brilliant and devoted leadership of President Ayub the nation was prepared to face any eventuality and he hoped by the grace of God the power drunk Indians will receive a crushing defeat at the hands of Mujahideen who will be victorious and Kashmir will ultimately be liberated.

He said, the need of the hour was unity, faith in God and perseverance as urged by the Holy Qur'an.

"We are confronted with a hostile power," the Minister said, "and the indications are that the stage may soon come when we have to fight it out with the aggressor and, therefore, it is the bounden duty of all to submit

to the dictates of God and His Prophet and not to fight among ourselves but to strengthen the bonds of unity."

Kh. Shahabuddin, after giving a brief account of how the people of Occupied Kashmir had recently raised the banner of revolt against the Indian subjugation and how India had brazenly and repeatedly violated the Cease-fire Line, said: "Perhaps India has not learnt any lesson from its rout in NEFA and the Rann of Kutch and has turned arrogant by receiving massive arms aid from the West."

The responsibility for such aggressive posture, he warned, rested with India which will have to face the consequences.

The Minister said, Pakistan could not remain indifferent to what was happening in Occupied Kashmir and the Government under the great leadership of President Ayub was aware of the seriousness of the situation and also knew full well the sentiments of the people.

He, however, told the audience that Pakistan believed in peaceful settlement of international disputes and need not indulge in war-mongering like India. But at the same time let it be known, he said, if the Shastri Government continues to threaten us and if she materialises its threats, we know how to defend ourselves.

Speaking about the importance of the system or Basic Democracies, the Minister said, President Ayub Khan must be complimented for introducing this system. He said, this system had brought the officials and the people closer and had spurred the people into activity. The people had drawn useful programmes under this system and were working under the maxim of "self-help" to raise their standard of





**MR. GHULAM NABI MEMON**  
*Minister for Law, Parliamentary  
Affairs and Information,  
Government of West Pakistan*



living.

In East Pakistan, the works programme introduced under this system, he said, had done wonders and the standard of living of the people had gone up considerably.

Kh. Shahabuddin described Basic Democracies as a great system and said, this democratic institution had provided an opportunity to the representatives to serve the masses. In the olden days this very system was introduced by the alien rulers in a different form but today the free Government of the free country had evolved a better system which was more akin and nearer to the aspirations of the people.

The system, he said, had been introduced by the President keeping in view the needs and aspirations of the people and was most suited to the genius of our people.

The system, he said, had been commended by other countries of the world and was also adopted by some of them.

Earlier, welcoming the Minister, Hafiz Muhammad Habibullah paid glowing tributes to him for his services in the creation of Pakistan.

He expressed the hope that the Khwaja Sahib would do his utmost to solve the Kashmir problem which had eluded solution during the last 18 years.

Hafiz Muhammad Habibullah assured the Minister that the Chairmen of the Union Committees and Members of the Basic Democracies would not spare any sacrifice for the liberation of Kashmir.

He said that Khawja Shahabuddin had refused to accept any dinners or receptions and in deference to his wishes he (Hafiz Habibullah) had de-

cidated to offer the money intended for the reception to the Freedom-fighters Fund. He then presented a cheque for Rs. 1,000 to the Minister for the freedom-fighters.

*Rio De Janeiro, August 31.* Mr. S. M. Murshed, the Ambassador of Pakistan to Brazil, has described the Indian allegation that "Pakistani troops have infiltrated into Occupied Kashmir" as "absolutely false" and been "deliberately concocted to smokescreen the revolt of the people of Kashmir against the tyranny and colonial rule of India."

Giving an account of the liberation struggle which the people of Kashmir have been carrying on for the last 17 years, Mr. Murshed said: "In defiance of United Nations directions and world opinion, India has denied to the people of Kashmir their inalienable right of self-determination. The Kashmiris are subjected to torture and oppression and they are being massacred in large numbers. Their properties are looted and burnt and their leaders are clamped in jail. In desperation they have taken to arms to throw off the yoke of Indian imperialism."

The Ambassador thanked the Government and people of Brazil for their support to the demand of the people of Kashmir for self-determination.

Mr. Murshed also refuted another Indian propaganda that "Pakistan in collusion with China was causing trouble to India," saying it was a down-right lie. He said, whenever India commits an aggression against Pakistan, it brings up the question of China to cover it up.

He said: "The reason why India



frequently plays up the so-called Chinese threat is not difficult to see. By raising the bogey of Chinese aggression, India has received and continues to receive massive arms aid from Western countries. It is frantically trying to build up its military strength for territorial expansion. It has invaded and forcibly occupied a number of territories and dreams of expanding its frontiers from Hindu-kush to the Mekong river."

*Dacca, September 2.* Khwaja Shahabuddin, Central Information Minister, expressed his firm belief that all Pakistanis would rise like one man and put up a united front to defend their homeland and defeat the nefarious designs of Indian aggressors.

Making a statement on Kashmir situation Kh. Shahabuddin said that current events in Kashmir were no ordinary border clashes and described the whole situation as a national emergency and struggle for protecting sanctity of our sovereignty.

The events of the past three or four weeks, he said, clearly demonstrated that these were no ordinary border clashes but a deep-laid Indian conspiracy to annex Azad Kashmir, and if they succeeded in this venture, to proceed with their aggressive march even into Pakistan territory. He said, "We will not allow even an inch of either the Azad Kashmir territory or Pakistan's soil to be occupied." He also stressed the need for maintaining internal peace in this hour of emergency.

He said, Pakistan was face to face with "ill-concealed aggressive designs of India. When we are facing this situation, when our frontiers are threatened with violation, we cannot

be expected to adopt an attitude of philosophical indifference.

Narrating the developments of events from the date of Indian occupation of Kargil outposts in May last down to the crossing of the Cease-fire Line and pressing into service the Indian Air Force planes and shooting down of four Indian jets by Pakistan Kh. Shahabuddin said: "It is a dangerous course. It is a course of naked aggression by India."

*Beirut, September, 3.* The Speaker of the Pakistan National Assembly, Mr. Abdul Jabbar Khan, has appealed to all fair-minded peoples of the world to support the cause of Kashmiris.

The Pakistan Speaker refuted the Indian accusation that Pakistan was inciting Kashmiris to revolt or sending the so-called "infiltrators" across the border.

"The truth is that Kashmiris do not need to be incited against India," he said.

He pointed out that Kashmiris had been so much oppressed and maimed that, in sheer despair, they had now risen in revolt against India.

He expressed the hope that the Lebanese would support the cause of Kashmiris, who were struggling to secure their right of self-determination.

The Speaker declared that Pakistan stood for peace and for peaceful solutions of all problems.

*Dacca September, 4.* The Central Information Minister, Khwaja Shahabuddin, said that the whole nation stood united under the superb leadership of President Ayub to defend the country's honour and integrity in this hour of national emergency.



In a broadcast to the nation from Dacca Station of Radio Pakistan on the present Kashmir situation, Kh. Shahabuddin said that the course of events of the past few days had already exposed India's naked aggression against Pakistan. Even the Indian Prime Minister had declared, he said, that India shall pursue its goal in Kashmir fighting regardless of international support.

Kh. Shahabuddin said, India's violation of the Cease-fire Line in Kashmir at some points and jubilation and boastful utterances of the Indian Minister, especially Defence Minister Chavan, were an indication of India's evil designs and purposes. He said, "Naturally, when our frontiers are violated, we cannot remain silent spectators."

The Pakistan Minister said helpless people of Kashmir had risen in revolt in sheer desperation and failing to suppress the Kashmiri freedom-fighters Indian aggressors branded them as Pakistani infiltrators. Then they threatened to cross the Cease-fire Line and they did so.

Kh. Shahabuddin said, "Once the people of Kashmir have risen they cannot be kept down. This has happened in scores of countries in Asia and Africa which have attained freedom through national struggle. It will undoubtedly be repeated in Kashmir."

He reiterated that the current events in Kashmir were no ordinary border clashes but a deep-laid conspiracy to annex Azad Kashmir and to march even into Pakistan territory. But Insha Allah we will not allow even an inch of our territory to be violated."

*Lyallpur, September 4.* The Central Home and Kashmir Affairs Minister, Ch. Ali Akbar Khan, said that there was no need for Pakistan to answer UN Secretary-General's letter to India and Pakistan on the Kashmir situation.

Asked what was Pakistan's reply to the U N Secretary-General's letter, the Kashmir Affairs Minister said, a reply to the letter was almost unnecessary after India's flat refusal to pay any heed to reason.

He said, the entire world knew that the people of Kashmir had a just cause to rise in revolt against India.

Ch. Ali Akbar Khan advised the Indian leadership to desist from armed provocation of Pakistan in Kashmir.

He told the news conference that if India continued its present policy towards Pakistan, it would soon realise that "she has dug her own grave by challenging Pakistan."

He appealed to the just-minded and freedom-loving elements in India to ask their "narrow-minded leadership" to refrain from acts of aggression and let the people of Jammu and Kashmir have their birthright of self-determination, as aggression cannot defeat justice.

He said, "The brave people of Occupied Kashmir have ultimately risen in revolt against Indian repression. The Indian imperialists must understand that now Insha Allah no amount of force or repression would succeed in defeating the Kashmiris who have the backing of not only their brethren in Pakistan but of all the right-minded freedom-loving people of the Islamic world and even the just-minded people of India."



Ch. Ali Akbar was particularly happy to note that the entire nation stood like one man behind President Ayub when India was engaged in an undeclared war against Pakistan. He was confident that the people would not consider any sacrifice too great.

The Minister, however, asked the people to be prepared for the worst and to gird up their loins to defeat the evil designs of India.

He said, Pakistan was strong enough to meet effectively any aggression by the Indians.

Pakistan is a peace-loving nation but India has forced her to take necessary measures for her defence.

In this connection, the Minister appealed to the people to co-operate with the Civil Defence Organisation.

Under present circumstances, he added, precaution demanded that due attention be paid to civil defence.

*Dacca, September 5.* Khawaja Shahabuddin, the Central Minister for Information, said that "our gallant soldiers" would totally wipe out the enemy in Kashmir under the able leadership of President Ayub who was skilled in modern techniques of war.

Talking to newsmen, the Minister confidently assented that success would embrace our Jawans who are fighting for the nation and time was not far when Kashmiris would be free from the tyrannical rule of India.

He said that chivalrous deeds and valour so far displayed by our jawans in fighting out the enemies were excellent and they were advancing with marvellous achievements and high morale.

He said that India's heinous motive of integrating Kashmir had been fully foiled and exposed to the world.

"Pakistan will fight to the last for her honour, prestige and national integrity and for freeing the Kashmiri brethren who had been under the bondage of tyrannical rule of India for the last 18 years," he added.

*Multan, September, 5.* Mr. Altaf Husain, Central Industries Minister, said that Pakistan stood united on the question of liberation of Kashmir and all internal political barriers had fallen.

Mr. Altaf said that India had launched open aggression and forced upon them a military confrontation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The Pakistan Army and Air force were helping the brave Kashmiris against whom India had deployed many divisions of her Army in a brutal bid to quell their demand for freedom.

"As a Muslim and as an honourable nation, we could do no less."

He hoped that "the industrialists and business men all over the country would be willing and ready like the rest of our people to bring this struggle—jihad—to a victorious conclusion."

*September 26, 1965.* The West Pakistan Law Minister, Mr. Ghulam Nabi Memon, said that even though President Ayub had accepted the cease-fire in the interest of world peace, the nation should remain constantly vigilant because it was dealing with a cowardly and crafty enemy.

The law Minister said that when the enemy took us unawares with all his might and main, he had no idea that he was courting sure death. He noted with great pride that the Armed Forces of Pakistan had gone out to meet the enemy with memories of their



of the Indian Prime Minister and the Defence Minister to say now that the UK Government has been hostile to India and has been supporting the cause of Pakistan. Ingratitude thy name is India.

The ignoble defeat both on land and in air has exposed the Indian Government before the whole world and like a losing gambler the Indian statesmen are now put to malign even their own benefactors and supporters. It is now for the world powers to judge how far India can be taken at her face value.

Sept. 5, 1965. The West Pakistan Minister for Revenue and Rehabilitation, Khan Habibullah Khan, who is also Leader of the Provincial Muslim League Assembly, has condemned the unprovoked and undeclared war waged by India against the Kashmiris and assured full support to the people of Occupied Kashmir in their valiant fight for the liberation of their homeland.

In a statement the Minister said that India had been relentlessly carrying on a campaign for suppressing and throttling the voice of innocent Kashmiris and turned a deaf ear to the world opinion urging for an amicable and peaceful solution of the dispute.

Tracing the history of Kashmir problem, the Minister said that it was India herself who went to the Security Council and gave a solemn pledge to the world body for solving the issue through a fair and free plebiscite. Unfortunately, the Indian leaders attached no significance to their promises and resiled from their undertakings on one pretext or another.

The Indian rulers who had let loose a reign of terror against the

Kashmiris and interned their leaders, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg, strove hard to integrate the State into the Indian Union by applying various provisions of the Indian Constitution in utter disregard of the solemn pledges given to the UN to maintain the *status quo*, the Minister observed.

Khan Habibullah Khan said, the situation took a serious turn in the last few months when the whole State rose against the Indian aggressors in the wake of the detention of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah on his return from Haj. It was unfortunate that instead of bowing to the world opinion the Indian rulers deemed it fit to cross the Cease-fire Line, occupy posts in Azad Kashmir and ruthlessly shell villages in Pakistan territory. Pakistan, he said, could not be a silent spectator to what had been happening in the Occupied Kashmir and would continue helping the Mujahids in their war of liberation.

The recent deployment of Indian Air Force against the unarmed Kashmiris and its violation of Pakistan territory, he said, could not be brooked with equanimity. The Pakistan Government was well within its rights to protect its sovereignty and would be justified in taking appropriate measures to stop India's further aggression.

The Minister warned the Indian rulers to stop playing with fire and learn to live in peace with her neighbours to solving all the outstanding issues amicably through negotiations or arbitration, in case the negotiations did not prove fruitful.

The Minister also appealed to the people of Pakistan to remain united and strengthen the hands of President Ayub at the critical juncture so as to



meet the challenge posed by India's aggression and teach her a befitting lesson.

*Lyallpur, Sept. 5.* Chaudhri Ali Akbar Khan, Central Minister for Home and Kashmir Affairs, said that the present armed clash between India and Pakistan was a battle between forces of evil and righteousness and declared that forces of righteousness would Insha Allah emerge victorious.

Chaudhri Ali Akbar said that Pakistan was fighting for upholding righteousness so that the people of Kashmir could secure their birthright of self-determination. India has been holding the Kashmiris under her imperialistic bondage for 18 years in complete negation to her international commitments.

The Home Minister said that Pakistan had waited for a long time that wisdom would prevail upon the Indian leadership and they would come to some amicable settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.

But, he said, India continued to strengthen her illegal hold on Kashmir in complete violation of the resolutions of the Security Council and her international commitments.

He declared that 10 crore people of Pakistan were with the people of Jammu and Kashmir who were fighting against the Indian neo-colonialism. He was confident that their struggle would lead them to victory.

*Dacca, September, 5.* The following is the text of the statement issued by Khawaja Shahabuddin, the control Minister for information:

The Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Shastri, according to reports published

in the newspapers yesterday, has made a number of curious statements in his broadcast talk over All India Radio. Those who know the facts will only be amused by these. Since the Indian propagandists are engaged in suppressing and distorting truth, it is necessary to reiterate the facts.

Mr. Shastri starts right away with this statement: "As you know on September 1, Pakistan mounted a heavy attack in brigade strength in the Chhamb sector of Jammu." Now, this is a very misleading statement, mixing truth with untruth and trying to create the totally false impression that Pakistan had taken the initial aggressive action. On September 1, Azad Kashmir forces, supported by Pakistan's Army, did launch a counter-offensive in the Bhimber sector to forestall further enemy aggression.

Now, let us see, why Mr. Shastri starts his history from September 1, 1965. That was not the day on which present conflict in Kashmir began. Why then does he start off with this arbitrary date? Because he cannot afford to trace the correct sequence of recent developments. It does not suit him.

It is possible that Mr. Shastri in his excitement has forgotten a few facts. It was in May 1965 that the present chain of events started. Indian forces crossed the Cease-fire Line and occupied two Pakistani posts in the Kargil sector; this event has grave significance. This was the first time since 1948 that the Cease-fire Line had been violated in this manner. Under UN pressure, the Indians vacated the posts only to re-occupy them in August. During this month, India violated the Cease-fire Line and occupied positions in Tithwal and Poonch-Uri sectors.



From May to August 1965, India was indulging in irresponsible aggression across the Cease-fire Line. When it became apparent that the Indian rulers were losing all sense of proportion in their recklessness, necessary counter-measures were taken on September 1, and our army went into action to halt Indian aggression in the Chhamb sector.

It should be clear now that Mr. Shastri was doing less than justice to truth when he chose to mention one particular date and one particular sector to convey the impression that Pakistan had taken the offensive. The contrary is the truth.

Referring to the 17-year old UN directive and Indian commitment for a plebiscite in Kashmir, Mr. Shastri has a fantastic proposal. Why not hold a plebiscite in East Pakistan first whether it wants to be "ruled from Rawalpindi"?

This is another instance of how Mr. Shastri is inclined to forget history. Evidently, he no longer remembers that a plebiscite was held throughout the length and breadth of the sub-continent and it was the result of that plebiscite that Pakistan was established. It is apparent, however, that Mr. Shastri's argument thinly veils the revival of the fond hopes of the Indian Congress for hegemony over the sub-continent which were shattered by the establishment of Pakistan. Let me assure him that he is only deluding himself and his people if he thinks that anyone in Pakistan will hesitate to make the supreme sacrifice in meeting the challenge which the rulers of India have thrown to Pakistan.

President Ayub has the unanimous support of all sections of public

opinion and people from Landi Kotal to Teknap are one solid mass of determination.

*London, Sept. 7.* In an interview with the British journalists today, the Pakistan High Commissioner, Agha Hilaly, indicated that if the United Nations failed to take effective measures against India which has launched naked aggression on Pakistan "we might have to look elsewhere."

He said that the valiant people of Pakistan would never give in. They were prepared to fight to the end to settle once for all their dispute with India over Kashmir. But that would mean end of the United Nations as an international body.

Pakistan High Commissioner said: "We are members of United Nations. So far only a few countries have walked out of it. If the United Nations confesses that it is unable to take effective measures against the aggressor, we have nothing to say."

Agha Hilaly called on the British Premier, Mr. Harold Wilson, this afternoon and told him that if Pakistan felt betrayed by her Western allies at this hour of crisis, she would not hesitate to seek help from any quarter. He, however, expressed appreciation of the British Premier's statement yesterday condemning India for having committed aggression against Pakistan.

The Pakistan High Commissioner strongly protested against the continuing British military aid which has enabled India to launch full-scale attack on Pakistan. Premier Wilson is believed to have told Agha Hilaly that the British High Commissioner in Indian has informed the



Indian Premier that the British arms, which have been sent to India against China, should not be used against Pakistan. He has also called for full details of the pending shipments of arms to India.

Meanwhile, British political circles continue to express concern at India's invasion on Pakistan. Almost all newspapers have editorially condemned India for "taking road to ruin." According to *The Times*, if the Indians are trying to draw a lesson from their own experience with the Chinese, aiming to deliver one major blow to exact Pakistan's acceptance of the Indian rule in Srinagar, they surely mistake all factors in relation with their neighbour. An editorial in the *Daily Telegraph* believes that if Indian's attack was not halted immediately it could lead swiftly to a total war. The editorial wonders if India supposes that Peking will wait until she has settled accounts with Pakistan. And if she hopes to settle them quickly, does she expect that the hardpressed Pakistan would accept defeat rather than call for the Chinese help.

London, Sept. 7. The Pakistan High Commissioner, Agha Hilaly, protested to British Government against wanton attack on Pakistan by Indian armed forces.

He told the Foreign Office that this was the result of massive Anglo-American military aid to India. "What we have been afraid of has happened, they have invaded us."

Agha Hilaly pointed out to British officials that India's crossing of the Cease-fire Line in Kashmir was prelude to large-scale attack on Pakistan. Indian force was now bombing civilian

population in the city of Lahore.

Pakistan High Commissioner said: "Under the circumstances, we have no choice but to fight to end. We expect world now to see who has committed aggression."

Agha Hilaly has sought an urgent interview with the British Premier, Mr. Harold Wilson. He is likely to call at 10 Downing Street some time this afternoon in order to lodge a formal protest.

Mr. Hilaly predicted that the fight with India will involve other Asian countries and said his country may appeal for aid from the South-East Asian Treaty Organisation.

Agha Hilaly told newsmen, "It is obvious that other peoples will become involved" in the conflict. He did not elaborate.

He spoke to reporters after conferring with Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, Minister for Commonwealth Affairs. Mr. Hughes later saw Mr. J. N. Mehta, Indian High Commissioner.

No statement on the talks was made but informants said Mr. Hughes impressed on both Envoys Britain's deep concern over the conflict between the two Commonwealth nations.

"There will be escalation," Mr. Hilaly told the newsmen. "We are prepared to fight."

Mr. Hilaly said that if the UN failed to take positive action in the dispute, "as far as we are concerned that is the end of the United Nations in our area."

He said he had told Mr. Hughes, "India had committed wanton aggression by crossing an international frontier, by sending its air force to bomb an open city and by crossing a frontier at three points without a declaration of war."



"Terrific battles are raging around the international frontier. In fact a state of war exists," the Envoy added.

Mr. Mehta made no statement on leaving the Commonwealth Relations Office.

Mr. Hilaly said, if the UN could not help solve the Kashmir dispute, then "as far as we are concerned that is the end of the United Nations in our area."

He added: "We may have to look elsewhere. I hope it never comes to that."

*London, Sept. 11.* The Pakistan High Commissioner in Britain, Mr. Agha Hilaly, officially informed the British Government last evening that any Western embargo on arms supplies, apparently intended to show impartiality, would in fact discriminate heavily against Pakistan in the present undeclared war launched by India.

During his meeting with senior officials of the Commonwealth Relations Office, Mr. Hilaly made it amply clear that a Western arms embargo would be regarded in Pakistan as a step deliberately intended and designed to cripple us. It would tip scales against Pakistan, he said.

Later, at a news conference, he pointed out that India produced as much as 80 per cent of her war materials on her own soil. For Pakistan, the figure was reversed: she imported 80 per cent. Thus India's capacity to carry on warfare would greatly outlast Pakistan if a Western embargo were applied, he informed the officials. He, however, added, if an embargo were put into operation, Pakistan would have to reconsider the whole situation.

So far, she had not taken military aid from Socialist countries, he said,

adding, but such a step would have to be considered if Western countries ceased their supplies.

Mr. Hilaly explained that his anxiety had been aroused by rumours that Western oil companies might intend to cut off all supplies in keeping with any such embargo. He had, however, been officially assured that no such stoppage was contemplated.

The Pakistan High Commissioner said that another purpose of his talks was to draw attention of the British authorities to reports that one British ship and three Indian ships were en route to India with consignments of military equipment under the British military aid programme.

He made a request that steps be taken to ensure that supplies did not reach India who has committed aggression against Pakistan.

*London, Sept. 15.* The Pakistan High Commissioner in London, Mr. Agha Hilaly, last evening called on the Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Arthur Bottomley, and protested against the reported British pressure being exerted on Turkey and Iran in an attempt to prevent them from helping Pakistan in her present emergency caused by the Indian aggression.

This was Mr. Hilaly's third meeting with the Commonwealth Secretary since India's full-scale attack on Pakistan on September 6.

He was understood to have been assured that British diplomacy was not designed against Pakistan but only to back up United Nations efforts to bring about an immediate cease-fire.

Earlier, the Pakistan High Commissioner had a meeting with the Foreign Minister of Zambia, Mr. Kapwepwe, who arrived in London



yesterday en route to New York for talks at the U. N. It was learned that the only topic of his discussion with the Zambian Minister was President Kaunda's proposal for a joint Commonwealth action to seek peace between India and Pakistan.

*Karachi, September, 16.* The Central Law Minister, Mr. S. M. Zafar issued the following statement:

Pakistan's stand is for a permanent and lasting peace between India and Pakistan. It no longer believes in avoiding or postponing the main issue. Experience has shown that pending disputes between the two nations create tension and slowly drift them asunder permeating hatred and consequently resulting in war, as it happened in the case of Pakistan and India. But if the issues are settled, then forgive-and-forget becomes possible.

Pakistan shall look forward to the Security Council to give a solution for lasting peace. If the Security Council decided to have a cease-fire only and does not decide the actual controversy, it shall mean either the weakness of the United Nations Organisation or a deliberate attempt to avoid a decision of a vital issue. Both these inferences are fatal to the philosophy and working of an organisation like the United Nations, which has to create confidence in its member States.

United Nations should be a place where bigger Powers can be taught to give in—in the interest of international peace; and smaller Powers be encouraged to seek their legitimate rights.

Unless the Security Council achieves this status it should be a meaningless organisation. This is so far as the Kashmir issue is concerned,

and I believe that Security Council shall examine and decide, once for all the pending dispute between India and Pakistan.

But much more is involved in this sitting of the Security Council. Two parties are appearing before the United Nations in which one of them is an aggressor and the other a victim of oppression.

The question is whether the United Nations will deal with the aggressor as aggressor and the oppressed as entitled to justice, or will the U.N. deal with them as India and Pakistan—one bigger in population and resources than the other. Shall the treatment be proportionate and appropriate to the actions and the misdeeds or shall it be in terms of expediency and proportionate to the largeness of the country.

The answers given by the Security Council shall determine our line of action towards the United Nations and shall also determine the future of this Organisation because if the U.N. is unable to uphold justice and morality between Pakistan and India, where is the guarantee that it shall be able to do so if there is conflict between any other bigger Power on one side and as I see, the small countries of Asia and Africa, on the other?

I am hopeful that the Security Council shall take care of these situations. I am also optimistic that the resolutions of 4th and 6th September, shall be extended beyond a cease-fire between the two countries. Undoubtedly, the resolution merely mentions a cease-fire but while recommending cease-fire the Security Council can first decide the Kashmir issue and condemn India for its aggression. I am not willing to exclude the possibility.



In fact, as I read the resolution, to me it means that cease-fire will only be consequential to the decision of the vital issue. There is nothing in the resolution to the contrary and so the presumption shall be in favour of it being consistent with the requirements of justice and international morality.

As for Pakistan, it is determined to get justice and for this it shall seek the help of the United Nations, seek the help of its allies and friends, and it shall continue its struggle unabated till it succeeds.

*Muzaffarabad, September 18.* The Pakistan Minister for Home and Kashmir Affairs, Ch. Ali Akbar Khan, arrived here this afternoon on a brief visit.

He was received by President, Azad Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, Khan Abdul Hamid Khan, and high-ranking officers of the Government.

The Minister later drove to a local hospital to visit the patients who have recently fallen victims to India's brute aggression on the Cease-fire Line.

He was pleased to see that the morale of the patients was very high and they were impatient to go back to the front.

A deputation of local leaders and dignitaries who called on the Minister expressed their deep gratitude to the President, Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan and his Government for standing by the people of Jammu and Kashmir with full might in their struggle for the right of self-determination.

They welcomed Pakistan's three-point plan suggested by her as the only reasonable basis of a durable cease-fire and lasting peace. They strongly

condemned India's treacherous attack on the sacred soil of Pakistan which the people of Kashmir considered as their ideological homeland. The deputation assured the Minister that the Kashmiris would shed their blood for the defence of Pakistan.

Ch. Ali Akbar Khan assured the Kashmiri leaders that the Government of Pakistan under the illustrious leadership of Muhammad Ayub Khan was determined to redeem its pledge and secure the right of self-determination for the valiant people of Kashmir.

*Tokyo, September 18.* Pakistan's Ambassador to Japan, Lt.-Gen. K. M. Shaikh, said that a cease-fire "for which we (Pakistan) are ready" would by itself not solve the problem unless the U.N. could arrange to hold a plebiscite within three months of it.

That a cease-fire alone was no solution had been clearly demonstrated by the history of the past 18 years, he told a Press conference.

The time to act for the U.N. is now, and we fervently pray that the U.N. effort may be a purposeful one, he said.

He said, Pakistan was determined not only to preserve her territorial integrity, but was committed to obtain for the people of Kashmir their birth-right of self-determination, which was promised to them by the U.N. 17 years ago.

## HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY FOR SERVICES

The Provincial Minister for Education, Malik Khuda Bakhsh Bucha, said that a heavy responsibility devolved on the services at present when



the country was faced with a serious threat to its sovereignty and freedom.

Members of the services, he hoped, through unity and discipline to meet the challenge thrown by Indian aggression.

Malik Khuda Bakhsh said that a serious threat was posed by the Indian army not only to the freedom-fighters in Kashmir but also to Pakistan people who had pledged solemnly to secure the fundamental rights for them.

He said that India had violated international commitment by keeping the people of Kashmir in subjugation and now when they had risen in revolt against the Indian authorities, the responsibility of the people of Pakistan was all the more heavy. It was for the services to perform their due role in preparing the people to meet the emergency created by India.

### PAKISTAN TO SOLVE ISSUE IF U.N. FAILS

The Leader of the House in the West Pakistan Assembly and the Provincial Revenue Minister, Khan Habibullah Khan, declared that Pakistan would herself solve the question of Kashmir if the United Nations failed to do so.

The Minister said that Kashmir question was simple. It could be solved in a matter of days only if there was a will to do so.

He expressed his lack of confidence in the U.N. and said that in fact no one in Pakistan had any faith in that organisation. If Mr. Bhutto, he added, endeavoured to bring the members of the U.N. round to the path of reason, it did not mean that Mr. Bhutto had any faith or confidence in that organisation. He added that it was only as

a matter of duty. They did not want to leave any stone unturned and any avenue unexplored, he added.

He said that the U.N. came to the rescue of India whenever she was found loosing ground. It intervened when the Kashmiri freedom-fighters had reached Srinagar at the end of 1948, and prevailed upon Pakistan to the cease-fire.

The U.N. jumped in again in the recent war at the request of India.

He said that Pakistan had decided to give one last chance to the U.N. If it failed this time, Pakistan would decide the issue herself, he said.

He said that Pakistan was honour bound to help Kashmiris to retrieve their illegally occupied motherland.

### INDIAN IMPERIALISM WILL BE SMASHED

The West Pakistan Minister for Basic Democracies, Mr. Muhammad Yasin Khan Wattoo, declared that the tremendous sacrifices offered by the gallant armed forces and valiant people of Pakistan would not go waste and the day was not far when Indian imperialism would be smashed.

The Minister said that whenever a country was faced with any emergency, it was the leadership that made all the difference.

He also paid tributes to different political parties of the country who forgot all about their differences and demonstrated complete unity against Indian aggression.

Mr. Wattoo called upon the youth to attend to their respective jobs, both in peace and war in a spirit of 'Jehad' as that would help a great deal in frustrating the enemy.



*United Nations, Sept. 18.* Pakistan expressed doubt today that a Security Council resolution threatening U.N. coercive action would bring an end to the undeclared war between Pakistan and India.

Mr. Zafar, the Central Law Minister, said of U Thant's recommendations:

"I venture to doubt the necessity for such action. It would be the first time in the history of the Kashmir dispute that the Security Council would be contemplating action under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter."

Mr. Zafar warned the Council that to adopt such a procedure "would be a momentous decision and its implications would have to be carefully weighed before the Council proceeds further in this matter. We, too, will have to carefully weigh our reactions to such a move."

Mr. Zafar described as baseless Indian charges that Pakistan was conspiring with Peking for the destruction of India.

He said that raising the charges constituted "a blatant attempt to impress certain sections of opinion, particularly in the United States. Mr. Zafar said that the charges stemmed directly from India's attempt to annex Kashmir against the wishes of the people of Kashmir whom they in Pakistan considered their kith and kin.

He said that the problem of Kashmir, as well as agreement to hold a plebiscite, "precludes Pakistan's association with the Western Powers, and its more recent efforts to establish good neighbourly relations with China and the Soviet Union."

"A solution of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the agreed

decision would serve neither some dark purpose of China, nor any other Foreign Power.

"Pakistan has no ambitions beyond its borders. Unlike India, it seeks no foreign possession nor sphere of influence. The last thing that we wish is that the Kashmir dispute should become embroiled in the conflicts and rivalries of the great Powers," he declared.

M. Zafar blamed India for the failure so far of efforts to obtain a cease-fire.

*Washington, September 22.* If the Kashmir dispute was not resolved and this pestering sore was left unhealed, Indo-Pakistan relations would continue to be poisoned and there would be no peace and security in that sub-continent, said Mr. Ghulam Ahmad, Ambassador of Pakistan in the U.S.

He said that war was imposed upon Pakistan by India and was the outcome of a planned aggression which no amount of Indian propaganda about the so-called infiltrators could conceal.

India, he said, started on its course of aggression long before the "infiltration" story was thought up when in mid-May the Indian Army occupied three Pakistani posts across the Cease-fire Line in the Kargil area.

It was the first time ever in 17 years that the troops of either side had occupied a post belonging to the other, he said.

After the series of military forays across the Cease-fire Line and into Azad Kashmir at the end of August, he added, it was clear that India was threatening to annex the whole of Azad Kashmir.

However, he said, Pakistan made



the first defensive move as late as first September.

Commenting on the action of the United Nations, Mr. Ahmad stated that up to this time the Security Council, rather amazingly, had taken no notice of Indian aggression across the Cease-fire Line in Kargil or in the western side.

But when Pakistani forces moved in, the Security Council immediately appealed on September 4 to both sides for a cease-fire within three days, he said.

The Indian answer came swiftly and through the mouths of their guns; and from the disputed territory of Kashmir, India had escalated the fight to the undisputed Pakistan territory proper.

Mr. Ahmad accused India of having a colossal appetite for territory.

*London, September 24.* Pakistan High Commissioner in London, Agha Hilaly, last night expressed the firm view that bilateral discussions between India and Pakistan will never produce an equitable settlement of the Kashmir dispute which has now been universally recognised as a very serious danger to world peace.

Unless and until big Powers effectively intervene to make India abandon her intransigence over the issue, he said, there could not be lasting peace between India and Pakistan. This, he maintained, was the only way to ensure tranquillity in South-East Asia.

Agha Hilaly said that Pakistan had accepted cease-fire under strong pressure of world opinion, which genuinely feared that flames of the Indo-Pakistan war over Kashmir were bound to engulf the whole world. He hoped

that this time the United Nations would stand by its commitment and force India to agree to settle the Kashmir dispute in a just and equitable manner.

He appreciated the British Government's diplomatic efforts aimed at a solution of the Kashmir problem, which was solely responsible for the Indo-Pakistan war. Premier Wilson's statement on September 7 condemning India for its criminal attack on Pakistan, he said, was in the best traditions of the great people of Britain. He had no doubt that the British Government would continue to uphold principles of justice and fairplay in the Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir.

Agha Hilaly paid glowing tributes to the Armed Forces of Pakistan who have valiantly defended the territorial and political integrity of their homeland and thus written a glorious chapter of their national history. Future generations of Pakistan would remain proud of the courage, valour, and determination shown by those who successfully defended Lahore and Sialkot against overwhelming forces of a treacherous enemy.

*London, September 25.* Syed Muhammad Zafar, Pakistan's Minister of Law and Parliamentary Affairs, said last night that his Government was considering Pakistan's membership of the CENTO and SEATO pacts.

He was replying to a question after he had addressed a meeting of Pakistani students here on the Kashmir situation. He was asked if Pakistan would withdraw from the Western-backed pacts as neither had come to the assistance of Pakistan in the fighting with India.



He said that the Government was considering the matter and could not take steps hurriedly.

Mr. Zafar, in reply to other questions, said that his Government, while adhering to its "old friends," also took note of how this friendship had been tested during the Kashmir crisis. It would assess "who have been our friends and who have not been our friends."

Mr. Zafar, questioned by students, defended Pakistan's decision to accept a cease-fire on the ground that the great Powers, including the Soviet Union, had accepted that the Kashmir problem was of decisive importance and must be solved.

Mr. Zafar, who presented his country's case at the U.N. Security Council said this was a last chance for the United Nations. He said amid applause, that if there was no settlement of the Kashmir issue, Pakistan would walk out of the United Nations.

Another student asked him whether Pakistan would continue to allow American bases on her territory. Mr. Zafar did not reply directly. He said that his Government had considered the countries which had come to Pakistan's aid.

Mr. Zafar said, in his opinion compulsory military training should be introduced for all Pakistani citizens. He warned the students that the time had come to make sacrifices.

*Karachi, September 26.* The Western countries now realise that the Kashmir problem is not something only to be talked about but is a fundamental issue which must be solved in the interest of peace in the sub-continent and in Asia, Mr. S. M. Zafar, the Central Law Minister, said.

He added: "I also found a great change in the thinking of United Nations towards this problem, and the members are very much inclined to solve this issue."

Mr. Zafar further said that in London he held discussions with the high officials of the British Government and found that they were now more inclined to help solve the 18-year-old Kashmir problem. This, he added, was the reason why Indians were asking their Government to leave the Commonwealth.

Moreover, the Law Minister added, the public opinion in England was predominantly in favour of Pakistan and the people accepted that Pakistan's struggle for the right of self-determination for five million Kashmiris was just.

The Law Minister said that the Britishers were of the view that now was the time when the Commonwealth should play its role in resolving the Kashmir dispute.

*September 26.* Sh. Masood Sadiq, West Pakistan Finance Minister, has suggested that there should be conscription in the country. Every able-bodied young man should undergo a rigorous three-year military training.

Addressing a Press conference in Rawalpindi on Sunday morning, Sh. Masood Sadiq said that through this procedure the country would get at least 20 lakh volunteers from West Pakistan alone. "We are living with a treacherous enemy and we shall have to be on a war footing for ever," the Minister said.

The Minister said, the West Pakistan Government was now busy assessing damage of civilian property



caused by the Indian bombing and the sufferers would be paid due compensation amounts to the "crores of rupees."

The amount to be spent by the Provincial Government for compensation to those whose houses had been damaged was besides Rs. 10 lakh allocated by the Centre, he said.

Shaikh Masood Sadiq said he had seen the civilian areas bombed by the Indians in Sargodha, Peshawar, Kohat, Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Lahore.

The people of these areas were proud of the sacrifices they had made and were determined to thwart the enemy's aggressive move against Pakistan.

The Minister deplored that a nation which claimed to be the upholder of the principle of "ahimsa" and non-violence and was the follower of Gandhiji was now demanding from its Government to manufacture nuclear weapons and atomic bombs.

He told the Delhi rulers that although they could beg for military hardware from the big Powers, they could not "import morale" for the nation to fight a war against the courageous Pakistani "jawans."

The Minister paid tributes to the role played by the Press and the solidarity demonstrated by the entire nation at the time of trial.

*Karachi, Sept. 28.* The whole world is amazed at the determination and the strength of character shown by Pakistanis in every walk of life, declared the Central Information and Broadcasting Minister, Khwaja Shahabuddin.

Khwaja Shahabuddin said: "Whether we be in armed forces, in the factories, in the office, in the shops,

in the colleges, in the fields, in the west or in the east, big and small business men, taxi drivers and porters, we have all risen as one man to the call of President Ayub and have demonstrated to the world that our will cannot be dominated, our independence cannot be compromised and our frontiers cannot be violated."

He said, posterity's gratitude will never be rendered to the able leadership of our President, to the heroic performance of our armed forces and the indomitable spirit of our people, who have displayed, during the crisis, remarkable grit and character. It was due to an exceptional spirit of patriotism that every citizen of Pakistan did his duty. These are the factors which has served Pakistan so well in its crucial hour of need, he added.

Each one of us is richer by the experience and producer of his heritage, he said. "Let us consolidate this sense of pride and patriotism, let us not slacken our performance in every field. Let us all make Pakistan ever greater and always worthy of world's respect."

*Peshawar, September 28.* West Pakistan's Minister of Labour and Co-operation, Mahmud Haroon, assured the people that "so long as the people of Kashmir are not given the right of self-determination our war for securing these rights will continue." He was talking to hundreds of villagers in a suburban village of Peshawar which was the scene of India's wanton aggressive air raid on September 15.

The villagers, with one voice, assured the Minister that "we thank God that our airfield was completely saved from the Indian bombing. We



do not mind the loss of our lives and property and would come forward if there was need for more sacrifices."

Mr. Mahmud Haroon visited the spots of the IAF bombing and was deeply touched by the devastation caused by the Indian attack to citizens' life and property in three villages situated on the outskirts of Peshawar.

Mr. Haroon, expressing full sympathy with the innocent victims of the aggression, said that the sentiments expressed by them were symbolic of the Islamic spirit, and asked them to maintain this spirit because it ensures victory for Islam. He said that Islam preached justice and fair-play. This was why Pakistan was determined to secure justice and self-determination for the people of Kashmir.

He told the affected people that the Government has every sympathy with them, and that they would be provided the necessary assistance very soon. The authorities concerned had been directed to assess the damages, he said.

### **PAKISTAN STRONG ENOUGH TO BREAK THE BACK OF ENEMY**

Pakistan had no aggressive designs against any country of the world, but if its borders were violated by any Power, the W.P. Minister for Basic Democracies, Mr. Muhammad Yasin Wattoo, declared, Pakistan was strong enough to break the back of the enemy.

This he said, had already been amply demonstrated by Pakistan's mighty armed forces who had not only repulsed India's wanton attack but also shattered her military strength.

The 17-day-war had proved beyond any doubt that it was not the size of an army that counted but the spirit of the warriors and their cause that made all the difference. The entire nation, he said, was proud of the heroic performance of its armed forces against the treacherous enemy.

The Minister also paid tributes to the people who had all along stood solidly united and thus contributed to the enemy's rout.

Referring to the Kashmir dispute, the Minister said that the time had now come for the Indian rulers to bow to world opinion and give to the people of Kashmir their long-denied right to self-determination.

Regarding India's constant claims that the State of Jammu and Kashmir was an integral part of India, he recalled that the pre-de Gaulle France, too, had been making similar claims in respect of Algeria. But, at last, the will of the Algerian people prevailed and their struggle based on a righteous cause was crowned with success.

### **INDIA COULD NOT FORGET DEFEAT**

The Provincial Finance Minister, Sh. Masood Sadiq, declared Pakistan would fight for every inch of its territory if India again attacked her.

Addressing a public meeting in Lahore at Karbala Game Shah, held under the auspices of the "Anjuman-i-Ghulaman-i-Ahl Bait" to celebrate the birth-day of Hazrat Ali, he said, every city of Pakistan would prove a Stalingrad to the Indians.

He apprehended that India might again attack Pakistan to avenge her defeat in the 17-day war. If she had not reconciled herself to the



creation of Pakistan during the last 18 years, how could she forget about her defeat?—he asked.

Sh. Masood Sadiq said that India's undeclared attack on Pakistan was unprecedented. Even Hitler used to give ultimatum before launching an attack.

He paid tributes to the gallant performance of the Armed Forces in beating back the enemy. Pakistan's Army, though outnumbered, had crippled the enemy strength. The land force which was one-fifth of India's army caused seven times damage to India, while the Air Force which was one-seventh of the Indian air force inflicted seven times damage to the enemy air force. The Navy too toppled down the idol of Somnath at Dawarka besides destroying an Indian frigate.

About India's tall talk of its being a democracy and secular State, he could not understand what type of democracy and secularism it meant. She was denying even the fundamental rights to the minorities. Her treatment of Muslims, the biggest minority, and untouchables spoke volumes of her so-called democracy. Her secular character stood exposed when she refused to allow into her country the cease-fire observers from the Muslim countries after the war, he added.

He lauded the spirit, unity and discipline demonstrated by the people during the war.

He said the Indian leaders' obduracy had always proved a blessing in disguise for the Muslims. The Muslims got Pakistan as a result of the stubborn attitude of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru. This time Mr. Shastri's folly had made Pakistan a nation united like a rock.

"No squabbles, no differences, the nation got united like a rock after this fateful day," he said. The Jawans from East Pakistan laid down their lives defending West Pakistan.

About the recent U.N. Security Council resolution, he said, it was a political defeat of India. India was making propaganda of her victory against Pakistan, yet she was planning to manufacture atom bomb. If India was really victorious, there should be no need of atom bomb, he added.

Sh. Masood Sadiq, paying tributes to Hazrat Ali, said he was the symbol of bravery, courage and wisdom. He said if Muslims followed in the footsteps of Hazrat Ali, no power on earth could harm them.

Syed Hadi Ali Shah said that the heroic deeds of Hazrat Ali had always been a source of inspiration for the Muslims.

The meeting, in a resolution, paid tributes to the national Armed Forces for repelling the enemy. Their deeds would go down in history in the golden words, the posterity would be proud of them, it said.

The meeting, in another resolution, condemned the Indian atrocities on Kashmiri Muslims. It urged the United Nations to compel India to respect human rights as incorporated in its Charter.

*Gujrat, October 8.* Chaudhry Ali Akbar, Minister for Home and Kashmir Affairs, who extensively toured Chhamb, Deva and Jaurian sectors was all praise for wondrous and marvellous feats of our jawans in these sectors.

He said, one must visit this area to believe what our forces have accomplished in so little time against so



heavy odds. There were everywhere signs of Indian defeat stamped on Chhamb's fertile valley in the shape of destroyed tanks, other military vehicles and ammunition.

He said that historians will record this victory by the Pakistan's forces as one of the world's most magnificent military feats of this era. He said that he was delighted to see that our jawans have kept Islamic traditions in view and all the villages especially religious places as Mandirs and Gur-dawaras were intact.

The Minister, who had toured this area from one end to the other, suspected even the official figures of 340 square miles and said that the area does not appear to be less than 560 square miles.

Ch. Ali Akbar was also presented an address of welcome by a local social organisation working for jawans and providing them facilities and collections for national defence fund. He praised people of Gujrat District for noble services they have rendered in this national cause at this critical time. The Army was very much encouraged to see whole nation making sacrifices for this supreme cause.

*Karachi, October 9.* Khwaja Shahabuddin, Central Minister for Information and Broadcasting, has complimented the journalistic fraternity of Pakistan for the sincerity, integrity, hard work and extraordinary sense of patriotism shown by them during the crucial days, when our valiant Armed Forces were busy in repelling the dastardly Indian aggression.

In a statement the Minister congratulated the large number of foreign journalists who by presenting true facts and conditions to the world at large, in the context of Indo-Pakistan conflict, had maintained a very high standard of journalism.

The Minister said that the few days of their defensive war had brought to the fore those hidden talents and aptitudes of the nation which had remained obscure for so many years.

He said, while the entire nation rose as one man to meet the challenge of the Indian aggression, the journalists exposed to the world the predatory acts of Indian barbarism and their expansionism by presenting facts in their true colours. The world is now convinced that India stands for falsehood and deceit, while Pakistan is the standard-bearer of truth and justice. The stock of India is at its lowest in the international field.

By portraying the truth, our journalists have exposed the hollowness of Indian falsehood, and the world knows how vain are their boasts and how full of spite none the less. The heart-warming style of our writers has infused new vigour and blood in the veins of our people.

The Minister also referred to the Law Minister's recent statement in which he had said that August 14, 1947, saw the birth of a new country, while September 6, 1965, brought a strong and united nation into being. This, in a large measure, is due to the efforts of all the elements of our nation.

The Minister warned that the war was not yet over, it was only cease-fire. The question of Kashmir still remains unresolved and our efforts are



continuing. There is no time for complacency. Our efforts must continue to reflect the same zeal which we have displayed during the days of war.

The nation must be prepared to face the coming events, and the constructive talent shown by the nation must be a continuous process to achieve our ultimate goal. In this context, the Minister expressed particular gratification for the awakening, sense of duty and spirit of hard and sustained work shown by the youth and the students—male and female—of schools, colleges and universities because the future of the country depended on them and all our present sacrifices were in fact for their benefit.

*New York, October 14.* Pakistan Ambassador to Washington, Mr. Ghulam Ahmad, said that now was the time for the U.N. and the big Powers to "demonstrate that justice must prevail and internal obligations be respected" in Kashmir.

He emphasised that the Kashmir case was a crucial test for the U.N. and the big Powers.

For years, the U.N. has been helpless to "enforce its own decisions in the face of Indian intransigence," he said, adding that Pakistan was not asking that Kashmir should be handed over to her but merely wanted that India should be urged to fulfil her promises and allow the Kashmiri people to express their wishes.

Exposing Indian hypocrisy about secularism, Mr. Ghulam Ahmad said, "India is as liberal and broadminded in its outlook as the iniquitous caste system evolved by the Hindus many centuries ago and still pervading the life of the people in all aspects. India

is as modern as the bullock-cart and as liberal as the age of inquisition. A hundred million untouchables are a living proof of its advertised liberality."

He pointed out that some 600 communal riots occurred in the past 18 years in which thousands of unfortunate Indian Muslims had lost their lives to Hindu fanaticism. Mr. Ghulam Ahmad said that this was an "open testimony of its much-vaunted broadmindedness and secularism."

Some day the outside world would realise that had the Hindus been "liberal enough, secular enough, broadminded enough, the Muslims of the sub-continent who lived there for over 1,000 years, including 800 years as rulers would not have sought a separate homeland of their own."

*Sialkot, October 14.* Khan A. Sobur, Central Minister for Communications, told newsmen that the performance of "our brave and lion-hearted armymen on all war fronts in general and in the Sialkot sector in particular has been marvellous and unprecedented. In fact, our Jawans have created history and the battlefield of Chawinda is a clear proof of this."

Khan A. Sobur went round Pasrur and Chawinda. He described Brig. Abdul Ali Malik (Hilal-i-Jur'at), who was in the forefront of the historic battle of tanks, as "a great hero of Chawinda."

He emphatically refuted the Indian propaganda that Alhar and Chawinda were in Indian hands. He said that he had personally gone to these places and had seen various articles of war left behind by the fleeing Indian army.

He paid glowing tributes to the people of Sialkot who had bravely



breasted the Indian attack.

In reply to another question, the Minister said, he personally felt that compulsory military training should be immediately introduced in the country.

He added that it was most encouraging that "we did not feel any scarcity of foodstuff or of consumer goods, nor any rise in prices. In fact, our business men and traders had co-operated to such an extent that the prices of most of the commodities remained normal during the war."

*Mirpur, October 23.* The Central Minister for Home and Kashmir Affairs, Chaudhry Ali Akbar, said that a state of preparedness in Azad Kashmir and Pakistan was imperative since the nation was dealing with a treacherous enemy having scant respect for international commitments and pledges.

The Minister was addressing a huge Juma gathering at Dadyal Mosque yesterday.

The Minister assured the Kashmiris that India's mischievous designs and machinations would not deter the people and the Government of Pakistan from fighting for their right of self-determination. Pakistan was committed to uphold the cause of the Kashmiris and she would continue to do so till the Kashmiris were freed.

He reminded the Indian leaders that gone were the days when a whole State along with its people could be bought by deceitful means. This happened a century ago but now the people of Kashmir would not surrender themselves to the empire-builders of Delhi.

The Minister is now on a tour of Mirpur district to see for himself the

relief work for the refugees coming from the Indian Occupied Kashmir.

The Minister visited refugee centres at Mirpur, Chakswari, Jagiot, Dadyal, Nar and Gulpur and talked to numerous refugees.

Later he said that he was satisfied to learn from the refugees themselves that the people and the district administration were working in the true spirit of "Ansars."

He stressed that every effort should be made to impart education to refugee children.

*October 23, 1965.* The Provincial Finance Minister, Sh. Masood Sadiq said that Pakistan would brook no more nonsense on the cease-fire line and would retaliate with all her might if India continued to indulge in cease-fire violations.

Administering a stern warning he said Pakistan was three times as strong and four times as alert today as on September 6, when treacherous enemy launched a surprise attack on her under the cover of darkness. This way, he said, Pakistan was 12 times stronger than she was on the occasion of ill-fated Indian attack.

He added that enemy would invite self-destruction if he dared cast his evil eye on the territorial integrity of Pakistan. He would never agree again to any cease-fire proposal should the shooting war restart.

Relating a story of the spirit of the people of Pakistan he said, when he visited Peshawar during the 17-day war, he met an old man whose house was hit by an enemy bomb which killed all the 11 persons in the building. He tried to console the old man with customary words. But the old man needed no consolation and



said that he was happy that the bomb hit his house instead of the target (Peshawar air-base). If it had hit its target, Pakistan would have lost a base from where her fighters flew to destroy the evil forces of aggression.

Telling another story of an old man of Sargodha who had lost his house and seven members of his family as a result of enemy bombing, he said, he wanted to provide some monetary relief but the old man refused to accept the offer, saying, "You don't really expect me to accept the price of the blood of martyrs."

He said, children in Pakistan had ceased enjoying their mornings and evenings because they could no longer hear the "gun songs." He added his own children when found awake at a late hour of a night after the cease-fire told him on being questioned that they could not sleep because the guns had stopped bombing lullaby. "This is the spirit of the people of Pakistan and this is in view of what President Ayub Khan had said that India knows not the nation she has challenged," he said.

Regarding the cease-fire, Sh. Masood Sadiq said it was in keeping with the creed of Muslims. Allah has said, "Give your enemy an opportunity when he seeks peace."

The Minister advised the Indian rulers to stop barbarities on Kashmiris and to behave like a civilised people if they did not want their misdeeds to recoil on them

## PAKISTAN WILL FIGHT TO END

The West Pakistan Finance Minister, Shaikh Masood Sadiq, said in Lahore on Thursday that Pakistan wanted peace. But if India wanted war instead, Pakistan would fight it to the end.

The Pakistan armed forces, he added, had already established their superiority over the Indians and the crushing defeats inflicted on their army and Air Force one after the other should have put India wise.

The Finance Minister described the Indian tactics identical with those of Nazis and said that it was also in the first week of September that the Nazis had waged war 26 years ago. He was sure that the Indians would meet the same fate as Hitler did but surely much earlier than he did.

He said that the fact was that Indian warlords had not yet reconciled themselves to the establishment of Pakistan and had been desperate in their unsuccessful efforts to undo it. The armed aggression against Pakistan was the last chance that they wanted to avail of but their attempt had been frustrated once for all.

The Minister said that the Indians had been dishonest in their action and had been taking contradictory positions. In the case of Hyderabad (India), they had pleaded that the people of the State wanted accession to India and, therefore, they moved their armies to annex the territory ignoring the position of the ruler. In Kashmir they supported the decision of the ruler caring little for the verdict of the people and marched their forces into the State. That only showed that they believed in the maxim, Might



is right.

Pakistan, on the contrary, had believed in the peaceful settlement of the issues and the accession of Gwadar was one instance to prove it. Although the territory was contiguous to Pakistan, the Government went through all the necessary formalities of negotiations.

Shaikh Masood Sadiq said that it had been customary with India to move the United Nations only when they were beaten in a confrontation but before that they did not heed reason.

The Indian Government, he said, was used to disregarding all agreements and taking provocative initiatives. It was India, he said, which violated the Cease-fire Line and the international border. And it was India again which first used her Air Force in the operation and also bombed civil population. Pakistan, he said, only retaliated but she did not drop a single bomb on the civil population.

He said that Pakistan wanted peace and was not interested in territorial gains. But she wanted to safeguard every inch of her territory. Pakistan could not afford war and if India wanted it she should rest assured that Pakistan would fight to the last man.

He said that the performance of the Pakistan Air Force, Army and Navy had proved beyond doubt that their personnel were far superior to those of India. Although the latter had an upper hand in numerical strength of her forces and equipment, the recent fighting had proved that it was the man behind the machine who mattered.

He said that it was heartening that there was not a single person in Pakistan who had not willingly

supported President Ayub to meet the Indian aggression. Political leaders who were opposed to the Government had also come out with their full support without exception. This was true of Baluchis, Pathans, Sindhis, Bengalis and Punjabis. He said that it was ridiculous that India had been imagining armed clashes at Pakistan's frontiers. There was absolutely no activity in the former Frontier Province as propagated by the All-India Radio.

The Finance Minister said that armed forces of Pakistan had inflicted such a crushing defeat on the Indian armies that it would serve a good lesson to the Indian leadership.

*Mymensingh November 4.* The East Pakistan Minister for Health, Mr. Maung Shwe Prue Choudhury, said that the Pakistanis were determined to protect every inch of their motherland.

The Minister said that the country was passing through a critical stage of history. Since inception, Pakistan had been pursuing a policy of peaceful co-existence with India but the expansionist designs of Indian imperialism always disturbed the peace in the sub-continent.

The Minister paid rich tributes to the Pakistan Armed Forces.

We will succeed because we are fighting for the right cause, he said.

He asked the people to remain vigilant and keep themselves in readiness to crush any fresh aggression by India.

Mr. Prue who is also the tribal chief of the Bhoomung community told the tribal people that, unlike India, minorities in Pakistan were living in peace and harmony.



*Karachi, November 5.* The Minister for Home and Kashmir Affairs, Ali Akbar Khan, said here today that Pakistanis would continue to support the freedom struggle of their Kashmiri brethren and also defend every inch of their sacred land against aggression.

The Minister said that India had been evicting Muslims from the Held Kashmir under a deliberate plan. Their only fault was that they had refused to submit to India's forcible occupation of their homeland.

About his recent visit to the camps where Kashmiri refugees were being accommodated, he said, the Indian occupation authorities had been inflicting inhuman tortures on the unarmed people in the held territory. Villages were being burnt, men shot and women insulted.

But, the Minister said, all these barbarous methods were bound to fail and the righteous cause of the Kashmiris would ultimately triumph.

Ch. Ali Akbar said, there was a striking similarity between the struggle for Pakistan and the Kashmiris' freedom struggle. Pakistan, too, he said, was achieved in the face of strong opposition.

He said, the people of Kashmir will succeed in throwing off the yoke of Indian subjugation. No nation, he said, could be enslaved by force.

The Minister said, Kashmir had never been a part of India. If it was made a part of India during the British reign, its position was not different from that of Burma which also formed part of the then Indian Government.

The Minister regretted that some foreign countries, who pleaded for peoples' right of self-determination,

had been supporting India's forcible occupation of Kashmir against the wishes of her people.

He advised the countries helping India to give up their belief that India could fight against China.

Ch. Ali Akbar paid warm tributes to Pakistan's Armed Forces, who put up a heroic defence against the treacherous Indian aggressors. He warned the nation to keep alert like our soldiers, since it faced an unreliable and treacherous neighbour who was jealous of its prosperity.

He exhorted the people to give maximum donations for the Kashmir refugees and prepare for making sacrifices for the preservation of freedom.

*Rawalpindi, November 7.* The Law Minister, Mr. S. M. Zafar, said that India would never take a sensible attitude on the Kashmir dispute and would linger on unless prodded into doing something about it.

India of her own will never agree to settle the Kashmir dispute unless we and other nations force her," he told a meeting at the Pakistan Council Centre.

Mr. Zafar said, after U. N. reaffirmed in its September 20 and November 4 resolutions that the Kashmir dispute exists and was yet to be settled between India and Pakistan, the Indian leaders were now somersaulting from earlier acceptance of U. N. cease-fire resolution. They were now trying to make out that Pakistan should withdraw her troops from Azad Kashmir as a first step—a demand wholly unrelated to the actual resolution and the conditions India and Pakistan had agreed to under the cease-fire resolution. The reason for



such somersaulting, Mr. Zafar said, was that Indians had a "diseased mind, and they will not come to the path of righteousness."

Commenting on the Pakistan-India conflict, Mr. Zafar said: "These are the gravest moments for us, and the gravest moments which now any nation faces in Asia."

He said: "The time in which we are passing now is the time we have to work the hardest. There are no hopes that the Kashmir dispute will be solved in a week or two. What is promised to all of us is a great effort, and a struggle to exist and defend our country."

Paying tributes to the soldiers and to all those who fought, he said, in future nobody should think or say that "we are a small nation. The way we stood against the Indian aggression fully confirms that we are a great nation."

About Pakistan's relations with China, Mr. Zafar said: "Our friendship with China is not a friendship of expediency. It is a friendship between two self-respecting nations. The Chinese role in the present Pakistan-India conflict proved that China is our friend."

Pakistan has independent thinking on how to deal with Indian aggression and protect the country. "If somebody does not like our ways of thinking, he may leave us, but we have not left anybody."

*Rawalpindi, November 18.* Mr. Abdul Haye Chowdhury, East Pakistan Law Minister, said here today that the nation stood one and indivisible to counter the Indian aggression.

The Minister said in a statement

today that the heroic fight by the Armed Forces of Pakistan and the determination shown by the civilian population was a clear manifestation of the will of the 100 million people of this country to live an honourable life as a sovereign and free nation.

He said that interested quarters had for a long time carried out a propoganda in whispers and even openly that there was a difference in approach and thinking between the people of the two provinces.

Mr. Abdul Haye Chowdhury further said that every Pakistani was a soldier. He was a soldier of Islam and freedom. Fired by this double inspiration he could ward off any Indian attack on the sacred soil of Pakistan. The East Pakistanis during the fateful 17 days felt the same as the people of Sialkot and Lahore.

The war, however, the Minister added, brought in its wake certain lessons and some rethinking which became necessary in the light of these lessons was already being done.

The Minister said that it had now been realised that the Indian posture of hostility and bellicosity would continue. Therefore, the Government was preparing plans to impart military training to civilians in large numbers. The military training would receive the same attention as other training in the academic field, he said.

Concluding, he said that the people of Pakistan remained ever ready and prepared to face the Indian aggressors. Let them test any region or province of the country; they would find the entire 100 million ready to shed the last drop of their blood in the defence of their motherland.



## BIG POWERS URGED TO HONOUR PLEDGE

The Central Minister for Law, Mr. S. M. Zafar, declared in Lahore on Saturday that in case the big Powers failed to do something really positive and concrete to honour their assurances with regard to the Kashmir problem Pakistan would very legitimately draw its own conclusions and follow its own course.

The Minister was addressing a public meeting organised by the Punjab Literary League at the BNR Auditorium. Chief Justice A. R. Cornelius of the Supreme Court was in the chair.

Mr. Zafar added that Pakistan, in spite of being dissatisfied with the Security Council resolution of September 20, had accepted it because of clear assurances from the big Powers for an equitable solution of the Kashmir problem and in the interest of world peace. Pakistan, he declared amidst cheers, would never bother about Security Council resolutions and peace appeals if this time, too, the world body failed to deliver the goods. Pakistan, he said, would not wait any longer for the big Powers' assurances to be fulfilled.

The Law Minister, however, hoped the war between Pakistan and India had definitely brought a realisation to the West that peace in the sub-continent would not only benefit the people of the sub-continent but would be in the interest of the entire mankind. He said that history would condemn big Powers if they failed to play a positive role in solving the Kashmir problem and thus remove the rootcause of the Indo-Pakistan conflict.

The Law Minister traced back the history of Kashmir problem in the U.N. Security Council since 1948-49 and said whenever the question came up for discussion in the Council, the representatives of different countries always expressed concern over the issue. The press and public opinion in Britain and other countries had been fully alive to the dangerous situation in Kashmir and favoured that the problem should be solved through a free and fair plebiscite.

The Minister said, it was a pity that in spite of all that, the question could not be tackled and ultimately it led to armed conflict between Pakistan and India. It was only now that the question was being considered more seriously particularly by the Western Powers who appeared to have reached the conclusion that continuance of hostilities between Pakistan and India might escalate into a global conflict and, therefore, there had to be a solution of the Kashmir problem. For that reason the Governments of the United States, France and Britain, while they recommended cease-fire, gave assurances both in private communications and public statements for the settlement of the dispute.

So far as the attitude of the Soviet Union was concerned, the Minister said, the country which abstained in 1948-49 from voting on the Kashmir resolution had now collaborated and voted with the West on the resolution of September 20, which mentioned Kashmir dispute in clear terms. Prime Minister Kosygin had also invited President Ayub and the Prime Minister of India for talks on the issue. The Russian approach, therefore, was certainly an advance towards the right direction. Pakistan, the Minister



said was doing her best to solicit further co-operation from the Soviet Union for the solution of Kashmir problem.

The law Minister said, all other countries of the world believed in the right of self-determination and they were of the view that the denial of such a right was a gross injustice. The Minister also referred in this connection to the speeches of the representatives of different countries in the Security Council and outside.

Regarding the Indian attitude, the Law Minister said, India had repeated more than often that Kashmir was an integral part of that country. This stand, he remarked, was the result of encouragement that India got from the Security Council during the last 18 years. She believed that the policy of absolute denial helped her in the past and might help her in the future also. There might be some who thought that India might become reasonable or sane but Pakistan, he said, had no such hope as India was a hopeless case.

Mr. S. M. Zafar said, India was now saying that if the Kashmir problem was solved the "biggest democracy in Asia" shall die. It was a pity that the Indian "democracy" was built on such volcanic and shaky foundation. He pointed out that India was today isolated because of her unreasonable

colonial, imperialistic and aggressive designs. The world today was tired of her saying "no" to every effort for an amicable settlement. This sort of India's negative attitude, he said, had done a tremendous harm to her prestige abroad and had resulted in frustration amongst her people at home.

Mr. Justice Cornelius in his presidential remarks said that unless the matter in dispute was handled in a systematic manner, the agency called the Security Council would become an agency of insecurity.

Referring to the Security Council resolution of September 20 which called for a cease-fire and withdrawal of the two forces to the positions held on August 5 this year, he doubted if that part of the resolution could apply to the State of Jammu and Kashmir where there was no international border.

He also deplored that the big Powers acted promptly and effectively only when their own interests and their global strategy was in danger.

The meeting also passed a number of resolutions paying tributes to the Pakistan Armed Forces for their gallantry against the treacherous enemy and complementing the writers, poets and journalists on their contributions to the war efforts.



STATEMENTS OF PAKISTANI LEADERS

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All social and political leaders in Pakistan were vehemently advocating their respective missions with a firm faith in their righteousness till the war broke out between Pakistan and India. Prior to that they used to criticise the Constitution, actions of the Government and people in power. The war brought them quite closer to each other and they threw away all their differences. They stood firm behind the Government and assured it their unconditional support. The constitutional and political differences faded away in no time and they fully prepared the masses to face all odds with courage and fortitude. With this changed attitude and behaviour they proved beyond any doubt that they are always united for national solidarity.



*Karachi, Aug. 13.* In a message to the nation on the eve of the 18th Independence Anniversary, Miss Fatimah Jinnah said: "Let me remind you that mere establishment of Pakistan was not the end of our movement. It was a means to a much higher and nobler end—a life of peace, plenty, freedom and happiness for every citizen of the country."

"The object of your freedom movement in reality was to secure an environment and opportunity for building up a freer, fuller and richer life, extending its benefits and joys to all the people coming within its ambit," she added.

Miss Jinnah warned the nation not to lose sight of this fundamental objective "which alone gives meaning to our freedom and national existence."

The Madar-i-Millat declared that "democracy is the chosen path of Pakistan. It was in the blood of the people because the Pakistan movement had a democratic objective and was brought to a successful culmination through purely democratic methods under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam.

"Every Pakistani owes it to himself and his country that a fully democratic order is evolved and all tendencies inimical to democracy are eliminated."

*Karachi, Aug. 24.* Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, Convener of Nizam-i-Islam Party and a former Prime Minister of Pakistan, in a statement to the Press pointed out that war between India and Pakistan was no light matter. It would set aflame the whole sub-continent and bring untold misery and chaos.

But if war was forced on Pakistan, the people of Pakistan would not flinch from it and would not rest until they had smashed once for all New Delhi's imperialist ambition of ruling over the whole sub-continent, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali added.

He said, the struggle of brave Mujahids for the liberation of Kashmir would never cease until the people of Kashmir have won their right of self-determination. "The people of Pakistan would stand shoulder to shoulder with their Kashmiri brethren and would use every available means to help them to throw off the hated Indian yoke," he added.

He further pointed out that for 18 years the people of Kashmir and Pakistan had looked to the United Nations to implement the international agreement for a free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir under UN auspices. Their patience had been too sorely tried. If Mr. Ralph Bunche's reported visit to the sub-continent could lead to effective action by the UN there might still be a ray of hope. But if not, there was nothing but to carry on the struggle until the righteous cause of the people of Kashmir for self-determination was victorious.

*Pabna, Aug. 31.* The National Awami Party will send volunteers to the Indian occupied Kashmir to help the freedom-fighters if allowed by the Government of Pakistan, Maulana Bhashani, the party chief said:

In an interview with the APP, he said that the current uprising in the Indian occupied Kashmir was



the natural outcome of the continued subjugation and oppression by the Indian Government.

The Maulana said that plebiscite was the only and honourable solution of the Kashmir dispute which remained undecided for the last 18 years.

Maulana Bhashani, however, warned that the Liberation Movement in occupied Kashmir should not stir communal hatred.

About Pakistan's foreign policy Maulana Bhashani said that it had already become appreciably neutral and independent. But he regretted that the good relations of Pakistan with the socialistic countries including China and Russia had probably enraged America. He said that America's attitude towards Pakistan was not justified as it was the United States which had been arming India to its teeth.

### MAUDOODI PLEADS FOR SUPPORT TO KASHMIRIS

Syed Abul Aala Maudoodi, has appealed to religious leaders, renowned Ulema and editors of the Muslim world to support the cause of Kashmiri freedom-fighters who have risen in revolt against the Indian thralldom, according to a Jama'at Press release issued in Lahore on Thursday.

In letters addressed to about 100 religious leaders and editors of the newspapers and magazines of the Muslim world, he said that the Kashmiris have resorted to the same method to achieve freedom without which no present-day problem could be solved. Without adopting the course, he said, no powerful country paid any attention to a weaker nation.

The Kashmiris were following in

the footsteps of the Algerian freedom-fighters and their struggle was a Jihad, he said.

He said that the oppressed people of Kashmir have so far in vain pinned their hopes in the United Nations, which has failed to get its resolutions implemented by India.

He said: The Kashmiri freedom-fighters are sure to win their war against India but as Muslims it is our duty to extend material, physical and moral support to them.

The Maulana reminded them that in the world of today Press could extend a vital help to the oppressed nations in the struggle to achieve freedom. He appealed to the Press of the Islamic world to come out with support to the cause of the Muslims of Kashmir.

### MUSLIM STATES' SUPPORT LENT US STRENGTH

Syed Abul Aala Maudoodi, Amir of Jama'at-i-Islami, has told the Grand Mufti of Jordan that the moral support of the Muslim countries to Pakistan during its war with India had further fortified its defence.

The Maulana said, it seemed to us that our brethren from the Muslim countries fought on our side and shared our joys and sorrows.

He thanked Jordan's UN representative, Mr. Muhammad al-Farrak, for his courageous, statesmanlike, and judicious statements about Pakistan's case in the Security Council. The people of Pakistan will never forget this bold stand for their cause.

The danger of Indian aggression, he said, was not over yet. India's persistent violations of the cease-fire was a prelude to its bigger plan for



launching aggression on Pakistan again.

The Kashmir valley, which was called a paradise on earth, he said, was faced with the enemy's blatant shelling.

Indian hirelings with the support of the Indian army have let loose a reign of terror and victimisation. Women are molested openly, innocent children are butchered before their parents and villages are burnt; 18,000 Muslims have been put to death while over one lakh have been thrown into Pakistan. India, Mualana Maudoodi said, was doing this under a calculated policy of annihilating the Muslim population of the valley to perpetuate her illegal hold on it.

### JEHAD TO CONTINUE

The purpose for which Jihad was started, the letter continued, has still not been achieved. Unless Kashmiri Muslims achieve freedom, whether through a plebiscite or any other peaceful method, the struggle will continue.

Maulana Maudoodi's letter continued :

India, a treacherous and unscrupulous enemy, is continuing its war preparations unabated to attack Pakistan again with a greater might than before. We are, therefore, still faced with the threat of war. In view of India's evil designs and its continued aggressive and inimical attitude towards Pakistan, we cannot but remain on the guard.

The danger of war is all the more there because certain big Powers are bent upon supporting India at all costs. They are playing this game for their own global strategy.

But Pakistan will not succumb to any conspiracy which will be dangerous for her very existence.

The Maulana expressed the hope that the Muslim countries will continue to give their fullest support to Pakistan, a brotherly Muslim country, to face the challenge and liberate Kashmiri Muslims.

### KASHMIRIS HAVE RISEN IN JEHAD

Syed Abul Aala Maudoodi, Amir Jama'at-i-Islami, Pakistan, stated that the fight for freedom launched by the people of Kashmir is Jihad and it is our moral and religious duty to support it unstintedly.

In a Press statement the Maulana said that everybody in the world having any regard for human rights will unreservedly support the people of Kashmir in their fight for freedom.

Explaining the stand of the Jama'at-i-Islami *vis-a-vis* the Jihad, he said that the Pakistan Government ought to have taken some practical step much earlier for the liberation of "our oppressed brethren in Jammu and Kashmir.

The statement said, "instead of expressing a view in individual capacity on behalf of Jama'at-i-Islami alone I was of the view that the Kashmir Committee appointed by the All-Parties Kashmir Conference should carefully consider and thrash out the various aspects of the present serious situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and then take an agreed and effective stand on this issue of fundamental national importance.

"So the Kashmir Committee was scheduled to meet in Rawalpindi on Thursday at the residence of Chaudhry



Ghulam Abbas who is the Convener of this Committee. I was very much distressed to know from the Chaudhry Sahib this morning that his health had once again taken a serious turn and he had to cancel the said meeting of the Kashmir Committee. Under these circumstances I consider it necessary to state the stand of Jama'at-i-Islami on this issue.

"The Jihad that the people of Jammu and Kashmir have launched for their liberation from the tyrannical occupation of India is not only their right but is also their duty.

"According to us the Government of Pakistan ought to have, much earlier, taken some practical step for the liberation of our oppressed brethren in Jammu and Kashmir. Anyhow, if the Government, for reasons known to itself, does not do so it is our moral and religious duty to do all that we can for this purpose.

"I wholeheartedly endorse the appeal made by the Azad Kashmir President and ask the people of Pakistan in general and the workers of Jama'at-i-Islami in particular to wholeheartedly respond to this appeal.

"We pray for early success of this sacred cause and that we may soon have the opportunity of not only helping our Kashmir brethren in money and material but also in person."

*Karachi, Sept. 3.* In a statement issued here today Mr. Muhammad Ali said: "Whatever our internal differences in the past, today they must be laid aside."

He said that the sanctity of the Cease-fire Line was gone, and there was an open trial of military strength between Pakistan and India. Therefore, there was no choice for the

people of Pakistan but to exert their full strength and drive out the Indian aggressors from the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Nizam-i-Islam Party leader expressed the hope that Pakistan's valiant armed forces would, as in the past, give a good account of themselves.

"Now there is only one objective before the nation and that is to meet the Indian challenge unitedly and to defeat Indian aggression. That aggression has continued for long against the freedom-loving people of Kashmir. Now it is being directed against Pakistan. By crossing the Cease-fire Line, the Indian Army has trampled under foot the international agreement on Kashmir which the Indian Government has been evading and dishonouring for 17 years.

"Pakistan has throughout these years striven for peace, has carried out every international undertaking and, despite grave provocation in Kashmir, has acted with patience and moderation but now war is being forced on Pakistan. The sanctity of the cease-fire is gone, and there is an open trial of military strength between Pakistan and India. There is no choice for us but to exert our full strength and drive out the Indian aggressors from the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir. Insha Allah our valiant armed forces will, as in the past, give a good account of themselves.

"When the Pakistan army went into action in Kashmir in May 1948, it was to defend certain vital strategic and economic interests of Pakistan. The importance of those objectives is today far greater than it was in 1948. Since the signing of the Indus Water Treaty in 1960, we are dependent



upon the waters of the three western rivers—Chenab, Jhelum and Indus—which flow from Jammu and Kashmir into West Pakistan to replace the waters of the three eastern rivers—Sutlej, Beas and Ravi—which have been appropriated for Indian use. In particular, the Mangla Dam which is located in Azad Kashmir occupies a pivotal position in the economy of West Pakistan.

“Nor should we underrate the gravity of the threat to our liberty and territorial integrity. Ever since partition, Indian leaders have been persistently pursuing the aim of undoing Pakistan. Now with outside military aid they feel strong enough to wage open war against us.

“Whatever our internal differences in the past, today they must be laid aside, and we must face the common enemy with complete unity of purpose and action. In unity and readiness for every sacrifice lies our strength. Our watchword must be what the Quaid-e-Azam taught us—‘Unity, Faith and Discipline.’ With Faith in the justice of our cause and Discipline in our ranks, let us march forward in firm Unity to the defence of Pakistan and the liberation of Kashmir.”

*Dacca, Sept. 4.* Mr. Nurul Amin, Leader of the United Parliamentary Party in the National Assembly, strongly protested against the sinister and vain attempt of Indian Premier Shastri to drive a wedge between the people of East and West Pakistan.

In a statement Mr. Nurul Amin declared: “Let it be understood that we shall never allow any foreign power to meddle in our internal differences, nor shall we hesitate to close our ranks when our sovereignty, security

and national honour are in danger.”

Mr. Nurul Amin said: “My attention has been drawn to the broadcast of the Indian Prime Minister, published in the *Statesman* of today.

“Whatever might have been said in the broadcast in justification of an unjustifiable case has by now become pathetic history and the world knows that it is the continued intransigence of the Indian rulers which is responsible for the unfortunate situation in which the two neighbouring countries have been involved.

“But significantly enough, Mr. Shastri is trying to poke his nose into our domestic affairs, which cannot go unchallenged. In connection with plebiscite in Kashmir, to which both India and Pakistan are internationally and irrevocably committed, Mr. Shastri has posed a question about plebiscite in the North-western Frontier area and in East Pakistan.

“I strongly protest against the sinister motive of Mr. Shastri in his vain attempt to drive a wedge between the people of East and West Pakistan.”

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 6.* Leaders of various political parties in the country met President Muhammad Ayub Khan here today and assured him of their wholehearted support in the present emergency.

The leaders were Ch. Mohammad Ali, Convener of Nizam-e-Islam Party, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, General Secretary of the Council Muslim League and Ch. Ghulam Abbas.

They told the President that the whole nation was behind him to meet the Indian aggression and people belonging to all shades of public opinion stood like a solid rock for the defence of the country.



The President appreciated the deep sense of patriotism of the Opposition leaders and said that he was immensely impressed by their sense of national duty.

The President said that in a democratic country several parties functioned but he was happy to note that all parties in the country were unanimous in this hour of trial.

*Karachi, Sept. 10.* In a message on the Quaid-i-Azam's death anniversary Miss Fatima Jinnah said "Those who are trying to undo Pakistan shall never succeed. Pakistan shall live for ever."

Recent happenings, Miss Fatima Jinnah said, have chilled the hearts of the people of goodwill. Plebiscite is the fundamental human right of Kashmir. Colonialism has not paid any dividends even to the long established imperialist Powers and will certainly pay none to the new-comers in the field.

The recent history, she said, was full of the attempts to suppress the popular will. "Let those who drain their resources read the writings on the wall. The indissoluble ties that exist between us which neither silver can buy nor bullets can suppress. We will march towards our destined goal and accomplish our rights in spite of the heavy odds in our way.

"Today, 17 years after the death of the Quaid-i-Azam, my mind goes back to the time when he successfully led the nation to its goal of a free independent sovereign State. He symbolised in himself the hopes and aspirations of a hundred million people. They put their wholehearted trust in him and he had full faith in them. Both justified each other's trust. That was the secret of the incredible strength and forces with

which he fought and won the battle of freedom for a downtrodden people in the teeth of the fiercest opposition. History furnished but few examples of such close identification of the genesis and structure of a country with the life and thoughts of its founder, as is the case with Pakistan and Quaid-i-Azam. Even though 17 years have elapsed since his physical departure from our midst, he still remains the sheet-anchor of Pakistan. His deeds and his words continue to be a source of perennial inspiration to the people in moments both of joy and sorrow.

"So long as there is a flicker of that spirit which Quaid-i-Azam kindled in our hearts, so long as our faith in the ideals he inculcated remains undimmed, even though our steps falter, the example and teaching of Quaid-i-Azam will survive and, therefore, we have no cause to give in the despair. In spite of all the vicissitudes we have passed through and all the jolts we have experienced, I am convinced the gaze of the people remains fixed on the destiny which Quaid-i-Azam visualised for them

"The Mussalmans have weathered a mighty avalanche and have steered through the storm to assert their separate entity and struggle for Pakistan or to the period immediately following its establishment, we can well imagine that in the hour of trial, they can muster once again the same faith, courage and self-reliance to fight the present situation and I have faith in the nation to do so.

"Life of an individual as much as of a nation is a struggle and in this struggle, triumph is assured to those who hold fast to their faith and refuse to be subjugated.

"War has been thrust on us, air



attacks have also been launched, but the Mussalman rises to this great height under heavy stress.

"Indian army who crossed over into Pakistan has been befittingly repelled, but now that they have dared to violate the sanctity of our soil, the State created by our beloved Qaid-i-Azam, I expect every Mussalman to give crushing blow to the aggressors and march towards our destiny with faith and courage. Those who are trying to undo Pakistan shall never succeed Pakistan shall live for ever. Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad."

*Dacca, Sept. 23.* Mr. Nurul Amin Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly, said that lasting peace between India and Pakistan depended on the success of the United Nations in bringing about a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute as soon as possible.

Mr. Nurul Amin, in a statement, said, the more a settlement is delayed the more bleak will become the chances of peaceful solution of the disputes. He said, the failure to achieve settlement between the two countries this time may jeopardise the very existence of the UNO.

Besides, it was bound to alter Pakistan's future course of action, he said. In the event of failure to arrive at a peaceful settlement the forces of war will get an upper hand and the world may be plunged into another devastating war, the horrors of which may surpass that of any other history has ever recorded.

Commenting on cease-fire, Mr. Nurul Amin said, it was only a cessation of hostilities between the two countries and was not enough to ensure lasting peace and amity between them.

The NDF leader paid tributes to

the members of Pakistans' Armed Forces and said the nation records its deep gratitude of the brave and valiant sons of the country who have defended their sacred motherland with superb courage and skill. "Their names will be written in the history of Pakistan in letters of gold," he said.

*Chittagong, Oct. 10.* Maulana Bhashani has called upon the people to rededicate themselves to launch a determined struggle to wipe out from Asia the vestiges of imperialism that has proved a grave danger in this region through the recent Indian military adventure.

He appealed to the people to cooperate with the present Government in every conceivable way, particularly by way of making generous contributions to National Defence Funds. He asked them to make every house in Pakistan a veritable fortress to give a crushing blow to the enemy who had dared to set foot on Pakistani soil.

Maulana Bhashani's onslaught in the public meeting was directed more towards what he called American imperialism. He accused the U. S. of making a theatre of another great war in Asia since they could not afford to have war in their territory.

He warned the U.S. that Pakistanis would starve to death rather than submit to the snare of imperialism.

He mentioned the unprecedented sense of patriotism shown by the people during the 17 days of war against India, and "confessed" that he had not seen such enthusiasm among the people throughout his political career.

With such an abiding faith in God, such confidence and such patriotism he firmly believed, Pakistanis would be able to crush Indian imperialists



once for all.

*Dacca, Oct. 17.* The NAP chief, Maulana Bhashani, declared here today that the 100 million people of Pakistan would fully support the Government in the event of its complete break with the United Nations if the latter failed to bring about an honourable and purposeful solution of the Kashmir problem by January 1 next.

He urged the Government to reflect the hopes and aspirations of the people by coming out of the United Nations, thus inflicting a severe blow on the imperialists in the Asian and African region.

Launching a virulent attack on the forces of imperialism, Maulana Bhashani said that the invasion of Pakistan by the Indian warlords was the culmination of the imperialists' policy to suppress the movement of the oppressed peoples of Afro-Asian countries.

In this context he referred to the unprecedented mass awakening and indignation against the wanton Indian attack on our soil and that it would serve as an eye-opener to all those who still believed in exploitation of people and domination by force.

The Maulana said that no power could resist the onward march of the Kashmiri freedom-fighters. They were fighting for a righteous cause, which had been upheld by world public opinion, he added.

The Maulana demanded free and fair plebiscite in Kashmir.

He said that the world had been completely disillusioned about the much-trumpeted might of the Indian forces. He said that our Forces would have penetrated still deeper into Indian territory had not the United States come to the rescue of the shatter-

ed Indian forces.

*Dacca, Oct. 17.* The struggle for the liberation of the people of Kashmir from the bondage of Indian imperialism is Jihad because it seeks to establish justice, Mr. Abul Hashim, President of the East Pakistan Muslim League, said here today.

Speaking on the "Concept of Jihad in Islam" at a seminar here, Mr. Hashim added, Islam enjoined upon every Muslim to fight for the oppressed against the aggressor for peace.

Mr. Hashim said, "Islam is a movement against all the forces of oppression and tyranny in all forms and hence any struggle for truth against injustice is a Jihad according to the principles of Islam."

Mr. Hashim strongly denounced the Indian oppression on the innocent unarmed Kashmiris to keep them under their perpetual subjugation against their will, and asked the New Delhi rulers to realise the historical truth that domination by force could not continue indefinitely.

He accused India of following the policy of retaining the class-based society, and said the hegemony of Brahmanism was responsible for their colonial and expansionist attitude.

He said the 17-day Indo-Pakistan war had proved beyond doubt that the superiority in armaments could not alone decide a battle. More important is the sense of dedication and the cause for which one fights. Pakistan Forces fought for justice and hence they won, he added.

Mr. Farid Ahmad, General Secretary of the Nizam-i-Islam Party, said, "Islam was born in Jihad, it can be sustained in Jihad and its future goal can be achieved by Jihad."



Elaborating he said. "A Muslim is always in Jihad because it is his constant endeavour as a true Muslim to fight for justice to practise the principles of Islam in our day-to-day life."

He said, the field of the Jihad can be identified with any struggle and effort for the establishment of truth and justice.

*Dacca, Oct. 18.* More reports expressing strong resentment and indignation at India's perfidious designs of invading East Pakistan have been received from all over the Province.

According to a report received from Bogra, people from all walks of life said that attack on any part of Pakistan, whether on the east or the west wing, would be "met with all our might."

Mr. Ajmal Ali Chaudhury, MNA, in a statement issued at Sylhet said, the naked exposure of this heinous invasion plan made the East Pakistanis all the more determined to strike a crushing blow to the enemy. He said, the Indian warlords regrettably misconstrued our strength and immense power of Islamic faith while indulging in day-dreaming of conquering West Pakistan within 72 hours and then grab East Pakistan within much shorter time.

He said, the Indians had enough foretaste of perilous results of bombing civilians in East Pakistan and if they again dared do that, they would be paid in their own coin. They would find every East Pakistani a soldier and every house a fortress and in that case they would have another opportunity to witness the bravery of our people.

Mr. Abdul Majid, Secretary, District Muslim League (Sylhet), in a statement regretted that by desisting from

attacking East Pakistan, according to their sinister plan, the Indian warlords had deprived the East Pakistanis of an opportunity to show their strength and determination.

## WARLORDS' DISAPPOINTMENT

Indian warleaders had been disappointed when they saw the East Pakistanis rising as one man to crush the enemy. They saw that all parties and factions vanished when emergency was declared and how all East Pakistanis rallied under President Ayub Khan.

Mr. Serajul Haq, Secretary, Bogra District Muslim League, said that the Indian master plan was nothing unusual and surprising. Mr. Islam reminded India that her attack on any part of Pakistan territory was an attack on Pakistan which would be unitedly crushed.

Giving his reaction, Mr. Akbar Husain, President of Bogra District NAP, said that the motive behind India's invasion of Pakistan territory was, to all intents and purposes, to undo Pakistan.

He said that everyone in Pakistan, no matter to which wing he belongs, would fight shoulder to shoulder to crush the Indian invaders.

In Pabna strong resentment and condemnation was voiced yesterday at a big meeting at Pabna Town Hall maidan.

Mr. Torab Ali, Senior Vice-President, District Muslim League, Pabna, who presided over the meeting expressed great anger at the Indian war hawks and reaffirmed that had they invaded East Pakistan, they would have received greater thrashing.

The former Provincial Minister



Mr. Mansur Ali, warned the Shastri Government not to indulge in war-mongering any more but to mend the loss. He advised the Indian warlords to settle the dispute finally by allowing the right of self-determination to the Kashmiris.

Mr. Kamalesh Chandra Sen, President, Bar Association, Pabna, strongly condemned India's abominable expansionist designs and earnestly desired that good sense would prevail upon the Indian ruling clique to establish good-neighbourly relations with Pakistan by holding the promised plebiscite in Kashmir. He reassured that the East Pakistani minorities would not hesitate to shed the last drop of their blood for the protection of their homeland.

Mr. Zainulabedin of the NAP advised the Indian imperialism to come to an honourable settlement with Pakistan over the Kashmir dispute.

Mr. Bazlur Rahman Almazi, President, Sub-Divisional Muslim League, Pabna, emphasised that the U.N. resolution for free and fair plebiscite in Kashmir must be honoured and implemented, otherwise Pakistan would continue its struggle until the Kashmiris were given the right of self-determination.

An all-party meeting held at Chandpur yesterday, with Mr. Mizanur Rehman MNA in the chair, condemned the Indian conspiracy of capturing East Pakistan.

*October. 18.* Mr. A. K. Sumar, MNA, and Chairman of the National Press Trust, has urged for continued vigilance and preparedness for defence as he apprehended another encounter with the belicose Indians.

He based his feeling on two factors: first that the Indian leadership had

not reconciled with the creation of Pakistan and, secondly, that the Indian Government leaders were still indulging in sabre-rattling to cover their defeat.

Mr. Sumar said, until India suffered another stunning defeat, she would not accept Pakistan as a neighbour. Her recent treacherous aggression, he pointed out, was a part of her militant policy towards small States. He recalled the use of force by India against Hyderabad, Mongrol, Junagadh and Goa in this connection.

The NPT Chairman asked the people to adopt simple living and not to look for sophistication of a highly developed country. He said that in China this attitude towards life had made the task of development easier.

Mr. Sumar was giving his impressions of the modern China at a meeting organised by the Panjab University Journalism Department Old Boys Association in the Pakistan Council, Rawalpindi, on Monday. Mr. S. M. Q. Rizvi, Director-General, Public Relations, presided. Mr. Sumar had visited the People's China recently as a member of the Pakistan delegation to the National Day celebrations.

He described China as a dependable friend of Pakistan and said it was their sincerity that impressed him most.

Mr. Sumar said he had visited some other Socialist States previously but in China his first impression was that the Chinese people had not only accepted the system but had also adopted it. He found the Chinese a disciplined and happy people which demonstrated their acceptance of the new life.

Mr. Sumar said, nowhere he had the feeling that he was in a so-called "police State" as China was being



painted abroad.

He described the achievements of the Chinese people as remarkable and said they had made a wonderful use of their manpower. Their every activity, he said, reflected the revolution that the nation had undergone during the last 17 years.

Mr. Sumar said that although he continued to stand for free enterprise, he had returned from China with an impression that they had unwittingly enforced the Islamic principles of social and economic justice, of course leaving aside the concept of God. Their new system and also devotion to the concept of revolution had made it easier for them to cross the period of transition.

He thought that Pakistan, which was also passing through a transitory period, should adopt the principle of Islamic social justice, economic equity and morality.

Another factor which had contributed to the emergence of China as a world Power was the uninterrupted and stable leadership. Their leaders, he added, had gone through the mill and had suffered. There, he said, they realised the value of the revolution. They not only preached in what they believed but also practised it. He quoted several examples in this respect.

He praised the spirit of self-reliance among the Chinese and the unity of purpose he had witnessed.

*Peshawar, Oct. 20.* Mr. A. K. Sumar, Chairman of the National Press Trust, today called for hard work and sacrifices for safeguarding our

independence and the achievement of a prosperous future.

He was speaking at a reception given in his honour by the citizens of Peshawar at Panjtirath Lawns this evening. Mr. Gul Muhammad Khan, Chairman of the Afro-Asian Economic Council, presided over the function.

Mr. Sumar cautioned the people that if they preferred ease and comfort and did not prepare themselves for hard work and sacrifices, they would involve not only themselves but also generations to come in a serious situation endangering independence and honourable existence.

The demonstration of unparalleled unity in the face of recent Indian aggression was, Mr. Sumar observed, a great factor in our significant performance. Everyone from both the Eastern and the Western Wing of the country had come forward to sacrifice all for the defence of the homeland.

He said, this was a great achievement and it was essential to maintain this unity and spirit of sacrifice, which had been made possible by adherence to basic principles of Islam.

One of the important lessons we had learnt from war with India was that international relationship was variable and not permanent. Those whom we befriended to help us in hour of crisis became lukewarm in their support to us while some others stood by us in our life-and-death struggle, he remarked.

Mr. Sumar added that this attitude of our friends at the crucial moment of our life, which was bound to leave a deep impression on our minds, had also opened our eyes to the realities of



international friendship.

Referring to India, Mr. Sumar said, its evil designs against Pakistan were no longer a matter of opinion but an undeniable fact. "No one can now make us believe that India has good intentions for Pakistan," he added.

He said, Muslims of the sub-continent decided to have a separate homeland when they were convinced that it was impossible to live honourably with Hindu majority. But soon after Partition, the Indians created numerous difficulties for Pakistan. They held back our armour and finances, stopped trade with us and closed the supply of essential goods. Later, they forcibly occupied Kashmir, Junagadh and Hyderabad. Their very agreement to partition of the sub-continent was based on the belief that Pakistan would disintegrate after some time and statements of Pandit Nehru and other Indian leaders were a testimony to that fact.

Mr. Sumar said, when Indians saw that Pakistan had become strong and was marching on the road to progress and prosperity, they decided to invade us.

In the light of these facts, he said, we must be convinced that there was bound to be a decisive war sooner or later and the nation must get prepared for it.

To meet such a situation, Mr. Sumar said, our economic and defence programme should go side by side. The priority now should be for the programme of national defence and economic development must take the second place.

He said, however, the two programmes were complementary and not

contradictory.

Mr. Sumar said, in the past we used to depend on help from other sources in the matter of our development programmes, but now we must primarily depend on our own self. In order to achieve our goals we must work hard and make sacrifices.

It was possible, he said, to achieve our goals even without the promised assistance.

Referring to his recent visit to China, Mr. Sumar said, he was surprised to see great strides made by that country in a short period after the 1949 revolution.

They were a mighty Power, were sincere friends and wholeheartedly supported Pakistan in its hour of crisis, he said.

## PEOPLE URGED TO MAINTAIN UNITY

*Lahore Oct. 14.* The Director-General of Public Relations, Syed Muhammad Qasim Rizvi, emphasised that the spirit and unity displayed by the people during the present emergency should not be made a thing of the past but maintained for all times to come.

He was delivering his presidential address at a meeting organised by the Department of Journalism, Panjab University at the Senate Hall to commend "the role of journalism in promoting the country's defence."

Besides Mr. Rizvi, the meeting was addressed by Mr. Alauddin Siddiqui, Agha Shorish Kashmiri, Syed Aali Rizvi and Mr. Marghub Siddiqui.

The Public Relations chief said that the people of Pakistan through their heroism and the national Press



and Radio by their magnificent role, had added a golden chapter to the country's history. The Radio, he added, also provided an opportunity to the poets and writers to make their contributions to the war efforts.

Mr. Rizvi said that although Pakistan had agreed to cease-fire, that did not bring to an end the endeavours for safeguarding the country's integrity and solidarity. He, therefore, stressed that the people should always keep up their morale and be on guard.

He further said that the war against India had proved beyond any doubt that Islam was the force that brought the Muslims all over the world to one platform in support of Pakistan against the Indian aggression. Similarly, the other nations had supported Pakistan because of the righteousness of her cause.

Mr. Alauddin Siddiqui said that in modern warfare each and every citizen had to play his part behind the defence forces. It was very heartening that the people of Pakistan rose to the occasion magnificently when the Indians attacked their sacred homeland. The response from the nation to the President's call to meet the enemy as one man, he said, was really wonderful.

He added that the people were proud of the way the national Press and Radio contributed to the country's war efforts.

Agha Shorish Kashmiri said that side by side with the defence forces and others, the national Press had played an equally important role in frustrating the enemy.

The biggest gain of the war, he observed, was that the entire nation had united and fought the enemy like one man.

## PLANNING STRATEGY OF NATIONAL EFFORT

In a statement Mr. Daultana said :

The people of Pakistan have gone through fire and have been tempered to the strength of steel. In these our days of struggle the spirit of the Qaid-i-Azam was abroad amongst us, and the Faith, Unity and Discipline showed by his people was worthy of his memory.

We owe our first thanks to Almighty God Who in His grace has preserved, fortified and elevated His own. We gratefully place our proudest tribute at the triumphant feet of our armed forces, who have shown a valour and a heroism which has enriched even the superb, centuries-old heritage of Islam. Our Air Force—gallant, nimble and superbly efficient—did for us what Winston Churchill's did for his land 25 years ago. A people whose warriors are shaped in such a heroic mould has indeed aspirations and ideals to achieve, it can never have fear or fears.

But the faith, spirit, the defiant and scornful courage of the common people of Pakistan everywhere, and in particular of the dauntless citizens of our border and bombed cities like Lahore, Sialkot and Sargodha, and innumerable villages, are supreme testimony of the fact that the message of Allama Iqbal was given to a nation fully equipped and dowered to live up to its loftiest note.

A trial is past, a confidence has been gained, a faith has been fortified. But the order of the day, for the days that lie ahead, is more than ever, vigilance and preparedness, how to make as granite our defences both spiritual, and material, how to fully mobilise the



grandeur of the human soul which in the poet's words has "the courage never to submit or yield ; and what is else, not to be overcome."

To this task, all, and not only those in executive authority, must apply themselves. I feel that at the very earliest stage a convention of all leaders in all walks of life should be called to spell out the problems that lie in the future, to make full use of all our resources of talent and endowment, and to help a strategy of national endeavour.

One gain this hot month of September has certainly brought us. While our enemy was isolated in this arrogance, an array of true friends stood by our side, above all the assured and superbly deployed might of China, Indonesia, Iran, Turkey, the great Arab people, and many many others.

Not only that, but more surely than ever, and perhaps decisively for the first time, surprised by the spirit and pluck of a David against Goliath, our cause has won the ear of the world. If you go behind the formal neutrality of many nations, and notice what their Press has said, you will be amazed by the attention, interest and sympathy shown in many centres of influence which in the past had never spared you a word of consolation.

This is a treasure, but an expendable one, unless one knows how to bank and invest it. I am inclined to believe that this might well be Pakistan's international moment. Today something should be done and done immediately, and done on a generous but a planned scale to spread out our best men of talent, our poets and writers, our artistes, our thinkers, our men of eminence and plausibility, all over the world to convince, and further con-

vince an already heeding public opinion of the justice of our cause, of what we are, of what we stand for, and of the imperishable human values treasured by all mankind, which we would lay down our lives to live by.

## 9 LAKH TO FIGHT FOR KASHMIR

Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman, MNA, a well-known spiritual leader of former Punjab and Sind, placed the services of his 9,00,000 followers at the disposal of the authorities for the liberation of Kashmir and the defence of Pakistan.

In a Press conference the Makhdoom said that India's unlawful possession of Kashmir was now an acknowledged fact and it was with that background in view that the Security Council had passed resolutions to settle the dispute. He said that Pakistan had been watching India's nefarious and evil designs to undo Pakistan ever since its inception and would never allow it to succeed.

Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman said that although a cease-fire had been effected, the Indians were building up their war potential against this country. He said that his followers are prepared to lay down their lives defending the country and had in large numbers offered themselves for recruitment in the Armed Forces.

*Dacca, Oct. 27.* Mr. Nurul Amin has appealed to the people of India to put their leadership into proper gear so that they may shake of the false sense of prestige and honour their solemn pledge given to the people of Kashmir.

In a broadcast Mr. Nurul Amin,



said that if they could do so, it would not only pave the way for lasting peace between Pakistan and India, but would also create the desirable peaceful atmosphere throughout the world thereby providing an atmosphere to both the countries to progress and prosper.

Mr. Amin referred to the last month's Indo-Pakistan war and said it proved beyond all doubt that in the hour of need, the entire nation was capable of rising to a man to face the enemy and to safeguard the security of the country.

Paying tributes to the armed forces, the Leader of the Opposition said that they were actuated by the noblest spirit of patriotism when the Pathans, the Punjabis, the Baluchis, the Sindhis and the Bengalis fought shoulder to shoulder in defence of the common motherland.

While Pakistanis believed that Pakistan had come to stay and had implicit faith in its destiny, the Bharati leadership accepted the Partition with mental reservation. This is in short the crux of Pakistan-Bharat dispute. Bharati leaders' clandestine deal with the Dogra Raj is a glaring instance of that psychological feat.

Pakistan has the moral support of all peace-loving nations of the world, but Bharat has all along been maintaining a defiant attitude. This intransigence on the part of Bharati leadership is not only irritating to Pakistan but it is striking a fatal blow to the existence of the UNO. It is loosing its prestige and effectiveness as a peace-keeping body.

As an honourable nation, Pakistan shall stand by her pledge to the Kashmiris to secure to them an opportunity to express their wishes for self-

determination as enjoined in the U.N. Charter.

The sooner the big Powers of the Security Council who guide its policy realised that fact, the brighter will be the prospect of the solution of the Kashmir dispute and for that matter permanence of the UNO. A complacency on the part of the UN providing a practicable machinery for the solution of the issue may plunge the world into a devastating war and for that calamity the UN will not be held less responsible.

We want to live peacefully with our neighbours. We detest war. The developing nations like Bharat and Pakistan cannot afford war, because war brings total catastrophe to a developing economy. War does no good to the people at large. What we need is a war against poverty, illiteracy and disease.

"I salute the people of Lahore and Sialkot who have borne the brunt of the attack from the enemy. The high spirit of patriotism and morale shown by them will serve as a perpetual warning to all aggressors that Pakistan can never be conquered," he said.

*Karachi, Oct. 28.* The economic progress and political stability achieved during the past seven years by Pakistan under the leadership of President Ayub have belied Indian leaders' predictions that Pakistan would not last long.

This was stated by Mr. A. K. Sumar, MNA, and Chairman of the National Press Trust, while addressing a Revolution Day meeting at the Landhi Industrial Area yesterday. He said the Indian leaders had, on the day President Ayub took over the leadership of the country, predicted that the end of Pakistan was near. But the seven



years of tremendous progress had completely falsified Indian prediction.

Mr. Sumar said, when they saw Pakistan on the high road to progress and prosperity they planned to undo this State by force, hence the desperate, treacherous attack on Pakistan on September 6.

Mr. Sumar said: "It appears that the Indian leaders have lost their balance of mind."

Mr. Sumar said, the reason behind the great progress under Ayub regime was "our firm determination to find a path of our own and to evolve institutions in accordance with our own genius and national requirements and to make use of our talent, our languages and our cultural heritage so that we may reach our destination."

He said, our ideal had been the revival of the glory of Islam, sustained progress and lasting peace.

Hitherto, he said, "we have been attempting to reach this goal through adoption of alien order which was bound to bring grief to us because alien traditions and institutions could lead us only to their destinations and not ours."

"By no means, however," he went on, "have we perfected the system now in vogue. He pointed out that institutions grow over a period of years and decades and traditions take time to form."

Mr. Sumar paid glowing tributes to the Armed Forces. He said they had fought heroically against heavy odds and a treacherous enemy.

He observed that success in war to a great extent depended on the attitude of the people of the country as a whole. It must be that of a nation at war to defend its freedom, honour its values and its faith.

Mr. Sumar said, the people of Pakistan showed exemplary courage, sense of unity, determination and sacrifice during the national crisis.

This manifestation of the national spirit, Mr. Sumar said, was "our greatest asset today and we must not only preserve it but should also make use of it for the country and greater glory of Islam."

Mr. Sumar continued: "We must resolve—on this great day of October 27—to work hard, to bear sacrifices and must be prepared to move forward on our own, with faith in our destiny and in God."

The era of the revival of Muslim glory has begun. Let us rise to the occasion for God does not help those who do not strive themselves to achieve progress."

## ATTACK, A SHAMEFUL ACT

The former East Pakistan Governor, Azam Khan, said that "India's attack on Pakistan without declaring war is an act of cowardly aggression based on a preplanned course that such cunning and deceitful device will catch us unprepared."

In a statement, he said, "India by this shameful act has condemned herself before the comity of nations. She will never be able to defend herself against the unfavourable world opinion where she stands condemned for aggression in Kashmir and now in Pakistan. The unparalleled sacrifices of our nation for the achievement of Pakistan can never go in vain. Every Pakistani



will face the situation with the courage of a Mujahid and 'Momin' with faith in God Almighty and the destiny of this great nation. As Muslims we bow only before God and fear none except God Almighty. No sacrifice is too great for the sacred cause of defending our hearth, home, honour, freedom and dignity. By the grace of Allah our armed forces have always proved themselves to be worthy custodians of the sacred soil of Pakistan and will now Insha Allah, acquit themselves with the highest of courage, competence, dignity to give the most crushing defeat to the wretched Indian armed forces in the battles in the air, on the ground and on the seas so that India can never use her weapons against us or any other country in aggression and oppression again.

"Every Pakistani whilst taking all necessary emergency precautions will Insha Allah stand to his post as his moral, religious and national duty to do his job in the spirit of 'Jehad' for maintaining normal conditions in the country and to step up our efforts in meeting India's war challenge. Every sphere of national life must continue to function in harmony with vigour and zeal and in highest efficiency so that our output in every field is stepped up to the highest production.

"Knowing my nation as I do, particularly the people of Lahore Division who I have served in many emergencies, will Insha Allah face this grave situation as brave Mujahids in the highest spirit of courage, self-sacrifice and dedication for the noble cause of defending every inch of Pakistan soil.

"The whole nation stands together today united to face this test. God is with us and ultimate victory will Insha

Allah be ours. We are fighting for the cause of justice against violence, deceit and shameful aggression of India."

## NATION UNITED ON KASHMIR

The former Governor of East Pakistan, Azam Khan, said in Lahore that India cannot take Kashmir by force because she would not be allowed to repeat her performance in Junagadh, Hyderabad and Goa.

Commenting on the Indian tyranny and aggression against Kashmiris, Gen. Azam in a Press statement said, Pakistan has always stood for a peaceful solution of Kashmir through a plebiscite. But our people cannot watch unconcerned when the Indian armed forces have resorted to every conceivable terrorism and genocide against the freedom-fighters.

Gen. Azam Khan called for national unity at this hour and said though democracy is the fixed and determined national goal, our fight for the defence of our land and the liberation of our Kashmiri brethren is foremost.

He said, the brave people of Kashmir are not alone—God is with them. Not only have they full moral support from the Muslim world but the whole civilised world will see that justice is done to them.

The Pakistan nation as a whole—man, woman, and child—stands united today to meet any aggression or threat from any quarter and will not rest till full justice is done to our brethren in Kashmir and the Indian tyranny and oppression is totally eradicated.

"Our people are proud of their armed forces and their glorious feats and traditions which will, Insha Allah be further enhanced in the sacred



cause of defending our Kashmiri brethren against Indian aggression and restoring to them their right of self-determination.

"It is the sacred duty of every individual to stand up and fight in the spirit of 'Jehad' in the cause of justice, and liberation from tyranny and suppression of any form. God helps those who fight the tyrants, for the righteous cause."

He concluded his statement with the following verse from the Holy Qur'an: "And say: Truth has (now) arrived and falsehood perished: for falsehood is (by its nature) bound to perish."

*Karachi, Nov. 8.* Maulana Bhashani declared here that the Soviet Union will have to support the right of self-determination of the Kashmiri people "if not today, tomorrow or day after" since it had in the past been supporting the liberation movement of the oppressed Afro-Asian peoples.

The Maulana said that the underlying justice of the cause of the Kashmiri people and Pakistan's stand on it could not be ignored by any peace-loving and genuine anti-imperialist country and hoped that the Soviet Union will live up to its great tradition of fight against aggressors and usurpers of the right of self-determination.

Answering a question by a foreign correspondent, Maulana Bhashani said that the Kashmir issue did not concern Pakistan only; it was a world issue—an issue where a principle was involved, like the Algerian, Palestinian or the Viet-Nameese issues for the solution of which the people fought or were still fighting against the forces of colonialism and imperialism and the peace-

loving people of the whole world gave them full moral and material support. If the Kashmiri people fail in their just struggle it will be the failure of the whole world, if they win it will be the victory of the whole progressive mankind, he said.

*Karachi, Nov. 11.* Mr. A. K. Sumar, MNA and Chairman of the National Press Trust, today called upon the people to prepare themselves for still greater sacrifices for the defence of the motherland.

He was speaking at the inauguration of a meena bazar held under the auspices of the Ladies Club of the C.P. and Berar Housing Society. All proceeds of the meena bazar will be donated towards the National Defence Fund.

Mr. Sumar said that India, an arch enemy of Pakistan, had not reconciled herself to the creation of Pakistan. He warned the nation that India was preparing for a large-scale war.

The country, he said, had made remarkable progress under the leadership of President Muhammad Ayub Khan. Worried about the political and economic solidarity achieved by Pakistan, India thought it appropriate to attack Pakistan and undo it before it could make further progress under the leadership of President Ayub.

Mr. Sumar appreciated the sense of patriotism and spirit of sacrifice of the nation. He said, if this spirit was maintained, no country would dare commit aggression against Pakistan. The Muslim nation, Mr. Sumar said, believed in the philosophy of life based on service and sacrifice. Muslim history was replete with heroic achievements based on service and sacrifice.

Mr. Sumar called for austerity and



said that the country's resources should be geared towards defence.

Mr. Sumar said that our enemy is coward and is shrewd. It was using the cease-fire period in preparation for yet a larger conflict with Pakistan.

The present cease-fire, he said, was not effective and durable and, therefore, "we should remain alert and ready to meet any eventuality."

He said that the enemy had made a wrong assessment about the unity of the Pakistani nation. "She has now realised that the entire nation, from Peshawar to Chittagong, is an impregnable wall and stands like a solid rock," he added.

Mr. Sumar also called upon women folk to arm the coming generations not only with ethical and human values, but also with the real spirit of Islam, as laid down in the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah.

Earlier, Mrs. Shahnaz Bengali, Convener of the Club, in her welcome address, paid tributes to the heroic deeds of Pakistan's Armed Forces and appealed for donations to the National Defence Fund.

*Karachi, Nov. 12.* Mr. A. K. Sumar, Chairman of the National Press Trust, today cautioned the people against "rumours and illusions" which the enemy agents may be spreading here to wreck their hard-earned unity.

Presiding over the opening session of the two-day seminar, organised by the Social Service Co-ordinating Council this evening, Mr. Sumar said that the unity of thought and action developed during the war was a great national asset and should be preserved.

He asked the people not to pay any attention to any illusion and misgiving, through which this unity could be destroyed.

He said: "We must have confidence and faith in our present leadership, because it is this leadership that has taken us through against heavy odds. We must strengthen our leaders' hands so that they may steer the ship of the country clear of all troubles."

Social workers can play a vital role in this respect, by keeping the people well informed of the Government's determination to fight out the enemy, Mr. Sumar observed.

He asked them to accelerate their efforts to mobilise the public's participation and resources for the national defence.

Mr. Sumar described the sense of unity displayed by the people, during the war, as a unique phenomenon, which was due to the concept and the philosophy of life practised by us.

The philosophy of life practised by us gives a message of peace and prosperity and teaches us the lesson of service and sacrifice, he observed.

Earlier, papers were read by the Chairman of the APWA's National Executive Committee, Mrs. Tazin Fareedi, Begum Mujibun Nisa Akram, MNA, and Mrs. Shireen Rehmatullah, Assistant Director, Provincial Social Welfare Department.

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 14.* The Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly, Mr. Nurul Amin, said here today that a just and reasonable solution of Kashmir dispute was urgently called for in the interest of abiding



peace between Pakistan and India.

He hoped that the right-thinking people in India would judge the issue dispassionately and try to put the righteousness of the cause above emotion.

In an exclusive interview with the Newsreel correspondent of Radio Pakistan, Mr. Nurul Amin said that the Indo-Pakistan conflict which was turned into an undeclared war by India and which could have engulfed this area into a wider conflagration with a positive threat to world peace, was the consummation of an expansionist attitude by India and the continued inaction by the United Nations to secure the right of self-determination for five million Kashmiris as pledged by India about a decade and half ago.

Mr. Nurul Amin said, "The naked and cowardly attack on Pakistan by India was a blessing in disguise as the hundred million Pakistanis stood against the wanton aggression like a rock.

"The people of East Pakistan, who were cut off from their brethren in the West by designing India, felt closer to each other by a common bond which no earthly power can damage.

"There is unprecedented enthusiasm amongst the young men in East Pakistan for military training and it is imperatively necessary that both wings should be made militarily self-sufficient to meet the growing Indian threat."

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 16.* President Ayub told the Opposition members in the National Assembly today that Pakistan was in a better shape now to

face India if the Indians decided to venture another trial of strength.

The Opposition spokesmen assured the President that they stood solidly behind the Government and that the whole country supported the President and his policies. This support to the Government and its policies would continue.

President Ayub said that democratic order presupposed political parties and some party politics which arose out of this phenomenon. But situations did arise when party considerations became immaterial in view of bigger considerations. The present situation was one such occasion and he hoped that the Opposition parties would take the war effort as a national effort and forget party considerations.

The President then gave a resume of the happenings during the 17-day war. He said that India had attacked in such strength as to seek a decision. But the Armed Forces of Pakistan blunted every attack, ground it to a halt and repulsed the attacking force.

The war was the result of the undying animus that the Indian political leaders bore against Pakistan. Unfortunately up till now the Indian rulers had not reconciled themselves to the existence of Pakistan. They had all along pursued policies to harm Pakistan and the war was a logical outcome of their policies of hate.

Pakistan, he said, was wedded to a policy of peace and friendship with all nations. They wanted friendship with their neighbours, including India. It, however, was apparent that India was not desirous of having friendly relations with Pakistan.



The President said that everything possible was being done including training civilians to face the threat of aggression from India.

The Opposition members asked a number of questions which were replied to by the President. The discussion which ensued was held in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere and the President answered certain questions at great length.

Mr. Nurul Amin, Leader of the Opposition, thanked the President for establishing a healthy convention of taking the Opposition members into confidence on matters of national policy. The Opposition was solidly behind the Government and its policies, he said, and added that they had held public meetings all over to emphasise that there was no difference of opinion between them and the Government.

Other group leaders also spoke and assured the President of their unstinted support in repelling the Indian aggression.

Nov. 17, 1965. Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani told a Press conference in Lahore that the Indian aggression had enabled Pakistan to identify her foes and friends and had made her conscious of the dire need for self-reliance.

The Maulana said, if there was anyone in the country who still believed that any good could come out from the friendship with imperialists, there were serious doubts about his patriotism as the lesson the country had learned was too obvious to be misunderstood.

He said that the country had shown plenty of spirit and it need not borrow that commodity from anyone. But spirit alone was not enough. The country needed self-sufficient economy so that a blockade by an enemy and sanctions by "friends" did not emaciate their national existence.

The NAP chief, when invited to comment on the President's broadcasts, said that he endorsed his views. President Ayub was perfectly right when he said that the country should not rely on any single source of supply. The country had done it once and it should not repeat the same mistake.

Maulana Bhashani said that he had been criticising the Government for relying on the friendship of one country (America) and had been suggesting for long that Pakistan should have friendship with all the countries who were interested with her welfare.

Maulana Bhashani said that it should be clearly understood that India could not have attacked Pakistan without the support and connivance of United States imperialists. The Indian Army had been more than doubled in strength in a short period of three years with the American support. The Indians had gradually reached the position of "having become the vehicle of imperialist designs." But the Indian ruling classes would soon discover that imperialism was an "ill wind" which brought no one any good.

In reply to a question Maulana Bhashani indicated that the Americans were active in East Pakistan and seemed to follow the policy of "divide and rule." They have been campaigning in East Pakistan to create bad



blood between East and West Pakistan by circulating fantastic stories. He was aware that a similar campaign was also being launched in West Pakistan.

But Maulana Bhashani asserted that the real gain of the 17-day war with India had been the national integration of the country. The country had attained lasting unity and no amount of campaign could create any misunderstanding between the two wings. The imperialists were bound to face frustration, he declared.

Maulana Bhashani emphasised the need for further strengthening the military potential of East Pakistan and said that it should have been in a position to attack India when the latter had massed her troops on the West Pakistan borders. He said that the morale of East Pakistan had been very high during the 17 days fighting and if India had attacked East Pakistan the people would have given a good account of themselves. But a defensive attitude was not good enough when West Pakistan had been invaded.

He said that defence efforts in East Pakistan should be attended to immediately so that the enemy might consider himself surrounded by East and West Pakistan.

He said that the country should have its own armament factories and that necessitated the development of heavy industry.

According to him, the best formula for self-reliance by an under developed country was that of Socialism. But before that useful eventuality, the present system should be adjusted

during the present emergency in such a manner that all sources should be utilised to the fullest extent. Ways should be found so that the farmer worked to capacity, industry and trade functioned smoothly and all able bodied men and women worked to the best of their energy.

The national upsurge, he said, had brought about a qualitative change in relationships within the country. Coercion in State matters had been replaced in good measure by voluntary and mutual confidence. That trend, he said, should be strengthened.

Talking on the Kashmir dispute, he said that it had been hanging fire at the United Nations for 18 years. The U.N. was becoming more and more a forum of legalising imperialistic aggression and for giving respectability to the imperialist intrigues. The U.N. could not be relied upon for help and succour to the suffering Kashmiri people. Pakistan would have to rely on Afro-Asian brethren just as the valiant people of Viet Nam were doing. He suggested that Pakistan should dissociate from the U.N. if it failed to solve the Kashmir dispute.

Maulana Bhashani favoured the establishment of an alternative and said that he might move its formation at the forthcoming Afro-Asian and Latin American Solidarity Conference at Cuba.

The Maulana suggested that competent persons from amongst all political parties, lawyers, journalists, professors, etc., should be selected by the Government and sent abroad to make other people understand fully Pakistan's point of view on Kashmir.



CHIEFS OF THE ARMED FORCES

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Practically the defence responsibility mainly rested on the chiefs of the land, air and naval forces of Pakistan. Any slip on their part could have marred the valorous achievements of our brave and courageous soldiers. We are rightly proud of the way the three chiefs faced the heavy odds and discharged their defence duties with a great sense of devotion and service. They worked round the clock to blunt the Indian attack and roll the enemy back to his land without showing any sign of fatigue. Defence was dearer to them than their blood and home. Nothing could shake them. They stood straight and performed their duties with a perfect sense of zeal and devotion.



*Sargodha, August, 12.* The P.A.F. Commander-in-Chief, Air-Vice Marshal M. Nur Khan, has expressed his admiration of the great strides the Pakistan Air Force has taken during recent years and has expressed the hope that under his command it would continue to explore new ideas to keep its pace of progress.

He was talking to officers and men at the P.A.F. Stadium at Sargodha this morning during his first visit after assumption of command.

The P. A. F. chief repeated his motto, "Jump ahead and aim at a higher target," and said, "The nation is proud of you. You must come up to its expectation."

He called upon them to work with a spirit of single-mindedness, and selfless dedication.

*Somewhere in West Pakistan, September 4.* Speaking to the Press correspondents Air Marshal Nur Khan explained that the Pakistan Air Force had been exercising great restraint by not taking advantage of the right of pursuit into Indian territory.

He said that in accordance with the Government policy the P. A. F. had never violated Indian airspace while the Indians had the advantage of choosing their own time and place of engagement. But this, he said, might not be possible for long.

The C-in-C revealed that in all the air combats the P. A. F. pilots were outnumbered two to three times.

Replying a question, Air Marshal

Nur Khan said that superiority in numbers alone did not decide the outcome of air battles. Better training, morale and, above all, fighting spirit were the deciding factors.

As examples of the courage, skill and fighting spirit of the P. A. F. pilots, the Pressmen were shown pictures of the Sabre aircraft which was damaged in yesterday's air battle and which the Indians claimed to have destroyed.

*September 5.* The Army Commander-in-Chief General Muhammad Musa, has highly appreciated the heroic performance of Army units operating in Jaurian.

Gen. Musa asked his men to destroy the enemy. He said, "You have got your teeth in him. Bite deeper till you destroy him, and destroy you will, God willing."

The C.-in-C. said that the fall of Jaurian was "a severe blow" to the Indian forces which the Azad Kashmir forces and the Pakistan troops had inflicted and had once again exhibited that the Indians were on the run and their defeat was certain.

*September 6.* The following is the text of the C.-in-C.'s order of the day:

"Since September 1, when the P. A. F. was called upon to go into action against the I. A. F. in Kashmir we have carried out all our operational commitments in a highly successful manner.



“This has been possible because of the magnificent way everyone in the P. A. F. reacted in the emergency. We are now faced with a total war and are required to perform our supreme task.

“I am confident that we will prove equal to the challenge and all airmen, officers, particularly aircrew, will discharge their responsibilities with even greater devotion, dedication and determination ensuring our ultimate victory.

“I wish you all success and good hunting.”

*Rawalpindi, September 6.* The following is the text of the Order of the Day to the Army by the C.-in-C., General Muhammad Musa:

“Officers and men of the Pakistan Army, this is the hour of trial and glory. The Indians, like all deceitful aggressors, have attempted to cross into Pakistan territory since early hours of this morning in Jassar, Wagah and Bedian. This they have done in their typically cowardly manner without declaring war. Our gallant troops defending these areas have stopped the enemy's advance and have inflicted heavy casualties on the intruders. Within hours of the start of the fighting our forces have stabilised the situation and are in complete control of it.

“This treacherous attack by India on our sacred soil has afforded our Army an opportunity to prove to the Indian warlords that Pakistan is fully capable of defending herself and delivering crushing blows to any aggressor. I know everyone in the Army is fully prepared for battle and the time has now come for everybody in the Army to make a supreme effort

to destroy the enemy.

“The future of our country and fate of our generations to come depends on your actions. You and the other two services, as defenders of the country, provide a bulwark of faith and determination against the evil designs of the enemy.

“I am certain, you will stake your all to defend each and every inch of the sacred soil of Pakistan. Destroy the enemy troops who may dare to tread on our soil. You will be making history by inflicting a final defeat on the forces of aggression unleashed by India. The nation is looking up to you to defend the homeland. Insha Allah you will prove equal to the task. March forward with the grim determination, for which you are well known all over the world. God willing, victory will be yours.”

*Air operational headquarters, September 13.* Air Marshal M. Nur Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Air Force, today said, “We in the Air Force feel greatly encouraged by the faith that the people have reposed in us, and we shall continue to do our best to retain their confidence.”

*Rawalpindi, September 23.* Gen. Muhammad Musa declared here today that Pakistan Armed Forces had not only conclusively demonstrated that they were invincible but also that they were the surest guarantors and custodians of the country's freedom.

In a review of the 17-day war, he said: “Treacherously attacked without declaration of war, the country has repulsed the enemy and shown that it can more than hold its own against an



enemy many times stronger in armed forces and resources."

The tenacious spirit of the Armed Forces was reflected in the fact that, though attacked suddenly, one company in advance position single-handedly withstood the might of a whole infantry brigade supported by armour for seven long hours before falling back to the main defensive position.

*Rawalpindi, October 11.* In his talk to the officers of Pakistan Army this morning, the Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Muhammad Musa, said that the last Indian attack proved a total failure. This has humiliated India once again in the eyes of the world. The enemy contrived to attack Armed Pakistan's Forces by surprise. "Actually," the C-in-C said, "the enemy was himself surprised to find the Pakistan troops present everywhere to meet his treacherous aggression."

The failure of the Indian invasion had left an indelible impression that even a numerically stronger force could not match with the determination and fighting ability of Pakistan's Armed Forces. It has also made them more confident of their superiority and they are bound to give a still better account of themselves if they are forced to fight again by the Indians.

After 17 days of "continuous" fighting, the C-in-C said, Pakistan's Armed Forces were in perfect shape. "Our officers and men bear a radiant and self-confident countenance. They are conscious of the great mission they have performed in the defence of national freedom. Their experience has burnt into their hearts a moral

that future of the country depends on their efforts and they will never fail it. They are, therefore, more than ever dedicated to sacrifice their all to defend their homeland."

This was a spirit which made a nation invincible and imperishable.

*Rawalpindi, October 19.* Air Marshal Nur Khan said that PAF had lost only 14 Sabre jets. He said that his Indian counterpart, Air Marshal Arjun Singh, was reported to have stated on Sept. 1 that PAF had 100 Sabre jets and if that was to be believed then PAF was in a position to account for the remaining 86 aircraft on the ground.

Air Marshal Nur Khan challenged Air Marshal Arjun Singh to send some correspondents to Pakistan and to count for themselves 86 Sabre jets on the ground and intact provided they reported correctly what they saw. He said, "I am willing to take them around."

Air Marshal Nur Khan said that recently some fantastic statements about the PAF losses had been made by the Indian authorities while giving "gallantry" awards to the Indian pilots without any assessment and verification.

He said that surely somebody was bluffing somebody or Air Marshal Arjun Singh had a "big moral problem" in hand when he was distributing gallantry awards to his men.

On the other hand, Air Marshal Nur Khan said, Pakistan's gains and losses had been checked and rechecked after proper assessment and verification from various sources.

PAF pilots had been given awards after proper assessment and verification, he added.



Air Marshal Nur Khan said that Pakistan had lost 14 F-86 aircraft out of which eight were destroyed by enemy action and six were lost due to other reasons.

Of the latter, four had been destroyed by flying accidents and two by their own guns, he added. No C-130 aircraft was destroyed or damaged. Five such aircraft were intact. Pakistan also lost two B-57 due to enemy action, he said.

Giving details of the Indian losses at the hand of PAF, Air Marshal Nur Khan said that the Indian Air Force had lost 110 planes besides 19 having been damaged.

He said that 35 Indian planes were destroyed and five damaged in the air combat while 43 planes were destroyed and 14 damaged on the ground. Similarly, he said, 32 Indian planes were destroyed by ground fire.

He said that PAF had done tremendous amount of damage to the enemy on the ground.

PAF which had given solid support to the land forces had destroyed 149 tanks besides destroying 666 vehicles of all types. Sixty-nine vehicles of all types were also damaged. Similarly, 62 field guns of all types were destroyed and nine damaged.

Air Marshal Nur Khan said that IAF had lost eight MIG's on the first day of their attack on Pakistan and added that they did not send MIGs ever after. He said that IAF had 35 MIGs 10 of which were reported to be in service.

Air Marshal Nur Khan said that PAF's action over Indian airfields and installations was very effective and that could be guessed from the fact that there was little resistance to their attack.

Asked why PAF had not gone into action against IAF which was violating Pakistan's airspace after the cease-fire, the PAF chief said that the Pakistan Army was quite capable of handling the situation. He added, "We will go into action when we think it is necessary."

But he made it clear that Pakistan did not want to aggravate the situation. He, however, added that it was a serious situation when IAF came in support of the Indian Army in the Rajasthan sector across the cease-fire line and strafed Pakistani territory.

Answering a question about the replacement for the losses to PAF, Air Marshal Nur Khan told a foreign correspondent, "We are all right."

Replying to a question as to how PAF having one-fifth of IAF could display such a magnificent performance, Air Marshal Nur Khan said that PAF was fighting for a "Good cause." Moreover, he said, the leadership at all level of PAF was of a very high calibre and everybody had shown tremendous devotion to the cause, otherwise it was difficult to explain the Indian debacle.

Air Marshal Nur Khan also talked of the better maintenance and supervision of ammunitions and installations by PAF. He said that radar installations were effectively used.

Asked about the lessons from the 17-day war, the Commander-in-Chief of PAF said that Pakistan had got to be ready and be on guard. PAF had done a magnificent job and there was no cause for worry. He added that PAF was in a very good shape.



## WE ARE PROUD OF OUR GALLANTRY

The Army C.-in-C., Gen. Muhammad Musa, in a special message, congratulated the recipients of the gallantry awards and decorations.

Gen. Musa in his message said: "On behalf of all ranks of Pakistan Army and on my own behalf, I congratulate you on the immediate award conferred on you by the President in recognition of your valour and devotion to duty. You deserve it. We are all very proud of your gallant conduct.

"Those to whom awards have been given posthumously are no longer with us but they have left us as shaheeds. They could not have died a better death for they gave their lives while fighting for the defence of their country against the aggressor."

*Rawalpindi, October 31.* Gen. Musa was pretty keen to see the man who downed India's nine planes and damaged two.

Air Marshal Nur Khan brought the wiry, 110-pound holder of Sitara-i-Jurat first to the President who shook hands with him and said, "We are proud of you."

Shy but confident, Alam spoke about his success with the modesty of a hero. He said to the President, "It is a great honour to have been congratulated by the Head of the State, but I only did my duty, sir."

When introduced to Gen. Musa by the Base Commander, Group Captain Masud, Alam proved to be a big surprise for the army C.-in-C.

"You are so lean and thin," exclaimed Gen. Musa as he shook hands with him and congratulated him

warmly."

"Sir, he is camouflaged," joked his Station Commander, Masud, amidst laughter.

*Dacca, Nov. 3.* Air Marshal Nur Khan, declared here today that the PAF would be able to meet the challenge in a still better way if the conflict was reopened.

"Now we can face our enemy with greater confidence and vigour than ever before," he added.

Congratulating the airmen on their wonderful job, the Air Chief said, their performance during the war in East Pakistan was excellent and creditable and we are all extremely proud of what you achieved here.

Giving a resume of the 17-day war, he said, the PAF inflicted heavy losses on the enemy at the negligible cost.

The Kashmir issue was today more alive than ever before.

Even after meeting the debacle, he said, Indian leaders claimed victory. They were welcome to such a "victory," he added.

Air Marshal Nur Khan paid tributes to the Pakistan Army, who, he said, fought magnificently. Pitted against an enemy who was four to five times bigger in size, choosing their own place and timing, our Armed Forces gave a good thrashing to the Indian Army and frustrated their designs.

Ridiculing Indian lies, the Air Force Chief said that they went to the extent of telling the world that they did not bomb East Pakistan. But the people knew that no less than 12 towns were bombed in East Pakistan and the civilian population was their target.



IAF bombed civilian targets and passenger trains with the intention to create panic among the people and paralyse the Government. But the result was otherwise. People, instead of rushing, stayed at their respective places and wanted to move to the forward areas and fight. Indians judged us by their own character, he remarked.

*Rawalpindi, Dec. 3.* The Army C.-in-C. said, "The Armed Forces of Pakistan have been raised to defend the territorial integrity of the country and not undertake aggression against any neighbour. And that mission they have performed superbly.

"The Armed Forces of Pakistan had shown that not only they possessed the capability of defending the country but also the guts to carry the war into the enemy territory. Wherever the Army made an offensive to stall the Indian attack, it made deep and immediate impact. It captured hundreds of miles in the Chhamb area and sizeable chunks in the Khem Karan and Fazilka sectors. "We are in occupation of 1,200 square miles of the Indian territory in Rajasthan alone."

While the most outstanding out-

come of the war, the Commander-in-Chief said, was that Pakistan had emerged as an unassailable country and a power to reckon with, no less important was the fact that Kashmir had become a live issue. "Today realisation is fast spreading that a solution of the Kashmir dispute cannot brook any delay."

It was the Pakistan Armed Forces' undoubted success on the battlefield which was being applauded everywhere, especially by their own country-men. From the highest in the land to the man in the street, every Pakistani was full of praise for the performance of the troops. The President and the National Assembly had paid them the highest tributes. "Whenever I go to visit forward areas, the President charges me with the duty of conveying his greetings to the troops.

"These tributes are well-deserved. When the history of this country comes to be written, it will be said that the true foundations of Pakistan were laid on the borders of Lahore, Sialkot and Kasur. And the coming generations will look back with pride on the officers and men who partook in the momentous battles of India's all-out war against Pakistan."



# 13

## SECURITY COUNCIL

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The Security Council has debated and tried to solve a good many international problems and issues since its inception, including the right of self-determination for the oppressed Kashmiris. This issue has painfully been delayed for the past 18 years. Never before in its history the Security Council has come across such a grave and highly explosive issue as that of the issue of the right of self-determination for downtrodden Kashmiris. When in September 1965 the issue was debated and pressed for some firm measures for its solution, the two countries, Pakistan and India, came to the conference table not as parties but as adversaries. The two ideologies were at war which soon entered in a crucial stage.

Pakistanis stood straight and defended their homeland bravely in the teeth of treacherous Indian attack and limited resources. They not only checked the enemies successfully but also inflicted stunning blows and thus shattered their dream of martial supremacy. This caught our friends and foes by surprise. As the time slipped by, the situation became graver and more critical. It was, then, the duty of the Security Council to enforce cease-fire and bring the parties round the conference table for peaceful settlement of all the underlying differences.



*United Nations, August 24.* UThant issued the following statement:

"As already indicated, I am greatly concerned about the situation in Kashmir. It poses a very serious and dangerous threat to peace. Therefore, in the course of the past two weeks, I have been in earnest consultation with the permanent representatives of the two Governments with a view to stopping violations of the Cease-fire Line which have been reported to me by General Robert Nimmo, Chief Military Observer of the U. N. observation mission for India and Pakistan, and effecting the restoration of normal conditions along the Cease-fire Line.

"In the same context, I have had in mind the possibility of sending urgently a personal representative to the area, for the purpose of meeting and talking with the appropriate authorities of the two Governments and with General Nimmo and conveying to the Governments my very serious concern about the situation and exploring with them ways and means of preventing any further deterioration in the situation and restoring quiet along the Cease-fire Line.

"Should such a mission materialise, I had it in mind to ask Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Under-Secretary for Special Political Affairs, to undertake it. The idea was broached to the two parties informally on August 20. The subsequent responses of the two parties, while not negative, involve in such case conditions which in my view

would make the mission not feasible at this time, and, therefore, I have abandoned it.

"As a further and immediate step, however, I have asked General Nimmo to come quickly to the United Nations Headquarters for consultation with me about the situation in Kashmir and he is expected to arrive from Srinagar before the end of the week.

"I shall give consideration to other efforts that I might make in the light of the discussion with General Nimmo."

*United Nations, August 26.* Pakistan expressed her regret that the proposed mission of Dr. Ralph Bunche had been postponed.

Following is the text of the statement of a spokesman of the Pakistan mission at the U. N.

"We regret that the proposed mission of Dr. Ralph Bunche has been abandoned. We want to make it clear that the Pakistan Government had accepted this mission on the understanding that Dr. Bunche would have an unrestricted mandate. Since a grave situation has arisen in Kashmir, we felt it would have been a serious disservice to peace to restrict or inhibit his functions in any way. It is our conviction that the turmoil in Kashmir needs to be fully and impartially studied if any viable solution is to be evolved.

"Such a study will be futile if it seeks to separate the cause from the effect, if it neglects the root of the



trouble. The Cease-fire Line cannot be isolated from the surrounding land and its people.

"The concept of restoring quiet along the Cease-fire Line presupposes that of making an effort towards a peaceful and honourable settlement of the dispute itself. Certainly, it is something quite different from restoring or maintaining the *status quo ante* in Kashmir, which is all that India wants, so that it could fulfil its designs of completely annexing the State.

"A mission of this kind has been long overdue. The military observers in Kashmir have a very limited function and they have no *locus standi* so far as the general situation in Jammu and Kashmir is concerned.

"This is the reason why we were happy that a person of Dr. Bunche's calibre should have the opportunity of examining the situation in Kashmir and consulting the leaders of the people of Kashmir with reference to the imperative need for implementing the resolutions of the United Nations."

*United Nations, September 2.* U Thant, the U.N. Secretary-General, in identical cables appealed to India and Pakistan for an immediate cease-fire in Kashmir :

"I have the honour, Excellency, to address you about the current grave situation in Kashmir. That I approach you directly in this urgent way reflects the depth of my fears about recent developments there. You are, of course, aware of my mounting concern over the deterioration of the cease-fire and the Cease-fire Line, which I have been conveying to Your Ex-

cellency's Government over the past three weeks. Since August 5, there has been an unprecedented number of acts of violence along or in the vicinity of the Cease-fire Line in Kashmir. Without any attempt to apportion blame, it may be said that such actions now come from both sides of the Line, involve an increasingly large number of armed men on each side, and take place in the air as well as on the ground. Most serious of all, it is my understanding that regular army troops from both countries are now engaging in military actions along and across the Line.

"India and Pakistan freely entered into a cease-fire agreement at Karachi in July 1949, and agreed upon a Cease-fire Line in Kashmir. Observance of that cease-fire has been assisted by the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan. That agreement is now being so widely disregarded as to be reduced to little consequence. An outright military confrontation between the armed forces of India and Pakistan is threatened and may be imminent, which can have only the gravest implications for the peace of the world and for the lives and well-being of the inhabitants of Kashmir and the peoples of India and Pakistan. It also seems to me that the quiet which would result from mutual observance of the cease-fire would afford the most favourable climate for resolution of political differences.

"I fully realise the very great complexities of the Kashmir problem for your Government. I cannot believe, however, that it poses problems which could not be solved ultimately by peaceful processes or that these problems can ever be really solved by



military action. In this latter regard, I must point out that resort to force in the settlement of a dispute of this kind is contrary to both the spirit and letter of the Charter of the U.N. and the obligations undertaken by your country as a member of the Organisation.

"Because I believe firmly that you and your Government would wish a peaceful solution of the problem of Kashmir, I appeal to you most earnestly, in the interests of peace in your area and in the world, to indicate immediately your intention henceforth to respect the cease-fire agreement. Essential, of course, to the restoration of the cease-fire would be a cessation of crossings of the Cease-fire Line by armed personnel from both sides of the Line, the withdrawal of armed personnel of each side that have occupied positions on the other party's side of the Line, and a halt to all firing across the Cease-fire Line from either side of it. Effective observance of the cease-fire, as you know, requires co-operation on each side of the Line with the United Nations Military Observer Group and freedom of movement and access for United Nations observers in the discharge of their duties.

"I give you assurance, Excellency, of my fullest possible assistance in the restoration of peace in Kashmir and the solution of its problems.

"I make this appeal because I am confident that you believe in peace, as I do, and that you would wish to take any action which would help preserve the peace of the world. I am hopeful, therefore, about your response to my appeal.

"I have sent an identical message to the Prime Minister of the Republic

of India (Addressed to the President of the Republic of Pakistan)."

*New York, Sept. 4.* U. Thant has sent the following conditions for a return to normality along the Cease-fire Line—throughout the report he uses the initials CFL for this—to which both sides agreed in a formal accord concluded in July 1949, at Karachi.

"1—A willingness of both parties to respect the agreement they have entered into.

"2—A readiness on the part of the Government of Pakistan to take effective steps to prevent crossing of the CFL from the Pakistan side by armed men, whether or not in uniform.

"3—Evacuation by each party of positions of the other party now occupied, and withdrawal of all armed personnel of each party to its own side of the line, which would include the withdrawal once more of Indian troops from Pakistan positions in the Kargil area (the eastern extremity line).

"4—A halt by both parties to the firing across the CFL that has been occurring from both sides in some sectors with artillery and smaller guns.

"5—Allowing full freedom of movement and access to United Nations observers by both parties on both sides of the line."

It was enough to say, the report adds, that the cease-fire agreement following the Council's August 1948 resolution on Kashmir had collapsed, though, he hoped, only temporarily.

U Thant said, it seemed that the quiet which would result from mutual observance of the cease-fire "would afford the most favourable climate in



which to seek a resolution of political differences."

Referring to his own efforts in the matter, U Thant said, he had "not obtained from the Government of Pakistan any assurance that the cease-fire and the Cease-fire Line will be respected henceforth or that efforts would be exerted to restore conditions to normal along that line."

He had received assurance from the Government of India that it would "act with restraint with regard to any retaliatory acts" and would "respect the cease-fire agreement and the Cease-fire Line if Pakistan does likewise."

U Thant said, the U. N. observer in Kashmir, Lt.-Gen. Robert H. Nimmo, "has indicated to me that the series of violations that began on August 5 were to a considerable extent in subsequent days in the form of armed men, not generally in uniform, crossing the CFL from the Pakistan side for the purpose of armed action on the Indian side."

"This is the conclusion reached by Gen. Nimmo on the basis of investigations by the United Nations observers," he said, "in the light of the extensiveness and character of the raiding activities and their proximity to the CFL, even though in most cases the actual identity of those engaging in the armed attacks on the Indian side of the line and their actual crossing of it could not be verified by direct observation of evidence."

Reporting on violations of the Cease-fire Line by artillery, U Thant said, "There was heavy and prolonged artillery fire across the Line from the Pakistan side in the Chhamb-Bhimber area on August 15-16 and on August 19 and 26 the town of Poonch was shelled from the Pakistan side, some

of the shells hitting the building occupied by U. N. military observers.

"Pakistan artillery again shelled the town of Poonch on August 28."

The Secretary-General added: "It has been confirmed and reported on August 25 that Indian artillery shelled the village of Awan, in Pakistan, five miles from the CFL in the Bhimber sector.

"It is likewise confirmed that as of August 24 armed elements from Pakistan were still occupying Indian positions (pickets) north of Mandi, in the Poonch sector of the CFL.

"On the other hand," U Thant added, "it is confirmed both by U.N. observers and official Indian sources that on August 15 Indian Army troops reoccupied the Pakistan positions in the Kargil area and have remained there. Indian Army troops also crossed the CFL in the Uri-Bedori area.

"It has been confirmed that Indian troops have reached the Haji Pir Pass, which is five miles on the Pakistani side of the CFL on the Uri-Poonch road.

"Each instance of violation is protested by the U.N. observers who demand that troops on the wrong side of the line be withdrawn."

"The [Indian] complaint stated that at 02-30 hours on that date [September 1] one-and-a-half Pakistan tank squadrons crossed the Cease-fire Line in this area supported by artillery. Pakistan artillery was also said to have fired on a battalion headquarters near Poonch from 16-30 hours on September 1 and on an Indian battalion headquarters in the Jangar area.

"The substance of these complaints was subsequently confirmed by United Nations military observers.

"The observers also confirmed an



Indian complaint on September 2 that Pakistan aircraft had attacked the road between Chhamb and Jaurian during the morning of September 2 and that Jaurian village was in flames.

"The air attack on Jaurian was confirmed by U.N. military observers.

"Pakistan had complained to the military observers that Indian soldiers had crossed the CFL in strength in the Kargil, Tithwal and Uri-Poonch sectors," the Secretary-General reported.

"Pakistan in this complaint also affirmed the crossing of the CFL by Pakistan troops in the Bhimber area on Sept. 1 as a defensive measure to forestall Indian action asserting that in this sector the Indian Air Force had taken the offensive against Pakistan troops."

Annexed to the report was a list of 23 incidents from August 5 to 30 and an addendum of four incidents in September.

Eighteen of the incidents in the list of 23 took place in Indian territory.

Seven of these incidents were said by U.N. observers to have originated in Pakistan and seven others were assumed to have done so, U Thant reported.

The five listed incidents on the Pakistan side included two artillery attacks by Indian forces and three incursions by Indian troops.

All four incidents listed in the addendum were of attacks on Indian territory. Two were reports of artillery fire on India positions, the third was an ambush of an Indian convoy and the fourth was an attack by Pakistani artillery and tanks.

U Thant referred to some of the incidents in his report.

*United Nations, Sept. 4.* India's claims that her occupation forces had crushed the freedom-fighters in Kashmir were emphatically refuted this morning by U Thant's report on the situation to the Security Council.

According to reports supplied to him by the chief of U.N. military observer, Gen. Nimmo as late as September 1, the freedom-fighters had ambushed an Indian military convoy near Sonamerg and inflicted heavy casualties. Eight freedom-fighters had lost their lives in that action.

Gen. Nimmo's report, appended to U Thant's documents gives details of dozens of other actions by the freedom-fighters. These reports confirm that the freedom-fighters had carried out widespread guerilla actions all over the Indian-occupied Kashmir inflicting heavy casualties. They list several successful ambushes of Indian Army convoys, capture and destruction of military posts and unit headquarters by the freedom-fighters.

As to the identity of the freedom-fighters, the Thant Report admits that "in most cases the actual identity of those engaging in the armed attacks on the Indian side of the Line and their actual crossing of it could not be verified by direct observation and evidence." Indirectly this refutes the Indian claims that Pakistani infiltrators were responsible for attacks in Indian-occupied territory. Gen. Nimmo also states that the series of violations that began on August 5 were in the form of armed men, generally not in uniform, crossing the Cease-fire Line from Azad Kashmir.

*New York, September 5.* The Security Council adopted last night a unanimous resolution calling upon



India and Pakistan "to take forthwith all steps for an immediate cease-fire in Kashmir. It also asked the two Governments to respect the Cease-fire Line and "have all armed personnel of each party withdrawn to its own side of the Line."

After adopting the resolution, jointly sponsored by the six elected members, the Council adjourned till Wednesday afternoon and asked Secretary-General U Thant to report back then about the implementation of the resolution. The resolution was adopted in the face of objections by both India and Pakistan. Both Mr. Parthasarthy and Mr. Amjad Ali complained that they had not yet had enough time to refer the six-Power draft for instructions from their respective Governments.

Indian objections revealed Delhi's intransigence to the full. Mr. Parthasarthy said that though a cease-fire was desirable it could not come until Pakistan was condemned as aggressor and was instructed to withdraw its armed personnel. He also maintained that Pakistan had committed an aggression against "the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir."

Mr. Amjad Ali said that he had no instructions and he would, therefore, reserve his right to reply to the Indian delegate in a befitting manner. He nevertheless pointed out that he "strongly and totally repudiates" the accusations of the Indian representative, which were "deliberate fiction" and could be controverted by facts. When the draft resolution was presented by the Malaysian delegate, Mr. Amjad Ali pointed out that he doubted whether it would be at all helpful for the Council to adopt a resolution without hearing one of the parties.

Mr. Amjad Ali noted with regret that the draft resolution did not even refer to the basis of the cease-fire which was established in 1949—the basis of demilitarisation and plebiscite.

He went on to wonder how effective peace could be restored without any serious efforts towards a settlement of the dispute in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir.

In explaining their position, the American and the British delegates placed all the emphasis on cease-fire and made no significant reference to the basic problem of Kashmir. But France and Jordan and to a certain measure Netherlands went to the root of the problem and made it clear that the resolution was only an Emergency measure and that the Council must address itself to tackling the basic dispute in Kashmir.

The Russian delegate referred to "Indian State of Kashmir" but then went on to blame the imperialists for exploiting the Indo-Pakistan differences for their own ends. He, therefore, hoped that India and Pakistan would resolve their dispute among themselves as they had started doing in the case of the Rann of Kutch conflict.

In addressing the meaning of last night's resolution, one has to bear in mind that Mr. Shastri in his reply to U Thant's peace appeal has already put forward such impossible pre-conditions that the resolution may prove abortive. In fact, the Indian attitude in last night's debate was so tough that the feeling here is that Delhi may be preparing to enlarge the fight by throwing in fresh forces. As in 1948, India might try to grab as much territory as it can before a cease-fire is enforced.



In the circumstances it is quite likely that when the Council reassembles on Wednesday afternoon Secretary-General Thant may have to report failure in achieving a cease-fire. In that case the Council might be forced to take up the whole question of Kashmir and make efforts to initiate steps designed to resolve the dispute itself.

The Council got down to business after more than 99 minutes of procedural discussion during which the Russian Delegate, Mr. Platon, D. Morozov, objected to the way in which the world body had been called into session by its President, Mr. Arthur J. Goldberg of the United States.

Mr. Goldberg defended his action under rules which include the first rule of the Council that its meetings "shall . . . be held at the call of the President at any time he deems necessary."

Only Mr. Morozov, who said he had not been consulted about it, objected to Mr. Goldberg's action. The presidential move was endorsed by Mr. Radhakrishna Ramani of Malaysia, Mr. Abdel Monem Rifai of Jordan, Mr. Leopold Charles Van Ufford of the Netherlands, and Lord Caradon of Britain.

The following is the text of the resolution, jointly sponsored by Bolivia, the Ivory Coast, Jordan, Malaysia, the Netherlands, and Uruguay:

"The Security Council, noting the report of the Secretary-General dated September 3, 1965, 'having heard the statements of the representatives of India and Pakistan,

'Concerned at the deteriorating situation along the Cease-fire Line

in Kashmir:

'1. Calls upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all steps for an immediate Cease-fire;

'2. Calls upon the two Governments to respect the Cease-fire Line and have all armed personnel of each party withdrawn to its own side of the line;

'3. Calls upon the two Governments to co-operate fully with the U. N. Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) in its basic task of supervising the observance of the Cease-fire;

'4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council within three days on the implementation of this resolution.'

### SEPTEMBER 6 RESOLUTION

The Security Council noting the report by the Secretary-General on developments in the situation in Kashmir since the adoption of the Security Council Cease-fire Resolution on September 4, 1965, contained in document dated September 6, 1965.

Noting with deep concern the extension of the fighting which adds immeasurably to the seriousness of the situation:

1. Calls upon the parties to cease hostilities in the entire area of conflict immediately, and promptly withdraw all armed personnel back to the positions held by them before August 5, 1965.

2. Requests the Secretary-General to exert every possible effort to give effect to this resolution and the resolution of September 4, 1965, to take all measures possible to strengthen the U. N. move and to keep the Council



promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the resolutions and on the situation in the area.

3. Decides to keep this issue under urgent and continuous review so that the Council may determine what further steps may be necessary to secure peace and security in the area.

*United Nations, September, 6.* Mr. Amjad Ali Pakistan's Permanent Representative to the U. N., speaking in the security council, said, "It is not only a most brazen aggression on the territory of a member State. It is a deliberate transgression of the very purpose and principles of the United Nations.

"Not since the combined strength of the Allied nations vanquished Hitler's hordes had the world been witness to a power as crazed and cruel contemptuous of the rights and existence of small nations as India under its aggressive and militant regime. What Hitler and the Nazis did in Europe, India has taken upon itself to do in Asia.

"This morning India flung down the gauntlet to all the nations and peoples of the world who value freedom and abhor war. If Pakistan has accepted this challenge, it has done so not only on its own behalf but on behalf of every nation which has a stake in the principles of independence, equal sovereignty and self-determination of peoples. The severe test which my nation faces now is what will bring it glory in the eyes of those who would die rather than surrender before a perverse and predatory Power.

"I can pledge to you, on behalf of my Government, that we will not capitulate. We will not concede one

inch of our territory, one fraction of our rights, one iota of the principles of self-determination of peoples which we have tried to uphold here in the Security Council through 18 long years.

"The world is all too familiar with the pretexts chosen by aggressors for their invasion on other nations' territories. Did Hitler ever lack an excuse? The rulers of India are, and have always been, adept practitioners of Nazi craft. They invaded and overran Junagadh in 1948 and called it a police action.

"They invaded and overran Hyderabad in the same year and called it again a police action. They conducted a campaign of genocide against the brave Naga people in the north-east and called it a security action. They invaded Goa—even though their claim to Goa could be justified on other grounds—and called it a police action. It was on this occasion that the representative of India came to this table and defiantly said, 'Charter or no Charter, Council or no Council.' And now India has invaded Pakistan again under the cover of police action. We have known since the establishment of India and Pakistan as two sovereign States that the mentality of Indian rulers has always sought to undo the partition of British India, affected by agreement in 1947, and to annex Pakistan.

"They have always given hints of this. Their occupation of Kashmir, as we have demonstrated time and again in the Security Council, is but a vital part of their designs of eventually crushing Pakistan. These designs have been brutally brought to our notice whenever it suited India's policy



to intimidate us. At other times, they have been concealed.

"We had not yet established ourselves in 1947 when India did its level best to ensure that the new State of Pakistan die in its infancy. We then passed through fire.

"At that time, ... Quaid-i-Azam ... said, and I quote, 'God is great. No surrender until they lift us bodily and throw us into the Arabian Sea. No surrender.'

"I can assure you, Mr. President, that every soul in Pakistan echoes these words today."

*New York, Sept. 9.* Syed Amjad Ali, Pakistan's Chief Delegate, called on Mr. Arthur Goldberg, Security Council President, to draw his attention to the new Indian Army attacks against Sialkot and in the Sind-Rajasthan front. It is understood, he pointed out to Mr. Goldberg that these new Indian attacks as well as the air raids on Pakistani cities were an odd welcome to U Thant.

Mr. Goldberg was also reminded of the Indian response to the Security Council's first peace appeal—which was to invade Pakistan. Syed Amjad Ali is believed to have pointed out that the Security Council must take cognizance of these further Indian escalations of war against Pakistan.

Mr. Goldberg also met Indian Education Minister M. C. Chagla on Wednesday. Although nothing is known about these secret talks, Mr. Chagla presumably pressed the Indian case on Kashmir. It may be mentioned in passing that the Indian Minister's belligerent statements against Pakistan, which he unleashed on his arrival here last Tuesday, have aroused such scorn in the Press and

the UN circles that he has not opened his mouth in public in the past three days.

Meanwhile, official American sources now appear to be hedging about their position on the Security Council resolutions. When questioned a responsible State Department official emphasised that at the moment the United States was only interested in seeking a cease-fire and the return of "all armed personnel" to their own sides of the Cease-fire Line.

When asked whether Washington still abided by its support for a plebiscite in Kashmir, all that the official would say was that Washington voting record on the resolution was available for study.

Mr. Goldberg said the least the world community had the right to expect from India and Pakistan was an end to hostilities and respect for the recent Security Council resolutions.

He said in a statement to correspondents at a Press lunch that the Council's resolutions on the question, adopted unanimously last Saturday and Monday, were "even-handed."

In the face of "disastrous consequences" it was of overriding importance that the fighting be halted, he said.

Mr. Goldberg referred to the undeclared war between India and Pakistan as "perhaps the most serious conflict between member-States of the U. N. of which the organisation has ever been seized."

As for the United States position, he said it was "simple and forthright"—full support for the U.N. effort to end the strife.

*United Nations (New York) September 17.* Following are extracts from



the preliminary report of U Thant, the Secretary-General, to the Security Council on his visit to India and Pakistan :

"I arrived in Rawalpindi at 11-00 hours on 9 September. During my stay there, I had two meetings with President Ayub Khan and a series of meetings with the Foreign Minister of Pakistan and members of the Foreign Office. During these meetings, we discussed all aspects of the present crisis in the context of the Security Council resolutions of 4 and 6 September.

"I left Rawalpindi at 08-00 hours on 11 September arrived in New Delhi, via Karachi and Bombay, at 11-30 hours on 12 September. In New Delhi, I had meetings over a period of two days with Prime Minister Shastri and his colleagues. I also met with President Radhakrishnan. We again discussed all aspects of the present crisis in the context of the Security Council resolutions of 4 and 6 September.

"I left New Delhi at 14-30 hours on 15 September, to return to New York. Before leaving the sub-continent, I addressed a third message to President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Shastri."

*United Nations, September 18.* The U.N. Secretary-General, U Thant, presenting a separate report on military situation to the Security Council said :

"The Cease-fire Line had been crossed by the Indian forces at Kargil, in the Tithwal area, and the Uri-Poonch budge to the Haji-Pir Pass.

"Further south, the Indian forces had crossed the Jammu border in force towards Sialkot and the India-

Pakistan border 35 miles south-east of Sialkot, and from Amritsar and Ferozepore in the general direction of Lahore."

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 18.* The following are the texts of the two letters to President Muhammad Ayub Khan from U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations:

(1) September 12, 1965.

Mr. President: The acute suffering of the people of India and Pakistan resulting from the tragic conflict between the two countries, the grave implications of the two countries and for their future relations, are the potential reasons for pursuing vigorously the search for an enduring solution to the mutual problems of India and Pakistan.

Under prevailing conditions, the first essential step in that search, and an indispensable prerequisite to further efforts, must be an immediate and unconditional cessation of hostilities in the entire area of the conflict. The call for an immediate cease-fire in the Security Council Resolutions of Sept. 4 and 6 is in line with the well-established tradition of the United Nations which invariably requires fighting to cease unconditionally as a necessary prelude to further measures towards the restoration of lasting peace. The immediate objective, therefore, must be to give effect to these resolutions.

In the light of the frank and useful talks I have had in Rawalpindi and New Delhi in the last few days, I now request Your Excellency to order a cease-fire without conditions, and a cessation of all hostilities in the entire area of the conflict between India and Pakistan to take effect on Tues-



day, Sept. 14, 1965, at 18-00 hours (Rawalpindi time). I have addressed an identical request to Prime Minister Shastri. I assume, of course, that all of your Commanding Officers in the field would be given the orders by you considerably in advance of this time.

I have heard and understand, in the course of my talks, the difficulties on both sides to a simple cease-fire but I make this request to you, nevertheless, because of my strong conviction that it is just and right for your country and your people as well as for the world at large. I have no doubt that your positive response would win for you the gratitude of the world.

As soon as this request has been acted upon positively, I am confident that the Security Council will wish to provide the necessary assistance in ensuring the supervision of the cease-fire and the withdrawal of all armed personnel on both sides back to the positions held by them before Aug. 5, 1965, as called for by the Security Council Resolution of Sept. 6.

I am sure also that the Council will wish to explore, as a matter of urgency, means and methods for achieving enduring peace between India and Pakistan. On the basis of my talks with Your Excellency, I am confident that, with the well-being of your own country and people at heart as well as the peace of the world, you will find it possible to respond favourably to this appeal to carry out the Security Council Resolutions of Sept. 4 and 6. I would ask you to be good enough to communicate your response to me urgently, Sept. 14, 1965. This message will be held private and confidential until your reply has been

received.

In conclusion, may I assure you of my earnest wish to be of continuing assistance in the solution of outstanding problems and of my warmest good wishes.

(2) New Delhi, September 15.

Mr. President: The desperate nature of the situation brought about by the intensification of the war between India and Pakistan impels me to make a further effort. To help your two countries to find a path to peace, the Security Council within a three-day period, from September 4 to 6, has twice called for a cease-fire. I have made two direct appeals to the same end, and a number of Governments and Heads of State have also made direct appeals to you, as well as offers of good offices with a view to bringing this tragic conflict to an end. The replies from both Governments to my message of September 12 have shown clearly the desire of both for a cease-fire, but both pose conditions which make the acceptance of a cease-fire very difficult for the other side.

For this reason, to my profound regret, it has so far been impossible to obtain a cease-fire as required by the Security Council resolutions of September 4 and 6. It is worth again considering why such unusual efforts on a world scale have been made to end this conflict. Clearly it is because there is almost universal recognition that war between India and Pakistan can lead only to disaster for the two countries themselves and for the world at large.

I have just completed a round of very frank and open talks with you and Prime Minister Shastri. I have implored Your Excellency, for the sake of your own people and in the



interests of the border peace, to agree as a first step to stop the fighting, which in the circumstances of today can solve nothing and lead nowhere but to common disaster. I fully realise the extreme difficulty for both Governments of the situation which has led to the present crisis. I do not underestimate for a moment the strength of the feelings involved on both sides or of the intricacy and seriousness of the problems underlying them.

I know very well that these problems may take years of patient effort to tackle and to solve. I have found, however, that both sides have in common a genuine desire for peace, and it must be on that common desire that they must base themselves if they are ever to be able to advance from the present mutually disastrous situation. It follows that the first step must be to stop fighting and to cease all forms of active hostility on both sides. Since it became clear that my appeal to both sides for a cease-fire has failed to have an effective result, I have been searching for some other approach that might be acceptable to both sides. In my search, I remembered another period, when the eyes of the world were turned in anxiety and fear upon the developments in this part of the world, the period of late 1962. On that occasion the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India issued, on November 29, 1962, the following joint statement on behalf of their Governments:

"The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India have agreed that a renewed effort should be made to resolve the outstanding difference between their two countries on Kashmir and other related matters

so as to enable India and Pakistan to live side by side in peace and friendship. In consequence, they have decided to start discussions at an early date with the object of reaching an honourable and equitable settlement.

"These will be conducted initially at the Ministerial level. At the appropriate stage direct talks will be held between Mr. Nehru and President Ayub."

This was an act of statesmanship which did much to bring calm to the situation in the two countries themselves and to ease the anxieties felt in the world at large.

If the subsequent talks did not bring a solution of the basic problems, at least the immediate crisis was weathered and the storm avoided. I have referred to this statement because I believe that the abatement of the present crisis might now best be achieved by a new effort by the two Governments themselves to reach an honourable and equitable settlement. I have so far refrained from making a specific proposal for a meeting of the heads of the two Governments at this time, either with or without my presence, because I know well the often expressed reservations of both sides with regard to such a meeting.

However, I wish now to suggest, in a situation as grave or graver than the one which faced both Governments in November 1962, that Your Excellency should give urgent consideration to such a meeting. For my part, I am at your disposal for any role which may assist the two Governments in their efforts to stop the fighting and to take the first steps upon the path of mutual accommodation.

In this regard, I may remind you of the number of offers you have had



from world leaders who are willing to be available to you for any conciliatory assistance you may wish. Indeed, if you seek the ways of peace, most of the world stands ready to assist you. I am now obliged to return to New York urgently to report to the Security Council, but I hope to receive an early reply to this suggestion, and I wish to make it clear that I am available at any time to assist in efforts to attain the goal of peace and harmony, which, despite all the difficulties, I firmly believe we all have at heart.

I have addressed a similar message to Prime Minister Shastri. May I be so frank as to say that this appeal is made also because I cannot believe that the leader of either country would wish to bear responsibility for the catastrophe that war will visit upon your countries and the world, if there is any other reasonable and sensible course open to you. What I here propose to Your Excellency clearly is such a course and I make bold to say that you owe it to your countries and to all the peoples of the world to follow it.

With warmest personal regards and my prayers that the leaders of both countries may find it possible to choose the way of peace.

*United Nations, September 19.* Mr. Abdel Monem Rifai, Jordan's delegate on the Security Council, said, the Council must uphold the principle of self-determination in settling the Kashmir dispute.

The responsibilities of the U.N. were far higher than merely seeking an end to hostilities, Mr. Rifai told the resumed session of the Security Council on Indo-Pakistan war. Efforts

to achieve a cease-fire could not be practical if the basic issue was not squarely faced.

Mr. Rifai said, a cease-fire could only be effective if tied to future consultations and the right of the people of Kashmir to self-determination.

To his regret, Mr. Rifai said, there seemed to be no common ground between India and Pakistan on which they could be brought to negotiations.

If the Council did not take definite steps to solve the Kashmir problem, it would be prolonging the difficulties and perpetuating the dispute, the Jordanian delegate said.

The immediate necessity for a cease-fire "is part and parcel of the permanent necessity.

"In order to give effect to orders for a cease-fire, the Security Council must widen the base, not only increase the pressure."

Mr. Rifai said, the Council's debate on its September 4 and 5 cease-fire resolutions did not go into the substance of the Kashmir problem. He said, we were disturbed that Indian troops crossed the international boundary with Pakistan while Secretary-General U Thant was on the sub-continent on a cease-fire mission.

Mr. Rifai said, principles on which Jordan would judge suggestions for dealing with the question would be, first, that the continuance of fighting must in no way be allowed, and cessation of hostilities must be enforced forthwith.

Second, that this immediate necessity of dealing with the crisis is part and parcel of the permanent necessity.

Third, that in order to give effect to its orders for a cease-fire the Security



Council must widen the base, not only increase the pressure.

Mr. S. M. Zafar said, "Having been attacked along its entire frontier, Pakistan is fighting to defend itself against unlimited aggression from India, which claims to be imbued with the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence.

"If the people of the sub-continent are today on the brink of a cataclysm, then the responsibility must be placed at the door of that country which for 18 years has rejected every suggestion for a just and peaceful settlement of the dispute."

Mr. Zafar said, U Thant's lack of "complete success" on his cease-fire mission to India and Pakistan was due partly to his restricted terms of reference and partly to the negative attitude of India.

He said, Indian Prime Minister Shastri made clear that his acceptance of a cease-fire was subject to the conditions that it would leave India free to deal with "so-called armed infiltrators" and that there would be dispositions against "further infiltration" and that Kashmir should remain "an integral part" of India.

It is no wonder that the Secretary-General found it impossible to accept those conditions.

Mr. Zafar challenged the assertion of Mr. Chagla, that India's policy was non-violence.

"We have seen Indian non-violence in action in Kashmir, Junagadh, Hyderabad and Goa," he said. "We have also seen it in the Rann of Kutch, we are witnessing it now on the borders of Pakistan.

"It is a matter of history that whenever India has had any dispute with its neighbours, it has sought to

settle it by force of arms."

The United States Ambassador said that China's "threat to intervene in the Indian-Pakistan conflict makes it imperative for the warring countries to effect an immediate cease-fire."

Ambassador Goldberg told the Council, "We (the United States) are in full support of the United Nations activity in this area. We are in full support of the two resolutions adopted by the Security Council in the past two weeks and the efforts of the Secretary-General to give effect to these resolutions.

Mr. Nikolai T. Fedorenko, the Chief Soviet delegate, said, the Council must exert further efforts to achieve effective results.

He made no direct mention of China, but in a veiled reference he warned against "provocative and incendiary statements which might only worsen the situation and might further fan the flame of the fire."

He said, such conduct could bring with it "the danger of a further expansion of the conflict and the involvement in it of one after another of the other States with all the heavy consequences that might flow from it."

The Netherlands Ambassador, Mr. J. G. De Beus, declared, it was imperative that the Council did its utmost to achieve a cease-fire before the week-end is over.

He said, new developments in Asia make it absolutely essential that the fighting be stopped before it erupts into a "large-scale conflagration."

Mr. De Beus is taking a leading role in private consultations aimed at producing a resolution along the lines recommended by U Thant.

"My delegation considers that



many of the suggestions made by the Secretary-General point the way," said Mr. De Beus.

"The Security Council should now decide on the basis of Article 40 a specific moment in the near future when hostilities should cease.

"We should not lose sight of our long-range objective which is to achieve a settlement of the long-range political conflict. The Security Council cannot set the terms of such a settlement."

Mr. Radhekrishna Ramani of Malaysia announced that he would support a four-point resolution which would acknowledge India's readiness to accept U Thant's call for a cease-fire; regret that Pakistan could not accept the appeal without conditions; deplore armed infiltration in Kashmir by Pakistan, and call on Pakistan to cease hostilities.

Mr. Ramani said, the conflict was a test of the Council's ability "to stand up to the exacting burdens of international life and to justify the hopes mankind has entrusted to it."

The Malaysian delegate made close references to U Thant's reports on the dispute and asserted that they showed that India retaliated in Kashmir only after several "incursions from Pakistan."

He declared that Mr. Shastri had told U Thant that he was ready for an unconditional cease-fire but Pakistan had imposed conditions.

Mr. Ramani said, the "Pakistani infiltration" in Kashmir was to provide the Government with a "lever" to press for a plebiscite.

The Malaysian delegate did not deal with the Pakistani demand but noted that the Indian spokesmen said they were capable of a reply on this

point that would be "as effective as it was complete."

Lord Caradon of Britain stressed the need for urgent action. Britain endorsed the efforts of the Secretary General to achieve a cease-fire, he said.

Lord Caradon stopped short of accepting the suggestion of U Thant that the Council use its mandatory powers to order a cessation of hostilities, but said Britain believed the courses of action set out by the Secretary-General "provide a useful basis for further urgent discussion in the Security Council."

He added, "We trust that both great countries will respond to the appeal which we will earnestly and urgently make to them."

The French delegate also stressed the need for urgent Council action in the present dangerous situation, while Mr. Liu Chieh of Formosa said the use of mandatory powers "was the next logical step" although it might not be necessary.

Mr. Arsene Usher of the Ivory Coast said, he would support any resolution which, as a first step, reiterated the Council's call for a cease-fire.

Mr. Chagla, Indian Minister for Education, told the Council :

"This war has now taken on a new dimension. The latest reports we have are most disturbing. The Chinese troops are massing on our border. At four points they have already indulged in probing actions, and they are poised for an invasion or a serious attack as soon as the ultimatum expires."

Chagla said, he did not wish Pakistan to be in doubt about India's stand on Kashmir. Pounding the



Council table he declared, "Kashmir is an integral part of India. Kashmir is a unit of the Indian Federation, and we will not permit our federation to be broken up."

Chagla said, India had accepted the cease-fire unconditionally. "We have refused to link the problem of Kashmir with the cease-fire," he said. "On the other hand, President Ayub insists on linking this problem with the cease-fire."

"I challenge the distinguished representative of Pakistan even now at this table to state categorically whether he is prepared unconditionally to accept a cease-fire."

Despite the appeals from Council members for an immediate end to the fighting, the Council adjourned until Sunday without taking any formal action on the proposals for peace.

*United Nations (New York), September 27.* In a letter to U Thant the Secretary-General, Syed Amjad Ali observed that the U.N. chief seemed to be concentrating almost exclusively on making arrangements for withdrawal of troops and re-establishing the old cease-fire in Jammu and Kashmir.

In Pakistan's judgment, Mr. Amjad Ali said, it was "imperative that we should evolve a self-executing arrangement and procedures that would ensure an honourable settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute which is the basic cause of the present conflict."

Without such an arrangement, he said, it was hard to envisage an effective programme for the withdrawal of forces.

"Moreover, if immediate steps are

not taken to bring about an honourable settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, we would be faced with the real danger of resumption of hostilities, which may well lead to a conflict of much greater dimensions."

*United Nations, September 27.* Pakistan formally protested to the United Nations that India was violating the four-day old cease-fire and warned that it would take necessary action in self-defence unless the violations stopped.

"I have been instructed by my Government to lodge a strong protest against these violations," wrote Pakistani Ambassador, Syed Amjad Ali, in a letter to Secretary-General U Thant, his third in three days.

"Such deliberate and planned attacks are fraught with the danger of resumption of hostilities.

"If the Indian forces, in utter disregard of the cease-fire, persist in their aggressive activities, Pakistan forces would be forced to take necessary action in self-defence."

Mr. Ali's second letter, sent to U Thant warned that Pakistani troops would act against Indian troops unless the Indians stopped cease-fire violations in four specific sectors.

Besides charging cease-fire violations, Mr. Ali said: "Indian occupation forces have let loose a reign of terror against the local population of Indian-held Kashmir suspected of having participated in the local rebellion."

He said, Indian troops had infiltrated Pakistani positions in the Amristar area and the local Pakistani commander "has now warned them that if they do not vacate these positions, his forces would be compelled to take action."

Mr. Ali said, the Indians were build-



ing a road from Poonch to Uri in Kashmir. He added that UN observers "have been informed of this violation and of the fact that Pakistan forces will have to take action to prevent construction of the road."

The Ambassador said that in the Sialkot sector, Indian troops trying to blow up a railway line near Alhar village "were stopped by Pakistani troops who warned them of serious consequences."

He said, Indian troops were attacking Pakistani troops occupying parts of Kashmir formerly held by India. He added that UN observers "have been warned that if these activities do not cease, we will be obliged to go to the help of our troops in these areas".

Mr. Ali also said that :

(1) On the Harike-Burki axis Indian troops occupied a new area approaching a canal, opened fire with tanks and small arms and shelled a Pakistani forward position on Friday night in the presence of a U.N. observer.

(2) In the Khem Karan-Hussainiwala Sector, on Friday, two Indian intelligence patrols crossed the cease-fire line and the Pakistanis captured them.

(3) In the Fazilka sector, Sarwali post, which was under Pakistani control before the cease-fire, has been wrongfully occupied by Indian troops

### AMJAD'S LETTER TO SECURITY COUNCIL

Following is the text of Syed Amjad Ali's letter to the Security Council:

"I have been instructed by my Government to urgently communicate to you that the Indians issued an

ultimatum to our forces in the Chhamb Sector to withdraw from the areas under their control since before the cease-fire, failing which they have threatened to launch an offensive action within the next 24 hours.

"If the Indians attack our forces it will be necessary for us to take all appropriate action to defend our positions and India will be responsible for the serious consequences which would ensue from the violation of the cease-fire.

"The United Nations observers have been apprised of the extremely grave situation which has resulted from this Indian ultimatum. I shall be grateful if this letter is circulated as a Security Council document."

*United Nations, September 27.*  
U Thant, the Secretary-General, reported to the Security Council last night a further deterioration in the whole Lahore sector of Pakistan and quoted a UN observer for the opinion that India started the firing in the region.

The U.N. officer, identified as Col. Gauthier, in charge of the observer team in the Lahore area, was quoted saying that the situation was "explosive."

His report to the U.N. said, "I am experiencing great difficulty in preventing the Pakistan side from retaliation."

"Situation has further deteriorated in the whole Lahore sector and especially in the area of the Bambanwala-Ravi-Bedian Link Canal which is just north of Lahore City.

"As a result of this action the local Pakistan Command claims to have suffered a number of casualties in killed, wounded and missing," the



Secretary-General said.

The report quoted Col. Gauthier as stating that U.N. observers were deployed on both the Indian and Pakistan sides of the line in the Lahore area and that he personally had investigated complaints received from local Headquarters on Friday that Indian troops were "edging forward of the positions they held at the time of the cease-fire.

"Efforts were made by us to contact the Indian Battalion Commander, but to no avail." Col. Gauthier said, "Shelling started at 17-15 hours on September 24 from the Indian side with medium and field artillery, recoilless rifle, tank and small arms fire. From where we were standing, all fire seemed to be falling between 600 to 1,000 yards in the general area of a canal which is at present the dividing line between the two opposing forces.

"This heavy firing went on for half an hour, forcing us to take cover. . . On returning to Lahore, I immediately asked the U.N. Military Observer Mission for India and Pakistan to pass a strong protest to the Vice-Chief of Army Staff, Indian Army, which was done.

"I then visited the local Commander, who assured me that no Pakistan artillery had fired. It is difficult to state categorically if Pakistan artillery did retaliate but considered opinion is that Indians started the firing and I believe some shots were returned. I consider this situation explosive and I am experiencing great difficulty in preventing the Pakistan side from retaliation."

U Than added: "In the Lahore Sector, particularly, the cease-fire is not holding as of September 26."

Gen. Nimmo said, the Indian local

Command at Baramulla had confirmed to U.N. military Observers that Indian troops were occupying hill features on Pakistan side of the Cease-fire Line in the Domel sector.

This is contrary to the cease-fire agreement and I request that these troops be withdrawn to the Indian side of the cease-fire line," Gen. Nimmo told the Indian Vice-Chief.

*United Nations, Sept. 28.* Following is the text of the letters of Syed Amjad Ali, to U Thant, U.N. Secretary-General, about the withdrawal of troops:

"I am directed to refer to your telegram dated September 20, 1965, asking for a plan and schedule for withdrawal of troops, and to reply as under: You have asked for a plan and schedule for withdrawal of our troops from their present position and you offer to send United Nations observers to assist in the withdrawal. You would appreciate that no withdrawal can take place until it has been jointly agreed to by representatives of the two armed forces and a mutually accepted programme of withdrawal has been prepared. So long as such a programme has not been agreed to, withdrawal cannot start and as such United Nations observers cannot begin to perform their function of supervising withdrawal.

"In the meantime, I should like to state my Government's position on this question. You appear to be concentrating almost exclusively on making arrangements for withdrawal of troops and re-establishing the old cease-fire in Jammu and Kashmir. In our judgment, however, military disengagement should proceed concurrently with an honourable political



settlement. In other words, it is imperative that we should evolve a self-executing arrangement and procedures that would ensure an honourable settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute which is the basic cause of the present conflict. Without such an arrangement, it is hard to envisage an effective programme for the withdrawal of forces. Moreover, if immediate steps are not taken to bring about an honourable settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, we would be faced with the real danger of resumption of hostilities which may well lead to a conflict of much greater dimensions. I shall be grateful if this communication is circulated as a Security Council document.

"Accept, sir."

Following is the other letter :

"I have been instructed, in continuation of my letter of September 24, 1965, to apprise you of the following grave developments in connection with the cease-fire which formally came into force at 22-00 GMT on Wednesday, the 22nd of September, 1965, in compliance with the Security Council Resolution 211, dated September 28, 1965 :

"(1) Indian troops have infiltrated in positions occupied by Pakistani forces in Amristar area and, despite warning, are not moving out. The local commander of the Pakistani forces has now warned them that if they do not vacate these positions, his forces would be compelled to take action.

"(2) In the Uri-Poonch sector, Indians are building a road linking Poonch town with Uri, thus committing a violation of the cease-fire. UNIPOM have been informed of this

violation and of the fact that Pakistan forces will have to take action to prevent the construction of this road.

"(3) On the Harike-Burki axis, Indian troops have moved forward towards the Bambanwala Ravi-Bedian Canal and occupied an area which was not in their possession before the cease-fire. They have shelled our forward position in this area and opened up tank and small arms fire. The United Nations Observers Headquarter was informed of this incident and as a result an observer visited the scene of cease-fire at 5-55 p.m. on September 24, 1965. Shelling of our position by Indian forces continued in the presence of the observer.

"(4) In Sialkot sector, Indian troops attempted to blow up the railway line near village Alhar, but were stopped by Pakistani troops who warned them of serious consequences.

"(5) In the Khem Karan-Hussainiwala sector, Indians violated the cease-fire line a number of times on 24th September. Two patrols, each consisting of one officer and three other ranks, who had crossed the cease-fire line, with the object of collecting information, were captured by Pakistani troops.

"(6) In the Fazilka sector, Sawarwali Post, which was under Pakistani control before the cease-fire, has been wrongfully occupied by Indian troops.

"(7) Indian occupation forces have let loose a reign of terror against the local population of Indian-held Kashmir suspected of having participated in the local rebellion.

"(8) Positions occupied by Pakistan troops in sectors of Kashmir formerly under Indian occupation are being attacked by Indian forces. The United Nations observers have been warned



that if these activities do not cease, we would be obliged to go to the help of our troops in these areas. I shall be grateful if this communication is circulated as a Security Council document.

"Please accept, etc."

*United Nations, October 6.* U Thant told the United Nations Security Council that the cease-fire between India and Pakistan was in danger in certain areas because troops were "sometimes only 15 to 20 yards apart."

The information was based on a report to the Secretary-General by Maj.-Gen. B. F. MacDonald, Commanding Officer of the U.N. India-Pakistan Observers Mission.

U Thant said that Gen. MacDonald, "after a careful examination of the situation in the field, has come to the conclusion that the present cease-fire is hazardous in certain localities because incidents are virtually unavoidable when the position held by the troops of the opposing sides are as close as they are now, that is, sometimes only 15 to 20 yards apart."

*United Nations (New York) October 9.* In a report to the Security Council on October 1, the Secretary-General said, U.N. observers "serving outside" Kashmir could not be attached to UNMOGIP, which has no authority to act outside Kashmir. However, U Thant said these observers had to have "some kind of organisation and direction and this is the sole purpose" of the U.N. India-Pakistan Observer Mission (UNIPOM).

"The cease-fire and withdrawal provisions of the resolution of the Council are being dealt with as a

whole and in the area as a whole, through the closely co-ordinated actions of UNIPOM," the Secretary-General said.

UNMOGIP was set up 18 years ago to operate inside Kashmir. UNIPOM was established under the terms of the Security Council resolution of September 20 calling for a cease-fire and was designed to operate outside Kashmir.

India has stated that there should be one operation only and has not accepted the provisions of the Secretary-General's October report to the Council.

In his letter to U Thant Mr. Syed Amjad Ali, said: "The degree of co-operation between the two operations which may be considered necessary from the administrative point of view is a matter which lies within your competence. In the light, however, of the controversy raised by the Government of India on the subject of the scope and function of the two operations, the Government of Pakistan would appreciate a clarification as to the precise nature of the overseeing function assigned to General Nimmo in his personal capacity.

"In requesting you for this clarification, I have been instructed to reaffirm that irrespective of the question of General Nimmo's personal knowledge and experience of the area, the Government of Pakistan cannot acquiesce in any arrangements which tend, directly or indirectly, to extend the scope of UNMOGIP beyond the cease-fire line in Kashmir."

*New York, October 15.* U Thant's fresh call today to President Ayub and Mr. L. B. Shastri for withdrawal of "all armed personnel" to the posi-



tions held before August 5 is being regarded in diplomatic circles as "the first step towards a return of the Kashmir dispute back to the United Nations' cold storage."

In the past few days, reports have been circulating here that now that a cease-fire has been achieved, the Big Powers did not feel there was any pressing need for the Security Council to do anything further.

The insistence on withdrawal of "all armed personnel" which is being initiated principally at the behest of the two Big Powers—Russia and the United States—is a reflection of the demands of Big Power politics. It is an open secret here that Russia and the United States are working together almost like allies and their only aim at the moment is to bring about a disengagement of Indian and Pakistani forces so that they do not have to do anything meaningful about the basic problem of Kashmir.

It may be pointed out that while accepting the cease-fire resolution of the Security Council, President Ayub had made it plain that Pakistan forces would stay in battle order and action must be taken concurrently on the resolution as a whole. Yet some three weeks have passed and the Big Powers have done little to initiate steps for settlement of the basic problem. Instead, they seek withdrawal of forces.

The four permanent members of the Council have held private consultations almost daily and all they have talked about is the financial aspects of the Military Observer Mission and its control by the Security Council. They have shelved, meanwhile, the contemplated Four-Power Security Council Commission which was to go out to the sub-continent. After today's

round of consultations, an American source confessed that the Big Powers were not considering the basic issue of Kashmir and its honourable solution.

U Thant has reported that there was no present indication that Indian and Pakistani forces would withdraw to their positions before fighting broke out in August "unless some new effort is made."

The withdrawal was among the conditions laid down in Security Council resolutions of September 20 and 27, which demanded a cease-fire between the two countries. In his latest report to the Council, the Secretary-General said: "The withdrawals of all armed personnel foreseen in the Security Council resolutions of September 20 and 27 have not taken place and there is no present indication that they are likely to take place any time soon under present circumstances unless some new effort is made."

The Secretary-General noted that he had sent identical messages yesterday to President Muhammad Ayub Khan and Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Indian Prime Minister, appealing to them to "take the necessary steps to bring about the withdrawals called for by the Security Council resolutions" to the positions held before August 5.

He hoped that each side would find it possible "to formulate its own plan and schedule of withdrawal." He added: "If, however, this should not be considered feasible I would suggest that appropriate military representative of each side be brought together by and with an acceptable representative to be designated by me to meet either in the area or at United Nations



headquarters for the purpose of formulating an agreed withdrawal plan."

In his report, U Thant said, approaches had been made to both sides to secure tactical readjustment to avoid "incidents resulting from the close proximity of opposing forces which might unintentionally lead to a resumption of fighting."

*New York, October 19.* A new report by U. Thant gives concrete proof of Pakistan's charges that the Indian army has been taking advantage of the cease-fire for improving its positions everywhere. The concluding paragraph of the report is particularly revealing. Referring to Pakistan's complaint of Indian occupation of Nawatala—an Indian village in Rajasthan sector—U Thant says that when the United Nations observer told the Indian Major in charge that this village had been under Pakistan's possession, the Major replied that he had instructions to clear Pakistani "infiltrators" from Indian territory. The observer later contacted the Indian battalion and brigade commanders and was given the same reply.

*United Nations, Oct. 19.* U Thant reported to the Security Council, "The observance of the cease-fire still leaves much to be desired. Though heavy fighting has decreased considerably, the existence of the cease-fire must be considered precarious.

"This cause of friction can be completely eliminated only when both sides agree to withdraw their armed personnel, as demanded by the Security Council."

U Thant listed the reports sent to him by U.N. observers concerning

incidents during the period Oct. 7 to 17. From these reports it would appear:

(A) The situation remained "very tense" in the Lahore-Khasa-Bhikki-wind Utar sector, notably along the Bambanwala-Ravi-Bedian canal.

(B) Many local incidents have occurred in the Cotli-Naushera sector.

(C) The situation was generally stable in the Pasrur-Dera Nanak sector.

(D) In the Cmor-Barmar sector, Indian forces seized the village of Kelnor and refused to evacuate it despite the intervention of U. N. observers. This village, which had been captured by Pakistani forces, was located on the Indian side of the frontier.

*United Nations (New York), Oct. 21.* Pakistan charged in a letter that India was planning a military attack in the Rajasthan sector, forcing U.S. commercial aircraft to re-route their Bombay-Middle Eastern flights.

"The Indians are apparently intending to launch a major offensive against our northern salient in the Rajasthan sector. In case this attack materialises the entire cease-fire will become ineffective."

The letter also charged six violations of the cease-fire by India, between October 11 and 14, including two instances in which the Indians were digging new trenches on the eastern bank of the BRB Canal. In one case, the forward movement of the Indian troops to about 200 yards south of the Pakistani position at the Hudiara syphon took place under the eyes of the United Nations observers and they persisted, in spite of the United Nations command to the



local Indian commander to vacate the position.

The Indians appear to be bent upon escalating the fighting in Rajasthan, where Pakistani troops are in occupation of more than 1,200 square miles of Indian territory.

The Indian High Command, during the war, attempted to open a second front against West Pakistan in the Gadro area, by launching an attack on Sept. 8.

Their advance, however, was soon checked by the Pakistan forces who later launched a counter-offensive and captured big chunks of Indian territory.

By Sept. 23 at the time of the cease-fire, the Pakistan forces were occupying a sprawling mass of land.

The Indians kept their public in the dark about their debacle in Rajasthan and never admitted that they had lost a considerable portion of their territory in that sector.

Taking advantage of the cease-fire however, the Indians have been diverting troops from elsewhere to Rajasthan to recapture the territory lost by them during the war.

They have brought in more infantry formations, armour and artillery, for what they call "operation liquidation," designed to reoccupy the territory which they lost to the Pakistani troops during the short duration of the war.

In this operation, the Indians have also been employing their Air Force in support of their ground troops.

In conformity with their usual practice of deceit and treachery they are telling the U.N. observers that the territory which they are attempting to recapture was occupied by the Pakistani forces after the cease-fire. But the U.N. observers arrived in

that area on September 26 and they were shown the Indian territory under control of the Pakistani forces.

Nobody, except the Indians, would believe that any force could occupy 1,200 square miles of the other's territory in three days, i.e. September 23 to 25, especially when the territory was fairly well-defended by the Rajasthan Armed Constabulary and the Indian Army units.

*New York, Oct. 23.* Pakistan has asked for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to "consider the grave and rapidly deteriorating situation between India and Pakistan." In a letter delivered to the Council President last night, Syed Amjad Ali, Pakistan's Permanent Representative, said: "It is the conviction of my Government that, if unchecked, the current developments will lead to most serious consequences."

Dr. Hector Pyssee Reyes, of Uruguay, this month's President of the Security Council, is now holding consultations with his colleagues regarding the time of the session. It is learned on good authority that the United States, Russia and Britain had strongly opposed Pakistan's call for the meeting. But most of the elected members and France are favourably inclined to this proposal and it is expected the Council will meet on Monday.

Pakistan has asked for the meeting for two main reasons. As Syed Amjad Ali's letter points out, due to the total disregard by India of the September 20 resolution there has been "a virtual collapse of the cease-fire." Despite their best efforts the United Nations observers have not been able to ensure effective obser-



police and army, had burnt dozens of villages in the valley and elsewhere, and this week 95 Kashmiri patriots were killed in a single day in Chinhari forest area. In Gandharbal village during the past weekend, the letter said, 185 houses were burnt and 108 people were burnt alive.

All this was part of a plan being carried out by Mr. D. P. Dhar, Home Minister of the puppet Government, and Mr. Karan Singh, Syed Amjad Ali declared. Bands of Jan Sangh bandits had been brought from India and given special training for carrying out this Indian plan of extermination of the Muslim population, he added.

In conclusion, Syed Amjad Ali said, his Government expressed its belief that "the humanity's conscience, represented by the United Nations, will not and cannot remain insensitive to this appalling tragedy now being enacted by Indian authorities in the tormented State of Jammu and Kashmir."

*New York, November 19.* In a letter to the Council President, Mr. Amjad Ali stated that 95 Kashmiri patriots were recently murdered in the Chinari forest by Jan Sangh bandits. These patriots were Muslim prisoners being moved to Udhampur and the military escort did nothing to prevent their murder.

The letter points out that about one lakh Jan Sangh bandits trained and armed by the Indian Army were now operating in Occupied Kashmir. These bandits are not only responsible for large-scale killings of Kashmiris but are also terrorising the Muslim population and forcing them to take refuge in Azad Kashmir so as to re-

place them with Hindus.

Since the middle of August, about 1,37,000 Muslims have been evicted from Occupied Kashmir and 45,000 have crossed into Mirpur district since the cease-fire on September 23, the letter reveals. Daily 200 to 300 people are trekking into Mirpur district, it added.

Pointing out that the agitation for plebiscite is continuing in Srinagar, Baramula, Islamabad and other parts of the State, Mr. Amjad Ali stated that during a recent demonstration 22 students, including one girl, were wounded by the Indian police. About 100 students were arrested on Nov 14 in Srinagar, Shopian and Islamabad.

*United Nations, November 25.* Syed Amjad Ali Said, in a letter to U Thant, "Clearly, India's objective in making these allegations against Pakistan is to camouflage the real situation in (Held) Kashmir where its people have openly revolted against the Indian occupation and the atrocities and barbarities that are being committed there"

"That the so-called infiltrators were none other than the people of Jammu and Kashmir who are engaged in a resistance movement against India is borne out by impartial observers whose reports have been quoted in my letter to the Security Council," Syed Amjad Ali continued.

"The total suppression of the people of Jammu and Kashmir living in the Indian-occupied area and their united demand for the determination of their future by a plebiscite are the patent facts of the situation in Jammu and Kashmir. Nothing could be more apparent than that India's every move and gesture, every pretence and



vance of the cease-fire or vacation of territory seized by India forcibly since September 23. Secondly, Pakistan is appalled by further reports about the campaign of genocide launched by Indian authorities in Occupied Kashmir.

Syed Amjad Ali pointed out that there had been particularly grave breaches of the cease-fire in the Tithwal sector and in Rajasthan. "We have evidence to show that India is planning to launch a major offensive against our northern salient in Rajasthan, which would inevitably compel Pakistan to take necessary counter-measures," he warned the Council.

Referring to the repression of Indian Army, police and the puppet Government in Srinagar, Pakistan's representative warned that the arrest of all popular leaders and the daily use of violence by Indian authorities in Kashmir had created "an unprecedented situation in Srinagar and throughout the valley of Kashmir." This was bound to have "immediate repercussion on peace between India and Pakistan," he added.

Syed Amjad Ali called upon the Council to consider the deteriorating situation in Jammu and Kashmir and to take "prompt action to implement the Security Council resolution of September 20."

The Council President said last night he had not received a formal note from the Pakistan delegation asking for a meeting.

But he added that if it was received later tonight the secretariat would begin immediate consultation among Council delegates about a Monday meeting. If there was no objection, the meeting would be held as plan-

ned.

Pakistan was said to have asked for the meeting on Sunday—U.N. Day—But delegates expressed the view that this would give the impression to the world that the Council was facing a crisis.

There was also some opposition to any Council meeting at the present time according to informed sources.

Some delegates felt there was no use in hearing the two sides ventilate their grievances against each other again.

A Pakistani spokesman said, peace was definitely threatened in the sub-continent and Pakistan wanted the Council to meet as soon as possible.

Pakistan still insisted on the idea of a Security Council Commission visiting the area and would call on the Council to implement its previous decision to try to take steps towards a solution of the underlying political problem of Kashmir, the spokesman said.

*New York, November 5.* In a letter to the Security Council President Syed Amjad Ali charged that India's terror and repression against the Kashmiri people in the occupied territory continued unabated.

"Indian authorities are no longer inhibited by even a vestigial sense of humanity or civilised conduct from taking barbarous measures to crush a people who openly demand the fulfilment of the pledge solemnly given to them by the United Nation."

Supporting his charges with "alarming reports" being received by Pakistan and with accounts published in the world press, the Pakistan delegate disclosed that armed bands of the Jan Sangh, supported by the Indian



posture is designed to divert international attention from the root cause of the conflict between India and Pakistan," he said.

*New York, November 30.* In a letter to the Security Council President, Mr. Amjad Ali stated that Jan Sangh goondas set fire to Muslim houses in Badipur. When the Muslims resisted them, Indian troops intervened and as a result of their indiscriminate firing 43 Muslims were killed, 23 houses burnt and 70 women were kidnapped, the letter continued.

The Students' Central Committee reported that three more students of the Poonch Degree College were tortured to death by the Indian occupation authorities. So far 12 Muslim students have been killed in prisons or military camps, it added.

The letter listed a number of other atrocities perpetrated by the Indian troops, Jan Sangh goondas and the Indian occupation authorities. In a village near Poonch city, 50 Muslims were killed. After serving three months' imprisonment on false charges, 12 Muslim leaders were killed in the Poonch area.

In a night-long clash with Jan Sangh goondas in Mendhar, 125 patriots lost their lives. The Indian

troops gave full assistance. The letter stated that the Indian occupation authorities have prepared a plan to push Muslims of Haveli area into Azad Kashmir and two Indian Army officers—Baldev Mehta and Daljeet Singh—have been entrusted with the execution of the plan.

"At least 230 Kashmiri patriots were killed by armed bandits supported by the Indian troops in clashes in different parts of Occupied Jammu and Kashmir on Nov. 27 and 28," he added.

The Pakistan Representative complained in another letter that India unilaterally cut off water from the three eastern rivers that was due to be supplied under the Indus Treaty into the Dipalpur Canal at Ferozepur.

India, it said, was also not delivering Pakistan's due share of the water below Ferozepur and delivered no water through the Central Bari Doab channel.

These failures have caused "serious damage to cultivation in large areas of Pakistan.

Since it was currently impossible to supply water through the Bari Doab channels, the Pakistan Representative urged that the water be supplied into the Ravi river below Madhopur.



**THUS SPAKE BHUTTO**

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The speeches made by our Foreign Minister, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, on Kashmir issue both in the General Assembly and the Security Council will go a long way in the annals of these international organisations. They were markedly sharp, forceful, eloquent and sweeping. On the international front they made the people realise the importance of Kashmir problem and on the home front they instilled a spirit of unity, faith and discipline in our ranks. These speeches moved even our foes and were admitted by them to be the best and most impressive without any reservation. This admission stands a witness to our righteous cause regarding Kashmir.



## INDIA CANCELS MINISTERIAL TALKS ON KUTCH

*Karachi, Aug. 18.* India has called off the Indo-Pakistan Ministerial-level meeting scheduled to be held in New Delhi on 20 Aug. on the Rann of Kutch dispute. Texts of the messages exchanged between India and Pakistan :

“Excellency. In view of the atmosphere created by the sharp deterioration of relations between India and Pakistan, we feel that there is no possibility of the meeting between Ministers referred to in Article 3(I) of the Agreement dated 30th June, 1965, between the Governments of India and Pakistan, resulting in a consensus. We consider, therefore, that the better course would be to proceed to the next stage of reference to a tribunal on the footing that no agreement has been reached between the Ministers and suggest that this course be adopted.

“With assurances of my highest consideration, Swaran Singh.”

“Excellency. I am in receipt of your message dated August 18 unilaterally calling off the projected Ministers’ meeting referred to in Article 3(I) of the Agreement, dated 30th June, 1965, between the Governments of India and Pakistan with regard to the dispute concerning the Rann of Kutch.

“In our view the deterioration of relations, to which you refer, made it all the more necessary for this

meeting to be held. In saying that there was no possibility of reaching a consensus on the Rann of Kutch dispute you have unfortunately prejudiced the outcome of the meeting, which could only be known after our discussions had concluded. Furthermore, it has been our understanding that the object of the proposed meeting was not only to try and reach consensus as regards the Rann of Kutch dispute, but also to seek, as far as possible, ways of improving generally the relations between India and Pakistan.

“However, in view of the fact that you have come to the conclusion that no useful purpose would be served by holding the meeting, we have no alternative but to acquiesce in your suggestion that the meeting may not be held and that we proceed to the next stage of reference of the Kutch dispute to the tribunal provided under the agreement.

“With assurances of my highest consideration, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.”

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 2.* Mr. Z. A. Bhutto said, the Indian Defence Minister’s statement that Pakistan had escalated the fighting in Kashmir was nothing more than the kind of glib assertion in which India had always excelled.

The Foreign Minister said : “The Indian Defence Minister has accused Pakistan of causing escalation in the fight that has been taking place in Jammu and Kashmir. This is no



more than the kind of glib assertion in which India has always excelled.

"To refresh Mr. Chavan's memory, I might mention that it was India which crossed the Cease-fire Line and reoccupied the Azad Kashmir posts at Kargil which they had been persuaded by the United Nations to vacate. It was India again which occupied Azad Kashmir positions in Tithwal and launched offensive actions in the Uri-Poonch sector using her newly-acquired mountain divisions with artillery. None of this amounted to escalation, according to Mr. Chavan. Not even the use of Indian Air Force jet fighter-bombers against our ground forces amounted to escalation.

"It is only when we launched an action to prevent further Indian aggression, did Mr. Chavan cry 'escalation.' Surely this is nothing but the perverse logic of the proverbial wolf in Aesop's Fables. It is such a pity that he has not been told that Pakistan is no lamb."

*Sept. 4, 1965.* The following is the text of the Foreign Minister Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's broadcast :

During the 18 years that this country has been in existence, we have overcome one crisis after another. Today we are facing a situation in Jammu and Kashmir which threatens to confront us with the most momentous of all decisions that this nation has taken in its eventful life.

The people of Jammu and Kashmir have risen in armed revolt against the tyranny of Indian bondage. Over the years India has closed one door after another in her determination to deny to the people of Jammu and Kashmir their right of self-

determination. They proceeded with measure after measure for the immoral and illegal integration of the State in flagrant violation of their own solemn pledges and commitments. They remained impervious to warnings and counsels of moderation.

Contrary to the dictates of reason and fortified by the massive arms aid which they obtained under the pretext of fighting China, India has continued on the war path going from one excess to another.

The people of Kashmir have waited patiently for 18 long years while every avenue has been explored to persuade India to redeem her solemn pledges to the people of Kashmir, to Pakistan, and to the world. They have seen all their expectations belied and all their hopes frustrated by the obduracy of India. They have endured the terror let loose on them by no less than six divisions of the Indian army. They have suffered tyranny and oppression beyond imagination.

In Jammu and Kashmir, India did not remain content with the denial of the right of self-determination to the people. She launched a barbaric policy of cold-blooded and callous genocide with the sole objective of eliminating the Muslim majority of the State of Jammu and Kashmir by Hitlerite extermination. India unleashed all the horrors and iniquities of imperialism and re-enacted the entire gamut of colonialist devices against which generations of downtrodden humanity have struggled for emancipation.

What makes this episode all the more tragic is that barely had millions of their own citizens completed rejoicing in the success of their own struggle for freedom, when their



leadership embarked on this senseless adventure to dominate the people of Jammu and Kashmir. These heroic people have withstood the total onslaught of India's colonial rule with exemplary valour. They have gained the admiration of freedom-loving people throughout the world.

If only the late Prime Minister of India had paid heed to his own counsel, the tragedy of Kashmir could perhaps have been avoided. It was on the 31st October, 1947, that Pandit Nehru in a communication to the Prime Minister of Pakistan said: "Our assurance that we shall withdraw our troops from Kashmir as soon as peace and order are restored and leave the decision regarding the future of the State to the people of the State is not merely a promise to your Government but also to the people of Kashmir, to the world at large."

Not only was this undertaking never fulfilled, but the successor of the late Prime Minister has gone ahead with integration of the territory forcibly occupied by India and retained by the force of her arms.

It was Pandit Nehru himself who referred to the Lion of Kashmir, Shaikh Abdullah as "a brave man and great leader of his people."

This was on the seventh of August 1952. However, history is replete with tragic ironies and the people of Jammu and Kashmir were doomed to victimisation and ruthless oppression at the hands of those very people who had extended such categorical assurances and expressed such admiration for their great leader. After spending 11 years in jail, Shaikh Abdullah and his valiant lieutenant, Mirza Afzal Beg, are back in Indian

jails, while their undaunted followers continue the struggle for freedom.

I have dwelt at some length on the background, which, to use the language of the poet, has now become "a part of yesterday's seven thousand years." It is a thing of the past. The valiant sons of Kashmir have risen and taken up arms to liquidate Indian domination over their homeland. They have taken recourse to their ultimate right to fight for their liberty. This is their natural right and it is in the nature of things. It is implicit in the immutable laws which inspire people in their yearning for freedom.

Support of freedom-fighters is enshrined in the hearts and minds of the entire freedom-loving humanity. The inherent right of a people to fight for their liberty from foreign domination has been given universal recognition. It is not surprising, therefore, that the freedom-fighters in Jammu and Kashmir should have evoked the support and sympathy of the people of Pakistan, who are their own flesh and blood.

The Mujahidin in their struggle have the blessings and support of all freedom-loving people throughout the world. They are engaged in fighting for their freedom which the United Nations has failed to secure for them. They are fighting to achieve self-determination which was pledged to them by India and sanctified in the U.N. resolutions. They are not alone and they will never be alone. Theirs is a struggle which has the sanction of justice, a struggle which can only lead to glorious victory. The higher the price they have to pay, the greater will be their glory in the achievement of it.

The brave freedom-fighters of



Jammu and Kashmir have been branded by India as "Pakistani infiltrators." It is a gross travesty of truth and a slanderous vilification of these gallant men to call them "infiltrators." Each one of them is a Salahuddin—a brave fighter for honour and dignity, a bastion against tyranny and the embodiment of justice and freedom.

It is difficult to see how Indian leadership can be insensitive to the injustice and inhumanity of their own actions. They cannot but know where it will all end. They must realise that no amount of repression will suffice to extinguish the torch of freedom. Yet in this hour of their reckoning instead of resorting to soul-searching and atonement of the wrongs they have perpetrated on the innocent people of Jammu and Kashmir, India continues on the path of devastation and deluge. Even now, in moving against the freedom-fighters with all their six divisions and more, India is engaged in carrying out inhuman reprisals against unarmed men, women and children.

They have let loose a reign of terror in which the civilian population is being subjected to the most brutal atrocities. The looting and arson, the systematic sacking of village after village, the incarceration of countless thousands—these are the hard facts, the achievements of the Indian army. The conscience of mankind revolts at this unprecedented genocide unleashed on the people of Jammu and Kashmir by the armed might of India. The sacking of the entire Batamalu suburb of Srinagar on 14th August in which innocent men, women and children were burnt alive by the hundreds will live in the memory of future generations of mankind as one

of the worst examples of barbaric conduct in the twentieth century. It will rank with the massacres of Jalianwala Bagh, Auschwitz and Belsen, as a low watermark of organised brutality. The memory of Batamalu will leave a deep scar in the minds of all people who cherish humanity and value civilised conduct.

The utter futility of this deplorable genocide in Kashmir does not seem to trouble the conscience of India's leadership. They seem determined to ride roughshod over the most significant trend of our contemporary times which the force of resurgent national freedom movement represents. It is a sign of the worst possible form of myopia that, instead of seeking peace, India has embarked on aggression. The Cease-fire Line they have rendered sterile by refusing to honour the purpose for which it was established. They have now liquidated finally and torn up the last remnants of the arrangement which had been made for the maintenance of peace—an arrangement which was to lead to a settlement on the basis of a free and impartial plebiscite.

India has launched an undeclared war across the Cease-fire Line in Kashmir. We are neither surprised nor unprepared. There have been those who have tried hard to persuade us that India would not commit aggression against Pakistan. Fortunately for us, we have persisted in our conviction to the contrary, a conviction based on our own appreciation of the Indian threat. Pakistan which has been designated by India as its enemy number one has had to contend from its very birth with the belligerence of Indian leadership.

Time and again, India manifested



her aggressive actions starting from the mass killings of the Muslims at the time of Partition, through the forcible annexations of Junagadh, Manavadar, Mangrol, Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir and Goa, to the senseless communal riots and the forcible eviction of half a million of her own Muslim citizens, India has written the crimson story of her aggression in the blood of its innocent victims.

Earlier this year, the Indian army violated the *status quo* in the Rann of Kutch. When Pakistan moved in to protect its territory, the Prime Minister of India threatened to retaliate at a time and place of his own choosing. He threatened to substantiate his warning by ordering a massive concentration of troops against the borders of Pakistan. In spite of these serious provocations, Pakistan persisted, as in the past, in maintaining a balanced and constructive attitude which enabled us to reach an agreement for the settlement of the Rann of Kutch dispute.

For sheer patience and persistence in a desire for friendship, Pakistan's record is unequalled. Throughout these 18 years, India has manifested positive hostility and an unmistakable deliberation in her action designed to cause the undoing of Pakistan. We have reasoned with India; we have appealed to the conscience of the world community and to the sense of justice and equity of all mankind. We have pointed to the utter futility of this needless confrontation between neighbours. We have exercised every possible restraint on our people and followed a policy of moderation. The only thing that we have not done and will never do is to forsake our just

cause and to sacrifice the five million Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir.

The territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is in dispute and will remain in dispute till the people have exercised their right of self-determination. It was the late Pandit Nehru who said: "India is a great country and Kashmir is in my heart. Do you think you are dealing with a part of U.P. or Bihar or Gujerat?"

What, then, is the status of this territory? It is certainly not Indian territory. No matter how many dubious means India adopts to try and make it appear as if Occupied Kashmir is a part of India, it will never become part of Indian territory.

Pakistan has never coveted one inch of Indian territory. In Jammu and Kashmir, it is the territory of the people whose freedom we are pledged to secure and not Indian territory where our conflict lies.

It is not only the people of Pakistan who will not forsake the valiant fighters for freedom in Kashmir, freedom-loving peoples throughout the world will support the heroic struggle which the people of Jammu and Kashmir are now waging. The hundred million people of Pakistan have given a solemn pledge to the people of Kashmir; this pledge they will redeem.

Let India not be complacent in waging war in Kashmir. Let them not disregard the lessons of history. Let them not forget that if Pakistanis have hitherto shown the patience of a Solomon they are also the descendants of the heroic soldiers of Islam who have never shown any hesitation in laying down their lives in defence of their honour and in the pursuit of justice.

If India wishes to prove that the



sword is mightier than truth let them but continue on their present path of adventure. A thousand years of history cannot go in vain nor can the collective morality of this century be disregarded with impunity. In waging this war, India would be unleashing a tragedy of the greatest magnitude—a tragedy which would spell devastation.

This is the hour of reckoning. It is now that we are called upon to share our responsibilities and discharge our obligations to the people of Jammu and Kashmir who are fighting fiercely to redeem themselves from Indian colonialism and are confident that all friendly countries, in fact all those who stand for freedom and justice, will demonstrate their positive solidarity. This is an occasion which calls for a solidarity of the heart and mind, of values and beliefs. The whole concept of solidarity as a phenomenon in our international conduct demands that it must manifest itself in a concrete and tangible form on this present problem.

The heroic struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir is a part of the glorious essay against colonial domination. Stage by stage, bit by bit, slavery and domination have been defeated. In its final phase in Jammu and Kashmir the freedom-loving people of the world can put the last nail on the coffin of imperialism. This endeavour will not be for Pakistan nor will it be for Jammu and Kashmir. It will in fact represent the culmination of our contemporary struggle against tyranny and oppression—a struggle in which we must prove for all time that a just cause must triumph. It cannot and it shall not fail.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 13. The Pakistan*

Foreign Minister, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, declared that unless Pakistan's three-point plan to end the current Indo-Pakistan conflict were accepted the "war will go on."

"If India rejects the plan the conflict will continue.

"Our three-point plan is not negotiable, we know we are a small nation but if need be we will continue the fight for free Kashmir for 1,000 years.

"Our position is that there must be a freely conducted plebiscite within Kashmir to allow its inhabitants to choose whether the area shall be part of Pakistan or India.

"We do not seek any territorial advantage but the question of Kashmir, which has been festering for the past 18 years, must be finally settled.

"War will continue until there is plebiscite in Kashmir. Our position has been clear from the beginning."

*United Nations, Sept. 22. Mr. Bhutto told the Security Council in clear, tough language :*

"A cessation of hostilities is not enough. You must now address yourself, as a Security Council, as the most important organ of the United Nations, to the heart of the problem.

"For 18 years you have played and toyed with the future of Kashmir. You cannot any longer play and toy and make a plaything out of five million people. It is your moral responsibility, that of the Security Council, to address itself to a meaningful and a lasting solution of the problem of Jammu and Kashmir.

"The Security Council has been



seized with this problem for 18 years. . . .

"The Security Council has shown its lethargy, it has shown its indolence. . . .

"This is the last opportunity, and the last chance for the Security Council to put all its force and all its energy and all its moral responsibility for a fair and equitable and honourable solution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.

"And history, sir, does not wait for councils, organisations, institutions as much as it does not wait for individuals. And ultimately we will have to be the final determiners of our own course.

"And let me tell you on behalf of my Government that if now, after this last opportunity and last chance that we are giving to the Security Council, the United Nations does not put its full force and full morality and full weight for an equitable and honourable settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, Pakistan will have to leave the United Nations.

"We have decided that on the one hand we give the United Nations a last opportunity to determine what it can do for a purposeful and a peaceful settlement and a lasting settlement of the problem of Jammu and Kashmir, and we give it a time limit.

"Within a certain period of time if the Security Council is not able to determine and decide on the responsibility which is placed on it, on its honour under the Charter, which believes in self-determination, then Pakistan will have to withdraw from the United Nations.

"And I am not giving this in the

form of an ultimatum. I am saying this as honour-bound to respect the very purposes of the Charter.

"Pakistan in leaving the United Nations will be fulfilling the Charter of the United Nations, and then, sir, you will have one third or more of the world outside your organ, and you would have some States which call themselves States as members of the Security Council."

Full text of Mr. Bhutto's Speech :  
 "Mr. President, I am thankful to you and to the members of the Security Council for having met at this late hour to discuss a matter of vital importance to my people, to the sub-continent, to Asia, and perhaps to the world at large. It was very kind of you sir, to have convened this meeting at this late hour to discuss the grave issues that face us. In expressing my gratitude I would like to address not only the permanent members but also the other members of the Security Council for having taken the trouble to be with us this morning.

"I have come to you from Pakistan, and I have requested this meeting because the issues that face us are indeed so fundamental and important that it is necessary for us to meet to dilate upon them.

"I am thankful also to the Secretary-General for his endeavours to bring about a meaningful settlement between India and Pakistan. We are aware of all his efforts—we are grateful to him and to the Security Council—we are grateful to all peace-loving countries for having taken such a direct interest in a war which we do not want, which has been imposed on us by a predatory aggressor.

"Pakistan is a small country. You



have only to look at a map of the world and see our size to be aware of our resources and our ability.

"We are facing a great monster, a great aggressor, always given to aggression. During the last sixteen or seventeen years of our independence we have seen India commit aggression time and again. Ever since 1947, India has followed the road of aggression. It has committed aggression against Junagadh, against Manavadar, against Mongrol, against Hyderabad and against Goa. It has brought about a situation which has caused the Sino-Indian conflict. It has committed aggression against Pakistan, and Pakistan, according to Indian leaders, is its enemy number one. Pakistan is supposed to be the country which is the fulcrum of India's fundamental policies.

"From 1947 we have been faced with this situation. We have always known that India is determined to annihilate Pakistan.

"Pakistan's basic principle was the bringing about of a permanent settlement between the two major communities. For seven hundred years we sought to achieve equilibrium between the people of the two major communities, and we believed eventually that the only way to live in lasting peace with India was to establish our homeland, to establish a country smaller in area, but nevertheless capable of having a relationship, a *modus vivendi*, with a great and powerful neighbour. That was one of the prime factors responsible for the creation of Pakistan.

"We know that in Europe certain countries have had to separate in order to get closer together—Sweden and Norway, for instance, had to

separate in order to get close to one another. We believed that with the creation of Pakistan we would be able to establish a permanent peace, a permanent understanding, between the people of India and the people of Pakistan.

"We are a small country and, as I said, our resources are limited—one has only to look at a map of the world and a map of the sub-continent to see that we are not interested in war. We do not want aggression—we do not want conflict. We want peace in order that our people can develop. This is the age of rising expectation. We should like to see all our energies and all our efforts directed towards economic well-being

"It is not the law of God that people in Asia and Africa should be poor. It is not a predestined rule or an immutable law that we should always remain in poverty. We want to break the barriers of poverty—we want to give our people a better life—we want our children to have a better future.

"The leaders of Asia and Africa are determined to break the barriers of the past, the legacies of the past, and in order to do so we must channel all our resources for productive ends, for a peaceful and purposeful future. This is a dire need for a small country such as Pakistan.

"We do not want conflict. We are not for war. We do not want to see the extermination of peoples. We respect and have regard for the people of India. A few years ago we were part of the same country, but, for the reason which I have stated, we were obliged to separate. But by means of separation we had thought that our



people would be brought closer together, that we should bring about harmony, understanding and tranquillity. The basic idea in the creation of Pakistan was that the area occupied by the Muslim majority should form a part of Pakistan. This basic principle was accepted by the Indian leaders. All we ask is to live in peace, friendship and goodwill with India on the basis of the understanding and agreements which the Indian Government and the Indian leaders themselves solemnly pledged to my people and my country.

"Today we are fighting a war, a war imposed on us by India, a naked, predatory, unwarranted aggression by 450 million people against 100 million people, a war of chauvinism and aggrandizement by a mighty neighbour against a small country. It is as if, in Europe, France or Germany committed aggression against Denmark. It is as if a small country in South America were subjected to aggression by Argentina or Brazil. It is as if the United States waged a war against a small country.

"We do not want to be exterminated. We cherish life. We want to live—we want our people to live—we want our people to progress. But today our cities are being bombed indiscriminately by the might of India, by the formidable machine of the Indian armed forces.

"But we are resolved to fight for our honour, to fight for Pakistan, because we are the victims of aggression. Aggression has been committed against the soil of Pakistan. But, irrespective of our size, irrespective of our resources, we have the resolve, we have the will, to fight because ours is a just cause. Ours is a righteous

cause. We are wedded to principles. We are wedded to our own pledges. We believe in the right of self-determination—a Wilsonian right, as I told you this last evening, sir, a concept which has inspired the whole of Asia and Africa. It is a phenomenon that cannot be stopped—and that is why we are fighting. We are fighting with our backs to the wall, but we shall fight with all our determination, irrespective of the odds and of all the forces that are pitted against us.

"The Secretary-General, as I have already said, has made some very constructive suggestions, and we are grateful to him. He is not only the Secretary-General of the United Nations, he is also a great Asian from a great Asian neighbour of Pakistan and of India. And we should like to co-operate with him both in his capacity as the Secretary-General and as a leader of a great Asian country. We have had useful discussions with him in Pakistan, and we told him that we are for peace.

"We do not want war, we do not want destruction and we do not want disaster. But it should be a meaningful peace, a purposeful peace, a peace for all times, a peace in which India and Pakistan can live as good neighbours. We are neighbours and want to live as good neighbours. We do not want to have conflict and trouble with India for all times; no people would want that.

"We are a smaller country. The cardinal principle of Pakistan's foreign policy has been to establish good-neighbourly relations with all countries, with all its neighbours—and India is our principal neighbour. All our efforts to establish good neighbourly relations with all other countries



would be in vain if we are not able to establish good-neighbourly relations with India, which, as I have said, for historical, political and geographical reasons is our principal neighbour. We will make every endeavour to establish such relations. The Indian representative, whom I know so well and for whom I have great regard, is aware of the efforts we have made to establish good-neighbourly relations with India. He knows that from the very beginning our President, from the time he came into office, has made positive gestures to India to establish good-neighbourly relations with his country. We have taken many initiatives to bring peace, tranquillity and friendship between Pakistan and India. These are matters of record, not a question of propaganda, of trying to get kudos.

"These are tangible and well-known facts of history: That ever since he has become President of Pakistan he has gone out of his way to establish good relations with India by co-operation in every field, co-operation in trade, in economics and in politics. Has the world forgotten that in 1959 it was the President of Pakistan who made an offer to India to disengage, to bring about a meaningful settlement so that our armies do not face each other in an eyeball-to-eyeball distance, that we all take care of our own difficulties?

"These are matters of record, matters of history. Thus we want good-neighbourly relations with India, we want peace with India and we want friendship with India. But that peace and friendship must be peace with honour and it must be peace of a self-respecting sovereign State. India must accept that. India must know

that peace can be established only on the basis of self-respect and honour, on the basis of its own commitments, on the basis of its own pledges, on the basis of its own promises to the people of Pakistan, to the people of India, to the world at large and, above all, to the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

"Jammu and Kashmir is not an integral part of India and has never been an integral part of India. Jammu and Kashmir is a disputed territory between India and Pakistan. It is more a part of Pakistan than it can ever be of India, with all its eloquence and with all its extravagance with words. The people of Jammu and Kashmir are part of the people of Pakistan in blood, in flesh, in life—kith and kin of ours, in culture, in geography, in history and in every way and in every form. They are a part of the people of Pakistan.

"We will wage a war for 1,000 years, a war of defence. I told that to the Security Council a year ago when that body, in all its wisdom and in all its power, was not prepared to give us a resolution even last year. The Security Council felt that we had brought a dead horse to this Council, that we were trying to make internal propaganda. But the world must know that the 100 million people of Pakistan will never abandon their pledges and promises.

"The Indians may abandon their pledges and promises—we shall never abandon ours. Irrespective of our size and of our resources, we shall fight to the end. But we shall fight in self-defence—we shall fight for honour. We are not aggressors; we are the victims of aggression. It was the duty of the Security Council to pronounce



itself on who is the aggressor and who is the aggressed. It was Pakistan that was the victim of aggression.

"I am not referring here to some of the remarks made by countries which have no right to be here—they are not even countries. I am referring to the great Powers, I am referring to all peace-loving countries, I am referring to those who believe in the cause of justice, in the cause of righteousness and in the cause of honour. After all history is not vain. Wars have been fought in the past and people have upheld great causes. I am referring to the great Powers and also to those other countries in the Security Council which have espoused the cause of righteousness. We are grateful to all of you for whatever you have done to uphold the cause of justice because, finally and ultimately, justice must prevail. We believe more than ever before that justice is bound to prevail for the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Five million people must have the right to decide their own future. Why should they be made an exception ?

"Should the whole phenomenon of self-determination, stretching from Asia and Africa, apply to the whole world except to the people of Jammu and Kashmir? Are they some outcasts of an Indian society? Are they some untouchable parians that they should not be given the right of self-determination, that they should not be allowed to have the right to their own future? The great country of France permitted the Algerians to have the right of self-determination. The right of self-determination is a Wilsonian concept.

"The Soviet Union believes in the right of self-determination of all

peoples. The whole world believes in the right of self-determination. Must it be denied to the people of Jammu and Kashmir merely because power must prevail over principle? Power shall never prevail over principle. Finally and ultimately, principle must prevail over power. This is a Christian concept, it is an Islamic concept, it is a civilised concept. Those nations which do not believe in such a concept must face the ultimate consequences.

"India today is isolated. India, in spite of its size and its resources, has no one to support it openly. The whole of Asia and Africa supports the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir. The Arab countries in Casablanca have supported the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. The European countries have supported the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. The Secretary of State of the United States of America, Mr. Dean Rusk, said that the historical position is a plebiscite in Kashmir.

"On the one hand, you have the whole world arrayed on the side of the cause of right and justice and morality, and, on the other hand, you have a war machine, an arrogant and chauvinistic State breaking its pledges, breaking its promises and wanting to destroy the will and the spirit of a people. The will and spirit of our people can never be destroyed.

"Let me tell you: You can have one cease-fire, you can have another cease-fire, but the 100 million people of Pakistan shall face extermination rather than forsake their principles or allow their principle to be negated and destroyed by sheer force and power.

"Having made those remarks, I



have the honour to transmit the following message from the President of Pakistan, which I received from Rawalpindi at 2 o'clock (11 o'clock Rawalpindi Time) today :

'Pakistan considers Security Council resolution 211 of September 20, as unsatisfactory; however, in the interests of international peace and in order to enable the Security Council to evolve a self-executing procedure which will lead to an honourable settlement of the root cause of the present conflict—namely, the Jammu and Kashmir dispute—I have issued the following order to the Pakistan Armed Forces. They will stop fighting as from 12.05 hours West Pakistan time today. As from that time they will not fire on enemy forces unless fired upon, provided the Indian Government issues similar orders to its armed forces.

'Please accept. Excellencies, the assurances of my highest consideration.'

'That message was sent to Pakistan's Permanent Representative, Syed Amjad Ali. Thus, in response to the call of international goodwill we have ordered our troops to cease hostilities, provided India agrees to such a cessation of hostilities.

'But a cessation of hostilities is not enough. The Security Council—the most important organ of the United Nations—must now address itself to the heart of the problem. For 18 years it has played and toyed with the future of Kashmir. It can no longer make a plaything or a toy out of five million people. It is the moral responsibility of the Security Council to address itself to a meaningful, a lasting solution of the problem of Jammu and Kashmir.

'The Security Council has been seized of this problem for 18 years. There are more documents. More resolutions on Jammu and Kashmir—the most fundamental problem facing the world today—than on any other problem. Is it not ironical that, with regard to a conflict that may lead to world conflagration—and the present situation has shown that it is possible for this conflict to lead to world conflagration—the Security Council has shown its lethargy, its indolence?

'I was here a year ago, and the Security Council was not prepared to give Pakistan a piece of paper called a resolution. It did not even want to consider the problem. It thought that this was a dead issue, that it was dormant. This can never be a dead issue—it can never be dormant.

'This is the last chance for the Security Council to put all its energy, all its moral responsibility behind a fair and equitable and honourable solution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. History does not wait for councils, organisations or institutions, just as it does not wait for individuals. Ultimately, we shall have to be the final determiners of our own course. Let me tell the Security Council on behalf of my Government, that if now, after this last chance that we are giving to the Security Council, it does not put its full force, full moral responsibility and full weight behind and equitable and honourable settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, Pakistan will have to leave the United Nations.

'We have decided to give the United Nations a last opportunity to determine what it can do towards a



purposeful, peaceful and lasting settlement of the problem of Jammu and Kashmir. We shall give the United Nations a time-limit. Within a certain period of time, if the Security Council is not able to act in accordance with the responsibility placed on it, in accordance with its honour under the Charter—which believes in self-determination—Pakistan will have to withdraw from the United Nations.

"I am not saying that in the form of an ultimatum. I am saying it as I am honour-bound to respect the very purposes of the Charter. Pakistan in leaving the United Nations will be fulfilling the Charter of the United Nations, and then, sir, you will have one-third or more of the world will be outside this organisation, and some countries which call themselves States will be members of the Security Council."

*New York, Sept. 25.* "Strengthening the cease-fire line with observers does not really provide an answer. If the two countries want to co-operate to maintain the cease-fire, then they can do it without observers. But if they want to violate the cease-fire agreement, then you can do it with as many observers as you want.

"So, basically, we should address ourselves to finding an answer to the dispute, rather than strengthening temporary and expedient arrangements.

"...I made it very clear, that there is no collusion between China and Pakistan. If India conducts a policy of bad-neighbourly relations with all her neighbours, then, naturally, if she creates situations with one neighbour, another neighbour may take advantage of it."

"But that is a matter entirely between the Indians and the Chinese and that is of no concern, sir, to Pakistan."

*United Nations, Sept. 26.* "The moment we feel a stalemate has been reached or the Security Council have lost their sense of urgency, the time limit for the withdrawal of Pakistan from the United Nations will start to operate," said the Pakistan Foreign Minister.

"If they won't move at all, then of course the time limit will start operating immediately.

"It all depends on the Security Council what steps they are taking to implement their resolutions of 1948.

"We do not have a rigid position nor are we trying to be unreasonable. Short of a plebiscite, would you consider sufficient to continue negotiations on Kashmir?"

"The concept of the will of the people is the universally acknowledged method to determine such issues. France has successfully applied it in Algeria and its other colonies."

*New York, Sept. 27.* "My attention has been drawn to the Indian Prime Minister's statement in which he has warned the great Powers against a settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.

"The Indian Prime Minister had made it quite clear that his immediate purpose is to prevent the great Powers from honouring their commitments embodied in the Security Council resolutions and their pledges to the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

"The Indian Prime Minister has reiterated his Government's intention to frustrate any meaningful progress



towards a settlement of the conflict between India and Pakistan. He has attempted to impress upon the great Powers that by shedding their blood the people of India have demonstrated their resolve to maintain India's stranglehold on the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

"Mr. Shastri has not only shed the blood of the Indians, but he has also shed the blood of the Pakistanis and the Kashmiris on the battlefield as well as in the homes of our innocent civilians. If the Indians have shed their blood, so have the people of Pakistan and of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

"The difference is that we have shed our blood in a righteous cause, whereas Indians have done it in pursuance of aggression. The last he can do is to acknowledge the futility of shedding blood in this manner—a futility which should have become apparent even to him.

"He should also recognise that blood which the Pakistanis have shed in defence of their homeland cries out for justice. No empty threats can stifle the demand for the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir which the people throughout the world will continue to echo and support until justice has been done.

"Mr. Shastri is attempting to exert pressure on the world community to obscure the fact that neither the cease-fire nor any other course of action would serve the need for an enduring cessation of hostilities. The real purpose of the Indian forces in violating the cease-fire is to frustrate the efforts of the great Powers to bring about a meaningful settlement.

"It is obvious that the Indian Prime Minister still nurtures a vain hope that by these tactics he would succeed in diverting attention from the heart of the problem which is no more than that India and the United Nations should fulfil their own commitments and pledges with regard to the exercise of self-determination by the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

"Callous disregard of international commitments can neither be justified nor reinforced by issuing irresponsible threats to the world at large. Mr. Shastri has failed to conceal the untenable position of his Government.

"He had threatened to reconsider whether or not to take part in the deliberations of the Security Council if it should proceed towards a settlement of the dispute.

"This must be the first time in the history of the United Nations that it has been warned not to fulfil the pledge and to refrain from working for settlement of a dispute that has led to war."

*United Nations (New York), Sept 28.*

"When we say that we are giving the United Nations a last chance to settle the Kashmir dispute, we are saying that we are determined not to let a righteous cause be ignored. It is not the will of Providence that the victims of injustice and aggression should have no higher court of appeal."

The Pakistani Minister devoted almost the whole of his hour-long speech to the Kashmir question. He was applauded as he returned to his place.



In his statement, Mr. Bhutto said that the agreement between India and Pakistan on a Kashmir plebiscite bound not only these two countries but the U.N. also.

"The history of the dispute is a history of opportunities neglected, of chances thrown away, of warnings disdained," he said. Since 1949, Pakistan had repeatedly approached the Council. Every time Pakistan was ignored, Mr. Bhutto declared.

"The Security Council, instead of discharging its duty under the Charter, continuously yielded to India's manoeuvres until India became convinced that it could defy the Council with impunity," Mr. Bhutto said. "By letting that situation arise, the Council abdicated its functions under the Charter.

"This had far-reaching effects. It jeopardised peace in our region. It gave rise to doubts whether the U.N. was capable of securing implementation of an agreement which it had itself brought about. It brought the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations into disrepute."

But Kashmir was not a part of India. That was precisely the point at issue. He said that what passed comprehension was that India, which had sent troops under the U.N. to other countries, which had deputed one of its generals to be U Thant's military adviser, which pretended to the leadership of the Afro-Asian community and sought hegemony over the Indian Ocean region, should consider the stationing of a U.N. force in Kashmir to be foreign intrusion and an affront to the honour of India.

Mr. Bhutto called for a just and permanent settlement of the Kashmir

dispute.

"In these crucial times, when developments are taking place which may well prove decisive to the entire future of humanity," he regretted that China had been excluded from the world body. As long as this state of affairs continued, the U.N. would find itself powerless to apply itself effectively to international problems, particularly to those in Asia.

"At a time when the need for strengthening the U.N. is advocated, it is ironical that the one logical and most important step in that direction, namely, the seating of the representative of the Chinese People's Republic in this organisation have yet to be taken.

"Our experience in recent years has provided conclusively that the U.N. without the People's Republic of China is as incomplete as a triangle with two sides. Either the U.N. moves forward towards greater effectiveness or it is bound to be overtaken by events."

*United Nations, Sept. 27.* The Security Council unanimously demanded that India and Pakistan observe the cease-fire to which they agreed unconditionally last week and withdraw their troops to positions occupied prior to their undeclared war.

The action, at an emergency night meeting, sparked a bitter clash between the Indian and Pakistani representatives, with each accusing the other of responsibility for cease-fire violations.

Mr. Arthur J. Goldberg of the United States, the President, replied that this was the fourth time the Council had called for an end of



hostilities and it had "every right to demand that the parties urgently honour" its resolution.

The Indian delegate, Mr. G. Parthasarathi, accused Pakistan of launching the offensive on August 5 to try to force a settlement of the long-simmering Kashmir dispute.

It was clear that Pakistan had no intention of observing the Council's cease-fire demand, he said, and until Pakistan was made to observe it, no useful purpose would be served by any discussion in the Council or elsewhere.

Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, rejoined that deliberate, wanton and blatant violations had been committed by India, which had asked for an extension of the cease-fire deadline last Wednesday in order to improve its military situation.

"Unless these Indian incursions are halted immediately," he said, "the situation will deteriorate rapidly and get completely out of control."

In the Council, and again to reporters after the meeting adjourned, Mr. Bhutto demanded that the U.N. come to grips with the basic Kashmir dispute. He called on the big four Powers particularly to begin urgent discussions on ways of solving the problem.

Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto said that flagrant violations of the cease-fire had been committed by India.

He said that India's request last week for an extension of the Council's cease-fire deadline had caused a sense of foreboding in Pakistan that the time was sought to change the military situation and this proved to be so.

Mr. Bhutto said, 60,000 refugees had fled Occupied Kashmir following

repressive measures by Indian troops who, he said, had burned 30 villages.

He said, he hoped the Council would take effective measures to alleviate the misery of these innocent people who have suffered at the hands of the Indian colonialists.

The catalogue of deliberate, wanton and blatant violations of the Cease-fire Line underlined the gravity of the present situation, he said.

The Council must take immediate, effective measures to stop the violations of the cease-fire by India and also ensure that India did not commit violations again, he added.

"Unless these Indian incursions are halted immediately, the situation will deteriorate rapidly and get completely out of control," Mr. Bhutto said.

Pakistan believed that India was deliberately creating incidents and violations in order to frustrate efforts by the Council to solve the basic Kashmir dispute.

Mr. Bhutto said, the Council must not stop at a cease-fire call but get on to the business of trying to settle this problem as it was committed to do by last week's resolution.

Adoption of the resolution came in double-quick time at a night meeting summoned urgently after day-long consultations among the Council members.

Mr. Goldberg read the text and declared the resolution adopted even before mimeographed copies of it were placed before the delegates at the horseshoe table.

The earlier intention had been to have the President declare a consensus of the members, without a formal resolution, but his plan was abandoned because some delegates insisted that



there be a formal resolution. It was understood that Jordan, which abstained last week on the cease-fire demand was one of the objectors.

Mr. Muhammad al-Farrah, the new delegate of Jordan, making his debut in the Council yesterday did not press for a formal vote, and Mr. Goldberg stated that the resolution was adopted without objection.

It was as follows:

"The Security Council, noting the reports of the Secretary-General (S/6710, adds. 1 and 2);

"Reaffirming its resolutions of 4, 6 and 20 September, 1965 (S/Res/209, 210, 211);

"Expressing the grave concern of the Council that the cease-fire agreed to unconditionally by the Governments of India and Pakistan is not holding;

"Recalling that the cease-fire demand in the Council's resolutions was unanimously endorsed to by the Governments of both India and Pakistan;

"Demands that parties urgently honour their commitments to the Council to observe the cease-fire and further calls upon the parties promptly to withdraw all armed personnel as necessary steps in the further implementation of the resolution of September 20."

An earlier report says:

U Thant, the Secretary-General, told the Security Council last night that India had failed to reply to two requests by him for the withdrawal of Indian troops to pre-August 5 positions.

Pakistan had replied that no withdrawals were possible until both sides agreed on a withdrawal plan.

U Thant said, he had informed both sides that he was prepared to

provide this assistance and had twice requested them to advise him of their plans and schedules for their respective withdrawals.

He noted Pakistan's reply, published earlier yesterday as a Council document, and added: "No reply has been received from India as of the date of this report."

*United Nations (New York), Sept. 29.* Pakistan's Foreign Minister said today that Pakistan would withdraw from the disputed territory in Jammu and Kashmir if a "self-executing machinery" was set up to hold a plebiscite."

This machinery could either be composed of United Nations personnel or some other impartial group "as long as a plebiscite is held."

He made clear, moreover, that Pakistan would not leave the territory unless the self-executing machinery was established, because such a withdrawal "would create a vacuum which India would fill."

Mr. Bhutto said, Pakistan was willing to "vacate from the disputed territory" it had taken since the fighting started on August 5 and "accept a U.N. force in Kashmir and Jammu."

He said, Pakistan did not believe it was enough to have a cease-fire, which he said was only "a means to an end." He called for a hard-and-fast settlement of the Kashmir dispute and said without such a settlement, there was always the possibility of fighting again.

*London, Sept. 30.* The Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Bhutto, warned the Western world today that if India did not withdraw her forces from the disputed territory of



Kashmir, there was bound to be another conflict between the two countries, which would not remain confined to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

He said that the people of Pakistan, who had put up a heroic fight against the Indian aggressors, would not let their blood go in vain. If the Security Council did not show courage and settle the Kashmir dispute within a reasonable period, "we will certainly fight, if need be for a thousand years. This is not a chauvinistic statement; we mean what we say."

He said, Pakistan was willing to withdraw from the disputed territory if a proper machinery was set up so as to enable the people of Kashmir to exercise their right of self-determination.

He said that if the United Nations was sincere in its effort to maintain peace in South-East Asia, it was duty bound to move forward in accordance with paragraph 4 of the Security Council's resolution of September 20.

Commenting on the Indian Government's insistence that Kashmir is an integral part of India, Mr. Bhutto said that the whole world had recognised that this was a false position. In the past 18 years, he said, the Kashmir dispute had caused two wars. If the Indians wanted a third war, they would find the people of Pakistan ready for it.

Mr. Bhutto said that the Indo-Pakistan cease-fire was tenuous and renewed fighting would set the world aflame.

"We are now mentally attuned to face a war of extermination."

Pakistan wanted U.N. and world Powers to work for a lasting solution. Peace must be an "honourable peace."

Asked about the French attitude, Mr. Bhutto said, France had so far maintained an impartial position.

Mr. Bhutto said that in making its proposals for a Kashmir settlement, Pakistan was not taking advantage of India.

"It is a patently reasonable proposal," he said.

Mr. Bhutto accused India of "predatory, unwarranted and naked aggression."

He claimed India was responsible for the sporadic flare-up of fighting on the sub-continent over the last few years including the 1962 Sino-Indian border war.

*Sept. 30, 1965.* "It is because the Kashmir dispute so clearly involves principles of the widest human scope that Governments and people everywhere have supported Pakistan in the crisis which we are facing today. I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of my country and people, from this forum to express our deep and heartfelt gratitude for the moral and material support extended to Pakistan by many countries of the world. I would like in particular to mention that in our hour of peril, we were not forsaken by our brothers and allies, Iran and Turkey; the great block of Arab countries stretching from the great ocean on Asia and Africa in the Atlantic Ocean, to whom Pakistan is linked, let me say not merely by ties of religion and a common culture but by a common adherence to the ideal of justice and peace: our great neighbour in the north, the People's Republic of China, who gave us full moral support and rising above ideological difference, upheld the cause of right-



cousness to condemn the war of aggression launched against us by India.

"To the Government and people of Indonesia, I would like to address a special word of thanks. This great nation of 100 million people is unrepresented in this great Assembly. From this forum, permit me on behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan, to pay my tribute to the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. The great people of Indonesia gave us unequivocal and unstinting support in our moment of need. The people of Pakistan shall not forget the many proofs of true friendship given by their Indonesian comrades. The bonds that bind our two people have been tempered by this crisis and have become stronger than steel. Our destinies are now forever linked.

"The attitude of these Governments is a proof that the old categories, the facile classification, of the cold war are now obsolete. Some of these Governments are aligned, some non-aligned: in both cases, they showed that to them the considerations of justice and fairness come before all other considerations.

"Since the whole world has been concerned with the failure, thus far, to resolve the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, I must refer at least to the three basic issues involved in it.

"The first and foremost is the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

"The second issue is the sanctity of international agreements, especially those brought about by the United Nations itself.

"The third is the effectiveness of the United Nations to secure pacific

settlement of international disputes.

"At the 773rd meeting of the Security Council, the Indian representative, Mr. Krishna Menon said: We have accepted the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan. We are party to them, whether we like them or not.

"I repeat the words, 'whether we like them or not.'

"India is a party to the UNCIP Resolutions whether India likes them or not. That it does not like them is no ground to consider them obsolete. It had been made clear by the United Nations Commission itself that the lack of co-operation from either side would be considered a technical or practical reason for not holding a plebiscite in Kashmir.

"Such lack of co-operation, the Commission held, would be a breach of commitment formally undertaken by the Governments of India and Pakistan.

"The agreement with regard to plebiscite binds not only India and Pakistan, it also binds the United Nations.

"To all those who put their faith in international peace-making, it should be a cause for concern that this dispute has remained unresolved not only because of the failure of the Security Council to overcome that intransigence. The history of the dispute is a history of opportunities neglected, of chances thrown away, of warnings disdained.

"Since 1949, Pakistan has repeatedly approached the Security Council. Every time we asked, not for a verdict in our favour or against India, but for the Council to spell out the obligations of the parties under the international agreement. Every time



we warned that the issue involved the questions of war or peace in the subcontinent. Every time we were ignored.

"Ever since it had become plain to the Commission that India was determined to block the demilitarisation of Kashmir and to prevent the plebiscite, there has been no lack of opportunity. When the Commission reported its failure the Security Council should have realised the futility of further negotiations and should have called upon the two parties to fulfil their obligations. It did not do so.

"When the Commission suggested that the difference between the two Governments with regard to their obligations for demilitarisation should be submitted to arbitration, President Truman of the United States and Prime Minister Attlee of the United Kingdom endorsed that suggestion and Pakistan accepted it. At that point too, the Security Council had an opportunity to support the appeals of the United States and the United Kingdom and to bring pressure to bear upon India to accept it. Again, this was not done.

"When Sir Owen Dixon, who replaced the United Nations Commission, reported that he could not make India agree to withdraw its troops from Kashmir and allow the people of the state freely to decide their future, it had become manifestly clear that India was no longer acting in good faith and mere persuasion was no longer enough. Again, the Council refused to grasp the mettle. Again, it put its faith in further mediatory efforts, this time by Dr. Frank P. Graham.

"When, after persevering efforts over a period of years, Dr. Graham

made a clear report in 1958 about Pakistan's acceptance of his proposals and India's rejection of them, again the Security Council did nothing. It will be interesting to these members of the Assembly who do not know it that, in the past seven years, the Security Council has not found time even to consider Dr. Graham's last report.

"At each stage, India went one step further in defiance of the international agreement. The Security Council, instead of discharging its duty under the Charter, continuously yielded to India's manoeuvres until India became convinced that it could defy the Council with impunity. By letting that situation arise, the Council abdicated its functions under the Charter. This had far-reaching effects. It jeopardised peace in our region. It gave rise to grave doubts whether the United Nations was capable of securing the implementation of an agreement which it had itself brought about. It brought the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations into disrepute.

"Having manoeuvred the Security Council into a position of helplessness, India openly repudiated its obligations under the UNCIP Resolutions. The Council merely watched a process of continuous attrition. Since 1962, it has found it difficult ever to pass a resolution asking for the parties to negotiate with due regard to their commitment. It was not a question of imposing a solution on one party to a dispute. It was a question of securing India's compliance with the agreement which it had freely and solemnly entered into. And thus the world witnessed the pitiful inadequacy of the principal organ of



the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

"It is a painful story, Mr. President, this story of the Security Council's inaction. The world knows how all avenues leading towards a peaceful settlement of the dispute—the recognised methods of negotiation, mediation and arbitration—were blocked by India. For no reason understandable in terms of the Charter, this inhibited the Council, instead of stimulating it into action. It is no secret that, in 1964, when there was a mass uprising in Kashmir, the Council met only reluctantly. A distinguished representative at that time said to us that we had brought 'a dead horse' to the Council. Another expressed the opinion that we were using the Council for internal propaganda.

"I put it to the members of the Assembly: Could any situation be more exasperating for a country which is a party to an international dispute? Here was a question in which not only Pakistan was deeply and vitally interested, here was a question which was also a matter of life and death for the five million people of Jammu and Kashmir, here was a question which involved the peace and stability of Asia. But the Council was content with meeting, hearing parties and adjourning *sine die*. Finally, India's attitude was made clear by her Home Minister, Mr. G. Nanda, on July 1, 1965, when he stated Kashmir is an integral part of India. It is a settled fact which cannot be the subject of debate or negotiations.

"Such a declaration foreclosed the specific settlement of the dispute. India brazenly sought to annex the State of Jammu and Kashmir in 1964.

Concurrently for the third time, Sh. Abdullah, the Lion of Kashmir, was thrown into prison in 1965 by the Indian Government.

"What was the result? The result was the tensions, which had been accumulating through the years, exploded and a situation arose precisely of the kind about which we had warned the Security Council and the world. The people of Jammu and Kashmir could no longer be content with a non-violent rebellion and were forced to take arms which eventually led to war between India and Pakistan, one of the gravest situations ever faced by the United Nations.

"In view of the background of this dispute, we are certain that both the United Nations and Pakistan (as a member of the United Nations, have arrived at the crossroads. For the United Nations, there are two paths open. One is to continue to condone further evasions to India, to succumb to the pressures of power politics, and to foreclose the chances of a just and enduring peace between India and Pakistan. The other is to take prompt measure to secure a just and honourable settlement of the Kashmir dispute and to save India and Pakistan from an other catastrophe.

"Need I say that the fear and misery in both countries, the grief and suffering endured, the blood that has been shed, all cry for an immediate settlement of the dispute on the only basis on which it can be finally settled—the basis of the will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

"It is upon the path chosen by the United Nations that Pakistan's course will itself depend. If the United Nations works for a settlement, not on our terms but in terms of the Charter, in



terms of the international agreement accepted by both parties, then Pakistan will not stint its co-operation in the slightest measure. If the expediencies of power politics rule the day, then Pakistan will be forced to conclude that the norms and purposes of the Charter and the actual practice of the political organs of the United Nations are no longer in harmony.

"The choice that will be forced upon us will be the choice between a principle and a pledge, on the one side, and the dictates of power, on the other. It will be painful but it will involve no dilemma. Pakistan will opt for the principles of the Charter rather than for the expediencies of this organisation. I have every confidence that when we say that we might have to withdraw from this organisation, our fellow member States will not consider this to be a threat or ultimatum from Pakistan.

"Pakistan will never presume to dictate to the Security Council. But our fellow members will appreciate that, when faced by a situation of the extreme nature which confronts Pakistan today, a country has to ask itself some fundamental questions. One of these questions is: What kind of peace is it that the United Nations assures for its members. . . ?

"Today I make the following proposal: Let both countries withdraw their forces from the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Let the United Nation send a force consisting of contingents from African, Asian and Latin American countries, which have no interest in the outcome of the plebiscite in Kashmir and which are not involved in the exigencies of international power politics.

"India has given the stock answer

that she will not accept 'foreign' troops on Indian soil. The State of Jammu and Kashmir is not a part of India. That is precisely the point at issue. But what passes comprehension is that India, which has sent its own troops to serve in United Nations forces in other countries, which has deputed one of its Generals as the Chief Military Adviser to the Secretary-General for many long years, which has pretensions to the leadership of the Afro-Asian community and seeks hegemony over the Indian Ocean region, should consider that the stationing of a United Nations force in Kashmir, composed of African, Asian, and Latin American contingents, would constitute a 'foreign' intrusion and an affront to the honour of India.

"If we had made the demand that Kashmir be given to us, the United Nations would have every right to look askance at our suggestion. We are asking that a plebiscite—the most orderly peaceful and equitable method for the solution of the problem—be held within a reasonable period. Those who read 'Kashmir' for 'plebiscite' and consider our demand unreasonable, admit in effect and if Kashmir is given the chance to decide its fate, it will opt for Pakistan. Thus they admit that, if Pakistan is being robbed of Kashmir, the people of Kashmir have been robbed of their fundamental right.

"Mr. President, this is the reality of the Kashmir dispute. This is the primary fact of the present situation between India and Pakistan. For eighteen years, this dispute has been before the United Nations. For eighteen years it has been the victim of apathy and inertia or, at least, been considered fit for half-hearted action. At times



it has been caught in the coils of the cold war. But the human core of the dispute might have been obscured from other eyes: it could not be eclipsed in Pakistan's eyes.

The suffering of the people of Kashmir, their being sundered from their brethren in Pakistan, their families divided, their hopes deferred, their voice unheard—these could not but be a constant pressure on the feelings of Pakistan. When Pakistan, a country much smaller than India, was invaded by India, the sufferings of both Pakistan and Kashmir were fused and formed a single resolve to fight against India's aggression.

The passions may be forgotten in the calculations of power politics but history deals far more justly with them. When we say that we are giving the United Nations a last chance to settle the Kashmir dispute, we are saying that we are determined not to let a righteous cause be ignored. It is not the will of Providence that the victims of injustice and aggression should have no higher court of appeal.

*Oct. 5.* The Foreign Minister, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, declared in Rawalpindi that Indian violation of cease-fire was an intolerable situation and could not be permitted to continue.

By such violations India wanted to gain what she could not get on the battlefield. He warned, "If India continues in this and violates the agreements in broad daylight, then she will be responsible for her delinquency."

Pakistan, he stated, accepted the September 20 resolution of the Security Council, even though she was not

satisfied fully, in the interest of international peace. But if the resolution were to be effective it must be implemented in full. For that matter, military disengagement must take place side by side with the political settlement and Kashmir issue must be resolved on the basis of the wishes of the people. He said, the implementation of the resolution needed good faith and unreserved co-operation of both the parties.

Here cease-fire and withdrawal of forces leading to the military disengagement would not be enough. As the situation stood the U.N. observers would not be able to do this job effectively because they were competent only to report the violations of the cease fire.

Therefore, if the action was mooted under paragraph 4 of the resolution it would increase the effectiveness of the resolution and make its implementation easier.

The Foreign Minister indicated that the Secretary-General of the United Nations was already moving under paragraph 4 of the resolution and there was a proposal to form a four-Power committee to further the objective outlined in the paragraph. He thought this four-Power committee could send its representatives while it worked to thrash out a solution of the dispute to secure a military disengagement.

He ridiculed the idea of economic sanctions stipulated in the original draft of the Security Council resolution and said that the idea was ironical and tragic.

For 18 years India had violated the Council decisions but nobody thought of sanctions. France opposed it and got it deleted.



In actual fact, sanctions were imposed against Pakistan when America stopped her military aid to Pakistan. This stoppage of supplies hurt us badly and we had been penalised wrongly.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 5.* Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, assailed the present leadership of India and described them as incompetent, feeble and myopic.

He said that the Indian leadership had heaped one provocation after the other on Pakistan and had jumped from one tension to the other. It had embarked on the course of genocide of Muslims in Kashmir and was violating all agreements and understandings between Pakistan and India, he added.

He also laid bare the inconsistencies involved in the current Indian policy of threatening the big Powers, especially the United Kingdom, whom she was threatening with a withdrawal from the Commonwealth and also accused her of partiality towards Pakistan in the recent conflict. India, he said, was utterly dependent on the world Powers and hoped that they would see through the Indian game and not let her make a success of her isolation.

The Minister said that India is a tottering polity. She was going round the world with begging bowl for food, he added. That leaderless country could not stay even a day without the doles from the big Powers. Therefore, all that threat of isolation was a game of makebelieve, he said.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 5.* The Foreign Minister, who was addressing a Press

conference here this evening said, "We will vindicate our pledge to the people of Jammu and Kashmir."

He said that they would not surrender. "First round, second round, third round, we shall go on round after round, if necessary, we will go on resolutely because we are bound to succeed in the end as we are fighting for peace, justice and morality," he declared.

He said, "We will not fail. We are Muslims, we are fighters, we are Muslim because we are fighters and we are fighters because we are Muslims."

He asked, "what we are fighting for? We are fighting for truth, peace, justice, honour, selfrespect, sovereignty and for the weak and meek, we are fighting for the principle of self-determination."

*Paris, Oct. 8.* Pakistan Foreign Minister reiterated his Government's intention of quitting the United Nations if the Kashmir issue was not solved by the international body.

He told reporters: "China and India have their own dispute. It is not for us to interfere in their dispute."

"I do not think the Chinese have interfered in ours. We are both victims of Indian chauvinism and aggrandizement."

Asked about the effectiveness of the Indo-Pakistan cease-fire, Mr. Bhutto said, "India is violating the cease-fire. This has been confirmed by United Nations observers. There will be public documents in the U.N. Assembly showing that India violated the cease-fire."

*Paris, Oct. 9.* Speaking at a Press conference Mr. Bhutto said: "There is no substitute to honour, dignity



and sovereignty. We cannot abandon the people of Jammu and Kashmir."

Mr. Bhutto said that the U. N. Resolution of September 29 called for efforts towards a permanent settlement "tackling the root cause of the dispute between India and Pakistan, that is the future of Jammu and Kashmir."

He recalled also that India had pledged to the whole world in 1948-49 that the people of Jammu and Kashmir could exercise their right of self-determination.

"One cannot go back on this pledge. Self-determination brought liberty and freedom to the whole world. Why should Kashmir be exempted. . . . If the people of Jammu and Kashmir choose freely to stay with India, our quarrel ends. We would wish them well. Our whole interest is in the people of Jammu and Kashmir," Mr. Bhutto said.

The Security Council, Mr. Bhutto said, pledged for the second time to solve the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.

"The Security Council is not so powerless that it cannot implement its own pledges. For the second time we put all our faith in the Security Council and the U. N. We hope this time they will have the power to implement their own resolutions."

*New York, Oct. 11.* Mr. Bhutto charged here last night that India was committing genocide against the people of Kashmir. This was a matter of the gravest concern not only to Pakistan but to the entire world.

Mr. Bhutto made it perfectly clear that a solution of the Kashmir dispute would have to take into account the

wishes of the people of the State. The Security Council was having private consultations and he could not say when it might meet again but he declared that the 100 million people of Pakistan were determined that Kashmir's future would be decided in fairness and justice.

Pakistan's charges of Indian genocide against Kashmiris were further strengthened this morning by American Press reports from Delhi. These reports state that five Kashmiri leaders have been arrested after students' protest demonstrations. It appears that the situation in the Indian-occupied Kashmir is grave and Indian tyranny threatens the whole Kashmiri population.

*New York, Oct. 15.* Mr. Z. A. Bhutto declared in the General Assembly that the Kashmiri freedom-fighters' struggle and the blood that the young girl students and boys were shedding in Srinagar would not be in vain. It was his conviction that the cause of the people of Kashmir was bound to triumph.

"We shall never tire, never rest and we shall continue dauntlessly and unrelentlessly to fight for the rights of the Kashmiri people irrespective of the consequences," he renewed the pledge first given 18 years ago.

Men have fought for their honour and freedom and nations, even small nations, have stood up for justice, Mr. Bhutto continued.

"Ours is a just cause, a righteous cause," he declared adding that it was the responsibility of the international community to see that the issue was resolved fairly.

It was preposterous for anyone to suggest that Pakistan, one-fifth the



size of India, could ever be guilty of aggression. The conflict had arisen because of Pakistan's merciless neighbour whose policy was based on aggression, Mr. Bhutto maintained.

Challenging Indian efforts to exploit Shaikh Abdullah's earlier statements in support of Kashmir's association with Delhi, Mr. Bhutto said that the Lion of Kashmir and the hero of Kashmir's freedom struggle was now once again detained in India without a trial. He asked the Indians to release Shaikh Abdullah and let the world find out what the Kashmir leader's views were about the future of the disputed State.

The Indians were in the habit of accusing Pakistan of communalism but the Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir was not communal. The dispute concerned principles and pledges, to solemn international agreements which India was now endeavouring to dishonour.

*New York, Oct. 19.* In a wide-ranging discussion of the Indo-Pakistan conflict over Kashmir, Mr. Bhutto has drawn Mr. Gromyko's attention to the recent Security Council resolution calling for action on the "underlying political problem" of Kashmir. One of the steps contemplated was the despatch of a commission, comprising the four permanent members of the Security Council, to the sub-continent.

In the past week well-informed Security Council sources have disclosed Russia's unwillingness to go along with the proposal for a four-Power commission. Similarly, the United States too was reluctant to back it, with the result that the Security Council had bogged down

completely.

Pakistan is anxious to see a United Nations team or some high-ranking official to go out to the sub-continent for two reasons. First, Pakistan wants the Council to start honouring its commitment about the settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Secondly, it is particularly anxious about the new wave of Indian repression in Occupied Kashmir because it fears that New Delhi has started a genocide against the Kashmiri people.

*New York, Oct. 29.* In a letter to the Security Council President Mr. Bhutto deplored Indian Foreign Minister Swaran Singh's efforts to "inhibit further discussion of the Jammu and Kashmir situation in the Council, and to permit India to carry on with impunity the campaign of oppression, terror and vindictiveness upon the helpless and unarmed majority in Occupied Jammu and Kashmir."

It was too late in the day for India to assert that developments in Jammu and Kashmir were a matter "within the domestic jurisdiction of the Indian Government," Mr. Bhutto said. The Security Council had never accepted this Indian contention, and it was deplorable that on such a specious and unfounded plea the Indian delegation chose to stage a walkout from the Security Council when, at the Council's invitation, "I was presenting to them certain facts regarding the situation prevailing in Jammu and Kashmir."

Drawing attention to India's many subterfuges and stratagems in the past, Mr. Bhutto maintained that she was now resorting to methods "as devoid of integrity as they are



lacking in dignity, to prevent the Security Council from discussing the situation in the Occupied territory and thereby discharging its primary duty for the maintenance of peace and security," and the settlement of disputes. This had given a final demonstration of India's intransigence and refusal "to practise the precepts which she had preached to others in the past," he declared.

Mr. Swaran Singh's assertion that he was participating in the discussion last Monday "on the distinct understanding" that the Council would not consider the situation in Kashmir was challenged by Mr. Bhutto as "contrary to the Security Council's provisional rules of procedure." In support, he cited statements by the delegates of France, Jordan and the Ivory Coast in the Council. "It was deplorable that having failed in his attempt to prevent the Council from proceeding with the consideration of the matter on its agenda, Mr. Swaran Singh was now seeking to embarrass the Council by referring to some alleged understanding given to him outside the Council hall," Mr. Bhutto declared.

*United Nations (New York), Nov. 1.*

"I have the honour, with reference to the letter addressed to you on October 26, 1965, by the Minister for External Affairs for India (document D/6833), to state the following:

"2. I refrained from taking part in the discussion over procedure provoked by the Indian delegation at the meeting of the Security Council held on Monday, October 26, and

which, unfortunately, took up a good part of the Council's valuable time that day. It was, I think, the distinguished representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who described the situation as being of an 'excessive character' in which, and I again quote him, 'the substance of the question is being replaced by polemical discussion over procedures and formalities' (document S/PV. 1247, page 71).

"3. In his statement in the Council at the meeting, the distinguished Foreign Minister of India asserted that the Indian delegation was participating in the decision 'on the distinct understanding' that the only two issues that were being discussed at the moment were (I) the stabilisation of the cease-fire, and (II) what further steps, if any, needed to be taken for the withdrawal of armed personnel. The permanent Representative of India in his letter of October 24, 1965 (document D/6823), had threatened that India would stay away from the Council if the situation in Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir were to be discussed. In his letter of October 26, 1965, the distinguished Foreign Minister of India had recalled this letter and once again suggested that India's participation in the Council's meeting of that day was conditional upon acceptance of India's interpretation of what was on the agenda of the Council.

"4. These assertions raise two important issues, the first of these is that the implication that a party to a dispute is entitled to demand and receive certain assurances in return for its willingness to participate in the



Council from proceeding with the consideration of the matter on its agenda, the distinguished Foreign Minister of India is now seeking to embarrass the Council by referring to some alleged 'understanding' given to him outside the Council hall.

"6. The letter of the distinguished Foreign Minister of India also contains the assertion that developments in the State of Jammu and Kashmir are a matter lying within the domestic jurisdiction of the Indian Government. There is no basis for his claim. Jammu and Kashmir is disputed territory and not a constituent part of India. According to the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan's resolution of 5 January 1949, which was accepted by both India and Pakistan, the question of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or to Pakistan has to be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite. India has so far prevented the holding of the plebiscite, but this does not alter the disputed status of the territory. Moreover, ever since this dispute came to the Council in January 1948, the Council has felt free to deal with all developments relating to Jammu and Kashmir. The Security Council has at no time accepted the Indian contention that the disputed State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and that the only function of the Council is to secure India in its possession.

The dispute over Jammu and Kashmir has been before the Security Council for 18 years. The records of the debates held here and the texts of the resolutions adopted by the

Council have not been expunged. It is too late in the day for the distinguished Minister for External Affairs of the Government of India to assert that what happens in Jammu and Kashmir is a matter lying within the domestic jurisdiction of India. It is, indeed, deplorable that on this specious and unfounded plea the Indian delegation chose to stage a dramatic walkout from the Security Council at a time when, at the invitation of the Council, I was presenting to it certain facts regarding the situation prevailing in Jammu and Kashmir.

"7. India has employed many subterfuges and stratagems in the past to prevent a settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.

"She is resorting to methods, as devoid of integrity as they are lacking in dignity, to prevent the Security Council from discussing the situation in the occupied territory and thereby discharging its primary duty for the maintenance of peace and security among nations and the settlement of disputes between them. The walkout staged by India was intended, no doubt, to inhibit further discussion of the Jammu and Kashmir situation in the Council and to permit India to carry on, with impunity, the campaign of oppression, terror and vindictiveness upon the helpless and unarmed majority in Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. It has served only to give a final demonstration of the Indian Government's intransigence and its refusal to practise the precepts which she has preached to others in the past. The Security Council is not unfamiliar with such tactics. I can do no better, Your Excellency, than to quote in this connexion what the distinguished



representative of the Ivory Coast stated at the meeting of the Council on Monday, October 27: 'It is not the first time that such a situation has arisen in the Security Council. We shall undoubtedly find that, as has been the case in the past, South Africa certainly will not be present at the Council table for the discussion of the problem of apartheid, although I shall prefer it to be here; but its past absence has not in any way prevented the Council from taking certain appropriate decisions. That is why I think that in the present case the Council can usefully continue its deliberations and take decisions capable of being implemented' (Document S/PV. 1248, para 6).

"8. I shall be grateful if this letter is circulated as a Security Council document."

"Please accept, etc.

(Signed) Zulfikar Ali Bhutto,  
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan."

*New York, Nov. 6.* Pakistan would never abandon the people of Jammu and Kashmir no matter what sacrifices she might have to make. It was a question of principle and Pakistan would honour its pledges to the Kashmiri people, Mr. Bhutto declared.

The problem of Kashmir did not involve a territorial dispute but it was a question of the right of self-determination. "You can demarcate a territory but you cannot lacerate a heart."

The latest Indian argument that Delhi could not discuss and settle its problems with the present Pakistan Government was just another propaganda stunt. Eversince the Ayub

Government assumed leadership of the country Pakistan had taken several initiatives and settled many problems with India, including the canal waters dispute, he pointed out.

Dealing with Mr. Swaran Singh's assertion in a Press conference earlier that there was no Kashmir dispute, Mr. Bhutto maintained that by her genocide and repression in Kashmir India recognised the existence of the dispute. This genocide, which had now reached its peak, proved that the Kashmiri people were not reconciled to Indian occupation and wanted to free themselves.

Asked if Pakistan would withdraw "all armed personnel" from Indian-occupied Kashmir, Mr. Bhutto replied that if there were any freedom-fighters in the territory they were not under Pakistan's control or direction. People on both sides of the cease-fire line were Kashmiris and if they took up arms the Indians must search their own souls.

The Indians see "infiltrators" behind every bush because they have been brutally repressing the people.

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 11.* Mr. Bhutto said that although the recent resolution was merely a reaffirmation of the earlier resolution of September 20, Pakistan was satisfied with its adoption, as the Security Council had reiterated all the parts of the previous resolution despite India's bitter opposition.

The recent resolution of the Security Council was not "the end of the road. It is just the beginning of it." Pakistan would have to strive hard to achieve its cherished goal, of securing an honourable settlement of the Kashmir dispute.



He, however, pointed out that considering the powers and limitations of the Security Council, Pakistan could take the recent resolution as being satisfactory, as it had been adopted at a time when fighting was not going on between the parties, Pakistan and India.

Mr. Bhutto said that India's walk-out from the proceedings of the Security Council or her not accepting the resolution did not affect materially, as the resolution of the Security Council was binding on all members of the Security Council and the parties concerned.

The resolution, "legally and politically," was binding on India, and she could not challenge its validity or strength. India could at the most flout it as she had been doing in the past.

But, she had no power to "impose a super veto" to a decision of the Security Council.

India, Mr. Bhutto said, walked out of the Security Council only because her delegation did not have the courage to face the charges of genocide of the Kashmiri Muslims in Occupied Kashmir.

He said that the resolution that was adopted by the Security Council on September 20 was a "key resolution," as it had three important elements in it—the cease-fire, the withdrawal of troops and solution of the cause of the conflict.

In this resolution, the Security Council, for the first time during hostilities between Pakistan and India, made solemn commitment that it would assist the parties in finding a resolution of the Kashmir dispute. So did the Big Powers in the Security Council.

The resolution of September 27 was also a reiteration of the earlier resolution, as at that time the main anxiety of the Security Council was the cessation of hostilities between the two countries.

Mr. Bhutto said that when he went back to the Security Council this time, the situation had changed. The cease-fire had taken place although it was an "uncertain cease-fire," but it was argued that as the border between the two countries stretches over 1,500 miles a perfect cease-fire was not possible.

It was, therefore, argued that the withdrawal of troops was equally important to bring about an effective cease-fire between the two countries.

The common thinking in the Security Council was that it was not necessary to have another resolution, as the earlier resolution of September 20 had everything in it.

Mr. Bhutto said, Pakistan's argument, on the other hand, was that in case the Security Council did not do anything to solve the cause of the conflict between the two countries, it might lead to war again, as it had happened on two occasions in the past.

India had been violating the cease-fire, and if Pakistan retaliated the situation might flare up again.

Another Pakistani argument in support of calling another meeting of the Security Council was that during the intervening time, no effort was made to resolve the tangle.

He said that the Indian delegation opposed bitterly the holding of another meeting of the Security Council, and in her stand India was supported by some "powerful elements" in the Security Council.



Mr. Bhutto said that in the changed circumstances, another meeting of the Security Council was important from Pakistan's point of view.

Despite Indian opposition and other odds, the Security Council decided to convene a meeting at the request of Pakistan, much to the dismay and annoyance of India.

Mr. Bhutto said that Pakistan was satisfied with the recent resolution on the following grounds.

One: The Security Council did meet despite India's opposition.

Two: The threats of blackmail by India and her subsequent walkout from the Security Council could not deter the Council from proceeding further.

Three: The Security Council reaffirmed the resolution of September 20 in all its parts including its preamble.

Four: The reiteration of the September 20 resolution was made at a time when hostilities had stopped, and the cease-fire had taken place six weeks earlier.

Five: The recent resolution was a reaffirmation by all members of the Security Council, despite two abstentions.

Mr. Bhutto, at this stage, explained the attitude of the two countries that abstained from voting, i.e. the Soviet Union and Jordan.

Mr. Bhutto said that the Soviet delegation had made it very clear that her abstention was only on account of the constitutional position of the Secretary-General. The Soviet delegation otherwise had no objection to the substance of the resolution. The Jordanian delegation abstained from voting as it took a right position,

from Pakistan's point of view. This country had made a very genuine contribution to the discussion on the Kashmir issue, and demanded emphatically that the Security Council should make positive efforts to solve the cause of the conflict.

It could, therefore, be safely said that the resolution of the Security Council was unanimously adopted.

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 12.*

*Question.* How do you describe the latest U.N. Council resolution?

*Answer.* The resolution reaffirms earlier resolutions.

*Question.* What more do you have from the Council?

*Answer:* We are not satisfied with the resolution in dispute. We were not satisfied with the Sept. 20 resolution either.

The Nov. resolution satisfies Pakistan because of the adverse circumstances in which it was carried, and unanimously, in spite of Indian opposition, and reaffirming Paragraph 4 of the Sept. 20 resolution calling for steps to find a solution of the political problem.

*Question:* Sir, are the Great Powers which are now supporting India the same which had given assurance to Pakistan over steps towards the solution of the Kashmir problem?

*Answer:* I did not say "Powers," I said "great forces" were supporting India.

*Question:* Has India accepted Gen. Sarmiento for negotiating the withdrawal of forces?

*Answer:* They (the Indians) haven't yet sent a reply. The question of acceptance does not arise, as the appointment was to be made by the



Secretary-General only after "consultations" with the two parties. So, if India refuses, the Secretary-General will go ahead with the task.

*Question*: Is there any fresh move from the Secretary-General.

*Answer*: He is seized with the problem. He has three weeks from November 4 to report on the progress.

*Question*: Has Pakistan submitted her withdrawal plan?

*Answer*: No.

*Question*: India has "rejected" the relevant portion of the resolution. How would it affect a solution?

*Answer*: Only four countries can reject a resolution (that is, veto it). It was not for the party concerned to reject Security Council decisions. They are, in fact, binding on them once they are passed. But India can flout the U.N. decisions as she has been flouting them.

*Question*: Are you still hopeful of a solution from the United Nations?

*Answer*: The limitations of the United Nations are well known to us. It has been indolent and lethargic in the past. But, there was prevalent now a mood of September 20.

*Question*: It has been said by the Indian Foreign Minister that the solution of the Kashmir problem only meant withdrawal of Pakistan from Azad Kashmir.

*Answer*: Let them try.

*Ayub Hall, Nov. 17.* Foreign Minister, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto today gave the following chronology of aggression by India against her neighbours, right from the day of her independence:

*August-September, 1947.* Jammu and Kashmir.

*October 23, 1947.* Junagadh, Madhavdar and Mangrol—the States which had acceded to Pakistan. India refused to recognise the fact of accession. After usurpation of these States Sardar Patel, the Indian Home Minister, boasted. "I declare we have conquered these States which belong to India."

*September 12, 1949.* "Police action" in Hyderabad.

*September 17-18, 1961.* Invasion of Goa. Before invading Goa, the Indian Premier, Mr. Nehru, had assured the United States that "peace is a passion with India and it abhors use of war and violence." Shortly afterwards the Indian army marched into Goa. Mr. Nehru then described the invasion as an "efficiency of Indian defence services and the co-ordinating skill of the Indian army." Mr. Bhutto made it clear that he was not condoning imperialism but pointing to Indian methods of resorting to force for settling issues.

*October 13, 1962.* Indian Premier ordered the Indian army to throw the Chinese out of Indian territory.

*September 6, 1965.* Aggression on Pakistan.

These are the specific, categorical and undeniable instances of Indian aggression and a record of that "peace-loving country," Mr. Bhutto said.



*Rawalpindi, Nov. 20, 1965.* Addressing the National Assembly, Mr. Bhutto said, such a "difficult and Himalayan task", could not have been achieved without the active support and co-operation of the Opposition parties in the country. The whole nation stood united like one man in the hour of trial to repel Indian aggression.

Mr. Bhutto said the crisis has taught us many lessons. People discovered many a facets of their characteristics which were hitherto not known. The distance between East and West Pakistan in no way could stand in the way of solidarity and unity of the people of both wings of the country.

The two wings, he said, became two mighty and dynamic pillars of Islam in the crisis.

Mr. Bhutto praised the gallantry and valour of the Armed Forces and the high morale of the people of Lahore and Sialkot who had to face the main brunt of the Indian aggression.

The Pathans, the Baluchis, the Sindhis and Bengalis, every one of them, played their role remarkably well during the war. Punjab, the sword-arm of the country proved its traditions. The people of Lahore and Sialkot proved that they were the most honourable and heroic people and the country should be rightly proud of them.

Paying rich tributes to the Armed Forces of the country, Mr. Bhutto said they had given ample proof of the fact that they were amongst the finest fighting material in the world.

They did not only save the heart and nerve-centre of Pakistan (the city of Lahore) but also kept at bay the invading Indian Army which had launched a massive offensive against the sacred soil of Pakistan.

The nerve centre of a country, Mr. Bhutto said, was most important in many ways. He cited the instances of Napoleon and Hitler, who, although they penetrated right into Russian territory, could not capture Moscow and, therefore, could not defeat Russia. Similarly, the Indian army could not achieve its heinous objective of capturing Lahore.

For Pakistan, he said, it was a people's war. The Indians knew it well that they would have to fight every man, woman and child in the streets of Lahore, Sialkot, Dacca, Chittagong and Hyderabad. Defeating a country like Pakistan is impossible. Indian rulers failed in their sinister designs to defeat Pakistan just as they had failed to prevent the creation of Pakistan in spite of all their opposition.

Mr. Bhutto then dwelt at length on the support Pakistan got from other countries of the world on her stand against India and said that contrary to it India stood alone and isolated. This was clear by the admission of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Shastri, himself.

Mr. Bhutto then informed the House about the support given by other countries like Ceylon, Jordan, the Philippines, North Viet-Nam and the people of Afghanistan.

In every home of Afghanistan, he said, prayers were offered for the success of Pakistan during the time of India's attack.

Mr. Bhutto was heavily cheered



when he said that the whole of the Arab world, for the first time, supported Pakistan. The Casablanca Resolution created large-scale frustration in India, and all the usual Indian tactics of blackmail failed to deter the Arab countries to support the right of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

Mr. Bhutto paid homage to the Arab countries for this courageous and outright support of Pakistan's cause and said that Pakistan attached the greatest importance to this support, coming as it did, from the Muslim countries.

Giving further details of the support Pakistan got from various countries, Mr. Bhutto said that more than half of humanity supported Pakistan on her stand on Kashmir as they were convinced that it was a just cause.

He made particular reference to the support given by the African and South American countries and said it was most heartening that, although Pakistan did not have diplomatic missions in most of these countries, they supported Pakistan. They did not yield to Indian influence although India had her missions in almost all of these countries.

Mr. Bhutto said that even the East European countries, with whom Pakistan had no contact, had started to appreciate Pakistan's stand. In this connection, he said, he had very useful talks with the Foreign Minister of Rumania in New York and said that he would visit that country on his return from Soviet Union.

Among Western European countries, Mr. Bhutto said, West Germany and France had supported Pakistan. France, which was a great power of

Europe, played a very useful and constructive role in the Security Council during discussions on Kashmir. This country took a positive and courageous stand in the Security Council.

Mr. Bhutto said that France, the "mother of all revolutions," occupied a unique position in the heart of Europe and had developed special relations with African and Asian countries. France was supporting the entry of China in the U.N. and shared the view that no dispute in Asia could be solved without the help of China.

Mr. Bhutto referred to the statement made at a Press conference by Mrs. Pandit after meeting Gen. De Gaulle, expressing dissatisfaction at the outcome of the meeting. How could India expect support from other countries on the repudiation of her international commitments?—Mr. Bhutto asked. The mere assertion by Indian leaders that Kashmir was an integral part of India could not convince anybody.

About U.K. Mr. Bhutto said that this country maintained its "traditional position." The Prime Minister of Great Britain condemned the Indian aggression on Pakistan which caused great indignation to India.

India reacted very bitterly to the just stand taken by the U.K. and threatened to quit the Commonwealth. India, he said, was in the Commonwealth not out of any love for this body but only because of Pakistan. India would remain in the Commonwealth as long as Pakistan was in it.

Mr. Bhutto made a pointed reference to the statement of the Indian Prime Minister, in which the latter had said that if the big Powers tried to bring about a settlement of the Kashmir dispute, India would have



nothing to do with them. It did not behove India, which was solely dependent on the U.S. for her food requirements, he added, to make such tall claims. She was getting nine million tons of foodgrains every year from the U.S. which came to 20,000 tons of foodgrains a day.

Mr. Bhutto said what was unfair, or immoral, on the part of the U.S. if that country tried to bring about a peaceful settlement of Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India to save the 500 million people of this sub-continent from hunger and misery.

Mr. Bhutto then referred to Pakistan-United States relations and said that Pakistan had done no wrong to the United States. There was talk of mutual grievances and in this connection he said a tabulation of them would be revealing even if American grievances against Pakistan were listed by a scholar and Pakistan's grievances against the United States by a child.

Mr. Bhutto said that during the last three years he had to bear all the stresses and strains to which relations between the two countries had been subjected. This was largely the result of the changes in America's global policies.

He declared amidst cheers that Pakistan would continue to pursue a foreign policy which was in the best interest of 100 million people of this country.

He said the responsibility of straining the friendly relations between the two countries was that of the United States which started supplying arms to India despite repeated Pakistani protests. This arms aid ultimately enabled India to invade Pakistan.

Mr. Bhutto then informed the House about the improvement of relations between Pakistan and the Soviet Union and said that nothing in this direction was done up to 1958. The first technical aid agreement with the Soviet Union was signed in 1961.

Mr. Bhutto then turned to the Indian attack on the sacred soil of Pakistan and said that India can never destroy Pakistan even if she got arms from the whole of the world.

Mr. Bhutto was profusely cheered when he declared that Pakistan would live on grass but would produce an atom bomb if India decided to manufacture one.

Mr. Bhutto said that the Soviet Union offered her good offices to help solve the Kashmir dispute and Pakistan had accepted the offer. It was a positive and constructive gesture on the part of the Soviet Union which had supported the resolution of Sept. 20 in the Security Council.

Replying to criticism on the severing of diplomatic relations with Malaysia, Mr. Bhutto said, the representative of Malaysia had challenged the very existence of Pakistan in the U.N.

The Foreign Minister then explained the significance of the September and November resolutions of the Security Council and maintained his position that the resolutions were satisfactory.

He, however, added that the Government was not fully satisfied with the situation and had made this position clear in the U. N.

He then read extracts from his speech in the Security Council, in which he had stated that Pakistan would reappraise her position *vis-a-vis* the U. N. if the world body failed to



move in the matter of solving the Kashmir dispute.

The September resolution, he said, was passed when the war was still being fought and bloodshed was going on. At the time the Security Council urgently wanted cessation of hostilities. Therefore, the resolution was passed. The November resolution, however, was passed when the cease-fire had been achieved and the Security Council had discussed the question of genocide in the Held State of Jammu and Kashmir. The session had been convened despite the opposition of India and certain other countries. India had boycotted the session, yet the resolution was passed.

The Minister then quoted the Charter of the United Nations and its provisions and said that the world body stood for the principle of right of self-determination and also honourable peace between nations. He also quoted some speeches made at the time the U. N. was being founded in San Francisco.

He contended, if any country wanted a dishonourable peace the door of surrender was always open. But Pakistan would never surrender her position with regard to Kashmir. Pakistan, he said, was held in bondage in Kashmir and that position had to be rectified whatever the consequences and the price.

He said that the U. N. must exert to get her decisions implemented. She could not be so strong as to effect a cease-fire and yet be so weak as unable to implement her decisions. The U. N. had let down Pakistan

once. If that happened again, the people of Pakistan would have the right to reappraise the situation *vis-a-vis* the world organisation, he said.

He demanded that the notorious monstrous States including India who flouted the decisions of the world body as also violated international morality and principles of international law, should be expelled from the U.N.

Mr. Bhutto said that confrontation with India till the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir was settled could continue. So long as Kashmir was held in bondage there could not be peace, tranquillity or progress in the sub-continent. The people of Pakistan would not consider their material progress as any gain unless Kashmir was freed from the yoke of the Indian imperialism.

He declared that Pakistan could never abandon the people of Kashmir irrespective of the consequences and the sacrifices they would have to make. Kashmir was an issue of honour with Pakistan.

Concluding, he said that Pakistan stood for peace. Pakistan urgently needed and wanted peace in order to ameliorate the lot of the people of the country. The problems of illiteracy, poverty and want had to be tackled. But that peace could not be had at the price of Kashmir.

*Moscow, Nov. 26.* Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared that "we shall never abandon the cause of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. It would be a great affront to our sovereignty."



**BRAVO! THE PEOPLE OF PAKISTAN**

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No armed force, however well-equipped, can successfully carry on a war until it is satisfied that its countrymen would stand straight in the face of heavy odds and spare no sacrifice, howsoever great, when called up to protect their sovereignty.

Now, it can be said without any fear of contradiction that the Pakistanis stand unique among all nations on account of the courage they showed during war with India, the steadfastness they displayed when the odds were very heavy, the valorous spirit they projected in the face of war destructions, and the courageous smile with which they welcomed the toll of death.

Pakistan is rightly proud of her people's resolution, spirit, determination, courage and fortitude.



*Bahawalpur, Sept. 2.* Twelve prominent political leaders of Bahawalpur Division have welcomed President Ayub's declaration that the nation was prepared to meet every challenge of India and his stand *vis-a-vis* Kashmir.

In a press statement issued last night they said that the people were solidly united on the Kashmir issue and supported President Ayub in whatever action he would take in regard to the defence of the country and in the Kashmir issue.

The District Bar Association, Montgomery, in its emergent meeting held yesterday expressed its grave concern over the atrocities being perpetrated on the Muslims of Occupied Kashmir by India.

The meeting condemned the wanton attack by the Indian Army on the peaceful citizens of Pakistani villages.

The Bar called upon the Government of Pakistan to take necessary retaliatory measures to check recurrence of such brutal acts of the Indian army.

The Bar further resolved to lend its wholehearted support to the Government of Pakistan in its effort to get the aggression vacated.

The Rotary Club of Montgomery at its weekly meeting held yesterday decided to donate Rs. 1,000 towards the Kashmir fund.

The Club meeting appreciated the efforts by the present regime towards the liberation of the State and assured their wholehearted support to Presi-

dent Ayub in his efforts in this regard.

A meeting of the B.D. members of the Abbottabad Tehsil passed a resolution calling upon the Pakistan Government to declare Jihad against the aggression of the Indian Government in Occupied Kashmir.

The meeting also decided to form Civil Defence committees in various wards of the Tehsil.

A Kashmir Committee was yesterday formed in Larkana at a representative meeting of traders, political and social workers to arrange material and monetary support for the Kashmiri freedom-fighters.

The District Council, Karachi, yesterday wholeheartedly supported the Kashmiri freedom-fighters against the oppressive Indian rule and warned India that the Pakistanis would not be silent spectators if she did not stop her repressive policy in Occupied Kashmir.

The meeting also supported President Ayub's policy on Kashmir.

On freezing of the U.S. aid to Pakistan, the Council assured the President of every sacrifice for the security and sovereignty of Pakistan.

An extraordinary meeting of Jamait-ul-Hadees held here yesterday assured its wholehearted support to Kashmiri Mujahidin.

The tribesmen of Karachi have urged the Government to allow them to participate in the freedom struggle being fought against Indian imperialism in the valley of Kashmir.

Mr. Hamza, MPA, has emphasised



that the whole nation was wholeheartedly supporting the cause of Kashmiri freedom-fighters and was ready to join the war of liberation at any cost.

He said in a Press statement that America and Britain were creating hindrances in the settlement of the Kashmir dispute and the UNO was incapable of ensuring the implementation of the basic principles of freedom and peace contained in the Charter.

An all-party public meeting held here on Tuesday night urged the Pakistan Government to renounce its obligations with regard to the Cease-fire Line in Kashmir because India did not abide by her promise to give the Kashmiris their right of self-determination.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Peshawar branch of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference.

The resolution said that the people of the country were very much anxious to join their held Kashmir brethren and in view of the present grave situation the Government should not come in their way.

Another resolution appreciated the declaration of President Ayub assuring full co-operation and assistance to the people of Occupied Kashmir in achieving their freedom.

The resolution also appealed to the U.N. Secretary-General, U Thant, to get Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and his compatriots released and exert full pressure on India to give the Kashmiris their right of self-determination.

Shelling of Awan Sharif by the Indian army is a clear manifestation of the "defeatist mentality" of the Shasri Government. This has fully exposed India of her aggressive designs which has been emboldened by the

massive military aid by the American Government, declared Mian Saifullah Khan, MPA, in a Press statement issued here.

A tribal leader of Kalat, Mir Yusuf Ali Khan, MPA, offered to place the services of his 2½ lakh Magsi tribesmen at the disposal of the Government of Pakistan to march to Occupied Kashmir for fighting along with Mujahidin in their Jihad to secure freedom from the Indian imperialists.

The Mir of Magsi who addressed a Press conference here on Tuesday also offered to provide transport facilities along with all the fighting equipment and requested President Ayub to permit his tribesmen to cross the Cease-fire Line.

*Lyallpur, Sept. 6.* President Ayub Khan's broadcast to the nation today has infused a new spirit of devotion and dedication in the people of all walks of life.

A number of deputations today called on the Minister for Home and Kashmir Affairs, Ch. Ali Akbar, who is currently on a short visit to Lyallpur, to offer their unqualified services for the noble cause of the country. All people, young and old, were prepared to lay down their lives for the defence of their motherland.

All are praying to the God Almighty for the success of our armed forces against the heavy odds of the enemy.

In a simple function, the Home and Kashmir Affairs Minister was presented with a cheque of Rs. 31,000 by the Kariana Association for the Azad Kashmir Mujahid Fund. In another function, the Oil Association presented a cheque of Rs. 5,000 for the same purpose. Similarly, the Cutpiece Association presented a cheque for a



total of Rs. 2,035. Cheques for Rs. 550 and Rs. 250 were presented for the same Fund by "Munshi Sahiban" and Salesmen respectively of the Kariana Association.

The Chairman, Lyallpur Municipality, has also donated a sum of Rs. one lakh for the Mujahid Fund on behalf of the Municipality.

A Peshawar message says: The Kohat District Council has paid glowing tributes to the Kashmiri freedom-fighters for launching a war to throw off the bondage of the Indian imperialism.

The Council passed a resolution assuring the Mujahidin of their fullest co-operation and help of the people of Kohat in the war of liberation.

The resolution expressed the hope that the Mujahidin could ultimately succeed in ousting the Indian intruders from Occupied Kashmir.

The Mansehra Tehsil Council of Hazara District has fully supported the Jihad of the Kashmiri freedom-fighters against the Indian tyranny.

In its meeting held recently the Council requested the President of Pakistan to allow them to proceed to the occupied territory for helping their brethren.

In Dera Ismail Khan, an 'Anjuman' has been constituted to collect donations and warm clothings for the freedom-fighters in Kashmir.

Meanwhile, prominent Ulema of Dera Ismail Khan city have called upon the people to strengthen the hands of the brave patriots in Kashmir who had taken up arms against the Indian tyranny.

A large meeting of the Basic Democrats of Peshawar Cantonment held last evening appealed to the Government not to accept any ambiguous

appeal or resolution of the U.N. Security Council regarding Kashmir.

The meeting, held under the chairmanship of Mr. S.M. Ayub, President Peshawar National Awami Party, also formed a committee to collect funds for the Kashmir Mujahidin.

A meeting of the Ex-Servicemen's Association held at Karachi offered their services to the Kashmiri Mujahidin.

The meeting felicitated the Kashmiri Mujahidin and the Pakistan Army for their brave performance in Kashmir.

It prayed for the success of the Mujahidin, and assured that the ex-servicemen were prepared to sacrifice their everything for the security of Pakistan and liberation of the Kashmiris from the Indian yoke.

An emergency meeting of the Women Kashmir Action Committee held at Karachi called upon the people to forget their mutual differences and get united to save Pakistan from the Indian invasion.

Presided over by Begum Asghari, the meeting assured President Ayub Khan that the women of the country would fight shoulder to shoulder with the menfolk against the Indian aggressors.

Later a deputation of the Action Committee called on Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, President of the Azad Government of Jammu and Kashmir, and pledged their support to the Kashmiri Mujahidin.

Begum Mahmooda Sultan, Committee's General Secretary, announced that a big women procession would be taken out in the city to demonstrate support to the Kashmiri Mujahidin.

*Karachi, Sept. 7. The Federation*



of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry assured President Ayub of the wholehearted support of the entire business community of Pakistan to meet the Indian attack on Pakistan.

A resolution passed at an emergency meeting of the Chambers said, "The entire business community of Pakistan stands solidly and as one man with the President in all his efforts to repel the forces of aggression.

The resolution also placed its entire resources at the disposal of the Government, "for the defence of our beloved country for driving out the Indian invaders from our sacred soil."

The meeting condemned the "dastardly attack on our borders near Lahore by the Indian forces of aggression" which was an undeclared war.

Through another appeal the Chambers called upon the business men and industrialists all over the country to donate generously to the National Defence Fund which the Chambers created today.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 8.* The Central Jamiat-ul-Mashaikh has declared that their two crore followers were ready to move for Jihad against the Indian aggression at a moment's notice.

A Resolution adopted by the Mashaikh said that as the Indian aggression on the sacred soil of Pakistan had posed a serious threat to the security of Pakistan, religious leaders supported the Kashmir policy of President Muhammad Ayub Khan and Pakistan's retaliatory action against India.

They said that the people of Pakistan stood behind President Ayub like a "steel wall" at this critical conjuncture.

*Dacca, Sept. 9.* Student demonstrators here this morning once again brought out a big procession and paraded the main thoroughfares of the city.

The processionists also demonstrated in front of the Indian High Commission offices here and submitted a memorandum to the Indian officials protesting against the mischievous propaganda of the Indian Radio about the Dacca students.

The memorandum strongly condemned the Indian Radio for broadcasting such "falsehood" about the student community.

A message from Jamalpur adds: About 10,000 college, school and madrasa students, joined by the members of the public, staged a demonstration here yesterday and paraded the main thoroughfares of the town to protest against the barbarous Indian aggression.

Before dispersing the demonstrators organised a mammoth meeting, where a resolution was passed, in which the students offered their services for the defence of our sacred sovereignty and commended the gallantry and valour of the Pakistani forces and the freedom-fighters of Kashmir.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 13.* The Indian shelling, according to Mr. Louis Karrar, of *Time Magazine*, has done a good deal of damage to the residential area of Sialkot. But despite this, its citizens were moving about in the town with ease.

They had no sign of worry on their faces; instead, they were full of enthusiasm. Some people were even having a puff at the "hookka" squatting by the roadside.

Looking at the villagers two miles this side of Sialkot it appeared as if



there was no war on.

At various points between Jhelum and Sialkot the villagers stood by the roadside with buckets of "Sharbet" and trays of rich food for the soldiers. They held placards "protectors of the nation, accept our good wishes."

Karrar took note specially of the occasion when a truck loaded with ammunition got stuck up and in no time dozens of villagers appeared to push it and get it going on its way to the front.

It appears that the people of Pakistan very well realise their responsibilities. "Who can defeat a nation which knows to play hide and seek with death," Karrar is reported to have said.

*Sialkot, Sept. 13.* The Indian bombing has severely damaged the shopping area of the city. Four-hundred pound bomb used by the preachers of non-violence fell in the heart of the town, as military target, spelling disaster and taking of toll of ten civilian lives and injuring many more. The losses in the terms of property, however, were much more. The unbending spirit of the Pakistanis is best witnessed here because bulldozers are already in action clearing the debris to make for new construction as soon as the Indian aggression is fully beaten back and taught a lesson.

The people have taken necessary measures to protect themselves. A "Citizens Force" has been formed and its batches are co-operating fully with the local administration in providing relief to the victims of Indian shelling and bombing.

Round-the-clock guide service is being provided by this voluntary force for those who come to Sialkot or want to go out. The incoming and outgoing

traffic is well-regulated and there are neither any queues nor hold-ups. The people have already got used to the stray sorties of the Indian Air Force planes. The life comes to a standstill only during the air-raid alerts but with the "all clear" life returns to normal.

## FIGHT AGAINST INDIAN AGGRESSION

Mr. Justice S.A. Rahman said, man of letters was the citizen first and writer afterwards. As such he is supposed to fully shoulder the responsibilities devolving on him as a citizen.

Justice Rahman urged the writers try to create an atmosphere in which anti-social activities and evils like black marketing, profiteering, etc., cannot raise their head. Those who can do more should write aiming at awakening the conscience of those at the helm of international politics. By doing so writer belonging to every layer of the society can become a "soldier of truth."

*From the Front, Sept. 29.* Hudiara is a small village in the Harike sector on the border.

Inhabited by a couple of thousand people, Muslims and Christians, its peace was disturbed in the early hours of September 6, when the Indian forces launched their treacherous attack on Pakistan, writes Altaf Gauhar.

The village has a small Union Council office, a primary school and a mosque. While the guns were booming, the old Imam of the mosque woke up. It was time for the morning "azan." From a clay pitcher he took some water and performed his "wazoo," unconcerned with the noise around him. He stood on a pile of bricks in one corner



of the mosque and raised his hands for the "azan." His loud, melodious voice reached every hearth and home and the villagers still remember having heard it during a brief pause in the shelling.

A few people responded his call, and when it was time he led the morning prayers. The prayers over, they told him that the enemy tanks would soon be in the village and the population was being evacuated. He remained sitting on his straw prayer-mat, listening to advice which was becoming more urgent as the guns of the enemy drew nearer.

The first rays of light kissed the minarets of the modest mosque, brightened a corner and rested on the brow of the old Imam whose lips moved with the rhythm of the "aayat," which he was quietly reciting.

They told him that there was no time, and that they must go. He nodded and said: "Yes, you must go, if these are the orders."

"You must come, too," they insisted. He smiled and said: "I belong here." With his aged hand he stroked his white beard, "I am 71, and in these last moments I cannot abandon the mosque which has been my life." A shell hit one of the minarets, and the Imam got up and walked towards the heap of glazed bricks on which the words were still visible in a strange sequence. He piked up a piece and kissed it.

From the nearby primary school, Headmaster Idrees came rushing up and begged the Imam to come with him. "No, my son, this is where I stay."

"Then I stay, too," said the Headmaster. "I have my school to look after."

During the day, the soldiers of the enemy came to the mosque in their muddy boots. "Take off your shoes," shouted the Imam, "before you enter the mosque." Whimsical old man, thought the soldiers, and walked up to the Imam. "We will spare your life if you tell us the position of the Pakistani Mujahids in this village. We will not touch your mosque." The Imam kept sitting and uttered not a word. The soldier hit him, "Speak, or I shall shoot you." The Imam looked at him and smiled. The soldier pulled out his revolver. "I give you one more minute to make up your mind." Seconds passed. The Imam got up and shouted at the top of his voice. "La-ilaha ill-Allah Muhammad-ur-Rasool-ul-Allah." The infuriated soldier waited no more. At pointblank range he fired three shots. They pierced the frail body of the Imam. He reeled and fell, his lips still quivering with the "kalima."

The Major told me this story, and pointed in the direction of village Hudiara. "Not a person," he said. "I left the village until he was told to do so, but there were some whom nothing could persuade to leave." As the jeep travelled along a broken, dusty village track, I saw a few hens and chickens moving merrily in a circle. The children clapped their hands as we passed them, and in a village tea-shop there were men, casually sitting on a wooden bench, unconcerned with all the bombing that had gone on.

"Great man, this Imam," said the Major.

"Yes," I could manage no more. In my ears was ringing the echo of his last "azan."

Gujrat, Sept. 29. "In all humility I bow before God Almighty, that he



has accepted the sacrifice of my son in the national cause. I will be too glad if all my three remaining sons are also martyred for the sacred land of Pakistan."

These brave words came from the proud mother of the gallant hero, Raja Aziz Bhatti (Shaheed), who was conferred the Nishan-i-Haider (posthumous) yesterday by the President, in an interview with a *Pakistan Times* correspondent.

Fifteen miles from Gujrat, she lives in a small village near the Bhimber Nallah, two miles west of the Gujrat-Bhimber road. This grand old lady of 70 years is a rare example of fortitude and courage. She innocently remarked that "as soon as I shall meet my son in the next world I shall pat him on his back and will say, 'Bravo, my dear son, you have done the job well, I expected this from you.'"

Relating an anecdote, she said: "When Aziz was to leave for the front, his elder son, 12-year-old Zulfiqar Ahmad, exhorted his father: 'Abba, fight with courage and never show any cowardice.'" Aziz laughed at this, and patting Zulfi remarked, "Sonny, I shall ever remember your words." Aziz had narrated this thing, perhaps, to his friend, Major Shafiqat Baluch, too. So, when the latter informed about the shahadat of Aziz to his son, he also remarked, "Dear, you have lost your father, but mind he fought with such valour and gallantry that he will go down in history as a rare example of courage."

His widow, mother of six children, in a message recorded by Radio Pakistan said in a soft resonant voice: "I am proud my dear husband laid down his life for a noble cause and distinguished himself as a martyr."

Similarly, his eldest son, Zafar Javaid, 16, a student at St. Francis' College, Quetta, wrote thus: "Dear grandfather, I am deeply proud and indebted to my father who made a supreme sacrifice for the nation. Please do not bother about me; I will come after my examination in two-and-a-half months' time. . . . Please ask mother to be patient."

The following is a brief life-sketch of late Major Aziz Ahmad Bhatti, who was conferred the posthumous award of Nishan-i-Haider. Major Raja Aziz Bhatti, who hails from Ladian village in Gujrat District, was commissioned from the Pakistan Military Academy, Kakul, on February 4, 1950, where he held the distinguished appointment of the Battalion Senior Under Officer. He won both the Sword of Honour and the Norman Gold Medal, which he was presented in the passing-out parade by the then Prime Minister, the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. He was the first Gentleman Cadet to win both of these coveted awards.

He had a distinguished army career. After the grant of a commission as a 2/Lieutenant in the Army, he was posted to a battalion of the Punjab Regiment and was appointed a Rifle Coy. Comd. He commanded the company for two years and was later on appointed as Adjutant of the Battalion in 1952. In 1954 he was selected as an instructor in the School of Infantry and Tactics, Quetta. In 1955 he was again posted to the unit and appointed Coy. Comd.

In 1956, with only six years of service, he was selected to attend the Staff Course at the Staff College, Kingston, Canada. On return from the Canadian Staff Course, he was posted as General Staff Officer Grade 2 (Opera-



tions) in a Corps Hqs. where he stayed from 1958 to 1960. In 1961 he was selected to attend the German Language Course in Germany. In 1962 he was posted as an instructor at the School of Infantry and Tactics, Quetta.

During January this year, he was posted back to the unit and was commanding a Rifle Coy. where he again distinguished himself by displaying exemplary heroism and qualities of leadership.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 6.* Mst. Wazir Begum, mother of sepoy Turab Ali, FF Guide, who laid down his life in the defence of his country, has sent the following telegram to General Muhammad Musa, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army:

"Feel proud of supreme sacrifice offered by my son late Turab Ali in the defence of motherland."

### BLOOD & FUNDS FOR MUJAHIDS

The people of Lahore have launched a vigorous campaign for the collection of blood and money to help the Kashmir freedom-fighters in their struggle against the Indian occupation forces.

A large number of social and religious organisations have formed groups for door-to-door collection of funds. Besides, the people in response to the appeals by the imams of principal mosques have been making generous donations to the Kashmir Fund. On Friday alone, several thousands of rupees were collected in the mosques while a number of individuals also announced handsome donations.

Till this time over 500 young men drawn from different walks of life have donated blood for the Kashmir Mujahi-

din while many more continue to come forward with similar offers.

Public leaders and organisations in their statements and at meetings have pledged their full support to the people of Kashmir in their heroic fight.

The West Pakistan Health Minister, Mr. Muhammad Ali Khan, while condemning India for her unprovoked war with Pakistan in clear violation of her undertaking for a free and fair plebiscite in Kashmir, assured full support to the freedom-fighters on behalf of the sturdy Pathans.

The Minister reminded the Indian authorities that Pakistan would not rest until the people of Kashmir were restored the right of self-determination. He said that no amount of repression by the enemy forces could conquer the spirit of Kashmiris.

The Anjuman Guldasta-i-Imamia, at its meeting on Saturday urged the Government not to pay any heed to the cease-fire appeals made by certain Western leaders and the Secretary-General of the United Nations and instead continue the struggle till the occupied territory was liberated.

The meeting also warned India that it would be in her own interest to allow the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide their future through a free and fair plebiscite.

The Anjuman also announced a donation of Rs. 5,000 towards the Kashmir Fund.

Similarly, the New Modern Plant Flour Mills Society, Lahore, has also decided to donate Rs. 10,000 to the Fund.

The staff of the Islamia College for Women, Lahore, has decided to contribute one day's salary to the Fund while the students have already sent over Rs. 1,000 as their contribution.



An emergency meeting of mountaineers held in Lahore on Saturday decided to render every possible help to Mujahidin and assistance to refugees from Occupied Kashmir.

The meeting also decided to offer services of a batch of tough and trained mountaineers to fight in Kashmir.

A committee was set up to collect woollen clothings, shoes, food and medicines and gifts for the Mujahidin and the Pakistan Army in Kashmir.

Syed Moghisuddin Ahmad, General Secretary, West Pakistan Muslim League, has appealed to the people to sink all differences and stand united for the integrity and safety of their country.

In a Press statement issued in Lahore on Saturday, Syed Moghisuddin hailed the high morale of the Pakistan Armed Forces and appealed to the people that they should share the responsibilities of the forces in meeting any challenge from across the border.

The All-Pakistan Kashmir Committee's Mujahid Blood Bank on Tuesday handed over the first collection of blood to a hospital near the battlefield in Azad Kashmir.

The consignment was taken to the hospital by Capt. Abdur Rashid, Chief Organiser, and Maulana Fazal Husain Dilawar, Convener of Tehrik-i-Mujahidin.

Meanwhile, the Action Committee has appealed to the people to come in greater numbers to donate blood for the Mujahidin.

## PAKISTANIS UNITED TO FACE ENEMY

The visiting eight-member delegation of the Ramna Lions Club, Dacca, on Tuesday, presented a silver sword

and an Address of Admiration on behalf of the people of Dacca to the people of Lahore as a token of appreciation for the latter's fortitude and gallantry during the Indian aggression.

The presentation ceremony was held at a special meeting of the Lahore Municipal Corporation.

The sword which belongs to the eminent son of the late Nawab Abdur Rahman of East Pakistan and dates back to the latter part of the 19th century, was received by Ch. Muhammad Hussain, Vice-Chairman of the Corporation, on behalf of the people of Lahore. It was presented by Mr. Saifur Rahman, the grandson of the late Nawab Abdur Rahman, and leader of the delegation.

Addressing the meeting, Mr. Saifur Rahman said that the courage and determination displayed by the people of Lahore was commendable. The citizens of Lahore, he said, had created a place for themselves in the glorious history of Pakistan. Their determination had proved that Pakistanis were a nation to be reckoned with, he remarked.

The cowardly and treacherous attack by India on West Pakistan, he said, had proved once again to the world that in spite of the geographical distance of 1,000 miles between the two wings of the country its 55 million people of East Pakistan had risen like one man and stood solidly behind President Ayub Khan.

Mr. Saifur Rahman urged the Government to discourage the use of the words, East Pakistan and West Pakistan or East Pakistani and West Pakistani. "There is no East Pakistan or West Pakistan. We are all Pakistanis, united and firm to face the aggressor," he added. The suggestion



was later embodied in a resolution which was unanimously carried by the meeting.

The leader of the delegation also commended the chivalry of the Armed Forces of Pakistan.

He said that the dynamic leadership of President Ayub "has made us a nation—a disciplined nation—and has eliminated the distinction between East and West Pakistan."

### ADDRESS OF ADMIRATION

Syed Amir Siddiqi, a member of the delegation, who presented the Address of Admiration on behalf of Mr. Moinuddin Chaudhry, Chairman of the Dacca Municipal Committee, made a spirited speech which drew repeated applause from the audience. The hall of the Lahore Corporation resounded with the slogans of "Allah-o-Akbar" and "Pakistan Zindabad."

Syed Amir Siddiqi condemned the Indian propaganda and said no matter how strong and misleading it was, it was bound to misfire as the people of the two wings could not be separated. They were united more than ever and would remain so, he added. He said that the All-India Radio broadcast daily a carefully prepared catalogue of lies, concoctions and falsehoods.

He declared that people of East Pakistan would sacrifice their lives for their compatriots in West Pakistan.

Mr. Siddiqi later read the Address of Admiration which lauded "the patriotic heroism and confidence" with which the people of Lahore faced the onslaught of a "highly unprincipled" and unscrupulous enemy. The performance of the people of Lahore during

the Indian invasion was magnificent, the address added. It gave the assurance that the citizens of Dacca were firmly with their West Pakistani compatriots in the common cause of the motherland.

The Vice-Chairman of the Lahore Corporation thanked the delegation for their fraternal feelings. He paid rich tributes to the East Pakistan regiments which had fought as gallantly as others on the West Pakistan borders.

He made a special mention of Sqn. Leader M.M. Alam, who had set a new world record by shooting down five enemy planes in a single combat.

### METAL HAWK FOR EAST PAKISTANIS

The Lahore citizens, on Tuesday, presented a metal hawk to the people of East Pakistan as an "expression of their desire to share the joy with their brethren in East Pakistan."

The presentation was made by Ch. Muhammad Hussain, Vice-Chairman of the Lahore Municipal Corporation, at a special Corporation meeting held in honour of the delegation of the Ramna Lions Club, Dacca.

The hawk was made out of the metal of an enemy fighter aircraft destroyed by the Pakistan Air Force.

Accepting the gift, Mr. Saifur Rahman, leader of the delegation, said that the hawk which was symbolic to the skill and valour of PAF would be treasured by the people of East Pakistan and would serve to inspire them all, for all times to come.



## NEW STRATEGY TO COMBAT ENEMY

The writers of Lahore on Monday cautioned themselves and their countrymen against a feeling of complacency following the cease-fire at the enemy's own request because the war against India and its partners in perfidy had not yet come to an end.

Each one of them said that the hot war on the country's borders had given place to a cold war in the conference rooms and the present situation called for a national mood of constant vigilance, greater determination and unshakable unity of purpose and action.

The writers agreed that, just as they had faithfully and forcefully reflected the valour of the country's forces and the nation's indomitable will during the actual fighting in their writings they should now give proper direction to national thinking with a view to defeating the enemy conclusively and preserving the ideology of the country.

The writers met at the Pakistan Council for National Integration at "Alfalah" under the auspices of the Lahore Writers' Front. The purpose of the convention, as the Convener, Mr. Safdar Mir, pointed out, was to evolve a new strategy to combat Indian designs in wake of the uneasy truce.

About a dozen writers addressed the meeting. They included Messrs. Ijaz Husain Batalvi, Mirza Muhammad Amin, Intezar Husain, Mukhtar Siddiqi, Mir Naseem Mahmud and Sufi A. Q. Niazi.

Mr. Ijaz Husain Batalvi said, as he saw it, the war against India might have to go on 10, 15, 20 years, even longer. It was, therefore, necessary

that the people should not only keep in mental readiness to meet the enemy, but should undergo military training so that they could shoot down the advancing enemy on sight. He said that it was the duty of the writer to explain to his countrymen the genesis of the recent Indian aggression, draw sound conclusions from it and prepare them for a prolonged conflict.

He said it was too soon to assess the advantages that had accrued to the nation during its resistance to the enemy, but if an immediate answer was needed, he would say that the country had for the first time acquired a sense of oneness and learnt to stand on its own feet in the face of heavy odds.

Mirza Muhammad Amin said that India which had been getting far on foreign arms supplies, was, in fact, a stooge of the three-century-old imperialism which was out to destroy the peace of mankind in the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Mr. Intezar Husain said that the people must be taught to identify their enemies, and warned that the Soviet Union had been no less hostile to Pakistan than America and Britain during the recent Indian aggression. He said that it was only as a member of the Afro-Asian community that Pakistan could successfully resist the forces of imperialism.

Mr. Mukhtar Siddiqi said that the enemies of the country in both the hemispheres had not been able to reconcile themselves to the ideology of Pakistan and were, therefore, making frantic efforts to undermine it.

Mir Naseem Mahmood warned that the victory slogans should not be allowed to blind the nation to the



lessons it had learnt during the Indian onslaught and the necessity of an all-round preparedness.

Sufi A.Q. Niaz suggested that the biographies of our war heroes should be compiled by competent writers.

## INDIA DEFEATED ON ALL FRONTS

*By Murtaza Malik*

It was not only on the battlefield that Pakistan inflicted a crushing defeat on India but also on other fronts connected with the war.

The civilian population, from Chittagong to Torkham, fought like soldiers behind their defence forces. Wherever they were placed and whatever their sphere of activity, they came out in full strength to meet the situation arising out of the Indian aggression. The writers, journalists, poets, students, workers, farmers, men in trade and industry and all the rest did their respective jobs magnificently and beat the Indians in all spheres.

A couple of days after the Indians attacked Pakistan, the National Defence Fund was created by President Ayub. Since then the gallant people of Pakistan have so far donated well over Rs 50 crore in cash and kind to the Fund. The amount being donated by Government and other employees every month is not included and the donations continue to pour in from all over the country.

On the other hand, the Indians, living up to their tradition of grabbing rather than giving, have responded half-heartedly to their Prime Minister's repeated appeals for generous donations to the defence fund. According to the All-India Radio, the donations have not exceeded Rs. 1.5 crore. The

appeals having failed, the Indian Government has now resorted to forced collections.

It goes to the credit of the valiant people of Pakistan that they, in spite of being much smaller in size, have donated about 40 times more than the Indians. And what is more heartening is the fact that each and every contribution, in whatever shape it was, has been made voluntarily.

Those who had nothing to contribute in cash donated their cattle, wheat stocks, ornaments, agricultural lands and clothes.

In respect of blood donation too the Pakistanis have put up a much better show than the Indians did. While in Pakistan thousands of people are on the waiting list, in India it has been a difficult job to secure blood donors. This is evident from the desperate appeals being broadcast by the All-India Radio.

## THE PEN AND THE SWORD

*By Zeno*

"Some events are in themselves literature. Literature is moment by moment being created at the front today. The moment of creation has arrived. What am I doing here?" said Intizar Husain in tones which he has never used before, in words whose directness is so obvious.

The writers of the city of Lahore over the last one week have demonstrated their total commitment to the national struggle against the cowardly and treacherous aggression by India across the Cease-fire Line in Kashmir, and later across the international border near Lahore. Saturday evening they addressed thousands of citizens



through the living word of poetry calling on them to take arms against the aggressor in Kashmir. Sunday evening, the Halqa-i-Arbab-i-Zauq meeting, perhaps for the first time in its history, became a straightforward political meeting in which writer after writer addressed the audience pledging his faith to continue to participate in the struggle for the independence of Kashmir. Two days later, with our artillery and air force guns booming in the distance at the borders of Lahore pushing back the Indian army who had launched a cowardly and treacherous attack on Monday morning, writers of Lahore gathered in another meeting, this time at the Pakistan Council for National Integration.

The two days of battles on the border had infused a new spirit in our writers. Those who believed in commitment and those who did not, those who believed in history and those who believed in myth, those who spoke in the name of a social conscience and those who believed in the personal and the subjective, those who were involved with the problem of communication and those who were not—all came together in this moment of national crisis, pushing into the background all other problems, affirming with one voice the responsibility of the writer towards his community. Intizar Husain, whose views in the past are wellknown said, "We have now to write directly to the people. The living reality of the moment is the soldier I met this morning. He called the name of Mahmud of Ghazni and pointed in the direction of Wagah. Literature should assume the role of propaganda if the time comes to do so. The time has come. The writer must deal with living reality." Shafqat

Tanvir Mirza, the celebrated Punjabi writer and organiser of Punjabi Sangat, called on all writers to use their pen in the service of the nation. "There are moments in the history of nations when the writers must put down the pen and take up the sword," said he. Rahat Nasim Malik, one of the poets of the latest modernist generation, much given to the problems of expression and communication, declared, "I have realised that my creative activity is of no use in the face of the danger that my nation faces at Wagah. The human condition calls for the assertion of different values."

Habib Jalib—the revolutionary poet, at the Open Air Theatre Mushaira as well as in the Halqa-i-Arbab-i-Zauq meeting, made the direct poetic statement which Intizar Hussain is contemplating :

Let the flame be not suppressed ;  
 Let the fire not die down.  
 Our objective is in sight.  
 Let it not be lost.  
 This is the time, friends ;  
 Whatever is to be, let it be.  
 Raise high the flag of freedom in the  
 Valley ;  
 Let it for ever wave.  
 Crush the heads of all aggressors, all  
 oppressors.  
 How long will you see clouds of smoke,  
 . . . rise from this valley full of blood?  
 How long will Time weep, bitter tears  
 at the subjugation of the garden ?  
 How long will the buds be denied  
 speech ?  
 Every flower complains with dew-filled  
 eyes:  
 Humanity is crying bitter tear in Viet-  
 Nam, Palestine Angola, Congo.  
 O evening of oppression,  
 Everywhere we will break yours pell.



It is no longer possible  
 To see unmoved the state of the  
 oppressed.  
 You have risen with the fire of faith  
 in your eyes.  
 The American firearms will be burnt  
 to ashes.  
 Where will the proteges of Washing-  
 ton hide  
 When the whole world rises against  
 these war-mongers.  
 Raise high the flag of freedom in the  
 valley;  
 Let it forever wave  
 Crush the heads of all aggressors, all  
 oppressors.

This can easily become a marching  
 song for the whole nation—to be  
 broadcast again and again in the con-  
 fident inspiring voice of the poet him-  
 self.

The writers gathered at the Pakis-  
 tan Council decided to form a per-  
 manent committee to organise the  
 writers to participate in the war against  
 Indian aggression. Through the pen  
 and all the media available, through  
 volunteer duty in civil defence, and  
 finally through active service at the  
 front—in Kashmir and at the borders  
 of Pakistan—the writers to a man are  
 at the service of the Government and  
 at one with the heroic people of Pakis-  
 tan and Kashmir.

### KHAKSARS SET UP WAR COUNCIL

The chief of the Khaksar Move-  
 ment, Mian Bashir Ahmad Siddiqi,  
 announced the appointment of a War  
 Council and a commander for the  
 Khaksar contingents for the Kashmir  
 front.

He said the matter was very serious  
 and had to be pursued secretly. How-

ever, he added, the people will come  
 to know of the achievement of the  
 Khaksars in association with their  
 brethren in Kashmir from the Indian-  
 held territory itself.

Meanwhile, the Khaksar chief  
 lauded the spirit of the public who  
 had enrolled themselves in large num-  
 bers at the Khaksar camp for service  
 in Kashmir. He said that similar  
 recruitment of volunteers will be made  
 at the district and divisional head-  
 quarters of the Khaksar Movement.

It may be mentioned that two  
 batches of Khaksars each 313 in num-  
 ber have already been selected and  
 ordered to remain in readiness for next  
 move.

### ACTION OF AZAD FORCES HAILED

The action of the Azad Kashmir  
 forces in crossing the Cease fire Line  
 as a defensive measure and occupying  
 two Indian posts at Deva and in Occu-  
 pied Kashmir was widely acclaimed  
 in Lahore on Wednesday evening.

But for the restraint shown by the  
 Azad Kashmir authorities and the Pakis-  
 tan Government despite repeated  
 provocations by the Indian army, it  
 was left that the Azad Kashmir forces  
 would have gone into action much  
 earlier to arrest Indian aggression.

The report that the Azad Kashmir  
 forces had advanced more than eight  
 miles into Occupied Kashmir in the  
 Bhimber sector and had routed the  
 Indian forces was received with con-  
 siderable satisfaction after persistent  
 Indian claims of having reoccupied  
 Pakistani posts in the Kargil sector.  
 Although the Azad Kashmir forces had  
 been repulsing Indian attacks at differ-  
 ent positions on the Cease-fire Line by



inflicting heavy casualties on the Indian army the public feeling was that the Indian aggression should be met forcefully and sternly.

Hundreds of people anxiously awaited the broadcast of President Ayub after the Indian leaders had been giving threats of the use of force followed by the violations of the Cease-fire Line.

The appeal of the President in his first-of-the-month broadcast for unity to give a befitting reply to the Indian aggression evoked an inspiring response in the Provincial metropolis.

While large groups of persons swarmed the tea-shops of the town to hear the latest announcement by Radio Pakistan on the performance of the Azad Kashmir forces, local newspapers had already come out with evening supplements carrying details of the crossing of the Cease-fire Line by the Azad Kashmir forces and the occupation of the Indian posts in Occupied Kashmir.

The report that the Pakistan Air Force planes had shot down four Indian jet fighters was received with particular joy.

Political leaders belonging to different parties felicitated in their statements the Azad Kashmir forces on their successes in Occupied Kashmir. The Indian aggression was forcefully condemned by these public men and it was demanded that the designs of the Indian aggressors should be foiled ruthlessly.

These leaders also called upon their compatriots to lend full support to the freedom-fighters in Kashmir and also be prepared to face all eventualities and to offer any sacrifice that might be necessary for not only securing a fundamental right for their Kashmiri brethren but also to defend their home-

land.

They assured the authorities concerned that the whole nation was one in the present critical situation and they should rest assured that not a single soul would be lacking in offering whatever sacrifice was needed for the country.

Rai Mansab Ali Khan, MPA (Sheikhupura), condemned the naked Indian aggression and reign of oppression in Occupied Kashmir.

He said that Pakistan had all along pursued the policy of peace and good neighbourliness and believed in settlement of disputes through negotiations, but the Indians had committed grave excesses by crossing the Cease-fire Line.

In this hour of crisis, he said, the Pakistanis would not be found wanting in making any sacrifice and would shed their last drop of blood in defending their sacred soil in the true Muslim spirit. They stood as a rock under the leadership of President Ayub and were prepared to meet any challenge, he said.

"It is a right action at a right time," said Mian Amiruddin, a veteran Muslim League leader. He said, Pakistanis had been wanting to declare Jihad to liberate their Kashmiri brethren but the Government of Pakistan always stood in the way. Thank God, India herself has provided us an opportunity to realise our dream, he said.

Mian Sahib, however, cautioned against insidious and vicious efforts being made by Indian's friends to call a meeting of the Security Council to stop fighting. "This is always done," he added, "whenever India is in a predicament due to her own military misadventures. Many a battle won on the field has often been lost on a con-



ference table. Pakistan should not fall in this trap again."

Mian Sahib appealed to the people to stand united and lend their full support to the Kashmiri Mujahids.

The Vice-Chirman of the Lahore Municipal Corporation, Ch Muhammad Husain, said, the action taken by the Azad Kashmir forces with the help of the Pakistan Army would boost the morale of the people of Occupied Kashmir who have risen in revolt against Indian imperialism.

He said, it was high time for India to vacate the held State to prevent further holocaust.

Ch. Muhammad Husain called upon the Pakistan Government to derive maximum benefit from the popular uprising in the State and lend its fullest support to the Mujahids.

Parliamentary Secretary Mian Miraj-ud-Din said, the Pakistan Army deserved every praise by the entire nation for helping the Azad Kashmir forces in crossing the Cease-fire Line to prevent further aggression by India.

He assured the Kashmiri Mujahids of the fullest support by the people of Pakistan in their struggle for independence.

The Amir of the Jama'at-i-Islami, Maulana Abul A'ala Maudoodi, hailed the crossing of the Cease-fire Line by the Azad Kashmir forces with the help of the Pakistan Army.

The Maulana said, it had become very necessary after the wanton attack by India on the Pakistani village and the crossing of the Cease-fire Line by the Indian Army.

He said the people of Pakistan fully backed the crossing of the Cease-fire Line as it would put a check on the aggressive designs of India against

Pakistan.

Maulana Fazl Husain Dilawar, President of Tehrik-i-Mujahideen-i-Islam, has assured President Ayub that the entire nation was ready to make any sacrifice under his leadership for the liberation of Occupied Kashmir.

In a telegram to the President, Maulana Dilawar welcomed the Pakistan Government's action of backing the Azad forces in capturing two Indian posts, to forestall any further Indian aggression.

Sardar Muhammad Alam, President of the Lahore Circle of Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, commending the action of the Azad Kashmir and Pakistani troops, said that the people of Kashmir and Pakistan were waiting anxiously for a call to start Jihad in Occupied Kashmir.

Syed Ghulam Hasan Kirmani, Chairman of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation League, has thanked the Government of Pakistan for timely decision to forestall the Indian aggression. He said that Kashmiris were fully prepared to sacrifice everything for the freedom of their homeland.

A Peshawar report says that the retaliation by Azad Kashmir forces and Pakistan army has been widely acclaimed in the former Frontier Province.

Leaders of various political parties and public representatives said, this was the most befitting step in the face of continued violation of the Cease-fire Line by India.

Majority of the leaders thought, however, that India would not probably see reason by merely today's action. Therefore, the process must be continued till India stopped aggression.

Some of them opined that there was



no longer any need for respecting the Cease-fire Line and that the Kashmir freedom-fighters should be actively helped.

Political circles all over Hyderabad Division have welcomed the action of the Pakistan Government.

Pir Ghulam Rasool Shah Gilani, President of the Divisional Muslim League, said in a statement that the people of the division fully supported the Government decision.

He said that the Indians did not understand the language of peace but respected an iron hand.

Qazi Muhammad Azam, General Secretary of the Divisional Muslim League, assured the Government that the people of the division would not hesitate in making any sacrifice for the national integrity and protection of the country.

### MAJ-GEN SARFARAZ COMMENDS LAHORE PEOPLE'S SPIRIT

Maj-Gen Sarfaraz Khan complimented the people of Lahore for the genuine spirit with which they sent presents and gifts and other articles of daily use to the Armed Forces in forward areas.

He admired their hospitality for establishing a host of canteens for the entertainment of troops at various points.

The GOC assured that the Armed Forces would, Insha Allah, shed their last drop of blood for the defence of Pakistan. If ever the enemy ventured another trial of strength, by the grace of Allah, he would be taught a lesson for the rest of his life.

He affirmed that the morale of the

Pakistani troops was sky high and, buttressed by the courageous and valiant people of Lahore, they would Insha Allah inflict a crushing defeat on the Indian army and frustrate all the nefarious designs of India.

### 500 TAXI-MEN OFFER TO GO TO MUJAHIDS' HELP

About 500 taxi-drivers of Lahore are prepared to leave for Azad Kashmir to help their Kashmiri brethren in their struggle to liberate Occupied Kashmir from Indian imperialism.

This was stated by Malik Muhammad Sadiq, General Secretary of Lahore Rikshaw-Taxi Union, in a statement on Wednesday. Malik Sadiq said that the drivers would leave alongwith their taxis to serve on supply lines of the Revolutionary Council.

He appealed to the Government to grant them permission to leave for Occupied Kashmir.

### FULL HELP TO GOVERNMENT

The Executive Committee of the Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry at an emergency meeting assured the Government to help in cash and kind on behalf of the business and industrial community.

The Committee resolved that full production be maintained to stabilise prices, no one should over-estimate his requirements and no stockpiling of foodstuffs and other necessary goods should be resorted to.

The public should co-operate in saving essential items necessary for military operations including petrol. This item should be used sparingly and preferably other modes of transport be utilised to save it.



## DIE FIGHTING FOR ISLAM'S GLORY

Millions prostrated in gratitude before Allah on Friday for the armed services against the Indians and took a solemn oath to die for the glory of Islam. The nation's support to the people of Kashmir was also reiterated.

In almost all the mosques the significance of Jihad and the various manners of participating in it besides taking up arms were explained by the Ulema.

It was invariably proclaimed from the pulpit everywhere that the fighting against the Indians is a holy war and every Muslim is religiously bound to participate in it directly and indirectly.

The Ulema called upon the congregations to make maximum possible contribution to the national defence fund and in kind for the Mujahidin fighting the invaders.

At the end of prayers, the mosques echoed with the slogan Allah-o-Akbar, Pakistan Zindabad, Pakistan Forces Zindabad, and President Ayub Khan Zindabad.

## LAHORE ECHOES CRIES OF JEHAD

Lahore echoed with cries of jihad by thousands of youth who took out processions in different parts of the city on 6 Sept. following reports of the Indian attack on Lahore borders.

Thousands of youth rushed to the Wagah Border raising war slogans. They were, however, stopped near the Shalamar Gardens and told by the Military Police to return home. "Your Army is enough to contend the enemy," they told the second defence-line zealots.

However, the spirit of Jihad got a new fillip every moment. The President's reference to the people of Lahore in his emergency broadcast stirred tears the elderly persons while the youth listening attentively shouted Allah-o-Akbar.

The people of Lahore showed exemplary courage and fortitude in the face of the three-pronged attack on Lahore by the Indian forces under the cover of heavy artillery fire and aerial bombing early on Monday morning.

Some natural excitement notwithstanding, people continued to do their routine duties as usual. Street vendors hawked their merchandise unconcernedly. Traffic has been thick and constant as usual. All bus services plied as before.

Shopping centres and fashionable business houses had been transacting their business in the normal way till late evening.

Restaurants were frequented as before. Rather there was more than normal rush. School and college boys participated in the sports activity in the evening.

Mr. P.L. Watson, President, West Pakistan Board of Christian Minority, has said that the Indian intransigence in regard to the Kashmir dispute and repression and tyranny to which she has been subjecting the Kashmiris had resulted in an open revolt by the people of held state.

In a statement issued in Lahore on Monday, he said that President Ayub Khan's efforts to have the Kashmir dispute settled peacefully failed because India always went back on her pledges and commitments.

He called upon the Indian leaders to see the light of reason and let the Kashmiris exercise their right of self-



determination if they want to stop the undeclared war in Kashmir.

The High Court Bar Association has thanked the armed forces for the valiant manner in which they have frustrated the nefarious designs of the Indian imperialists.

A resolution passed at an emergency meeting of the Bar held in Lahore on Monday assured President Ayub Khan of the Bar's unstinted support in times to come.

The members of the Bar decided to donate blood for the brave brethren who are defending the freedom and solidarity of the country.

## FINE ARTS GO TO WAR

*By Hafeez Javed*

The writers and artists of the country have been at war with the Indian aggressor since September 6 when the treacherous enemy struck Lahore without any warning.

In Lahore, a whole army of prose-writers and poets, musicians and composers, painters and cartoonists, actors and producers, are waging a total Jihad against the enemy.

And they have chosen their own weapons, their own instruments of destruction to play on.

You will see them in newspaper offices, at Radio Pakistan, in the Television studios. You will find them busy round the clock, turning out scripts, composing music, singing songs, painting pictures, rehearsing their lines, with quick snacks in between intervals, and a couple of jokes thrown in at the expense of the boastful "bania" barbarians. And all this as a labour of love, and not for any financial consideration.

The writers have, now, no time to celebrate the beauties of the beloveds, no desire to weave midsummer-night's dreams. Instead, they celebrate the victories of Pakistan's armed force and lampoon the fleeing Shylock.

And this is as it should be. For the writer and the artist provide the finest expression to their nation's noblest aspirations and cannot help going all out when their nation's existence is threatened. It is in fact in such moments of stress that the creative powers of the artist and the writer are exercised to the utmost for the defence of those ideals which are embodied in their nation.

Who is there so uncouth that does not remember, with love and admiration, Rouget de Lisle, the French poet, who gave France her national anthem "La Marseillaise" (To arms, you sons of France) at the time of the French Revolution and was killed on the battlefield?

Who is there so uncivilized that does not recall with pride the heroism of writers like Ralf Fox and Christopher Caudwell who died fighting in the Spanish Civil War of 1935, on the side of the Democrats against the Fascists? Or more recently, the immortal role of Sartre, Camus, Louis Aragon and Paul Eluard who spear-headed the French Resistance Movement during the German occupation of France?

Who is there so base that is unmindful of the priceless contribution our writers and artists are making to the national war effort? If any, speak; for I should like to refer him to some of the radio and television programmes that are being repeated day in and day out. He would also do well to look up the local newspapers.



I give only a few examples at random. There is Begum Nur Jahan singing Jameeluddin Aali's inimitable verse "I sing for you, my country's handsome warriors," and her Punjabi song "mereya dhol sipahiya . . ." (God be with you, my beloved warrior) written by Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum; Habib Jalib with his war-song "Our people's blood would lend colour to our rose-gardens" and Ihsan Danish reciting "March forward chanting Ali, Ali."

Qateel Shifai's "Excelsior, Comrades!" sung by Irene Parveen, Inayat Hussain Bhatti and Party became our Forces' favourite the day it went on the air and there are innumerable requests for a repeat every day.

Safdar Mir's memorable poems "Salute to Lahore Town" and "The City-wall of Sialkot," Shehzad Ahmad's poems, notably his "Saqi Nama"; Nasir Kazimi's chorus "Sialkot will live for ever," Mukhtar Siddiqi's "Voice of the Times" and "Hey you Indian Rakshas"; and Tufail Hoshiarpuri's songs, along with many other works of our poets, recall the clash of arms, the thunder of cannons, the charge of the cavalry and the victorious bugle notes, and will live in the memory of the people of Pakistan long after the Indian hordes have been vanquished.

Men like Ahmad Nadeem Qasimi, Tajammul Husain, Ijaz Husain Batalvi and Dr. Muhammad Ajmat, who have some of the finest verse to their credit, have chosen to descend from the great heights of poetry to "the cool element of prose." They believe that, in the exciting times of a war, the people do not have the necessary leisure for poetry and their ears are, therefore, better tuned to prose.

Maulana Abul A'la Maudoodi's broadcasts on the virtues of Jihad and self-discipline and the heroic deeds of the warriors of Islam are the most effective weapon in the writers' arsenal.

Lahore Television's "Under the Sheesham Tree" by Ishfaq Ahmad has made a name for itself. So have the television plays by Enver Sajjad, Zakir Hussain and Naseer Anwar.

The band of women writers is led by Qudsia Bano (who could have remained unmoved by her television play "Peshkash Pakistan"!); Kishwar Naheed, Jameela Hashimi and Altaf Fatima.

The good old Nizam Din of the Lahore Radio Station's "Jamhoor Di Awaz," is still going strong and his Whistlerian wit continues to send shudders through the enemy's spine.

Sadequain is busy painting powerful pictures representing the determination of the helpless leading to their victory over the mighty and haughty aggressors.

As I have said before, all our truly creative artists are deeply involved in Pakistan's struggle for existence. Of these, some are producing great works under the white heat of struggle, which are immediately inspiring to our armed forces and people.

Others may not have quite the same spontaneity but in whom the creative process is still active and great works of art may be in the process of creation.

#### 40,000 TRUCKS PLACED AT GOVT. DISPOSAL

Forty thousand trucks owned by members of the Pakistan Goods Carriers Association have been handed



over to the Government for transportation of military goods. This was disclosed by Major Rafiq Safdar, President of the Association, in Lahore.

He further disclosed that trucks worth Rs. 20 lakh belonging to the Crescent Goods Carrier Company and of other goods transport companies have also been handed over to the Government. Besides, various transport companies have donated Rs. 60,000 towards Mujahid Fund.

### CHRISTIANS TO PRAY FOR COUNTRY'S DEFENCE

An emergency meeting of the Christian religious leaders was held under the auspices of the West Pakistan Christian Council, a representative body of all churches in the country.

The meeting pledged full support of the Christian community in the present emergency and assured President Ayub Khan of their wholehearted support and loyalty in this hour of trial.

The leaders of the church called upon members of the Christian community to donate blood at donation centres.

Special prayers will be held on Sunday for the defence forces of the country and the Christians have been asked to contribute generously to the emergency fund.

The meeting resolved that West Pakistan Christian Council should contribute Rs. 50,000 to the Fund.

### A CITY OF FAITH

As India invaded Pakistan's mainland and guns boomed on the Lahore

front, excitement mounted in the hearts of the 15 lakh inhabitants of the Provincial metropolis. It was an excitement generated not by panic but by an enduring confidence that Lahore has the guts to take all in its stride. This reaction is characteristic of the people of this great citadel of nationalism. No wonder President Ayub chose a befitting epithet for them; he called them brave and he knew he was right. For this city has been through many upheavals and its people knew instinctively how to bear themselves with honour and dignity in the hour of crisis. Not once have they been found lacking in courage and valour; not once have they missed a pulse-beat in the hour of peril. For them the Indian attack was just the occasion to prove that they would stake all to preserve the cause of freedom. As the Indian Air Force strafed the border areas and heavy artillery shelling continued through the black night, the citizens of Lahore were vigilant and prepared. They drew inspiration from the President's soul-stirring call: "Go forward and meet the enemy. God is with you." And they were confident that Pakistan's valiant Armed Forces would silence India's guns for ever. With each roar of the cannon, the people of Lahore draw deeper from an unending well of confidence. Lahore has always been a bulwark of courage. It is a City of Faith. It will always stand.

The news of the Indian attack on Lahore on 6 Sept. morning was received by the people with usual confidence and as soon as it spread in different parts of the city the people collected in small batches here and there and raised the slogans of "Allah-o-Akbar".

Although there were reports of the Indians having intruded into our



territory and of heavy shelling of some of the villages, the people got on to the day's work in a normal fashion. This was a clear indication of their firm faith and confidence in themselves and also in the country's mighty armed forces.

Shah Zaman Khan, father of Sepoy Saltanat Khan Shaheed, in a letter to the commandant of his son's company, has offered his other five sons for any service for the defence of the country.

He said, he was anxiously waiting for the orders to present them for duty anywhere required to serve.

His sons were keen to sacrifice their all for the defence of the country, he added.

Razia Khanam, widow of Hevildar Muhammad Ashraf, in a letter to the commanding officer, said she would prepare her only son aged five and a half years to take revenge of the cruelties perpetrated by the Indians on the innocent people of Pakistan.

She said members of her family were happy to learn that her husband laid down his life for the defence of the country.

Another widow, Doran Bibi, in a letter said her husband Sepoy Abdul Rahman Shaheed had pledged to teach the Hindus a befitting lesson for committing aggression on Pakistan. He had said that he belonged to a village which had inflicted crushing defeats on Hindus in various battles. He would revive the valour of his forefathers in any war against Hindus.

There are surprises galore, and pleasant ones at that, for the hard-worked staff receiving voluntary blood donations at the various Blood Donor

Centres.

At the Ganga Ram Blood Transfusion Service, a middle-aged lady presented herself the other day to donate some of her blood. Her offer was politely turned down by the doctor on the ground that she was much too anaemic.

As she returned home disappointed, she hit upon a clever ruse to get round the doctor's objection. Forthwith, she put on a new dress, took out her compact and applied some rouge. She also took advantage of her nailpolish and lip-stick and, thus made-up, went back to the Blood Transfusion Service and repeated her offer.

The doctor was taken in by the clever make-up of the donor and readily bled her.

Both the doctor and the donor had a hearty laugh when the latter revealed her identity.

At the same Centre, a young boy whose offer to donate blood was declared underweight, resorted to a more masculine device. This is how he succeeded in duping the doctor.

The boy was wearing a dhoti the first time he appeared. On the second occasion, he wore a "shalwar" instead, but his offer was again turned down. Finally, he put on European trousers and a loose shirt coming down to his knees.

When he was weighed the third time he was found to be of normal weight and was bled. Thereupon, the donor produced the two seer-weights in the pockets of his trousers and beheld a vanquished doctor.



# 16

## THE WORLD PRESS

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In our age we can hardly think of the times when it took months and in certain cases years to carry an important news from one place to another. The world has shrunk to such an extent that the details of an important news are transmitted all over the globe in no time. You are perfectly right in expecting reactions to it within the next few hours.

The details of the Indo-Pak war were regularly made known to the world through press and military correspondents in the shortest possible time and the papers started reacting according to their policies and viewpoints. It is not justifiable to slip over such an important chapter of the world history.



Rome, Aug. 17. Commenting editorially in its issue of August 13 on the recent revolt in the Occupied Kashmir, the Sicilian newspaper, *Yeni Tanin*, said: "Peace in the area will be a new thorn for India and a serious problem for the whole world so long as India does not face reality."

"What is important is that for the last 18 years India has been in occupation of the Kashmir valley without any right and has been throwing into prison those who wanted independence," it observed.

"The Kashmir problem which has continued between India and Pakistan since independence in 1947 has, during the last few days, 'boiled over' and there have been serious clashes in the Valley," it said.

"In Kashmir where majority is Muslim," it said, India has been refusing to hold a plebiscite in spite of numerous resolutions of the U. N. Security Council. India knows very well that she would lose plebiscite in Kashmir. Yet they insist on trying to change the course of events.

"Since India has 'without any right' been ignoring the resolutions of the Security Council, she has been losing her prestige day by day in the eyes of the world," the *Yeni Tanin* observed.

The Indian authorities seem to find it easy not to give the rich territories to whom they belong rightfully, the paper said, and added, "but they are not able to persuade the people to

slaughter sacred cows whose number exceeds population, although the country is suffering from hunger and poverty."

After discussing the Indian superstitious worship of the cow which has led to "hunger and poverty," the paper continued that "India has lost a powerful friend by adopting wrongful attitude towards Pakistan. Gradual deterioration of India might ultimately lead to India being carved up by Pakistan and China."

Karachi, Aug. 20. In his article "Rebellion in Kashmir," published in the Spanish newspaper *Arriba*, the well-known journalist, Mr. J. L. Gamez Tello, says: "The date on which these upheavals have taken place is also significant; the anniversary of August 9, the 1953, the date on which the Indian authorities dismissed and arrested Shaikh Abdullah, 'the Lion of Kashmir,' defender of independence.

"The fight that has started in the territory under dispute between Pakistan and the Indian Union marks the highlight of a long process and it was foreseeable that it would happen sooner or later.

"The Indian argument for occupying the Valley cannot hold its position, for it rests on the gracious concession made by the Hindu Maharaja against the opinion that presided over the Constitution of the separate States: India with a majority of Hindus within their inhabitants and



Pakistan with a Muslim majority. And Kashmir is overwhelmingly Muslim. The only thing that United Nations could do was to arrange a 'cease-fire' at the end of 1948—very insecure, for there are hundreds of incidents after a war with thousands upon thousands of casualties.

"But when the time came to establish a final solution, India did not accept any of the United Nations proposed solutions, rejected the plebiscite proposed by the Graham Committee in April 1948, the division proposal of Ellsworth Bunker in March 1964, the Bowles plan to have a free Kashmir, whose welfare would be guaranteed by both rival States and the United Nations, plus the conciliatory offers made by Pakistan.

"On the other side, the Government of Rawalpindi was ready to agree to a plebiscite in order that the people would choose their destiny: its unification with Pakistan or India.

"The hopes that were put into a change of politics that seemed to announce the liberation by the New Delhi Government of the 'old Kashmir Lion' kept in prison by Nehru for 11 years, were frustrated by a new outrage when New Delhi declared that 'Kashmir was part of India,' imposing Articles 356 and 357 of the Constitution on the territory. When Shaikh Abdullah protested, they answered by throwing him again into jail. When the citizens complained, the only answer was a whole series of mass arrests of the leaders and members of the Opposition.

"The seriousness of the situation is that it has reached a point where it seems improbable that the Pakistan Government will maintain a passive attitude, while the independence move-

ment is being repressed in the Indian zone, nor can the people of Pakistan's Kashmir remain passive, while their fellow-countrymen are being killed, as said by the Revolutionary Council. And Kashmir has frontiers with the U. S. S. R., China, Afghanistan, apart from the two opponent countries separated by a combat line of almost a thousand kilometers.

"The United Nations voice that now rise demanding temperance, has only one drawback: for 17 years the U. N. closed its eyes to India's outrage—remember Goa's case—in Kashmir and allowed New Delhi to disobey its commands."

Writing in *Ya* under "Kashmir Again" the Spanish journalist, B. Mostaza said on August 12, "serious incidents have again started in Kashmir. An old problem that has kept Pakistan and India fighting since 1948. The Kashmir territory is mainly inhabited by Muslims. Over an approximate extension of 300,000 kilometers there lives a population of scarcely over four million people. It's a shepherd's country. The most respected and influential politician is Shaikh Abdullah, who has been in jail, except for a brief period of freedom, for 12 years.

"In today's revolt young forces are taking part, possibly without a careful calculation of their prospects of triumph, except that things will be complicated again for New Delhi with a new Chinese attack on their frontiers.

"It seems that the so-called Revolutionary Council of Kashmir is responsible for this upheaval. The Indian Union blames the infiltration of Pakistani soldiers for the clashes. Pakistan has denied this accusation.



although it shows its moral support for the rebel groups. They are not many and if there is not mass upheaval of the Kashmir people, a thing that is highly improbable, the Indian troops will finish the local rebellions. The problem is a political one: Kashmir is a country in itself which doesn't feel attracted towards India and has repeatedly stated its wish to separate.

"Many times has this matter been discussed in the U. N. The New Delhi Government always managed to free itself from the United Nations counsel for organising a plebiscite in Kashmir. Pakistan agreed to this plebiscite, because it meant that the Kashmir people would choose to join them; the Indian Union convinced of the hostile feelings of the majority of Kashmir's people, have always rejected this plebiscite.

"And so the people of Kashmir have been denied the right of self-determination. But the situation now is not like in Nehru's time, a politician respected in Moscow and in all the other countries of the 'third world.' Now Pakistan has as much or more political presence in Moscow than India. And of course is very well placed in Peking. For the time being, the Revolutionary Council of Kashmir has addressed itself to the United Nations and is in touch with Moscow and Peking and that could have its consequences."

*Daressalam, Aug. 21.* The *Daily Standard* of Tanzania, in a recent issue editorially said: "Reports emanating from Srinagar underplayed the extent of unrest and the depth of emotional feeling aroused by the detention of Shaikh Abdullah. The capital is itself described peaceful, but

this is an uneasy peace, that could prove a lull before storm."

It said, the latest outbreak of violence "to coincide with the 12th anniversary of Shaikh Abdullah's arrest by India in 1953 is of more serious proportions. India claims that it was sparked off by 1,000 Pakistani infiltrators, the Pakistan Government calls it a manifestation of the Kashmiris' desire to break away from the Delhi rule. The police and troops widely scattered throughout the country, controlling closely movements of the people, have made India's theory of Pakistani infiltrators difficult to believe."

*Moscow, Aug. 24.* "The Soviet men and women are convinced," the Soviet newspaper *Pravda*, points out, "that India and Pakistan can avoid further complications in their relations. The wisdom of statesmen, patience by the leaders of the two States, their understanding of the serious consequences which could arise from the spreading of the armed conflict in Kashmir, will help India and Pakistan to solve peacefully their disputes and outstanding issues with mutual account of each other's interest, without resorting to the use of arms."

"There is no doubt," *Pravda* says, "that the conflict in Kashmir cannot benefit either of the sides directly involved in the dispute. India and Pakistan are engaged in the solution of intricate domestic problems, above all questions related to their economic development, and this requires tremendous funds and efforts by their peoples. The mass of the population of India and Pakistan are interested in peace and friendship with all countries, with each other."



"The conflict in Kashmir is being exploited by reactionary forces as a pretext for fanning Indo-Pakistan enmity. . . . The conflict in Kashmir plays into the hands of the American imperialists who are waging an aggressive war in Viet Nam.

"A settlement of the current situation in Kashmir is imperative. It will make a major contribution to the maintenance of peace in Asia."

In an editorial entitled, "We Blame India," Iran's *Teheran Journal* said "Our guess has turned true for what we predicted on Monday has happened, to our greatest regret. The same day the frightening news of India attacking Pakistani frontiers reached us here in Teheran."

It wrote that Kashmir ought to be given the right to make its own decision. It has urged India to concede to the demand of Kashmiris to decide their own fate.

In a column captioned: "In whose interest is this aggression?" Cairo's *Al-Gumhuriya*, said "Notwithstanding peace appeals by President Nasser and President Tito, the U.N. Secretary-General, U Thant, and the Security Council resolution urging India and Pakistan to cease fighting in Kashmir, the conflict has suddenly escalated, taking a grave turn towards total war."

Recalling the Kashmir conflict the newspaper's columnist, Taher Abdul Hakim wrote: "The Kashmiris have taken up arms in revolt against India's repression, tyranny and arrest of their leaders."

Cairo's veteran journalist, Syed-

Al-Aqad, writing in the evening newspaper, *Al-Misaa* said: "Kashmir is a powder keg in Asia. It has been continuously poisoning Indo-Pakistan relations and any further delay in a peaceful solution of this problem will lead to bloody consequences for the two countries."

Syed Al-Aqad pointed out that the Kashmiri people were linked to West Pakistan by religion, culture, geography, economy, history and even rail and road communications.

Teheran daily, *Paighame Imroze*, writing editorially in its issue of September 9 said: "The easiest way for India is the complete withdrawal of its forces and an admission that aggression against a neighbouring State is an act to be condemned.

"It would be the world's greatest mistake to leave Kashmir to India simply because of her aggression against Pakistan. It will be a mistake which will cost the blood of millions of human beings. The world must seek a solution to the Kashmir dispute according to the wishes of the people of State," the paper added.

Another daily 'Kayhan' has ridiculed India for showing itself an oppressed party in her present confrontation with Pakistan.

Writing under the caption "Who is Aggressor" the daily said, India's claim on Kashmir appears strange and stranger still is her claim to be an oppressed party.

The paper, further describing the division of the Indian sub-continent on the basis of majority commanded by Hindus or Muslims asks, "Who are the people of Kashmir, whether Muslims or Hindus?"



Writing editorially, under the caption "Another Tragedy in Asia" the Daily *Ettel'at* (Teheran) dated Sept. 7, said *inter alia* that, "the conflagration of war was engulfing the whole of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent."

The editorial added: Pakistan, tied with historical, religious and cultural bonds with the people of Kashmir, can hardly afford to leave the Kashmir issue unsettled. This was particularly notable, said the paper, in case of Pakistan when India tried to alter the political status of Occupied Kashmir recently and wanted to bring about the integration of Kashmir with India as a *fait accompli* and deny the very existence of a dispute over Kashmir. The solution of this dispute by India is, however, unilateral and in complete disregard to the fundamental rights of the people of Kashmir. This was also contrary to all principles of democracy that are being preached and talked about so often by India.

The paper added, it was not possible to immediately stop the Kashmiris' revolt and the advance of freedom-fighters towards Srinagar could not be stemmed. India, therefore, decided to start an offensive all over the Pakistan border and thus was able to draw the whole of the sub-continent within the orbit of war throwing the U.N. resolutions and agreement on the Cease-Fire Line overboard.

The London daily *Yorkshire Post* editorially says that Pakistan is quite right to argue that the ostensibly non-discriminating arms ban both on Pakistan and India would in effect discriminate against Pakistan.

"India has a five-to-one advantage and a sizeable potential for producing her own armaments." If India thought Pakistan would run out of war materials first, she might consider this as an incentive to go on fighting."

There was a terrible danger that if the war went on much longer, even if it did not actively involve others "partisan passions will be stirred up far beyond the sub-continent."

*Naya Samaj*, an influential weekly of Kathmandu in its latest issue lauds Pakistan's restraint and adds "the Indian accusations against Pakistan are purely motivated for concealing all the crimes committed by herself.

"Observers have said that the revolt launched by the people of Kashmir against India can be regarded a part of the people's consciousness growing in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Kashmir revolt should not be described only as a revolt but it would be better to consider it as people's revolution; the sympathy of the nations which have received freedom recently goes naturally towards it."

Lauding Pakistan for its attitude in Kutch conflict, the paper says: "The sense of reason which Pakistan had shown in her readiness to an agreement on Kutch proves that she has no hand in the recent Kashmir revolt. There was no need for Pakistan to withdraw from Kutch merely to launch a fresh attack in Kashmir. The great chance which Pakistan had was at the time when there was Sino-India clash."

In its concluding para it observes: "India seems apprehensive that if Kashmir gets her freedom through self-determination, then India's hold



on Sikkim and Bhutan will be automatically lost. Observers here already conversant with India's ways since her border dispute with China say that it is always India which comes out first to declare that "force will be met with force."

*Hong Kong, Sept. 13.* This first authoritative Hanoi comment on the fighting made by the paper *Khan Dan*, generally blamed India for the outbreak and described her Kashmir stand as "unappropriate and at variance with the principle of respect for the national right to self-determination of the Kashmir people.

The paper said that the Indian Government had shown unwillingness to settle the issue peacefully and wants to expand the conflict.

*Colombo, Sept. 14.* "It was India 'that violated the international boundary between India and Pakistan' thus leading to the war between the two countries, said the *Kammaruwa* weekly in a commentary in its latest issue on Sept. 14.

The Kashmir question should be settled by the people of Kashmir, it added.

*Peking, Sept. 15.* India's aggression against Pakistan completely exposed the expansionist features of the Indian reactionaries said, the Albanian newspaper *Puna* (Labour), in a commentary yesterday.

*Peking, Sept. 16.* The Communist Party of New Zealand in a statement published in the *People's Voice*, New Zealand said "India's armed assault on Pakistan is aimed at the total seizure of Kashmir for the

forcible suppression of the people's struggle for self-determination. India's Government has consistently refused to call out a plebiscite of the people of Kashmir. Instead it has claimed all of Kashmir (which is 70 per cent Muslim populated) and has carried out a policy of heavy taxation and exploitation of the Kashmiri people.

"Not unnaturally, the people of the India-occupied sector rose in revolt in August, demanding the right of self-determination.

"No peace is likely to be achieved unless India agrees to a reasonable settlement of the Kashmir question by observing the India-Pakistan agreement and recognising the just aspirations of the people of Kashmir."

*Tokyo, Sept. 18.* Recounting his to Pakistan visit early this year, the French journallist. Alfred Smouler writes in an article circulated by *Khodo*, a Japanese news agency :

"The Kashmiri who accompanied me—a refugee from Indian occupied Kashmir—repeated to me what I had heard and what I observed wherever I went in Pakistan, in places farthest away from Kashmir.

"This State, whose two-third portion is occupied by India, is populated by a very large majority of Muslims, and whose rivers, roads and economy are directed towards her neighbour, Pakistan.

"... Her (Held Kashmir's) accession to India at the time of Partition of 1947, was fraudulent—a personal act of the Maharaja, whose reputation had always been more than doubtful and who was Hindu.

"Did not the Indians annex Juna-



gadh State, where the situation was exactly reverse—the Muslim ruler having acceded to Pakistan whereas majority of the population was Hindu?

“All that the Kashmiris and Pakistan demanded was a plebiscite . . . and all this in conformity with the decision taken by the U.N. in the past.

“As an impartial observer I must state that nowhere in Pakistan did I find any religious fanaticism nor any hatred against Indians, but only desire to help their brothers unjustly separated, and to liberate them because, without that, even the basis of Pakistan, her *raison d'etre*, which was the basis of partition of 1947, would disappear.”

Smouler continued: “To treat the subject of Kashmir is extremely delicate . . . therefore, even when the legal position of Kashmir and of Pakistan is recognised, people prefer to forget the problem and let it dormant with a U. N. Commission supervising line where incidents take place all the time.”

Recounting his meeting with the Azad Kashmir President, the correspondent said the Kashmiris were frustrated by long years of waiting and the recent imprisonment of Shaikh Abdullah.

“The Pakistanis, a 100 million people, divided into two by a strong India, of 450 million, maintain that this is a revolt of Kashmiris supported by Pakistanis.

“Unable to face the combat within Kashmir, Delhi launched strong diversionary attacks against Pakistan outside of Kashmir thus delocalising the conflict.”

Regarding the role of U.N. and

big Powers, the author wrote: “It is undeniable that by their past silence the U.N. and its big Powers have heavy responsibility, which they do not seem ready to assume on account of outside considerations.

“India, strengthened by her quarrel with Peking, would like to tell now that she belonged to free world which is not quite true. There is little likelihood that China will intervene, but troops massed along Laddakh frontier could have certain influence more so because India is vulnerable in her Himalayan frontiers.”

*Peking, Sept. 20.* India is the aggressor and Pakistan the victim in the Indo-Pakistan conflict, the *Singapore Barisan*, an organ of the Singapore Socialist Front, said in a commentary on September 11.

It was beyond dispute who should be denounced and who should receive sympathy, it said. By committing open aggression and trying to solve a dispute by force of arms, the Shastri Government had torn down its expansionist features, its blind faith in military might and its great-Power chauvinism.

It was permissible, according to the logic of the Indian Government, to commit aggression on the pretext of forestalling aggression. Thus, one could strike another by alleging that the other party intended to strike oneself. “What absurd logic?” the paper exclaimed.

The United Nations had never given any positive help to the Kashmir people to gain self-determination ever since it began to handle the Kashmir issue more than 10 years ago, it said.

At present, the United Nations



was pretending ignorance of the Indian intrusions into the Pakistan-controlled regions and Indian attacks on Pakistan. Was this fair? it asked.

India would never succeed in subduing the Kashmir and Pakistan people by relying on the military and economic "assistance" from some great Powers.

*Rawalpindi Sept. 24.* Following are some of the extracts from the editorial comments appearing in the foreign Press:

"Kashmiri nationalists have a legitimate grievance, and so has Pakistan. After Partition, Hindu India promised to let Kashmir (three-quarters of its population are Muslims) decide its own fate by plebiscite. By force of arms, however, she absorbed it. The United Nations Organisation ruled this invalid, but India has continued to regard Kashmir as a Province, ruling out self-determination" (*Yorkshire Post*, August 11, 1965).

"India shares a heavy responsibility for the Kashmir tragedy. Her obdurate clinging to an unstable *status quo*—years after the late Pandit Nehru had himself begun to doubt the wisdom of doing so—runs counter to her true interests. Common sense dictates that the only way out of this impasse is to start from the principle that Kashmir's future status must be negotiated so as to satisfy the proper interests of all the three parties—India, Pakistan and the people of Kashmir." (*The Observer*, August 22, 1965).

Similarly, three popular U.S. magazines, *Newsweek*, *Time* and *Life*, have offered some significant comments on the Indo-Pakistan relations

and the situation in Kashmir in their latest issues.

*Newsweek* said that after suffering "a humiliating military setback in the Rann of Kutch" and "bedevilled by a severe food shortage and bitter quarrels among India's various language groups," the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, had to show his toughness with Pakistan.

The paper recalled words of "twentieth-century Hindu Brahmin Jawaharlal Nehru" that "any one who has fallen under spell of Kashmir cannot release himself from its enchantment."

It said, "The Kashmiri Muslims have resisted Hindu rule for centuries and delight in slipping across the cease-fire line to slit the throats of Indian Hindu soldiers. To Azad Kashmiris, Muzaffarabad is a temporary capital pending the day their Muslim brothers in the south-eastern two-thirds of the land are liberated from Indian rule and they can return to their traditional capital of Srinagar.

"Hastily scrawled street signs appear almost every night on the city walls of Srinagar. Plebiscite our demand. They (Muslims) bitterly resent the fact under the law of Hindu India they are liable to seven years' imprisonment if they are caught eating beef, a traditional Muslim food.

"And geographically as well as by religious inclination, their country naturally falls into Pakistan's orbit. for Kashmir's rivers flow towards Pakistan rather than towards India, whose access to the country is either by air or through a single rugged mountain road.

"Those Kashmiris who take their



grievances out into the streets are quickly suppressed by club-wielding police and most of liberation movement leaders, including Kashmiris' national hero and former Prime Minister, Shaikh Abdullah, are languishing in jail without trial. But the disturbances go on and one Srinagar street has already earned the nickname of the Rann of Kutch, because of the skirmishes that have taken place between town folk and police there."

This American magazine then narrates an episode. "One old peasant woman in purple cotton pajamas dragged the *Newsweek* Correspondent, Faye Levene, off the street during a recent visit to whisper: Tell them in America we want to be free."

Commenting on the Indo-Pakistan war, *Newsweek* reported, "One point particularly noted by military observers is that in their first advance the Indians did not use air power effectively to support their troops. On the other hand, the Pakistanis, with sophisticated timing, swooped in on Ambala airfield and destroyed some 25 Indian planes just after they had landed."

It said that its Senior Editor, Mr. Arnaud de Borch Grave, had reported that "the Indians have suffered a serious tactical reverse" in the Lahore sector.

Referring to the morale of the people in Pakistan, *Newsweek* said, "In Karachi wide-eyed Muslims climbed to rooftops to watch battles between IAF and PAF planes" and cited "one old veteran who proudly displayed a British Burma Star on his tattered robes" and who told the paper, "I have fought in many wars, now I have come to take part in the

holiest of them."

The magazine accused that "India has adamantly refused to hold a plebiscite and, last December, New Delhi provocatively issued an executive order proclaiming its portion of Kashmir as integral part of the Indian State."

The *Time* reported: "Democratically elected President Ayub Khan is running Pakistan's side of the war from the map room in his interim capital of Rawalpindi." India's Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri is poles apart from Ayub Khan, physically, emotionally and personally."

The *Time* said: "Sacrely five feet tall, with a clerkish mein and a gentle, self-deprecating voice, the wonder is that Shastri ever became the head of the world's largest democratic State." It however, said that "Shastri's meekness is deceptive."

The magazine said, "Except for daily briefings by India's Army Chief of Staff, tall, moustached General Joyanto N. Chaudhri, Shastri stays aloof from the war."

The *Time* said that one of Mr. Shastri's aides explained, "He (Shastri) feels this is a professional matter and should be left to professionals."

Commenting on India's isolation, the *Time* said, "The Soviet Union, long a supporter of India called for instant truce. Britain's Prime Minister Harold Wilson did the same and urged all Commonwealth heads of State to follow the suit. Red China gleefully came out for Pakistan." Indonesian students in Jakarta joyfully wrecked the Indian Embassy, screaming "Crush India, the imperialists' lackey."

On Kashmir, *Time* recalled that "Nehru was determined to keep Kashmir" and said, "Kashmir's moun-



tain rim is so impenetrable that there is only one year-round road to the outside world and it goes to Pakistan."

It said, "Four times the U.N. has ordered that a plebiscite be held to determine the wishes of the people of Kashmir. Though Jawaharlal Nehru once vowed to abide by the will of the Kashmiri people, India has always found reasons for not holding the referendum."

The ex-Defence Minister, Krishna Menon, said the paper, "has bluntly explained why India opposes the plebiscite because 'we would lose it'."

The *Time* said: "Two men have built the nation: Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the father of his country, and Muhammad Ayub Khan" and continued that "he (President Ayub) encouraged foreign investment and gives tax credits to home grown investors. He has also done much for the East Pakistan with a heavy increase in Government capital outlay."

After noting that President Ayub was "a devout Muslim and a confirmed free enterpriser, *Time* recalled that he had told the U.S. Congress in 1961 that "the only people who will stand by you in Asia are the people of Pakistan provided that you are prepared to stand by them."

Referring to the Indo-Pakistan relations, it affirmed that Pakistan had gained 750 square miles in the process of defining borders with China and said that President Ayub had "praised the Red Chinese dedication of work."

About the military aspect *Time* summed up the position: "When the British left India in 1947 it was commonly said that Pakistan got

military and India the civil servant."

It said, "Chhamb and Dewa were taken swiftly" and Pakistan forces were "driving Indian defenders from village to village."

"Air of stern determination," it said, "spread through Rawalpindi and civil servants worked round the clock."

*The Times*, London, said in an editorial yesterday that both India and Pakistan "are to be congratulated for putting an end to fighting from which neither side stood to gain."

The Editorial referred to the Kashmir problem and said: "The Indians must realise they can hardly flout the concentration of world opinion behind the United Nations resolution. Further, one of their arguments against any consultation of Kashmir opinion—that it would inevitably lead to communal trouble in India—has been disproved in conditions far more tense than any such consultation could evoke."

The authoritative business daily, *The Financial Times*, commented: "Now that the fighting between India and Pakistan has stopped, the politicians have to try to find the lasting solution to the Kashmir problem."

Discussing the Kashmir issue, *The Financial Times* said, "Unless and until both countries agree to a settlement in Kashmir, no improvement in their relations is possible."

"The hope that if lesser issues were first resolved India and Pakistan might eventually find a solution to the Kashmir dispute has been well and truly exploded. However bleak the prospect of success over Kashmir, the search for an acceptable compromise must continue. There is no other way of ensuring political stability and econo-



mic progress in the sub-continent."

The *Life* magazine said: "Far more young Indians queue up at bus stops than the recruiting stations or blood donor centres."

The *Life* reports Dr. Karan Singh, the puppet Governor of Occupied Kashmir, as saying, "We would be very happy to hold Kashmir with the consent of the Kashmiris. But if necessary we will hold it without their consent."

The *Washington Post* yesterday called upon Pakistan and India "especially India" to follow the cease-fire with steps to solve the dispute over Kashmir.

It said, "Irrespective of any nationalist considerations, it ought now to be apparent in both countries that the bloodshed will have been in vain unless there is a harmonisation—which means some sort of Kashmir accommodation. The Security Council formula for further talks is very vague. Much will now depend upon the reasonableness of both parties, especially India. There can be no patience with any all-or-nothing formula on either side.

"Much will depend upon how well the United States and the Soviet Union, each with an eye on China, can continue working together privately and through the United Nations to emphasise that this time a Kashmir solution is imperative."

The Indo-Pakistan cease-fire has been welcomed virtually everywhere in the Middle East and North Africa but the feeling is widely expressed that there must be a basic Kashmir settlement.

*Al-Amal* official newspaper of the Socialist Destour Party of the Tunisian President, Mr. Habib Bour-

guiba, said yesterday that "there can be no better settlement than a plebiscite."

It warned if the "right of self-determination was not exercised, the quarrel will continue."

The Iranian Premier, Mr. Amir Abbas Hoveida, on Wednesday night issued a statement welcoming the cease-fire but adding the hope that "the problem of Kashmir, the source of the conflict, will this time be settled in a way satisfactory to both parties."

In Ankara, the newspaper, *Milliyet*, concluded an editorial saying, "It is now a matter of finding a final settlement of the Kashmir problem, for if the question goes unsolved despite the events during the last few days the trouble will again start, this time at a large scale."

The inherent strength of the people of Pakistan which they draw from the solid social and political unity that Islam has ingrained in their soul is the foremost reason why Pakistanis have stood like giant rocks before the Indian invasion.

This was observed by *Al-Difa* a daily of Jerusalem, in an article titled, "India's problem of statehood and Government."

It said that another reason was the strength which Pakistan forces drew from their modern organisation and armament, in addition to Pakistani soldiers' characteristic bravery inherent in the idea of Jihad.

The paper further said: "British had instilled in Indian Army spirit of professionalism and mercenarism by introducing weird caste system. So much so that Indian Army is unable even now to rid itself of their complicated caste system." It said, as a result of rude shock of shameful defeat at



the hands of the Chinese Army, the Indian Generals came to dabble in India's politics.

"Effect of the Indian army interference in politics swayed India towards right. From this analysis it clearly transpires that war between India and Pakistan for which India had planned for so long was the result of the Indian Army's influence on Government. It also shows that Indian Generals desired to score cheap victory over Pakistani forces in order to regain lost prestige following their debacle in Sino-Indian border war."

*The Manila Times* has said that the cause of the present war between India and Pakistan is the former's opposition to a plebiscite in Kashmir as urged by the United Nations.

It said that the removal of that cause was the first step which should be taken to settle the conflict and keep it from erupting again in the future. If the Security Council could now persuade the combatants to lay down their arms long enough to talk profitably, the political future of Kashmir must be given top priority, it added.

"It said, "There have already been suggestions regarding the withdrawal of Indian and Pakistani forces from Kashmir and the neutralisation of this State guaranteed by an international force pending a permanent solution."

"India is being dangerous and provocative in Kashmir, day after day her troops are penetrating beyond the Cease-fire Line on hostile sorties—extraordinary conduct for a nation which professes to give moral lead to the rest of the world. India has no right to the chunk of Kashmir that she holds already. Were the people, who are overwhelmingly Muslims, allowed to

choose, as even U.N.O. has suggested they would wish to be rid of their Indian overlords. India clings to her position only by arms. It is time that she is given a warning. She looks to the West for aid. She must be told that she can expect no favours whatsoever while she indulges in cruel aggression against Britain's loyal ally, Pakistan," *Daily Express* September 1, 1965).

"As Muslims, most of the people of Kashmir would doubtless opt for union with Pakistan—which is why India has never allowed them to be asked... Whoever may be immediately responsible for the unwise measures, it clearly stems from Mr. Shastri's months ago which hardened Indian control over the Kashmir administration" (*Daily Telegraph*, August 11, 1965).

"A situation of the utmost gravity appears to be developing, a situation that could get out of hand and seriously affect international relations, yet the world sits back, cotton wool in its ears, hoping that it will all blow over instead of up" (*Yorkshire Post*, August 17, 1965).

"What certainly has happened is that the Pakistanis have grown sick of waiting for Indian attitudes to soften. They were told last autumn that India would like the dispute kept on ice while Mr. Shastri settled into office; but New Delhi then initiated a whole series of measures that tended to integrate Kashmir ever more closely to India. Indian leaders have vied with each other in declaring the State's future settled for ever. The bulk of politically conscious Kashmiris have seen their hopes, raised when Abdullah was set free, dashed by his new arrest, while a State Government advertised



as a 'liberalising' one detains political workers and bans newspapers.... The Indian Government deserves little sympathy for its troubles in Kashmir and it will probably get less" (*The Economist*, August 14, 1965).

"The Indians were certainly asking for it, and will be asking for more so long as they refuse to compromise on the dispute. Armed in the certainty of their (Pakistanis') own righteousness, and now thoroughly angry, they see less than ever why they should compromise" (*The Economist*, August 28, 1965).

"What is important is that for the last eighteen years, India has been in occupation of the Kashmir Valley without any right and has been throwing into prison those who wanted independence. In Kashmir where the majority is Muslim, India has been refusing to hold a plebiscite in spite of numerous resolutions of the U.N. Security Council. The Indian Government authorities know it very well that whenever a plebiscite is held, they are going to lose the rich Valley of Kashmir, yet they insist on trying to change the course of events. Since India has without any right been ignoring the resolutions of the Security Council, she has been losing her prestige day by day in the eyes of the world" (*Yeni Tanin Sicily*, Turkey August 13, 1965).

"The Kashmir dispute has dragged on for many years. The complexities of politics and power.... The issue involved is simple and clear; the right of a people to self-determination and the obligation of States to honour international commitments. Yet certain quarters suggest that the right to self-determination is something the countries of Africa and Asia ought to

fear.... They recall the history of the United States and the bloody Civil War fought in the States to prevent the South from seceding.... This analogy is inaccurate since Kashmir is not a part of India trying to secede, nor a slave owning society attempting to retain salvery" (*West African Pilot*).

"India and Pakistan are parties to the U.N. resolutions and stand internationally committed to implement them" (*Nigerian Daily Times*).

"We have reasons to be concerned when Kashmir is struck by war and anarchy, we believe plebiscite is the answer to the problem of Kashmir. These are the days of national sovereignty and the people of Kashmir should be asked to decide about their own destiny." (*The Ettelaate*, Teheran).

"India has refused to allow the people to hold a plebiscite to which it once agreed to determine whether to join India or Pakistan" (*The Milwaukee Journal*, August 17).

"The people of Kashmir have risen in revolt against Indian occupation armies. Nineteen years ago United Nations promised them right to self-determination. This right had been denied to them by India. United Nations had stood helplessly by. Now they have taken their fate into their own hands.... Indonesia, consistent with the pledge made by President Soekarno in his Independence Day address, fully supports the right of people of Kashmir to determine their own destiny, United Nations resolutions or no United Nations resolutions" (*Indonesian Herald*, August 20, 1965).

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 28.* Foreign Press continues to condemn India's wanton aggression against Pakistan and spot-



lights her humiliating military defeat at the hands of Pakistan armed forces.

Khang Khay : The so-called non-alignment policy of the Indian Government is only a camouflage to hoodwink the people both at home and abroad, said *Pa Thip Biay* (Torch), organ of the Laotian Patriotic Neutralist Forces, according to the Voice of Laos on September 24.

The paper in its commentary on September 20 pointed out that it was the Indian rulers who launched armed provocations and aggression against Pakistan, trampled upon the Kashmir people's right of self-determination by taking Kashmir as one of the Indian States, and brutally suppressed the people there.

The Indian rulers continuously despatched troops to intrude into the Chinese territory.

Manila : A graver problem than even the Kashmir dispute continues to plague India herself—a conflict only temporarily obscured by the Indo-Pakistan war, Mr. Max Sullivan, a well-known columnist of the *Manila Times*, wrote yesterday.

The *Daily Telegraph* said, "Just as the outside world, on the whole, finds it difficult to accept the finality of India's absolute claims to Kashmir, so Indians simply cannot understand how so many foreigners regard Kashmir as a territory in dispute between India and Pakistan."

The *Kayhan* of Teheran said, "India's intransigence is responsible for the present international crisis."

Teheran : The daily *Teheran Journal* said that the present situation was the direct result of the United Nations weak decision. Had the United Nations been a little bit more careful

this unpleasantness would never have happened. Even now, the paper added, the U.N. was showing weakness towards the problem and the "cease-fire order shows just that."

"All the same our only hope is the U.N. and only it can put an end to the question of Kashmir but it must be a rich and strong U.N. and this strength can only be achieved if the U.N. is backed and supported by every country before this unfortunate war can get any worse," it declared.

Commenting on cease-fire the Nigerian newspaper, *The Daily Times* wrote editorially : "We believe that the only political solution which grants the people of Kashmir freedom to determine their own future will have a lasting effect."

"History records a precedent for this when the old League of Nations conducted a plebiscite in the Saar region in 1935 and both Germany and France respected the result," it said.

Cairo : Mr. Khalid Mohiuddin, Chairman of the All-Akhbar Organisation and President, Arab Socialist Union Committee for Press, in his weekly column in *Akhbar Al-Yom*, said, "The United Nations is required immediately to tackle all outstanding problems on the basis of justice and respect for people's will to self-determination."

He forcefully stated that apart from the U.N. it was the duty of non-aligned Afro-Asian groups "to immediately establish permanent committees for immediate solution of problems like Kashmir and Palestine and to exert pressure as well as bring conviction to disputing parties to accept immediately unanimous solutions offered by these organisations, otherwise disputing countries should



be subjected to sanctions by these organisations."

Rawalpindi: The *Asahi Shimbun* of Tokyo has said, "India should frankly recognise that majority of Kashmiris are not satisfied with the *status quo* that Pakistan does not recognise it, that as a result the same kind of war that happened 18 years ago has to be repeated and that the problem could not be solved by such a war."

Another popular daily of Tokyo, *The Mainichi*, said editorially, "The U.N. should abide by its resolution for plebiscite in Kashmir."

*The Japan Times* said, "The U.N. having accepted the responsibility of bringing the hostilities to an end must not shirk back from determined efforts to cure the underlying cause, however unpleasant the necessary decision and procedure to enforce the decision may be."

Rawalpindi, Oct. 3. A special correspondent of *Le Figaro*, a Paris daily, M. Chauvel's despatch reads:

"Bagh (Azad Kashmir), September 29: 'Why are we treated like that? What have we done? Why do you help India? Quit Kashmir, we want to go back, to be free.' I am surrounded by a big crowd of over-excited people shouting at me, raising their arms, pushing me like a punching ball.

"The police officers try to calm them down but the shouts go louder. In the name of Christ, Moses and Muhammad, our Prophets, why are you helping those unbelievers?"

"It is six o'clock in the afternoon and the sun has already sunk behind the high peaks which surround the Valley.

"We have just come into one of

those refugee camps hastily set up behind the Kashmir Cease-fire Line to welcome the civilians fleeing from the repression of the Indian Army on the other side of the Line.

"An angry young man pinches my arm and tells me the story of his village, Mandi, somewhere in the vicinity of Poonch. 'Indians have cut off the breasts of our girls and held them up saying: Here is your Pakistan. Seven members of my family have been taken by the soldiers and butchered.' He went on with tears in his eyes. Another man interrupted: 'They locked people in their houses and set fire to them. The whole village has been burned.'

"This morning I visited another refugee camp further up in the north. Here again. I had the same accounts from fleeing villagers."

Karachi, Oct. 17. *The Sydney Morning Herald* commented editorially, in its issue of Oct. 16: "How the dispute should be settled may still be open to argument although it should not be forgotten that both parties accepted the U.N. proposal for plebiscite—but there can be no pretending that the dispute no longer exists. President Radhakrishnan's appeal for 'brotherhood' is not meaningful so long as he accompanies it with a refusal to budge on Kashmir.

"It is utterly irrational to argue that because the Commonwealth does not endorse India's standpoint on Kashmir it has in any way abated its friendliness to India."

Karachi, Oct. 13. *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, a leading German newspaper, in its issue of October 10, published the following story by its



Foreign Editor, Mr. Klaus Natorp, currently in Srinagar. Mr. Natorp said that the picture of the situation in Kashmir as given by Delhi is completely wrong.

In a report, he said: "This weekend, serious disturbances have taken place in the capital of Kashmir. Ten thousand people, mainly students and pupils, have taken part in a demonstration on Saturday afternoon before the Hazrat Bal Mosque. During this demonstration, the demand for plebiscite was repeated. After the demonstrations, the people came to blows with the units of the police force. The police opened fire when they were hit with stones.

"According to reliable sources, there have been 22 casualties in this encounter. The Indian authorities say that there have been no casualties. But they admit that there have been serious disturbances, and that leaders of the opposition groups who were arrested there are: Maulvi Muhammad Faruq, Chairman of the Action Committee and his close associates Maulvi Abbas and Bashir Ahmad, as well as Haji Muhammad Ishaq, the leader of the Plebiscite Front. A 24-hour complete curfew has been imposed upon the Muslim district of Srinagar.

"The picture of the situation in Kashmir, as given by Delhi at least as far as it concerns Srinagar, is completely wrong. Already before this weekend every day there were severe disturbances led by the students directed against Indian authorities and for a plebiscite. The semi-military country constabulary has repeatedly dispersed the demonstrators by force. During these activities many persons have been wounded, since the police

acted very brutally. At least 30,000 policemen and soldiers have turned Srinagar into a huge army camp. All Muslim shops have been closed. Also taxi and bus drivers are on strike.

"About 400 people have been arrested in all, among them are many students. In spite of the curfew many incidents are reported in the night. During the last nights several houses were burnt down.

"The Indian public has until now not been informed about the happenings in Kashmir. Reports of Indian journalists from Srinagar are not passed on. The bitterness in Kashmiri population is only growing day by day."

Mr. Natorp, in a despatch published on Oct. 12, says: "Situation in Srinagar, the summer capital of Kashmir, remains still tense. Curfew continues from 8.30 p.m. to 0.30 a.m. Three parts of the city, mainly inhabited by the Muslims, have been declared out-of-bounds and they can only be entered with special permission. Journalists have not been given any permission up till now. Therefore, they depend on what they hear from the population or from official authorities for their background in the reports.

"The 'Home Minister' of Kashmir, Mr. Dhar, has admitted in a press conference for the first time, that there have been severe disturbances in Srinagar. He added that police had to open fire on demonstrators since they not only threw stones but also hand grenades. In the clashes which were admitted also in the news over the Radio on Saturday, there was only one casualty, according to the statement of Mr. Dhar. Two persons wounded. The population speaks of



considerably higher figures.

"Restlessness in Srinagar puzzles the authorities obviously much more than they are prepared to admit. Also Home Minister Nanda of the Central Government has intervened by telephone.

"According to well-informed circles, the protest demonstrations by the Kashmiris are to be led back to the fact that the Central Government continues to assert that there was nothing to negotiate about Kashmir, not at present and not in future."

*Ottawa Oct. 31.* Describing the police reign of terror let loose in the State, David Van Poraagh, special correspondent of *Toronto Globe and Mail* said: "Helmeted police took up new weapons to add 'lathis', rifles and occasional stenguns."

"But it has not solved any basic problems and there can be no doubt that it has increased the hatred of Kashmiri Muslims for India.

"Carefully planned action by police many of whom were brought from other States, was executed in the name of Indian secular democracy.

"They used pickaxes to force open heavy locks on shops, threatened Muslim shopkeepers with Government take-over unless they resumed business" and "bus, taxi and horsecart drivers were forced back on streets by threat of cancellation of licences.

"The real centre of operations is the bedroom of the Home Minister, Mr. D. P. Dhar the strong man of Kashmir, considered more powerful than the Chief Minister Sadiq, who calls a plebiscite a 19th century idea.

Writing about the desecration of the Hazratbal shrine, the correspondent said: "The police looted and

burned shops inside the mosque grounds and policemen opened fire with rifles."

In closing, the correspondent observed: "India has held on to the Vale of physical force but in so doing has underlined the fact that Kashmir is an occupied State, a place where people and police regard each other coldly as enemies. It is a place where Indian secular democracy has broken down and almost a colony of India that the people of India know very little about."

*Kathmandu, Nov. 8.* The English weekly news magazine, *Nepalese Perspective* commented: "Any attempt side-tracking the issue would only endanger peace and undermine authority of the world body.

"It is a dispute involving peace and war and the United Nations will have to find a proper solution of it without care whether its judgment does offend any party. Only this way the United Nations could redeem its solemn pledges for a peaceful and prosperous world society."

*Karachi, Nov. 12.* Commentator Smetanin of the Novosti Press Agency (released by the USSR Embassy in Pakistan) said: "The Soviet Government proceeded and continues to proceed from the fact that the elimination of these causes is a matter about all of India and Pakistan." Precisely, he said, India and Pakistan should sit down at the conference table in order to settle this "old and dangerous issue."

"Soviet people are convinced that only under these conditions, not on battlefield but at the round table of peaceful negotiations, can and should



a final and stable agreement be reached between Pakistan and India on the Kashmir problem."

The Soviet commentator said: "Such is the position of the USSR in the Indo-Pakistani conflict. Attempts are at times made to claim that the Soviet Union is a legedly not objective and is inclined to support one side at the expense of the ether side. Such opinions are far from reality. The only thing desired by the Soviet people is the eatablishment of stable peace between Pakistan and India."

The commentator said: "The armed clash which flared up between India and Pakistan over Kashmir has evoked serious anxiety and concern in Soviet official quarters and among the wide Soviet public.

"This is not only a matter of conflict breaking out in an area directly adjacent to the Soviet Union's frontier and it is not only because it has aggravated the already tense situation in Asia, resulting from the U.S. aggression in Indo-China.

"The anxiety and concern of Soviet quarters is to be explained about all that in this case an armed clash broke out between two fraternal peoples with whom the Soviet people have established good relations.

"The Soviet Union has long ago established relations of friendship and co-operation in all spheres with India. The relations with neighbouring Pakistan were for a long period marred by the fact that the Western Powers attempted to use her territory for aggravating the situation in South-East Asia, for conducting provocations against the Soviet Union. This became especially clear after the American U-2 plane piloted by Powers set off from a military base in

Pakistan on a spy flight over Soviet territory. However, as the saying has it, much water has flown under the bridge since Garry Powers was shot down in the Sverdlovsk area and justly sentenced by a Soviet court for the espionage.

"The relations with neighbouring Pakistan of late have invariably improved and, finally, we could state especially after President Ayub Khan's visit to the USSR that nothing hinders the friendship and co-operation between the USSR and Pakistan now.

"It seemed that the time had come when the Soviet Union's desire for peace and friendship with its neighbours had been crowned with new success taking into account the interests of both India and Pakistan. And suddenly the tension which had existed in the relation between India and Pakistan took the form of open military clashes, at first in the area of the Rann of Kutch and later in Kashmir as well.

"The position taken by the people and the Government of the USSR in connection with these armed clashes as has already been pointed out is in the main determind by three factors:

"—Concern for preserving peace in this area of Asia which borders with the Soviet Union;

"—The general trend of Soviet foreign policy which rejects military methods of solving frontier conflicts;

"—And finally, our friendship with the peoples of Pakistan and India, a desire to facilitate the progress of these countries by rendering them moral and material assistance.

"It was absolutely clear for Soviet people that a military conflict between Pakistan and India cannot benefit either of the sides. 'Present develop-



does not exist any longer," writes an APP special correspondent.

The venue was the big Pakistani airbase at Sargodha, target of nearly 60 Indian raids and according to the disciples of Dr. Goebels, weaving their fantastic webs of phantasy in the newsrooms of A.I.R., a target that was wiped off the face of the earth by the pilots of Air Marshal Arjun Singh.

Well, adds the APP man who with his foreign and Pakistani colleagues, lapped up the food with gusto in a singularly well-appointed officers' mess, the P.A.F. must have done a miraculous job of reconstruction since the cease-fire, to put Sargodha back on the map of West Pakistan again.

Sargodha was there all right—not a mark, not a scratch, every building intact, every runway in perfect order for landings and take-offs that were going on all the time.

Could All-India Radio have been mistaken? Could it be possible that Sargodha was, in fact, destroyed and that we were eating somewhere else or in a make-believe messroom that was hastily thrown up to fool the gullible foreign Press?

Could be I suppose, continues the APP man—but, somehow or other, the building (and its neighbours) looked remarkably solid and genuine. And the foreign Pressmen, impressed by the hospitality, seemed to take it for granted that Sargodha was, indeed, Sargodha and not a mound of rubble.

To get down to brass tacks and to dispel any illusions which the I.A.F. may still harbour, Sargodha stands solid, sentinel-like, a forward defence line of Pakistan that showed its teeth

when the Indian pilots roared over it last month—to get the licking of their lives.

Still there—and in flying kit ready to take off in two minutes or less—is brave Bengali Squadron Leader M.M. Alam, 110 lbs. of patriotic dynamite, who shot down nine Indian planes and damaged two others when the Indians flew in (at night only) to drop their bombs.

When they dropped them is still something of a mystery—if they dropped any at all in the vicinity of the huge airbase.

We saw one hole in the wall of a maintenance building, adds the APP correspondent. We saw some broken windows that was the lot. Runways—intact. Planes—lined up, sinister, loaded. Pilots—laughing, joking, eating, smoking... but clad ready for instant action.

Perhaps All-India Radio should be invited to send along a team of reporters to see for themselves what has happened to Sargodha.

But, one Pakistani condition should be that some neutral type should inject them, first of all, with a truth-producing drug—or else the proposed operation will flounder in a morass of Goebellian fantasies from the witches' brew—the newsrooms of that weaver of fairy tales back in New Delhi.

The Sargodha visit, writes the APP Special Correspondent, was the culmination of a day's see-it-for-yourself tour arranged by the PAF.

From Karachi to Peshawar by a plane that would vie for smoothness and comfortable fittings with any in the world—PAF-owned, too.



ments in that region,' the official Tass statement of September 8 pointed out, 'play into the hands only of those external forces that seek to disunite and set at loggerheads the States that had cast off colonial yoke.'

"As far as the essence of the Soviet position is concerned, the abovementioned Tass statement expounded it in the following words: 'The USSR is coming out for the solution of disputes between sovereign States through talks, through peaceful means. Reading the entire complexity of the situation in the India-Pakistani conflict Soviet people believe that there is a possibility to find a peaceful solution to the disputes between India and Pakistan, given that the statesmen of both countries display realism, restraint and understanding of the grave consequences of development of the armed conflict.'

"The Soviet Government at that time called upon both Pakistan and India to immediately stop armed operations and withdraw troops to the line established by the 1949 agreement between the two countries.

"On September 4, A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, sent messages to President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Shastri offering the Soviet Union's good offices to both countries in restoring peace between them.

"Several days later a new Tass statement was published which pointed out that the military conflict between Pakistan and India was spreading and unfortunately external forces were found which were striving to fan the flames of this conflict. In this connection the Soviet Government once again called upon India and Pakistan to immediately stop military opera-

tions.

"On September 17 the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers sent a new message to President Ayub Khan and Premier Shastri offering assistance for their meeting on Soviet territory with the aim of drawing up conditions for restoring peace.

"It is generally known that following these messages a decision was finally taken on a cease-fire. A great role in achieving the agreement was played by the United Nations. We, however, would like to stress that this was also actively facilitated by the Soviet Union both directly as well as through the United Nations.

"The Soviet Government's efforts were recognised in ruling quarters of both India and Pakistan. President Ayub Khan in a message to A. N. Kosygin pointed out that Pakistan fully realised the seriousness of the present conflict and therefore express special gratitude to the Soviet Union for its efforts in restoring peace between India and Pakistan as well as for offering its good offices as regards the organisation of a meeting of the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India on Soviet territory.

"It was always clearly realised in the Soviet Union that the cease-fire between India and Pakistan, although being a great victory of the forces of reason and peace, does not however mean the elimination of the causes of the conflict. The Soviet Government proceeded and continues to proceed from the fact that the elimination of these causes is a matter above all of India and Pakistan. Precisely India and Pakistan should sit down at the conference table in order to settle this old and dangerous issue.

"Such is the position of the USSR



in the Indo-Pakistani conflict. Attempts are at times made to claim that the Soviet Union is allegedly not objective and is inclined to support one side at the expense of the other side. Such opinions are far from reality. The only thing desired by the Soviet Government is the establishment of a stable peace between Pakistan and India and as far as this basic desire is concerned the Soviet Government equally appeals to the leaders of Pakistan as well as to those of India with the call to display wisdom, restraint and patience. Soviet people are convinced that only under these conditions, not on the battlefield but at the round table of peaceful negotiations, can and should a final and stable agreement be reached between Pakistan and India on the Kashmir problem."

*Karachi, Nov. 13.* Stating that the story of Kashmir is one of broken promises by India, Mr. S. Hugh Jones observed in the course of an article in *Le Monde Diplomatique* (Paris) : "When Britain agreed to the partition of India in 1947, instead of handing over the rights which they held over the Indian princes because they were the 'supreme power,' to the Governments of India and Pakistan—their successors—they declared in all legality (but also in all absurdity) that the princes could either choose to which of the two new countries their state would accede, or to opt for independence.

"But in accepting the accession the Indian Government promised that the final destiny of the State (Kashmir) would be decided by popular vote. Afterwards, this promise of plebiscite was incorporated in the United

Nations proposals—accepted by the two countries—for a political settlement which was to follow the cease-fire of January 1, 1949, and which, since then, has become an undeclared war between India and Pakistan.

"The promise was frequently repeated in the following years in unequivocal terms by the Indian leaders. Despite repeated negotiations, either bilateral or by the intervention of the United Nations, this promise was never carried out. The reason given by India, that Pakistan did not fulfil the preliminary conditions for the organisation of a plebiscite—the retreat of all the Pakistani troops in Kashmir by Pakistan—is a poor excuse.

"But it is not the first time that promises have been made, then broken, and political griefs finally forgotten. Why then has this survived so long and with such virulence?

"Here, there is one aspect that has passed in silence : the people of Kashmir. There have been three elections in India-held Kashmir. So far as the Kashmir valley is concerned, they have all been rigged : political liberty has never existed. Shaikh Abdullah who was the first Prime Minister of the State was suddenly deposed and imprisoned in 1953 when he started talking of a plebiscite.

"With the exception of a few months in 1958, he remained in prison, always enjoying an immense popularity, till 1964 after the riots—first real manifestation of the popular will since 1947—forced the puppet pro-Indian Government of Kashmir to resign. At the moment, another puppet Government is in authority.



"After a visit to the foreign countries in the beginning of this year, during which he accomplished a round of propaganda in favour of a plebiscite and met Mr. Chou En-lai in Algiers which was considered the crime of all crimes, Abdullah is once again in prison since the month of May."

Lagos, Nov. 19. "India is playing up China bogey in order to provoke world sympathies and to cover up its acts of genocide of Kashmiri Muslims," observed the *Sunday Post*.

Answering the charge on an alleged collusion between China and Pakistan, the *Sunday Post* said: "Pakistan has time and again categorically denied any collusion with China against India. In spite of very strong temptations Pakistan did not attack India when the Indian armies were being defeated by China in 1962. Does that prove collusion between Pakistan and China?"

Quoting extensively from reports published in the *Manchester Guardian* and the *London Times* about the happenings in Kashmir, the

paper went on to say: "Ironically enough the secular Indian Government has forced at least 95,000 Kashmiri Muslims to quit Indian-occupied Kashmir and take refuge in Pakistan since August this year. Harrowing tales of inhuman physical torture, kidnapping and murder committed by the Indian occupation forces in Kashmir were told by these refugees."

Exposing India's hoax of the so-called general elections in Kashmir, the paper commented: "These elections were held in the background of State-wide arrests of political leaders, including the Lion of Kashmir, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, and suppression of all political liberties. These were nothing but rigged elections held in the shadow of Indian bayonets."

Describing the reign of terror in Occupied Kashmir, the paper concluded: "In a State of four million people India had deployed 15,000 soldiers and 30,000 policemen, meant only to keep the freedom-loving people of Kashmir under its tyrannical rule."



STATEMENTS OF THE INDIAN LEADERS

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Before, during and after the recent Indo-Pak war all the political and social leaders of India reacted to the situation promptly and with least reservation. Among these leaders, on the one hand, were people who were deadly against Pakistan and wanted to undo her at all cost; on the other hand, there were some sane heads in this group who in the best interest of their land were eagerly looking for an early cease-fire and an honourable and peaceful solution of all the disputes and disagreements which led to the war between Pakistan and India.

It is primarily essential to keep in view this important fact of Indo-Pak history.



*New Delhi, Aug. 12.* Mr. Shastri is understood to have apprised the Indian President of the growing revolt in the held State and the measures being adopted by his Government to meet the grave situation.

Both the Prime Minister and the President were stated to be greatly perturbed over the sudden uprising in spite of the presence of heavily armed troops and police.

*August, 13.* The Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, in his nation-wide broadcast this evening compared the present situation in Occupied Kashmir to that following the start of Liberation War in late 1947 and thus admitted that it was very grave.

Mr. Shastri described the people's revolt as a "grave challenge" and warned that it might perpetuate itself.

He, however, held Pakistan responsible for the situation.

Mr. Shastri issued threats to Pakistan in an obvious attempt to raise the morale of his countrymen. He addressed the people of Kashmir in a similar language making it clear that they are in for more repercussions in the days to come.

Mr. Shastri said, "force will be met with force and aggression against us will never succeed. If Pakistan has any ideas of annexing any part of our territories by force she should think afresh."

Mr. Shastri said, armed "infiltra-

tors" from Pakistan and Azad Kashmir had crossed the Cease-fire Line in civilian disguise."

"There is no doubt that this is a thinly disguised armed attack on our country organised by Pakistan and it has to be met as such," he added.

"On this occasion the method adopted and the strategy used show signs of a new tutelage, possibly a new conspiracy," Mr. Shastri said.

Mr. Shastri said, "Only one conclusion is now possible and it is: Pakistan has probably taken a deliberate decision to keep up an atmosphere of tension. Peace apparently does not suit her intentions."

The Indian Prime Minister said, "mopping up" operations were now in progress and "Pakistan's latest attempt at creating disorder in Kashmir is being crushed. No quarter will be given to the saboteurs.

"The more important question before us now is not that of these 'infiltrators, and their activities because we are quite clear as to what to do with them. The real question is that of our relations with Pakistan.

Pakistan "committed naked aggression" in the Rann of Kutch last April, but "eventually the armed forces of Pakistan had to go back from Indian soil and it was reasonable to hope that our mutual relations might take a turn for the better.

' In this context, it is amazing that Pakistan should have embarked on yet another adventure."



*New Delhi, Aug. 15.* The Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, said today that Pakistan would not get an inch of Kashmir.

Referring to armed guerillas, who, the Indians say, were sent across the Kashmir cease-fire line by Pakistan, it was not just a matter of a few days. "It is not as if they have come today and will go away tomorrow. It was a danger which would continue."

Mr. Shastri said that once Pakistan had decided to use force in Kashmir it was likely she would make it a point of prestige. "But we also have our national self-respect and certain responsibilities to fulfil. I can state it very clearly that they are not going to get an inch of Kashmir. The Soviet Union, the United States and the countries in Europe all want peace—but there is one country which does not like peace either in Viet Nam or in India—it is China."

*New Delhi, Aug. 16.* Mr. Chavan, the Indian Defence Minister, told Parliament today that the situation in Kashmir was "a threat to the territorial integrity of our country."

"We will meet this new threat created by Pakistan in an effective manner and I have no doubt that the security forces, with the help of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, will be able to meet the situation even though it may take some time."

Mr. Chavan said, the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, had been told of these "cease-fire violations."

*New Delhi, Aug. 19.* The Prime Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, declared today that Pakistan had un-

leashed the guerilla war now gripping Kashmir and "her adventures will cost her dearly."

Pakistan would not be allowed to succeed in what was an attempt to disrupt Kashmir with guerillas, "all trained by the Pakistan Army."

He called on India's 480 million people to "stand as one man" to face what he called the Pakistani threat.

*Karachi, Aug. 19.* The Indian Sarvodaya leader, Mr. Acharya Vinoba Bhave, has appealed to India and Pakistan to begin bilateral talks on Kashmir on the basis of "give-and-take." "President Ayub is a soldier and a straightforward man. I have faith in him. I believe he is reasonable."

Mr. Bhave said that in the present situation in Kashmir India and Pakistan should trust each other.

According to *The Express* Mr. Bhave said: "If my voice could reach Ayub Khan's ears, I would tell him to have patience. Even the Qur'an counsels patience."

*New Delhi, Aug. 23.* The Indian Defence Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, said that India was ready to cross the Cease-fire Line in Kashmir, if necessary, to defend it.

Mr. Chavan said that whenever India found it necessary to cross the Cease-fire Line to defend it, she had done so "and I have no doubt we are ready to do so again."

*New Delhi, Aug. 23.* The Indian Minister for Information, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, said here yesterday that "Kashmir is still in danger."

"The infiltrators already in the State and those who may come in later



are the source of danger," she told a public meeting organised by the Congress Committee.

*New Delhi, Aug. 23.* Indian Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, has said that if Pakistan continued her "aggression" India would not limit herself to defensive measures but would strike back.

Mr. Shastri told an American correspondent here that India could not go on for ever pushing Pakistanis off her territory. "If this continues we will have to carry the fight to the other side. It all depends on what Pakistan does now," he said; "it is up to them."

Mr. Shastri charged Pakistan with sending 3,000 to 4,000 "armed infiltrators" and said that the Kashmir situation was particularly serious after the Kutch agreement.

Mr. Shastri said that he had made it clear in his talks with President Ayub in October last year that the Indian people felt as strongly about Kashmir as Pakistanis and therefore the two countries ought to tackle the other problems one by one to improve the relations.

*Rawalpindi, Aug. 24.* The Indian Prime Minister threatened that India might resort to actions similar to the occupation of three Pakistani posts in Kargil elsewhere to stop what he called "infiltration from Pakistan."

Mr. Shastri described the situation in Kashmir as "very serious." He said, the struggle would be long drawn out and accused Pakistan of planning things of gigantic proportions.

Mr. Shastri said that the current "serious situation" in Occupied Kashmir was not going to end very soon.

He told the Lok Sabha during debate on the Kutch agreement that the situation in the State was worsening day by day.

*New Delhi, Aug. 26.* The Philosopher President of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan, said in Srinagar, "In some circumstances attack becomes the best form of defence, . . . we may be sure that all these things will not go unnoticed.

"It is necessary, therefore, for us to be prepared for any kind of assault at any time."

Mr. Y. B. Chavan said: "We shall weed out all those 'infiltrators' who have violated the Cease-fire Line and crossed into our border.

"And if need be there we shall go farther than that. We have demonstrated our determination."

*New Delhi, Aug. 26.* The Indian Prime Minister, has said that the situation in Kashmir was "difficult and likely to be prolonged" during which further Indian action would naturally depend on what Pakistan did.

He said that there might be a "bigger design and planning" than was first thought, behind "Pakistani infiltration" in the Occupied Kashmir.

"We will have to be prepared to go very far in this matter. We must prevent infiltrators from coming into Indian territory."

He said, situation was grave and it was going to be a prolonged affair. "The country is passing through fire."

*New Delhi, Aug. 26.* The Indian Cabinet last evening discussed the grave situation prevailing in Occupied Kashmir.



Mr. Shastri reportedly told his Cabinet colleagues that they had resorted to the crossing of the Cease-fire Line to boost the morale of the Indians who were feeling depressed ever since the start of trouble in Kashmir.

*New Delhi, Sept. 1.* The Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Shastri, said here tonight Pakistan has launched "a regular attack and we will certainly meet it."

He said, "Fighting is still going on in Kashmir. Pakistanis have come in good strength. It is a regular attack and we will certainly meet it."

Giving his reaction about President Ayub's first-of-the-month broadcast tonight, he said: "It is undoubtedly an admission of the fact that Pakistanis had infiltrated into the Valley."

*New Delhi, Sept. 3.* The Indian Premier today virtually rejected the United Nations Secretary-General U Thant's appeal for unconditional cessation of operations in Kashmir.

In a broadcast he said: "A cease-fire is not peace and we cannot go on from one cease-fire to another."

Mr. Shastri urged men and women to join Home Guards in large numbers. He said that security measures, especially in civil defence, were being reinforced in Punjab and Delhi and would be extended to other areas later.

Mr. Shastri said, the nation must get in the mood for making sacrifices "cheerfully." He said, he was making a call to the nation to rise and meet the challenge.

*New Delhi, Sept. 5.* The Indian Premier said, "If Pakistan wants to compel us by use of force to discuss the main

question of Kashmir, I say it is just out of the question.

"We cannot accept it and we will not accept it, come what may."

Mr. Shastri said, the country would have to undergo suffering and sacrifices.

It was time for people to give their utmost and contribute whatever they could for the preservation of the nation's "freedom and integrity," he said, adding "the fight is going to be exceedingly stiff."

He threatened, "We will consider our strategy for the future. Pakistan has already escalated the conflict. We do not want that there should be a continuous conflict forced on us by Pakistan and that they should cross into our territory and then sue for peace in the hope that we agree to some kind of cease-fire.

"This has become intolerable; I do not and cannot accept it.

"We have to bring this matter to an end," the Indian Premier said.

*New Delhi, Sept. 6.* Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Indian Prime Minister, is reported to have described the developing situation between India and Pakistan as full-scale war at a close-door meeting of the ruling Congress Party Parliamentary Executive, according to the India news agency, Press Trust of India.

*New Delhi, Sept. 6.* Indian troops have crossed the border into West Pakistan in the vicinity of the West Pakistan's provincial capital of Lahore. The Indian Defence Minister announced in the Lok Sabha today.

Mr. Chavan told a wildly cheering House, "Our aircraft carried out a number of sorties over West Pakistan



early this morning and attacked a number of military installations, including a goods train carrying stores and inflicted considerable damage. In order to forestall the opening of another front by Pakistan our troops in the Punjab moved across the border in the vicinity of Lahore for the protection of Indian frontier."

*New Delhi, Sept 7.* The Bhoodan leader, Acharya Vinoba Bhave, said today that Kashmir would remain a problem so long as the Cease-fire Line continued to exist in Kashmir and armed forces of both the countries were posted along it.

He reiterated that Pakistan and India should ultimately solve the Kashmir problem peacefully, instead of resorting to war.

Acharya Bhave said that the game of big Powers of the world was to keep Pakistan and India fighting. Their object was to keep both the countries weak.

"The main threat to Indian, however," the Bhoodan leader stated, "is from China."

He said yesterday that Indian leaders were quarrelling among themselves and they had not succeeded in maintaining even "internal tranquillity."

*New Delhi, Sept. 15.* India tonight announced that she would continue her 10-day war with Pakistan "with unabated vigour" following the failure of U Thant's peace mission.

In a nation-wide broadcast, Shastri said, "An end to the fighting has not been achieved."

*New Delhi, Sept. 16.* The Indian Premier Shastri today rejected Pakistan's condition for a cease-fire in the present

war.

He said not one of the conditions Pakistan had proposed for an end to the war was acceptable to India.

Mr. Shastri said, "in view of President Ayub Khan's remarks" it should be clear to all that the "defensive operations in which our armed forces are engaged" must continue with unabated vigour.

Mr. Shastri told the Indian Parliament: "We fully realise that the present armed conflict between India and Pakistan will cause untold hardship and misery to the peoples of both countries. However, I am confident that our countrymen would cheerfully undergo those hardships, but they would not allow the aggressor to endanger our freedom or to annex our territory."

Referring to President Ayub Khan's Press conference in which he said that good sense required that India and Pakistan should live in peace, Mr. Shastri said, "If this is a new and sincere talk, I would greatly welcome it however belated it might be. But if past experience is any guide, these remarks would appear to be part of a propaganda to beguile the world."

*New Delhi, Sept. 21.* Prime Minister, Shastri has informed the United Nations that he will accept a Security Council demand for a cease-fire in the Indo-Pakistan war, it was reported today.

Mr. Shastri told the United Nations that Indian troops would not fire on Pakistani forces provided New Delhi is informed that Pakistan units also would halt firing.

*New Delhi, Sept. 22.* The Indian Prime Minister told Parliament today that



orders were now being issued to Indian commanders to effect a complete cease-fire by 03-30 Indian Time tomorrow (22-00 GMT today).

Mr. Shastri said there would now be a cessation of hostilities.

He said, other matters in the Security Council resolution calling for a cease-fire required consideration.

*Beruit, Sept. 22.* India was deeply disappointed by the Arab attitude in the Indo-Pakistan fighting, the Indian Education Minister, Mr. Muhammad Ali Currim Chagla, told journalists.

He said India had always been friendly to Arab States, backing them in their dispute over the Jordan waters and with Israel.

India would have hoped for more sympathy in the conflict with Pakistan, he said.

*New Delhi, Sept 24.* Indian Premier last night warned his fellow countrymen not to mistake the cease-fire with Pakistan for "the dawn of peace.

He added, "While India wishes to seek peace between India and Pakistan, we cannot shut our eyes to realities. If Pakistan again attacks Kashmir we shall meet the challenge with full determination and full force.

"Let there be no miscalculation again. This is our firm policy and it will be implemented with determination."

The Indo-Pakistan conflict, he observed, was one between a "free society and a guided democracy." The only solution was "peaceful co-existence between the two systems."

Mr. Shastri stated that the "threat" from China was "still with us," remarking that China alone knew what it wanted to do.

"We have to meet the challenge from whatever source it may come," he added.

*New Delhi, Sept. 25.* President Radhakrishnan tonight ruled out a plebiscite in Kashmir, saying: "It is neither practical nor necessary."

He declared that Kashmir's accession to India was legally, constitutionally, politically and ethically complete and just.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 25.* Two leading members of the Indian ruling Congress Party openly admitted in their Parliament yesterday that India was completely isolated in the world.

The Indian Education Minister, Chagla, told the Parliament, "No country is going to support India," and Mrs. Vijaylaxmi Pandit said: "War with Pakistan has removed blinkers from our eyes."

*New Delhi, Sept. 26.* Premier Shastri today threatened to boycott the next meeting of the Security Council if it did not succeed in getting the Indo-Pakistan cease-fire respected.

Mr. Shastri alleged that Pakistan had violated the cease-fire line several times since last Thursday and had provoked Indian troops by attacks and artillery firing.

"If Pakistan continues we will be obliged to reply accordingly."

He said, if Pakistan took up arms against India again, India would reply with arms.

If Pakistan was not disposed to abandon positions occupied by its troops on Indian territory, India would not budge from its own present positions, Mr. Shastri said.



*New Delhi, Sept. 27.* The Indian Prime Minister had made it clear to the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, that there could be no peace-keeping force in the Indian territory.

He said, the United Nations personnel would be observers "on the old pattern" (of the 1949 Kashmir Cease-fire Line) and not a peace-keeping force.

*New Delhi, Sept. 27.* The Indian Prime Minister Shastri said that if Pakistan would not agree to withdraw her forces it would be impossible for India to do so unilaterally.

Mr. Shastri is reported to have told the Indian Congress Parliamentary Party that the big Powers should understand that the Indian people felt that the country's sovereignty and integrity should be maintained.

"I do not quite understand what the big Powers want us to do. Just because we are a big country, should we part with a portion of our territory whenever we are pressed to do so?"

"I hope the big Powers will realise that if they push through this attitude they will drive us into a desperate position. I would appeal to all the big Powers to understand our feelings in this matter."

*Paris, Oct. 3.* Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit said in a Press interview that "we have no criticism of France, but we have a feeling that the Western world in general leans towards Pakistan."

"The principle of self-determination applies to countries which are divided, like Germany, or under foreign rule, but India and Pakistan are independent countries. The legal situation

is quite clear," she added.

"We do not think that a country can be divided on the basis of religious affiliation. The principle of self-determination in the case of Kashmir simply does not apply."

*New Delhi, Oct. 3.* Premier Lal Bahadur Shastri today declared that India would accept settlement of the political problems underlying the recent Indo-Pakistan fighting on her own terms.

"All nations must understand India's point of view on the conflict and recognise that Pakistan had committed aggression on India."

Mr. Shastri further said, India would reshape her policy towards those countries which had sided with Pakistan during the recent Indo-Pakistan fighting.

He said that India would give all possible co-operation to the United Nations and to the countries engaged in bringing about a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

He said that "if Pakistan attacked again" India would reply with "greater vigour" and "full force." The Premier repeated that India's point of view must be understood by all nations and it must be recognised that "Pakistan had committed aggression" on India and "we shall accept settlement on our terms."

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 7.* The recent statement of the Indian Defence Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, saying that war has been thrust on India by two of her neighbours and that India has nothing but friendship for them makes strange reading.

It seems this is a new and purely Indian concept of friendship which



justifies not only the armed aggression, but also a calculated destruction of the civilian life and property of the victims of the friendship.

Political observers recalled that India always threatened her neighbours especially Pakistan.

Indian newspapers have frequently referred to the late Indian Prime Minister Nehru's declaration in 1951, that "if the fighting over Kashmir is resumed, it won't be localised within the borders of the State, but will immediately spread like a prairie fire across into West Punjab, even into East Pakistan."

It is obvious that the Indian Defence Minister still nurtures a hope that by creating a smoke-screen of pious intentions he would succeed in lulling us into a false sense of security.

Political circles viewed Mr. Chavan's statement as "the devil quoting scripture" and expressed their surprise over the Defence Minister's plea for friendship with her neighbours, while his chief, the Indian Premier, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, as reported by AFP from New Delhi, recently said that India would "seek friendship with every country except the People's Republic of China and Pakistan."

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 9.* Mrs. Vijaylaxmi Pandit, while confessing to self-righteous postures of the Indian rulers and their insincerity, has accused African and Asian countries that their non-alignment is opportunistic and devoid of moral contents.

In her marathon reminiscences being serialised in the *Times of India*, she said that India has "somehow assumed a self-righteous pose which has irritated nearly everybody" and that

the impression created by speeches of the Indian delegates at the U.N. was one of insincerity.

"The difference between our non-alignment and the African and Asian variety is that while ours stems from ethical and moral values, theirs has no such roots," she said.

Mrs. Pandit admitted that the policy of non-alignment became a reality not because of India but only when the young, impatient and progressive nations of Africa gave it further content and posed an implied threat to the Western world.

Mrs. Vijaylaxmi Pandit said: "India's image abroad depended on her performance at home, and no Ambassador, however skilful, could hope to present a glowing picture abroad unless it was a reflection of the situation on the home front.

"We in India are so obsessed with words that we need to be reassured by them rather than judge an individual from actions. This leads to the situation so prevalent today; I refer to the habit of seeking shelter behind words in order to cover up the lack of deeds."

She asked, "What can we achieve by constant reference to the values of the democratic system when it has become merely an occasion to cast a ballot at given periods.

"In the recent years there has been a distinct lowering of standards, a disinclination to hear the truth about ourselves, and a general decadence in society as a whole."

She went on: "Today, the people in the villages have discovered that their one-time idols have feet of clay."

She admitted: "Congress is perhaps more isolated from those who voted it into power than ever before. There is



no one to whom the common man can turn, no one who cares."

In an innuendo that the Indian rulers were in the habit of concealing truth from their own people, Mrs. Pandit recalled "fireside chats" of the late President Roosevelt and reminded New Delhi that the U.S. President's talks were not "stilted talks written by some backroom boy with intent to conceal the real state of affairs."

Urging that "there must be vision third eye behind a policy—," she said, "for many of us this third eye is permanently closed."

Discussing the Indian foreign relations, Mrs. Pandit bewailed, "the people of India are deeply sensitive about our loss of friends abroad" but the reason for this isolation, is "the viewpoint that everybody else in the world must fashion himself according to our mould because it is the best." She said that this was exactly the attitude of the U.S. for which India criticised Washington. "This is a disastrous attitude for any country, great or small, to adopt."

Regarding India's policies towards her neighbours, she said: "What has been allowed to happen is sad. Some of these countries have rejected us." Significantly she added, "most of them are pursuing their own policies and developing their economies independently in isolation from India. Neighbours have no right to do this."

She accused the Indian rulers of paying scant attention to Africa. "It is hardly any use protesting friendship in these circumstances. Actions in such matters speak louder than words."

She said: "Gradually, we were separated from our neighbours. This has been the reason for misunderstandings which in one form or another

grew up between ourselves and Burma, Ceylon, Thailand, even Nepal and more recently Indonesia."

The Indian diplomat-politician ridiculed the Indian technique of parading helpless Indian Muslims in Muslim countries in order to deceive them. She said: "This is quite wrong and does not help India in any way. It shows we do not have a firm enough belief in secularism."

Mrs. Pandit has had a word about the prevalence of favouritism in India. "So many people regard Government as some sort of charitable institution which owes them holidays abroad from time to time."

Mrs. Pandit narrated two illustrative examples of Indian hypocrisy and swaggering. "I remember in early days of the U. N. it became almost a habit with Indian delegates to use the phrase 'in all humility' in and out of season. The people who thus expressed themselves were far from humble and the impression they left on those who heard them was one of insincerity. It did no good to India."

In the second instance, Mrs. Pandit mentions Mr. Girja Shankar Bajpai. "On one occasion while presiding at a meeting in Washington, he turned to the delegates and asked, 'Are there any more aspirants for oratorical immorality?' It was only when the dazed Americans had recovered from the shock of such unaccustomed language that they realised they were being asked if they wished to speak."

Colombo, Oct. 12. Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad, the Indian Leftist Communist leader, slated vehemently the Shastri Government for the present conflict with Pakistan at several public rallies.



Mr. Namboodiripad warned Shastri not to treat the present conflict lightly. He said, the world was aware of the fate that fell Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo. The same fate awaited the Indian leaders if they failed to review their policies on vital international matters.

The Communist leader emphasised that Indo-Pakistan and Indo-China border disputes could not be settled by wars. Shastri should totally reject his present advisers who feel that only war with China and Pakistan could settle the border disputes. India must have friendly neighbours and for this India should adhere to a give-and-take policy and not force its solution on neighbouring countries.

Namboodiripad refused to agree with the Indian Government contention that Kashmir was a state of India just like all other states. A farsighted and reasonable policy was required to solve the Kashmir problem, he said.

Referring to demands by Congressmen for the banning of the Communist Party and arrest of Party leaders, Mr. Namboodiripad said that he was not afraid of prison bars. But he clearly saw signs of India disintegrating and himself being a patriot he was forced to narrate facts even if they sounded bitter to those at the helm.

*United Nations, Oct. 13.* India's Foreign Minister told the General Assembly yesterday that on the question of Kashmir he wanted "to make my Government's position clear beyond any shadow of doubt" that "legally, constitutionally, morally, and on the basis of the will of the people, the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of the Indian Union."

"This is the position on which India takes her stand and will continue

to do so."

He charged Pakistan with "pursuing the path of violence and aggression," and said: "Let Pakistan think in terms of taking her covetous eyes off our territory, let Pakistan think in terms of not trying to undermine or erode the territorial integrity and secular democracy of our country, and it will find in us the friendliest and the most temperative of neighbours ready to resolve our differences."

India's part in the conflict, he declared, had always been "defensive. Our only fault there was that while defending ourselves, we refused to allow the strife to be escalated.

"However, the inability of the United Nations and of the international community to condemn the aggressor and lend succour to the victim of aggression has caused us deep disappointment."

About Malaysia, he said: "While our desire to maintain friendly relations with Indonesia is sincere, our sympathies are with the peace-loving State of Malaysia in its hour of need."

India's Foreign Minister said: "In our case, as in other areas, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, peace and justice have been the victims of international power politics."

He went on to say that it was "clearly established" that there was a "sinister connection" between the "aggression of Pakistan" and the ultimatums of China.

"These two forces of reaction, fanaticism and violence, seem determined to combine against all those values which we cherish. It appears to us that these dictatorships next to us abhor the prospect of our success in combining the democratic way of life with planned economic growth.



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"These two forces of reaction, fanaticism and violence, seem determined to combine against all those values which we cherish. It appears to us that these dictatorships next to us abhor the prospect of our success in combining the democratic way of life with planned economic growth.



The world is aware that we have all along been firm adherents of the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. It was with this faith, and in the secure trust that aggression and trespass against us, if only brought to the notice of the United Nations, would be effectively tackled. We continued to concentrate on the task of improving the standards of living of our own people."

Peace cannot be brought about "by appeasing the aggressor."

"The people of Jammu and Kashmir, together with their fellow citizens in other parts of India, are the architects of the largest democratic State in the world, a State rooted in popular will expressed through freely chosen institutions and periodic general elections based on adult franchise. There is no better way of giving reality to the freedom of a people.

"Meanwhile Pakistan pursues the path of violence and aggression. While it talks to us and to the United Nations in terms of threats and while it attempts to enlarge the struggle on our northern frontiers, we cannot do any less than defend ourselves."

*Jodhpur, Oct. 18.* "Pakistan is part of India and, therefore, it should be taken back immediately even through war," said Mr. M. S. Golwalkar.

Mr. Golwalkar demanded that the canal water now being given to Pakistan under the Indus Waters Treaty should be completely stopped and diverted to Rajasthan and Punjab for irrigation purposes."

*United Nations, Oct. 20.* Indian Premier Lal Bahadur Shastri has accepted United Nations Secretary-General U Thant's proposal for an

on-the-spot study of the question of withdrawing troops from positions occupied in the recent Indo-Pakistan conflict.

U Thant asked for the withdrawal in application of the Security Council resolution of September 20.

Premier Shastri in his reply to U Thant said: "There could be no withdrawal of troops until the cease-fire was effective. "Pakistan," he said, "was constantly violating the cease-fire and had shown no intention of withdrawing the armed personnel it had sent to Kashmir."

*Karachi, Oct. 22.* The Left-Communist leader, Mr. Namboodiripad, has severely criticised the Indian Premier Shastri for making irresponsible statements.

The Communist leader reiterated his view that India's dispute with Pakistan could be solved through peaceful talks and not by military strength.

Mr. Namboodiripad slated Mr. Shastri for wanting peaceful settlement of Indian disputes with Pakistan and China "on our own terms."

In the present conditions no country in the world, however great, could have its own terms. Even the USA and the Soviet Union had accepted the principles of co-existence.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 22.* Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan, former Chief Justice of India and ex-Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, writing in the daily *Tribune* of Ambala, after saying that "the Indian Government now proposes to follow the well-known rule of military science that offensive action against an aggressor is the best form of defence," said: "It may interest the



readers to know that such a decision was taken as early as in 1947 by Sardar Patel at a meeting held in December of that year in Jammu at Gen. Kulwant Singh's headquarters."

Mr. Mahajan said that this meeting was attended among others by the then Indian Defence Minister, Sardar Baldev Singh; Gen. Thimayya; the Maharaja of Patiala; the Jam Sahib of Nawan Nagar; the Dogra ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, Hari Singh; Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan as his Prime Minister, and Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad.

Mr. Mahajan further disclosed that as a preliminary to invade Pakistan "Gen. Thimayya was requested to recruit and train guerillas and the military headquarters were to plan the steps to be taken."

He lamented "late implementation" of this decision, with the result that now "it will require Herculean effort to teach Pakistan a lesson." He, however, urged that "Pakistani menace should be ended once for all."

"India should concentrate all planning activity and all the funds available on making the country militarily strong" and that "wholetime attention should be devoted to building up industries which produce materials of every kind needed for defence purposes and for modernising the Army and equipping it with up-to-date weapons."

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 26.* In an interview to the weekly *Blitz* of Bombay, Mr. Shastri said: "In the peace time, people tend to be indifferent to such appeals of suffering and hardships quietly. But war, and particularly a patriotic and defensive war like ours, brings out the best elements in human nature. We, therefore expect that an appeal made in the

context of the present crisis will meet with patriotic response from all sections of our society."

*New Delhi, Oct. 30.* The Indian President, Radhakrishnan, said here today that if the United Nations failed to act in a just and honourable way in Indo-Pakistan conflict "the fate of the League of Nations is there to warn us."

The President said, the United Nations would have to insist on the implementation of the Indo-Pakistan cease-fire and the withdrawal of all Pakistani armed personnel from India."

*Calcutta, Oct. 30.* The Indian Prime Minister, accused the United Nations last night of "acting in the way that Pakistan wished" despite India's repeated protests that the internal affairs of Kashmir were not open to debate in the world body.

Mr. Shastri said, "UNO is a respected world body, it has no jurisdiction over the internal affairs of our country."

Mr. Shastri added: "There could be no compromise and the idea of a peaceful relationship with Pakistan has been shattered."

Referring to the recent U.N. session which India boycotted, he said, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Arthur Goldberg, understood, India's viewpoint and her feelings.

"For the first time the U.K. representative too made a reference to this feeling of India," he said. Except for Jordan, other U.N. members had also cooled down in their attitude to this question.

The Indian Premier said, he was surprised that even in such an august



body decisions were influenced.

"Instead of asking Pakistan to comply with the truce with sincerity and wholeheartedness the Security Council supported Pakistan's demand for a political solution of the Kashmir issue."

He pointed out that India did not like to reply to Pakistan's recent abuses in the same vein. He said: "It is not good for a dignified country to reply in the same language. Our reply will be 'force will be met by force, arms by arms.'"

*Calcutta, Nov. 1.* Indian Prime Minister admitted here today that he was aware of a considerable change in the thinking of other countries on a plebiscite as a solution of the Kashmir conflict, but refused to agree to it. A plebiscite, he said, was not the right solution to the problem.

Mr. Shastri reasserted that Jammu and Kashmir were an integral part of India. The question of a plebiscite there did not arise at all, he said.

Reviewing the recent armed conflict with Pakistan Mr. Shastri said: "I do not like to talk in terms of victory or winning. However, it is clear we inflicted considerable damage on the Pakistan Army and Air Force and did much better than Pakistan in the conflict when one adds up the losses."

Mr. Shastri said, India's non-participation in Security Council deliberations was "in no way a boycott of the Council."

The only purpose of India's Foreign Minister in not participating in the discussion, he added, "was to indicate the wrong feelings we have in regard to this particular matter (Kashmir)."

Secondly, he wanted to make it

absolutely clear that the Security Council is not a forum where such a question could be raised."

Mr. Shastri said, our stand is absolutely clear in regard to Jammu and Kashmir. We have said it from house-tops that Jammu and Kashmir forms an integral part of India and we stand by it."

*New Delhi, Nov. 3.* The Indian Prime Minister said to-night that "all possible steps will be taken to dislodge Pakistan from the Indian territory occupied by her since the cease-fire of Sept. 23."

Referring to the U.N. Security Council meeting on the Indo-Pakistan dispute, Mr. Shastri said, he would reserve his comment on any decision the Council might take but would make it clear to the Council and Secretary-General U Thant that it was their job to ensure the strict observance of the cease-fire by Pakistan.

*New Delhi, Nov. 5.* The Indian Prime Minister said, Indo-Pakistan cease-fire agreement cannot stand in the way of our troops regaining the territories treacherously occupied by Pakistan after the cease-fire came into effect.

He said, the cease-fire was far from being fully effective mainly because Pakistani forces had "continuously tried to occupy posts and areas which were not in their hands when the cease-fire came into effect on September 23."

Mr. Shastri asked the Security Council to give serious thought to "continuing Pakistani cease-fire violations" which "exceed 1,000."

The Council must ensure that areas occupied by Pakistan "after the cease-



fire" were immediately evacuated.

He said: "Our taking remedial measures cannot be considered a violation of the cease-fire."

Referring to the withdrawal of troops, Mr. Shastri said, "let Pakistan stop various things which it is doing apparently in pursuance of fresh hostilities. Let her release the cargo and ships seized by her. Let Pakistan stop her collusion with China which is based on hatred. Let Pakistan restore normal relations before India can think of the establishment of better relations."

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 7.* The Indian Swatantra Party leader, Mr. Rajagopalachari, warned the Indian Government to give up its rigid stand on Kashmir if it wanted to break India's present diplomatic isolation in the world.

In two recent articles published in his weekly, *Swarajya* he said that it was wholly unfair for the Congress Parliamentary Party to attribute the defeat of India's cause to lack of "energy and diplomatic forensic talent among our foreign Embassies. He said, "They may have many shortcomings, but these are not at the root of our diplomatic defeat—for defeat it undoubtedly is to have all the world nations, except Soviet Russia, against us by our own confession. Even Soviet Russia refuses now to adopt a very clear Indian line. The diplomatic failure has to be explained, not by imputing faults to our representatives or malice to the world Powers, but by something in the very nature of the problem and the manner in which we have tackled it all these years."

Mr. Rajagopalachari said that to

persist in maintaining that Kashmir was an internal affair of India would not help matters. "If we were so sure that Kashmir is an integral part of India, it would not require to be repeated so often like milady's excessive protest. Even more firmly accepted truths in the physical sciences have been modified by subsequent investigation. Let there be no dogmatism about the liquid truths in political life."

Mr. Rajagopalachari maintained that the "two important and worthy aims" before them were to settle the Kashmir problem, according to the free opinion of its people, and to develop friendly relations and co-operation between Pakistan and India.

He agreed with President Johnson that the United Nations "should achieve prestige and strength by successfully tackling a major dispute" like Kashmir. He said that a settlement of the Kashmir dispute would certainly be a great achievement for the United Nations.

Mr. Rajagopalachari sharply criticised the Congress leadership for adopting a bellicose attitude towards the Western countries because they had not backed India in the present situation. He said that such "ingratitude is not good policy or good morals. The deep indebtedness India has sunk into as a result of the policies of "development" followed these 15 years cannot be forgotten or treated lightly by the very political Party that brought it about, without the gravest consequences. These consequences will be worse than those of the "three weeks war we had to wage with Pakistan."

The Swatantra Party leader added that it was ridiculous for them to "talk like Napoleon or Hitler, to really powerful Governments and nations



whose help and sympathy we are badly in need of, promises and expectations of help from the USSR and its satellites notwithstanding."

According to Indian Press reports, Mr. Rajagopalachari's outspoken views on Kashmir have roused great anger among Congressmen and Hindu fanatics. The Madras Chief Minister, Mr. M. Bhaktavatasalam, has said that State Government was aware of certain responsible leaders expressing views likely to affect the nation's defence efforts, and warned that action would be taken against them. He said that though in a democracy politicians were entitled to hold different views, they should forget all their differences during an emergency such as the present.

Demonstrations have also been held outside the house of Mr. Rajagopalachari, and the office of his weekly paper, by Jan Sangh workers and the Congress-sponsored Madras City Progressive Front.

The demonstrators shouted slogans calling for Mr. Rajagopalachari's arrest. They also handed him an open letter asking him to desist from writing and speaking on the Kashmir issue.

*New Delhi, Nov. 9.* The 22-day undeclared war between India and Pakistan may only have been the first phase of a larger struggle, Home Minister G. L. Nanda said.

An Indian Government spokesman said Mr. Nanda did not say when the second phase might start, but it was bound to be even more serious than the September conflict.

He therefore asked the Chief Ministers to continue in a state of preparedness for any emergency and not to relax vigilance.

*New Delhi, Nov. 16.* Russia can never succeed in resolving Indo-Pakistan dispute, the Indian Premier told the Lok Sabha on Tuesday.

Tashkentas a venue of talks between President Ayub and himself was not acceptable to him if Kashmir was to come under discussion. He was willing to meet President Ayub anywhere, any time to discuss anything but Kashmir.

Similarly, he said, he was not averse to visiting the United States if it was not to discuss Kashmir. He reiterated that Kashmir was an integral part of India and could not be discussed with anybody.

*New Delhi, Nov. 17.* Acharya Vinobha Bhave, a leading disciple of Gandhi, has warned India to guard against the danger of military rule being set up here.

The bearded ascetic, who roams the country on foot persuading villagers to pool land, told people to bring about a socio-economic revolution without delay and see that justice was done to the masses.

While it was natural for India to develop military strength to meet external aggression, she should guard against possibilities of military rule, he said.

"If the country remains weak within, people are dissatisfied and if our Ministers fail to deliver the goods military rule can come in India too. Who will then save the country from army rule."

*November, 18.* The India's Philosopher President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, said in New Delhi that for the time being there was no possibility of peace with Pakistan. The cease-fire was uncertain and temporary and any time war could start between the two countries.



Indian Premier Shastri last night appealed to business-men to release their hoarded stocks of wheat and rice as, he said, the Indian Army needed food badly.

The Indian Premier made an impassioned appeal to the business community not to raise prices of food-grains because, he said, it added to the misery of the common man.

Mr. Shastri asked the people to eat less so that the soldiers could be fed properly. He told the already underfed masses that the acute shortage of foodgrains could only be met if they ate one meal a day and fasted once a week.

He advised the people to switch over to grams and barley from wheat and rice.

Mr. Shastri said that food crisis in the country had taken a serious turn, and it could be met only on a war footing. The food front, he said, was as important as the war front.

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 23.* The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Left) has called upon the Indian Government to settle the Indo-Pakistan problem in general and the Kashmir problem in particular through peaceful means.

In a statement, the Party's General Secretary, Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad, said that it was totally unrealistic to argue, "as spokesmen of the Government are doing" that the State of Jammu and Kashmir was in no way different from any other State of India.

"These arguments," it said, 'run against the reality that on a number of occasions, talks had been held between India and Pakistan on this problem and even as late as in 1964, the late Prime Minister of India, Pandit

Jawaharlal Nehru, got the case against Shaikh Abdullah withdrawn, even though the charge against him was that he conspired against India."

"Shaikh Abdullah was not only released from jail and welcomed, but was allowed to go to Pakistan. It was thus clear that the Government of India at that time had looked upon the future of Kashmir as a political problem to be settled through consultations among the leaders of India, Pakistan and Kashmir itself."

"It was India, which took the question to the United Nations and even the Security Council's resolution of Sept. 20 envisaged political negotiations after the cease-fire and withdrawals were affected.

"No useful purpose will, therefore, be served by repeating *ad nauseam* (as leaders of the ruling party are doing) that there is no Kashmir problem," it added.

*New York, Nov. 24.* In an interview with Selig Harrison of *The Washington Post*, the Indian Premier, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri stated that there was no question of India withdrawing from the Uri Poonch bulge it had occupied last August.

Mr. Shastri said that his refusal to withdraw from the Uri-Poonch bulge was based on the demand that Pakistan should first acknowledge that it had sent raiders into Kashmir and also give a pledge that it would not do so again. India needed to hold the bulge in order to prevent "infiltration" into Kashmir, Mr. Shastri added.

In view of Mr. Shastri's statements, it appears certain that India would continue to blame Pakistan for the freedom-fighters' struggle inside Kashmir and thus use this as an excuse to



refuse to withdraw from the Uri-Poonch bulge.

*Rawalpindi Nov. 29.* The Indian Defence Minister, Mr. Chavan, has declared that the Indian war preparations were being made under a long-term programme.

He pointed to the suspension of military aid by foreign countries when India had invaded Pakistan. He expressed concern over the growing relations between Pakistan and China and said that both were hostile to India.

Several Indians had already been trained to use the submarines which the Soviet Union was supplying to India, Mr. Chavan told Parliament today.

More personnel would also receive training before the submarines were received, he said. He declined to disclose details of military equipment provided by the Soviet Union before and after 1962 because "it would not be in the public interest to do so."

He told Parliament that by September the United States had provided about 45% of the 160 million dollar of military aid which it promised in 1962. About 50 million dollars worth of aid had been received from Britain. Mr. Chavan said, the British and American aid included "limited equipment" for mountain divisions, transport aircraft, signals equipment and aircraft spares.

France had given about four million dollars worth of spares for Ouragan aircraft, and Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Italy and West Germany had also given token aid.

*Rawalpind, Dec. 2.* Details of the Lohia-Shastri duel in the Indian Lok Sabha last week on "technical" details about Ichogil Canal reveal the depth of disillusionment among informed sections of public opinion in India resulting from their hard-to-hide military reverses.

According to available published reports, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia charged Premier Shastri of having made a false statement to the House and misled members by denying his (Lohia's) contention that the Ichogil Canal flowed in a tunnel under the Sutlej River in Khem Karan-Kasur sector, and insisting that the canal flowed over the river. Dr. Lohia then asserted that it was this situation which "helped Pakistan whose forces outflanked Indian forces without the knowledge of the Indian army."

Another misinformation charge against Indian authorities has been brought by the *Radical Humanist* of Calcutta. The Paper recently carried an article which accused the Government of India for its inability to supply "the fullest truthful information to the people."

The article added, "Mention may particularly be made of the internal developments in Kashmir about which our people have been entertaining totally wrong notions and distorted ideas. If over Kashmir we frequently meet with embarrassments and are confronted with ugly situations, one of the main reasons is that the people in this country (India) know precious little about the happenings and developments in the State."



*Rawalpindi Sept. 23.* Squadron-Leader M. M. Alam, who created history by shooting down five Indian jets in single combat, was also the first PAF pilot to fire his guns in the defence of Sargodha.

His bag so far is 11 enemy Hunter fighters, about two-thirds of a fighter squadron of the Indian Air Force. For this feat he was awarded the Sitara-i-Jur'at and a bar.

Some glimpses of the personality behind this reputation are provided in an account by an observer who recently met Squadron-Leader Alam.

"Alam looks more of an artist than a fighter pilot with his dishevelled hair and unkempt moustaches," the observer writes. "I could see nothing of a hero in that short-statured frail-looking man except in his eyes which had a glint of steel in them."

A great devotee of Allama Iqbal, Squadron-Leader Alam, who hails from Dacca, said that besides his interest in history, religion and philosophy he has "breathed Air Force and lived Air Force," throughout his career in the PAF.

It was on the fateful day of Sept. 7 when Alam got into big news during the first battle of air supremacy between Pakistan and India. On that day Alam, who had already claimed two enemy Hunters in an earlier combat near Amritsar, literally ran through the Indian fighters when they launched their biggest attack on Sargodha. The enemy aircraft came in wave after wave but the PAF men at

Sargodha remained undaunted against the heavy odds.

After the first surprise attack by the enemy with the break of dawn the Indian aircraft which were far superior in number and manoeuvrability were given a taste of the PAF quality. The enemy was given a thorough beating. At one time 10 enemy Hunters attacked but only two were able to return to tell the tale of their disaster.

Squadron-Leader Alam, leading the defence in a Sabre Jet shot down no less than five Hunters. Never in history of aerial warfare has a fighter got five kills in a single combat. The observer says that Hunter is a much superior aircraft both in speed manoeuvrability and armament to its adversary the Sabre.

Squadron-Leader Alam was the first to scramble and was the first man to fire his guns in the defence of Sargodha. He saw four Hunters coming in to attack and pounced upon them like a hawk. Quick in reflexes and anticipation, he suddenly saw two more Hunters coming after him. He dived into a steep barrel roll, made a quick turn and went after these two. Within seconds one of them was burning in some fields of Sargodha while the other fled away.

The four Hunters, which had come earlier were now busy strafing a village in the suburbs and this brought them to their end. Like a bird of prey, Alam pounced upon the four and with quick bursts from his



machine-gun he left all the four hitting the ground. It was his day.

The dare-devil pilot got two more Hunters in another aerial battle a few days later near Ferozepur.

One day he was busy strafing some enemy positions near Jammu when the canopy of his aircraft was blown off by enemy anti-aircraft guns but this did not unnerve him. He returned only after completing his mission.

"Never in the history of aerial warfare so few have attained aerial supremacy against so many in so short a time," writes a foreign military correspondent.

The most signal contribution to this was made by the Commander of the PAF base which faced the heaviest brunt of the enemy aggression.

The Lahore-born suave and handsome Group-Captain Muhammad Zafar Masud was awarded the Hilal-i-Jur'at for "exceptional qualities of leadership, devotion to duty and organising ability in the conduct of air operations against the enemy."

"Sitting in his overalls with no rank badges on his shoulders, the 38-year-old Commander, was busy with a phone: giving instructions in base, grave and confident voice when I crawled into his tent covered with a catacomb of nets, leaves and branches," writes the correspondent.

"I pulled myself up and saluted the famous Commander. The normal life at the base which had contributed the most in the air effort during the war manifested the cool organisational ability of this man who at the helm of affairs led his men with rare courage and determination.

"Group Captain Masud, who led the famous loop of 16 Sabre jets in

diamond formation in an air display in 1958, was looking a bit fatigued. He has been in that chair for two days and two nights moving only between the chair and the trench behind it. His normally shining eyes had been dulled by prolonged sleeplessness. His fair complexion had turned sallow.

"There were scores of telephones and intercoms spread all around him. He attended half a dozen of them before he could attend to me with a smile and a stern 'hello'. I know he was not thinking about me yet. He picked up the Chinagraph pencil and started drawing the day's bomb-lines in different sectors. He was too busy a man.

"I congratulated him on the performance of his station which he accepted with a modest smile. When requested for an interview he like a true commander said that 'the real heroes are the officers and men of the station who have worked day and night during these hours of trial."

*Somewhere in West Pakistan, Sept. 20.* A rare distinction was achieved by two brothers, when they both received their Hilal-i-Jur'at from the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, Gen. Muhammad Musa, at the investiture ceremony held in a forward area this morning.

The brothers are Major-Gen. Akhtar Hussain Malik and Brig. Malik Abdul Ali, both of whom have been awarded Hilal-i-Jur'at by the President for gallant and distinguished services in war.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 25.* Following are the remainder of the citations for the recipients of various awards.



at an investiture ceremony held somewhere in West Pakistan:

Maj.-Gen. Abrar Hussain, MBE, was given the task of holding and destroying the enemy's main offensive, launched in the salient between Sialkot and Chawinda. The enemy had launched his offensive with one complete Armoured Division, a Mountain Division and the best part of an Infantry Division with the object of breaking through in this sector at all cost. The enemy pressed his attack vigorously with all the vast resources at his disposal.

Maj.-Gen. Abrar Hussain, MBE, not only effectively held the enemy in the area but also inflicted such heavy losses on him so as to completely pulverise his offensive power.

The credit for delivering this crushing blow on the enemy's main offensive force goes to the GOC, and is due to his bold and determined execution of his outstanding leadership in action. For his valour, courage and devotion to duty in this difficult operation he has been awarded immediate award of the Hilal-i-Jura'at.

During the Divisional operation in Chawinda sector the Corps of Artillery did a magnificent job in effectively supporting his formation, it was mainly due to the effective artillery support that determined attacks by superior enemy forces were beaten off with heavy losses to the enemy. It was purely due to the personal example, fine leadership qualities and devotion to duty of Brig. Amjad Ali Khan Chaudhry that not only the enemy attacks were beaten off but the whole formation got inspiration for a fight to the bitter end.

For this conspicuous act of devotion to duty and gallantry, he has been awarded the highly deserved gallantry decoration of Hilal-i-Jur'at.

Under the command of Lt.-Col. Nisar Ahmad Khan, his regiment has been gallantly defending Chawinda against constant and determined attack by superior enemy forces. It was his regiment which blunted the onslaught of the enemy's one armed Division and had remained under constant severe shelling and other intense fire from the enemy weapons.

It is because of his personal example, courage and inspiring leadership that his regiment fought as an excellent well-knit fighting machine and inflicted crippling losses on the enemy. For this outstanding performance, he has been awarded the gallantry decoration of Sitara-i-Jur'at.

This officer, while acting as observer with an infantry battalion in Zafarwal area, successfully broke up repeated attacks on the battalion position by engaging them with heavy artillery and destroying five enemy tanks. The officer showed remarkable courage and rare presence of mind which contributed materially toward the successful defence of the battalion position against heavy odds. For his gallant performance he has been awarded Sitra-i-Jur'at.

The battery under command of this officer has been in action from the day the enemy action became active in the operation area. Whenever our heavy gun opened fire they were attacked by enemy aircraft. The battery commanded by this officer, while protecting our heavy gun, fought back so bravely and fiercely that except for one medium gun no damage to our heavy gun could



be caused by enemy aircraft. Not only the battery protected the heavy gun from enemy aircraft but also shot approximately a dozen enemy aircraft so far. While commanding the battery the officer has performed his duties with extraordinary courage and utter disregard to his personal safety. His inspiring leadership and devotion to duty have been largely responsible for the outstanding performance of his unit. For his brave conduct he has been awarded the Sitara-i-Jur'at.

Risaldar Riazul Hassan destroyed four enemy tanks and saved one bogged tank. For this act of bravery he has been awarded the Sitara-i-Jur'at.

This officer was commanding a squadron which had taken up position in the area north-west of village Butter (SQ 8004). His squadron was under heavy enemy armour pressure throughout the day. The enemy armour attacked time and again to gain a foothold in this area, and thereby cut the Sialkot-Pasrur road. Maj. Shah Bahram Khattak, by his personal example and leadership, was instrumental in repulsing repeated enemy attacks. His squadron held the ground throughout the day, inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy. This display of cool courage and determination is an outstanding act on the part of this officer. For his brave conduct he has been awarded the Sitara-i-Jur'at.

The enemy attacked Chawinda in strength, and overran one infantry battalion locality and crossed the track Chawinda-Pasrur. The entire area was heavily shelled, and at one stage it appeared that the situation was desperate. Maj. Raza Khan, whose squadron was deployed in that

area, took immediate command of the situation and personally led the attack of his squadron, and succeeded in pushing the enemy out of our territory. It was due to his complete disregard for his personal safety and determined action that the severe enemy attack was repulsed with very heavy losses. For this gallant performance he has been awarded the Sitara-i-Jur'at.

While participating as a troop Commander in a fierce defensive battle, in support of an infantry battalion in the Zafarwal area, Naib Risaldar Abdul Haq's tank was attacked by four enemy tanks. Withstanding heavy enemy pressure, this JCO displayed tremendous courage, a very high sense of sacrifice and great skill. He thereby knocked out three enemy tanks, and forced the fourth one to run away from the area. For this excellent performance, he has been awarded the Sitara-i-Jur'at.

### RIGHT IS MIGHT : PAF HERO'S MOTTO

"Right is might" is the motto of 32-year-old Squadron-Leader Sajjad Haider, the PAF hero whose squadron destroyed 13 enemy aircraft at Pathankot, including the nine MIGs, in one attack.

The recipient of Sitara-i-Jur'at. Squadron-Leader Sajjad said that the secret of the success of the PAF was that "we firmly believe that if you are right you have the courage of conviction."

"The Indians are devoid of any just cause, and, therefore, lack courage of conviction," Squadron-Leader Sajjad added.

When the newsmen who went to



meet him said: "So you are the Pathankot hero."

"Oh, well, yes. We did our duty in the defence of motherland."

"We did not bomb the Srinagar Airport because a U.N. plane was parked on the runway. Despite that we encountered ground fire I ordered no bombing and no strafing. We did this at the risk of our own safety," he said.

The Squadron-Leader was a bit angry, no doubt, because he said the U.N. plane had no business to be at a military base which was being used for aggression against Pakistan.

What is the secret of your successes?—he was asked. Sajjad's reply was simple: "We are better trained, fighting for a just cause and God is with us. We have never indulged in aggression," he added.

"We did not take the enemy by surprise. They were expecting the attack and were fully prepared."

The Pakistan Air Force attacked Pathankot during broad daylight and the Indians did put up a fight but lost miserably as many of their planes were destroyed in the air.

This hero has also to the credit of his Squadron the destruction of a major convoy, including tanks and armoured cars and which was moving towards Lahore on September 6.

## MAJ. RAJA AZIZ BHATTI

*By Maj. Yusuf Ali*

The scene comes so vividly to my mind when in the wintry evening of 25th January, 1948, I met a very pleasant modest-looking Gentleman Cadet in the verandah of Khalid Mess of the Pakistan Military Academy, Kakul.

(The companies in the Academy are named after the heroes of Islam, the others being "Tariq," "Qasim" and "Salahuddin"). He put out his hand saying "Bhatti."

After introducing each other we walked into the Mess. While others were tempted to make straight for the billiard room or the lounge, this cadet started scanning the notice-boards in the passage. Out came his note-book and pencil and he began jotting down various particulars.

Raja Aziz Bhatti was well-built, of medium height and wore a marked unassuming look. There were a few things very striking about him. Firstly there was the large head; it was noticeably big for the shoulders and body it was set on. Then, there were the dreamy eyes. At times he appeared to be half asleep or lost in something beyond his immediate surroundings.

Prior to this many of us, who were University Graduates, complacently thought that though Bhatti may trounce the Sword of Honour owing to his unusual military bent of mind, his academic background of merely "Matric" would not pose any challenge for the academic distinction of "Norman Medal." Now we were not so sure. At the end of our two-year course in the Academy, Bhatti deservingly won both the Sword of Honour as well as the Norman Medal.

His integrity, seriousness of purpose and courage of conviction were most remarkable. During one discussion on the ground (Tactical Exercise without Troops), Bhatti held his own against our Chief Instructor, Lieutenant-Colonel Fazle Muqem (now Major-General). The argument went on and on till the Chief Instructor



said in his usual good-natured manner: "All right, Raja Aziz, if ever as Battalion Commander I walk into your area and ask you to do things my way, you as Company Commander can tell me to mind my own business, and I will walk away." A tactical problem, they had both conceded to each other, has more than one solution and opinions can always differ.

When the Senior Course (ex-Indian Military Academy) graduated he was given the seniormost appointment of Battalion Senior Under-Officer. In this he acquitted himself with utmost ability and dignity. There was no prejudice whatsoever against anybody, nor any favours shown even to his nearest friends.

During Camps and exercises he was always willing to do more than his share. In the tactical exercise, "Qiadat" where we went for a week over eighty miles with very little sleep, he always volunteered to dig trenches, do sentry duties and cook the meals. He also offered to carry the machinegun and wireless set which owing to their weight were the most abominable pieces of equipment.

Besides topping the list in military as well as academic subjects, he was a keen sportsman. He was a first-class swimmer and played for the Academy's cricket and hockey elevens. At the time of graduation from the Academy all the Instructors wooed him for their Regiments. Although, as he told me once he had high regards for the Baluch Regiment owing to our "Khalid" Company Commander, Major Abdul Hameed Khan (now Brigadier), he finally decided in favour of the 16th Punjab having been greatly influenced by our Battalion-Commander, Lieutenant Colonel Akhtar

Hussain Malik (now Major-General), and our platoon commander Captain Ali Zamin Naqvi (now Lieutenant Colonel).

The second time I had the privilege of being together was in the Junior Leaders Wing at the School of Infantry and Tactics, Quetta. He was acclaimed to be the best instructor in the School by everybody. We were simply amazed at the grasp and understanding he showed of the tactical problems and Military History. He could then, with only five years' commissioned service, dictate detailed appreciation and orders for all operations of a battalian group off the map so to say off the cuff.

It was while at the School of Infantry and Tactics that he prepared for the Staff College Entrance Examination. With his characteristic modesty he used to often ask us to pray that he gets through the examination. Captain Hamid Mukhtar (now Major), the Armoured Corps representative, quite confidently offered to bet that Bhatti would top. I think they settled for a treat at the Lal Kababi's. Hamid's bet of course proved to be absolutely safe. Bhatti went to Canada for his Staff Course. Later he was also tipped for the German Staff Course by virtue of his topping the German Interpreter-ship Course.

With all this self-discipline and serious attitude towards the profession he was far from being a ram-rod officer. He was excellent company. Full of humour, he came out with innumerable amusing anecdotes. He had a good ear for music, particularly for Western instrumental music. He played the harmonica beautifully, and it was always a treat to hear him



play the tune of "Wood Cutter's Song." He was deeply religious and attached great importance to Namaz. Was always ready to contribute for a good cause, even if it meant hardship to himself. Once he gave up tennis, a game he usually relished. He gave no reason, just evaded our queries about it. On resuming it after a few months he confided that he had been short of funds, as he had to send money to somebody in need. He spent very little on himself. Wore very simple clothes and lived quite austere-ly. When one would remark about his not even smoking, he would jok-ingly retort, "No minor vices!" His family life too was a model of sim-licity. Cosmetics and silks did not belong to their house. An extremely noble and kind-hearted lady, Begum Bhatti has been completely devoted to her children, ever ready to give the neighbours a helping hand. She never had time for club parties or other such functions.

Raja Aziz Bhatti always travelled first. Second place was not for him. Thus it was only in fitness of things that God in His infinite Mercy bes-towed upon him Martyrdom, the highest status for a Muslim, which ensures eternal Bliss in the Hereafter, and his country gave him its highest recognition, the Nishan-e-Haider.

Naik Munsaf was detachment Commander of Recoilless Rifle of a company of Punjab Regiment in advance positions on the morning of September 6, 1965, when the Indians suddenly launched a brigade attack supported by armour against this company which had moved to the position on the same night and had not had sufficient time to dig down.

During the severe battle that lasted over ten hours, the company came un-der heavy pressure of both armour and infantry. In the very first tank assault launched in his sector, this NCO, in utter disregard of his per-sonal safety, fired from an open position and knocked one tank down with the second shot. Although he moved to another position, the enemy picked up his position and tried to destroy his recoilless rifle. As a result of this the loader was severely wound-ed, leaving behind a crew of two. Although handicapped and closely chased by the piercing armour shots, this NCO kept his wits and courage. In spite of the fact that his second colleague was also wounded by auto-matic fire, Naik Munsaf fired ten shots from three different positions. During the process he himself carried out the duty of driving, loading and firing and undeterred by the injury sus-tained in his ears, continued to fight for the company in a heroic and ex-emplary manner, knocking down three tanks of the enemy. This acted as a great deterrent to the advancing armour and saved the day for the whole of the formation in this sector. He displayed an outstanding heroic spirit and devotion to duty in face of grave danger.

Major Shafqat Hussain Khan Baloch was commanding a company of Punjab Regiment in the advance positions on the Hudiara Drain on the morning of September 6, 1965, when the Indians launched a sudden attack on the Lahore Front. His com-pany had moved in on the same night and had very little time to dig in. The rest of the brigade had just moved to occupy the main positions and the bridge on Hudiara Drain



had not been fully prepared for demolition. There was a grave apprehension of the enemy, which consisted of a brigade supported by an armour regiment, getting a free run to Lahore. The enemy attack which commenced at 05-00 hours was supported by heavy artillery fire. The company fought on gallantly for three hours, but all seemed to be lost in the face of heavy fire and momentum of the enemy attacks. At this juncture in spite of the fact that he had received a bullet wound, Major Baloch in utter disregard of his personal safety, moved about the fully exposed position and exhorted his men to continue the determined stand and at times directed the artillery fire himself. Inspired by his personal courage and bold leadership, his men continued repelling continual assaults for ten hours and thus enabled the remainder of the brigade to dig down. Only after he was given the orders to do so, Major Bloch extricated his company and that too with remarkable skill. But for this officer's gallant stand and bold and inspiring leadership the whole defence of Lahore would have been jeopardised.

Hav. Muhammad Afzal, Punjab Regiment, was commanding a platoon in advance position on the Hudiara Drain on the morning of September 6, 1965, when the Indians launched a surprise attack across the Pakistan border. The company had little time to prepare the positions on the fully exposed bund along the Hudiara Drain. The enemy attacks, launched by a brigade supported by an armour regiment, commenced at 05-00 hours. After the initial attacks on the left and centre platoons were repulsed, the enemy concentrated his efforts on

the right-hand platoon commanded by Hav. Muhammad Afzal. The enemy infantry, supported by his tank, closed on this platoon three times. Each time due to the controlled fire and determined stand of his platoon, the enemy was repulsed. The right-hand section of the platoon had by now run out of ammunition. At this stage, in spite of the heavy shelling and devastating direct fire of the enemy armour and infantry weapons, Hav. Afzal dashed out to the Company Headquarters and collected ammunition for his platoon and distributed to his sections. The battle raged on. The enemy pressure on him continued and the enemy outflanked him. This NCO kept his nerve and continued engaging the enemy, who slowed up due to the determined resistance put up by this platoon. When his platoon ran out of ammunition, Hav. Afzal still managed to keep his platoon in position by shouting slogans of Allah-o-Akber and abandoned his position only when the company was ordered back. But for his tenacious stand, indomitable spirit and personal example, his company would never have been able to give ten hours' battle to the enemy Brigade Group.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 28.* The President, Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, has conferred gallantry awards on 94 officers, junior commissioned officers and other ranks of the Pakistan Army.

The highest award of Nishan-i-Haider has been conferred posthumously on Major Raja Aziz Bhatti of the Punjab Regiment, who is the first to be given this award in recent fighting against the enemy.



Two other officers, who received the coveted award during the past are, Major Tufail and Captain Sarwar, who laid their lives while defending the motherland.

Hilal-i-Jur'at has been given to five senior officers, including Brigadier A. R. Shami (posthumous), 46 officers and junior commissioned officers have received Sitara-e-Jur'at, while 42 NCO's and other ranks have been awarded Tamgha-i-Jur'at. These include 22 posthumous awards.

Following is the list of award winners.

PA-2695, Maj. Raja Aziz Bhatti, Punjab (posthumous).

PS-86, Maj. Gen. Sarfraz Khan, MC; PA-98, Maj. Gen. Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, S. PK.; PA-332, Brig. Abdul Qayum Sher; PA-477, Brig. Amir Abdullah Khan Niazi, S. K., MC; PA-623, Brig. Ahsan Rashid Shami (posthumous).

PA-882, Lt.-Col. Muhammad Jamshed, MC, Punjab; PA-1348, Lt.-Col. Sahibzad Gul, AC (posthumous); PA-1986, Lt.-Col. Amir Hamza Khan, Punjab; PA-2118, Lt.-Col. Zulfikar Ali Khan, Punjab; PA-2204, Lt.-Col. Altaf Hussain, ENGRS; PA-1763, Maj. Haq Nawaz Kayani Baluch; PA-2231, Maj. Ghulam Hussain Khan, Punjab; PSS-2611, Maj. Nazar Hussain, AC; PTC-2995, Maj. Muhammad Hussain Malik, Punjab; PTC-3033, Maj. Abdul Rabb Niazi, FF; PTC-3203, Maj. Muhammad Taj, Punjab; PSS-3209, Maj. Syed Anwar Hussain Baluch; PSS-3251, Maj. Dost Muhammad Hayat FF; PA-3596, Maj. Abdul Aleem Afridi, Arty.; PA-3030, Maj. Shafqat Hussain Khan Baloch, Punjab; PA-3859, Maj. Muhammad Asif Hussain Khan, AC; PA-4044, Maj. Muhammad Aslam

Janjua, Punjab; PA-4074, Maj. Muhammad Akhtar, Arty.; PA-4079, Maj. Aqil Dad, FF; PA-4117, Maj. Malik Aftab Ahmad Khan, ENGRS; PA-4507, Maj. Muhammad Yunus, Punjab; PA-4715, Maj. Khadim Hussain, AC (posthumous); ACO-172-Maj. Munawar Khan, AK; ACO-649 Maj. Mansha Khan, AK; PTC-4130 Capt. Raja Asghar Ali, Punjab; PA-4856 Capt. Agha Abdul Rahman Ahmadzai Baluch; PA-5028 Capt. Shafiq Ahmad, FF; PA-5045 Capt. Nisar Ahmed, Engs. (post-humous); PA-5679 Capt. Farouq Ahmad, Baluch, PA-5969 Capt. Muazzam Ali Shah, Arty.; ACO-720 Capt. Sher Ahmad, AK; PA-6487 Lt. Muhammad Tariq, FF; PSS; 100967 Lt. Muhammad Qais, AMC; PA-7018 2/Lt. Farid Ahmad Bukhari, FF; PJO-522 Risaldar Ghulam Ali Khan AC (posthumous); JCO-2140 Sub. Muhammad Israil Khan, AK; PJO-29064 Sub. Azeem Khan, E. Bengal; PJO-26119 Sub. Muhammad Ali. E. Bengal; PJO-49144 Sub. Iqbal Khan, MM, Baluch; PJO-170259 Sub. Gul Nawaz, Arty.; JCO-5100 N/Sub. Muhammad Aziz Khan, AK; PJO-150532 N/Sub. Sultan Sikander, Punjab.

1251320 Hav. Siraj-ul-Islam, Arty.; 3430939 Hav. Allah Ditta, FF. Regt.; 3434620 Hav. Shahzada Khan, Baluch (posthumous); 3445581 Hav. Khaki Jan, FF. Regt. (posthumous); 3534774 Hav. Gul Amir FF; 3628744 Hav. Fazal Hussain, Baluch (posthumous); 2737487 Hav. Agha Muhammad, Punjab (posthumous); 3835755 Hav. Muhammad Afzal, Punjab; 3931222 Hav. Zahir-ul-Haq, Pathan, E. Bengal; 3978029 Hav. Ataurrahman, E. Bengal; 6255717 Hav. Muhammad Anwar, Signals; 32339858 Hav. Muhammad



Sharif, Baluch (posthumous); 1010178 L/Dfr. Abdul Sattar, AC.; 1012874 L/Dfr. Faiz Hussain, AC.; 231385 L/Hav. Muhammad Taj, Punjab; 309543 Nk. Muhammad Sabar Khan, Ak; 2445223 Nk. Tafoor-ul-Islam, Baluch (posthumous); 2648268 Nk. Sabir Hussain, FF; 3446289 Nk. Munnawar Hussain Shah, FF (posthumous); 3443145 Nk. Gul Marjan, FF. (posthumous); 34442990 Nk. Mehraban Khan, FF; 3445488 Nk. Ghafran Shah, FF; 3838280 Nk. Munsaf Khan, Punjab; 3838600 Nk. Muhammad Ajaib, Punjab (posthumous), 3930955 Nk. Monir-ul-Haque E. Bengal (posthumous); 23141461 Nk. Manzoor Hussain Shah, Punjab; 303060 L/Nk Muhammad Akbar Khan, AK (posthumous); 1226722 L/Nk. Muhammad Nawaz, Arty.; 2209094 Ghulam Ali, L/Nk. Punjab, 3543094 L/Nk. Abbas, FF; 6263292 L/Nk. Abdul Ali, Baluch; 306395 Sep. Muhammad Khan, AK (posthumous); 311200 Sep. Wazir Hussain Shah, AK (posthumous); 1251079 Gun Dvr. MT Nur Hussain, Arty.; 2224042 Sep. Muhammad Asghar, Punjab 2431891 Sep. Akbar Ali, Baluch; 244890 Sep. Yousaf Ali, Baluch (posthumous); 2653563 Sep. Muhammad Afsar, FF (posthumous); 3931990 Sep. Hashmatullah, E. Bengal; 3933339 Sep. Aminullah, E. Bengal; 6266470 Signalman Muhammad Khan, Signals (posthumous).

*Peshawar, Dec. 8.* Air Commodore Fuad Shahid Hussain, who has been promoted to his present rank recently, is an ace fighter pilot who has already become a legend due to his flying skill and daredevilry. He has created

many a record in weaponry and aerobatics during his career.

In 1948 he got the highest score ever achieved by any Commonwealth pilot in air-to-air and air-to-ground gunnery during a course at the Central Gunnery School, Lincolnfield, U.K. In 1951 when the Shah of Iran paid a visit to Pakistan, Air Commodore F.S. Hussain gave a solo aerobatic display which impressed the Shah so much that he enjoined his court poet to write a poem on the performance.

Air Commodore F.S. Hussain was born at Lucknow. After graduating from the Lucknow University he joined the then Royal Indian Air Force and was commissioned as a fighter pilot in 1944. In 1946 he did tour of duty with the occupation forces in Japan.

In the Pakistan Air Force, Air Commodore F.S. Hussain has held various important commands and staff appointments including Officer Commanding of various squadrons, Director, of Operations at the Air Headquarters, Chief Inspector, PAF, and Station Commander, Mauripur. At present he is the Air Secretary at the Air Headquarters.

Among his awards he has Sitara-i-Basalat, Tamgha-i-Pakistan, Tamgha-i-Difa, with clasp Kashmir 1948 and clasp Dir-Bajaur 1962.

Air Commodore F.S. Hussain has successfully completed Pilot-Attack Instructor course, Officers Advanced Training Course, Day Fighter Leader Course and RAF Staff College, Andover, Course in the United Kingdom.

He is married and has one child.



# 19

## GROUND FORCES OF PAKISTAN

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The wonderful deeds and actions of ground forces of Pakistan have already gone into the annals of history and they need no further elaboration. Future historians will record these accounts with respect. They will enrich our literature as well. A brief description of the wonderful deeds of our ground forces is indispensable for continuity of the war account.



*September 3.* A rare feat of courage and presence of mind was displayed by a Pakistan Army officer yesterday. He landed by mistake in enemy-infested area, but disarmed all the 50 of them and goaded them on to the Pakistan Army concentration as prisoners of war.

This is how it happened.

The day after the Azad Kashmir and Pakistani forces pushed into Chhamb area, the officer while flying over in a helicopter of the Army Aviation Corps saw a group of soldiers underneath.

Thinking that they were Pakistanis he asked his pilot to land. Here a surprise awaited him: he had landed over a still uncleared Indian company post. The soldiers were armed and in their positions. The Pakistani officer and his companion had only one revolver. The odds were all against them.

With a rare nerve and cool courage, the officer shouted at the Indians to get out of their trenches, drop their arms and line up. He told them that they had no business to be hanging around there when what had remained of their battalion had already surrendered and had been led away behind Pakistani line.

"Now, I will not be harsh with you," he told them severely. "But I will not like anyone to be dragging his feet. Now, turn about and quick march!"

The Indian soldiers meekly obeyed. Picking up an automatic rifle the

Indians had dropped, he led them back.

The first elements of the Pakistani troops they met 3,000 yards back could not believe their eyes when they saw one single officer leading 50 Indian soldiers who were looking scared and crestfallen.

The officer handed over his charge to them and moved back to his machine, a good day's work done.

*London, Sept. 5.* In a first-hand account of the big battle in Chhamb sector of Kashmir today, Patrick Seale, special Correspondent of the *Observer*, has paid glowing tributes to all ranks of Pakistan armed forces, Azad Kashmir irregulars and Mujahids for their valour, high morale, discipline, skill and purposefulness.

Reporting from somewhere near Akhnur, Seale says that Pakistan has mounted a sophisticated text-book exercise in mobile warfare. "Her striking force on Wednesday was small—little more than a Brigade, supported with tanks and artillery. But it was hard hitting and fast moving.

"During 20 hours at front and travelling up and down growing lines of communication, I have seen only one infantry section of 10 men actually moving on foot. Everyone else was on wheels.

"There were wireless trucks by scores. Sappers were laying field telephone lines like men possessed. There were no stragglers, no chaos, no pockets of bewildered men. The General



hovered above tree tops in a helicopter."

Pakistan's success, Seale points out, lies in surprise of her attack and in mobility and firepower of her attacking force. It also lies in the skill of irregular Azad Kashmir forces.

The role of the Mujahids in the past three weeks has been vital. They have harried and softened up Indian outposts in a series of daring night raids. This systematic demoralisation of the Indian forces must have contributed to Pakistan's success this week.

Azad Kashmir irregulars have in turn provided valuable flank cover for Pakistan Army. But all to these factors Pakistanis would add a sense of purpose and will to fight. "Kashmir does not belong to India," I was told countless times, "we are fighting to recover our homeland."

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 14.* As the war, thrust by India, entered second week today, Pakistan forces have proved to the world that, though small, they are far superior to those of the Indian invaders.

BBC commentator, Charles Douglas-Home said on Friday last: "Man for man, unit for unit, Pakistan's smaller army is at a higher standard than the Indian army."

(1) According to BBC, some of the fiercest battles are being fought on the Sialkot sector, where India has thrown in reinforcements of tanks and armoured vehicles, but the Indians have so far failed to make any impact on the Pakistan position.

(2) BBC's special correspondent in Karachi yesterday said that destruction of 150 Indian tanks by Pakistan would mean that India has lost an

equivalent of one Armoured Division

(3) *New York Times* reported that although India has not made public any figures, the Indian Army has apparently suffered extensive casualties in the last week. The paper said that India has also lost a substantial number of tanks, planes and other military equipment, and added that India has been surprised by Pakistan's toughness and is dismayed by the world attitude towards the whole conflict.

(4) Reuter's correspondent reported that India's bid to push on the Lahore front has failed and Pakistan's smaller army, in a high state of readiness, is now fighting on the Indian soil in two sectors of the 50-mile Lahore front.

(5) The London *Observer* published on Sunday some pictures taken by its staff photographer, Stuart Dinger, from the Pakistan side of the battle area, and commented that "the Indian Government has not yet allowed photographers to visit its side of the front." This is another evidence that Pakistan was in command of the military situation.

*Sialkot, Sept. 19.* The General Officer Commanding of the Sialkot battle front said here today that India's deployment of the bulk of her armour in the Sialkot sector had been countered with determination.

It was an historic confrontation between armour and determination, he said, and he was confident that Pakistanis would carry the day.

The General was talking to a party of Western and Pakistani correspondents. He met the Press party at his headquarters with his staff officers, full of confidence, busy in their respective tasks.



The GOC said that the terrain around Sialkot was an excellent tankable area. The failure of monsoons during the current season had further made it fit for tank movement and manoeuvring.

The Indians, he said, had all along marked it as a battlefield. They had, therefore, constructed roads and communications on their side of the disputed territory. In their plan of aggression, Sialkot was an important point and they wanted to fight a decisive battle here.

He said that Pakistan was not taken by surprise when the enemy launched an attack on this front. Anyone who takes offensive, however, has the advantage of the initial few miles. But apart from this the Indians had not been able to make any gains and now there were signs that their retreat had started.

The coming few days would decide the fate of this battle which had already been in progress for a week. The Indians had lost bulk of their armour, the GOC said.

"We are administering further blows to the enemy and, Insha Allah, the outcome of the battle would show to the world that aggression does not pay."

He added that the PAF was busy playing havoc with enemy armour and enemy planes were rarely sighted.

The losses suffered by Pakistanis were in the ratio of one to five Indian casualties both in armour and men, he said.

A Pakistani soldier who laid down his life fighting against Indian aggression on Sialkot front expressed pride for being one of those who were blessed with the unique distinction of fighting for the cause of Islam and

the nation, it was learnt in Lahore on Sunday.

Dafedar Muhammad Ejaz of a Cavalry Regiment expressed these sentiments in his last letter from a forward area to his father. He belonged to Chak 53-2L of police station Okara.

His two brothers and uncle were also on the same front.

In his letter he said :

"Dear father—Please pray for us that we may fulfil our duty honestly. We are happy that this was the time for which we were waiting. Thank God that we got the opportunity to fight for Islam. We pray that the Almighty God give us sufficient strength to destroy the enemy and win victory.

"A Mussalman waits for this hour for his whole life but only the chosen and blessed ones get this opportunity (to take part in Jihad).

"Tell mother not to lose heart. She is mother of those brave soldiers of whose valour and courage the whole nation is proud of. A high status for her in the world hereafter is guaranteed and this is the most cherished goal of every Muslim. You have everything to live happily in this world and you are fortunate to have also earned sufficient reward for the world hereafter.

"We are fighting for the glory of Islam. It is the will of God that Islam should triumph. So Islam will continue to flourish and we will win. A Muslim fights with dedication. If he dies he is a 'Shahid' (martyr) and if he wins he is a 'Ghazi'. We all three brothers and uncle are together on the same front.

"Father, I always keep in mind your letter in which you advised me



to fight with courage and without worry. I do not worry because I am not a coward."

*Karachi, Oct. 4.* Donald Seaman of the London *Daily Express* cables the following despatch to his paper from Sialkot which appeared in the September 24 issue of the *Express*.

"I drove to Sialkot on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line today to see the havoc left by a bitter 10-day tank battle.

"The Pakistanis have called it the biggest armoured engagement since the last War.

"From this side of the cease-fire line, the truth seems to be this :

"Four Indian Divisions, one armoured, fought a non-stop battle with two Pakistani Divisions, one armoured.

"The Indians tried to swing round Sialkot, take Lahore and cut West Pakistan in two, and thus bring Pakistan to her knees in one swift, decisive campaign.

"A force of 420 tanks on both sides slugged it out. Thirty thousand Indian troops met 9,000 Pakistanis in a head-on clash.

"Four hundred guns fired hundreds of thousands of rounds of all calibres from 200-pounders (8 in.) to 25-pounder field batteries.

"Two Indian Infantry Brigades were decimated at one village.

"These were the losses on both sides :

"Indian tanks 120 to 125 destroyed, many damaged.

"Pakistani tanks (fighting from dug in positions) : 44.

"The cease-fire line was a sight I shall never forget. We had time only to cover a single three-mile stretch of the Front round a shattered Punjab

town called Chawinda.

"I counted 25 brewed-up Centurions and Shermans there alone in less than an hour.

"It was a scene of utter desolation. The maize and rice fields are criss crossed and ripped up so savagely by the tracks of hundreds of armoured vehicles that some of the front looks as bare as a moonscape.

"Banyan trees that have stood for a 100 years are shattered by shell-fire.

"Empty shell cases, mortar cases, abandoned bren-gun pouches and bayonets litter the ground as plentiful as fallen leaves.

"The carcasses of water buffalo and cattle float in stagnant pools.

"Over the whole shattered ground where—at last—no gun thunders and the cease-fire has sounded, the reek of death that lingers on every battlefield, has brought the buzzards and scavenging kites out in their hundreds.

"A runner's slip of papers, written to take back to his company commander but dropped in the fight before the tanks.

"Slit trenches were filled with litter. There were letters from home, rifles, the odd machine-gun, unopened tank ammunition, shell cases everywhere.

"We walked gingerly through the maze, nervous of mines. A brace of snip flew off, a perfect target but for the cease-fire order.

"There is no doubt that this was the scene of what the Pakistanis consider a moral victory for them.

"Outnumbered three-to-one they beat the Indians to a standstill and were about to mount a counter-attack in the last six hours before the cease-fire when they were stopped on political



grounds.

"We feel sold down the river by the West—by England and America, said one Colonel.

"China was the only one to help us and we won't forget," he said.

### SALUTE TO THE ARMY

Our Armed Forces have laid the entire nation under a deep debt of gratitude by their heroic performance in repelling the Indian aggression. Awards have been announced for 24 officers and men of the Pakistan Army who performed deeds of rare courage and gallantry in the war. Seventeen of these awards are for those heroes who suffered martyrdom while defending their sacred motherland. It is only in times as momentous as these that the true valour of dedicated men is put to the severest test. And there can be no greater homage to the bravery of our Armed Forces than that they saved the nation in the face of the enemy's ruthless onslaught. The aggressor, many times stronger in both men and resources, was crippled and routed on all fronts. The role of our ground forces in repelling concentrated enemy attacks in the Lahore and Sialkot sectors will always be remembered in the annals of war. Some of the fiercest encounters took place in

the Sialkot sector where the Indians deployed one armoured and two infantry divisions. With 50,000 troops and a major portion of the armour thrown into the battle, the Indians nursed dreams of victory. The losses they suffered in some of the greatest tank battles since World War II have added to the ignominy of their aggression. Not only did our forces repel the enemy's attacks but also made headway in the Khem Karan, Sulemanki and Rajasthan areas. They captured 500 square miles of Indian territory—by no means a small gain in a brief fortnight of fighting. The Indians suffered terrible losses in all sectors. They lost over 7,000 troops, 500 tanks and 120 planes, in addition to hundreds of other vehicles. Thousands of their men were captured or wounded, and vital damage was done to their Air Force fleet and military installations. The PAF in particular has come out with flying colours. The biggest achievement of our Armed Forces is that they have proved once for all their invincibility—the result as much of fighting quality as faith in a just cause. The nation cannot but express its unbounded gratitude to the officers and men who have taught the Indian aggressors a lesson they will never forget.



# 20

## PAKISTAN AIR FORCE

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During the recent war with India our armed forces defended their homeland with great courage, determination and success, but PAF, undoubtedly, created wonders and secured an exalted place in the history of aerial warfare. Although PAF was quite small, yet it completely paralysed the Indian Air Force. One cannot brush aside the supremacy established by PAF on the Indian sky, i.e. from Amritsar to Ambala and Calcutta to Barrackpore.



## IQBAL'S SHAHEENS ON PREYING SPREE

*By Nuri H. Hashmey*

"Look out, there is a Sabre coming. We are over Pakistan now. Drop your bombs and let us get back. Quick, old boy."

This was what one Indian jet pilot told another, last month, on his R.T. (radio-telephone), on seeing a Pakistani Sabre hurtling towards them. The wireless message was intercepted by a Pakistani pilot.

The fleeing Hunters dropped their lethal load on civil population, and got away at full throttle, to report that they had wiped out this Pakistani air base or that.

The Indian pilots repeated this performance throughout the 17 days of the Indo-Pakistan war. Never before in the history of aerial warfare had an air force, five times stronger than its opponent, behaved in such a cowardly fashion. For the Indians this will ever be a stigma, blacker than the one they earned in NEFA in the autumn of 1962. As foreign news agencies and Radio Pakistan announced IAF losses, the Indian spirit sagged. The only way to lift the flagging morale of the crestfallen Indians and their Air Force was to award "Chakras" right and left, for the phoney exploits of its pilots.

A picture of an aircraft blown up in mid-air was dug out from the pictorial history of World War II, and, fed out to the Indian and the foreign Press as visual proof of the exploit of an Indian pilot over the

Chhamb sector. Keeler, the Indian pilot, who was supposed to have blown up the Pakistani Sabre, was immediately awarded a "Chakra." If this particular Indian Keeler had a conscience he would have uttered the truth. But, to the Indian Keeler the "Chakra" came like a gift horse, and, he preferred not to "look in the mouth."

It is not difficult to see why, with a numerically superior Air Force and with much better machines, the Indians quailed before the Pakistani pilots. In the very first Indian attack on Sargodha, Sq./Ldr. M. M. Alam shot down five Indian supersonic jets in just 30 seconds, in broad daylight, to set up a world record in "air kills." Never after that, during the rest of the sixteen days of the war, did the Indians ever dare enter the air space over Sargodha during day time. And then, the shooting down, like sitting ducks, of all the Russian MIG's, which the Pathankot air base had, on September 6, not to speak of the four Indian Hunters, bagged a day earlier over Jaurian, was enough to strike terror in the hearts of the Indian pilots.

Thereafter, Allama Iqbal's Shaheens were, on a preying spree—, 110 enemy aircrafts destroyed, and 19 damaged, 149 tanks, 666 military vehicles, and 62 field guns, smashed up, not to speak of large quantities of other military hardware damaged on the ground. The PAF's scoreboard must, today, be the envy of mightier Air Forces of the world.

If Pakistan is the realisation of Iqbal's dream of a separate homeland



for the Muslims of this sub-continent, the Pakistani pilot is the materialisation of his concept of Shaheen.

That the Muslims have been soldiers and sailors needs no recounting. Their navies once held unchallenged sway over the Mediterranean, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean.

But, in spite of their great achievements and contributions in the fields of navigation, logistics, strategy, tactics, and in subjects like physics, chemistry and mathematics, all one hears of flying, during their hey-day, is about the legendary "flying carpet."

Yet, it was a Muslim who first made a serious attempt at flight way back in the eighth century when Europe was just semi-civilised and America not known.

According to the famous historian, Philip K. Hitti, it was a Spanish Muslim, Ibn-Firnas, an eminent mathematician, who made the first scientific attempt at flight.

Hitti says: "His flying equipment consisted of a suit of feathers with wings, which carried him a long distance in the air. When he alighted, however, he hurt himself because his suit was not provided with a tail."

On this subject, Islamic history is silent after that. Why the Muslims, during their palmy days, did not pursue this first attempt at flight is inexplicable.

Air power developed long after World War I, though biplanes and zeppelins had appeared towards its close. The end of World War I saw the Muslims down and out. During World War II, the Muslim countries were either helpless victims, trembling neutrals or beaten allies. The end of

World War II saw Turkey as the only Muslim country among victors. She had entered the War towards its close, with a small air force built up with Anglo-U.S. aid. But the Turkish air force did not get a chance to show its worth. Egypt and Iraq had practically none. The rest of the Muslim countries did not count in the scheme of things.

Nearly two years after the end of World War II, i.e. on August 14, 1947, Pakistan came out of the clouds "like a dream empire and placed itself on the world's map with a bang."

This was the fifth largest and the largest Muslim State in the world, but, its army was scattered, navy just washout, and air force a mere junk.

A newsman, the other day, asked Sq./Ldr. M. M. Alam as to where he had been trained. His answer was, "My training has been purely indigenous." What he meant was that he had had his "air schooling" at the PAF College at Risalpur which was to play a historic role in the defence of the country.

Although a hundred million Pakistanis and hundreds of millions of newspaper readers, radio listeners and TV viewers in the world outside, by now, know the stuff the Pakistan Air Force is made of, not many people in Pakistan itself know the inside story—which reads like a romance—of the beginnings of the Pakistan Air Force. To have an adequate idea of the epoch-making performance of the PAF in the 17 day war with India, every Pakistani must know the grim situations through which Risalpur and the PAF had to pass in their early days. Here, in brief, is the



story of the birth of the PAF.

About 18 years ago, Pakistan inherited a "heap of junk" which was supposed to be the nucleus of the PAF. In the words of Quaid-i-Azam, the PAF "started with very few assets except loyalty and determination to succeed." As one of the first civilian visitors to Risalpur in August 1947, I saw a mass of junk which once must have been a mixed squadron of Spitfires and other aircraft. The sight was depressing.

The junk was once the precious flying equipment of the Training School of the Royal Indian Air Force at Risalpur. The Indian members of the RIAF, before quitting Risalpur, had maliciously damaged the few aircraft that were there, to prevent them from forming part of the Pakistan Air Force. Engines had been bored and the wings and the undercarriages of the machines had been damaged beyond repair. The same fate was meted out to the other installations of the School's workshops, hangars, etc. But this was 'only the beginning of the Indians' meanness.

The Risalpur airfield was, at the time of Partition, a howling wilderness. There was not even a faint "T" displayed to indicate the landing direction. In the offices, workshops and hangars, there was no furniture or electrical fittings, no tools, no petrol, and there was only one technician qualified to declare an aircraft airworthy or otherwise.

The Supreme Partition Council for the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, had declared air-training system as indivisible for at least one year. It was decided that the Pakistan element, would stay on at the various Training Centres in India and receive training

commonly with its Indian counterpart. But that was not to be. India backed out. Pakistan accepted the challenge. Orders were issued to the Muslim instructors, pilots, technicians, and cadets at Coimbatore, Ambala and Jodhpur, to reach Risalpur as soon as possible.

Pakistani instructors, officer-cadets and airmen started arriving in Risalpur in the first week of September 1947. The first task of the instructors was to get the school going somehow so that the cadets could continue with their training. But there were no training aircraft. Happily, they got word that the PAF had been allotted eight Tiger Moths (trainer aircraft). These, however, lay at Jodhpur and had to be ferried across to Risalpur. Who would ferry them? Only three fully qualified pilots had been able to reach Risalpur by then. The rest were cadets and airmen. Squadron/Leader (now Air Commodore) Yusuf, who was to be the Chief Flying Instructor at the Training College, was the seniormost of the three officers. He took a bold decision. He selected six officer-cadets and asked them to get ready to accompany him to Jodhpur.

On the morning of September 8, 1947, a Dakota arrived from Peshawar to fly the crew to Jodhpur. The party of six officer-cadets, two airmen and two Flying Officers, headed by Sq./Ldr. Yusuf, emplaned for Jodhpur the same morning. The Dakota arrived at the Palam airfield, Delhi, the same afternoon and spent an "unwelcome" night there. The next morning the party arrived in Jodhpur only to be told that they could only have seven out of the eight Tiger Moths, "as one of them had been damaged beyond



repair." What could be done? Content with seven Tiger Moths, the party set off on its aerial Odyssey in the early hours of September 12.

This was perhaps the first time in the history of civil or military aviation that youngsters, with hardly any flying experience, had to ferry aircraft over such a long and difficult route. Sq./Ldr. Yusuf led the formation of seven Tiger Moths and it was chiefly due to his immaculate leadership, grit and determination that six machines landed safely at Risalpur. One of the aircraft had to make a crash-landing enroute because the Indians, at Jodhpur, had put sand in its petrol tank. This was another instance of their spite towards Pakistan.

Six Tiger Moths clung together in hostile skies, over the scorching plains of Rajputana, four flown by raw cadets, who followed their leader like perfectly disciplined and seasoned pilots, refuelling themselves in abandoned fields, braving dust-storms and generally foul weather. The party had to fly via Nawabshah, Jacobabad, Khanpur, Multan, and Mianwali. It was then both unwise and unsafe to follow the usual route via Delhi and East Punjab as serious rioting was taking place there.

With these six trainer aircraft, the Risalpur Training School began its career as the eyrie of Allama Iqbal's Shaheens. It required almost super-human energy and drive to convert the School into a place of intense activity such as we find it today. The "Man of the Hour" was Wing-Commander (now Air Marshal) Asghar Khan. When the people of Pakistan were celebrating the advent of their newly-won freedom, W/Cdr. Asghar Khan, assisted by a small but

gallant band of officers and airmen, was quietly but enthusiastically laying the foundations of the nursery of the future Air Force of Pakistan.

Both the instructors and the cadets had the zeal that almost bordered on fanaticism, and, believe it or not, the first training flight was made three days after the Tiger Moths had been safely landed in Risalpur, and the first passing-out parade was held on January 2, 1948.

The presentation of creamwhite wings to the successful cadets signified Almighty's acceptance of Allama Iqbal's prayer, "Grant wings to these eaglets."

The cadets who entered the School premises the next morning constituted the first wholly Pakistani intake. That was a proud day for the School. These young men had come to Risalpur from places as far-flung as Sylhet and Karachi, to qualify for the proudest possession of any Pakistani youth, i.e. the cream-white wings of the Pakistan Air Force. New additions to the staff, made possible by officers returning from courses abroad, greatly eased the difficulties the School had to face initially. So rapidly, indeed, did the School settle down to business that when in April 1948, the Quaid-i-Azam came on a tour of inspection, a batch of fully qualified pilots had already passed out. It was a proud moment in the history of the School when the Quaid-i-Azam, addressing the officers and cadets declared, "I am pleased to learn of the progress which this School has made, and as desired by the Air Commander and yourselves, I name it from today "The Royal Pakistan Air Force College."

Since then Risalpur, the eyrie of the PAF, has bestowed "baal-o-par"



wings) on hundreds of fledglings. It was these fledglings who went on a preying spree last month against numerically superior vultures and wily "jackals" on the ground.

The Pakistan Air Force, consisting as it does of some of the finest human material in the world, was destined to create records both in peace-time and in war.

The Kashmir war was on from October 1947 until January 1, 1949. Although the Indian Air Force was very active over Kashmir the PAF had not been committed to battle. The Pakistani pilots were only making mercy flights to the northern areas of Kashmir, i.e. Gilgit and Skardu. They were carrying stores and supplies over the Karakorams, over one of the world's most hazardous routes, on which transport aircraft are required to fly.

It was on one of these mercy flights that two Indian fighters, with loaded machineguns, attacked a Pakistani Dakota.

This was no manly fight; it looked like two fast armoured cars attacking a slow, unwieldy defenceless bullock-cart.

But the Pakistani pilot displayed such steely composure and masterly handling of his "aerial bullock-cart" that the Indian "sharpshooters" were squarely beaten.

Their bullets only succeeded in "grazing" mountain tops here and there. True, "even the best equipment in the world is valueless unless the human material is there."

Pakistan acquired Sabre-jets towards the close of 1956, and the Pakistani pilots took to them as a duck takes to water.

Soon after the acquisition of

Sabres, the PAF organised its first 72-hour joint land, sea and air exercise to test the vulnerability of Karachi against air attacks.

Thus, for the first time in the short history of Pakistan, her skies became the venue of supersonic aerial manoeuvres.

Two years later, i.e. in 1958, the PAF created another peace-time record. It astounded the air force experts of leading powers when 16 of its Sabres, led by Sq./Ldr. Zafar Masood "looped" in a tight diamond formation in Karachi, before His Majesty King Zahir Shah, of Afghanistan. Air attaches of the world, accredited to Pakistan, and the correspondents of the well-known air magazines of the world, such as *Flight* and *Aeroplane*, of the U.K. (themselves experienced pilots) watched the hair-raising manoeuvre of the Pakistani Sabres with bated breath. Until then, no country in the world, including Russia, the USA, and Britain, had even thought of attempting such a difficult exercise. Their aircraft had, doubtless, tried "loops," but with a much smaller number of aircraft.

The leader of the "loop" was the same Zafar Masood, who as a Group Captain, nine years later, had to defend his air base in Sargodha in another record performance. He will never be beaten, for, his very name means "victory, thrice blessed."

The builders of the PAF—, Asghar Khan, Nur Khan, Akhtar, A. R. Khan, Rahman, Das, Qadir, Piracha, Yusuf, Khyber Khan, Masrur Hasan, Zafar Chaudhry, Salahuddin, Asghar Husain, M. I. Malik, F. S. Husain Rabbani, Dogar and the numerous colleagues in the



senior echelons—must have hailed the dawn of September 6, 1965, as the beginning of their "Finest Hour."

The PAF had stayed its hand in the Rann of Kutch, but, the enemy had brought over its jets over the Chhamb sector to rescue its hard-pressed land force, and lost four machines in eight minutes in the very first encounter. Two days later, India invaded Pakistan, and Iqbal's Shaheens immediately took to wings to tell the world, for the first time, that the Muslims were the finest fighters in the air as well.

As I have said earlier, history books are full of the deeds of unparalleled Muslim valour and generalship on land and on the high seas, but, the world had yet to see their prowess in the air.

Turkey recently used its air force over Cyprus, but it was a picnic for the Turkish pilots. A full-fledged air war between Muslims and non-Muslims had yet to be fought.

And God had so willed that this honour should go to Pakistan.

Within minutes, the PAF was ready to strike at the enemy air force, five times its size. The sun was hardly two poles high, when the Pakistani Sabres were over Pathankot. The Indians were caught pants down. Before the enemy could pull its trousers up, its air base was a blazing shambles. Its proud possession—the Russian MIG's—were a burning mass. A Pakistani Shaheen—Yunus—had sliced through them as a knife goes through butter.

Next to come in for severe pounding were Halwara, Adampur, Ambala and Jamnagar. At the same time, the Shaheens launched themselves on ruthless killing spree in

Chawinda, Lahore, and Khem Karan sectors. Enemy tanks, vehicles, guns, etc., were a mass of twisted, burning, melting steel, all over. At home, they were shooting or forcing down Hunters, Gnats, Mysters and Canberras with the ease of a school-boy out shooting birds with his catapult. Soon the Indians learnt to avoid the Pakistani pilots.

Alam became a legendary hero. He, today, holds a world record as a "killer". Belonging to this galaxy are scores of young men—Munir, Yunus, Alauddin, Majid, Azim, Yusuf, Saad Hatmi, Cecil Chowdhury, and others—whose names constitute the milkyway of distinction and everlasting fame.

Air-Marshal Nur Khan, succeeded Air-Marshal Asghar Khan, as the C.-in-C. of the PAF. Way back in September 1948, he had succeeded Asghar Khan as the Commandant of the PAF College, at Risalpur.

Renown awaited Air-Marshal Nur Khan, who, as the C.-in-C. of the PAF, rained "Panipat" over the Indians, and thus established, for the first time in history, that the Muslims were quite capable of producing Khalids, Tariqs, Qasims, Salahuddins, and Abdalis, as fighters in the air as well.

The glory of Air-Marshal Nur Khan is shared equally by Air-Marshal Asghar Khan, who, as the first Pakistani C.-in-C. of the PAF, nurtured and built up the Force with rare distinction, devotion and singleness of purpose.

The names of the two "Flying Khans," today, rank among the greatest Air Commanders of the world.

Today, hundreds of boys are training hard at Risalpur, to join the



PAF. Hundreds more have been queuing up, lately, before the Air Force Recruiting Offices, all over the country, awaiting their turn, to join the Shaheen Force of Pakistan. They all belong to the homeland for which Allama Iqbal had dreamed—the same Iqbal who had said, in one of his poems, “I love the youngmen who lasso the stars.”

The soul of Allama Iqbal has watched his Shaheens turning, diving and pouncing on the “crows” and “vultures” which came last month over his birthplace (Sialkot) and in Lahore, where he is lying in eternal peace and glory. His soul has seen the effective power of the “baal-o-par” of his Shaheens, and the striking power of the “Baazoo-e-Haider” of the Ghazis and “Mardaan-e-Hur,” all along the border.

Imagine what poetic gems would have flowed from his inspiring pen if he were alive today, to watch the spectacular feats of his Shaheens over Lahore and Sialkot.

For the youth of Pakistan, this is the time to win, in ever-increasing numbers, the creamwhite wings of the PAF which promises “lofty” service to the “Millat.” The enemy, next door, is treacherous and avaricious and needs to be taught a lesson that will keep him down for a thousand years.

*Peshawar, Sept. 10.* Twenty thousand ex-Servicemen and Army pensioners of Nowshera tehsil have offered their active services to fight side by side with Jawans of Pakistan forces and Mujahids on the borders of Pakistan to repel the Indian aggression.

A meeting of the ex-Servicemen

and Army pensioners was held on Thursday at Nowshera and passed a resolution which said that all the ex-Servicemen were ready to go to the front immediately.

The resolution paid glowing tributes to the Pakistan Army for its glorious performance and victories over the Indian intruders.

Ten thousand armed men of Jacobabad District have offered their services to help Pakistan's armed forces in the defence of the country against Indian aggression, Mirza Rafique Inayat, Commissioner of Khairpur Division, said here yesterday.

The Commissioner yesterday visited the border areas of Sukkur District. He said, he found the morale of the people of the border areas “very high.”

Sardar Ahmad Sultan Chandio, MPA, and chief of Chandio tribe, has offered the services of Chandio tribesmen to President Ayub Khan for fighting the Indian aggressors on all fronts.

In the meantime he has urged his tribe to join Mujahid force in larger numbers to receive Military training to defend the motherland.

The Karachi Students Welfare Organisation has decided to raise a force of 200 volunteers to be sent to help the freedom-fighters on the Kashmir front.

A delegation of the Christian community in Karachi led by Mr. Michael M. R. Chohan, today called upon the Divisional Commissioner and offered the services of the community “in this grave hour of national emergency.”

A resolution adopted at a joint meeting of the Christians this morning



assured President Ayub Khan of the readiness of the community to sacrifice their all for the safety of the homeland.

Meanwhile the meeting decided that a floral wreath be placed on the Mazar of the Quaid e-Azam on September 11 on behalf of the community.

A batch of 2,100 volunteers has placed its services at the disposal of the city administration to be utilised during emergency period. It includes 80 women volunteers also.

The President of the Lahore circle of the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, announced in Lahore that arrangements have been made for the enlistment and transport of Kashmiris from Poonch and Mirpur, at present residing in the Lahore area, who want to participate in or help in the fight for the liberation of their motherland.

Such persons are directed to contact Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan at the Delhi Muslim Hotel, Anarkali, Lahore, for enlistment as volunteers and onward despatch to Azad Kashmir.

*Karachi, Sept. 14.* Pakistan Air Force's heroic feats in the present war against India was considered reminiscent of the bravery of the dedicated pilots who saved Britain from the Nazi invaders in the battle of Britain.

Air Marshal Nur Khan, the PAF Chief, told correspondent Patrick Seale of London's *Observer* that the crucial battles in the air last week unhinged India's whole war plan. The attrition rate was so high—more than 70 Indian aircraft lost against

Pakistan's six—that India's land campaign has come to a halt for lack of air support."

"Seen from this side," correspondent Patrick Seale said, "India was over-confident. She brought a large number of planes right up into the tactical area in the expectation of knocking out the Pakistan Air Force in the days of war."

Pakistan replied by making intensive and persistent raids on India's forward bases at Pathankot, Adampur and Halwara, less than 100 miles from the frontier, the correspondent said, adding that "many Indian planes were caught on the ground."

Writing in the *Evening Standard* Tom Stacey has ascribed India's disappointing military performance to Pakistan's unique advantage of a President with full military knowledge and experience and to "fairly widespread misgivings among senior Indian officers about the justification let alone the wisdom of going to war over Kashmir."

### THE INDIAN DREAM THAT TURNED INTO A NIGHTMARE

The Indians, in spite of their superiority in numbers and equipment and their desperate efforts to force their way into Lahore, could not pierce through Pakistan's formidable line of defence in the Wagah-Attari sector.

A party of Pakistani and foreign journalists visited the Pakistan positions in the sector on Friday morning and found the Pakistani troops brimming over with confidence and courage. This was evident from the way the troops and their officers were



busy in their respective positions.

They were no doubt keeping a vigilant eye on the treacherous enemy but they still found time to receive visitors with a smile. The eager journalists, especially those from foreign countries, asked many questions and found the Pakistani officers quick and witty in their answers.

The visiting newsmen had also a look at the Indians across the canal. They were roaming about in the ruins of the civilian installations, shelled and later looted by them. Perhaps they were still looking for valuables. The enemy area was littered with damaged army equipment and vehicles hit by Pakistani bullets and shells.

On the Pakistan side, the main target of the enemy guns was mostly civilian buildings, including mosques. It goes without saying that it was the men behind the machines, and not the size of the army that made all the difference in the war.

The hollowness of the enemy claims of a six-mile advance into Pakistan territory towards Lahore was exposed when the journalists found its positions exactly where they launched a full-fledged attack on Lahore on the morning of September 6.

The Indians made numerous attempts to cross the canal but every time they were driven back by the Pakistan Army and Air Force stalwarts. One of the foreign journalists remarked: "The poor Indians seem to have finished from where they had started."

The journalists after their on-the-spot study of the whole situation were convinced that what helped the small Pakistani force to frustrate the

enemy designs was their efficiency, skill, will-power, the righteous cause and, last but not least, the blessings of the Almighty; otherwise seldom before had such a small Army inflicted such a crushing defeat on an enemy many times larger in number.

The failures of the Indian Army as well as the Air Force, both of whom were much larger in size and equipment than the Pakistani forces, made one believe that it was, nothing but lack of guts and morale and the absence of any cause that was responsible for their complete rout.

Humiliated by the rapid blows they received at the hands of the Pakistani troops, the Indians made attempt after attempt to break through the Pakistan defence, every time with fresh reinforcements and supported by numerous tanks and massive artillery. But the gallant men of the Pakistan Army, backed up by the ever vigilant pilots of the Pakistan Air Force, hit back at the enemy with such a force that it had to retreat in utter confusion, leaving behind a large number of dead and injured.

When the cease-fire was enforced the enemy in the Wagah-Attari sector was in complete disarray and did not know how to face the onslaught of the Pakistan Forces who were placed in a much better position to hit at the enemy as and when they liked.

The cease-fire, however, came to the enemy's rescue.

So, while the Pakistan Forces, encouraged by their performance during the 17 days of war against India, are full of confidence and in high spirits, the Indians look thoroughly demoralised. And they have reason to be so—their dream of cap-



turing Lahore has ended in a nightmare.

*Karachi, Sept. 15.* Complete mastery of the Pakistan Air Force of the air space over the Indo-Pakistan battle fronts has been acknowledged by the British Press in the reports published from both sides of the front.

Correspondent Clare Hollingworth who was with the Indian troops at Jaurian near Jammu reported: "In the eight raids (by PAF) I have witnessed in two nights, the airfields were attacked directly."

He said: "Indians are short of radar and by day Pakistani F-14 supersonic fighters can, and do, make reconnaissance flights with little fear of being hit."

Testifying to the accuracy of Pakistani air attacks on Indian military targets, he said: "There have been constant Pakistan air raids over Jammu, where they attacked airfields (which have been put out of use) and more important airfield at Pathankot, an important communication centre."

The *Daily Mail* correspondent, Arthur Cook, reported from Sialkot: "Pakistani planes sweep overhead in flights of four every 15 minutes. Out of the new bag of 30 Indian tanks nearly all of them were on this front." He added: "The Indian Air Force is showing less force than on the day it entered the war a week ago. Hunters, MIG's and Mysteres appear no more than once or twice an hour to strike at Pakistan positions."

### UNIQUE AERIAL RECORD

Last month a unique chapter was written in the annals of the aerial warfare when a small but determined

Air Force humiliated an enemy six times its size and enjoying the possession of better aircraft and equipment. Many a foreign observer and top military brass raised their eyebrows and were sceptical of the PAF claims against the enemy but they had no alternative other than to accept them in the face of solid proof. No PAF claims were confirmed unless filmed by camera guns (which work in synchronisation with the aircraft machineguns) or seen by an independent witness.

A British correspondent who had been through Korean and Veitnamese Wars, in one of his despatches asks: "How did this victory come about? Pakistan's fighter strength of distinctly ageing Sabres was pitted against Hunters, MIG's, Gnats, Mysteres and Vampires. The Sabres bore the brunt and the more modern F-104 starfighters accounted for only a handful of kills. The Gnats are very fast and most manoeuvrable aircraft. The Hunters are appreciably speedier than the Sabres." Air Marshal M. Nur Khan Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Air Force, gives a reply to this. He says: "The quality of equipment is less important than flying ability and determination. The Indians have no sense of purpose while we are fighting for the defence of our country; and so can take greater risks. Superiority in numbers alone does not decide the outcome of air battles. It is the better training, morale and, above all, the fighting spirit that prove the deciding factors in an aerial war."

Like a well-oiled machine the Pakistan Air Force geared into action the moment the Indians started their undeclared war against Pakistan. Everyone in the air force from the



top brass to the lowest rank was up on his toes and contributed his maximum towards the war effort. Success of an offensive or a defensive mission is not simply due to the skill of the pilot but it is the result of perfect team-work by several agencies including radar, communications, controllers, aircraft and pilots and maintenance personnel. Whilst the nation pays homage to the valiant pilots who fought against heavy odds, special mention may also be made of the men who worked round the clock to keep the aircraft in a permanent state of readiness.

The high scale of effort by the Pakistan Air Force was possible because the serviceability of the aircraft remained excellent throughout the war and the turn-out timing was simply astonishing. Despite the colossal job of repair and maintenance of aircraft due to war attrition, the rate of serviceability remained at a record level.

*London, Sept. 24.* British Newsmen who yesterday visited Pakistan Air Force operational headquarters somewhere in West Pakistan have confidently reported that Pakistan morally and physically won the air battle against immense odds.

After meeting Pakistan Air Chief, Marshal Nur Khan, and his staff officers, the correspondent of the *Times* accepts their claims unreservedly. He points out that no Pakistan Air Force claims were confirmed unless filmed or seen by independent witnesses. Ground kills were confirmed only when filmed or flames were seen.

One of the most remarkable factors behind Pakistan's victory, the correspondent believes, was the service-

ability rate of 80 per cent in the Air Force. This was largely due to round-the-clock work by ground crews.

The most interesting technical feature has been that elderly Sabre jets have been able to shoot down much faster and quicker-climbing Hunters and Gnats.

Co-ordination and training of pilots has also been a great factor. Aircraft were frequently switched from one ground target to another while in the air and gave support within minutes of its being called for. Aircraft called from base usually gave support within 45 minutes. This sort of thing was the biggest surprise for the Indians.

According to the *Guardian* correspondent, although the Pakistan Air Force gladly gives most credit to the Army, this is perhaps over-generous.

India, with roughly five times greater air power, expected easy air superiority. Her total failure to attain it may be seen retrospectively as a vital, possibly the most vital, factor of the whole conflict.

The correspondent quotes Marshal Nur Khan as saying that the quality of equipment is less important than flying ability and determination.

The Indians had no sense of purpose. Pakistanis were defending their country and willing to take greater risks. Average bomber crews flew 15 to 20 sorties.

Marshal Nur Khan's estimates, the correspondent adds, proffered diffidently but with as much photographic evidence as possible, speak for themselves.

Indian and Pakistani losses are in the ratio of something like ten to one. The Pakistan Air Force is, therefore, virtually intact, he concludes, and



ready to fight if war comes again.

## THE FLYING TIGERS

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 24.* Air Marshal M. Asghar Khan has said that the Pakistan Air Force had set an unparalleled example in the history of air warfare, in the recent operations against the enemy.

In a message to the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Air Force, Air Marshal Nur Khan, he has congratulated warmly all ranks of the PAF, on their superb performance.

The message said:

"Will you please convey to all ranks of the Pakistan Air Force my warm congratulations on their superb performance in the operations that have just ended.

"There is no example in the history of air warfare where a small air force, so heavily outnumbered, has achieved such decisive results in so short a time.

"That this was done in spite of the relative inferiority of your equipment, is a tribute to the high professional standard of your Service and to the devotion and gallantry of your men.

"A great chapter has been written in our history, and the deeds of this small body of men will, for many generations, inspire and mould the character and outlook of our people.

"I am sure that the Pakistan Air Force will be richer for this experience, and will prepare itself to respond with increased vigour and effectiveness in any emergency with which the country may, in the future, be faced.

"I wish you and the Service that you command, all success in this great task."

I had always doubted the truthfulness of those who serenely declare that statistics can be interesting for someone who has not lost the faculty of enjoying colours, smells and feel of all the glorious things about him. It was Air Marshal Nur Khan who forced me to change this view.

At his historic Press conference at the Air Headquarters, the other day, while extending an unprecedented invitation to his Indian counterpart to verify the PAF war losses for himself, he rattled off facts and figures in his characteristic calm but swift manner. He proved that figures can prove really absorbing—especially if they happen to reflect the big losses of the enemy at a fraction of the normally expected cost of one's own side.

Sitting in front of a painting of two dart-shaped F-104's flying above fleecy clouds in an azure sky, the Air Marshal gave his audience an outline of the 23-day deadly aerial engagement between the tiny PAF and the Goliathian IAF over the territory stretching from the scraggy hills in Jammu to the sandy wastes of Rajasthan. To cap it all came the invitation to the multi-national Press corps attending his conference to visit the various PAF bases and count for themselves the number of Sabres still in hand. The correspondents took the Air Chief at his word and got the opportunity of counting the Sabres for themselves at Peshawar, Sargodha and Mauripur. All the Sabres were there but what was of more interest to them were the pilots of the new Tiger Squadron they met at Sargodha.

In any peace-time air force, Tiger



Squadron is a hotly contested title between various squadrons. Every Squadron scoffs at the claim of others to this title. However, at Sargodha none of the fighter pilots standing around him contes'ed Squadron Leader Alam's statement that it was his unit which was undisputedly the Tiger Squadron of the PAF. With his individual score of nine enemy Hunters shot down and two damaged, his statement was much too strong to brook any rival claims. It was indisputable because it had been established through "ultima ratio regis," the king's last argument—the guns.

Standing five feet five inches high and weighing 110 pounds (overgrown moustache and all), Alam does not look his real self in the picture that tends to show him as a brooding and perpetually bad-tempered, middle-aged person. About a dozen years ago, when he had entered at PAF, Risalpur, neither his upper lips nor his chin had started sprouting hair but he had the same preoccupied looks which at that time had been interpreted as a calculated poise for hiding nervousness and shyness of a youngster who had entered a man's field far ahead of his time. But of course he was a serious-minded person and in his final term became an NCO—an NCO with a difference. Unlike other NCO's who threw their weight about, Alam used to keep mostly to himself. A gang of exceptionally undisciplined cadets of a junior course who had earned quite some notoriety by their hobby of NCO-baiting, had declared Alam a gentleman (an unheard-of description of an NCO) and hence free from their mischiefs. One of the gang convincing others had pleaded "he is just

a child and so wellbehaved."

Alam has found a self-confidence in his dealings with others. Now he has learned to share his thoughts and to communicate his feelings. He declares confidently and with an unmistakable firmness, "We would much rather die than be slaves of those Indians." He can express himself but his manners still declare that he would find himself more comfortable admist his controls in a cockpit than among newsmen in an ante-room. Perhaps he explained the psychological reason of his astounding success when he said, "We had been told the Indians are six times bigger and they have more modern machines and what not." It is the Freudian "golden complex" which appears to have brought all the success to tiny Alam.

Alam has changed during the past 12 years as all men must change. He has cultivated a thick growth on his upper lip to hide his boyish looks which he still retains at 31 if only one cares to peer behind the thick moustache. However, those who knew him ten years ago would have been dumbfounded to hear him telling a newsman asking his weight: "Well it is 110 pounds if any girl cares to come my way." Born in Calcutta and domiciled in East Pakistan, he is still a bachelor. He may not be any girl's hero but he is certainly the idol of all the fighter pilots in PAF.

The other Tiger the correspondents met at Sargodha was S/Ldr. Azim, a 31 years old young man who has retained his fresh looks but, unlike others, has lost weight during 12 years of service. An Under Officer in his cadet days, he had been known as an aggressive person—a trait that has stood him well in his tree-top level



attacks on Indian tanks, guns and troops in Khem Karan, Lahore and Jaurian sectors. He laments that he could not get into any air engagement against the Indians. I believe the Indians have been lucky. Knowing Azim's aggressive nature, I would not like to be in the shoes of any Indian airman who has the misfortune of facing this person who was born in Jullundur, lived in Delhi and trained in PAF only to beat down every opposition.

Yet another Tiger, the correspondents met was Flt./Lt. Yusuf Ali Khan, a pilot whose flight on September 2, still mystifies those who know aerodynamics. On September 2 he found himself pitted against six Indian Gnats over Chhamb area. The fight started at 25,000 feet. One of his elevators was shot off, his fuselage was riddled with holes and a couple of bullets lodged themselves in his engine but he kept fighting until he and his adversary came down to 2,000 feet when the former broke engagement and fled. He flew the plane back to Sargodha. The ground crew who inspected his machine were amazed. The experts who came to see, looked, scratched their heads and went back. None could think of any reason why this aircraft had remained airborne. By all laws of aerodynamics, it should have gone down the moment its elevator was shot off. It was a true case of Faith and not the air supporting the heavy machine. Yusuf came back safely to fly again and eventually to claim the enemy's four Hunters and two Gnats. Born at Hyderabad (Daccan) he is father of two children aged four and two.

While going about the PAF air

bases, none of the correspondents took any particular notice of the silent, determined men who were going about their business unobtrusively. These were the men who kept the Tigers flying and who ensured that the claws and the teeth of the Tigers sink deep into the enemy and tear him apart. It was this ground crew, from the Officers and NCO's to the humble AC2's who maintained a high rate of serviceability during war than even during peace-time—an amazing performance for men working under strain and constant enemy bombing raids. It was the devotion to duty of these men that ensured that PAF fighters and bombers did their job properly and the cargo they delivered achieved results. It was the indifferent working of their Indian counterparts due to which a large number of the Indian bombs dropped at various places in Pakistan did not explode. Without any limelight and without any reward except the satisfaction of doing their share for smashing the enemy, these men worked, silently and diligently to keep the aircraft flying and to keep the bombs in a condition which ensures that they explode when dropped on a target. It was because of these men that the PAF had no complaint of any gun having jammed and it was because of them that an unprecedented percentage of the total number of PAF aircraft remained ready for taking off at a moment's notice.

*Peshawar, Sept. 30.* The special correspondent of the *London Times* has paid rich tributes to the Pakistan Air Force for co-ordinating its efforts with the land forces in defeating the Indian tank attacks on Lahore and



Sialkot.

In a despatch by its special correspondent after the cease-fire became effective, the paper said: "The co-ordination of the strike Air Force and units on the ground was clearly a model." Aircraft were frequently switched from one ground target to another while in the air and gave support within minutes of its being called for.

One hundred and seventy-three tanks were confirmed destroyed by camera-gun film, he added.

The despatch said: "The cease-fire in the Indo-Pakistan war became effective in all sectors today at 3 a.m. (local time) but pilots of the Pakistan Air Force reported seeing intense artillery fire in the Lahore sector until 3-10 a.m. An attack in brigade strength was launched by the Indians in the sector yesterday afternoon after the cease-fire agreement became known and was broadcast by All-India Radio.

"A senior Air Force officer told me here that pilots reported seeing hand-to-hand fighting going on in the afternoon. The maximum air effort was put in support of the Pakistan ground forces and a last mission was flown by B-57 bombers just before midnight for bombing Indian gun positions. The thrust was believed to be final effort to take Lahore or advance to within shelling distance of the city before the cease-fire became effective.

"It was halted after a gain of about half a mile of ground by the Indian troops, and a counter-attack last night restored the Pakistan positions about 12 miles outside the city.

"Air Marshal Nur Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan

Air Force, today disclosed to me the fullest details of the war which has undoubtedly stemmed the Indian tide and provided the biggest surprise for Delhi. Doubts have often been cast on the Pakistan claims in the air war, which seemed excessive. However, after meeting Air Marshal Nur Khan and his staff officers I accept their word unreservedly. No Pakistan Air force claims were confirmed unless filmed by camera-gun or seen by an independent witness. Ground kills of aircraft or tanks were confirmed only when filmed or flames were seen. The figures are 40 aircraft destroyed in air combat, including Hunters and Gnats, 38 aircraft destroyed on the ground in daylight attacks on Indian bases (no claims are made for aircraft destroyed on the ground at night because of the difficulty of obtaining confirmation). 'One hundred and seventy-three tanks confirmed destroyed by cameragun film. I know this sounds a fantastic figure, but we really do have proof,' the Air Marshal said.

"He also gave me the full Pakistan Air Force losses, which are higher than those given in official statements but nevertheless extremely light. They are a total of 14 aircraft lost from all causes and 11 pilots missing. The aircraft losses have been four Sabres in aircraft combat, three aircraft of various types shot down by enemy anti-aircraft guns, three shot down by their own anti-aircraft guns, one lost in a ground attack on an airbase, two in landing and take-off accidents, and one destroyed when an ammunition train blew up as the pilot attacked it.

"One of the most remarkable factors was the serviceability rate of



86 per cent in the Air Force. This was largely due to round-the-clock working by the ground crews. The most interesting technical feature has been that elderly Sabres have been able to shoot down the much faster and quicker climbing Hunters and Gnats. The pilots say that this is largely due to the ability of the Sabre to turn inside the fast aircraft, particularly at low levels. Most of the combats have been between groups of fighters acting in support of ground troops and, therefore, have taken place below 20,000 feet.

"The determination and training of the pilots have obviously also been factors. 'My main trouble has been to restrain pilots from being too aggressive,' said the Air Marshal; 'I have a small air force and I have had to preserve it.'

The co-ordination of the strike Air Force and units on the ground was also clearly a model. Aircraft were frequently switched from one ground target to another while in the air and gave support within minutes of its being called for. Calls for supports from the aircraft still at base were usually achieved in 45 minutes. 'I think this sort of thing was the biggest surprise for the Indians,' said the Air Marshal.

"There was no stand-down today for the Air Force, though no missions except communications flights were being flown. All air defences were still at full readiness. Though it would clearly have faced a supply problem had the war gone on for more than another week, the Air Force is virtually intact."

India's Munabao Railway Station, three miles from Pakistan border, today stands out as a living symbol of India's cowardice and hypocrisy which has been its main feature during its recent aggressive war against Pakistan.

Standing on the platform, one could feel the validity of Pakistan's pronouncements about the progress of war and the shameful baselessness of India's claims. While the railway station was captured by our troops on September 13, the All-India Radio announced five days before the ceasefire that Munabao was still in Indian hands.

"When I took over the station" said bearded M. A. Ghaffar, the new Pakistan Station Master, talking to a group of newsmen who visited the place on September 29, "the Indians including the staff of the station had already fled even before the arrival of our troops."

He said: "In some of the staff houses whistling kettle and half-cut vegetables in the kitchens showed the Indians fled in a hurry."

However, the destruction of part of the rail track and damage to signals caused by the Indians proved that they were preparing to vacate the place as they opened a second front with an armoured attack against Pakistani town of Gadra.

It was about 8-45 a.m. when the train which brought us from Khokrapar entered Munabao Station. As we got down, our troops and members of the Railway staff greeted us with loud shouts of "Pakistan Zindabad" and "President Ayub Zindabad." While they marched in procession with a big Pakistani flag, foreign radio and television cameramen took shots.



does not exist any longer," writes an APP special correspondent.

The venue was the big Pakistani airbase at Sargodha, target of nearly 60 Indian raids and according to the disciples of Dr. Goebels, weaving their fantastic webs of phantasy in the news-rooms of A.I.R., a target that was wiped off the face of the earth by the pilots of Air Marshal Arjun Singh.

Well, adds the APP man who with his foreign and Pakistani colleagues, lapped up the food with gusto in a singularly well-appointed officers' mess, the P.A.F. must have done a miraculous job of reconstruction since the cease-fire, to put Sargodha back on the map of West Pakistan again.

Sargodha was there all right—not a mark, not a scratch, every building intact, every runway in perfect order for landings and take-offs that were going on all the time.

Could All-India Radio have been mistaken? Could it be possible that Sargodha was, in fact, destroyed and that we were eating somewhere else or in a makebelieve messroom that was hastily thrown up to fool the gullible foreign Press?

Could be I suppose, continues the APP man—but, somehow or other, the building (and its neighbours) looked remarkably solid and genuine. And the foreign Pressmen, impressed by the hospitality, seemed to take it for granted that Sargodha was, indeed, Sargodha and not a mound of rubble.

To get down to brass tacks and to dispel any illusions which the I.A.F. may still harbour, Sargodha stands solid, sentinel-like, a forward defence line of Pakistan that showed its teeth

when the Indian pilots roared over it last month—to get the licking of their lives.

Still there—and in flying kit ready to take off in two minutes or less—is brave Bengali Squadron Leader M.M. Alam, 110 lbs. of patriotic dynamite, who shot down nine Indian planes and damaged two others when the Indians flew in (at night only) to drop their bombs.

When they dropped them is still something of a mystery—if they dropped any at all in the vicinity of the huge airbase.

We saw one hole in the wall of a maintenance building, adds the APP correspondent. We saw some broken windows that was the lot. Runways—intact. Planes—lined up, sinister, loaded. Pilots—laughing, joking, eating, smoking... but clad ready for instant action.

Perhaps All-India Radio should be invited to send along a team of reporters to see for themselves what has happened to Sargodha.

But, one Pakistani condition should be that some neutral type should inject them, first of all, with a truth-producing drug—or else the proposed operation will flounder in a morass of Goebellian fantasies from the witches' brew—the newsrooms of that weaver of fairy tales back in New Delhi.

The Sargodha visit, writes the APP Special Correspondent, was the culmination of a day's see-it-for-yourself tour arranged by the PAF.

From Karachi to Peshawar by a plane that would vie for smoothness and comfortable fittings with any in the world—PAF-owned, too.



Although the Indians before leaving burnt the bulk of their records, particularly papers and documents at the Immigration Checkpost and the booking office, the whole area was littered with railway documents including Railway Gazette, parcel and registration papers and unsold tickets. The passport of the Station Master was also found in one of the rooms, among other things.

When asked an Army officer told this Correspondent that after the fall of the important railway station the Indians never made any attempt to recapture it. However, they have been sending probe teams somewhere 14 miles from Munabao. He said about 20 miles area ahead of Munabao was in effective control of the Pakistani troops and Hur Mujahids. Most of the local Indian population in the area has also fled with Indian mercenaries.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 4.* Foreign correspondents' reports from New Delhi have confirmed that Gen. Chaudhuri's Press conference there last week ran counter to the Indian Government's own stance in their publicity at home and abroad about their imaginary victories.

*The Guardian* correspondent in New Delhi reported that "Gen. Chaudhuri's final Press conference assessing the results of the campaign made some of the reports published before (in India) sound like the fairy tales they probably were."

The American daily, *Baltimore Sun* published a similar despatch under the heading "New Delhi's military leaders dispute civilian claims that power of Rawalpindi's Army is broken," from its New Delhi cor-

respondent, James S. Keat.

He writes: "Indian Army Chief of Staff disputes civilian claims that the striking power of Pakistan's Army has been broken. Gen. Chaudhuri's frank appraisal yesterday echoed the assessment of very senior Indian Army officers, expressed earlier at briefing in the Punjab combat area."

The correspondent referred to India's tall claims about capture of 471 Pakistani tanks as "a figure which raised many eyebrows," and quoted Chaudhuri as having "expressed some skepticism himself about the claim." "It seems very large to me," Gen. Chaudhuri said.

*The Daily Telegraph* correspondent reporting from New Delhi on Sept. 28 writes: "In the past few weeks a visitor to India from Mars, or even from Manchester, for that matter, might well have thought the Indians had almost all gone mad."

The correspondent also notes that "the shopkeepers of Delhi—not an inconsiderable part of the population—were busy taking advantage of both the war and the newly arrived peace to raise their prices."

"The Indian voices that used to say that Kashmir was legally India's but morally Pakistan's are silenced now," the paper says. "It seems strange that the nation which once urged debate and compromise to all international disputes should now brook no debate or compromise over its own interests."

*Karachi, Oct. 19.* "The Pakistan Air Force gave me—along with foreign correspondents and a considerable number of their Pakistani colleagues—a delicious lunch yesterday, in a place which, according to All-India Radio,



# 21

## PAK NAVY

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Pakistan does not maintain a really big and strong naval fleet. However, during the recent war with India when our seamen were called upon to defend their coasts, they rushed and inflicted crushing blows on their rival fleet without receiving a bruise in return. It is undoubtedly a wonderful deed which goes down in the records of naval wars.



## PAKISTAN NAVY DURING THE WAR

The story of Pakistan Navy during the 17-day war between India and Pakistan is a saga of indomitable courage and daring of its officers and men who maintained an unquestioned sway over the maritime zones of our interest. Their battle-readiness, tactical moves and continuous vigilance outclassed the mighty Indian Navy and kept them in hiding most of the time. Day in and day out, our sailors kept a watchful eye. The enemy did not dare approach our coastline and take liberties with our sea channels. Our small, but well-knit Naval force proved an impregnable bulwork of defence and stood like a rock for the safety of our ports and harbours.

Within hours of the treacherous attack on Lahore on September 6, the Fleet was ready in all respects, and put to sea to take on the enemy. Such a high state of combat-readiness in case of navy, a highly complex war machine, jam-packed with military hardware, honeycombed with electric and electronic devices within its narrow confines, is extremely creditable.

Soon the ships were at sea, riding the waves, pounding the sea, carrying out their many tasks. The navy was to guard the shores and keep the sea-lanes of shipping free of enemy interference. This was done with grim determination and remarkable efficiency. The alertness, efficiency and high state of preparedness was an effective

deterrent to the enemy. Five times our size, the Indian Navy apparently could not venture beyond their safety limits. According to stray reports, many of Indian Navy ships, during this period, managed to spend their time in repair docks or harbours—refitting. This inactivity on the part in Indian Navy was even questioned of the Lok Sabha when a member acidly inquired, "What was Indian Navy doing when Pakistan Navy bombarded Dwarka?"

And so round the clock, Pakistan Navy ships churned the seas and kept the watch. The enemy kept himself out of our reach. Then our bold sailore added a dash of daring and adventure to the otherwise unspectacular patrolling and smashed the fortress of Dwarka.

Situated at a distance of 210 miles from Karachi at the tip of the bulge of Kutch, Dwarka occupied a strategic position, had powerful radar installations, which kept watch on aircraft flights and ships movements, and guarded Jam Nagar and Bombay against air or naval attack. It also guided air attacks on Karachi. After the two unsuccessful attempts by the Indian Air Force to bombard Karachi in the early days of the war, it was decided to silence this enemy outpost.

On the night between September 7 and 8 as units of the Pakistan Navy raced towards Dwarka, there was a surge of emotion in every heart as they approached this doomed enemy



port. To tackle the enemy in his waters was more to their taste. Unmindful of the hazards of air-attacks from nearby Jam Nagar or the danger from shore batteries, they thundered on.

Past midnight the ships were in position. Bombardment commenced, the guns belched fire and relentless pounding continued till the shore batteries were silenced and the installations completely destroyed. As the ships turned homeward, they were attacked from air. In the engagement that followed three Indian aircraft were shot down by Naval guns.

After Dwarka was razed to the ground, it was expected that the enemy, wounded physically and his pride hurt, would come out of his lair. The ships, therefore, remained more alert and more vigilant.

The sailors kept unceasing watch for many days, most of the time at "action-stations." They were at action-station, when the pale sun rose from the sea, turning it into gold. They were at action-stations at noon hours in scorching heat and humidity. They remained alert in cool, soothing evenings when gentle breeze tried to lull them to sleep after the day's fatigue. They remained awake during cloudy nights with not a single star to cheer them. At last the Indians reacted, but with characteristic treachery.

It was September 22. India had already sought the postponement of cease-fire from mid-day to the following morning. A Pakistan Navy unit was attacked on the high seas by the Indian warships. The Pakistan Navy unit carried out a successful counter-attack and sank one enemy frigate, worthy about six crores of rupees. Pakistan Navy suffered no damage or

casualties. This heroic action of the sailors of Pakistan Navy is yet another saga enacted during this war. It has thus added another glorious chapter to the annals of their Service.

Faced with an enemy which possessed a formidable striking force consisting of most modern warships and supported by a powerful aircraft-carrier, the officers and men of the Pakistan Navy never faltered in their arduous, hazardous and hair-raising tasks. With cool courage and selfless dedication to duty they carried out their assignment, and successfully defended the coast.

Throughout the war, the Pakistan Navy successfully maintained normalcy in harbours and ports and ensured the safety of our own merchant shipping. The sea-lanes were guarded and enemy attempts to interfere with our commerce were foiled.

From the fateful hour of September 6, when the enemy launched its doomed assault on Pakistan's sacred frontiers, till the cease-fire on September 23 the Pakistan Navy struck at the Indian base at Dwarka, 210 miles from Karachi, destroyed three Indian aircraft, sank one costly frigate, captured three merchant ships, a large number of other craft and their contraband cargo. The blessings of God and the prayers of a nation of 100 million people were with our Navy and this enabled the Pakistan Navy to come out of this struggle completely unscathed. Today our maritime forces are not only completely intact, but operationally in much better shape to give even a more crushing blow should the enemy wish to start another round.

Another salient feature of the war at sea has been that, although Indians



have made fantastic claims about our losses on the ground and in the air, at no time did they mention any loss to the Pakistan Navy except denials of their own losses. This clearly indicates their extremely low morale, bad leadership and the lack of a right cause to fight for.

And here is the tribute paid to the Silent Service: President Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan commended

the role of Pakistan Navy and said it has played a tremendous role in keeping the much larger Navy of the enemy away from our shores. In a special message, President Ayub said, they were in a constant state of readiness to engage the enemy in battle irrespective of odds against them. The President said, like the other two Services the Navy also deserved the gratitude of the people of the country.



## PAKISTAN HOLDS MIRROR TO BHARAT

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Mirror is the best foolproof stick of neutrality and truthfulness as it brings all the facets of an object or issue to the surface without the least reservation. This chapter holds a similar mirror to Indian hypocrisy.



*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 12.* All-India Radio has stepped up its campaign of unconcealed lies in order to boost up the tottering morale of collaborators and authorities of New Delhi in the Occupied Jammu and Kashmir in the face of intensified operations by the forces of the Revolutionary Council.

An interesting example was provided by the AIR when its broadcast at 5.55 p.m. yesterday said that "150 infiltrators have been killed."

However, at 6.05 p.m. the AIR said in Dogri bulletin that "two Pakistani soldiers and two intruders" were killed.

At 8.45 p.m. the AIR bulletin said that the "Indian army had killed 84 including some officers and 150 infiltrators, including 11 Pakistani officers, have been captured."

*Muzaffarabad, Aug. 17.* Even the expert fabricators of "facts and figures" like the Indian authorities differ on figures of casualties in the occupied territory of Jammu and Kashmir during the current revolt led by the Revolutionary Council.

Speaking in the Indian Parliament yesterday, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, Indian Defence Minister, gave "up-to-date" figures of Indian casualties as "five officers and 21 policemen killed."

However, all Indian newspapers on August 13 in a report with New Delhi date-line had given the figures of Indian casualties from August 8 to 11 as "29 killed including an army officer, eight other ranks and 21 members of the

police."

Similarly, the *Times of India* of August 12 put the figures, of the casualties of the patriots of 84 killed, while the *Indian Express* of the same date put the figures at 94 killed. Both figures were for the same period—August 8 to 11 and were given out on official authority from New Delhi.

The All-India Radio, however, on August 11, put the figures of casualties of patriots "up-to-date" at 150 killed, in its broadcast at 17-55 hours. A few minutes later, at 18-05 hours, "the total figures" were given out at 93 killed. Still later at 20-45 hours, the total figures was revised to 84 killed. The Indian casualties were stated to be only "minor injuries to a few policemen."

*Karachi, Sept. 15.* India's massive claims of victories bolster the growing suspicion that "this is a war of fantasy," reports the *Daily Express* correspondent.

The *London Daily* correspondent after his 1,000-mile round trip to the front on the Indian side says, he looked for the India army and some of the 170 Pakistani tanks India claims to have "knocked out or captured." But, he says, "India is reluctant to back up her jubilant claims, which, if confirmed, would mean that most of Pakistan's tank strength has been destroyed."

On the other hand, his colleague Donald Seaman on the Pakistani side, he said, has been shown plenty of the



Indian tanks by the Pakistanis "and like other Western correspondents has seen Pakistani troops in action."

Indians "refuse to let anyone go to see it (the battle before the city of Lahore)," he said.

The correspondent remarked, "it seems odd that the victors should refuse to let the rest of the world see their spoils."

"I have yet to see one knocked-out Pakistani tank, one Pakistani prisoner or any evidence of a defeated army on the run on all fronts, as claimed by Indian Press and Radio," the report said.

He writes, "there is every sign that India's army has taken over the direction of the country and that her politicians are in an Alice-in-Wonderland world." They are refusing to let correspondents find out what is happening in the battles raging in Kashmir and Pakistan, he added.

The correspondent adds: "On every front Indians seemed hard pressed for transport. They are using everything from municipal dustcarts and furniture vans to buses and gaily painted public transport wagons to get transport and equipment up to the front.

"Indian officials scurry about in Government trucks with the insignia and number plates blacked out—nobody knows, why!" he said.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 27.* A Defence Ministry spokesman said, the Indian invasion of Lahore would go down in the annals of military history as a great debacle, because the Indian army, with a strong force of two infantry divisions supported by armour and artillery, could achieve nothing except an advance of three to four miles in 17 days in an area which had no tactical signi-

ficance. Despite their desperate and repeated attempts to advance further, Gen. Chaudhri's divisions were pinned down at the same distance away from Lahore throughout the war as they were on the D-day.

The following facts would prove without any shadow of doubt how desperately and hopelessly the Indians, time and again, day after day and night after night, launched wave after wave of unsuccessful attacks to reach Lahore.

(a) A three-pronged attack was launched with the directions of G.T. Road, Burki Road and Lakhodher gap, respectively, in a desperate attempt to break through our defences along BRB Link Canal in order to capture Lahore—the coveted objective of the Indian aggression. The enemy employed the 7th and 15th Divisions supported by two armoured regiments and corps artillery.

(b) The enemy made concerted efforts to break through in the Bhaini Bridge area and as many as 14 battalion/brigade attacks were launched.

(c) In the area of Bhasin 16 attempts were thwarted. This village, well over one mile east of the BRB Canal, remains in our physical occupation and effective control.

(d) Along the G.T. Road, as many as 24 attacks were launched and it was only the evening before the cease-fire that the enemy launched a Divisional attack, and later, supported by corps artillery during the early hours of September 23 morning after the cease-fire, managed to close on to the Canal in this area. But for our troops' respect for the cease-fire orders, it would have been impossible for the enemy to close on to the Canal, as indeed he could not during the 17 days



of war.

(e) On the Burki axis, 24 attacks were launched by the enemy to clear the area East BRB Canal and two desperate attempts were made to establish a bridgehead over the Canal for the invasion of Lahore itself. These attempts were foiled by our gallant troops, as is obvious from the fact that the Indians are still on their side of the Canal.

(f) Interrogations of POW's have revealed that the Indian troops were promised mid-day meal at Lahore and officers a peg of whisky at the Lahore Gymkhana Club.

(g) The Indian newspapers on the day of the attack, came out with special bulletins carrying the news of occupation of the Lahore railway station, of Radio Pakistan and Moghalpura railway installations—a clear indication of the Indian designs.

*Sialkot, Sept. 30.* "Piare Bhaiji (dear brother)! Ram Ram. I am perturbed. The Muslims have their God too. And they are dedicated, they are fighting for the glory of Islam. Their ideal is not conquest of land, but God."

This is a part of the letter found in the possession of one Qamar Chand of 21st Jat regiment, captured on the morning of Sept. 21 after the enemy's heavy and concerted attack was stonewalled in the Sialkot-Suchetgarh sector.

He had no time to post the letter he had written to his brother. Now it will reach him through the courtesy of world Press.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 30.* General J. N. Chaudhry's biographical lament written in what can be described as

"Indian army verse" by a self-appointed ghost writer was released for publication here this evening.

The Indian Colonel, who simultaneously struggled with the muse and the Pakistan Armed Forces, abandoned both his Centurion tank and his literary effort on this side of the border.

The name of the Indian army's "potential poet laureate" has not been disclosed, and there is no news yet from the Indian side of any suspension of "poetic licences" in its doggeral corps. The identity of the Colonel, for the time being seems safe, what he thinks of his opportunistic Chief of Army Staff needs no interpretation by any literary or military critic.

The following is the text of the poem abandoned, perhaps deliberately by the Indian Colonel before he left his Centurion tank :

"When it was a brand new press hat, trying to make a name I searched for things to conquer an easy way to fame. So when my Hindu master were looking at Hyderabad I said: I'll go and help you, I'd really be most glad.

"The State was large and prosperous and its army very strong but the way the Nizam ruled it, our pundits said, was wrong. To release them from their bondage and make its people free became the first great challenge to Brigadier JNC. I marshalled all my forces and drilled them night and day. The Nizam wasn't ready, so I marched without delay. Ten thousand men with tanks and guns advanced at my command and after frightful battles, we conquered all the land. I signalled to New Delhi to say I'm very glad to tell my Hindu masters I'd taken Hyderabad, I've rounded up the soldiers and subdued every faction : a most successful ending to my minor 'police



action.' Promotion quickly followed and other honours too, banquet after banquet, and a military tattoo. Even then dear old Nizam, though feeling very sad, acknowledged J. N. Chowdhury as victor of Hyderabad.

"It was several years thereafter that Nehru sent for me to say that he was covetous of Goa by the sea. 'The're making warlike noises and want to conquer us, you'd better go and grab them before they make a fuss.' Now, Goa was a mighty State in difficult terrain but there was opportunity for further fame and gain.

"I practised night manouvres with regiments by the score with artillery supporting a full-fledged armoured corps and then I gave the signal to start the Indian squeeze on the colonialists of Goa and the imperial Portuguese. They spat at us each morning, they swore at us each night. But it was a famous victory—a triumph of my might no matter what the world said—I, General J.N.C., became the lauded victor of Goa by the sea. I phoned New Delhi quickly to give them all the news, that I had been successful in putting on the screws. The poor and helpless Goans and a couple of Portuguese had one and all surrendered and gone down on their knees.

"When the Chinese marched on NEFA, I wisely kept away and tried to get a posting somewhere beyond Bombay.

"They were too big and powerful. I liked it not at all so I left the dirty work there to General A. N. Kaul. Now when the thing was over, there was a big demand to find another General, the Army to command. But who had got experience? Who knew the art of war? Who loved his Hindu

masters? Was loyal to the core? New Delhi sent a cable, addressed to J.N.C., 'You are appointed proudly our Army C-in-C,' and then, as I reflected, who else was there to name? Who else had vast experience? Such world renowned fame? Was it so surprising that they called on J. N. C. to command the Indian army to be the C-in-C? At last they'd got a General who, knew just what was what who'd conquer other nations with powder, ball and shot. They thought I'm just the fellow and if anybody can I'll also be the victor of our neighbour Pakistan.

"I doubled up the Army and spoke of China's might. I lectured all our allies that India's cause was right. That if they gave us weapons, we then can make a stand and drive away the China-man from India's holy land. I bought up all the ammo, and bombs and shells there were. I filled up all our arsenals with tanks and guns to spare.

"I gathered all the weapons that Uncle Sam could send and what we couldn't purchase we accepted as lease-lend. When everything was ready, I made a song and dance. I called on Mr. Shatri to say it was our chance, to smack my Muslim neighbours right between the eyes but first of all he'd have to start, by telling lots of lies. He broadcast to the nation to tell them all as much as anyone could understand, about the Rann of Kutch. He raised bogey after bogey. He told the most unholy truths that ever you have heard. While Shastri did his talking, I manoeuvred and I schemed to make myself a President, a job of which I dreamed.

"To sit in Rawalpindi in charge of all that State I, J. N. Chowdhry—Lala Shastri's stablemate, I moved my forces to the front, supplies and stores



as well' sufficient for a major war as far as I could tell. I mustered all the energy that India had on tap so Pakistan would disappear in one loud thunderclap. I told my staff that whisky was cheaper in Lahore. I told them Pakistan does not have an armoured corps. I told them that their Air Force was not a bit of us, little did they realize their heads were in the noose. When Shastri gave the order to march on Pakistan I sent a coded message to each officer and man: 'See you in Gymkhana Club for chota pegs tonight, but if you would prefer it—the Murree beer's all right.' I was so very confident, knew nothing could go wrong. I was feeling so elated that I wrote this little song. 'I've conquered little Goa and conquered Hyderabad. I am the greatest General that India ever had. When Pakistan is beaten and down on bended knee, they'll crawl upon their bellies to General JNC.'

'I told the Shastri Government the challenge wasn't great. The enemy has had it—is doomed to meet his fate. Dissatisfied with progress, the populace is sad. They will present no problem to the Sher-i-Hyderabad. So Shastri saw astrologers—said mantras by the score, made lavish preparations for parties in Lahore. He summoned all his pundits and together with Chavan announced that he would capture obstreperous Pakistan.

'I was building great sand castles in the Pakistan air when a message from the Army filled my heart with deep despair, 'they're actually resisting'—is what the message said; it gave me such a headache. I felt I'd go to bed. Ten good whiskys later—I fell into a sleep while Lal Bahadur Shastri did nothing else but weep. Chavan, the yellow 'so and so' turned very pale

with fright, and vanished to the bathroom, wherein he spent the night.

'I had an Alkaseltzer Chavan some Guanadine, Nanda changed his dhoti and Shastri turned quite green. The other members present implored many a Bhagwan to help us solve our problem of beating Pakistan.

'I went into ops. room, another signal flashed, 'the airbase at Pathankot has been completely smashed'; 'our naval base at Dwarka levelled to the ground and nowhere on the high seas is our navy to be found.' This came to me and others as a most unpleasant shock, the more so when we learnt that our ships were in dock.

'Our planes are being shot down by the PAF. Oh Ram, Ram Sita, Ram, where is the IAF? Our forces on the Wagah front cannot advance an inch, this, after all my talking, that the battle was a cinch. More bad news was followed with the cruel rub.

'Sorry, can't have chota pegs in the Gymkhana Club. Not a hope in bloody hell of getting to Lahore; suggest you go on chutti down to Bangalore.

'Pakistan resisting—all advances being checked. Chavan almost prostrate—our morale completely wrecked but we raise false hopes in people, gathered in the streets, by distributing jalebes and other kinds of sweets. As I sit here in the ops. room—my dreams far off now—my forces are diminished and I'm wondering really how a miracle of fate can turn the golden key and preserve the reputation of General JNC.

'We are back now in New Delhi, drinking rotten Solan whisky. Since boozing in Lahore was a little bit too risky Solan brew in Delhi is the only pleasure left.

'I—a mighty General of ambition



now bereft. Army, Navy, Air Force pulverised to dust how I wish in heaven that our lustful cause was just. Ah, a thought has come to me—Lyndon Johnson I'll salaam; maybe he can use me for his war in Viet Nam."

## HATE THE NEIGHBOUR AS THINE ENEMY

*By A. B. S. Jafri*

It was when we were at school for the pleasant purpose of playing aunt, only to play marbles at the far end of the playground behind that helpfully huge trunk of the banyan tree, that we were told two unforgettable things about man: one, that he is an animal; and, two, that he suffers from the curious propensity to be social.

To begin with it was hard to understand the import of being social. As to the question of being animals, it amused us. We enjoyed joining Jack, our adorable dog, for a chorus, although the enterprise used to bristle with rather disagreeable consequences. Where we used to feel stumped was the requirement of being social in order to be human. But our abominable teacher (then) made it easy enough for us to understand. Our best friend was our next-door neighbour. Don't you like to live so close to Rahmat? Surely we did. Why? That was simple. He was our best friend. We almost loved him. Now, said our teachersagely, that is just being social. So, you are a human being, that is, you are a social animal—that is again, that you love your neighbour, Rahmat. Since that day, we had never for a moment doubted that man is a social animal. We rather enjoyed the definition and it continued that way until last evening—yes last even-

ing. And we hold Mr. Bhutto responsible for the terrible shock.

Now, what happened was that we happened to be around the Ayub Hall and there we heard Mr. Bhutto quote an Indian saint as telling his Indian disciples that a State must treat its neighbour as its enemy. For a while we could't believe our ears. But, then, he proceeded to say that the Indian saint Kautalya had said profounder things. The neighbour must be treated as enemy but the neighbour's neighbour must be used as a friend.

It took us some time to reduce the whole riddle to an algebraic equation. It worked out like this: Neighbour is enemy, neighbour's neighbour is enemy's enemy, therefore a friend.

It was a shock to hear that kind of thing. Our thoughts went back to our days at the school, our wonderful teacher who forgave this worst of crimes we used to commit: to our dog who was an animal and invested our own animality with such joy: and to Rahmat, our neighbour, our love for whom had qualified us for entry and acceptance into the human family. And now Mr. Bhutto was telling us of the Indian saint who shattered every-

And we would have absolutely refused to listen to him. We might even have shouted at him. But we couldn't. Because of what he said next.

He began, then, to talk of Indians, the Indian philosophy of international relations and international living. All that proved that at least the Indians, or at the very minimum, the rulers of the Indians not only believed in their saint, but for countless ages had been living up to that set of ethos. That opened our eyes and shut our mouths—completely.



Our head reeled for quite a while. Having returned to a very hazy kind of consciousness, we doubled up to our little home and madly ransacked our by no means massive book-shelf. We managed to find a book which had something to do with the Greeks, that Socrates and his bunch of disciples. Yes, they certainly had said that man was a social animal and being social meant the desire and capacity of being able to live with fellow men—with neighbours, that is.

Had our experience of the Indians' treatment not been so overwhelmingly there to confirm Mr. Bhutto's statement, we should soon have been ourself again. But the facts are there.

The Indians have never been human to their neighbours. And there have been so many instances in which they have befriended neighbours' neighbours. Our own experience is there. Isn't it? They always try to destroy their neighbours, using exactly the techniques Saint Kautalya had taught them—spies, hired assassins (the Sikkimis would remember their recent experience), poison, and women to sow the seeds of discord and dissensions. How true!

Then the point began to grow and grow until it became a whole world of pretty sordid reality. So, they don't want to live with their neighbours in friendship? Our little child asked us, gaping almost half-madly. No, we said, no they don't. Then, they are not social, the little fellow sadly settled the question. Men are social animals, aren't they? Yes, they are, we said. But the Indians are not social. What are they, then? We evaded the question, not wanting the little fellow to know all about them. And haven't they heard that we should love our

neighbour as ourselves? Apparently they haven't, we said, and chased him out of the room.

## IF ONLY THEY WERE MOSQUITOES

*By A.B.S. Jafri*

Our man in the National Assembly informs that Rana Ghulam Sabir, the down-to-earth Khaddarclad parliamentarian from Montgomery, yesterday talked familiarly of mosquitoes in the context of the Indians—rather, of the Indians in the context of mosquitoes. Of the two, he fell plump for the multiplied insect without more than just a word of apology.

The Member from Montgomery had a perfect case. Pity, he didn't care to spell it adequately out. We shall do it for him. Undoubtedly, he is right when he says that the mosquito, whatever you might say to curse it is a sporting little thing. Always gives you a reasonable warning before it mounts its onslaught. The Indians don't. That, of course, is very true but not, we fear, the whole of the truth, nor indeed a fraction of the full story.

Let us take first things first. Have a good look at it. It has a sleek little bearing, several feet and a pair of fragile wings. And that waist, which we suspect is the enemy of the most promising aspirant of the Miss Universe award. Compare it with the potbellied War Minister (deceptively designated Defence Minister) of India. The mosquito looks every one-millionth of a millimetre a sportsman. Not so the warlord of India: that ponderous, blustering sneak of a bully. And, if Oscar Wilde was right that the obvious is the real, you know where he would stand against



the mosquito.

The mosquito has several feet, as we said, and a pair of wings too: The mosquito warns you before it makes onlaught, and if you brush him aside, it wouldn't be beaten, even browbeaten so easily. It comes back over and over again using its wings to fly towards the target and its feet to stand right on the target. The Indians are biped and for years they had been bragging of wings too—borrowed wings, of course. They drag their feet when moving into the war but when in retreat their feet assume the agility and speed of wings. They just fly on their feet. What of their wings, then?

All we can say, and need say for that matter, is that we have never seen them use their wings for flight, except for those pathetic attempts which went so terribly awry. The rest of the story about their wings came to us from the grounds and bases where the vaunted wings were shed before they could so much as flap preparatory to flight. How very different from the mosquito—either in respect of feet or in the matter of wings.

The mosquito goes to war boldly, almost manfully (if you exclude the Indians from the definition of man), proclaiming the advance and the intent as well. It goes to meet the enemy on the enemy's own ground and on terms too terribly disadvantageous to it. The Indians, as their not terribly gnat-size Pradhan Mantri Shri Shastri, has so loudly admitted, demand the right to choose their own time, the spot of their own choosing—altogether unilaterally—when “braving” out to attack.

The mosquito couldn't care less for those details. It goes to war and takes all the risks, dangers and odds in its stride. You cannot deny that the

mosquito takes war as war, a game in which you either win or die. But our experience of the Indians' philosophy of war—and who on earth would have more of it?—is that they usually go to die, or to retreat and then to go to complain to the big brother (let's say the U.N.), and, then, to ask for a cease-fire “here and now.”

The mosquito has never asked for a cease-fire. Surely, the mosquito would be too ashamed of it to ask for it. It absolutely wouldn't be a mosquito if it did; and if there be one who would, it would be—well, you know what.

### SO THIS IS LOVE!

*By A. B. S. Jafri*

Among the various axioms on which we as a people have been brought up is one that has something very simple and beautiful to say about words and deeds. The two must always stand surety for each other. The marriage between the two is irrevocable. There is no divorce, nor even a momentary separation of convenience. That was by way of a preface. Now we come to the point.

All through the years since the birth of Pakistan, the highest and mightiest of Indian leaders had been proclaiming “nothing but friendship and affection” for Pakistan. That is what we have heard, and so has the world, for the better part of full two decades. Through this string of artificial papers, the only thing that had been genuine were the thorns of innate hatred, greed and violence which had been perpetual. Every now and then there was violence, open and naked, and invariably unprovoked. Now it was a shower of gapeshot and powder



over the borders, now uprooting of human beings. There have been periods in which even water was stopped in the rivers, payments were stopped in the banks. Vital supplies under solemn contracts were interrupted at sensitive moments. Despite all this was the refrain, "We love Pakistan, we wish the people nothing but well." How well, indeed!

Within the sketchy framework, now put the grand design of a plan to wage war on Pakistan. No less a personage than a retired Chief Justice of India disclosed only the other day that a meticulous plan to invade and conquer Pakistan was conceived under inspection from strongman Sardar Patel. With that insatiable lust deep down their hearts, the leaders of India had all along been proclaiming "genuine and sincere good wishes for Pakistan and the prosperity of its people." Words and deeds have never been so directly and relentlessly and perpetually at war.

Then we come to the war—the small hours on September 6. Shri Shastri, Rashtrapati Radhakrishnan and countless other Indian leaders had been singing from housetops of their good-neighbourly wishes for the well-being and happiness of Pakistan and then, suddenly on that morning, shells began raining. What an accompaniment to a serenade of "genuine and sincere" love for Pakistan! And thus India's good wishes flowered into a tornado of bombs and bullets, from earth as well as the heavens. Just when the Indians had thrown their crack divisions of the army into an unannounced invasion upon the borders of Pakistan, their Pradhan Mantri, Shri Shastri, was telling the world through his vast broadcasting

network that India had no quarrel with Pakistan and none at all with the people of Pakistan. To invade a country with whom there is no quarrel, to harbour designs of enslaving a people for whom there is sincerity and affection is a kind of performance which is certainly not human, nor honourable, whatever else it might be. These are Indian deeds and these are Indian words. Need we comment?

And now, the latest surpasses all. Beaten fit and proper, defeated and humiliated, the Indians have still to learn the real lesson. Having seen what it would cost them to attempt anything of that kind, the Indians are without shame or remorse. The brave Indian people are urging their Government to mount another invasion—this time to "overwhelm" Pakistan. On the other hand, their leaders are continuing to talk of their sincere desire for peace and amity with Pakistan. The words say one thing, the deeds proclaim the opposite. And the amazing part of the story is that both continue, side by side, without any Indian so much as blushing over this diabolical contradiction about which nothing is hidden any more. And it is not that one man says this and another does that. The same men, the same leaders, the same saints of India do good talking and bad doing at the same time. Oh, these Indians!

There is preternatural audacity in the Indian character. To talk of a sound invasion so soon after the first one flopped pathetically is a marvel of impudence, to say the least. Indeed who can fully express the utter cussedness of it all? We shall talk of the second invasion later. Let's ask one simple question. Why didn't they continue with the first? They had



started a task. They might have it in one flourish. Why didn't they? If they had the faintest hope of ever accomplishing the fell deed, would they have listened to any voice of reason or decency? We know them. And by now the world should also know them fully well. So what does this talk of a second invasion mean, and what on earth is this piffle about "this time to overwhelm Pakistan"?

Until now we had never thought that the Indians are idiots. They are a cold-blooded, calculating lot of people driven by appetites that nothing can slake, lusts that nothing can quench. But their tragedy is that their inordinate ambitions are usually deserted by courage of which they have precious little. And that is why the wise say a coward is the more to be kept at bay than the brave enemy. Big words, small deeds, petty deeds, foxy deeds—that is what we have always had from India. And God alone knows until when it will continue. So this is love, Indian love!

## THE CHAVAN MYSTERY

*By A. B. S. Jafri*

Ever since the war began to go badly for India, its blustering Rakhsha Mantri, Shri Chavan, has become more and more scarce. In fact, it is several days, maybe some weeks, since we last heard his grating voice. The ponderous figure has not been seen anywhere. Where might he be? What might he be doing?

To be honest, we have no information at all: not a clue. We do hear the AIR broadcasts and all that funny stuff they serve for God knows whose consumption. But seldom has the name,

Chavan, been heard. Of course, Indian newspapers are not available and whatever an average citizen in this country gets of Press comments from India is through foreign news agencies. And naturally, these bring us only what is significant in one way or another. Not a mention of Shri Chavan. That is mystifying.

There are, thus, only a few theories for us to go by. It is argued, for instance, that Shri Chavan is just too ashamed of himself to show his face to anybody or to be heard anywhere. That he has all the reason in the world to be groaning under an absolutely insupportable burden of shame can neither be doubted nor disputed. But this hypothesis is otherwise terribly fallacious. The question is whether Shri Chavan is really the type who has any sense of shame? The answer is obvious. He is not. The theory thus falls to pieces. Not that it is necessary, still one is tempted to suggest in conclusion that if Shri Chavan had even an iota of shame he should not have gone in hiding. "Harakiri" was his only refuge.

Another thesis propounded by a group of our friends is that he is nursing his shocked and wounded generals, the most notable among them, of course, would be General J. N. Choudhry. General Niranjana Prasad might also be one of the casualties, but his ailment evidently was of a very different kind. He should be in some clinic under psychiatrists to be cured of the qualms of his conscience. On the face of it, this view appears to have some substance. But the question is that Shri Chavan should be the last person allowed around any hospital, clinic or convalescing home. His presence would induce disease. As a nurse,



he would be an instrument of sickness more than anything else. There is one purpose his person can serve, no doubt. But that would be confined to those wards in mental hospitals where they give shock treatment. One glimpse of Shri Chavan would be enough of shock for the electric chair.

Some say, Shri Chavan is in the shadows of the disgrace and may be on his way out. Here again we have a half-truth. That he has vastly deserved disgrace is beyond all question. But is he the only one to go under a cloud on merits? The point is that if all those who did badly should be out of the circle of grace, why do we see Air Marshal Arjun Singh strutting about the ruins of his airbase and the ashes of his squadrons? Why has nobody as yet asked for the head of the blundering JNC? Has nobody ever thought of giving a bit of his mind to the Naval chief of India? Is it not a wonder that the sobbing Swaran Singh is still abroad, instead of being in a penitentiary? And, why on earth, is Shri Shastri at large? Not only at large but up and moving all over the place, addressing meetings and Press conferences? If failure were to be punished in India today, one wonders who would not have been in the jug already. Why should Shri Chavan be singled out to be in the dungeons of anonymity? This theory, too, must be rejected.

On our part, we are inclined to put some store by the surmise that Shri Chavan is in some clinic where doctors are trying hard to cure him of fright which has unhinged his mind. We say so because the last we heard of him was touring what were described as advanced positions on the front. If he did go round those corpse-littered regions and if he saw with his own

eyes the thousands of skulls and bones with vultures feasting upon them, it is only reasonable to suppose that he lost his nerve and mind. And there one would hardly wish to blame the blunderbuss of a Chavan. To have seen that scene reeking of death and misery, of defeat and shame, of destruction and humiliation and not have lost his senses would have been all but impossible. In case of Shri Chavan, there might also have been a keen awareness of his own responsibility for much of that as the co-author of the tragedy.

Thus, as far as we can guess Shri Chavan is in some infirmary. And that is where he certainly belongs.

At a dinner the other evening, we ate most heartily. The reason was that the fare was simply wonderful, memorable. A good deal of imagination and elegance had gone into it. We reproduce the menu card:

Halwara 'pulao' with chicken.

Chicken Alma 'a la' Jamnagar with Rajasthan chillies.

Hunter 'korma' with Jodhpur onions.

MIG chops with Kalikunda beans.

Barrackpore potatoes.

Sherman 'kababs' with Dwarka 'chutney.'

Genuine Bharati salad (less of everything).

Amrit 'rahita' with Hissar vegetables.

Khem 'shirmal' and Karan 'nans'.

'Rubrhi' 'a la' Jaurian with Chhamb sauce.

Dum Dum tea (may not be green).

'Snacks.'

Pathankot wafers.

Chavan 'tikka' (cannot be beef, of course).

Nuts JNC.



Hadn't heard of such a fare. Ate more than our fill, but with no heed to reach for digestive tablets of any kind. It went perfectly with us. You might try. We bet you would like it.

### DELHI PLANNED WAR IN MAY-JUNE

The following are the extracts from the diary of an Indian Army General recovered from one of sectors soon after his troops were pushed back by the Pakistan Army:

I—Extracts showing how India's plans against Pakistan were prepared as early as May-June 1965:

"9 May.

14 June.

Monsoon locs (locations).

Mine fd.wire not to be lifted.

Def. stores to be moved if liable to flood.

All cliffs will be manned. 1/3 force. 2/3 moved out.

Rest 2/3 in cantts. Capable of return in 24 hours.

Amritsar, Gdspr, Ambala.

II—Extracts showing plan for attack at Lahore sector and disposition of Indian forces and the General's appreciation of the planned offensive:

"Plan Amritsar, 2 Inf, 1 Arty Bde in ech on GT Road, between KHASA & HUDIARA. Nothing on KOHAIL. No. res. Armd Regt in DBN.

*Offense*: Unsound from A to Z. Invite CA (counterattack) by going for BHASIN. No relation to task. No clearcut directives accepted case for armour asked to project. Still not clear. At.....Corps responsibility made to change at last min. Bn rushed to AJNALA. No purpose. For war game instrs (instructions) vague. BGS not on net. Canal flow resumed. Rds

(roads) too non-existent, Badian no bd (bridge). RCL cannot fire more than one shot. Def in a circle, anything outside not understood. Tk (tank) hunting.....Mines cannot be lifted."

III—Extracts showing conflict between the Army Chief of Staff and the senior associates:

"AC (Army Chief) trying to cover up something which has gone wrong. Gave some hasty & ill thought instrs (instructions). Resented my disagreement. CC (Corps Comd) having asked me to forget agreed with AC and left me high and dry. AC smearing me. CC has joined in to ingratiate himself. At war game pts (points) come out. Other points should have come out but it was all rigged. Terribly sordid. Both good personal friends. AC annoyed for disagreeing CC dropped me. Good God—Fairplay, dignity and pride of a soldier. Experience, knowledge and conscience dictated no other course."

IV—Extracts showing the General's assessment of India's poor leadership:

"For gens (generals) to reason is not treason. Optimism is the elixir of the weak and feeble mind. Political superiority achieved through a country's foreign policy is an essential element in war. No longer can nations fight each other while neighbouring countries remain neutral. Today a great power's foreign policy can only be a policy of coalition and this involves accepting certain limitations of national sovereignty, a fact of which our leaders are still completely unaware. Mil strategy is nothing more than a continuation of peacetime foreign policy.

"Optimism is the elixir of the weak and feeble mind. Our Government already seems to lack any clearcut mil



or political aims. Whether it is Hyderabad or Goa or J & K, Naga Hills, it all seems to be either to satisfy some personal whims or to further some political aims of individuals or parties. What is worse our mil plans are motivated not by consideration of national security but to please politicians, to further personal promotion by some stunt. There is no deep thinking at any level, there is a cheap attitude to underestimate the enemy, to show off one's own toughness to his superiors. Very little consideration for troops and field commanders views, who are browbeaten."

V—Extracts showing how war against Pakistan lacks a cause:

"No war is begun or at least no war should be begun if people acted wisely. Without first finding an answer to the question—what is to be attained by and in that war?

"Thoughtlessness, political indolence, lack of candour and deficient power of decision. In a democracy the statesmen cannot shuttle the responsibility on to the shoulders of Mil.

"War is no pastime no mere passion for daring and winning, no work of a free enthusiasm, it is a serious means for a serious end. War always arises from a political condition and is called forth by a political motive."

Rawalpindi, Oct. 3. "Hostilities might break out again between India and Pakistan, if Pakistan persisted in her behaviour," warns Indian Prime Minister Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, little knowing, perhaps, that the Indian armoured might has been badly mauled and the Indian Air Force crippled in the 17-day encounter with Pakistani forces.

Political circles refer in this context

to the eye-witness accounts in the world Press about the so-called achievements of the Indian military might. Quoting Peter Preston of the independent British daily *Guardian*, who has paid rich tributes to the Pakistan Air Force in thwarting the Indian invasion, they point out that Indian losses in planes were 10 to one with the PAF having full control of the enemy's air space.

"What, Walter Partington of the *Daily Express*, writes from New Delhi," they said, "further exposes the Indian claims of victories in the war." The *Daily Express* said, "I can report with growing suspicion that if India's victories are as massive as it claims, this is a war of fantasy, I have yet to see one knocked-out Pakistani tank, one Pakistani prisoner, or any evidence of a defeated army on the run, on all fronts, as claimed by jubilant Indian Press and radio headlines." "It seems that the Indian leaders concoct lies as a face-saving device but, alas for them, the world has seen through their game."

They observed that the fact is that, India has lost the war through its perfidy, incompetence of its armed forces and the lack of enthusiasm in her people to carry on a senseless war against her neighbour.

They said that India was going to lose peace as well through their intransigent and stubborn attitude towards the Kashmir dispute which resulted in the armed clash between the two countries. The remnants of the battered Indian armour, they pointed out, are strewn across the battlefields, from which they had to beat ignominious retreats in spite of their superiority in numbers.

What can be a greater perversity



of truth, they said, than the bland assertion that India was forced into the war in sheer self-defence. The maps and documents the Indian Prime Minister referred to must have been mere figments of his fertile imaginations that Pakistan wanted to drive to the Punjab and then push towards Delhi.

The Deputy Chairman of the Indian Planning Commission put the economy into sharp focus when he said in Delhi the other day that his country would have to do without economic assistance from abroad if it was used for exercising pressure on them and thus exhibited a callous indifference towards the welfare of his own people. He seemed to forget how badly the Indian economy was shaken by her war of aggression against Pakistan.

He is reported to have said in an interview that if the food supplies from abroad were cut off they would make use of local production which, incidentally, is entirely defence-oriented. Surely, he was not going to feed his hungry compatriots with shots and shells and other ammunition pieces. The resultant misery and starvation leaves him blissfully unconcerned.

The war-lords in India have been glibly talking of smashing Pakistan's economy and defence potential camouflaging their own backyard in a jungle of lies and self-deceptions. Their economy is too bruised and the armed might too badly battered to help them translate into reality their unholy designs against Pakistan.

How long and how far they would continue to deceive their own people is a question which only time can tell. But when the Indian masses come to

know of their actual losses and their imaginary successes the moment of truth, in the words of President Muhammad Ayub Khan, shall dawn upon them.

Yet another Indian Minister, this time the Minister for Law and Social Security, Mr. Ashok Sen, delivered himself of the homily that no country could be given the right to attack another nation to force a political settlement.

How right, Mr. Minister, but how wrong your line of argument. Surely it was India and not Pakistan which invaded the territory of her neighbour throwing to the wind all principles of morality, decency and decorum.

Political observers here point out that it was the Indian army which launched an unprovoked aggression on the cease-fire line and along the international borders between Pakistan and India. It was their Chief of Staff who duped his armed forces into believing that Pakistan lay prostrate before them and his officers would soon be regaling themselves with drinks at the Lahore Gymkhana.

*London, Oct. 5.* In consequence of its three-week war with Pakistan, the Indian Government will be faced with a considerable increase in the defence costs in order to maintain at least one Mountain Division in Sikkim on the alert in addition to those units in Kashmir and Punjab, many of which need rearming and refitting.

This is the keynote of an analytical article in the *Guardian* by its Special Correspondent, Clare Hollingworth, who has returned from a one-month visit to Delhi where she was able to meet many of India's political



and military leaders. She believes that any increase in military expenditure will accentuate many economic problems that beset India today.

Clare Hollingworth maintains that it is too soon to know just what the three-week war has cost India. But all the same, she believes, prices rising by as much as 30 per cent in some towns will distress and disturb all but the wealthy, while near-famine conditions, owing to an acute shortage of grain in the scattered towns and almost all cities, will strain the loyalty to the Government of those who would work if only there were work for them to do.

She estimates that India's losses in foreign exchange caused by the war should be nearly 100 million pounds. This, she says, will be intolerable for India because there is already a desperate shortage of foreign exchange. Moreover, owing to the stoppage of jute supplies from Pakistan, it will suffer further losses, not only in foreign exchange, but because under-employed men and women in Calcutta will become totally unemployed.

Clare Hollingworth points out that there is an enormous black market in rupees. Every taxi-driver begs pounds and dollars and Air India only sells tickets for foreign exchange because they don't trust their own currency. In the Persian Gulf Money Exchange Market at Kuwait and Behrein, there are noticeboards stating "Indian Rupees Not Changed Here."

In these circumstances many of India's economists are biting their nails in the air-conditioned offices of the Planning Commission. They have received a "tip" that the Fourth Five-Year Plan, which was only published on September 5, must be revised to allow for an

increased defence expenditure. They look hopelessly at the figures. India is already spending 2,000 million dollars annually on defence and an increase of at least 20 per cent is forecast.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 5.* The Pakistan Army is in control of Indian territory four times more than what the invading Indian army holds in Pakistan.

According to a detailed official map made available to the Press here, the total area held by the Pakistan Army at the time of cease-fire on September 23 was 1,617 square miles, while the area held by Indian army in Pakistan is only 446 square miles.

The following is the break-up of the areas :

Area held by the Pakistan Army :

*Kashmir Sector*

Akhnur 340 sq. m.

*Lahore Sector*

Sialkot-Lahore 1 sq. m.

Sialkot-Khem Karan 36 sq. m.

Sialkot-Sulemanke-Fazilka 40 sq. m.

Rajasthan-Mirpur Khas 1,200 sq. m.

*Total* : 1,617 sq. m.

Area held by the Indian army:

*Kashmir*

Kargil 10 sq. m.

Tithwal 2 sq. m.

Uri-Poonch 170 sq. m.

*Lahore*

Sialkot-Lahore 140 sq. m.

Sialkot 100 sq. m.

Rajasthan-Mirpur Khas 24 sq. m.

*Total* : 446 sq. m.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 6.* The image of India as a peace-loving country has been totally tarnished and today she stands as a naked aggressor before the whole world.

On September 6 last, India laun-



ched a large-scale attack against Pakistan violating the international boundary between her territory and West Pakistan.

The object of India's attack was to take over Lahore and cut West Pakistan into two parts so that they could dictate terms to Pakistan.

They, however, could not achieve their objective despite greater numerical strength and armed might. Moreover, they suffered heavy losses in men and equipment at the hands of Pakistani Armed Forces whose valour and striking power have by now become a legend the world over.

This is not the first instance of the Indian aggression against a neighbouring country. In this connection, the famous U.S. journalist, Sol Sanders, recorded in his despatch the event of India's military conquest of Goa, which appeared in the *U. S. News and World Report*, Washington D. C. dated January 1, 1926. He gave the following list of India's territorial conquest :

*Junagadh 1947* : The Muslim ruler of Junagadh acceded to Pakistan, but Indian troops moved in and took over the State.

*Kashmir 1947* : The late Nehru's Indian Army entered Kashmir. This action led to war with Pakistan in 1949, Nehru agreed to a cease-fire with Pakistan based on a promise to hold plebiscite in Kashmir, whose people are 80 per cent Muslim. No plebiscite was held. Nehru now says Kashmir "is Indian."

*Hyderabad 1948* : This State of 19 million people refused to accede to India, and appealed to the United Nations. But Nehru's Army attacked, and took over the princely State.

*Chandernagore (Pondicherry) 1954* :

Demonstrators, encouraged by Nehru, seized small French enclaves. France, under continued pressure, threats, finally agreed to cede all French settlements in India to Nehru.

*Dadra, Nagar Haveli 1954* : These two Portuguese towns near Damão were seized by Indian demonstrators and kept by India despite the World Court's decision in Portugal's favour.

*Goa, Daman, Diu, 1961* : Attacked and seized by India in December.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 11*. The discovery of an Indian master plan for the invasion of East Pakistan was revealed.

The plan found in the papers left behind by the Indian Army brass on the West Pakistan front, provided for a multi-pronged attack on East Pakistan after "overrunning West Pakistan in 72 hours."

Indian forces were deployed in battle positions around East Pakistan, and some of the specially equipped mountain divisions, ostensibly held in reserve for use against China, were actually intended for an assault on East Pakistan.

In preparation for the assault the spokesman said, India had a five-mile attack belt around East Pakistan cleared of all civilians on the pattern of what she had done along the borders of West Pakistan. As a warming up process she stepped up her violations of the East Pakistan borders.

As a softening up operation, India bombed several places in East Pakistan and dropped saboteurs in certain areas of the province to prepare for the actual invasion.

The invasion, the spokesman recalled, was to be in implementation of India's longstanding designs against East Pakistan, as publicly proclaimed



in the Indian Lok Sabha and through the rabid Calcutta Press. For instance, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was quoted by the *Statesman* of April 29, 1965, as declaring: "There is no reason why India should not hit Pakistan in East Bengal which is Pakistan's Achilles." The New Delhi paper, *The Patriot* dated May 1, 1965, quoted an SSP leader Mr. Ram Sunder Pande, as saying: "Time has come when the enemy should be challenged not only in the Rann of Kutch but on several fronts and suggest an offensive action on the eastern front."

The *Hindustan Standard*, Calcutta, declared in its issue of May 4, 1965: "Pakistan must remember that it had a soft under-belly. If the military command felt that attack on this soft under-belly was necessary in the interest of India's defence, such attack would have to be made."

All was thus set for an attack on East Pakistan. But one thing went wrong at the last minute which threw out-of-gear the closely worked-out timetable of invasion, the spokesman added.

India failed to seize Lahore by sunset; and she failed to overrun West Pakistan in 72 hours. Instead she got pushed back or bogged down in defensive fighting all along the front.

What is more, her air force was knocked out of the sky and her armour was crippled. Far from being able to switch any armour or forces from the western to the eastern front, India was compelled to withdraw her 23rd Mountain Division from around East Pakistan and move it to the western front about the middle of September.

What remained of the Indian in-

vasion plan, the spokesman said, was blown to bits by the Pakistan Air Force which from bases in East Pakistan struck shattering blows at India's invasion bases all along East Pakistan.

And the final epitaph was written by the people of East Pakistan who rose as one man to hurl defiance at India. Never before had the people of East Pakistan been so furious at Indian machinations and never so united as in the face of the Indian challenge. The complete solidarity shown by the people of East and West Pakistan in the face of Indian aggression should have buried Indian designs once and for all, added the spokesman, but if not, the people of Pakistan know how to frustrate the ambitions of upstart imperialisms.

Oct. 20. Because of her recent foolish and expensive military adventure, India is going to lose about Rs. 70 crore (50 million sterling) in foreign exchange this year.

This loss, according to British economists, will alone be from Indian trade in tea and jute products.

Already the country's reserves are dwindling very fast. About a month ago they were estimated to be at 150 million sterling, at rock bottom. There has been a further slump after the Indian aggression against Pakistan.

The tea from Assam used to be transported to the Calcutta port through East Pakistan marine routes, which India has now lost. Only a meagre quantity, between only 15 to 25 %, can be transferred by the train route, around East Pakistan. That route too is under military control at present, thereby seriously hindering the shipment of goods.

The jute processing mills around



Calcutta are suffering due to paucity of the raw materials. After the Indian aggression, the border between East Pakistan and West Bengal was sealed and the border trade (including smuggling) came to a stop. The war has also lost India regular purchases of jute, and the mills in West Bengal are now idle. The foreign buyers will have, therefore, to make direct purchases from Pakistan, particularly the British firms which had some processing plants in West Bengal.

The estimates of the loss of foreign exchange this year from these industries, the British economists believe, will be at least nearer 50 million sterling which in rupees comes to 70 crore.

With every day that passes that India refuses to come to a settlement, the loss increases.

*Karachi, Oct. 22.* Indians were so sure of the success of their massive pre-planned attack on Lahore that they had even appointed an administrator for the city. The administrator named was Mr. Ashwini Kumar, a senior Police Service officer.

This was stated by Mr. Aslam Sheikh, Delhi correspondent of *The Pakistan Times*.

He said that on September 7 Mr. Chavan did not come to the Parliament and on inquiry from an Indian journalist he was told, "the Defence Minister might be on way to Lahore to proclaim the capture of the city from Lahore Radio Station."

But by the evening of September 7, he noticed a marked change in the attitude of Indian leaders and people. By September 8, disappointment was writ large on their faces and it became evident that their mission to take

over Lahore had failed.

*Karachi, Oct. 23.* Although the Indian Army was superior in numbers—in proportion of five against one in some places—its losses against Pakistan were far more heavy in the recent war, said the leading French daily, *Le Figaro*, in an article on October 20.

The writer of the article falsified the contention of certain circles that India was merely flexing her muscles along the Pakistan borders. It said: "Thousands of dead lying in the sun on the day of the cease-fire, scores of blackened bodies of tanks proved that it was not simple 'show of force' as some strategists are doing their best to make us believe. As a matter of fact most of these were Indians which is natural since losses of the invader are always heavier than those of the other side."

Speaking of Sialkot and Lahore battles, it said that in these two cities the attacks of the Indian infantry "have been stopped by artillery fire supported with cross-fire of automatic arms. Although Indians were superior in numbers—in proportion of five against one in some places—they did try to outflame Pakistan defence positions by pushing forward the bulk of the soldiers. Perhaps the headquarters did not want or could not take the risk of facing considerable losses."

Stressing India's total failure to achieve her objective, it said: "On the evening of September 6, Indians only succeeded in occupying Wagah border village. Elsewhere they just crossed the border. But nowhere they had been able to cross the canal—key of Pakistani defence. Even after 17 days of fighting, they have not been



able to do so despite all their efforts."

Referring to Pakistan's unpreparedness for war, it observed: "One cannot deny that Indian attack on Lahore first, and then on Sialkot came as a surprise to Pakistanis. Today it is easy to laugh at their ingeniousness which made them think that New Delhi would go on localising the hostilities in Kashmir—the cause and prize of war.

"If there was any naivety it was shared by many other people—I know many Embassies which asserted to their Governments on September 1 that fights would be limited to the disputed territory.

"It is interesting to remember too that the British—who up to now had or still have special position in these two countries enabling them to have better appreciation of value of the two armies—gave 'three days to the Indians to take Lahore and ten days to occupy Sialkot.'

"These estimates based on the proportions of strength of the two forces have been proved to be false as many others have."

Describing the Indian rout in the Chhamb area, the writer said: "On September 1, the Pakistanis replied. Within five days, Muslim soldiers had broken through Indian defence positions firmly organised around the network of support positions in concrete pushing back two brigades supported by tanks and artillery. Indian retreat was soon turning into a rout in the area almost exclusively inhabited by the Hindus who hastily fled before the advance of those who came as liberators."

Describing Indian losses there the writer said:

"Twenty-four 25-pounder guns

and 14 French-made AMX tanks fell undamaged into the hands of the victorious army on September 5 which threatened to cut the road from Akhnur to Poonch—the only means of communications used for supplies to Indian defence forces holding Rajauri and Poonch areas and southern part of cease-fire line. With these undamaged guns and abandoned ammunition and tanks, which I saw with my own eyes, the Pakistanis have equipped a new artillery regiment. This led Indians to extend the frontiers of the war beyond the disputed territory."

### INDIA'S ECONOMY DETERIORATES

*The Times of India* said in an article: "The defence budget has increased steadily in the last five years. This has generated intense pressures on the price level and foreign exchange reserves after the Indo-Pakistan conflict. It is on the records that the daily defence expenditure of Rs. 25 million has risen considerably in recent weeks." It added that the drastically increased defence expenditure served as "fuel to the inflationary fire."

The London *Financial Times* commenting on India's economy after the Indo-Pakistan conflict, said, in an article: "India is today facing probably her worst economic crisis in recent years." The article said: "Rarely before has despondency about India's economic outlook been greater than it is today."

It said: "Prices have been rising vigorously for several months and are higher now than ever before in her history. The food situation remains disturbing. The growth of industrial



# 23

## THE MUSLIM WORLD

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The recent war with India was august in a way as it infused wakefulness among all Muslim countries. The link of Muslim fraternity which had apparently been broken was re-established and cemented. The Muslim countries fervently supported Pakistan's stand on Kashmir and generously extended moral and material help at this critical juncture. We shall always remember this selfless and ful-blooded co-operation of our brethren.



*Peshawar, Aug 24.* King Muhammad Zahir Shah of Afghanistan said yesterday that his country's foreign policy was based on friendship with neighbouring and other countries, "and I would continue to support the right of self-determination for all nations."

The King said that Afghanistan, as a supporter of the United Nations Charter, favoured world peace and would continue to do so.

*Cairo, Aug. 26.* The Cairo newspaper, *Al-Akhbar*, said that it was high time that the Afro-Asian countries abandoned "their negative stand and assume an active role to solve the problem within an Afro-Asian frame-work."

India and Pakistan are conscious of the gravity of hostilities between them at a time when some major Powers are persisting in their pressure on national liberation movements in Asia and Africa.

The continuation of fighting between the two sister Asian countries on Kashmir "is incompatible with logic or reason."

*Jakarta, Sept. 3.* One thousand Indonesians shouting "Crush India" demonstrated outside the Indian Embassy against Indian policy in Kashmir.

The demonstrators waved green banners which proclaimed: "Let the Kashmiris exercise the right of self-determination" and "Free the Lion of Kashmir—Shaikh Abdullah."

The demonstrators were from the Muslim youth organisation, Ansor, which is an affiliate to Nahdatul Ulama, the 1,000,000-strong Muslim political party.

A delegation of the demonstrators was allowed into the Embassy to present a petition which attacked India's policies in Kashmir.

It said, "if the neo-imperialists of India do not stop the burning of mosques they will become the No. 1 enemy of Indonesian Muslims and Muslim people all over the world."

*Karachi, Sept. 3.* "The Motamar-e-Alam-e-Islami condemns the repeated acts of aggression by Indian troops, who, not satisfied with her naked acts of oppression and repression in Occupied Kashmir, are now trying to expand the area of conflict by intrusion into Pakistan territory.

"By her broken pledges India already stood condemned before the bar of the world public opinion and now, with her naked aggression, we hope she will be condemned by her own friends.

"The Motamar has always stood for the birthright of the Kashmiri people to determine their own future and shall continue its worldwide support in the righteous cause of the people of the Indian-occupied Kashmir."

*Karachi, Sept. 4.* The Deputy Speaker of the Indonesian Parliament, Mr. G. G. Subamia, said "as comrade-in-arms to Pakistan, Indonesia would



naturally stand behind Pakistan to achieve the noble cause of fighting against imperialism and colonialism."

He said: "In the 10 points of our (Indonesian) Constitution we have pledged support to all struggles of independence."

*Jakarta, Sept. 8.* Mr. D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, told the Pakistan Ambassador here yesterday, according to *Harian Rakjat*:

"In attacking Pakistan India is inspired by the U. S. imperialists. Therefore, assistance to Kashmir and Pakistan in their resistance against India means at present opposition to U.S. imperialism."

*Karachi, Sept. 8.* While addressing a Press conference here this evening at Hotel Intercontinental Mr. G. G. Subamia, leader of the six-member visiting Indonesian Parliamentary delegation, said:

"I completely agree with President Ayub's reply to the U.N. Secretary-General.

"It is the obligation of the Indonesian people to make people everywhere understand the correct position of the Kashmir dispute." Even if the present situation had not developed in Kashmir, the Indonesian people would have taken this responsibility on them.

"It is the conviction of Indonesians that a true solidarity of all newly emerging forces alone could lead to a world without exploitation of nation by nation and man by man," he said and added: "I call upon the struggling people of Pakistan to go forward and never to retreat."

*Jakarta, Sept. 9.* About 2,000 Indonesians stormed into the Indian Embassy here burning three cars, Embassy documents and breaking windows.

Thousands of Indonesian youths and students held here a demonstration this morning in support of the just struggle of the people of Pakistan against India's armed aggression.

The demonstrators shouted: "Oppose India's aggression against Pakistan."

They pulled down the Indian flag and raised the Indonesian one.

Correspondents who visited the building later found it shut and plastered with crude signs saying "Property of the Republic of Indonesia." It was being guarded by helmeted, armed police.

*Jakarta, Sept. 9.* Nations belonging to "new emerging forces" should extend aid to Pakistan struggle to face the Indian aggression, said, Dr. Subandrio, the Indonesian Foreign Minister.

Dr. Subandrio said, "We, of course, understand that Pakistan expects aid from whomsoever is willing to help."

*Jakarta, Sept. 9.* In a statement, the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalist Association said, Indian aggression seriously violates the Bandung principles, undermines the Afro-Asian solidarity and disturbs peace in Asia.

"Between the aggressor who is trying to ride roughshod on the will of the Kashmir people and attacking Pakistani territories and the defenders of the sacred right of the territorial



integrity and the right of self-determination, there can be no immediate and 'unconditional' cease-fire as is proposed by the United Nations. The aggressors should immediately cease their acts of aggression against Kashmir and the Pakistan people.

"Final victory will go to the Pakistan and Kashmir people who fight dauntlessly for justice and against aggression."

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 10.* In an interview he Mr. G. G. Subamia said, the people of Indonesia were confident that Pakistan, which had been invaded by India, would also be supported by other emerging forces of the world.

"It is our conviction that the Government and the people of Pakistan will have the blessing of God Almighty and be strong enough to meet every challenge."

*Lagos (Nigeria) Aug. 11.* "The spirit of the Kashmiri people is indestructible and their resolve to secure their rights under the dynamic leadership of Shaikh Abdullah has remained unshaken," said, two leading Nigerian newspapers. "They would sooner or later emerge victorious in their fight for freedom in spite of odds."

"Kashmir has an individual existence and its people must be the final arbiters of their future."

"The Kashmir problem" has remained alive in spite of all repression, the terror and domination to which the Kashmiri people have been subjected for 17 years.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 11.* A powerful delegation of Syrian Ulema conveyed the greetings of the Syrian Ulema to

the people and the soldiers of Pakistan for their heroic deeds.

The Ulema stated that they and their congregation had been praying day and night for the success of their Muslim brethren. They also added that the laws of Islam enjoined upon all Muslims of the world not merely sympathy but positive action for Pakistan in this situation. They have asked for facilities from their Government so that their kith and kin and followers could enlist in the army of Pakistan.

The Ulema warned India that because of her aggression she would lose friendship of all Muslim world. They asked India to withdraw aggression immediately and to recognise the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir.

*Jeddah (Saudi Arabia), Sept. 13.* The Muslim World Association in Mecca condemned Indian aggression on Pakistan and called on all Muslim nations to give effective assistance to Pakistan.

In a cable to Arab Kings and Presidents assembled in Casablanca for a summit meeting the Association said :

"We invite all Muslim peoples and governments to support Pakistan effectively and help it to defend itself in its just cause, in accordance with Muslim brotherly ties."

"Muslim men and women from the Arab, African and Asian countries whom I met during the recent one-week visit to the holy cities not only condemned the Indian aggression against Pakistan but also expressed confidence in the final success of this country."

"An Arab taxi-driver who was



driving me from Medina to Jeddah on Thursday heard the news over the Saudi Radio during the trip and said in his broken Urdu: 'My heart is with Pakistani Musalmans.'

"The Director of the Management Committee of the Holy Mosque in Medina said: 'Insha Allah Pakistan will win. We are praying for its success.'

"A Palestinian refugee teacher said: 'I think the Arab heads of State will consider the situation during their coming meeting in Africa, but I can tell you this that common people are with Pakistan. We think India is the aggressor.'

An editorial "Muslim Volunteers to Help Pakistan," appearing in the *Philippines Herald* of September 12 says:

"Thousands of Muslims from Lanao Del Sur volunteered yesterday to fight for Pakistan. Governor Madki Alanto of Lanang Del Sur, said, "Filipino Muslims are willing to fight for Pakistan in her war against India because:

"1. Both the Philippines and Pakistan are active members of the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO).

"2. Pakistan espouses strongly a democratic form of government, while India is a neutral country.

"3. India is wrong in attacking Pakistan in the border war.

"4. They have the same religion."

*Jakarta, Sept. 14.* President Soekarno said that all Muslim countries should give their sympathy and support to Pakistan in its struggle against India.

President Soekarno said, Pakistan had always defended justice and truth

and always opposed tyranny.

He criticised Malaysia which, he said, was taking a neutral stand because it considered both Pakistan and India as its friends.

Any country, which called itself Muslim but which defended India was "a hare-brained Muslim country,"

*Jakarta Aug. 16.* Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo said that his party and the country's Government support Kashmir's right of self-determination.

About the declarations made by the first Afro-Asian Conference, he said that every effort would be made from the platform of the Afro-Asian nations to get Kashmir its independence.

*Jeddah, Sept. 17.* Amir Misha'al, brother of King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and Governor of Mecca, has volunteered to fight for Pakistan in her conflict with India.

Amir Misha'al is one of the many members of the royal family and of well-known Arab families in Jeddah who have offered their personal services to fight in this "Jihad."

The Amir has arranged for daily prayers in Ka'aba Sharif for the success of the Muslims in their fight against the infidels.

*Casablanca, Sept. 18.* Twelve Arab leaders last night appealed to India and Pakistan to cease fighting and settle the conflict on the basis of United Nations resolutions.

*Mecca, Sept. 18.* The Rabita-e-Alam-e-Islami, Mecca, has strongly condemned the act of aggression committed by India.

It called upon all Muslims of the



world including the Islamic Governments and peoples to support Pakistan wholeheartedly in her strife and self-defence and to uphold the cause of justice and righteousness in the course of carrying out Islamic brotherhood obligations most earnestly and effectively.

*Amman, Sept. 19.* "It is our duty to admit Pakistan has always been an enthusiastic supporter of Arab problems, particularly the Palestine problem," Mr. Wasfi Tell the Jordanian Prime Minister, told a news conference.

"We have religious ties with Pakistan. And, therefore, while we are keen to see peace prevail in the area, we must support self-determination for Kashmir."

*Jakarta Sept. 20.* Half a million people attended a mass rally in Surabaya, East Java, to strongly condemn Indian aggression against the people of Kashmir and Pakistan.

It urged the Indonesian Government to sever diplomatic ties with India and the United States and to stop imports from India.

The resolution adopted by the mass rally called on the Indonesians to boycott all Indian films.

*Beirut, Sept. 20.* A delegation of the Lebanese and Saudi Arabian Ulema, scholars and intellectuals called on the Pakistan Ambassador Hamid Nawaz Khan, and conveyed to him the sympathy and support of Muslims everywhere in its struggle against India.

They denounced the Indian aggression on Pakistan in the strongest terms. They said, "Muslims are

indignant all over the world and wish to volunteer for Jihad shoulder to shoulder with their Pakistani brethren in fighting the Indian imperialism."

*Baghdad, Sept. 21.* Shaikh Makki Kittani, head of the Union of Ulema in Syria, said that they were Muslims first and Arabs afterwards and the war in Pakistan was their own war. They condemned Indian aggression and said that they had led prayers in all mosques in Syria for victory of their brothers in Pakistan and Kashmir.

The Grand Mufti of Syria led a delegation to heads of Arab missions in Damascus, asking them to send telegrams to their Heads of State to support Pakistan fully. They also visited Embassies of countries which had openly supported Pakistan to thank them.

The Grand Mufti has sent a telegram to President Ayub pledging support of Muslims in Syria and offering to fight against Indian aggression. A large number of written petitions are being received from all over Syria to enlist in the Pakistan Army.

*Teheran, Sept. 21.* The Iranian Prime Minister, Amir Abbas Hoveida, said here today that a peaceful solution to the Indo-Pakistan conflict must be found, but declared that there would probably never be a lasting peace between the two countries until the Kashmir question was settled on the basis of 1949 United Nations resolutions.

*Jeddah, Sept. 22.* King Faisal reiterated that India being an aggressor against Pakistan it was the duty of every peace-loving country to support Pakistan.



Spearheading the picketers, the party leader, Mr. Hosein Ghanie, handed over a letter of protest to the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. Kundan Lal.

In its letter, the Party strongly protested against the continued occupation of Kashmir and in particular the recent acts of, what it termed, aggression, the scorched-earth policies, and killing of innocent people, perpetrated in Kashmir.

It urged India in the interest of world peace to cease all military action immediately and allow the United Nations to settle the issue on the basis of self-determination by the Kashmiris.

*Damascus, Oct. 7.* In a statement on October 5, Al-Sayed Muhammad Al-Kattani paid glowing tributes to Pakistan people. He said: "You have done your duty to Islam and you have hauled the flag of Islam very high. It is high time that every Muslim in the world join you and help you in every respect.

"Pakistan today is facing the most critical problem and that is of Kashmir, the land of pure Muslims who were denied their right of self-determination by India. The Indian Government has committed most treacherous acts and atrocities in Kashmir contrary to the human rights and United Nations Charter.

"It is high time now that the supporters of self-determination all over the world disregarding of any people and community give support to the people of Pakistan in her cause in Kashmir, not only morally but also materially by recruiting volunteers to join Pakistan in her struggle." He said, today Pakistan is fighting for

survival and asked the Arab people to regard this recruitment as Jihad.

*Beirut, Oct. 10.* The Prime Minister of Jordan said in Amman that the Kashmir problem involved justice and the right of self-determination.

"The few weeks ahead will decide a serious problem involving a just and rightful cause. The problem of Kashmir which involves justice and right of self-determination, awaits solution.

"It is a human problem and should be approached as such. We in Jordan and the Arabs as a whole feel about this problem the same way as our Pakistani brethren do. We support Pakistan because we stand for the right of self-determination, which is a universally acknowledged principle and which has enabled so many countries and peoples to achieve nationhood and independence. We also support Pakistan because we are indebted to her for her clear and forthright stand on Palestine and other Arab causes. We owe Pakistan a great debt and it is our moral duty that we should support Pakistan to repay at least part of the debt, if not the whole of it. We pray to the Almighty that He may grant victory to Pakistan in her struggle and the people of Kashmir may attain their freedom and independence. I say this because Almighty Alah has enjoined on us to be brothers. 'Verily, all Momins are brothers.'

*Peshawar, Oct. 12.* The Radio Kabul broadcasting the Afghan Foreign Office comment said that the Afghan Government regards Kashmir dispute as a legacy of colonial rule which should be settled through peaceful means.



*Cairo, Oct. 14.* The *Egyptian Gazette* said: "There seems to be no good reason why they (India and Pakistan) cannot be persuaded to go a step further to create a climate which is necessary if the Security Council is to seek a lasting settlement. In the final analysis with their acceptance of last month cease-fire resolution, both the sides are morally bound to act in a manner which will allow the Security Council to try to get to the root of the problem."

*Karachi, Oct. 15.* In a statement, the Ambassador of Kuwait said: "Kuwait and its people under the guidance of their Amir cannot think otherwise but to be with Pakistan in its present struggle and in any other eventuality that might have to be faced by Pakistan in its demand for the self-determination of the four million oppressed people of Kashmir."

*Singapore, Oct. 18.* The Indonesian President Soekarno said in a speech broadcast by Radio Jakarta yesterday, the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is spearheading imperialist subversion and infiltration in Pakistan, Viet Nam, Morocco, Japan and several Latin American countries.

The President called for a total struggle to eliminate foreign bases, both military and mental, all over the world.

The President said, foreign military bases were the sources of "world calamity," especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America where the people were fighting to improve their lot.

"Neo-colonialists, colonialists and imperialists" had set up a string of bases in strategic places like Singa-

pore, Aden, Hong Kong, the Philippines and Madagascar, he said. Some of those bases, he said, were storehouses for deadly nuclear weapons.

President Soekarno said, the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was also creating "mental bases" through infiltration and subversion in countries like Dominican Republic, Viet Nam, Japan, Morocco, Pakistan, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela and Panama.

This was the first public attack on the CIA since the September 30 upheaval. Coup leader Col. Untung claimed then to be forestalling a coup by generals under CIA influence.

The President said, "Our duty is to destroy not only the military bases but also the mental bases."

"The 20th century is the century of the New Emerging Forces. We are convinced that we will emerge victors in our struggle to crush Neocolim (neo-colonialism, colonialism and imperialism) and to establish the brotherhood of man, a world free from any form of exploitation of man by man and nation by nation."

"Why do we oppose foreign bases?" he asked: "because we are anti-imperialist and anti-foreign domination and we want to express our determination to fight all forms of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism."

Neocolim countries were "realising that their domination will no longer exist" and were seeking to expand their might "using all methods they can."

Dr. Soekarno charged that Neocolim had resorted to "influence the people elsewhere by giving them aid."

The President, who paid tribute to Lord Russell, "the great English"



philosopher and leader of mankind, added that in my country "Neocolim had brought calamity and there was no other alternative for us but to completely crush them and wipe out their foreign bases."

*Cairo, Oct. 21.* The Indian offer of no-war pact was meaningless if the Kashmir problem remained unsolved,

Commenting on the Indian offer yesterday, the Paper said, the proposal might be construed a step in the right direction for the restoration of good-neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan. "Nevertheless it will remain a mere wish so long as the Kashmir problem will not be solved."

It said, Pakistan could be willing to sign a no-war pact with India but it was subject to the settlement of the outstanding problem of Kashmir.

The solution of this problem alone would eliminate the existing tension between the two countries.

*New York, Oct. 22.* The following is the text of the Action Committee resolution in support of the right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to self-determination;

"Whereas the Action Committee on American-Arab Relations believes in the right of self-determination in Palestine and elsewhere;

"And whereas the people of Jammu and Kashmir have been denied the right of self-determination due to the annexation policy of the Government of India;

"And whereas this unilateral India ignoring the right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, is now threatening world peace much as it violated the people's right of self-determination;

"Be it, therefore resolved that the

Action Committee on American-Arab Relations :

"Endorses the right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to self-determination;

"And further declares that this according to *Al-Akhbar*, a Cairo daily, right be exercised and expressed through a plebiscite to be conducted by the United Nations in order to ascertain whether the people remain with India, or join Pakistann ;

"Calls upon the Government of the United States of America to support the right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to self-determination ;

"And further calls upon the people and Governments of the Arab States and upon the peoples and Governments of Asia and Africa and all other peace-loving peoples who believe in the right of self-determination to support the people of Jammu and Kashmir to exercise that right ;

"And be it further resolved that the Action Committee on American-Arab Relations ;

"Invites the people and Government of India to return to the spirit of Mr. Gandhi of whom Indians are so proud ;

"Calls upon the Government of India to recognise the right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to self-determination ;

"And furthermore calls upon the Government of India to offer its co-operation to the United Nations and provide all the necessary facilities for the world organisation to conduct a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir to determine the wishes of the people as to their future political status ;

"It is further resolved that the Action Committee on American-Arab Relations ;



"Commends the Government of Pakistan for its uncompromising support of the right of the people."

*New York, Oct. 28.* Mr. el-Farra, Jordanian Ambassador, warned the Council Security that the rapidly deteriorating situation along the Indo-Pakistan frontier and in Kashmir itself made it more urgent than ever that a political solution should be found. The Indo-Pakistan dispute could not go on much longer without "more violations, more violence and more bloodshed," he said,

"With the cease-fire in effect, our Council is duty-bound to formulate a procedure which would be workable and equitable and in conformity with standing resolutions. Lasting peace cannot be secured by any other means.

"This Council should not overlook, and cannot erase the history of the problem, the most important part of which is the fact that as early as April 21, 1948, both India and Pakistan agreed that the question of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite. This stand was given the United Nations blessing.

"The Security Council endorsed this agreement and created a commission to implement it. It is not open, at this stage, for either India or Pakistan to claim that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of its territory.

Annexation which did not stem from the free will of the people imposed a duty on the people to oppose it and a duty on the Council to "protect the legitimate rights of the

people—their right to choose their own destiny," he continued.

"To ignore or disregard its resolutions, the Security Council would create an unhealthy precedent.

"We cannot insist on the implementation of our resolution as a given case and overlook it or let expediency play its part, in another case."

"Certain powers are clear and to invoke them the Secretary-General need not come to the Council for directives.

"When, for instance, Pakistan requested the Secretary-General to go or send a representative on his behalf to see and report to the Council on certain charges, we do not believe that this needs the Council's approval.

"It is his discretionary right. Otherwise, what would be the meaning of Article 99 of the Charter which gives the Secretary-General, besides other functions, the right to bring to the attention of the Council any matter which, in his opinion, may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. This authority, which is a task of great responsibility, implies the discretionary right to visit places of conflict and find out. . . . We do not want to see his activities frozen and become ineffective. . . .

"It is his office, which is one of the main organs of the United Nations, and his authority which should be protected." Mr. el-Farra continued: "Where to draw the line between matters which need Council's directives and approval and those which do not is something which has been determined through past practices.

"In some cases the Secretary-



General can play a part which neither the Security Council nor State or group of States would be able to play.

"Urgent steps were needed in order to arrest a deterioration of the situation between India and Pakistan, he said. The two Governments should be asked to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General and with the United Nations observers in their efforts to implement the Council's resolution of Sept. 20, and be reminded of the Council's wish that they should utilise all peaceful means with a view to reaching a just settlement of that political problem.

"The Council also needs to reaffirm its decision to reconvene in order to consider what steps could be taken to assist towards a settlement of the problem.

"We urge the Council to strengthen the observers machinery of the United Nations now on the cease-fire line in order to be more effective and endorse all steps the Secretary-General has taken on this matter.

*Karachi, Oct. 28* : "We are with you in your struggle against India as is well known from our actions and will always remain with you in future," said the First Deputy Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Suwito Ku'umowidago.

*Rabat, Oct. 29*. A Rabat weekly, *Al-Maghreb al-Arabi* declared : "We will not leave Pakistan alone in her trial. Morocco is ready to fight shoulder to shoulder against the Indian aggression.

"The resolutions adopted by the Security Council on Kashmir, are useless because they are being rejected

by India and accepted by Pakistan only.

"India spared no opportunity to use the last of her propaganda methods to mislead the Muslims and world public opinion regarding the realities of the Kashmir problem."

Criticising the U.N. resolutions, daily *Al-Alam* said in its editorial on Sept 29: "The U.N. should have adopted a resolution calling for implementation of its resolutions which are consistent with its principles, that is, the right of Kashmiris to decide their own future.

"It (the U.N.) should have been asked to supervise implementation of this right of self-determination."

At a public rally held at Sidi-Sulaiman, Dr. Abdul Karim al-Khatib, leader of the Popular Movement of Rabat, said: "Pakistan is a Muslim State and anyone who harms a Muslim, harms us.

"We as a Muslim people must stand on the side of Pakistan and against the Indian aggression. India wants to prevent the people of Kashmir from deciding their future in accordance with U.N. resolutions."

*Feirut, Nov. 7*. Commenting editorially on India's withdrawal from the meeting of the Security Council, *Al-Massa*, the Lebanese daily, said in a recent issue "to run away from the world's greatest tribunal is a conclusive proof of the weakness of the argument of the withdrawing party.

"There can be no greater proof, no stronger argument than this to show that India has lost its case in the eyes of international justice.

"India claims she has withdrawn because she considers Kashmir as an



internal matter and that the Security Council has no right to discuss it.

"On the international plane by so behaving India stood by falsehood, stood alone completely isolated and outcast, exactly as the imperialist Powers stand when the Security Council discusses the question of occupied colonies.

"India knows full well that she is unjust and an oppressor, that 85 per cent of Kashmiris in the occupied Kashmir are Muslims who do not recognise Shastri or his Government or his State, that nothing short of a Muslim Government would meet their demand.

"If India really wished to take an honourable and just course and to take a stand that saves her reputation and remove the blot of usurpation then, instead of withdrawing from the Security Council, she should have withdrawn from Kashmir itself.

"International quarters were expecting that the Security Council would discuss the problem and draw up decisive solutions to it in the light of its previous discussions. That would have been the best way to stop the battle and improve the relations between Pakistan and India. Temporary settlements were of no avail, rather they would increase disturbances and leave the fire burning under the ashes.

"It is true that the stopping of the battle is required in the present circumstances, but it is true also that Kashmir problem must not be left without any solution or settlement after such a long time has elapsed on it."

*Beirut, Nov. 7. Saut el-Urooba, a leading Lebanese daily, has observed*

that the Kashmiris were now fighting on two fronts—one against the Indian aggression and the other against the Machiavellism of the Big Powers.

While pointing out to India's continued intransigence and the world Powers' non-committal stand towards India's aggression against Pakistan, the Paper added: "With the Kashmir people proving conclusively that they stand for and wish to join Pakistan, the Indians should see the writing on the wall and should realise that the security of the region cannot be ensured unless India rid herself of the politicians' bigotry and of the domination of the Hindu fanatics." It said, "even war has not convinced the Indians of the sin of their aggression on Kashmir.

Elucidating the world Powers' stand in settling the Kashmir problem, the Paper asserted: "Whatever the political circumstances and whatever the obstacles that may be in the way of Pakistan's demand, the determination of the Kashmir people to wrest their freedom from the Indians remains to be the greatest assurance to the Paksitan Government."

Continuing, the Paper said: "We do not advance this view to defend Pakistan's right to Kashmir, but we do so in defence of peace in the region and the world. This is necessary for India as well as for Pakistan. Indeed India is even in a greater need of such peace in order to be able to mobilise its resources to raise the standard of living of its citizens and to be free from the ills of hunger, poverty, ignorance and backwardness. Peace in that part of the world is essential for the tranquillity in the whole world."

Concluding the paper commented :



"Pakistan has put up a bitter fight, and its firm and solid stand against the Indian ambition remains the only assurance for the Kashmiri people, who in turn have proved to be wide awake to their rights and are prepared to face all eventualities in their struggle for liberation. Theirs is the avowed aim to join the mother country—Pakistan.

*Karachi, Nov. 27.* Indonesia will help Pakistan in honouring her pledge to secure freedom for the people of Kashmir, the Indonesian Ambassador, Brig. Gen. Roekmito Hendraningrat, said. "The struggle is not yet over. The time has not come to rest on your oars."

Gen. Hendraningrat said: "I

believe that a function highlighting the national and patriotic songs is a part of the sacred Jihad you have waged against the forces of tyranny and oppression."

The Ambassador said that both Indonesia and Pakistan as peace-loving nations believed in the "eradication of colonialism in all its manifestations."

"Not only your valiant soldiers," he added, "but your farmers, your workers, your business men and industrialists, your professional groups and your students and above all your journalists, writers, poets and singers, have all demonstrated very well that they are the worthy sons of Pakistan."



THE INDIAN PRESS

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During the war the Indian press openly violated the ethical norms of international press. But there were a few exceptions to it, no doubt. The major objective of this violation was to pitch the Indian masses against Pakistan. The press faithfully followed the path of Goebbeles. It is distressing to note that even the *Statesman* which has long been known for its moderation fell a victim to "goebbelism". It set afloat rumours, told lies, and exaggerated simple facts. There was, undoubtedly, a very small section of the Indian press which abstained from this indulgence. This chapter is interesting as well as instructive.



*Rawalpindi, Aug. 23.* The weekly *Blitz* of Bombay reported the Revolutionary Council proclamation of war of liberation is being distributed in thousands, not only throughout Jammu and Kashmir but also in important cities of India.

What the *Blitz* has missed is that the proclamation is being distributed in the disputed territory as well as in India by what India chooses to call "armed infiltrators from Pakistan."

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 30.* The *Hindustan Times* of Delhi has euphemistically suggested that the Indian Army Chief of Staff, Gen. J. N. Chaudhri, and his Government are concealing the truth of their military defeat from the world by evasive tactics.

In a commentary, the *Hindustan Times* said, "Inexplicably, Gen. Chaudhri and his colleagues have not done well on the information front" and added, "inexplicably because Gen. Chaudhri has himself been a military correspondent and well knows the rules and the needs of the game."

The writer of the commentary, Mr. Chanchal Sarkar, a well-known Indian journalist, said: "I hope, I may be forgiven if I assert that we have been fighting a 20th-century war with a 19th-century information policy."

It said: "The special needs of the foreign correspondents have not been met intelligently." This was an

obvious reference to the fact that foreign correspondents were not allowed by the Indian Government to visit the war fronts and verify the tall stories of Indian "victories."

The *Hindustan Times* said: "Queries and requests for access to the front, to people or to any kind of installations have led to buck passing, temporising and delay. The services have been uncommunicative and unhelpful."

A report in the weekly *Asia* of Delhi editorially says: "We have it on the authority of a radio listener that Radio Pakistan has announced that the Pakistani forces have captured Ghaziabad and are now marching towards the Red Fort of Delhi."

It is indeed surprising that in these days of the Indo-Pakistan conflict when a host of journalists, diplomats and other listeners the world over make it a point not to miss Radio Pakistan news bulletins, the fantastic broadcast should have been picked up by only one listener in India on the authority of *Asia's* editor who himself apparently does not tune to Radio Pakistan in deference to the Indian Government's ban.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 3.* The daily *Hindu* of Madras, in its issue of Sept. 21, suggested that the Indian rulers were determined to conceal their military and political debacle from the people and the world.

The Paper said, in spite of assurances from Parliament Members



that "they would avoid reference to operational aspect" the Government feels a discussion (on Indian foreign policy) would lead to embarrassing situations.

It said: "Opposition Members have been pressing for such a debate in the last one week but it may now be taken for certain that no such debate would be held."

After recalling that leaders of the Swatantra Socialist Party, Praja Socialist Party, Communist Party and Independent Members had requested the Indian Prime Minister to allow a debate in the Parliament, the Paper said that the Government remained adamant in its refusal to face the House

The *Hindu* complained that the Brahmin-Bania ruling clique of northern India was using the bogey of war for consolidating its grip on the southern States.

The Daily said, when Mr. Kapur Singh asked (in the Parliament) if, in view of the Indo-Pakistan conflict, the Government considered relegating Hindi to the status of a State language, Hindi enthusiasts with one voice shouted: "No. And when Mr. Singh insisted on a reply from the Minister, the Deputy Home Minister, Mr. L. N. Mishra, got up to say: 'No.'"

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 3.* The *Indian Express* of Madras has belied statements of the Indian Army Chief of Staff, Gen. J. N. Chaudhri, and his Government in New Delhi that they did not want to seize Lahore.

Writing under the caption of "Lahore Cantonment is our Army's Aim", in its issue of Sept. 21, the *Indian Express* said: "All aims are directed towards Lahore Cantonment

from where Pakistani guns have been shelling areas in our possession."

This report, by *Indian Express* correspondent S. V. Bedi, exclaimed with a gusto of impatience: "The city of Lahore is within our shelling range."

It also reveals for the first time that in places where the enemy advanced, people stayed behind to fight him.

In villages where the Indian army advanced before it met Pakistani forces, it said: "There was sniping...the snipers were mostly local men who stayed behind."

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 7.* "In the final analysis, what counts is not the soldier but the spirit and unity of the people and their will to survive. If the spirit is weak, it does not matter how many tanks or aircraft we have got."

Writing editorially in its 14th anniversary issue, the weekly *Spokesman* of Delhi admits, "In all honesty, India, despite the tender care of the men at helm of affairs, cannot be said to have reached that stage of adulthood yet."

It laments: "The country's future now lies in the hands of those who, at best, could claim to be the second line of leadership at the dawn of India's freedom."

Describing "the interminable food shortage," as a black spot on India's face, the weekly observes: "Despite the 3 five-year plans and often-repeated claims of self-sufficiency being near at hand, we have still to import each year millions of tons of foodgrains to keep ourselves above the subsistence level. This has affected



the nation's policy in a variety of ways. Corruption, long despised, has seeped into all levels of society, eating into our vitals, no matter how pompous the measures adopted by Mr. Nanda."

Referring to internal strife, discord and ranker of communalism, poisoning the body politic of the country, the weekly remarks: "Within a year of independence the wise and kind guiding hand of Mahatma Gandhi was stilled by an assassin's bullet, 'simply because he uttered the voice of sanity in an uproar of murderous cries of revenge and counterrevenge.'"

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 17.* In a write-up the militant and pro-government *Indian Express* said: "Had the limited war lasted for three months instead of three weeks it is just possible that the announcement of the cessation of hostilities would have been greeted with cheers."

It said that the Indians had "exaggerated their military achievements and given their people a less than accurate picture of their military gains and losses."

The paper said that this prevarication had created an impression in India that "given a little more time their military forces would have inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy."

However, the fact is that by the time the Security Council passed the resolution of September 20, Indian political leaders and commanders all knew what the real score was and that the time had come to call halt to the fighting.

The *Indian Express* said that the Indian armed forces had been beaten to a standstill and there was no immediate prospect of a spectacular

break-through. It said that the end of hostilities came "too quickly" so that the people of India could not realise this true picture and the fact that India had done "the right thing in accepting a cease-fire at this time."

However, in order to boost the morale of the Indian public, the *Indian Express* has equated Pakistan also with India by saying that the same considerations were valid on the Pakistan side also. But it added that New Delhi's acceptance of the U.N. resolution was "right one even if it is recognised—as it should be—that taken as a whole the Security Council's resolution was more favourable to Pakistan than to India."

The paper said, "Both militarily and politically, the Security Council's resolution of September 20 leans towards Pakistan."

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 20.* The *Hindu* of Madras said in a recent issue, that the Indian isolation over her fight with Pakistan should be an "eye-opener" to every Indian.

The paper, which is a spokesman of the Indian Congress President, Mr. Kamraj, said: "It should be an eye-opener to every Indian that in the present conflict with Pakistan only two countries in the whole world supported India openly, Malaysia and the newest State of Singapore. Many countries have lent open support to Pakistan and many more were in secret sympathy with it."

It said: "At the United Nations, many countries turned positively hostile to India, because of the overbearing attitude of the Indian representative."

The daily *Hindu* of Madras, while saying that "Pakistan's military



machine has not been destroyed," has urged the production of nuclear weapons by India.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 21.* An obvious admission has been made by the daily *Tribune* of Ambala that the Indian Hindu rulers deliberately made the Sikhs cannon-fodder in the present Indo-Pakistan war.

In a report from Delhi and captioned, "Impact of Cease-fire," the *Tribune* said gleefully that this was a war in which "Punjabi might tackle Punjabi." This is an obvious reference to the Sikhs in East Punjab and Punjabi Muslims of Pakistan.

The paper said, while people in Delhi sat secure as the bloodshed went in the plains of East Punjab, the main worry was "who is going to tackle the Chinese." It said, "It is Delhi's turn next—This was gloomily prophesied" in the context of the Chinese warnings.

The report in the *Tribune* which gives a graphic description of the unprecedented low morale of the Hindus, welcomed the cease-fire with a sigh of great relief and said, "Tuesday, dread Wednesday, which had begun with little hope of cease-fire and every likelihood of the Chinese aggression, and a tight knot of gloom in every heart as the sun climbed towards disaster, was suddenly changed to a day of gladness and thanksgiving."

"At the corner," said the paper, "the sweet shop which boasts a radio and where every day the market has gathered in the lunch hour to hear the news, a spontaneous cheer drowned the (cease-fire) broadcast."

It went on: "Faces that have been tense and grim were grinning inanely

in sheer relief and the proprietor, lately bowed down by more than bulk, was back to his customary complacency urging us to buy ladoos."

"Towards the city, a popular temple overflowed with women, the wives and mothers and sisters of Servicemen, eager to make their offering. By evening all Church bells were ringing for special prayers," said the *Tribune*.

The paper said that during the initial days of the war, "Delhi was coolly laying bets on the date of victory, aware that the war had not touched it all."

"However, the war went on and the Chinese also warned the Indian rulers. It ended the moments of light-heartedness, ended the talk of quick end to the fighting—the fighting so impressive and so fortunately far from Delhi," it said.

It said, "Even those hitherto uncaring started to dig trenches and anything from germ warfare to atom bombs, from torture chambers to cannibalism, was rumoured in the offing.

"News of the cease-fire came like candy to the child who opens his mouth fully expecting castor oil. Uneasy though it be, unsatisfactory, perhaps not durable, larded with bitterness on both sides, nevertheless for the moment it is greeted with thankfulness that all men must now feel in their hearts whenever the extreme folly of war comes to a stop.

"The realisation that for three weeks we had not a friend in the world has dealt a sharp left hook to the satellites of anything with a white skin which belonged to any embassy or a foreign aid programme. Delhi



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*Karachi, Oct. 27.* Indian critics  
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The Government of India, the  
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and black spots of China and Rangoon  
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The critics found the first indica-  
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spent its wartime weeks justifiably piqued with those whose countries were openly against us."

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 27.* Indian newspapers, so violently and uniformly hostile to Pakistan, make several reluctant admissions on the state of our economy.

In its issue of September 17, at the height of Indian aggression on Pakistan, the *Indian Express* advised New Delhi to take note of the strong points of Pakistan's economic picture.

The paper described our food production as the brightest feature of our economy and felt that it was something that India, China and even Soviet Union may envy.

The paper added: "In 1963-64 which is the latest year or which figures are available, Pakistan's food production stood at 17 million tons, exceeding the Second Five-Year Plan target of 15.9 million tons by 6.6 per cent. The production of rice at 11.6 million tons was 14.4 per cent higher than the Second Plan target.

The paper added: "The industrial production sounds impressive, with the index rising from 100 in 1959-60 to 151 in 1963-64. New industries include jute manufacturing, cotton textiles, paper, cement, sugar and chemical fertilisers, based on natural gas. The output of cotton cloth is around 741 million yards and of jute manufactures around 331,000 tons against 252 million yards and 44,000 tons ten years ago.

"The explanation lies in the Government giving bigger scope to private industry than perhaps any other developing country."

Regarding the Pakistan's Third

Plan the Paper said: "The gross national products have been growing at an average annual rate of 5.2 per cent under the Second Plan which ended in June last. The Third Plan (1965-70) provides for a development expenditure of Rs. 5,200 crore, Rs. 3,000 crore of it to be spent in the public sector for the building of the infra-structure and Rs 2,200 crore to be invested in the private sector. This is twice as much as during the Second Plan, and the aim is to take the country nearer the goal of self-sustaining growth."

*Karachi, Oct. 27.* Indian critics have now started the search for realities behind the smoke-screen built by their own publicists about the results of India's 17-day war with Pakistan to hide unpleasant facts.

The Government of India, the All-India Radio and other mass media have been telling the Indian public that India had achieved a "grand victory" against Pakistan and black spots of China and Rann of Kutch wars had been completely washed out. But the truth is slowly dawning in India.

The critics found the first indication of this in the Press conference by General Choudhri, the Indian Commander-in-Chief, who had warned against the exaggerated claims by New Delhi.

The *Indian Express* published an article on October 20 by its military correspondent, Maharaj K. Chopra, in which the writer has attempted an appraisal of the military situation.

In his opening remarks, Chopra says that a detailed appraisal was still not possible because "we are in a duel mood: one, the apprehension



about the second round and the other self-adulation."

The article then refers to the apologies and explanations offered by the Indian authorities for their reverses in Chhamb, one of them is that Pakistan had the advantage of favourable hinterland, better communications and excellent position in Sialkot from where they could mount an attack.

To counter this, India attacked elsewhere (Pakistan) described by the writer as a "good tactic." Then he bemoans: "But it was not a tactic good enough. For the net result of the action of the 'Gibraltar forces' (Pakistan forces in Chhamb) and "the Grandslam" (name given to Pakistani operation in Kashmir by the Indians) has been that thousands of 'infiltrators' are in Kashmir while 190-square miles of our territory in Chhamb is in Pakistani hands."

The writer had this explanation for Indian reverses: "Though tank and anti-mine devices can overcome them to some extent, the balance of advantage lies with the defence."

The article has this significant tale-piece which indirectly refers to the suppliers of military hardware to India: "It will be noticed that not only the commander would have to ponder upon this situation, but others also who would have to give him authority, weapons and men."

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 30.* The Santhals in India have demanded a separate State in India in the Malda region on the pattern of other linguistic States in the Indian Union, according to a report in the *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta.

The report said, the Santhals, who

are Christians, have already printed a map of the proposed Santhal State of the Indian Union and have distributed it on a large scale.

The report indicated that the Indian Government would ruthlessly suppress such a demand as the demand, according to Indian view, is based on religion rather than language.

It has been a consistent policy of the Indian Government that no new linguistic State should be created beyond what was envisaged by the States' Re-organisation Committee. The only concession so far made is that in the case of former Bombay where the demand of Hindus was accepted and new States of Maharashtra and Gujrat were created.

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 7.* The weekly *New Age* of New Delhi has said that the Indian pretensions of secularism are a great fraud on the international community and that beneath this cloak of secularism, militant Hindu chauvinism is masquerading in Bharat.

Though the *New Age* has based its analysis on the action and statements of the Jan Sangh, a political party devoted to revivalism of Hindu cult in India, in between the lines, the paper has left no doubt what it considers to be the attitude of the Hindu Congress rulers of India.

The paper said that though Muslims, Christians and Parsis all fought in the war, there was no change of heart on the part of the Hindu communal forces. Did a change take place in their opinion and programme? The answer is a definite no, the paper added.

The paper said that "the RSS



chief, M. S. Golwalkar while addressing a rally of his organisation at Nagpur on October 14, said: 'Neither secularism nor democracy, nor even socialism is able to exercise any patriotic appeal for our people as yet. Hindustan is the land of Hindus, and it is the *terra firma* of the Hindu nation alone to flourish upon and Bharat Rashtra is Hindu Rashtra, and prosperity of Bharat means establishing a Hindu Rashtra.'

"Golwalkar describes Muslims and Christians not as sons of the soil, but as saboteurs, enemies, aggressors and thieves, to be exterminated or to be absorbed and completely merged in the Hindu religion and culture.

"He regrets that the Indian Constitution has given equal rights to all citizens and has equated the children of the soil (Hindus) with the aggressors—Muslims and Christians—giving equal rights to everybody—just as a person without understanding may give the full rights to his children and to the thieves in his house and distribute the property among all."

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 7.* The reports of the Indian journalists, who were recently taken by the Indian Government on a conducted tour of the Adampur, Halwara and Ambala airbases, have given a lie to New Delhi's mendacious propaganda on a number of important points, though their statements are naturally hedged by circumlocution and under-statements in respect of India.

Mr. K. S. Ramaswami of *The Times of India* has reported that "six bombs (of PAF sorties) hit the targets" at the Adampur airfield and that "there was a slight damage to the taxi track." At Halwara a few hangars

were hit," he said. According to him, one bomb "hit the air traffic control building" and three bombs fell in the "vicinity" of the airfield at Ambala.

These guarded statements in themselves belie the earlier Indian reports that no damage at all was done to these airfields. This line was particularly played on the occasion of the tour of Air Force attaches of certain countries, who were taken to these airfields long after the damage to the Indian bases were claimed by Pakistan. Why these attaches were taken there after such a long delay is explained by Mr. Ramaswami, who said that the damage at Adampur "was repaired the same night."

The Indian Government had ensured that the Station Commanders of these important and forward area airfields were not Sikhs and since they were not to be Sikhs, the choice fell on Christian officers with an eye to propaganda in the arms-supplying Western countries.

That the posting of Christians as Station Commanders at these three airfields was propagandism is indicated by *The Times of India* report, which said that the posting of Group Captain Walter Vernon Alexander Lloyd, Group Captain George John and Group Captain Eugede Bouche at Adampur, Halwara and Ambala respectively, was "a fact which foreign observers inclined to be carried away by Pakistan's canards on the plight of minorities in this country might like to note."

But because these Christian officers manned certain forward posts, the Indian Government also ensured that no foreign correspondent, mostly from Western countries, visited them



during the hostilities. The Indian rulers wanted to eat their cake and have it too.

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 12.* A despatch from *Indian Express* UN correspondent said, in its issue for Nov. 1, "The Council President may appeal to both parties to stabilise the cease-fire and make arrangements for withdrawal of all armed personnel, thus rejecting the Pakistani plea for linking up Para 4 of the September 20 resolution with the cease-fire and withdrawals."

The Indian forecast proved wrong and despite Indian pressure and blackmail, the Para 4 of the September 20 was duly incorporated in the latest Security Council resolution. Para 4 insists on finding a solution to the political problem—Kashmir—underlying the Indo-Pakistan conflict.

India's tactics at the U.N. have been deplored by a former Indian spokesman at the United Nations, Mr. Krishna Menon. Mr. Menon said that a walk-out was not the best method to win support.

*Karachi, Nov. 16.* The *Indian Express* has noted with deep regret that both East and West Pakistan are so solidly united behind the present leadership that "it would be unwise to expect any measure of opposition to President Ayub or his policies."

In a signed article in the paper's Madras Edition of November 1, Narayan Swamy says: "President Ayub is in command of the situation in Pakistan as never before."

Talking specifically of East Pakistan, the Indian correspondent says: "It would be unwise to expect any measure of opposition to Ayub

or his policies. . . East Pakistan has never had it so good so far as investment in the development programme is concerned. It has a higher plan outlay than West Pakistan during the past two years.

"In the name of rural aid, the Centre gives away about Rs. 38 crore a year and this, in turn, has created a large class of middle-class entrepreneurs who have a vested interest in the continuance of the present political set-up.

"East Pakistan now wants equality with West Pakistan. . . now the emphasis is on economic parity with the West and that means an accelerated rate of development. The Ayub regime has conceded this demand, and for the immediate future. East Pakistan will by and large be in quiescent mood.

"Maulana Bhashani has often declared the NAP is happy with the Ayub regime since it forged intimate ties with China. The Awami League is but a shadow of its former self since the death of Suhrawardy. It is divided in its attitude towards India, especially since the agitation over the eviction of infiltrants from Assam."

The Indian Paper adds: "In West Pakistan, the Opposition is disunited and disorganised. It has not been able to survive the defeat of Miss Jinnah and did not offer even token resistance in the subsequent elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies".

The *Indian Express* describes as "wrong" the Indian "assumption" of differences between President Ayub and Mr. Bhutto. It says the policies are that of President Ayub that "it must be conceded that he (Mr. Bhutto) has implemented them with uncommon zeal".



Summing up, the paper says: "In fact, President Ayub has assumed the role of a national leader."

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 18.* The Indian Government has now officially claimed that the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir does not belong to its Muslim inhabitants but that it is a land of the Hindus.

An official statement issued by the Press Information Bureau of the Government of India has supported this plea by asserting that "there was not a single Muslim in Kashmir up to 1340 A.D."

Although the Indian Government statement made this contemptuous reference to the Muslims of Kashmir in the context of a pseudo-anthropological research that the Muslims and the Hindus of that territory belong to identical genetic groups, the sinister implication is that the Muslims there are renegaders of a Hindu commonwealth who have no rights in their homeland and that Kashmir remains the land of the Hindus.

This implication is made further clear by another sentence in the Indian statement which claims that "proselytes to Islam in Kashmir were mostly from the original Hindu population." Thus even the simulation of the Indian Government's secularism is gone.

It is significant to note that before the Indian Government made this official statement of its views, the official organs of the Rashtrya Swayam Sevak Sangh, a fanatic Hindu organisation whose dictator Mr. K. Golwalkar, is political and spiritual mentor of Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, wrote a series of notes claiming that Kashmir be-

longed to the Hindus alone, suggesting wholesale expulsion and liquidation of Kashmiri Muslims and demanding settlement of Indian Hindus in Kashmir in order to convert it into a Hindu majority area.

Alternatively, the organiser had suggested that the disputed territory should be sequestered by dividing it in various regions and merging these regions with adjoining Hindu majority areas. It had also suggested that the Hindus in disputed territory should be armed and more Hindu officers from India should be sent to Kashmir to man the administration.

The fact that some of these suggestions of the organiser such as arming of the Hindu population, Indianisation of the administration and expulsion of the Muslims have already been acted upon or initiated, shows that the RSS paper was speaking at the instance of the Indian Government before the Indian Government publicly endorsed those ideas in its official statement.

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 26.* The leading Indian daily *Indian Express* of Madras has admitted India's failure "to convince international opinion that retention of Kashmir as a part of the Indian Union is a vital national interest on which there can be no compromise."

Criticising Indian efforts in favour of an Afro-Asian summit, it said: "It is a pity that India's diplomats at Algiers forgot the Bismarckian dictum. They made the mistake of espousing a cause which was already doomed to failure by the time the Foreign Ministers of the Afro-Asian countries met at Algiers. But the primary mistake was to plead a case



which really did not deserve this country's support. In the event, Indian diplomacy has suffered a defeat and the impression has been created that India has scored a corresponding victory."

Condemning India's anti-China obsession, the paper said: "The Indian decision to campaign for the (Afro-Asian) summit meeting and for the Soviet Union's inclusion, seems to have been impelled almost solely by the desire to oppose the stand adopted by China. This kind of mechanical opposition might conceivably serve the interests of Moscow and of Washington, but it is hardly likely to benefit this country either now or in the long run.

"An anti-Chinese obsession would be damaging to this country for fairly obvious reasons. As at Algiers, it would lead India into adopting unconvincing and untenable positions since it would rule out the consideration of issues on their merits. Every time China adopted a reasonable position on any international issue—or at any rate, a position which would be regarded as reasonable by a majority of Afro-Asian States—India would be impelled to assume an unreasonable stand.

"Whatever damage has been done has been caused by the indulgence in petulant and blatantly opportunistic diplomacy. It is opportunism of the worst kind to plead for the Soviet Union's acceptance as an 'Asian' State while keeping the door barred against Israel's admission to the Afro-Asian group."

The *Blitz*, a popular weekly of Bombay, in its issue of September 11, carried a front-page despatch, reporting an eye-witness account of the

Indian army on the Lahore and Sialkot fronts.

According to the despatch, the Indian army had attacked Lahore in the early hours of Sept. 6 morning and within five hours it had entered the suburbs of Lahore and had occupied Moghalpura. The Indian army hoisted the Indian "Taranga" on the ruins of the locality. The occupation of Moghalpura at 9-00 a.m. was regarded by the *Blitz* correspondent as a great achievement.

After occupying Moghalpura the Indian army, according to the well-informed "correspondent of the *Blitz*, had marched towards the Lahore Radio Station and forced it to abandon its broadcasts. The Lahore Radio Station, the despatch said, was "silenced" at 2-30 p.m.

The second target of the advancing Indian forces was the Ordnance Factory at Harbanspura, which was occupied by the troops in "one thrust." According to the correspondent, the Factory supplied tanks to the Pakistan Army.

At 3-00 p.m., the correspondent reported, the Indian army had occupied the Lahore Railway Station, where stiff resistance had been offered by Pakistan troops for 12 hours.

According to the *Blitz*, the Pakistan Army tried in vain to resist the advance of Indian troops in the Ferozepur sector, and latter occupied an important commercial town of Kasur, which was 12 miles from the border. The correspondent reported that Kasur was in the occupation of the Indian army. The administration of the town was given in the charge of the Indian civil authorities. The correspondent reported that the people of Kasur were assured of safety.



Reporting about the "achievement" of the Indian army in the Gurdaspur sector, the correspondent said that the troops of his country had advanced into 12 miles of the Pakistan territory within two hours and had occupied the town of Narowal, which was in the occupation of India.

The correspondent reporting from the forward areas of the Lahore sector said that the railway station of Wazirabad was in shambles as a result of the heavy bombing by the Indian Air

Force. The main line was completely destroyed and the supply line between Lahore and Rawalpindi was disrupted.

Another correspondent reported from Delhi on September 8 that the announcement of the occupation of Lahore was expected any moment. According to him, a large number of officers of the Indian army had taken their meal boxes with them to have their dinner at Faletti's.



# 25

## CHINA

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During the recent Indo-Pak War China has practically showed how a truly friendly country should behave in a time of need. We revere her for this kind gesture and shall remember her long for the moral support she has been extending to us since we came closer to each other.

We have many a friend beside China who, under one treaty or another, were bound to stand by us and fight against any danger to our sovereignty. Unfortunately, such countries preferred to remain neutral during our war with India. Practically they were least interested in fulfilling their obligations as signatories to the treaties. Behind this cloud of despondency China appeared like a ray of hope with an all-out respect for the friendly ties existing between the two countries.



*August 15.* Radio Peking on Sunday came out with strong support for the freedom struggle of the Kashmiri people. In its news bulletin the radio said that during the past few days the Indian Government had sent large troops to Occupied Kashmir to crush the people.

The radio also referred to the secret radio which had announced the setting up of a Revolutionary Council and had called upon the people to shake off the Indian yoke.

It advised the Indian authorities to let free the imprisoned Kashmiri leaders and allow the Kashmiri people to determine their future in accordance with their own wishes.

*Hong Kong, Sept. 3.* The Chinese Defence Minister, Mr. Lin Piao, said to day:

"It is sheer day-dreaming for anyone to think that, since our revolution has been victorious, our national construction is forging ahead, our national wealth is increasing and our living conditions are improving, we too will lower our revolutionary fighting, will abandon the cause of world revolution and discard Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

"We want to tell the U.S. imperialists once again that the vast ocean of several hundred million Chinese people in arms will be more than enough to submerge few million aggressor troops.

"If you dare to impose war on us, we shall gain freedom of action. It

will then not be up to you to decide how the war will be fought.

"We shall fight in the ways most advantageous to us to destroy the enemy and wherever the enemy can be most easily destroyed.

"The naval and air superiority you boast about cannot intimidate the Chinese people, and neither can the atom bomb you brandish at us. If you want to send troops, go ahead, the more the better. We will annihilate as many as you can send and can even give you receipts."

*Peshawar, Sept. 3.* "Indian atrocities on the people of Kashmir remind one of atrocious bombings by the Americans on Viet Nam."

Talking to newsmen, the Chinese diplomat, Mr. Yuan Hsinhu, said, India had resorted to imperialistic methods to perpetuate its occupation of the Valley which forced the people of Kashmir to rise in open revolt. He hoped that Kashmiris could not be kept in bondage for long.

He said, China had always supported Kashmiri people's right of self-determination. "Our policy is that all nations and peoples now under colonial rule should have the right of self-determination."

The Chinese Counsellor observed that all peace-loving nations were bound to support the people's fight for freedom in Kashmir.

*Karachi, Sept. 4.* The Chinese people sympathise with and support



the just struggle of the Kashmiri people against the tyrannical domination of India.

The Chinese Foreign Minister Mr. Chen Ye, said: "We condemn Indian imperialism for violating the Cease-fire Line, promoting and enlarging the conflict in Kashmir. We support the just actions taken by the Government of Pakistan to repel India's armed provocations.

"We reaffirm our constant stand that we consider the Kashmir question must be solved in conformity with the commitment made by India and Pakistan and in accordance with the pledges made to the Kashmiri people and also in conformity with the wishes of the people of Kashmir."

Answering a question about Indian propaganda that the Chinese were training the Mujahids, Mr. Chen Yi said that this was habitual of the Indian Press to slander both Pakistan and China. I do not know about this affair. Maybe the Indian Press knows better. The Indian and Western Press have always been associating China with the liberation movements all over the world. He said these were great tributes to the Chinese people.

While denying Indian allegation that China has trained freedom-fighters of Occupied Kashmir, the Chinese Vice-Premier said, "that is the source of the freedom struggle waged by the Kashmir people. It is the cruel Indian domination. This is the only correct reply.

"Of course we sympathise with the struggle of the Kashmiri people who are struggling for their liberty."

He declared that China and Pakistan "are ready to exert their common effort to promote development of international situation in a direction favourable to the course of justice of

the people."

*Peking, Sept. 4.* In a report published in the official *Commonist People Daily*, China today accused India of aggression in Kashmir.

It said Pakistani troops were forced to hit back in self-defence after Indian troops, "poured across the Cease-fire Line and pushed deep into the Pakistan controlled area."

*Peking, Sept. 4.* The Indian Government has been "suppressing with increasing violence the uprising of the people in the Indian occupied sector of Kashmir," said the *New China News Agency*.

In a long statement on the Kashmir issue, the Agency said, India's action in sending troops across the Cease-fire Line in Kashmir had quickly resulted in an explosive situation in the area.

It said that in 1953, the Prime Ministers of the two countries (Pakistan and India) agreed to call a plebiscite to settle the dispute in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmir people, but the Indian Government refused to honour this agreement. Instead the NCNA said, it had taken steps over the last few years to "annex" Kashmir, and in December last year actually declared Kashmir a state of India.

For ten years or more, India had "subjected Kashmir to a reign of terror," the agency added, and had thrown many of its public leaders and other people into prison in an effort to stamp out the local people's struggle for freedom.

This had aroused "strong resistance" among the people in the Indian-occupied sector, and armed uprising against the Indian tyranny finally



To justify the brutal attack on the Kashmiri people and the subsequent acts of encroachment, Indian Prime Minister Shastri and other top officials of the Indian Government branded the just revolt of the people in the Indian occupied sector as "Pakistan infiltration."

"The Pakistan Government leaders had exploded the Indian slander about Pakistan infiltration."

The Agency said: "Attention should be called to the fact that the U.N. remained tight-lipped all the time when India first broke through the Cease-fire Line and pushed into the Pakistan-occupied sector in mid-August. But the moment Pakistan began to hit back, the U.N. Secretary-General at once called on both sides to cease-fire."

It added: "While whipping up tension in Kashmir, the Indian Government, out of ulterior motives,

which appeared today in *The People's Daily*.

"The people in the Indian-occupied sector of Kashmir started a massive armed resistance early last month because they could no longer tolerate the brutal rule and communal persecution by the Indian reactionaries. The Indian Government has sent large number of troops and police for sanguinary suppression but the local people have put up a firm resistance.

"To cover up their wanton slaughter of the people of Kashmir and divert the public attention at home and mislead the public opinion abroad, the Indian reactionaries have been trying to shift the responsibility for its crime on to Pakistan by alleging that 'Pakistan has attacked Kashmir'. They have even gone to the length of repeatedly making vile slanders against China with a view to creating the false impression that China was involved in the incident engineered by themselves.



that the armed uprising was an inevitable result of the reactionary Indian Government rule. For 10 years or more the Indian Government has defied the Kashmir people's demand for self-determination and deprived them of their democratic rights. It has gone to all lengths in subjecting them to communal oppression and political persecution, made wholesale arrests and held local public leaders in prolonged detention. It made life impossible for the local population through extortion, taxation and ruthless exploitation.

"It is, therefore, no surprise that, pressed beyond the limits of endurance, the people in the Indian-occupied sector of Kashmir should have risen in revolt. In fact, this popular struggle against the Indian tyranny is quite understandable in as much as there already have been numerous cases of hungry people ransacking rice stores, workers and students going on strike and business men observing hartal in many States of India itself. The truth is that the greater the oppression, the bigger the revolt. The Indian Government's distressing predicament is entirely of its own making, and it can blame no one but itself.

"As is well known, the question of the status of Kashmir is an outstanding question left over from history. For more than 10 years, India has sought to grab this disputed territory as its own. Both India and Pakistan had in the past agreed to settle the question peacefully through plebiscite. However, the Indian Government has since 1953 unilaterally violated its commitment by publicly declaring that Kashmir is an inseparable part of India.

"While barbarously cracking down on the Kashmir people recently, India at the same time infringed

the Cease-fire Line agreed upon between the two countries, sent its troops into the area controlled by Pakistan and launched armed provocations against that country. Under such circumstances, it is perfectly justified for Pakistan to strike back in self-defence. President Ayub Khan has said that India's blatant acts of aggression cannot and shall not be allowed to go unchallenged. This is the just stand which any sovereign country should take.

"Everybody knows that the Indian reactionaries never lose a single opportunity to bully and threaten its neighbours. Its provoking of the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1959 is a case in point. Its kindling of the clashes in the Rann of Kutch area is another. There also have been numerous cases of its wanton intervention and even unscrupulous subversion against its small neighbours.

"From Nehru to Shastri, this line pursued by the Indian reactionaries in disregarding others' sovereignty and encroaching upon others' interests has never changed. We Chinese people and the people of other victimised countries have enough experience of this.

"This unscrupulous execution of expansionism by the Indian reactionaries cannot be separated from the backing and instigation of the U.S. and some other big Powers. For many years U.S. imperialism has given India enormous sums of money and large quantities of arms. The Khrushchev revisionists, too, have vied with the United States in granting money and arms to India. The Indian reactionaries have become their favourite.

"The Indian reactionaries think that since they have had the backing of



such strong Powers of the world they can do whatever they please. Hence their anti-China and anti-Pakistan campaigns and their domineering attitude towards all other neighbours. This is the root cause of tension in this part of Asia.

"The aggravation of the Kashmir issue also serves as another eye-opener to the real nature of the United Nations. The peaceful settlement of the issue by plebiscite has long been provided in a U.N. resolution.

"But the United Nations has done nothing to stop the Indian Government's flagrant violation of this resolution. It took no action even when the Indian troops violated the Cease-fire Line and intruded into the Pakistan controlled area. But as soon as Pakistan was compelled to counter-attack in self-defence, the United Nations Secretary-General issued an appeal for a cease-fire by both parties. This is a very significant thing which shows clearly once again whose interests the United Nations serves.

"The Chinese people deeply sympathise with the just struggle of the people of Kashmir for their right to self-determination and support Pakistan's counter-attack in self-defence against India's armed provocations. It must be pointed out that the Indian Government will never gain anything good from its chauvinist and expansionist policy towards its neighbour.

"We would like to advise the Indian Government to stop its domineering and arbitrary practice of bullying its neighbour by relying on imperialism and return to the Indian-Pakistan agreement to settle the Kashmir issue in accordance with the aspirations of the people of Kashmir."

*Peking, Sept. 7.* China today condemned the Indian Government's armed attack on Pakistan as an act of naked aggression.

The following is the text of the statement:

"On September 6, 1965, India suddenly launched an armed attack on Pakistan. Indian troops have crossed the international boundary between India and Pakistan and are pushing towards Lahore, the capital of West Pakistan. The Indian radio has announced general mobilisation. Thus, the Indian Government has enlarged the local conflict between India and Pakistan in Kashmir into a general conflict between the two countries. In the face of the massive armed attack by India, the President of Pakistan has called on entire people of the country to rise in resistance against the enemy and appealed for sympathy and support from all peace-loving peoples of the world.

"The Indian Government's armed attack on Pakistan is an act of naked aggression. It not only is a crude violation of all principles guiding international relations. But also constitutes a grave threat to peace in this part of Asia. The Chinese Government sternly condemns India for its criminal aggression, expresses firm support for Pakistan in its just struggle against aggression, and solemnly warns the Indian Government that it must bear responsibility for all the consequences of its criminal and extended aggression.

"The Indian Government has always been perfidious on the Kashmir question. It once pledged solemnly with Pakistan to grant the Kashmiri people the right of self-determination. But far from honouring its pledge, it has brazenly declared that Kashmir is



an integral part of India and subjected the Kashmiri people to brutal national oppression. Where there is oppression there will be resistance. It is entirely proper that the people in the Indian occupied area of Kashmir should rise up in resistance.

"In order to cover up its sanguinary suppression of the Kashmiri people, the Indian Government openly breached the Cease-fire Line in the disputed territory of Kashmir to intrude into the area under the control of Pakistan and carried out military provocation and armed occupation. This of course could not but arouse Pakistan to counter-attack in self-defence. All this was in the nature of a local conflict in the disputed territory of Kashmir between India and Pakistan.

"India already committed aggression on the Kashmir issue. Now it has openly launched a massive armed attack on Pakistan. This is a still more serious act of aggression.

"The United Nations has always been unfair on the Kashmir question. It solemnly pledged to guarantee national self-determination for Kashmir. However, 18 years have passed during which the United Nations watched on without lifting a finger while India acted lawlessly in Kashmir. The United Nations did not breathe a single word when India violated the Cease-fire Line, but as soon as Pakistan fought back in self-defence, the United Nations came out to mediate.

This is by no means the end of the story. It is inconceivable that United Nations, which has been unfair for 18 years, should suddenly become fair. The so-called mediation by the United Nations is based on report of the Secretary-General. How can a fair con-

clusion be drawn from an unfair promise?

"On the Kashmir question, the United Nations has once again proved tool of the U.S. imperialism and their partners in their attempt to control the whole world. This will be further proved true during the current extended aggression against Pakistan by India.

"India's armed aggression against Pakistan is another exposure of the chauvinist and expansionist features of its ruling circles. The Indian Government glibly says that it pursues a policy of so-called peaceful co-existence. But actually it has never ceased for a single day its activities of bullying and encroaching upon its neighbours wherever possible. Almost every neighbour of India has known this from own experience. The Indian ruling circles are the greatest hypocrites in the contemporary international life. The Chinese people have had a deep experience of this.

"Although the Indian ruling circles did not gain anything from their massive armed attack on China in October 1962, they have never stopped making intrusions and provocations along the Sino-Indian border. India is still entrenched on the Chinese territory on the Sino-Sikkim border and has not withdrawn. It is constantly probing furtively and making intrusions, and harassment against the Chinese territory, in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. Indian violations of the Chinese territory are far from coming to an end.

"The Chinese Government has served repeated warnings. And it is now closely following the development of India's acts of aggression and strengthening its defences and heightening



ts alertness along its borders.

"The Indian Government probably believes that since it has the backing of the U.S. imperialists and the modern revisionists, it can bully its neighbours, defy public opinion and do whatever it likes. This will not do. Aggression is aggression. India's aggression against any one of its neighbours concerns all of its neighbours.

"Since the Indian Government has taken the first step in committing aggression against Pakistan, it cannot evade responsibility for the chain of consequences arising therefrom. The Chinese Government is deeply convinced that, with the sympathy and support of the peace-loving countries and peoples of Asia and the whole world, the 100 million people of Pakistan will rise as one man to save their country and finally drive back the Indian aggressors."

*Peking, Sept. 9.* The Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, today condemned India as the outright aggressor in the conflict with Pakistan.

He warned that India would have to bear full responsibility for all the consequences of extended aggression.

"If peace is to be safeguarded, aggression must be opposed.

"India's acts of aggression pose a threat to peace in this part of Asia and China cannot but closely follow the development of the situation."

Mr. Chou repeated full Chinese support for Pakistan's "just struggle against aggression and the Kashmiri people's struggle for freedom and the right of national self-determination."

Mr. Chou said, the Chinese Government "resolutely condemns India for its crimes of aggression and sternly warns the Indian Government that it

must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising from its extended aggression."

"Everybody knows that for several months U.S. imperialism has used every means to compel Pakistan to give up its independent policy.

"The Indian reactionaries' armed attack on Pakistan was an inevitable result of U.S. policy."

The United States and its collaborators were using the U.N. to make energetic appeals for peace without distinguishing between right and wrong, Mr. Chou said.

"This can deceive no one. India's aggression had "thoroughly exposed the Indian reactionaries' vaunted nonsense about their policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence.

"In this context, the modern revisionists also played a most unseemly role. They repeatedly asserted that Kashmir is an integral part of India. Was this not an open encouragement for the Indian reactionaries to embark on military adventures?"

*Peking, Sept. 25.* China told India yesterday that she would not cease to support Pakistan against the Indian aggression, nor would she cease to support the people of Kashmir in their just struggle for self-determination.

The Note said: "So long as India still commits aggression against Pakistan, so long as she still deprives the people of Kashmir of their right to self-determination, China will not cease to support the people of Pakistan."

*Paris, Sept. 30.* The Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai, declared in Peking that "the Chinese people firmly support the people of Kashmir in their



struggle for the right to national self-determination and firmly support the people of Pakistan in their struggle against aggression."

The Chinese Premier declared that U.S. imperialism was doomed "however hard the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of various countries mean to serve it."

*Peking, Sept. 30.* "We are deeply convinced that the final victory will certainly be yours," said the Chinese Vice-Premier Mr. Po-i-Po.

"Years of experience have taught the Chinese people that Indian expansionism, in collusion with U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism, has been truculently carrying out expansion and aggression against its neighbours and poses a serious menace to peace in this part of Asia.

"The Government and people of Pakistan, under the leadership of President Ayub Khan, have united as one and risen in bold resistance against the enemy, and have victoriously rebuffed the Indian aggressors, dealing them telling blows.

"This, once again, proves that the Pakistan Government which upholds its independence is not to be bullied, and that the Pakistan people, who are fighting for justice, are invincible.

"The Chinese Government and people very much admire your fearless heroism.

"Although a cease-fire has now been announced between the two sides, yet, just as President Ayub Khan has rightly said, the struggle is not yet over, but has entered a new phase.

"Your cause is glorious, and your struggle just. The sympathy of the people the world over is on your side. We are deeply convinced that the final

victory will certainly be yours.

"The Chinese people regard it as their bounden international duty to support Pakistan against Indian aggression. So long as India does not stop its aggression against Pakistan, the Chinese people will not cease for a single day their support to Pakistan in its struggle against aggression.

"So long as India does not stop its suppression of the people of Kashmir, the Chinese people will not cease for a single day their support to the people of Kashmir in their struggle for their right to self-determination. This stand of China will never change."

*Peking, Oct. 4.* "The friendship between the peoples of China and Pakistan can stand all tests," Chinese Vice-Premier Po-i-Po declared.

Pledging continued support for Pakistan over Kashmir, Mr. Po-i-Po said: "The Chinese Government and the people will exert every possible effort to give necessary aid to Pakistani people."

*Karachi, Oct. 6.* Thirty-three Chinese sailors recently deserted their Dutchship "Sahr Alice" after reaching Jordan's Aqaba port.

The head of the seamen Yung Kuwan refused to go back to the ship from Aqaba port and requested the port authorities to send them to Hong Kong.

"We are not prepared to be tools of imperialists" and "are not ready to contribute to the supply of arms to India for use against the friendly people of Pakistan."

The statement of the head of the seamen was published in *Al-Jehad*.

The report said when Yung was asked why they chose Jordan for asylum



though the ship had touched other ports on their way to Aqaba, he said: "We have chosen Aqaba because we know that the Jordanian people support the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir and condemn the Indian aggression against Pakis-tan."

*Paris, Oct. 7.* A joint statement by the Standing Committee of People's China and the People's Assembly of Indonesia issued in Peking today said: "There can be no peaceful co-existence between imperialism, which represents the decadent forces, and the oppressed peoples and nations who are fighting for their liberation and independence."

*Dacca, Oct. 10.* Mr. Kou Ching, the Consul-General of the People's Republic of China in Dacca, condemned the Indian aggression on Pakistan and declared that the Chinese people and Government would always support Pakistan against the Indian aggressors.

Mr. Kou Ching said that Pakistan was fighting against the aggressors to free the enslaved people of Kashmir. "You will come out victorious in this struggle," he added. He said: "Our support and sympathy would always be with the people of Pakistan."

Mr. S. M. Nur, Indonesian Consul, reiterated that his country would always support Pakistan's right cause, the liberation of Kashmiris from the yoke of imperialism.

*Warsaw, Oct. 21.* Mr. Li Chouping, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Trade Unions, accused India of being an out and out aggressor in the war with Pakistan. Pakistan was the victim of aggression, he said. He said the

United States had supplied weapons and money to India and the Soviet Union had competed in aid with the Americans.

*Lahore, Nov. 13.* The leader of the Chinese Journalists' delegation, Mr. Chang Chin-Chin, declared that the people of China would stand by their Pakistani brethren in their struggle to crush Indian expansionism.

The Chinese people would never give up their unstinted support to the people of Kashmir, who were fighting for a just cause—the right of self-determination.

Paying tributes to the valour of the people of Lahore and the Armed Forces of Pakistan, Mr. Chang said, by defeating the aims of the Indians to conquer the Provincial capital and later the entire country, they had given a stunning blow not only to the expansionist policies of the neighbouring State but also to all reactionary forces, including the United States and the "modern revisionists."

These two Powers, he observed, had gone out of their way to supply arms and ammunition to India, who was pursuing nefarious activities in Asia and wanted to have foothold in every nook and corner of the Continent.

China, Mr. Chang said, had pledged unstinted support to the people of Pakistan in their hour of trial and would continue to support all freedom-loving States and people. They would never give up their unconditional support to the people of Kashmir and would do all in their power to ensure that they won their freedom from the Indian yoke. The Indians would never be able to spread their tentacles in Asia.



*Lahore, Nov. 15.* The leader of the Chinese journalists' delegation, Mr. Chang Chin-Chin, declared that should India dare to commit aggression on Pakistan again the Chinese people would resolutely support Pakistan in whatever way they could.

He also said that the struggle of the people of Kashmir for securing a right of self-determination was a part of the movement against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Mr. Chang reiterated that his delegation had felt that the people of Pakistan were determined to continue with vigour the fight against imperialism and they would not yield to any pressure. China also stood for the same ideal and the two countries had a common cause and a common enemy to defeat. Therefore, China regarded the determined efforts being made by the Kashmiris to throw off the oppressive rule as her own movement.

The Chinese people stood for self-rule and a free people, and the people of Kashmir had lighted the torch of freedom. They could, therefore, rely on the unstinted and unconditional support of 650 million people of China. The people of Kashmir were thus not alone nor should they ever consider themselves as such. They had the backing of the entire freedom-loving world.

He said that the expansionist policies of India were a potential danger to the Asian States and peoples and steps had to be taken on all fronts and at all levels to contain India and to give her a crushing defeat every time she had an eye on subjugating the people of another State or trying to hold them against their wishes.

He said, if India ever tried to commit aggression on Pakistan, China

would stand by the latter and he felt certain that the people of this country would be able to give heavier blows to the Indians than they had done so far.

The leader of the delegation added that the Afro-Asian journalists were bound to uphold the declaration made in Jakarta that the journalists would do all in their power to oppose imperialism and colonialism for the purpose of maintaining peace in the world. Therefore, the newspapermen were committed to uphold these principles. The Chinese and Pakistani journalists had been translating the declaration into practice and he exhorted them to continue to abide by the declaration.

*Peking, Nov. 21.* *The Peoples Daily* commentator in an article entitled Support Pakistan's Just Stand, said :

"In the last few days, the Indian Government has been deploying its troops in a number of places in Kashmir and has been engaged in a massive military build-up in the Rajasthan sector of the Indo-Pakistan border. Both Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri and Defence Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, declared that they wanted 'to drive (Pakistan) out' of these places and 'to take back' the Indian 'territory.' It thus appears that the Indian expansionists are again preparing pretexts for renewing the armed conflict.

"Since the Indo-Pakistan cease-fire, Indian troops have committed numerous military provocations against Pakistan in violation of cease-fire. In a dispatch of November 18, the Press Trust of India admitted that Indian troops mounted an attack on November 16 for 'clearing' Pakistan soldiers. This military action was taken on the



every day when Indian Government leaders blatantly declared that they would 'drive out' the Pakistan forces.

"Although it is crystal clear that it was the Indian troops which had committed premeditated provocation, the Indian Government lodged a 'protest' the next day with Pakistan falsely accusing it of having 'fired' on Indian territory. The thief cries, 'stop thief'—such is the crude tactics invariably used by the Indian expansionists in mounting armed aggression against their neighbouring countries.

"To realise their aggressive and expansionist designs on Pakistan, the Indian reactionaries, while resorting to the threat of the use of force, went so far as to cut off the waterflow to the three rivers in the eastern part of West Pakistan in unscrupulous, unilateral violation of the Indus Basin water treaty concluded between India and Pakistan. This shameless blackmail and sordid breach of the elementary principles of international relations by India should be condemned by fair-minded public the world over.

"The Indian ruling circles' aggressive and expansionist policy is the sole cause of the failure to reach a peaceful settlement of the outstanding disputes between India and its neighbours. It is evident that peace in this region may be disrupted at any time if the Indian reactionaries' acts of aggression are not halted and their expansionist ambitions not foiled.

"President Ayub Khan of Pakistan has solemnly stated that the Pakistan people are ready to meet any fresh aggression that the Indian expansionists may launch.

"The Pakistan people, he declared, were able to bring the Indian attack on Pakistan to a decisive halt and to

compel her to seek a cease-fire. This firm stand defined by the Pakistan Government came as a forceful warning to the ambitious Indian expansionists.

"In regard to the Kashmir issue, the main problem is whether the right of the people of Kashmir to self-determination should be respected, whether the Indian expansionists should be allowed to annex Kashmir by illegal means. Pakistan President Ayub Khan justly pointed out in his speech of November 16 that Pakistan's only demand was that the Jammu and Kashmir people should have the right to self-determination. This was the only basis for settling the Kashmir dispute.

"This Pakistan stand is fair, reasonable and just. But in complete disregard of the historical facts and the wishes of the people of Kashmir, the Indian reactionaries have insisted on annexing Kashmir and refused to settle this issue by peaceful means on the basis of respect for the Kashmir people's right to self-determination. In addition to using force to suppress the struggle of the people of Indian occupied Kashmir for self-determination the Indian reactionaries also want to use force to compel Pakistan to give up its just support for the Kashmir people's right to self-determination. This is indeed arrogant in the extreme. But where there is oppression, there is bound to be resistance. The Indian reactionaries can never block the Kashmir people's struggle for self-determination no matter what tactics they may use. The wishes and aspirations of the Kashmir people will undoubtedly be realised finally.

"The Chinese Government and people unswervingly support the



Kashmir people's just struggle for self-determination and the Pakistan people's righteous stand against Indian aggression. The Indian reactionaries will suffer even heavier defeats if they provoke hostilities once again and wreck peace in the region."

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 24.* The visiting Chinese journalists' delegation today assured the Speaker of the National

Assembly, Mr. Abdul Jabbar Khan, that China supported the case of self-determination of the people of Kashmir.

The Leader of the delegation, Mr. Chang Chin-Chin, said that China supported the Kashmiri people because their cause was just. China, he added, supported the just causes all over the world. This was the decided policy of their country.



# 26

## AMERICA AND THE INDO-PAK WAR

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Pak-American ties were quite cordial before India imposed war on Pakistan. It was mostly due to the confidence based on these ties that Pakistan joined SEATO and CENTO Pacts at the initiation of America. Pakistan had to suffer a lot at the international stage of politics due to this close relationship. Mr. Khrushchev threatened Pakistan of dire consequences when an American aircraft took off from a Pakistani airbase for reconnaissance.

To our great surprise America started advocating neutrality when India attacked Pakistan. She totally ignored all SEATO and CENTO commitments. The World Press is of opinion that America could play an effective role during the recent Indo-Pak crisis but she simply referred the issue to U. N. and supported its actions.

It is of great significance to note the American reaction to the recent Indo-Pak crisis.



*Karachi, Aug. 11.* American *Time* magazine said, "Shastri's India is less a nation than a notion possessed of a fragile unity that barely transcends its geographical boundaries."

"India without Nehru stands dispirited and disillusioned, yet despite the tumult and the tremors, India continues to function."

"The nation does not now possess the knowhow or the energy to raise itself from poverty and despair."

"Once it has learned to feed itself, it can then move slowly, sanely toward industrial self-sufficiency."

*New York, Aug. 16.* The *New York Herald Tribune* said today that Pakistan and India should settle the Kashmir dispute because "the perils are far too grave and the benefits far too small":

"Pakistan has a good case and claim to Kashmir, perhaps better than India. But there already are enough fires in Asia—and the major conflict might well destroy any remaining possibility of containing and limiting all the others in the area."

"Furthermore, a war between Pakistan and India would find the United States and most of the free world caught in the middle."

"It would seem that the perils, both for Pakistan and India are far too grave, and the benefits far too small, to justify anything but an immediate cease-fire and return to common sense."

*Karachi, Aug. 26.* The *Philadelphia Inquirer* in an editorial on August 24 has maintained that it is hard not to sympathise with Pakistan on Kashmir, and has wished that India be reasonable about this issue.

"It had been hoped by friends of both India and Pakistan that talks between their respective Foreign Ministers scheduled this month would bring to halt at least one dispute between the two countries—the Rann of Kutch 'debate' that almost became war last spring."

"Unfortunately, the conference was cancelled at India's initiative and the matter now proceeds to impartial tribunal yet to be named. India's reason for calling it off was 'deterioration' of relations over Kashmir, Pakistan never was particularly hopeful that the Ministerial talks could settle the Rann of Kutch matter, and presumably agreed to the next step readily enough."

"However, cancellation was important as much in symbol as a fact. The Kashmir dispute has dragged on year after dreary year, and it is hard not to sympathise with Pakistani impatience, because a United Nations' supervised plebiscite was supposed to have settled the future of Kashmir long before this. Muslim Pakistan is probably correct in assuring that if Muslim Kashmir ever gets to polls, union with Pakistan will follow—which, of course, is one reason India evidently has been stalling."



"Now, however, there is a new element in the balance, which serves to make it even more dangerous. India has charged that infiltrators from Pakistan are attacking Indian troops in the territory, and one bridge was blown up last week, which is on the vital route for Indian troops defending border against China, Indian forces have reacted strongly.

"With all other menacing situations in South-East Asia, we can only hope that India will be reasonable about Kashmir."

*New York, Spt. 3.* In an editorial on the Kashmir crisis, *The New York Time* said on Friday.

"The United States, Great Britain and Russia have a special responsibility when it is considered that the Kashmir war is being fought with their arms, tanks and planes. The Security Council would respond if all three Powers unite on a common course of action.

"If a veto again immobilises the Security Council, the adequacy of the new procedures for voluntary payments may get a much earlier test than anyone expects or wants. Whether the U.N. can respond effectively to the crisis in Kashmir will be an important indicator of whether it has come out of its own internal crisis as something more than a decaying society."

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 14.* Indian leaders are now using Kashmir as a "chauvinistic vehicle fuelled by jingoism, religious passions and militarism, which a few ambitious politicians hope to ride to power," says a dispatch in *Washington Evening Star*.

"Most of India's 480 millions do

not give a hoot about Kashmir. What are 2.5 million Kashmiris to the country that gains that many new babies every 75 days? What is the strip of mountain-locked land only 26 by 60 miles in a sub-continent as vast as India?

"Kashmir that India's politicians talk about is essentially a football in Delhi's internal power struggle and symbol of India's frustration and resentment that the sub-continent was ever divided in the first place.

"What Indian peasant cares about is not Kashmir but getting enough to eat and better, more decent, life for his children. He may respond to whipping up of war hysteria from Delhi, especially if the struggle is phrased along religious lines.

"The frenzy that India's leaders have whipped themselves into was best revealed at a recent Cabinet meeting where the decisions to send Indian troops across the Cease-fire Line was reached.

"Fervent nationalism was expressed by Chavan, Nanda and Indira Gandhi. Shastri was reluctantly swept along by prevailing excitement according to one member present. The only voice of reason was S. K. Patil's, who inquired what was the point of pushing beyond the Cease-fire Line only to end up at some other Cease-fire Line after heavy cost in lives and money.

"The only real hope came when Nehru released Kashmir's unquestioned leader Abdullah, and tried to achieve honourable settlement with the popular Kashmir hero as mediator.

"Desai with tacit support from Communists and Hindu Fascist parties kept up the campaign against



Addullah branding him as 'traitor' and 'bigot' among other things.

"Menon's line has been to repeat shrilly like a stuck record that in an independent Kashmir is an American Kashmir. In the past week's interview, Desai revealed the kind of argument he apparently hopes to use to unseat Shastri and claim Premiership for himself.

"The arguments he used were mostly those originated and refined over the years by Nehru himself, though he tossed them about in the weeks before he died.

"The crux of this theme is that Kashmir is part of India and that if it is allowed to go, many states in India will try to secede. This danger, Dessi said, excused burning of Kashmiri villages by Indian Army."

*Karachi, Sept. 16.* "Neither women nor bearded men, nor strangers are safe today in India, which is panic-stricken," reports *Morning News* from London, quoting *New York Times'* Delhi correspondent.

The *New York Times* has quoted instances of how the Muslims in India are being victimised as spies and gives "some idea of the hysteria gripping the Indian home front these days."

The report says, "Whether there are any paratroopers or not, many of those who have been arrested never seem to have set foot in an aeroplane.

"Virtually every Muslim is suspect. Early this week there were reports of several bearded men being rounded up in several neighbourhoods. Hussein, a well-known Indian painter who happens to be a Muslim, is reported to have been denounced by

several children this week and taken to the police station.

"Another man went into the New Delhi Income Tax Office this week to ask directions. A young woman took him by the hand and led him outside where she promptly turned him over to the police. Obviously if he had to have directions he was a stranger."

*Washington, Sept. 22.* An

announcement by the World Bank:

"The World Bank announced on Tuesday that it had postponed the meeting of Governments and institutions interested in development finance for Pakistan, which was to have been held in Washington on September 23 for the purpose of pledging economic assistance to Pakistan for the economic year 1965-66.

"The Consortium had held preliminary discussions on this subject on June 1-3, at which time the members stressed their continuing interest in the progress of Pakistan's economic development and, in particular, concluded that Pakistan's Third Five-Year Plan, starting July 1, 1965, provided a satisfactory framework for future development.

"The World Bank, after consultation with the members of the Consortium, has concluded that because of the abnormal conditions in the sub-continent, an effective meeting cannot be held at the present time.

"A meeting will be convened as soon as circumstances permit.

"The present situation in the sub-continent is likely to affect the economic resources and plans of both India and Pakistan, and a re-assessment of requirements may well



become necessary."

The U.S. State Department announcement said :

"We have joined other members in going along with the Bank's decision that an effective pledging meeting of the Pakistan Consortium cannot be held at the present time.

"This would seem the only reasonable decision in the situation now prevailing in the sub-continent.

"The hostilities will inevitably affect the economic resources and planning of both Pakistan and India and evaluation will clearly not be feasible until after hostilities have ended.

"We hope for an early return to a situation in which we can consider how to contribute to Pakistan's future development efforts."

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 7.* According to a transcript of the programme now available here, the discussion began when Miss Pauline Frederick of NBC asked Mr. Goldberg whether the cease-fire line in the Indo-Pakistan war would be respected.

MR. GOLDBERG : I am optimistic. I think we have the pledge of two great world statesmen, President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Shastri, that they have accepted the cease-fire demand of the Security Council, and these violation incidents that I have read about, I would hope, do not mean that the word, the pledged word of these world statesmen, will not be observed.

MISS FREDERICK : Mr. Ambassador, speaking of the pledged word, the United Nations, supported by the United States, said in 1946 that there should be a plebiscite in Kashmir. Do we still stand by that com-

mitment ?

MR. GOLDBERG : We stand by what the Security Council did the other day as part of our general reliance upon the U.N. as the instrumentality to bring about an honourable peace in the sub-continent. So the first thing—we must take first things first, and the very first thing is to get an effective cease-fire. The second thing is to get a withdrawal of troops to the lines which existed before August 5. We must get respect for the international boundary, for the old cease-fire line, and then if you will remember the operative words of the resolution, we must work together in the Security Council to take steps so as to ensure an honourable peace between these two countries.

MISS FREDERICK : Mr. Ambassador, the U.N. has already said that there should be a plebiscite in Kashmir. Does this mean, now, that there shall be consideration of some other steps rather than plebiscite ?

MR. GOLDBERG : Miss Frederick, it merely means what the resolution says. We are united and every member of the Security Council has said that we will take common steps to ensure an honourable settlement. At a moment like this I don't think it is necessary or advisable to blueprint the final step that must be taken. What is important is this : We must re-establish communication and dialogue and all of us must co-operate in the effort to get an honourable settlement.

MISS FREDERICK : But, Mr. Ambassador, as you well know as President of the Security Council, that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has said that he will give the U.N. a certain time in which to reach a



settlement, a settlement including the right of Kashmiris to self-determination or otherwise Pakistan will withdraw from the United Nations. How much time would you give Pakistan to wait for that settlement?

MR. GOLDBERG : Well, I don't know what time element is involved, but I do know this we have had a long problem in this area. We ought to address ourselves and if I may borrow a word from the court on which I had the honour to sit, we must address ourselves to this problem with all deliberate speed. This is the only way to achieve the objective that we all want. All members of the Security Council and I am sure the statesmen of India and Pakistan want an honourable settlement of their underlying problems.

At this stage. Mr. Milton Freudenheim of Chicago *Daily News* pointed out that the phrase "all deliberate speed" had been used in Supreme Court ruling on school desegregation. Mr. Freudenheim said, "Now, that took 10 years in many parts of the South to get any results. Were you thinking of that kind of a slow time schedule?"

MR. GOLDBERG : Mr. Freudenheim, if you will read my decision in the Watson case which came later, I have said that "all deliberate speed" cannot be so deliberate that it destroys the entire efforts to arrive at an honourable peace in a reasonable period of time.

MR. DREW MIDDLETON of *The New York Times* asked Mr. Goldberg to comment on the Indian statement that the future of Kashmir was not negotiable.

MR. GOLDBERG : I think we

have to stand by what the Security Council said and that is to recognise as a fact of life that the underlying political problem between the two countries is Kashmir and everybody, the parties, the Security Council, has has to address themselves to steps that can be taken to ensure an honourable settlement of this problem between the parties.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 9.* "The first Indian regiment that found itself face to face with the Pakistan did not get ellobbered, they just turned and ran, leaving all of their equipment, artillery supplies, and even extra-clothing and supplies behind," writes Mr. Fulton Lewis Jr. well-known American Radio and Television commentator.

Commenting on the Indo-Pakistan war, the American aid to the two countries and the Kashmir dispute, Mr. Lewis said : "After Indian attack on Lahore, the fighting between Pakistan and India seems to have developed into a full-fledged, all-out war with milk-toast diplomats, national leaders and politicians who, nearly over two decades have allowed the situation which is the cause of it all to develop by trying to brush realities under the rug.

"Aid to India of the first half of the present year, 1965, had been 5,622 million dollars, whereas aid to Pakistan has been only 2,629 million dollars, less than half the amount to India.

"But that's the result of a longline of fuddy-duddy American Ambassadors whom we have sent to India, who have molycoddled Indian Government leaders if such they could be called, while India was double-crossing the United States and the rest of



the free world day after day, on issue after issue in the United Nations.

"It is also the result of such supine State Department policies as our performance when India moved in with military force and seized the little Portuguese enclave of Goa, which had been legitimately Portuguese for centuries. The State Department did not even make a protest or a remonstrance, let alone mention the matter in the United Nations.

"As early as 1947, the late Premier Nehru specifically promised the people of Kashmir and of Pakistan that the Kashmiris could hold a plebiscite and could have self-determination for themselves. The fact is that the people of Kashmir are more than 80 per cent Muslim, and have always been aligned with Pakistan which is Muslim, and have never wanted any part of India, which of course is Hindu, and abysmally backward.

"You've heard the factual record of the past fate of beautiful Kashmir and of India's outright dishonesty in dealing with it. The present war is no matter of momentary displeasure or disagreement, it goes back over 18 years of infamy and duplicity on the part of the Indian Government.

"Nehru was worried much about aggression when it took Goa, but Shastri has plenty to worry about now, because he is facing penal and disciplinary action by one of the toughest and best trained armies in the world, excellently equipped, excellently led, highly organised and totally dedicated. For himself, he (Shastri) has a motley, disorganised, low morale force of four times as many men as Pakistan, but they can't or won't fight. They only beg.

"Military intelligence circles here and elsewhere tend to place considerably more credence in the statements of the Pakistanis than in those of the Indians—on the basis of the general past experience."

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 9.* Interviewed by well-known American Radio and Television commentator, Mr. Fulton Lewis Jr. on September 20, Dr. Benjamin Ray, an American expert on Asia and the Far East, spoke about the Pakistan-India war and questions closely related to the war effort by the two countries.

"Nationalism is probably a great deal stronger in Pakistan than in India, taking India as a whole. And I would like to add that Pakistan nationalism includes many of the people in Kashmir, too.

"The Pakistanis consider themselves better fighters than the Indians do, or than the Indians are. I should say, India has the Gurkhas and the Sikhs, who are well known for their courage and fighting ability. But the average Indian, unless he has been trained for a long time, is not known for his valour and discipline of fighting ability.

"Other things being equal, numerical superiority, I don't believe, alone will defeat Pakistan."

*Karachi Oct. 13.* Several Afro-Asian delegations to the United Nations General Assembly are being openly critical of the incongruity of American approach towards international problems, says a despatch from New York.

The despatch said: "These delegations point out that while the USA insists on going through the United



nations in resolving the Indo-Pakistan conflict, she is going it alone in South Viet Nam.

"The delegates also point to the inconsistency of the American action in supplying arms to a non-ally, like India, when it suits them and withholding supplies from an ally like Pakistan when it does not.

"The Afro-Asian delegates describe this American posture of neutrality as, in effect, an attitude of hostility towards Pakistan. They point out that ever since 1954, Pakistan depended entirely on the USA for her military requirements, whereas India, putting herself up as neutral, has been gathering military hardware from all sources, right or left,—the USA, the U.K. and the USSR.

"Therefore, the delegates feel, the adoption by America of this posture of neutrality amounted to letting down Pakistan at a critical moment. The only result of this policy was to hurt Pakistan and reward India for its dubious, ambivalent policy. America's friends must be wondering, they said, if they can really depend on American friendship.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 30. The New York Post*, in an editorial under the heading, "India's Double Standard" on October 27, has criticised the Indian walk-out from the Security Council meeting: "When India appropriated Goa by military invasion, it disheartened and dismayed many who had looked to New Delhi for a special brand of moral leadership.

"Now it comes as a new shock to see India walk out from the Security Council to which only a few weeks before, it had appealed for relief

against China's threats and alleged Pakistani aggression.

"For a nation which has so long highmindedly preached adherence to the Charter and in cold war disputes so often insisted upon procedures of peaceful settlement, this walk-out from the Security Council crudely exemplifies the process of double standard.

"The Security Council resolution ordering a cease-fire on the sub-continent also stipulated that a truce be followed by a pullback of troops and talks leading to a peaceful settlement of the basic Kashmir issue.

"All that has been achieved thus far, however, is a fragile, uneasy cease-fire. By bolting from the Security Council, India invites the verdict that it is primarily responsible for preventing any further progress toward peace. It is a strange and melancholy role for a nation which professes to be guided by the doctrines of Gandhi—one of mankind's greatest moral seers."

*Washington, Oct. 31.* Mr. Douglas MacArthur, American Assistant-Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, in a letter to Senator Wayne Morse said :

"Dear Senator Morse—Thank you for your letter of October 8, 1965 on the possible misuse of United States-supplied military equipment by India and Pakistan during their recent conflict. The problem which you have raised is one which has been under careful study by the administration, as this Government has, sought to support in every way the efforts of the United Nations and its Secretary-General to bring peace to the sub-continent.



"With regard to your question whether continuous observation and review of United States military equipment by representatives of the United States Government were permitted by India and Pakistan, such observation and review have been permitted by the Indian and Pakistan Governments over the years. During the recent hostilities, however, the combat circumstances were such that the ability of our representatives to observe the use of MAP (Military Assistance Programme) equipment was impaired.

"We do have evidence of the use of American-supplied equipment by Pakistan during the India-Pakistan hostilities. Under our military assistance agreements, Pakistan is of course free to use United States military equipment for legitimate self-defence.

"Equipment furnished to India under the 1962 agreement between India and the United States was furnished for the purpose of defence against outright Chinese aggression directed from Peking. We have been informed that India made some use of American-supplied equipment in the hostilities with Pakistan. But India has alleged Chinese-Pakistani collusion in the recent conflict.

"As you know, the circumstances under which the hostilities developed were such that the blame could not be assessed. Regardless of the specific circumstances, however, administration considered it inappropriate to continue to furnish military equipment to either India or Pakistan, and, accordingly, the United States Government stopped military assistance and sales deliveries of United States military equipment to India

and Pakistan. Additionally, the Secretary of State has undertaken to consult with Congress on the situation in the sub-continent before resuming military assistance deliveries, any decision to resume military assistance would of course take into consideration the requirements of foreign assistance legislation.

"Whatever the merits of the Pakistani and Indian positions on the use of United States-supplied equipment, our first objective has been to obtain implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolution of September 20 which calls for a cease-fire, withdrawal of military personnel to pre-August 5 positions, and utilisation of peaceful means to settle the underlying political problem between the two countries. We are continuing to support fully the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General to obtain an effective cease-fire as a first step.

"The Administration is keeping the situation under continuing study in the light of overall United States foreign policy objectives and conditions on the sub-continent.

"Please do not hesitate to let me know if I can be of further assistance.

"Sincerely,

"(Signd) Douglas MacArthur II."

*New York, Nov. 10.* The United States has asked all members of NATO, CENTO and SEATO not to supply any arms to Pakistan. An assurance to this effect was given by the Johnson Administration to Indian Foreign Minister Swaran Singh during his recent visit here.

The American attitude towards its ally Pakistan is in sharp contrast with the Russian attitude to India. The



Russians never stopped their military supplies to India and Moscow in fact recently delivered 39 MIG-21 planes to that country and also agreed to supply 65 medium tanks.

The gravity of American attitude can be gauged by the fact that the Pakistan Armed Forces are equipped mainly with American weapons. Pakistan, therefore, is heavily dependent upon Western sources for supply, replacements and most of the ammunition.

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 23.* The Indian charge that the United States has been using its PL-480 foodgrain shipments to somehow shape Indian thinking has been described as "utter and unadulterated nonsense" by Mr. Chester Bowles, U.S. Ambassador to India.

Speaking at the Laski Institute in Ahmedabad last Wednesday, Mr. Bowles referred to the U.S. decision to put its foodgrain shipments to India on a 30-day basis and said that this had nothing to do with the present conflict between India and Pakistan.

"The policy was put into effect months before the fighting began. Because, rightly or wrongly, many of our own agricultural experts were not persuaded that India had been doing all that it should and could to raise its foodgrain output.

"The American people and the American Congress need to be convinced that our aid money is well used; it is our responsibility to continue carefully to examine development plans on which American money is spent."

"Future assistance can only be effective when the public focus returns decisively to development."

"The U.S. intends to make the same sincere attempt to bridge the differences between Pakistan and India that India has made over the years to bridge the gap between the Soviet Union and the United States.

"I am confident that in their hearts millions of Indians are hopeful for the success of our efforts to create more neighbourly relations here on the sub-continent."



## THE BRITONS AND THE INDO-PAK WAR

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Some 19 years back the undivided India was the most precious gem in the British Crown. In India our erstwhile rulers were the supreme power but in their own land they were just the public servants. There they could never act against the wishes of the English people but in India they never listened to the masses. Though the English had to leave India in 1947 and declared Pakistan and Bharat as sovereign States, yet they did not break off completely. Soon after independence Pakistan and India became members of the British Commonwealth.

Naturally the English statesmen, scholars, politicians, observers and pressmen could not keep silent over the Indo-Pak war. They reacted without reservation. Although Britain did not want to displease India on political grounds by condemning her naked act of aggression, yet a majority of the English statesmen and scholars did not hesitate telling the truth. Lord Bertrand Russell and Prof. Toynbee—the renowned English historian—need special mention in this chapter for their love for the righteous cause of any nation or country.



August. 16. *The Economist* (London) said that the still unsolved problem of Kashmir between India and Pakistan has led to the brushes in Occupied Kashmir. There were reports by the U.N. observers of crossing of the Cease-fire Line.

It added: "Pakistan has grown sick of the waiting at the Indian attitude. . . . It is wrong to resort to arms; but it is far most wrong for a democracy to deny the people the right to vote."

In the circumstances, "the Indian Government deserves little sympathy," the weekly added.

The quotations from the *Economist* were made by the BBC in its broadcast "From the Weeklies" on Sunday morning.

The BBC broadcaster earlier stated that "it was a frustrating week" for the Commonwealth: First, there was the constitutional crisis over Rhodesia; secondly, the trouble was in Kashmir and, thirdly, Singapore's exit from the Malaysian Federation.

August 18. The BBC commentator Taya Zinkin, a writer on Indian affairs, fears that the Shastri Government may topple, and that would be bad "from Pakistan's point of view."

Soon after the Rann of Kutch dispute, the commentator continues, Pakistan and India are once again on the brink of war. "What may happen next is anybody's guess, for India is in no mood to be conciliatory."

In her commentary on Indo-Pakis-

tan relations, broadcast on Tuesday, she said that the list of quarrels between India and Pakistan was long and, "above all, was the fate of Kashmir."

She said: "India and Pakistan are once again tottering on the brink of war. Only the other day they were facing each other in the Rann of Kutch. Fortunately, reason prevailed and both sides agreed to arbitration."

"But now things are hotting up again, this time in Kashmir, 1,000 miles away from the Rann of Kutch; and what may happen next is anybody's guess, for India is in no mood to be conciliatory."

"What has been happening over Indo-Pakistan relations is absolutely tragic. Here are two countries which have many things in common, other than strategic and economic, but human also, and what do they do?"

"Instead of helping each other, they are at loggerheads, ever since the British left in 1947. The list of quarrels is long enough to poison any relations."

"First, there was a holocaust of 1947, the Partition was accompanied by murder of 3,00,000 people and migration of 40 million in the world's largest exodus."

"The British left in a hurry without solving the problems of division of assets, for example, the division of the canal waters, the gold reserves, the compensation for the evacuee property and above all the fate of Kashmir."



"India and Pakistan see-sawed on the brink of war on the Indus Basin till a formula on canal waters was found by the World Bank. They nearly went to war in 1950 and all the time there has been the Kashmir dispute since the cease-fire in 1948.

"Moreover, the list of conflicts can be numerous. At one stage, one country or the other, and indeed at times both the countries simultaneously, have been spitting at each other's face.

"Without going into the rights and wrongs of the disputes, what was needed was restraint.

"Pakistan seems in a confident mood, her economic situation has turned the corner. Pakistan is now allied with China and Russia. The Indian picture looks dismal in contrast. There has been inflation, the Five-Year Plan is behind and there have been linguistic riots.

"For Pakistan, the fall of India's reasonable and conciliatory Prime Minister would be asking for trouble. If Shastri goes, his successor, from Pakistan's point of view, would be worse."

London, Aug. 31. Writing editorially under the caption "Clash of Giants," the *Observer* said: "Leaders of both the countries, basically sane and reasonable as they fortunately are, must know that neither side can win a war against the other.

"There is a distinct possibility of a war between India and Pakistan. Such a war could be more destructive in Asia than anything that is happening or is likely to happen in Viet Nam or Malaysia."

The editorial began by saying: "When the United States is tied

down in Viet Nam and Britain in Malaysia, it is easy to dismiss the fighting in Kashmir as a little local difficulty between India and Pakistan which concerns no one which is what makes the conflict over Kashmir potentially so dangerous for unless the two protagonists can be held back from continuing their collision course the world may suddenly be faced with a situation which it can no longer either ignore or influence."

The prospects of India and Pakistan going to war over Kashmir have been with us since long—ever since 1947. It added, "to dismiss the current war talk in Delhi and Rawalpindi as mere brinkmanship would be a serious misreading of the situation."

The *Observer* said: "Indian leaders have been obsessed by their belief that granting the right of self-determination to any one community—namely, the Kashmiris, the Nagas, and the Sikhs, would set up a chain reaction which would destroy foundation of the entire State."

London, Sept. 1. In a telegram on behalf of all progressive opinion in Britain, Lord Russell expressed deep anxiety over India's blatant violation of the Cease-fire Line and bellicose statements in Indian Parliament. He pointed out that this military initiative was felt here to be aggression.

Lord Russell urged the Indian authorities to begin direct negotiations for peaceful settlement of Kashmir dispute which involves peace of the world. He expressed the view that the dispute could be settled only by political means, not by military aggression.

It can be confidently reported that



Lord Russell's telegram to the Indian Premier reflects views of a large section of political observers here. It is widely believed that with continued Indian incursions on Pakistan territory there is now real danger of full-scale war between the two countries.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 10.* The daily *Guardian*, after observing that "the U.N. is committed to finding a solution of the Kashmir dispute acceptable to the Kashmiri people said that Mr. Nehru's pledge that the people of Kashmir would decide the future of Kashmir was made to the whole world through the U.N. as well as to the people of Kashmir, and added, "instead of what Indians say, it has not been fulfilled."

The *Guardian* noted: "The Soviet delegate for once did not use his veto on India's behalf and emphasised the consequences of a continued failure to agree are more appallingly obvious than ever before."

The Paper reminded India that "Pakistan is making most of its headway" at present, and posed the question "will the Indian leaders be wise enough to heed these warnings?"

Another British paper, the *Sunday Times*, writing editorially, said, "Open and unlimited war between two members is a disaster that has never yet happened to the Commonwealth, though India and Pakistan have been close to it before." It added: "It would be a denial of all that the Commonwealth stands for, and might lead to its total disruption, at least in its present form."

The *Sunday Times* said that India has "obstinately rejected successive U.N. proposals for a plebiscite,"

and added "statesmanship, whether national or international, must be with these hard facts."

The Paper said: "Kashmir has brought the two greatest nations of southern Asia to the verge of an all-out war which could plague them both for a generation, cause misery to millions of their people." It pointed out, "The wretched people of Kashmir themselves have never yet had the chance to decide their own future."

It went on: "For the United Nations to say stop the fighting and return to the cease-fire line, though necessary, is not enough. Fighting will break out again unless it stops on terms which lead towards a permanent settlement."

The Paper said: "From danger springs opportunity. The danger in Kashmir is fierce, but opportunity is correspondingly great. India and Pakistan would never live in friendship until the canker of Kashmir is excised."

*London, Sept. 12.* Writing in *weekly Review* a British military observer points out that war in Pakistan is widely regarded almost as a holy war for the liberation of the fellow Muslims. In India, the Kashmir issue has never stirred up popular feelings, even amongst the Congressmen and Brahmins, the only supporters of Nehru's policy on Kashmir.

It was Nehru's own personal obsession, lukewarmly backed by many yesmen for the fear of the great leader. Among the rural masses of India, particularly non-Hindu communities, there is little interest in the future of Kashmir.

The principal manpower disadvantage of the Indian army, the



observer believes, lies in its high proportion of the southerners, unused to Himalayan conditions, as compared with the proportion of the mountaineers available to Pakistan. The Indian army enlists the Sikhs, but that community is not happy under the predominantly Hindu rule, and have not quite the same fine spirit as they used to have.

Pakistan recruits the Punjabis, Baluchis, and Pathans, all outstanding for fighting qualities, especially in the mountains of Kashmir. As an adjunct to the regular army, lashkars of Pathan tribesmen have already figured in the fighting in Kashmir and no doubt will do so again.

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 24.* BBC commentator referred to India's threat of quitting the Commonwealth, and argued that sad as such a decision would be, it is worth considering whether the Commonwealth should compromise on principles for the sake of retaining its present expanded membership or risk losing some of it by insisting on certain principles of conduct and behaviour.

*United Nations, Oct. 7.* The British Foreign Secretary M. Michael Stewart, in a major-policy address to the U.N. General Assembly, said that if there was to be a final end of the Indo-Pakistan conflict, the Security Council had to hold the course which it has charted.

Outlining a British plan to strengthen the United Nations peace-making arm Mr. Stewart proposed the establishment of a Fund which could be drawn upon for future peace operations.

He also said that it would be

helpful if an increasing number of nations pledged to supply forces for peace-keeping.

He said that Britain wanted to encourage greater use of the World Court, wider acceptance of its compulsory jurisdiction and greater readiness to have recourse to arbitration.

He also proposed the appointment under U.N. auspices of small group of especially qualified people who would be valuable mediators or conciliators and who could undertake impartial investigations.

He said that Britain was studying the recently-proposed Soviet draft treaty on non-dissemination of nuclear weapons.

Reaffirming Britain's support for the entry of the Chinese People's Republic into the U.N. he said that Peking's absence and the withdrawal of Indonesia from the world body "deprived the United Nations of that universality which is essential to its ultimate success."

Mr. Stewart made only a brief reference to Rhodesia. He said that when independence was given to a country, the interests of all its people and not just those of a minority group must be safeguarded.

Mr. Stewart also outlined a peace formula for Viet Nam, starting with cease-fire.

He told the United Nations General Assembly that this should be followed by the end of all intervention in Viet Nam, and then a conference under any auspices which held prospects of success.

This proposed conference should result in a situation in which both South and North Viet Nam were safe from attack, he said. The next step would be for the United Nations to



initiate a reconstruction programme to repair the ravages of war.

*London.* "Evidence mounts that Pakistan is being punished because of its friendship with China and its policy of independence. The Indo-Pakistan war enabled the United States to deflect the world's attention from its barbarous war in Viet Nam," said Lord Bertrand Russell in a statement.

The statement went on: "In Kashmir India has refused to allow a plebiscite for many years, despite United Nations resolutions. One hundred thousand Indian troops have suppressed Kashmiri autonomy. Despite all this, for 17 years Mr. Nehru held back from invoking the two Articles of the Indian Constitution which would integrate Kashmir by Decree. We must ask why Premier Shastri invoked those two articles, arrested Sheikh Abdullah and thereby effectively closed the door to peaceful redress of the Kashmiris' grievances. The answer to this question suggests the cause of the outbreak of this war.

"Infiltration over the cease-fire line in Kashmir can hardly be offered by India as justification for attacking Pakistan with her army. Before the fighting both Indian and Pakistani troops faced each other, at the cease-fire line. Infiltration, therefore, was as much a reflection of the inability of Indian troops to prevent Kashmiris from coming over the line as it was a reflection of Pakistani acquiescence in such infiltration.

"The official integration of Kashmir made the uprising in the valley inevitable, and the participation in the uprising of Kashmiris from

Pakistan had to be expected.

"For the Indian army to initiate hostilities for violation of the Kashmir cease-fire line was bad enough, but to attack Pakistan without warning was naked aggression and reckless folly. It was a clear violation of the United Nations Charter and should be so described. Refusal to distinguish an aggressor from the attacked is cowardly and no service to peace.

"Reports in the Western Press such as the *Daily Telegraph*, *Time* and *Tide* and *Evening Standard* indicate that the United States of America contrived the attack on Pakistan through the Central Intelligence Agency.

"The policy of containing China militarily includes apparently destroying Field Marshal Ayub Khan's Government as a warning to others. Integration of Kashmir into India would enable the United States to extend its military encirclement of China. It is clear that the Indian army could not have moved without American approval.

"China's actions on the Indian border cannot be understood without reference to these facts. It is not enough merely to call for world peace over and over again. The underlying issues have to be examined without fear or favour.

"The Government of Pakistan is quite right to insist that the cease-fire should be combined with a political solution of the Kashmir question. It is essential that the end of the fighting should result in a permanent solution and not in a festering sore for a further 17 years."

Mr. Cyril Dunn in a despatch from Srinagar, published in *The Observer* of October 24, under the



heading: "Bayonets to Crush A Children's Revolt," says:

In Kashmir these days you are sometimes obliged to make for scenes of the recent rioting in a Kashmiri lake boat.

Built for dalliance on gentle waters, it is as delicate as a dead leaf, hung about with fluttering curtains and so fitted internally with a long mattress wide enough for two that you have no alternative but to lie flat on your back and trail your fingers in the limpid lake.

It is not a dignified posture to be in when an Indian army soldier with a rifle leans over the rail of a high bridge and in a rough peremptory voice orders you to go back. But I had tried every other way of getting to Hazratbal and a boat seemed the only recourse.

A little town on the shore of the Bod Lake, Hazratbal contains the most sacred Muslim shrine in the valley of Kashmir. It treasures, as a holy relic, a hair of the Holy Prophet. And something peculiar happened there last Monday.

Ever since the recent warfare all roads from Srinagar to the shrine—the one that passes the Mogul Fort and the one that winds all round the lakes and passes the Mogul gardens and the palace of the late Maharajah—have been blocked by highly resolute bodies of armed Indian police and soldiers.

Nobody has been allowed either in or out of the area without a special and barely obtainable pass. One can scarcely blame the Indian authorities for their prudence. For at Hazratbal on Monday occurred a clash between the police and a mob of Kashmiri students which, Government spokes-

men say, might have terrible consequences—consequences to be thwarted only by the strictest vigilance.

The authorities in Srinagar believe the outburst at Hazratbal was deliberately provoked as a last desperate throw by the Kashmiri extremists financed by Pakistan, still campaigning for self determination.

"The general uprising incited by the Mujahids, the Warriors of the Faith, sent in on August 5 from the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line, has failed dismally," they say.

The last hope of the agitators was therefore to rouse the religious frenzy of the Kashmiri Muslims, normally dormant.

At all events, a fight broke out on Monday in the precincts of the Hazratbal mosque after a public showing of the holy relic to mark the anniversary of the death of the Prophet's first Caliph.

The last two notable leaders of the anti-India movement in Kashmir still at liberty, Maulana Masoodi and Mohiuddin Kara, told me that before they were arrested early on Thursday morning the Indian police in hot and angry pursuit of students who had been stoning them, followed them into the shrine where considerable damage was done.

The Government flatly denies this version. Its spokesmen say that after attacking the police some of the students took refuge in the shrine and agitators spread the rumour through people outside the mosque that those inside were not students but Punjabi policemen. The people themselves then attacked the building to drive the intruders out.

Even so, the authorities recognised that rumour alone might inspire a



suicidal retributive violence and made their massive plans to prevent it. In a murky picture not open to close inspection on the spot, it is at least clear that the students started the battle at the mosque.

Indeed, it is also clear that the plebiscite campaign in Srinagar has been taken over completely by students and has become a kind of Children's Revolt, terrifying in its innocent determination. All the old leaders of note have either been banished or detained, some of them months ago.

The students have assumed their role—and here "students" should not evoke images either of rigger blues or of those wild-eyed young men who have lately been burning Western libraries in other parts of Asia. In Kashmir they are children.

Old Muslims talk with awe, for instance, of a 16-year-old boy who, until his arrest, spoke at mosque meetings with greater fire than Sheikh Abdullah, the Lion of Kashmir himself. He is a pupil at a secondary school in the middle of Srinagar.

It was here, and at a girls' college close by, that this new wave of trouble began, according to some reports, when some lecturers spoke with illadvised but vocational sarcasm about the poor showing put up by Pakistanis against the Indian Army.

I went to one of their meetings, in the courtyard of Shah Hamadan, the oldest mosque in the old city. An audience of grown men in the sweaty, nightcap class of citizenry with seamed, anxious and black-bearded faces, squatted on the ground. The carved wooden galleries of the mosque were crowded with grown women.

But up on the platform a chit of a girl, aged 17 and in her first

year at the medical school, harangued them. She was a tiny figure, black veiled from head to ankles, her face mask pushed slightly out by the text of her speech. She spoke in a high, clear, slightly didactic voice.

At one point she swung round to the male student leaders clustered about me at the back of the platform and said severely: "I want to warn my brothers that they should have co-operation with us."

Her brothers were busy giving me handouts headed "Students Revolutionary Council." These drew erudite parallels between the current regime in Kashmir and "the line of Frederick the Great and Kaiser William's Kultur Kampf."

The boys were all young, decent, shy and middle-class, and seemed dreadfully unconscious of danger.

India has chosen to confront the Children's Revolt with the armed strength of secularism. It seems so far to have been used with discretion even in the circumstances with gentleness.

For days now Srinagar has been deadened by Hartal, a protestant withdrawal from social functions which has shuttered most of the shops and halted private transport. The poverty of a long season without tourists thickens every hour. And all about the long drawn tragedy of Kashmir stands the autumn glory of the valley mutely rebuking a waste of beauty and quietness.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 27.* In an exclusive article to the daily *Morning News*, Karachi, for its Revolution Day Supplement, Lord Russell said:

"It is essential that this fighting should result in a permanent solution



and not a festering sore for further 17 years. Unless there is such a solution, it is inevitable that a great war in Asia will take place.

"A plebiscite in Kashmir, allowing the choice between alignment with India or Pakistan or independence guaranteed by the United Nations, should be offered to the Kashmiris, in conjunction with the cease-fire.

"If people really wish peace on the Sino-Indian boundary, they will further ask India to participate in direct negotiations with China for a final delineation of the boundary shared by the two countries. India's refusal to accept direct negotiations on the Sino-Indian boundary is also completely insupportable."

*London, Oct. 28. The Eastern World* in its current issue, writing under the caption "The Root of the Matter," said: "Million's of words spoken at subsequent UN meetings about Kashmir cannot wipe out the fact that this fundamental right of self-determination has been denied to the people of Kashmir. Despite UN resolutions, India has actually incorporated Kashmir into the Indian Union."

It said: "It must not be forgotten that the UN has been involved in the Kashmir problem since 1948, and that very definitive resolutions were passed by the Security Council on August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, to which both India and Pakistan agreed, and which provided for a truce and the holding of a plebiscite. Though Mr. Nehru at that time gave the pledge to the whole world and in particular to Britain, Pakistan and the people of Kashmir that the latter would be asked to decide their own

fate, he later changed his mind and the UN resolutions were flouted by India."

The magazine said, Pakistan has been eminently reasonable in her proposals, and has a long record of goodwill in the matter.

*The Eastern World* warned all concerned that although the short but sharp military collision between India and Pakistan has now ended, the underlying political dispute over Kashmir still remains. If this dispute is not settled, we are exactly today where we were before the fighting, it added.

The paper said that the UN this time has a chance of really ending the injustice done to the Kashmiris and at the same time removing the festering sore which has poisoned Indo-Pakistani relations for so long. It, however, suggested that Kashmir should be neutralised by the withdrawal of both India and Pakistani forces and their replacement by an Afro-Asian force, appointed by the UN which would keep order without interfering in Kashmiri affairs.

*New York, Oct. 29.* Lord Bertrand Russell, the British philosopher and Director of the World Peace Foundation, has accused the United States of contriving an Indian attack on Pakistan through the Central Intelligence Agency.

In a recent letter to Mr. Bhutto, he states that reports "in the Western Press, such as *The Daily Telegraph*, *Time* and *Tide* and the *Evening Standard* indicated this clearly, adding that the "policy of containing China militarily includes, apparently, destroying Ayub Khan's Government, as a warning to others."



Lord Russell discloses that his efforts to seek from India an end to her aggression against Pakistan and a just settlement of the Kashmir question had not met with success.

"I admire your handling of Pakistan's affairs as Foreign Secretary, and wish you to know of my full support," he writes. Feeling that the time is "over-due for a setting out of the facts as I see them," Lord Russell states the following :

"All people concerned with peace have watched with grave anxiety the events of recent weeks. The most urgent need has been an end to the war and so public attachment of blame has had to take second importance to private efforts to obtain a settlement. The initial failure of the mission of the Secretary General shows that such efforts are inadequate, and that world opinion must be aroused to the true facts. The evidence mounts that Pakistan is being punished because of its friendship with China and its policy of independence. The Indo-Pakistani fighting enabled the United States to deflect the world's attention from its barbarous war in Viet Nam.

"In Kashmir, India has refused to allow a plebiscite for many years despite the United Nations resolutions. One-hundred-thousand Indian troops have suppressed Kashmiri autonomy. Despite all this, for 17 years Mr. Nehru held back from invoking the two Articles of the Indian Constitution which would integrate Kashmir by decree. We must ask why Mr. Shastri invoked these two Articles, arrested Sheikh Abdullah and thereby effectively closed the door to peaceful redress of the grievances of the Kashmiris. The answer to these questions suggests the cause of the

outbreak of this war.

"Infiltration over the Cease-fire Line in Kashmir can hardly be offered by India as justification for attacking Pakistan with her army. Before the fighting, both Indian and Pakistani troops faced each other at the Cease-fire Line. Infiltration, therefore, was as much a reflection of the inability of Indian troops to prevent Kashmiris from coming over the Line as it was a reflection of Pakistani acquiescence in such infiltration. The official integration of Kashmir made uprisings inevitable, and the participation of Kashmiris from Pakistan had to be expected in these circumstances. For the Indian army to initiate hostilities over the Kashmir Cease-fire Line was bad enough, the attack on Pakistan itself without warning was naked aggression and reckless folly. It was a clear violation of the United Nations Charter and should be so described. The refusal to distinguish the aggressor from the attacked is cowardly and no service to peace.

"Reports in the Western Press such as *The Daily Telegraph*, *Time* and *Tide* and the *Evening Standard* indicate that the United States contrived the attack on Pakistan through the Central Intelligence Agency. The policy of containing China militarily included, apparently, destroying Ayub Khan's Government, as a warning to others. The integration of Kashmir into India would enable the United States to extend its military encirclement of China. It is clear that the Indian army could not have moved without American approval. In effect, by cutting off arms after the fighting, the West has helped India. Decisively, China's actions on the Indian border cannot be understood without



reference to these facts. It is not enough merely to call out the word peace over and over again. The underlying issues have to be examined without fear. The Government of Pakistan is quite right to insist that a cease-fire should be combined with a political solution to the Kashmiri question.

"It is essential that this fighting should result in a permanent solution and not a festering sore for a further 17 years. Unless there is such a solution it is inevitable that a great war in Asia will take place. A plebiscite in Kashmir allowing the choice between alignment with India or Pakistan or autonomy guaranteed by the United Nations should be offered to the Kashmiris in conjunction with the cease-fire.

If people really wish peace on the Sino-Indian boundary, they will further ask India to participate in direct negotiations with China for a final delineation of the boundary shared by the two countries. India's refusal to accept direct negotiations of the Sino-Indian boundary is also completely insupportable. The West has a large responsibility for the tragic blood-letting in impoverished countries. Failing to assess the responsibility will not bring peace but only perpetuate the crisis.

*Rawalpindi, Nov. 16.* Prof. Arnold

Toynbee, world-renowned historian, has expressed the opinion that Kashmir should form a part of Pakistan.

Mr. Toynbee says: "I think that a country's political destiny ought to be decided in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the local population. The great majority of Kashmiris are Muslims and I believe that if the people of Kashmir were given the opportunity to have a plebiscite there would be a decisive majority in favour of union with Pakistan."

*Karachi, Nov. 28.* The leader of the six-member British Parliamentary delegation, Mr. George Jeger, has stressed the necessity of a peaceful political settlement of the Kashmir dispute to restore normal conditions in the sub-continent.

A peaceful solution could be achieved through "unconditional negotiations" between the two parties, but success would be possible only when both the sides had "a sincere desire to live like friends of each other," he said.

Referring to the gravity of the Indo-Pakistan conflict, he said that a large-scale war between the two countries would be the biggest tragedy for Britain, and added that nothing could be more distressing than a serious conflict between the two Commonwealth members.



# 28

## EUROPE AND THE INDO-PAK WAR

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Almost all the European countries reacted promptly to the recent war between Pakistan and India. A casual look to these reactions helps understanding the issue in a better and broader context.



*New Delhi, Aug. 28.* Mr. Kirill Mazurov, First Deputy Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, has said, "We are for a peaceful settlement of Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan."

Asked by an Indian correspondent about his assessment of the Kashmir situation, Mr. Mazurov said, "the Soviet position has been made clear in the *Pravda* editorial."

This shows a significant change in the Russian attitude toward's Pakistan on Kashmir and other issues, after President Ayub's visit to USSR this year. The Indian leaders did their level best to give a twisted version of current developments in Kashmir to Mr. Mazurov, during their talks with him but they failed to convince him and get any support this time.

*September 1.* The Ceylon Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, who was asked to brand the aggressor in Kashmir discreetly declined the requests.

According to an Indian newspaper report, M. R. G. Senanyake, a cousin of the Prime Minister, demanded during a debate on foreign policy that Ceylon should have protested against the imprisonment of Shaikh Abdullah. His contention was that Sh. Abdullah was a foreign national who had been invited to visit India for talks and was then arrested. He said that for the sake of friendship with "Pakistan and Kashmir, Ceylon should protest against Sh. Abdullah's arrest."

Another member, Mr. Felix Dias

Bandaranaike, a former Minister, demanded of the Prime Minister to name the aggressor in Kashmir, stated that Sh. Abdullah was placed in custody because he had gone abroad. The member belongs to Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

The Prime Minister, however, told the House: "Pakistan says it has nothing to do with the happenings in Kashmir. India says Pakistan is sending troops across her borders. I cannot go about blindly naming countries as aggressors."

*Karachi, Sept. 7.* The Brazilian Charge d'Affaires in Pakistan, Mr. Paulo Valladares, has cancelled their reception he was to give here this evening to celebrate the 43rd independence anniversary of Brazil.

The action, announcement by the diplomat said, is "in complete solidarity with the Pakistani people at the hour."

*Paris, Sept. 10.* President Charles de Gaulle deplored the conflict between India and Pakistan and said he hoped that the United Nations Secretary-General would succeed in his efforts to obtain a cease-fire on the spot.

He hoped that U Thant would obtain a cease-fire, which "is only a provisional solution of the problem."

As for a definite settlement, he said he would comment more fully later.



*Manila, Sept. 19.* The Philippines supposed any UN move which included a permanent solution of the Kashmir problem besides a cease-fire in the Indo-Pakistan was an immediate withdrawal of troops.

Explaining the "permanent solution," Mr. Mendez the Foreign Secretary said it means the plebiscite ratified in previously-enunciated UN resolutions since the Kashmir conflict erupted 17 years ago."

*Rawalpindi, Sept. 19.* Mrs. Bandaranaike, former *President* of Ceylon and leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, has denounced India for her open attack of Pakistan.

She said that "India is an out-and-out aggressor in this war," and that the United Nations "is a tool of the U.S. imperialism."

*United Nations, Oct. 12.* The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Franco Nogueira contended that Kashmir "rightfully belongs to Pakistan" and warned that "other steps will follow if Indian imperialism is not checked in time."

Dr. Nogueira also complained that political issue in the United Nations has usurped the position that should be reserved for economic, social and other non-political issues.

Dr. Nogueira added that Portugal had been "a very special target, and a victim of such disruptive behaviour."

On the India-Pakistan question Dr. Nogueira said, Portugal had "direct experience of Indian aggression".

"The grab of Goa, against the will of its population and carried out through military aggression, was just a first step," he said. Indian aggression against Pakistan is just another example which should be taken by this

organisation (U.N.) as a further lesson."

The "grab of Goa" referred to India's take-over by force of the tiny Portuguese enclave on the west coast of the sub-continent in 1961.

The Foreign Minister said, "Apart from invading Pakistan territory which is not under dispute, the Indian Government also invaded that part of Kashmir which is administered by its legal owner."

He added that Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Indian Prime Minister, "has categorically stated that his Government would never allow any international force to be sent to Kashmir to supervise and insure the cease-fire because India would never tolerate foreign soldiers on Indian soil."

*Rio De Janeiro, Oct. 27.* The present conflict between India and Pakistan will take a serious turn unless the Kashmir problem is solved, said Dr. Theophilo de Andrade, a prominent Member of the Brazilian Parliament and a renowned journalist, in an article published in Brazil's top ranking magazine *O Cruzeiro*.

He said: "India has so far ignored the directions of the United Nations for the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir. Though India has gained her own independence on the basis of the principle of self-determination she is not willing to concede this principle to others."

Continuing, Dr. Andrade said: "To restore peace in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, it is imperative that the people of Kashmir should be allowed to freely decide their own future in accordance with the internationally recognised principle of self-determination."



## INDIA ON DIPLOMATIC FRONT

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This chapter contains many important and interesting facts. Though short, it has substance.



*Karachi, Oct. 13.* Pakistan today demanded an immediate and unqualified apology from India for the indignities and outrages perpetrated by the Indian authorities against the members and premises of the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi last month.

The following is the text of Pakistan's Note:

It has now transpired that the unfounded Indian protest was a sinister attempt to cover up the indignities and outrages perpetrated by the Indian authorities against the members and the premises of the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi in gross contempt of the norms of diplomatic behaviour expected from civilised nations. According to reports received the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi was subjected repeatedly to excess by the local police authorities who continuously harassed the High Commission.

In utter disregard of established convention and international usage, the High Commissioner for Pakistan was, by a verbal order, confined to his house in the first week of September. The Indian authorities offered to allow him to move only to his office and that too if Indian armed guards could sit with him in his car.

As the High Commissioner, in his capacity of the representative of the sovereign State of Pakistan, could not tolerate such disrespect nor suffer this infringement of inviolability, he decided not to move out of his house

at all and was thus virtually reduced to the status of a prisoner.

Since his telephone lines had been cut he was not in a position to get in touch with his office or to discharge any other duties.

The local servants of the High Commissioner, who came from outside, were harassed, intimidated and finally chased away by the police. The servants who lived within the residence of the High Commissioner were denied exit. This resulted in extreme hardship to the inmates including the granddaughter of the High Commissioner, aged 2½ years, who had to go without milk for one whole day. The guards posted outside the residence of the High Commissioner did not have even the courtesy or the kindness to allow someone to go across the road to fetch a bottle of milk.

All Pakistani officers and the members of the staff were ordered, at a short notice, to move into the Pakistan High Commission. When this was done it was discovered that more than 700 people were lodged within the precincts of the Pakistan High Commission, which instead of being an office had now to be transformed into a concentration camp.

The electric current, including power supply, was denied to the residence of High Commissioner and the Pakistan High Commission which were plunged into darkness every evening. The High Commissioner, his family and the others spent several sultry summer nights in sleeplessness.



In flagrant violation of the universally recognised principle of inviolability of diplomatic premises, the Indian armed police, on September 14, took possession of, and locked, the main and side entrances of the Pakistan High Commission. The entrances were further barred and obstructed by stationing cars or placing heavy boulders in front of them.

The residences of the Pakistani diplomatic officers in New Delhi were similarly violated a number of times. On September 13, the Military Adviser of the Pakistan High Commission was ordered by a Sub-Inspector of Police not to move out of his residence as he was under house arrest. The armed police guards thereupon entered the house of the Military Adviser and stationed themselves within the premises.

Similarly, a forcible entry was made into the residence of the Naval Adviser by the armed police. The police, claiming to act under the order of DIG, locked the side and back entrance of the house. Similar violation was committed against the residence of the junior officers of the Pakistan High Commission.

The police guards ostensibly provided for the protection of the Pakistan officers and staff were a continuous source of deliberate harassment. They did not allow any contact with the outside world, nor did they permit the Pakistani officers to meet one another. The Indian police guards physically chased away delivery men who came to supply essential provisions to some 700 odd people confined within the Pakistan High Commission.

The excesses committed by the Indian authorities against the officers and staff of the Pakistan High Commis-

sion reached a new peak when essential maintenance and sanitary staff, such as sweepers and scavengers, were not allowed to perform their duties. The whole area congested with 700 and more people faced a serious health hazard. The hardships caused to the inmates cannot be imagined.

The Pakistan High Commission was denied medical facilities. A serious case of diphtheria had to be rushed to the hospital but it was delayed for about one-and-a-half hours by the armed police stationed outside the chancery. On numerous occasions the Medical Officer attached to the High Commission attempted to go out for the purchase of essential medicines, but he was denied exit by the armed police who maintained that all the residents were under house arrest.

The police authorities kept intimidating and harassing the members of the High Commission. The police often used abusive, filthy and uncivilised language.

The above is but a sketchy recital of the treatment meted out to the officers and staff of the Pakistan High Commission by the Indian authorities in persistent and flagrant violation of international law and diplomatic usage as practised amongst civilised nations.

The Government of India has shown a callous disregard for diplomatic proprieties and its obligations under international law. It would be recalled that by the account of the Government of India itself that country was not at war with Pakistan and, therefore, the personnel and premises of the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi should have been given complete and unhindered diplomatic privileges and facilities. It is also inconceivable that



these excesses could have been committed without the knowledge or connivance of the Government of India.

The Government of Pakistan, therefore, holds the Government of India completely responsible for these shocking outrages against well-established rights and privileges and demands an immediate and unqualified apology from the Government of India with assurances that such excesses will not be repeated. The Government of Pakistan reserves the right to revert to this subject when more details are available.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 21.* Pakistan has lodged a strong protest with India against the inhuman treatment meted out to five Pakistani correspondents stationed in New Delhi, it was officially announced here today.

The Note said Mr. Asif Jilani, accredited Correspondent of *Jang*, Pakistani daily, was illegally arrested on 8th September at 4-30 p.m. Two plain clothesmen forcibly took him away from his flat without producing any document or warrant of arrest. Mr. Jilani was taken to the Foreigners Registration Office, where a detention order was served on him. The order, 'inter alia' said, 'The manner of your detention and confinement at Central Jail, Tihar, shall not be more rigorous than the manner in which an arrested person is detained or confined while in police custody under the provisions of Criminal Procedure Code.'

Mr. Jilani who had been suddenly pounced upon in his flat by two plain clothesmen was obliged to leave behind his wife and child in a state of shock. Despite his repeated pleas, Mr. Jilani was not allowed even to telephone his

wife to inform her of his detention.

Mr. Jilani was taken on September 8 to Central Jail, Tihar, where he was lodged in a punishment cell in solitary confinement until September 16. He was served no food. When food was produced for the first time at 9-00 a.m. on September 9, 1965, Mr. Jilani refused to take it on the ground that he was treated worse than a confirmed criminal: and he demanded to be produced before the Superintendent. The Chief Head Warden, instead of taking steps to redress his legitimate grievances, charged Mr. Jilani with inciting others not to take food and sent him back to his solitary cell. He was threatened with worse treatment if he continued to decline to take food. Later, he was allowed to go out of the cell for an hour each in the morning and in the evening.

For the first time on 15th September, Mr. Jilani was able to see the Superintendent of the Jail during his usual round. The next day he was shifted to the quarantine where DIR prisoners were lodged. There were six prisoners to a cell without blankets or durries. On September 17, he was shifted to a barrack in another ward where over 70 Pakistanis were herded in 12 cells. On September 19, the Warden of Quarantine asked Mr. Jilani to move to another ward to stay with B-class convicts. Mr. Jilani declined on the ground that he was not a convict and would not share accommodation with convicts. He was, however, forced to move out but no ration was provided to him. Some convicts in the ward offered to share food with him. For two days Mr. Jilani had no bed or roof over him. It was not until September 21 that Mr. Jilani started receiving his rations



in the B-class ward. But other admissible items such as toilet requisites, to which B-class detainees are entitled, were not provided. Mr. Jilani brought these facts to the notice of the Superintendent of the Jail, who came on an inspection visit on September 28. The Superintendent told him that he was not a detenué but an under trial prisoner. On September 30, however, he was refused permission to meet his relatives on the ground that he was a detenué under DIR and was not, therefore, entitled to interviews except at intervals of 15 days.

It would be seen that Mr. Jilani, an accredited correspondent and a journalist of standing, was subjected to treatment amounting to torture. Mr. Jilani was by no means the only Pakistani correspondent to suffer at the hands of Indians authorities. Four other accredited Pakistan correspondents, resident in Delhi, had the harrowing experience of having their houses forcibly opened and ransacked in their absence. The police broke open all cupboards and boxes, searched every conceivable item in the houses occupied by them and left behind a trail of chaos and confusion. The servants staying on the premises were subjected to prolonged intimidation and interrogation: and the belongings which can still be seen scattered about in a complete state of disarray, are a testimony of the behaviour of the Indian police.

The High Commission of Pakistan in taking note of the deplorable treatment meted out to the distinguished members of the journalistic profession in Pakistan, lodges a strong protest with the Government of India and reserves the right to demand suitable compensation as soon as the extent of

damages has been determined.

*Rawalpindi, Oct. 27.* Pakistan High Commissioner in India, Mian Arshad Husain, was not allowed to see any of the camps where the Indian Government had interned Pakistani nationals after they attacked Pakistan on September 6.

Disclosing this, the High Commissioner told PPA here today that despite his repeated requests the Indian authorities failed to reciprocate inspection of the internment camps.

He said, as mutually agreed, the authorities in Pakistan allowed the Indian High Commissioner to visit one of the internment camps: to see for himself how the Indians were being treated.

Mian Arshad Husain, who returned here from India today, said, according to reports he received the Pakistani nationals were treated most shabbily by the Indian Government and were subjected to various hardships.

"It was a trying time for us all. But I am happy to note that the staff of the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi faced it with courage and determination, without mentioning the innumerable restrictions and difficulties imposed on them.

"It was really a hard time. Several hundred people were forced to live in one building, which was deprived of all amenities. They lived in office rooms and other available space but never complained of any difficulty. On the contrary, they were cheerful and extended me full co-operation. In fact, it was their spirit and high morale that inspired me a lot.

"There was an awkward moment. Our children were deprived of milk for 24 hours. When the milk was



supplied to us after 24 hours, it was much below our demand. We got 90 bottles against the actual demand of 450 a day.

"But our children responded to the situation so courageously, which was so commendable."

Asked to comment on the Indian allegation that the electric supply to the High Commission was cut off because they violated the blackout restrictions, Mr. Arshad Hussain said: "It is totally wrong."

Mian Arshad said that the Pakistan High Commission people fully observed the blackout rules

Actually, he said, we started to observe the blackout rules after hearing the All-India Radio.

The High Commissioner paid glowing tribute to the armed forces for their heroic deeds against the invaders, "their determination, valour and achievements put in new hearts in us," he added.

Replying to a question, Mian Arshad Husain said that he had received a reply from the Indian Foreign Office denying the charges of inhuman treatment meted out to the Pakistani journalists in New Delhi.

He said that, according to his information, Mr. H. Asif Jilani of the *Jang*, before his release was forced to sign a statement which said "I am well." The statement never mentioned anything how he was treated during the period of his internment.

### WOMEN AND CHILDREN AT DEOLI CAMP

The following is the text of the note of the Pakistani High Commissioner handed over to the Indian Foreign Ministry on November 5 :

"The High Commission for Pakistan in India presents its compliments to the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, and with reference to Mr. A. K. Dar's D.O. letter No. 76-JS/Pak'65 dated November 1, 1965, permitting the Acting High Commissioner to visit Deoli internment camp, has the honour to state as follows :

"The High Commissioner of India in Pakistan visited the internment camp in Landhi on October 24, 1965, while the Acting High Commissioner of Pakistan was allowed corresponding facilities nine days after the High Commissioner of India had actually visited the internment camp in Pakistan.

"At the time of the Acting High Commissioner's visit to Deoli, there were 68 Pakistani women and 107 children interned in the camp. Out of a total of 454 Pakistanis in the camp, 175 were women and children. This is in sharp contrast with the practice followed in Pakistan where no women and children are interned. The Government of India have, in total disregard of the principle of reciprocity, chosen to intern Pakistani women and children.

"The internment camp at Deoli comprises numerous barbed cages in which the Pakistani internees are accommodated in barracks. The average size of the room in the barracks is about 20' x 40'. In each room 35 internees are cooped up.

"The Pakistani internees were apparently not informed of the impending visit by the Acting High Commissioner of Pakistan. They took him as a visiting Indian dignitary who was greeted by Pakistani Muslim internees in the characteristic Hindu style by folding



their hands. This provides some indication of the extent to which their individual character and culture had been stamped out in conditions of complete isolation and demoralisation. It was only after the Acting High Commissioner announced that he was a representative of Pakistan and had greeted them with the traditional Muslim salutation that the internees came out with their tales of woe. The touching scenes that followed would have rent anyone's heart.

"A batch of about 232 persons—men, women and children—were detained at Barmer on September 6, 1965, while on their way back to Pakistan by train, all of them herded together in the Customs shed at the railway station where they stayed for a whole week before being brought to Udaipur jail. Their passports were taken away, their cash and jewellery snatched and they were kept in a room for six days without any food. Not even drinking water was provided to them. All that they were given was undrinkable blackish water. They were lodged in Udaipur jail along with other criminals and were treated as such. In this group, there were 32 Pakistani Hindus and two Pakistani Christians. On arrival in Udaipur jail, the Hindus and Christians were separated and released from detention while the Muslims stayed in the Jail for about a month and a half when they were removed to Deoli camp.

"The Acting High Commissioner met a group of 21 women and children, who had been brought from the Sialkot sector under occupation of the Indian armed forces. All these people belong to village Mastpura in Sialkot District and were taken into custody on 10th

September, 1965. After suffering innumerable hardships in a camp at Samba (Jammu) they were brought to Ambala and thence to Meerut Cantt, where the women were separated from their menfolk on the pretext that they were being taken for medical inspection. They never met their men again. This is a flagrant violation of article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, 1949, which forbids transfers, as well as deportations from occupied territory to the territory of the occupying Power regardless of any motive, and yet the Government of India thought fit to intern. This group, among others, has an old blind woman named Begum Bibi, who is over 80 years of age, and two orphan children of one year and three years, respectively. The women who were brought from their village in Sialkot sector to India and who were separated from their menfolk on false pretences bore eloquent testimony to the illegal and inhuman approach followed in interning helpless women and children and adding to their misery by deliberately separating them from their men. The names of some of the men who belong to this group and whose whereabouts were not known to the women are: Fazal Husain Bhatti, Bashir Ahmad Bhatti and Nabi Ahmad Bhatti of village Mastpura, district Sialkot. The total number of men is about 15. All their names were not taken down but the Government of Pakistan expects that at the time of exchange of internees all divided families would be reunited before exchange takes place and the missing men and women are produced.

"Article 99 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, 1946, to which India is a signatory, lays down that inmates of



internment camps should be clearly informed of their rights and obligations under the Convention which should be prominently displayed for the benefit of the internees. No such arrangement existed in the internment camp at Deoli where the Pakistani internees were kept completely ignorant of their rights and obligations.

"They were not aware of their entitlement in respect of food. Although a certain scale was laid down on paper in an order maintained in the office of the Commandant, the actual rations provided to the kitchen, the Acting High Commissioner noticed that 5 kilograms of cauliflower and 5 kilograms of egg-plant had been provided for the requirements of about 175 persons. On paper each person was entitled to 5 ozs. of vegetables and 1/4 oz. of cooking oil. At this rate they should have been provided with 25 kilograms of vegetables instead of 10 kilograms. The food which the Acting High Commissioner saw being cooked in the kitchen was unfit for human consumption.

"The internees who have never cooked in their life were made to cook for themselves with the result that the food they produced was barely adequate to keep their body and soul together. This is a complete violation of article 89 of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 which lays down that food should be adequate in quantity and quality to ensure good health and nutrition. Even though article 81 clearly lays down that expectant and nursing mothers and children under 15 years of age shall be given food in proportion to their physical needs, no such provision existed in the internment camp where everybody was being ill-treated alike.

"Article 94 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, 1949, *inter alia*, makes it mandatory that the education of children and young people shall be ensured, they shall be allowed to attend schools either within the place of internment or outside. There were 107 children in the camp, a number of students of primary, secondary and high classes, but there were no arrangements whatever for schooling or games and recreation appropriate to children of varying ages. Some old Hindi magazines were noticed in a reading room. The Commandant informed that English and Urdu magazines were not available for the internees. No newspapers were seen. There were no arrangements for any indoor games either. The only arrangement for games was a volleyball net in each wing for adults.

"Article 91 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, 1949, lays down certain mandatory provisions for the care of internees suffering from serious diseases. In complete disregard of such provisions a T. B. patient was noticed living in a barrack along with others. He was spitting blood and was apparently in an advanced stage of the disease. This should not have been difficult to detect. It was only after some persuasion by the Acting High Commissioner that the camp authorities agreed to send him to the hospital. On paying a visit to the hospital, the Acting High Commissioner noticed that the two T.B. patients in the ward were being given ordinary diet which in any case was not suitable even for healthy men.

"In complete disregard of article 107 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, 1949, internees were not allowed to send and receive letters and cards.



Although the Commandant informed the Acting High Commissioner that the internees were permitted to write a postcard per week to their relatives, individual enquiries from a large number of persons revealed that a vast majority of them had not in fact received this facility. Even if the statement of the Commandant is accepted, the facility provided falls far short of the provisions in article 107 which lays down that internees should be provided with facilities to write two letters and four postcards per month. Not a single internee made a statement that he had received news from relatives.

"Almost every internee bitterly complained the humiliating treatment meted out before reaching the internment camp. The majority of them had been arbitrarily arrested at their places of residence and brutally treated by the police in flagrant violation of articles 31 and 32 of the Geneva Convention. In some cases torturous methods were employed for interrogation and eliciting information. During their confinement in various jails they were treated like criminals, in a few cases men were arrested while their families were left behind. The internees were a large number of cases were not aware of the whereabouts of their families. There in the camp where family members, in complete disregard of article 32 of Geneva Convention, 1949, which forbids separation of families, were separated from each other and were completely ignorant of their whereabouts. Such wilful withholding of information had added greatly to their misery and had aggravated their state of depression.

"In gross violation of article 63 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, 1949,

Azaan had been forbidden in the camp and internees were not permitted to congregate for prayers. The inmates of one cage are not even allowed to visit the other cage.

"In flagrant violation of article 27 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, 1949, the internees, both men and women, on arrival at the camp were completely stripped and searched by the camp staff. Each one of them was subjected to a most humiliating search. The only small mercy shown in this woeful episode was the fact that female internees were humiliated by the female staff.

"The Acting High Commissioner witnessed heart-rending scenes and was deeply distressed at the appalling evidence of inhuman treatment meted out to innocent men, women and children who for no fault of theirs happened to be in India at the time the Government of India decided to launch a treacherous attack on Pakistan on September 6, 1965. The internees disclosed that they had been warned before the visit to refrain from ventilating their grievances to an inspecting officer against the inhuman treatment being meted out to them at pain of being confined to 'black cells.' Their pain was, however, so poignant and their sorrow so deep that they could not help burst into tears as soon as they came to know that they were confronted with a representative of Pakistan.

"The High Commission of Pakistan in bringing some of the instances to the notice of the Government of India lodges a strong protest against large-scale serious violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, and demands that in conformity with the principle of reciprocity so overwhelm-



ingly emphasised by the Government of India, all Pakistani women and children in all internment camps in India should be immediately set at liberty and arrangements should be made to ensure that in the case of male internees due regard is paid to the Geneva Convention of 1949 to which India is a signatory and that necessary instructions are issued that they should not be treated like criminals and exposed to avoidable suffering, privation and humiliation.

"After having had an opportunity of visiting only one internment camp in India the High Commission of Pakistan is now better able to understand why the Government of India has all along hesitated in providing information regarding the location of camps and the total number of Pak nationals interned in them. The High Commission was surprised to find from newspapers that the Ministry of External Affairs had rushed to the Press on November 4, 1965, with statement about conditions in the Deoli camp, attributed to the Acting High Commissioner, which he did not make to any one at any stage. This was obviously a clumsy attempt to cover up the grievous excesses committed."

## HARASMENT OF DIPLOMATIC STAFF

The following is the text of the protest Notes and the "aide memoire."

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the High Commission of India in Pakistan and has the honour to state that the Government of Pakistan have received disturbing news of increasingly aggressive surveillance and provocative pursuit by the Indian police to harass the

officers and staff of the Pakistan High Commission in India and to inflict insults and indignities on them.

1. On October 29, 1965, when Mr. A. H. Pracha, Second Secretary in Pakistan High Commission, accompanied by his wife, drove out of the Chancery gate they were followed by an Indian police car No. DLF 7685 (Ambassador make). The police car followed Mr. Pracha to India Gate and later to Green Park, where Mrs. Pracha had to give her clothes to the dry cleaners. The car all along followed at a distance of only a few feet thereby increasing the danger of an accident. Returning from the dry cleaners, Mr. Pracha found the car No. DLF 7685 parked in the middle of a road thus blocking the street. The driver of the police car refused to move his vehicle and Mr. Pracha had no choice but to reverse. A little further down the road at a crossing where Mr. Pracha had to turn right the police car again blocked his passage. It was only after repeated requests from Mr. Pracha that the driver of the police car reversed his vehicle and gave a way. Subsequently the car followed Mr. Pracha wherever he went and when Mr. and Mrs. Pracha got out to do some shopping one of the occupants of the car followed them on foot.

2. Since October 27, 1965, a black car No. DLF 1459, with three persons in it has been constantly following Mr. S. A. Rahman, Second Secretary in Pakistan High Commission, from his residence No. 22, Greater Kailash, to the Chancery and back and after office hours wherever Mr. Rahman and his family go. As in the case of Mr. A. H. Pracha, the car follows Mr. Rahman's car bumper to bumper and conti-



uously blows its horn.

3. On November 1 at 9-45 a.m. when an office orderly Mohammad Ghazanfar Khan was on duty near the main gate of the Chancery at Chanakya-puri an Indian police car No. DLI 1459 (Ambassador, colour black) drove upto the gate from the south. In the car there were five persons including the driver who shouted the most filthy abuses which are unquotable at the office orderly almost in a chorus and drove away.

4. On October 31, 1965, while Mr. A. H. Pracha, Second Secretary (Commercial), was going from the Chancery to the residence of the Press Attache of the High Commission at 5-15 p.m., the Indian police car No. DLD 9523 (Dodge), followed him all the way bumper to bumper and blew the horn in a deliberate attempt to provoke an accident. Again on November 1, 1965, at 5-30 p.m. while Mr. A. H. Pracha was going from the Chancery to the residence of the acting High Commissioner in Friends Colony, another police car No. DLD 7685 followed him to the Friends Colony. Thereafter, Mr. Pracha proceeded to the INA market where the car followed him, when Mr. and Mrs. Pracha got down from the car and went to the market to make purchases, the occupants of the above-mentioned car got down from the car and followed them on foot inside the market.

5. Since the first week of November, 1965, Mr. I. A. K. Lodhi, Attache of Pakistan High Commission, was being followed mostly by the Indian police car No. DLI 2342 and twice by the car No. DLD 7683. The Indian police car No. DLI 2342 actually remains parked near the residence of

Mr. I. A. K. Lodhi at D, 255, Defence Colony, and follows Mr. Lodhi whenever he goes out. The police car had been following Mr. Lodhi's car bumper to bumper and tried several times to provoke an accident. Moreover, when Mr. Lodhi and his wife go out for a walk in the evening a plain clothes-man always follows them on foot or on bicycle.

6. On November 2 at 5-15 p.m. when Mr. Pracha, Second Secretary of the Pakistan High Commission, left the Chancery for going to the residence of the Air Adviser, in South extension, an Indian police car No. DLI 1459 followed him. The car remained parked outside the Air Adviser's house until 9 p.m. Later, when Mr. and Mrs. Pracha went to see a film in the town the car followed them and one of the occupants actually sat next to them in the cinema hall during the show. The car followed them back to the Air Adviser's house after the film was over. On November 3, Mr. Pracha was again followed by the Indian police car No. DLF 7685 when he went from the Chancery to the residence of Commander M. Yusuf, Naval Adviser of the High Commission and from there to the residence of Wing Commander Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Air Adviser.

7. On November 4, 1965 at about 8-30 p.m. Mr. I. A. K. Lodi, Attache, Pakistan High Commission, residing at 255, Defence Colony, came to the gate of his house along with his family to see of Mr. Mohammad Arshad, First Secretary, of the High Commission, who has been visiting them. After the departure of the guest a black Dodge car suddenly reversed, almost knocking over Mr. Lodhi and his family and



prepared to follow Mr. Arshad's car. A man sitting in the front seat of the car came out and asked Mr. Lodhi who was still standing at the gate, "What are you looking for?" When Mr. Lodhi replied that he was looking for nothing, the man asked whether he was noting the car number. To this Mr. Lodhi also replied in the negative. Meanwhile the driver who had also come out of the car abused Mr. Lodhi. The car then drove away.

8. On November 5, 1965, at about 8-00 p.m., the High Commission's car No. CD-809 arrived at the residence of Mr. S. A. Rahman, Second Secretary of Pakistan High Commission (residing at No. 22 Greater Kailash). While the car was being reversed into the house, a man came out of the police car No. 6983 (black Dodge) which was parked about 10 yards away, opened the door of the High Commission's car and shouted at Mr. Fateh Khan, an official of High Commission who was sitting in the car, and asked him to switch off the headlights. When Mr. Fateh replied that the car had not yet been parked and the headlights were required for reversing, the police official again shouted and threatened Mr. Fateh Khan. He was about to pull Mr. Fateh Khan out of the car when Mr. Rahman intervened and asked him to behave.

At this the police official, while still shouting and threatening, banged the door of the car injuring Mr. Rahman's finger. After a short while, when the officer car left the residence of Mr. Rahman, the police car followed it and stopped the car near the residence of Mr. Ahmad A. Kamal, Second Secretary of Pakistan High Commission, (Kailash). At this stage the police officials dragged Mr. Fateh Khan out

of the car abusing him all the while and tried to beat him.

Mr. Rahman who had by then also arrived at Mr. Kamal's house intervened and asked the police officials to behave. The latter, however, again started abusing and shouting at Mr. Fateh Khan, saying that they had instructions to behave like this. Before leaving, the police officials threatened to crush Mr. Fateh Khan under their car whenever they had an opportunity to do so. Thereafter, the police car returned to Mr. Rahman's house where it remained parked all night.

The Government of Pakistan takes a very serious view of aggressive manner in which the Indian police authorities are subjecting the members of the High Commission to humiliating harassment which contrasts sharply with the proper and courteous treatment being extended in Pakistan. In spite of repeated protests by the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi to the Indian Government, the police have been continuing their crude, clumsy surveillance of the officials of the Pakistan High Commission in highly objectionable ways including tapping of telephones, posting of police cars and plain clothesmen in front of the Chancery and the residence of officers, including the High Commissioner and shadowing them. The Government of Pakistan must assume that these excesses have been deliberately conducted with the knowledge or connivance of the Government of India. In this connection the Government of Pakistan must regret the unhelpful and indeed aggressive statements made by some high officials of the Indian Government, when these problems have been placed before them for redress. The Government of



Pakistan once again emphasises that serious consequences can follow if the Indian police authorities persist in inflicting such humiliating harassment and indignities on the officials of the Pakistan High Commission in India.

The Ministry avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the High Commission the assurances of its highest consideration.

Protest Note dealing with the incidents of harassment in respect of the staff of the Pakistan Deputy High Commission in Calcutta:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the High Commission of India in Pakistan and has the honour to state that according to information now received the Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner in Calcutta and his staff and their family members have been treated by authorities in West Bengal in a manner entirely contrary to diplomatic practice and the norms of international behaviour. These breaches have been protested by the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi.

(i) In violation of diplomatic immunity eight armed guards were put up in Deputy High Commissioner's residence and armed police escorts sat beside officers and wives in the same car.

(ii) On September 12, 1965, at

8-30 p.m., the Calcutta Police sealed the gates of the Visa Office. The forcible seizure of part of a diplomatic mission and its sealing is a grave violation of the principle of inviolability of diplomatic missions. The Visa Office was not opened till November 2 in spite of repeated requests. This has already been referred to earlier.

(iii) An official's wife, who was expecting, was discharged from the Karrani Hospital in complete disregard of her condition.

(iv) Telephones remained cut off even after cease-fire.

(v) Mission's accounts remained frozen.

(vi) Money orders for consular fees were not delivered.

The Government of Pakistan must lodge an emphatic protest with the Government of India for this uncivilised treatment meted out to the staff of Deputy High Commissioner Calcutta, for wilful seizure and sealing of Visa Office. The Government of Pakistan hopes that remedial measures have been now taken and requests a confirmation thereof and an apology for the callous disregard of normal behaviour towards a Diplomatic Mission.

The Ministry avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the High Commission the assurances of its highest consideration.