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Departure Statement for Prime Minister Bhutto 6/6/89 [OA 6264]

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REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT
PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO
THE ROSE GARDEN
TUESDAY, JUNE 6, 1989
11:30 A.M.

Christina

IT WAS A SPECIAL PLEASURE FOR BARBARA AND ME TO
WELCOME PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO TO THE WHITE HOUSE THIS
MORNING.

- 2 -

IN FACT, OUR RELATIONSHIP GOES BACK TO 1971 WHEN
SHE ATTENDED HARVARD AND ACCOMPANIED HER FATHER TO THE
UNITED NATIONS. AND I HAVE OFTEN REMARKED THAT HER
FATHER'S 1971 APPEAL WAS ONE OF THE MOST MOVING
SPEECHES I HEARD AT THE UN. MORE RECENTLY, WE MET IN
TOKYO LAST FEBRUARY, WHERE I BELIEVE WE WERE THE MOST
NEWLY ELECTED HEADS OF GOVERNMENT.

- 3 -

PAKISTAN AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE ENJOYED A LONG HISTORY OF GOOD RELATIONS -- FRIENDS SINCE THE TIME PAKISTAN BECAME AN INDEPENDENT NATION. AND I WELCOMED THIS OPPORTUNITY TO REAFFIRM THOSE TIES AND TO REASSURE THE PRIME MINISTER OF OUR CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO ASSIST IN PAKISTAN'S SECURITY, AND IT'S ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.

- 4 -

PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO KNOWS OUR COUNTRY WELL AND HAS MANY FRIENDS HERE. ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, I CONGRATULATED HER ON PAKISTAN'S HISTORIC RETURN TO DEMOCRACY LAST YEAR, A DEVELOPMENT OF WHICH THE PEOPLE OF PAKISTAN CAN BE TRULY PROUD.

WE DISCUSSED HOW IMPORTANT IT IS FOR ALL ELEMENTS OF PAKISTAN SOCIETY -- THE GOVERNMENT, ITS MILITARY AND CIVILIAN LEADERS, ITS POLITICAL PARTIES, AND ABOVE ALL, THE PAKISTANI PEOPLE -- TO INSURE THAT DEMOCRACY IS NOT JUST AN ABSTRACT CONCEPT, BUT THAT IT WORKS.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND I REVIEWED THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN. FOR THE LAST DECADE, THE UNITED STATES AND PAKISTAN COOPERATED IN SUPPORTING THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE IN ITS FIGHT AGAINST FOREIGN OCCUPATION.

PAKISTAN DESERVES GREAT CREDIT AND ADMIRATION FOR ITS EXTRAORDINARY HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS IN SUPPORT OF MILLIONS OF AFGHAN REFUGEES DURING THIS PERIOD.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR MUTUAL POLICY WAS PROVEN LAST FEBRUARY, WHEN THE LAST SOVIET TROOPS WITHDREW FROM AFGHANISTAN. WE AGREED THAT THE JOB IS NOT DONE, HOWEVER. THE MUJAHEDDIN CONTINUE THEIR STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION -- A GOAL BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND PAKISTAN CONTINUE TO SUPPORT.

- 7 -

PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO AND I DISCUSSED WAYS TO ENCOURAGE A POLITICAL SOLUTION IN AFGHANISTAN THAT WILL LEAD TO A NON-ALIGNED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT -- WILLING TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS -- TO REPLACE THE ILLEGITIMATE REGIME IN KABUL. THE UNITED STATES AND PAKISTAN WILL CONTINUE TO EXPLORE ANY SERIOUS AVENUE TOWARD THIS END.

- 8 -

THE PRIME MINISTER AND I ALSO REVIEWED OUR EFFORTS TO ENHANCE STABILITY IN SOUTH ASIA -- AN IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS. I EXPRESSED STRONG U.S. SUPPORT FOR EFFORTS BY PAKISTAN AND INDIA TO IMPROVE RELATIONS, AND STRESSED THE CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING A REGIONAL NUCLEAR ARMS RACE IN THE SUBCONTINENT. SHE ASSURED ME THAT PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM IS COMMITTED TO PEACEFUL PURPOSES.

I UNDERLINED MY ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT TO DISCOURAGE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS, AND BALLISTIC MISSILES IN THE SOUTH ASIA REGION AND AROUND THE WORLD.

WE ALSO SHARED OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE SCOURGE OF DRUG PRODUCTION AND TRAFFICKING. I APPLAUDED HER TOUGH STANCE ON ERADICATING OPIUM CULTIVATION, AND EXPRESSED OUR APPRECIATION FOR THE EXTRADITION OF ALLEGED DRUG TRAFFICKER MALIK SALEEM.

TO EFFECTIVELY COMBAT THIS MENACE, I ENCOURAGED THE PRIME MINISTER TO UNDERTAKE A VIGOROUS ENFORCEMENT CAMPAIGN, OFFERING U.S. ASSISTANCE IN THIS EFFORT.

LET ME SAY THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN PRODUCTIVE. AND LET ME NOTE, TOO, THAT THE ROSE GARDEN IS A PERFECT SETTING TO VISIT WITH PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO. FOR AS SHE HAS OBSERVED, ROSES HAVE A SPECIAL MEANING IN HER LIFE.

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*set,
plot as it is, overlooking the*

WHEN SHE WAS YOUNGER, HER FATHER WOULD BRING BACK ROSES EACH TIME HE TRAVELED ABROAD. AND IN TIME, HER FAMILY'S GARDENS BECAME FILLED WITH VARIETIES OF EVERY COLOR. DURING HER DETENTION, SHE STRUGGLED BRAVELY TO KEEP THE GARDENS ALIVE. FOR AS SHE HAS WRITTEN, "I [COULD NOT] BEAR TO WATCH THE FLOWERS WITHER, ESPECIALLY MY FATHER'S ROSES."

MADAME PRIME MINISTER, YOU HAVE DESCRIBED YOUR TIME AMONG THE ROSES AND THE COOL SHADE OF THE GARDENS AS "THE HAPPIEST HOURS OF MY LIFE." WELL, NOW, AS A GESTURE OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR PEOPLE AND TO CONTINUE YOUR FATHER'S TRADITION, IT IS MY PRIVILEGE TO PRESENT YOU WITH AN AMERICAN ROSEBUSH. MAY IT, AND YOU, PROSPER IN THE YEARS TO COME.

#

Kuchinsky, M.J.

De Priest, R.D.

recent memo
end of May (April)

violation for AA to
control passes

NSC did most of
fact checking because
of sensitive
issues

(McNally/Martin)

June 1, 1989, 2:30 p.m.

Draft Three (BHUTTO)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT
PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO
THE ROSE GARDEN
TUESDAY, JUNE 6, 1989
11:30 A.M.

When he came to Washington as Prime Minister in 1973, your father told of standing outside the White House during his student days in 1949. A man passed by and asked, "If you were an American, what would you like to be?" And you father pointed up here and said: "I would like to be inside that house!"

As America once welcomed her father and mother, it was a special pleasure for Barbara and me to welcome Prime Minister Bhutto to the White House this morning as my first official guest.

In fact, our relationship goes back to 1971 when she attended Harvard and accompanied her father to the United Nations. And I have often remarked that her father's 1971 appeal was one of the most compelling speeches I heard at the UN. More recently, we met in Tokyo last February, where I believe we were the most newly elected heads of government.

Pakistan and the United States have enjoyed a long history of good relations -- friends since the time Pakistan became an independent nation. And I welcomed this opportunity to reaffirm those ties and to reassure the Prime Minister of our continued commitment to assist in Pakistan's security, economic and

cultural development -- areas that contribute to Pakistan's democratic growth and stability.

Prime Minister Bhutto knows our country well and has many friends here. On behalf of the American people, I congratulated her on Pakistan's historic return to democracy last year, a development of which the people of Pakistan can be truly proud.

We discussed how important it is for all elements of Pakistan society -- the government, its military and civilian leaders, its political parties, and above all, the Pakistani people -- to insure that democracy is not just an abstract concept, but that it works.

The Prime Minister and I reviewed the situation in Afghanistan. For the last decade, the United States and Pakistan cooperated in supporting the Afghan resistance in its fight against foreign occupation -- and the illegitimate Kabul regime.

The effectiveness of our mutual policy was proven last February, when the last Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan. We agreed that the job is not done, however. The Mujaheddin continue their struggle for self-determination -- a goal both the United States and Pakistan continue to support. As your father told the U.N. at another of history's mileposts, "This is not the end of the road, this is the beginning of the road; this is not the end of the chapter, a new chapter has begun."

Prime Minister Bhutto and I discussed ways to encourage a political solution in Afghanistan that will lead to a non-aligned representative government -- willing to live in peace with its

neighbors -- to replace the illegitimate regime in Kabul. The United States and Pakistan will continue to explore any serious avenue toward this end.

The Prime Minister and I also reviewed our efforts to enhance stability in South Asia -- an important objective of both governments. I expressed strong U.S. support for efforts by Pakistan and India to improve relations, and stressed the importance of avoiding a nuclear arms race in the Subcontinent. She assured me that Pakistan's nuclear program is committed to the rapidly growing energy needs of her country. I underlined my Administration's commitment to discourage proliferation of nuclear and chemical weapons, and ballistic missiles.

We also shared our concern about the scourges of drug production and trafficking. I applauded her tough stance on eradicating opium cultivation, and expressed our appreciation for the extradition of alleged drug trafficker Malik Saleem.

To effectively combat this menace, I encouraged the Prime Minister to undertake a vigorous enforcement campaign against drugs produced in and transiting Pakistan, offering U.S. assistance in this effort.

In the economic and social fields, I commended Prime Minister Bhutto for her strong commitment to economic reform.

In conclusion, Madame Prime Minister, our discussions have made me keenly aware that you -- as the democratic leader of a great nation of over one hundred million people -- carry a heavy burden. As I reiterated to you throughout our meetings this

morning, you can rest assured that we will do all we can to help you with this burden.

You know, this is a particularly appropriate setting for us to visit with Prime Minister Bhutto and her husband. It's not just that her father used to bring home roses from around the world, roses that she tended while under house arrest. And it's not just that her successful campaign was accompanied by a flurry of rose petals from supporters.

But a few days before their wedding in 1987 -- while Pakistan was still under military rule --, an American writer asked Mr. Zardari if he knew what he was in for. "Yes, yes," he said with a smile, "No one is promising me a rose garden."

[[PAUSE]] Well, here you are.

Prime Minister Bhutto, on behalf of the American people, I applaud and encourage you and the people of Pakistan in your valiant efforts to move forward to promote democracy at home -- and peace and stability throughout South Asia. God bless you and the people of your homeland. And Godspeed you on your travels -- and in the challenges ahead.

#

REFLECTIONS FROM AL-MURTAZA:

My First Taste of Democracy

As my mother and I enter our second month of detention at Al-Murtaza, the gardens are dying. Before my father's imprisonment and death we had needed a staff of ten to maintain the large gardens and tend to the grounds. But since Al-Murtaza has been turned into a sub-jail for my mother and me, Zia's military regime has permitted only three gardeners to enter. I join the struggle to keep the gardens alive.

I cannot bear to watch the flowers wither, especially my father's roses. Every time he had traveled abroad, he'd brought back new and exotic varieties to plant in our garden—violet roses, tangerine roses, roses that didn't even look like roses but were so perfectly sculptured that they looked fashioned out of clay. His favorite was a blue rose called the "rose of peace." Now the rose bushes begin to shrivel and turn brown out of neglect.

Every morning in the lingering summer heat I'm in the garden by seven, helping the gardeners haul the heavy canvas hoses from one bed to the next. From the corners of the house the Frontier Forces watch me. It used to take the staff three days to water the garden. It takes us eight. By the time we reach the last rosebushes, the first have

already begun to wilt. I will them to survive, seeing in their struggle to live, denied adequate water and nourishment, my own struggle to survive denied freedom.

The happiest hours of my life have been spent among the roses and the cool shade of the fruit trees at Al-Murtaza. During the day the air carried the scent of the *Din ka Raja*, the King of the Day, the sweet white flowers which my mother, like many Pakistani women, used to weave into her hair. At sunset, the air filled with the scent of the *Raat ki Raani*, the Queen of the Night, which sweetened the evenings we spent as a family on the terrace.

More hoses. More water. I sweep the leaves from the patio, and rake the lawn until my arms ache. My palms become raw and blister. "Why are you doing this to yourself?" my mother asks in concern when I slump, exhausted, by midday. It is something to do, I tell her. But it is something more. If I work so hard that every bone in my body is tired, then I am too tired even to think. And I don't want to think of our lives wasting away under Martial Law.

I dig a new garden bed and plant rose cuttings, but they do not survive. My mother is more successful with her plantings of ladyfingers, chilis, and mint. In the evenings, I whistle to a pair of tamed cranes and am gratified when they rush toward me, wings flapping, to take a piece of bread. Calling an animal and having it come, planting something and having it grow, become essential. It is proof that I exist.

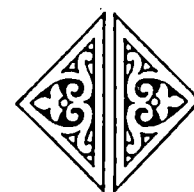
When I am not working in the garden, time becomes something merely to pass. I read and reread my grandfather's Earle Stanley Gardner books, though the electricity is often turned off, leaving my mother and me to spend the days and nights in darkness. There is a television set, but even when the electricity is working there's nothing to watch. In my father's time, there were plays, films, even soap operas on television, as well as talk shows and literacy programs to teach the people to read. When I turn on the television now, there is almost nothing but Zia, Zia giving another speech, discussions of Zia's speeches, censored news programs reporting whom Zia met with or what meetings he attended.

At 8:15 every night my mother and I tune in without fail to the BBC Urdu report on the radio. Only on the BBC do we learn in November that the American embassy in Islamabad has been burned to the ground by angry mobs believing that the United States was behind the takeover of the Grand Mosque in Mecca. As the story unfolds, my

BENAZIR
BHUTTO

An
Autobiography

DAUGHTER OF DESTINY



SIMON AND SCHUSTER

New York London Toronto Sydney Tokyo

NSC's
Second Cut

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people -- to insure that democracy is not just an abstract concept, but that it works.

The Prime Minister and I reviewed the situation in Afghanistan.

For the last decade, the United States and Pakistan cooperated in supporting the Afghan resistance in its fight against foreign occupation, and the illegitimate Kabul regime.

~~During that time, Pakistan steadfastly withstood relentless terrorist and intimidation tactics, so that the Afghan people might once again live under a freely elected government.~~

The effectiveness of our ^{mutual} policy was proven last February, when the last Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan. We agreed that the job is not done, however. ~~So long as an unwelcome regime remains in power in Kabul,~~ the Mujaheddin ~~will~~ continue their struggle for self-determination -- ^{an objective} with both U.S. and Pakistani ^{continues} support.

Prime Minister Bhutto and I discussed ways to encourage a political solution in Afghanistan that will lead to a non-aligned representative government -- willing to live in peace with its neighbors -- to replace the illegitimate regime in Kabul. The United States and Pakistan will continue to explore any serious avenue toward this end.

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my Administration's commitment to discourage proliferation of nuclear and chemical weapons, and ballistic missiles.

We also discussed the requirements of U.S. law that relate to Pakistan's nuclear program. I applauded her and Indian Prime Minister Gandhi's signing of an agreement not to launch strikes on each other's nuclear facilities. This agreement has brought us closer to our common goal: a region -- and a world -- where all can thrive without the threat of nuclear war. We hope it will pave the way for further progress.

We also shared our concern about the scourges of drug production and ~~narcotics~~ ^{trafficking} consumption. I ~~commended~~ ^{applauded} her tough stance on eradicating opium cultivation, and expressed our appreciation for the extradition of alleged drug trafficker Malik Saleem.

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Prime Minister Bhutto, on behalf of the American people, I applaud and encourage you and the people of Pakistan in your valiant efforts to move forward to promote democracy at home -- and peace and stability throughout South Asia. God bless you and the people of your homeland. And Godspeed you on your journey home -- and in the challenges ahead.

#

From L.C.

DR. SAM IFTIKHAR

Phone: 707-5428

To Christina

Martin

Ph 456-7750

missing

Sept. 18, 73

East Penn.

overnight?
where?

Christina
prev. visits?
Khyber Pass -

My Country Beckons Me

*Speech at the Security Council, New York,
December 15, 1971*

We have met here today at a grave moment in the history of my country; and I would request the Council kindly to bear with me and to hear the truth, the bitter truth. I know the United Nations; I know the Security Council. I have attended their sessions before. The time has come when, as far as Pakistan is concerned, we shall have to speak the truth whether members of the Council like it or not. We were hoping that the Security Council, mindful of its responsibilities for the maintenance of world peace and justice, would act according to principles and bring an end to a naked, brutal aggression against my people. I came here for this reason. I was needed by the people of Pakistan, and when I was leaving Pakistan I was in two minds whether to go to the Security Council to represent the cause of my country, to represent the cause of a people that had been subjected to aggression, or to remain with my people, by their side, while they were being subjected to attack and violence. However, I felt that it was imperative for me to come here and seek justice from the Security Council. But I must say, whether the members like it or not, that the Security Council has denied my country that justice. From the moment I arrived we have been subjected to dilatory tactics.

It will be recalled that when the Indian Foreign Minister spoke and I spoke after him, I said that filibustering was taking place. That was my immediate observation. The Security Council, I am afraid, has excelled in the art of filibustering, not only on substance but also on procedural matters. With some cynicism, I watched yesterday a full hour of the Security Council's time wasted on whether the members of the Council would be ready to meet at 9.30 a.m. or that bed and breakfast required that they should meet at 11 a.m.

777-0185

The representative of Somalia referred to the population of East Pakistan as 56 million, but later on he corrected himself to say that the population of Bengal—of Muslim Bengal—was 76 million. If he had waited for a few more days he need not have corrected himself because millions are dying, and it would have come to 56 million if the Council had kept on filibustering and discussing whether it should meet today or tomorrow or the day after tomorrow—whether the lines of communication between New York and Moscow and Peking and other capitals would permit the members to obtain new instructions. Thus, we could have gone on and on. That is why I requested you, Mr. President, to convene a meeting of the Security Council immediately and I am thankful to you for having convened this meeting, because precious time is being lost. My countrymen, my people, are dying. So I think I can facilitate your efforts if I speak now. Perhaps this will be my last speech in the Security Council. So please bear with me because I have some home truths to tell the Security Council. The world must know. My people must know. I have not come here to accept abject surrender. If the Security Council wants me to be a party to the legalisation of abject surrender, then I say that under no circumstances shall it be so. Yesterday my eleven year old son telephoned me from Karachi and said "Do not come back with a document of surrender. We do not want to see you back in Pakistan if you do that." I will not take back a document of surrender from the Security Council. I will not be a party to the legalisation of aggression.

The Security Council has failed miserably, shamefully. "The Charter of the United Nations," "the San Francisco Conference," "international peace and justice"—these are the words we heard in our youth, and we were inspired by the concept of the United Nations maintaining international peace and justice and security. President Woodrow Wilson said that he fought the First World War to end wars for all time. The League of Nations came into being, and then the United Nations after it. What has the United Nations done? I know of the farce and the fraud of the United Nations. They come here and say, "*Excellence, Excellence, comment allez-vous?*" and all that. "A very good speech—you have spoken very well, *tres bien*." We have heard all these things. The United Nations resembles those fashion houses which hide ugly realities by draping ungainly figures in alluring apparel. The concealment of realities is common to both but the ugly realities cannot remain hidden. You do not need a Secretary-General. You need a chief executioner.

Let us face the stark truth. I have got no stakes left for the moment. That is why I am speaking the truth from my heart. For four days we have been deliberating here. For four days the Security Council has procrastinated. Why? Because the object was for Dacca to fall. That was the object. It was

quite clear to me from the beginning. All right, so what if Dacca falls? Cities and countries have fallen before. They have come under foreign occupation. China was under foreign occupation for years. Other countries have been under foreign occupation. France was under foreign occupation. Western Europe was under foreign occupation. So what if Dacca falls? So what if the whole of East Pakistan falls? So what if the whole of West Pakistan falls? So what if our state is obliterated? We will build a new Pakistan. We will build a better Pakistan. We will build a greater Pakistan.

The Security Council has acted short-sightedly by acquiescing in these dilatory tactics. You have reached a point when we shall say, "Do what you like." If this point had not been reached we could have made a commitment. We could have said, "All right, we are prepared to do some things." Now why should we? You want us to be silenced by guns. Why should we say that we shall agree to anything? Now you decide what you like. Your decision will not be binding on us. You can decide what you like. If you had left us a margin of hope, we might have been a party to some settlement.

But the Indians are so short-sighted. Mr. President, you referred to the "distinguished" Foreign Minister of India. What may I ask is so "distinguished" about a policy of aggression he is trying to justify. How is he distinguished when his hands are full of blood, when his heart is full of venom? But you know they do not have vision.

The partition of India in 1947 took place because they did not have vision. Now also they are lacking in vision. They talk about their ancient civilisation and the mystique of India and all that. But they do not have vision at all. If I had been in his place, I would have acted differently. I extended a hand of friendship to him the other day. He should have seen what I meant. I am not talking as a puppet. I am talking as the authentic leader of the people of West Pakistan who elected me at the polls in a more impressive victory than the victory that Mujibur Rahman received in East Pakistan, and he should have taken cognizance of that. But he did not take cognizance of it. We could have opened a new page, a new chapter in our relations.

As I said, if the French and the Germans can come to terms, why cannot India and Pakistan come to terms? If the Turks and the Greeks can still talk sensibly as civilised people over Cyprus, why cannot India and Pakistan do likewise? If the Soviet Union and the United States can open a new page in their history, if China and the United States can open a new page in their history, why can we not usher a new era in our relations? We could have done so. But as it was said about the 1967 Arab-Israel war, the military victory of Israel made it more difficult for Israel and the Arabs to reach a settlement. If you want to subjugate Pakistan militarily, you will find it more difficult to bring peace. I say that the choice for us is either to

accept living in the same subcontinent and co-operating for peace and progress, or to be implacable enemies of each other forever.

The Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union does not like my reference to the Roman Empire. I do not know what objection he has to it, unless he sees some similarity between his empire and the Roman Empire. I do not really see why he had any objection to that. But I shall again refer to the Roman Empire, and I hope that the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union will have no objection to it, because we want to have good relations with the Soviet Union and we want to open a new chapter with the Soviet Union because we are neighbours. I go back to the Roman Empire and I say what Cato said to the Romans, "Carthage must be destroyed." If India thinks that it is going to subjugate Pakistan, Eastern Pakistan as well as Western Pakistan—because we are one people, we are one state—then we shall say, "Carthage must be destroyed." We shall tell our children and they will tell their children that Carthage must be destroyed.

So please, Mr. President and members of the Security Council, realise the implications. The Pakistani nation is a brave nation. One of the greatest British generals said that the best infantry fighters in the world are the Pakistanis. We will fight. We will fight for a thousand years, if it comes to that. So do not go by momentary military victories. Stalingrad was overwhelmed. Leningrad was besieged for a thousand days. People who want to be free and who want to maintain their personality will fight and will continue to fight for principles.

We were told about the realities; to accept the realities. What are the realities? Realities keep changing, the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union knows that once the reality was that the Nazis were outside the gates of Moscow, but you fought valiantly, bravely, and the world saluted the Soviet Union for having resisted the realities that were sought to be imposed on it. The reality was that China was under the occupation of Japan, that Manchuria was taken—half of China. That was the reality. Since the Opium War, China has seen reality. The reality for France was that it was under occupation. But there were great men like President de Gaulle who left France and fought from across the seas. Ethiopia was under Fascist domination. But the Ethiopians fought. The Emperor of Ethiopia left his country and sought asylum in Britain. Ethiopia is free today. The realities that matter are those which are not temporary phenomena, which are rooted in historic principles. The principle is that Pakistan is an independent, sovereign state which came into being because of the volition of its people. That is the basic reality which has existed for 24 years. Pakistan would not have faced dismemberment like this if it had not been attacked by another country. This is not an internal movement. We have been subjected to attack by a militarily powerful neighbour. Who says that the new reality

afghan

arose out of free will? Had there been the exercise of free will, India would not have attacked Pakistan. If India talks about the will of the people of East Pakistan and claims that it had to attack Pakistan in order to impose the will of the people of East Pakistan, then what has it done about Kashmir? East Pakistan is an integral part of Pakistan. Kashmir is a disputed territory. Why does India then not permit it to exercise its will?

But yesterday I saw how the Security Council was pandering to India. Even the great powers are pandering to India, saying to us, "Do not misunderstand," "Would you please let us know" and "Would you please answer the following questions; I am not insisting on those questions, but if you do not mind." India is intoxicated today with its military successes.

I told the Indian Permanent Representative in 1967 that we wanted good relations between the two countries—but based on principles, based on justice, based on equity, not based on exploitation and domination, because such relations cannot be lasting. What we want is a lasting, a permanent solution. I do not say this just today; I said that in 1967 to their Permanent Representative who was then the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan. I said that to the Foreign Minister of India when we were negotiating on Kashmir, "Let us settle this problem on the basis of equity and justice, so that we can live as good neighbours." And I add today: we can still live as good neighbours, as friends. Do not wipe out that possibility by military conquest and military power.

This has been the worst form of aggression, of naked aggression. Even Poland was not invaded by Germany in this fashion. Even in that case there were some pretences, some excuses that were made. Here the excuse was, "We have refugees, so we must invade another country." We said, "We are prepared to take those refugees back." If we had said, "We are not prepared to take them back," then you could have said, "Well, you will be sunk." India's population rises by 13 million a year. The number of refugees was alleged to be 9 million, 10 million. According to our estimate they were 5 million. But that is not important; figures are not important. The point is that we were prepared to take them back. If India's population can grow by 13 million a year, then with all the aid and assistance that India was getting for the refugees, it could have held on for a short period till Pakistan had a civilian government to negotiate the return of the refugees. I told the United States Ambassador in Pakistan that once a civilian government came into power in Pakistan, I was prepared to go to the refugee camps myself to talk to them. But India pre-empted it all because the refugee problem was used as a pretext to dismember my country. The refugee problem was used as a pretext, an ugly, crude pretext, a shameful pretext to invade my country, to invade East Pakistan.

The great powers will forgive me. I have addressed them in this moment of anguish, and they should understand. The great powers or the super-powers—the super-duper-powers, the razzling-dazzling powers—the super-powers have imposed their super will for the moment. But I am thankful to the people and the Government of the United States among the super-powers, for the position it has taken. The people of the United States, to some extent, have been misled by massive Indian propaganda. Because we had no paraphernalia of popular administration and government in Pakistan, there was a political vacuum. The Indians took advantage of that political vacuum and they spread out fast to project their point of view. As a result, American public opinion and public opinion in Great Britain and France and other countries was influenced. Unfortunately, nothing was said of the massacres that took place between 1 March and 25 March. No doubt there were mistakes on our side. I said yesterday that mistakes were made, and the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union said that I had admitted mistakes. Well, that is not a sign of weakness, is it? Do we not all make mistakes? Are India and the Soviet Union the only two countries that have never made mistakes? I have made mistakes personally. But mistakes do not mean that my country must be destroyed, that my country must be dismembered. That is not the consequence of mistakes of government. Which government does not make mistakes? But if some government has made a mistake, does it follow that the country itself must be dismembered, obliterated? Is that going to be the conclusion of the Security Council if it legalises Indian aggression on the soil of Pakistan?

So you will see now: this is not the end of the road, this is the beginning of the road; this is not the end of the chapter, a new chapter has begun; a new page has been written in international relations. This is gunboat diplomacy in its worst form. In a sense, it makes the Hitlerite aggression pale into insignificance, because Hitlerite aggression was not accepted by the world. If the world is going to endorse this aggression, it will mean a new and most unfortunate chapter in international relations. A new chapter may have begun in India and Pakistan, but please do not start a new dreadful chapter in international relations. For us, it is a hand-to-hand, day-to-day, minute-to-minute fight. But do not do that to the rest of the world. Please do not permit this kind of naked, shameful, barbaric aggression to hold sway. In the old days great warriors swept over the world—Changiz Khan, Subutai Khan, Alexander, Caesar, coming down to the great Napoleon. But this is worse, this is much worse than all that was done by the great conquerors of the world in the past. If the United Nations becomes a party to this kind of conquest, it will be much worse than all that has been done in the past. You will be turning the medium-sized and the small countries into the harlots of the world. You cannot do that. It is against civilised

concepts; it is against all the rules of civilisation and of international morality and justice.

The United States Government was criticised for supporting the position of Pakistan. What crime has the United States Government committed? It has taken a position identical to that of the whole world on the India-Pakistan conflict. That position was supported by 105 countries—it was 104 officially, but it was really 105 because one representative did not press the right button. That was the voice of the world. It was an international referendum. You talk about the election of 1970. Well, I am proud of the election of 1970 because my party emerged as the strongest party in West Pakistan. But here was an international poll and India flouted it. With such an attitude towards international opinion, how can India pretend to be sensitive to a national election in another country? The same India that refuses to hold a referendum in Kashmir?

The Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union talked about realities. Mr. Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, look at this reality. I know that you are the representative of a great country. You behave like one. The way you throw out your chest, the way you thump the table, you do not talk like Comrade Malik; you talk like Czar Malik. I see you are smiling. Well, I am not because my heart is bleeding. We want to be friends, but this is not the way to be friends when my country is decimated, sought to be destroyed, wiped out.

Why should China and the United States be criticised when the whole world is for Pakistan? You know that we have won a great political victory. We might have suffered a military defeat, but a political victory is more important than a military defeat because political victory is permanent while military defeat is temporary. The United States Government has acted according to its great traditions by supporting Pakistan, and I will go to the people of the United States before I return home and tell them the truth. The United States has stood by the traditions of Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, right down to Roosevelt and Wilson by supporting Pakistan as an independent state, its national integrity and its national unity. What wrong and crime has the United States committed? Why is the Indian delegation so annoyed with the United States? The Indian delegation is annoyed with U.S.—can you imagine that? If it had not been for the massive food assistance that the United States gave to India, India would have had starvation; its millions would have died. What hope will India give to the people of East Pakistan? What picture of hope is it going to give when its own people in Western Bengal sleep in the streets, where there is terrible poverty, where there is terrible injustice and exploitation, when the parliamentary rule in West Bengal has been superseded by presidential rule? Is India going to do better for East Pakistan, for Muslim Bengal, than it has

done for West Bengal? Thousands of West Bengali people sleep in the streets of Calcutta. The people of West Bengal are the poorest. India goes hat in hand to the United States for six million tons of food. If they are going to impose presidential rule in West Bengal, in their Bengal, how can they do any better in our Bengal? They will not. And time will show that they will not.

So the United States has taken a correct and moral position. Thomas Jefferson once said, "I have sworn eternal hostility against any form of tyranny practised over the mind of man". This is a vast form of tyranny practised over the mind of man and over the body of man. So the United States has adhered to its tradition. And if some misguided Senators were here, some young, misguided Senators who have been overtaken by Indian propaganda—and if the Permanent Representative of the United States were not from Texas—I would have told those young Senators that I was setting up the headquarters for a republic of Texas and making the former President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, the chief of that republic, in order to spread the cult of Bangladesh everywhere. Why can Texas not be free? Let there be a republic of Texas. We did not buy Bengal as Alaska was bought by the United States. We did not pay money to get our territory. We did not pay dollars to acquire territory. The people of the United States should appreciate the position taken by their Government.

Muslim Bengal was a part of Pakistan of its free will, not through money. We did not buy it as Alaska was purchased. Why do the people of the United States not see that? And we are beholden and thankful to the great People's Republic of China. We shall always remain thankful for the position it has taken. It has taken a position based on principles of justice. And I thank the Third World for having supported a just cause, a right cause.

And now in the Security Council we have been frustrated by a veto. Let us build a monument to the veto, a big monument to the veto. Let us build a monument to the impotence and incapacity of the Security Council and the General Assembly. As you sow, so shall you reap. Remember that Biblical saying. Today, it is Pakistan. We are your guinea pigs today. But there will be other guinea pigs and you will see what happens. You will see how the chain of events unfolds itself. You want us to lick the dust. We are not going to lick the dust.

Britain and France have abstained from voting in order to play a role. I said the other day, with all due respect to those two great powers, that they have really exhausted their position in trying to play a role because now the only role they can play is to accept a shameful *fait accompli*. Britain and France abstained, and that abstention has cost us dearly. Gallic logic and Anglo-Saxon experience, whatever it is, have cost us dearly. If Britain and France had put their powerful weight behind the international community

rather than sitting on the fence, the issue might have been different. There is no such animal as a neutral animal. You take positions. In that respect we admire the Soviet Union; it took a position, a wrong position, but it took a position. You have to take a position on these matters. You have to be either on the side of justice or on the side of injustice; you are either on the side of justice or on the side of injustice; you have to be either on the side of the aggressor or of the victim. **There is no third road. It is a black and white situation in these matters; there is no grey involved.** You are either for right or you are for wrong; you are either for justice or for injustice; you are either for aggression or for the victim. If the United Kingdom and France had earlier put their full weight behind the verdict of the international community, I think that we would not have reached this position. But Great Britain and France want to come back into the subcontinent, as Clive and Dupleix, in a different role, the role of peacemakers. They want a foot here and they want a foot there. I know that British interests in East Pakistan required this kind of opportunistic role because in East Pakistan they have their tea estates. They want the jute of East Pakistan. So that is why they sat on the fence. And I am sorry at France's position because with France we had developed very good relations, extremely good relations. But they took this position. And now, today, neither Britain nor France can play a role because their resolution has been overtaken by events. There is a lot of goodwill for France in Pakistan, and they will not get the same goodwill in East Pakistan because in East Pakistan already the clock is now moving in another direction. Everyday that the Indian Army of occupation stays there, it will be a grim reminder for Muslim Bengal that they are under Hindu occupation, and you will see the result of it. You will see how it will turn out. Let them stay—why not? Let them stay. Let them swagger around. If they want to take East Pakistan, let them stay as an army of occupation. They are an army of occupation; how can they be called liberators? They will stay, and they will see how the clock is going to move in a different direction.

Finally, I am not a rat. I have never ratted in my life. I have faced assassination attempts, I have faced imprisonments, I have always confronted crises. Today I am not ratting, but I am leaving your Security Council. I find it disgraceful to my person and to my country to remain here a moment longer than is necessary. I am not boycotting. Impose any decision, have a treaty worse than the Treaty of Versailles, legalise aggression, legalise occupation, legalise everything that has been illegal upto 15 December 1971. I will not be a party to it. We will fight; we will go back and fight. My country beckons me. Why should I waste my time here in the Security Council? I will not be a party to the ignominious surrender of a part of my country. You can take your Security Council. Here you are. I am going.

EXCHANGE OF REMARKS BETWEEN MR. RICHARD
NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA
AND
MR. ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO, PRIME MINISTER OF
PAKISTAN
IN THE WHITE HOUSE EAST ROOM

September 18, 1973

PRESIDENT NIXON:

Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Bhutto, all of your distinguished guests from Pakistan and all of our other distinguished guests from the United States:

Mr. Prime Minister, you are no stranger to our country. You not only have made many visits here, we are very proud of the fact that in my native State of California you attended the great University of California for three years.

I am no stranger to your country. I have visited with Mrs. Nixon when I was Vice-President on two occasions, on two occasions or three occasions when I was out of office and then again in 1969.

As you come to our country today, however, you come in a different capacity. For the first time, it is my honour on behalf of all our guests and the American people to welcome you as the head of your government. In welcoming you, it gives me an opportunity to remind the American people and the people of Pakistan, and for that matter the people of the world, of the friendship that has bound our two countries together over a generation. You, who have seen our country, know that friendship. I, who have visited your country, know it well.

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Mr. Bhutto

our two peoples and yet there is an ease of communication and of understanding.

Our relations are not burdened or encumbered by moral postulations and sermonizations to each other. We share a host of common affinities despite the diversities and the distances that separate us.

I can assure you, Mr. President, that the people of Pakistan warmly cherish their relationship with your country and your people.

We are aware of the wholesome contribution that your country and your government have made to the cause of peace and to the normalization of relations in the subcontinent. We value your contribution and, as we admire the search you are making for a new international structure based on the concept of lasting peace which has eluded us so far, we feel confident that with the imagination you have demonstrated and the tenacity you have shown to evolve this structure of peace, that your efforts will succeed and to whatever extent Pakistan can travel with you on this magnificent search for a lasting peace, we will whole-heartedly offer that co-operation to the extent that our limited goal traverses with your world-wide responsibilities.

The memories of the past are many but I can assure you that these memories do not in any way displace or dispel the newness of this occasion when I come here to represent my country as its Prime Minister.

I am looking forward to our discussions. We know that you are well-acquainted with our problems. At one time it was said that in

the recent past your Administration tilted toward Pakistan. That, Mr. President, was a tilt for justice and a tilt for equity, which is characteristic of your distinguished career as a statesman and a builder of peace.

I am sorry that the ceremonies were somewhat marred by the rains but nothing can mar the eternal friendship and warmth between our two peoples and that is more important. It has augured well by the sudden reappearance of the blue skies and I am glad that the blue skies are smiling at us.

Thank you.

EXCHANGE OF TOASTS BETWEEN MR. RICHARD
NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA

AND

MR. ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO, PRIME MINISTER OF
PAKISTAN
THE WHITE HOUSE STATE DINING ROOM

September 18, 1973.

PRESIDENT NIXON:

*Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Bhutto and our distinguished guests
from Pakistan and the United States:*

We are very honoured, Mr. Prime Minister, to have you, Mrs. Bhutto, the members of your official party here in this room tonight and we only regret that the room is so small that all of the friends that you have, and there are legions in this country, could not be here to honour you and to express their friendship for Pakistan and the people of Pakistan.

On this occasion, I would like to speak in somewhat personal terms, since this is essentially a dinner honouring you personally and your wife personally. I think of all of the leaders of great nations that have visited this country since I have had the privilege of being here as President and in a way I think I have known you longer, although we did not meet at the time, than any other, because in the year 1950, when I was a very young Congressman campaigning for the United States Senate, you were a very young student at the University of California. And so, while we did not meet, we knew each other, in a way. (Laughter)

Much has happened since then. Neither of us would have guessed that in 1950, in 1953 we would meet again in Pakistan, when you were still very young. You and Mrs. Bhutto had been married only two years and Mrs. Nixon and I were so honoured to meet you then at the residence of our Ambassador on our first trip around the world.

In 1964 there was another meeting. I should not really disclose this to such a large group, but this is a group that is so small that a secret can be kept. (Laughter) And, in Washington, that is saying a very great deal today.

But in 1964, I met Mrs. Bhutto again, at a private party, at which her husband was not present and my wife was not present. (Laughter) I was travelling around the world by myself with a friend on a business trip and the Prime Minister was on his official duties travelling abroad.

And then, of course, again we have had the occasion of meeting, particularly just two days before the Prime Minister assumed his present duties.

Now, what I have just referred to is not meant to be simply a personal recounting of our association, but is to make a point and it is this: Pakistan and the United States of America have been friends since the time that Pakistan became an independent nation.

I, as an American, sometimes in office and sometimes out, out not at my own choice. (Laughter) But nevertheless, I can assure you that Pakistan and the people of Pakistan have always been very close to my heart. I admire them, I respect them, as do all of the people,

Mr. Prime Minister, in this room, and many others across this nation. That friendship has lasted through a generation and it will continue to last and it will last for reasons that we do not need to go into now, but one of the reasons that appeals to me particularly to mention on this occasion relates to what could have been a total national disaster for your nation, a natural and national disaster of the past few months. I refer to the floods that have been ravaging your country just at a time that with your leadership the nation was moving on after the very difficult and traumatic experience of war.

I asked your wife, Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Bhutto, what was the spirit of the people. I said none of the leaders, none of the members of Parliament, but the peasants, the others, the people that worked the land, were they discouraged, were they giving up after a war, and after all of the bloodshed and the tragedy and now the flood.

And her answer, it seems to me, tells us something about Pakistan and also something about human nature generally that is quite profound.

She said, no, as she visited the areas most ravaged by the floods and talked to the farmers and their wives, they did not talk about the past. They said, yes, the floods had destroyed their crops for this year, but the floods had brought new silt into the land and the land would be richer for the crops next year.

And so, rather than looking backward, they were looking forward. Rather than letting adversity destroy them, they were proving the profound truth that from adversity grows strength.

And this is the story of Pakistan and of many other countries, including our own, from time to time. Pakistan has had more than its share of adversity in recent years, but out of that adversity has come a strong people, 65 million in number, and out of that adversity has come a strong leader, our Prime Minister, who is our guest today, his wife and the members of his official party.

And in paying our respects to him, to his people, we do so because we have an official obligation to do so which we welcome, but also because of a deep personal respect which I have tried to convey, because of a deep personal friendship which I have tried to convey.

And so I know all of you in this room and many others who could not be here would like to join me in our toast to the friendship between the people of Pakistan and the people of the United States and express that friendship by raising our glasses to the health of the Prime Minister.

PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, distinguished guests and friends:

Mr. President, you have been most gracious in your remarks and you have said that this is an intimate gathering of friends. I will proceed from that point.

Since it is an intimate gathering of friends, with your permission, I would like to tell them about our discussions, the inner truth of our talks.

We discussed three matters, economic matters, cultural matters and military matters. I don't know how, but cultural and military matters got intertwined, perhaps because Dr. Kissinger was there. (Laughter)

And we discussed these highly complicated problems. We were told that since military and cultural matters are interrelated, we must know that Jill St. John is booked for the Soviet Union—(Laughter)—and Raquel Welch is earmarked for China—(Laughter)—as far as our old friend Pakistan is concerned, Tallulah Bankhead is there available for Pakistan.

THE PRESIDENT: What do we get? (Laughter)

PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO: So we said we are old friends, but not in that sense. (Laughter) And then we were told that that is all we can do. And that also is true of either Saudi Arabia or Iran.

So we told our friends candidly that what we are interested in is not obsolete spare parts, but in red hot weapons. (Laughter).

Mr. President, I have been in your great country as a student. You have made mention of it and my sojourn here was a warm one. It is here that I came to respect the vitality of the people and I remember that on one occasion in 1949 I was standing outside your White House, this distinguished house, resplendent with history and I was standing by the rails looking at it, its architecture, its beauty and a Negro friend, a gentleman passing by stood by as well. And we both had our hands on the railing. He looked at me and asked me from which country I came and I told him from where I came and he said that, "If you were an American, what would you like to be?"

So I said, "If I were an American, I would like to be inside that house." (Laughter)

So he told me that, "You better get the hell out of this country because we are going crazy picking the man for the house itself in our own country."

But that is how the past is, and it is remembered vividly. We know that you have been a good friend of our country, not in the subjective sense, because you have known that Pakistan has been a good friend of the United States and I don't use this word in its Chauvinistic sense, in the sense of its past chivalry.

The world has changed and we must learn to adjust ourselves to the changes.

If you ask me, sir, what we have to offer to your great country, I would tell you candidly, nothing. We are not a nuclear power; we are not a technologically advanced country. There is nothing we can offer in that sense, but there is something which we can offer to you as your friends and that is that our country stands by its pledges. Our country is dedicated to its principles according to its own light and we have shown in the existence of Pakistan that in the last twenty five years, no matter what the price, and sometimes we have had to pay a very heavy price, but we have stood by our principles and our pledges.

And if there is any place for us in your big wide world, please do remember that, that although you might not need the friendship, or the assistance, or collaboration of my country far away from yours, it is a country which is allied to your country. It is a country

which has stood by its commitments and pledges with your country throughout the vicissitude and buffets of life and we have every intention of doing so in the future.

This is our outlook and this is our concept of our relationship with the United States. We have admired, Mr. President, your own contribution to a new world order and when the history of this country is written, and when the history of the great Presidents of the United States is penned, what will they say of President Nixon?

As far as we are concerned, not only as a Pakistani, but as an Asian coming from Asia, I can tell you that at least my history books, the history books of my country will say here was a great and a lofty President who broke the barriers of prejudice and who chalked out a bold, new policy according to the finest traditions of American history and brought peace to a tormented part of the world.

There will be a stamp on the Vietnam chapter; there will be your mark on your relations with the People's Republic of China; there will be your image and your sign on your relations with the Soviet Union.

To us in Asia, these are very important pillars and we feel that the world would have been further tormented if you had not taken these splendid initiatives for peace in that part of the world where most of the humanity lives. And this is not how we alone feel, this is how many of the other countries in Asia feel.

So history will pay rich and glowing tributes to your statesmanship, not only as an American President, but as a world statesman.

When we look on the future in this light, the present trivialities will be brushed aside and a more glorious people dedicated to the cause of eternal peace will emerge and in that struggle and in that quest, you, Mr. President, will be in the forefront.

This is how we see your role, as the leader of the free world—if that expression is used any more—as the leader of Western civilization and as a man of peace.

So, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of my friends from Pakistan, let me salute the American people and their great President for their everlasting contribution to world peace and international tranquillity.

Thank you.

PRIME MINISTER'S ADDRESS AT NATIONAL PRESS CLUB
LUNCHEON, WASHINGTON

September 19, 1973

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I thank you for affording me this opportunity to come to this world-renowned institution. Some of you may perhaps remember that I was here some years ago as the Foreign Minister of my country. I carry a pleasant memory of that encounter. I use the word "encounter" advisedly; I mean by it an exchange which not only serves to clarify issues but also probes the depths of a situation and leads to a fruitful understanding.

Before I answer the questions which you may have in mind, I feel it may be useful to tell you something briefly about Pakistan which has a long history of cordial relations with the United States. As you probably know, great changes have taken place in Pakistan since I last visited the United States in the desperate days of December 1971. These changes encompass every aspect of life in Pakistan. They have transformed the country geographically, politically, economically.

If I may put briefly, the Pakistan of today has little resemblance to the pre-1971 Pakistan. We call it a "new Pakistan." Let me tell you why.

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Geographically, it is no doubt a Pakistan reduced in size by the separation of its eastern part. But it is also far more cohesive and united Pakistan, far more confident of its future.

Politically, it is a Pakistan which is determined to nurture democratic institutions. As you know, Pakistan was ruled by a military dictatorship for more than a decade. It is my nation's pride that, after twelve years of military rule which inevitably devitalized our political life, we have firmly established civilian supremacy and a government accountable to the people. Those who belong to countries with centuries of democratic tradition cannot fully imagine the struggle which is involved in the effort of an underdeveloped country to end an authoritarian system and hammer out a parliamentary and federal constitution. It is one thing to borrow a constitution from another society and hope that it will work. It is a different thing to evolve a constitution with the force of one's own authentic experience and aspirations. I was privileged to play a part in the popular movement for ending the long night of arbitrary government in Pakistan. The movement reached its fruition when we finally adopted, with the unanimous agreement of people's elected representatives, a constitution which ensures the maximum autonomy of the units of the federation and at the same time safeguards national solidarity.

Socially and economically, it is a forward-looking Pakistan which has reason to believe that, given the industry of its people, given their resilience, given their resolve not to be laid low by disasters, given the pragmatism of its approach and its freedom from doctrinal prejudice, it will emerge as a completely self-reliant society, no longer dependent on the assistance of its friends, in the not distant future. Some of you perhaps remember the canard that

was spread throughout the world in 1971 that West Pakistan was not viable and that its economy would collapse if East Pakistan's export earnings were denied to it. The lie has been effectively nailed by subsequent events. In 1972 we reached an all-time high in our export earnings, higher than those of East and West Pakistan put together in any previous year. This recovery was remarkable by any reckoning. It is, however, tragic that, just when we were looking forward to reaching a point when this resurgence would bring real prosperity to the common man, we were stricken by the devastation wrought by unprecedented floods. This has forced a revision of our economic programmes. But we are confident that, with the help of the international community, combined with our own exertions, we will overcome the effects of this calamity.

These, in brief, are some broad facts pointing to a new Pakistan. But it would be altogether misleading to imagine a discontinuity in the international existence of Pakistan before and after 1971. It was alleged in 1971 that with the break between East and West Pakistan the very foundation of Pakistan as a state had crumbled. History itself is giving a crushing reply to this highly motivated assault on our ideology. The emergence of Bangladesh has confirmed rather than negated the basic principle which constitutes our *raison d'être*. For what is Bangladesh except that part of Bengal which has a Muslim majority? What is her independence predicated on except her distinctive Muslim personality? What except its being a Muslim area validates its separation from, and prevents its absorption in Indian Bengal? That is why I called it Muslim Bengal, a truthful description which was not meant to give offence to anyone. If I say that Bangladesh owes her existence to Pakistan, I am surely pointing to the historical truth that there would have been no Bangladesh if there had not been a Pakistan.

Two important consequences directly flow from this truth. The first is that the common basis of the nationhoods of Pakistan and Bangladesh should override and transcend their differences. These differences were the result not of the exploitation of East Pakistan by West Pakistan but the exploitation of both by a junta which functioned in total isolation from the people. The second is that between a democratic Pakistan and a democratic Bangladesh the natural relationship would be one of fraternal contacts. I have taken a number of initiatives towards bringing about the reconciliation and readjustment which would be of benefit to both.

The initiatives for peace taken by Pakistan are meant to transform the situation in the South Asian Subcontinent. In an address to the Parliament, I said that India and Pakistan should not be sworn to eternal enmity. I asked the people of both countries to realize that poverty was their common enemy. This is a conviction that is rooted in the social-economic outlook and orientation of the Pakistan People's Party which I am privileged to lead. There is no question, therefore, of our seeking a continuation of the confrontation between India and Pakistan, far less an arms race between the two. But peace cannot be sustained by illusions. Peace does not mean that the smaller of the two countries must lack a credible deterrent to aggression. The fact is Pakistan has been subjected to aggression more than once. The fact also is that India maintains an indigenous military industrial establishment reinforced by generous supplies from external sources, even though none of her neighbours does, or can, pose a threat to her security. A peace that would leave Pakistan exposed to aggression would be a peace by diktat. It would be a peace subsisting on imbalance. It would be inherently unstable.

Let me make it clear that in no case will Pakistan submit itself to any dominance or hegemony, Indian or other. That these trends towards hegemony exist in the South Asian region, with its proximity to the Persian Gulf, is the principal reason why it is essential that the smaller countries in it should be furnished adequate means to defend themselves against any threat or attack from outside. Denied such means they will be a prey to constant anxiety and exposed to perennial pressures. Such pressures produce a chronic tension which cannot but eat into the very vitals of peace.

Such a drift in affairs is something that my Government is anxious to avoid. I feel that, in this objective, there cannot but be an agreement in principle between the United States and Pakistan. Each is wedded to the incontestable proposition that only an equilibrium can ensure stability. If the implications of this identity of aim are concurrently worked out, I have no doubt that the relationship between our two countries will blossom into an active collaboration in the service of peace.

As you know, the United States and Pakistan have had a traditional friendship originating from the time when Pakistan was established as a sovereign state. There were times when the relationship was subjected to some strain. There was a period in the middle sixties when a perfectly rational relationship between Pakistan and its great Asian neighbour and friend, China, was misunderstood in the United States. We are happy that that era of mistrust has passed and the United States itself has taken splendid initiatives towards a detente and dialogue between the great powers. I am happy that the cloud which at one time threatened to loom large over our relations has thus vanished—I trust for ever.

Pakistan is a country which has not anchored itself in a position that predicates a conflict between the great powers. In giving importance to its alliance with the United States, it is not seeking a reversion, a retrogression, to the conditions which were those of a bygone era. We are thinking of the conditions of today and tomorrow. I am hopeful that these will lend a new positive dimension to the relationship between the two countries. It is a relationship which is not directed against anyone. Indeed, if it is sustained, it is my faith that it will operate to the benefit of others besides our two countries. In making war impossible in South Asia and the adjacent region, in preventing imbalance or penetration, in averting any dominance, it will help the teeming millions of that region to reclaim their dignity and their inheritance.

I would now invite your questions.

JOINT PAKISTAN-UNITED STATES STATEMENT

September 20, 1973

President Nixon and Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan have held two cordial and wide-ranging working discussions during the Prime Minister's visit to Washington September 18-20. The meetings gave the President and the Prime Minister an opportunity to renew their personal friendship and to discuss matters of common interest to Pakistan and the United States. Both President Nixon and Prime Minister Bhutto reviewed and welcomed the progress made in the past eighteen months in enhancing peaceful relations throughout the world and in reducing tension between the major powers. The leaders pledged their continuing efforts to build a just and lasting peace, based on principles of national sovereignty and equality, respect for territorial integrity, and non-interference in the internal affairs of any state. They also reaffirmed the close ties of friendship that have long characterized relations between the United States and Pakistan. President Nixon assured Prime Minister Bhutto of strong U.S. support for Pakistan's independence and territorial integrity, which he considered a guiding principle of American foreign policy.

President Nixon took the opportunity to congratulate Prime Minister Bhutto on the progress Pakistan has made over the past twenty months. He noted the successes of the Prime Minister of

Pakistan in establishing representative government under a democratic constitution recently adopted by the National Assembly, and in restoring the war-shattered economy of Pakistan, which has unfortunately received a serious set-back in the recent unprecedented floods.

Prime Minister Bhutto voiced his warm appreciation for the generous American response to Pakistan's severe flood losses. The two leaders discussed additional needs and ways in which the United States and the international community might be responsive. President Nixon pledged additional assistance and vigorous support for international relief efforts.

The two leaders also discussed Pakistan's long-term assistance needs. They reviewed the substantial assistance which the United States has extended to Pakistan. President Nixon noted the importance which the United States attaches to Pakistan's stable development and reviewed for the Prime Minister plans for future assistance.

Prime Minister Bhutto reviewed for the President the Simla Agreement of July 1972, and the New Delhi Agreement of August 28, 1973, calling for repatriation of prisoners of war and other stranded persons from the 1971 war between India and Pakistan. The President congratulated Prime Minister Bhutto on his statesmanship in reaching the agreements. President Nixon reiterated the United States' warm support for the process of reconciliation underway in South Asia, and expressed the United States' interest in expeditious implementation of the agreements and in the resolution of other outstanding issues in South Asia through peaceful means in accordance with internationally recognized principles.

There was also a discussion of international narcotics problems. President Nixon welcomed Prime Minister Bhutto's recent statement pledging efforts to control narcotics traffic and progressively to eliminate poppy cultivation. The President assured the Prime Minister of strong U.S. support for Pakistan's efforts.

PRIME MINISTER'S FAREWELL MESSAGE
TO PRESIDENT NIXON

On leaving the shores of this great country at the conclusion of a pleasant and fruitful visit, I would like to convey to you our sincere appreciation for the warm hospitality extended to Mrs. Bhutto and me and members of my entourage.

The United States of America and Pakistan are bound by a traditional friendship. In my opinion these close ties have been further strengthened by the cordial and wide-ranging talks we had with you, Mr. President, with members of your Government and leaders of Congress. I am returning to my country assured of the United States' support and sympathy in our efforts to achieve lasting peace and stability in South Asia.

Mr. President, we are indeed very happy that you and Mrs. Nixon have accepted our invitation to visit Pakistan. As the leader of a great friendly country, you will be received by the people of Pakistan with spontaneous warmth and enthusiasm.

Thanking you once again for your kindness and hospitality and looking forward to the pleasure of welcoming you and Mrs. Nixon in Pakistan.

**PRESIDENT NIXON'S FAREWELL MESSAGE
TO PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO**

September 14, 1973

The White House
Washington

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

As you leave the United States to return to Pakistan, Mrs. Nixon and I wish to extend to you and Begum Bhutto our warmest wishes for a safe and pleasant journey. I want you to know how much I have welcomed the opportunity to share my thoughts with you and to hear your views on the many matters in which we have a common interest.

Your visit has further enhanced the understanding and strong ties between our two countries. The United States views Pakistan as an important friend, and we remain ready to assist in whatever way we can as you continue to work for peace and progress in Pakistan and South Asia.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,
Sd -
(Richard Nixon)

His Excellency
Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
Prime Minister of Pakistan

"... we are determined to rebuild Pakistan for the service of world peace and friendship."

Speech at the State banquet in Ankara on January 14, 1971.

"More and more service to the people is the motto of the present Government."

Address to people at Peshawar's Qissa Khwani Bazar on January 14, 1971.

"We have to pick up the pieces, very small pieces, but we will make a new Pakistan, a prosperous and progressive Pakistan."

December 20, 1971, on assuming office as President.

"I want the flowering of our society, I want initiative in the hands of our people."

December 20, 1971, after assuming office as President.

"The people of Pakistan are those to whom my Ministers are in the first instance accountable. The people are the masters."

To his cabinet on December 24, 1971, when Ministers had taken their oath of office.

P. 117

Interview with A. B. C. telecast on May 14, 1972

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

President: No, I think the United States will come to its own policy objective in the interest of its own national interests and its global interests

Interview A. B. C.

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absence of freedom and no participation of the people, then all of us might have become secessionists. So this problem of Baluchistan and Frontier is grossly exaggerated. They are patriotic Pakistanis and you'll find that in the days to come, the months to come, in the years to come. they'll make a most handsome contribution for the consolidation of this nation's interests.

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

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

A. B. C: Thank you, Mr. President, for being our guest on "Issues and Answers."

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Speech at the U.S. Independence Anniversary reception, held at Islamabad on July 4, 1973

It is my privilege to be here with you on the auspicious occasion to celebrate the Independence Anniversary of your great country. One hundred and ninety seven years in the life of a nation is a short period and in this short period of time the United States with the zeal and determination of its people coming from a new world has found newer worlds for the old civilisations. You have attained technological excellence, you have achieved great heights in the fields of science, education and humanities and today your great country is one of the important centres of the world.

We have watched with admiration the determination of your people to build peace on a firm foundation. We have seen your ceaseless and tireless efforts since the end of Second World War to bring about a wholesome detente in Europe and in Asia. We are happy to note that your efforts in this direction have proved to be successful. We have witnessed important developments in the recent past when the United States has undertaken a profound and meaningful dialogue with the Soviet Union on the one hand and with the People's Republic of China on the other. We watch with admiration the great changes that are taking place in Europe and we see the conspicuous and significant consequences of detente, values in comparison to the disadvantages and handicaps of the policy of confrontation and tension.

We hope that in our part of the world we can emulate the other nations and also strive to seek detente and dialogue and put an end to confrontation. But here it is not a simple task. It is an extremely difficult and a complex task because perhaps this confrontation is the oldest of the world. It is the confrontation of 1000 years and I doubt if you will be able to find other confrontations so old, so deep-rooted, as the one of the subcontinent.

Nevertheless, inspired by the efforts of our people and firm in our resolve

to achieve peace with justice, the people of Pakistan and their Government have taken a number of initiatives to promote durable peace in the subcontinent. I remember vividly the last occasion when I was here to celebrate your Independence Anniversary last year. I had returned from Simla. Not much has happened since we held that conference in Simla but this does not mean that we have not endeavoured to make progress.

I can assure you on this auspicious occasion, on this happy day, that my Government and my people will make every endeavour to achieve an honourable peace and in doing this we hope to carry the people with us inside as well as outside the National Assembly. We hope to have the co-operation of all the parties in the National Assembly and we hope to have that co-operation outside the National Assembly. Only recently we have replanted the delicate plant of democracy. We want it to grow, we want to nurture it so that it takes deep roots. I am happy to see here this morning a number of the Opposition leaders along with the Ministers and other officials of the Government.

I would now request you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join me in a toast to the people of the United States of America, to the Government of the United States of America, to the President of the United States of America and I can assure you that we wish your people everlasting happiness and greater progress.

*Message on the 27th Anniversary of United Nations
on October 24, 1972*

As the United Nations observes its 27th Anniversary, I would like to convey to it the good wishes of the people and Government of Pakistan.

Pakistan has been a consistent upholder of the principles of international peace and security embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. Like some other member states, however, it has suffered disappointment at the inability of the Organisation to fulfil the purposes originally envisioned at San Francisco. The use or threat of force still plagues international relations. Many vital decisions of the Organization remain unimplemented and unobserved.

Although this disappointment cannot be concealed, yet it remains true that there is no hope for the maintenance of a rational world order except by strengthening the United Nations and making it an instrument of peace based on justice. The principles of the renunciation of force in international relations, of the peaceful settlement of disputes, of non-intervention by one state in another's internal affairs, and the sovereign equality of states need to be scrupulously adhered to. Such adherence is not possible unless member states show due regard to the resolutions of the various organs of the United Nations.

On this occasion, Pakistan pledges its renewed determination to promote the principles of the United Nations Charter.

was only scramble for power or exploitation of the country's wealth that seemed to interest the rulers. Assembly seats were handed down from father to son as part of inheritance like land and cattle in a feudal dispensation. No progenitor of a feudal lord could be dispossessed of his seat, just as nobody could dispossess him of his other worldly belongings. The people voted for the son, as they had voted for his father, motivated either by their loyalty to the Zamindar or to the clan. Socio-economic and political issues never touched even the fringe of their mental horizon.

But things went completely wrong, as old-timers would say, when Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto started applying his political thinking to election campaigning. He had something revolutionary to offer, something that would in one sweep, clear the dungheap of feudalism, clannish loyalties and political obscurantism. He motivated them with a positive socio-economic programme, which was considered nothing short of heresy. The traditional politician did not know how to meet this challenge and was thrown completely overboard in the first free choice of the people. People voted for a philosophy and not for village or clan elders. That meant a complete break from the past—a revolutionary change. He launched frontal and daring attacks on the citadel of tradition, of ignorance, and of status-quo. He dragged politics out of the imposing drawing rooms to the rough and tumble of village maidan. He went and talked to the common man and convinced him that all the traditional loyalties which he had nurtured so far were mere instruments of his exploitation in the hands of exploiters, who belonged to only one clan and one class.

Mr. Bhutto has, therefore, changed the whole face of political life in this country. Politics is no longer sterile activity, which can be carried on without socio-economic

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 1, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID DEMAREST AND CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: EDWARD E. McNALLY *EMN*

SUBJECT: WHITE HOUSE ROSEBUSH FOR PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO

I. SUMMARY

In the draft remarks for the President's Rose Garden meeting with Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, the text concludes by noting the special significance roses from around the world have always held for the Bhutto family in Pakistan. You may want to consider suggesting that the President and Mrs. Bush present the Prime Minister with an American rosebush, as a gesture of friendship between our people and as an acknowledgement of this sentimental family tradition.

II. DISCUSSION

Attached for your information are two pages from Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's recent autobiography.

After her father's death, she was held under house arrest with her mother at Al-Mutaza, her family's traditional home in Pakistan. During her detention she struggled to keep the family gardens alive -- gardens filled with the roses her father (the first Prime Minister Bhutto) had brought back home every time he traveled abroad. She describes her time among the roses and the cool shade of the gardens as "the happiest hours of my life."

Obviously, there is already great poignancy in this visit -- the triumphant return to America of a Harvard student the President met while Ambassador to the UN, now the first woman leader of an Islamic country and symbol of Pakistan's return to democracy. Since the President appears to be an admirer of her late father (in Looking Forward, he describes Bhutto's 1971 address as "the most compelling speech" he heard at the UN), carrying on her father's tradition by presenting a rosebush -- in the Rose Garden -- would be an especially appropriate gesture.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 2, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: EDWARD E. McNALLY *EMW*

SUBJECT: ROSE GARDEN REMARKS FOLLOWING MEETING
WITH PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO

I. SUMMARY

At approximately 11:30 a.m. on Tuesday, June 6, 1989 -- following your meeting with Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan -- you are scheduled to accompany her to the Rose Garden to make a statement to the press.

II. DISCUSSION

Attached for your consideration and review are draft remarks for your Rose Garden statement with Prime Minister Bhutto.

Although the attached draft is slightly longer than might be typical for such statements, NSC advises that the unusual substance of these remarks -- concerning Afghanistan, atomic weapons, drug trafficking, and the historic re-emergence of democracy in Pakistan -- requires the additional attention. The late morning timing of the event also presents the networks with an opportunity to cover your remarks for that night's news.

In addition, Prime Minister Bhutto's visit, marking both the first state visit of your Administration and the return of an old friend* -- now one of the world's youngest leaders and the first woman to head an Islamic nation -- is an appropriate presidential event to highlight your long-standing role on the world stage.

* In her recently published autobiography, the Prime Minister recalls your gracious offer -- at the Hotel Pierre during her father's December 1971 U.N. visit -- to call you or George W. Bush if she "ever needs anything" at Harvard.

From: Library of Congress

DR. SAMUEL IFTIKHAR

Phone: 707-5428 (Office)
422-7788 (Residence)

To: Christina Martin

Phone: 456-7750

FAX 456-6218

EXCHANGE OF REMARKS BETWEEN MR. RICHARD
NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA
AND
MR. ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO, PRIME MINISTER OF
PAKISTAN
IN THE WHITE HOUSE EAST ROOM

September 18, 1973

PRESIDENT NIXON:

Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Bhutto, all of your distinguished guests from Pakistan and all of our other distinguished guests from the United States:

Mr. Prime Minister, you are no stranger to our country. You not only have made many visits here, we are very proud of the fact that in my native State of California you attended the great University of California for three years.

I am no stranger to your country. I have visited with Mrs. Nixon when I was Vice-President on two occasions, on two occasions or three occasions when I was out of office and then again in 1969.

As you come to our country today, however, you come in a different capacity. For the first time, it is my honour on behalf of all our guests and the American people to welcome you as the head of your government. In welcoming you, it gives me an opportunity to remind the American people and the people of Pakistan, and for that matter the people of the world, of the friendship that has bound our two countries together over a generation. You, who have seen our country, know that friendship. I, who have visited your country, know it well.

I can only say that it is a friendship that will continue in the years ahead and I can add this, that the independence and the integrity of Pakistan is a cornerstone of American foreign policy.

I can also add that our hearts have gone out to you in the difficult times through which Pakistan has passed over the past few months and years, for that matter. And certainly you deserve the congratulations of the whole world for the way that you have guided your country in this era by trying to restore the nation after the ravages of war.

And, as if that were not enough, then to have come upon your country one of the worst floods in history would have seemed to have been too much for a brave people, as your people are brave, but also for a new leader.

But even in that period, too, your people have shown that whether it is war or whether it happens to be the ravages of nature, you will survive and you will come through stronger in the end, and with your leadership, you have demonstrated that over and over again.

In our meetings, we will, of course, discuss the bilateral issues which we have between us in which we find ourselves on basic agreement in so many areas. We will discuss what contribution we can make to an era of peace in the whole subcontinent, as well as in the balance of Asia, and I trust also we will have the opportunity to get your views on world problems generally, because no country in the world can any longer be apart from the rest of the world and what happens halfway around the world, in Pakistan, for example, affects us and what happens halfway around the world from you

affects you. And so together, I am sure that our talks will contribute to not only better relations between our two countries, but also a more peaceful world for our children in the years to come.

And finally, on one, shall we say, symbolic note as you know, we are having this ceremony in the East Room and only a few of those who wanted to welcome you could be here. I woke quite early this morning, at 7:30, and it was raining and all of the splendid honour guard that had trained for weeks for your arrival were gone and I thought of the fact that on your previously scheduled visit that I contracted pneumonia and you were unable to come at that time and the rain was coming down and I reluctantly gave the order, because we could not tell how long the rain would last, that we would move inside.

But now as you arrive at 10:30 today, the skies have cleared and so your country, which has had the ravages of floods, you now see clear skies and I think these clear skies indicate that for the time ahead, Pakistan and the United States can look forward to a better time, a time of peace and a time of progress.

PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, distinguished friends:

Mr. President, your kind and generous words of welcome are heartwarming and I am overwhelmed by the sentiments you have expressed.

As you have said, I have come to these shores before as a student and on many occasions as a representative of my country. I have seen the magnificent evolution of the relations between your great country and my country. Vast oceans and continents separate

our two peoples and yet there is an ease of communication and of understanding.

Our relations are not burdened or encumbered by moral postulations and sermonizations to each other. We share a host of common affinities despite the diversities and the distances that separate us.

I can assure you, Mr. President, that the people of Pakistan warmly cherish their relationship with your country and your people.

We are aware of the wholesome contribution that your country and your government have made to the cause of peace and to the normalization of relations in the subcontinent. We value your contribution and, as we admire the search you are making for a new international structure based on the concept of lasting peace which has eluded us so far, we feel confident that with the imagination you have demonstrated and the tenacity you have shown to evolve this structure of peace, that your efforts will succeed and to whatever extent Pakistan can travel with you on this magnificent search for a lasting peace, we will whole-heartedly offer that co-operation to the extent that our limited goal traverses with your world-wide responsibilities.

The memories of the past are many but I can assure you that these memories do not in any way displace or dispel the newness of this occasion when I come here to represent my country as its Prime Minister.

I am looking forward to our discussions. We know that you are well-acquainted with our problems. At one time it was said that in

the recent past your Administration tilted toward Pakistan. That, Mr. President, was a tilt for justice and a tilt for equity, which is characteristic of your distinguished career as a statesman and a builder of peace.

I am sorry that the ceremonies were somewhat marred by the rains but nothing can mar the eternal friendship and warmth between our two peoples and that is more important. It has augured well by the sudden reappearance of the blue skies and I am glad that the blue skies are smiling at us.

Thank you.

JOINT PAKISTAN-UNITED STATES STATEMENT

September 20, 1973

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President Nixon took the opportunity to congratulate Prime Minister Bhutto on the progress Pakistan has made over the past twenty months. He noted the successes of the Prime Minister of

Pakistan in establishing representative government under a democratic constitution recently adopted by the National Assembly, and in restoring the war-shattered economy of Pakistan, which has unfortunately received a serious set-back in the recent unprecedented floods.

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PRIME MINISTER'S FAREWELL MESSAGE
TO PRESIDENT NIXON

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The United States of America and Pakistan are bound by a traditional friendship. In my opinion these close ties have been further strengthened by the cordial and wide-ranging talks we had with you, Mr. President, with members of your Government and leaders of Congress. I am returning to my country assured of the United States' support and sympathy in our efforts to achieve lasting peace and stability in South Asia.

Mr. President, we are indeed very happy that you and Mrs. Nixon have accepted our invitation to visit Pakistan. As the leader of a great friendly country, you will be received by the people of Pakistan with spontaneous warmth and enthusiasm.

Thanking you once again for your kindness and hospitality and looking forward to the pleasure of welcoming you and Mrs. Nixon in Pakistan.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S FAREWELL MESSAGE
TO PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO

September 24, 1973

The White House
Washington

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

As you leave the United States to return to Pakistan, Mrs. Nixon and I wish to extend to you and Begum Bhutto our warmest wishes for a safe and pleasant journey. I want you to know how much I have welcomed the opportunity to share my thoughts with you and to hear your views on the many matters in which we have a common interest.

Your visit has further enhanced the understanding and strong ties between our two countries. The United States views Pakistan as an important friend, and we remain ready to assist in whatever way we can as you continue to work for peace and progress in Pakistan and South Asia.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,
Sd -
(Richard Nixon)

His Excellency
Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
Prime Minister of Pakistan

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Dr. Samuel Itikhar

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Y.B. of Congress

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Sandra Charles
NSC

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PAGES 5 (plus cover sheet)

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RELEASER

FROM/LOCATION

1. EDWARD McNALLY, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING, THE WHITE HOUSE

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. CHRISS WINSTON, DEPUTY ASS'T TO THE PRESIDENT, LONDON WHITE HOUSE

2. (DO NOT AWAKEN)

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

7. _____

INFORMATION ADDRESSEES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. _____

2. _____

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), August 28, 1997

By RAW NARA, Date 9/30/04

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

LONDON WHITE HOUSE:

DO NOT WAKE MS. WINSTON.

PLEASE HOLD FOR DELIVERY TO HER AFTER
SHE ARISES ON THURSDAY MORNING IN
LONDON.

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CLASSIFICATION

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DRAFT

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING,
PER E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.3 (C)

PM 9/30/04

(McNally/Martin)
May 31, 1989
7:00 p.m.
Draft One
(B:BHUTTO)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE OF PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO
THE ROSE GARDEN
TUESDAY, JUNE 6, 1989
11:30 A.M.

CM -
This came
from NSC.
I suspect it's
wrong -
what about
PM. Sakashita,
etc? -
Ask NSC
for their
basis.
Thanks.
-E.

It was a special pleasure for Barbara and me to welcome
Prime Minister Bhutto to the White House this morning as my first
official guest.

Our relationship goes back several years to the time she was
attending Harvard and accompanied her father to the United
Nations. In my recent autobiography, I referred to her father's
1971 appeal as the "most compelling speech" I heard at the UN.
More recently, we met in Tokyo last February, where I believe we
were the most newly elected heads of government.

As you'll see in just a moment, Prime Minister Bhutto's
reputation for intelligence and eloquence is well-deserved. And
one observer noted that it was an asset to today's talks that the
leaders of both our countries are fluent in the same tongue.
That was nice. Fluency in English is not something I'm often
accused of.

But we've just concluded a round of very frank discussions
on a matter of traditional importance to both leaders. And I
think it's a fair characterization to say that the Prime Minister
has flatly refused my latest offer -- she's not going double or
nothing on this year's Harvard-Yale game.

DRAFT

2

Pakistan and the United States have enjoyed a long history of good relations. And I especially welcomed this opportunity to reaffirm our close bilateral ties and to explore ways to further strengthen our relationship. In this regard, I reassured the Prime Minister of our continued commitment to assist in Pakistan's security, economic and cultural development -- areas that contribute to Pakistan's democratic growth and stability.

Prime Minister Bhutto knows our country well and has many friends here. In our meeting, on behalf of the American people, I congratulated her on Pakistan's historic return to democracy last year. This is a development of which the people of Pakistan can be truly proud.

We discussed how important it is for all elements of Pakistan society -- the government, its military and civilian leaders, its political parties, and above all, the people of Pakistan themselves -- to insure that democracy is not just an abstract concept, but that it works.

The Prime Minister and I also shared an extensive review of the situation in Afghanistan.

For the last decade, the United States and Pakistan have cooperated in supporting the Afghan resistance in its fight against foreign invasion and occupation.

During that time, Pakistan steadfastly withstood relentless terrorist attacks and other intimidation tactics, so that the Afghan people might once again live under a freely elected government that represents the will of the Afghan people. We

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were and are proud of our common efforts to make Afghan independence a reality.

The effectiveness of our consistent policy of diplomatic and material support to the Mujaheddin was demonstrated in February of this year, as the last Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan. We agreed that the job is not done, however, so long as an unwelcome regime remains in power in Kabul. The Mujaheddin will continue their struggle for self-determination, an objective we and Pakistan have long supported -- and will continue to support.

Prime Minister Bhutto and I discussed ways to encourage a political solution in Afghanistan that will lead to a broad-based, non-aligned representative government -- willing to live in peace with its neighbors -- to replace the illegitimate regime in Kabul. The United States, in close consultation with Pakistan, will continue to explore any serious avenue with the potential to lead us toward this end.

The Prime Minister and I also reviewed our mutual efforts to enhance the stability of the South Asia region -- an important objective we share. She assured me that Pakistan's nuclear program is committed to peaceful purposes. I underlined the commitment of my Administration to discouraging the proliferation of both nuclear and chemical weapons, as well as ballistic missiles.

We also discussed the requirements of U.S. law that relate to Pakistan's nuclear program. I applauded her and Indian Prime

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Minister Gandhi's signing of an agreement not to launch strikes at each other's nuclear facilities. This agreement, and others concluded by Pakistan and India, have brought us closer to our common goal: a region -- and a world -- where all can thrive without the threat of nuclear war.

We hope they will pave the way for further progress, including new initiatives to curb the spread of nuclear weapons in the subcontinent.

We also had a chance to share our mutual concern about the twin scourges of drug production and narcotics consumption. I commended the Prime Minister's tough stance on eradicating opium cultivation, and expressed our appreciation for the recent extradition to the United States of alleged drug trafficker Malik Saleem.

To effectively combat this menace requires constant, unrelenting, enforcement action. And I encouraged the Prime Minister to undertake a vigorous enforcement campaign against drugs produced in and transiting Pakistan, offering U.S. assistance in this effort. The Prime Minister and I agreed to continue our close cooperation in the fight against drugs.

Finally, in the economic and social fields, I commended Prime Minister Bhutto for her strong commitment to economic reform. I noted that the agreements for U.S. assistance to education and housing that will be signed during her visit demonstrate the American desire to help Pakistan's people.

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In conclusion, Madame Prime Minister, our discussions have made me keenly aware that you -- as the democratic leader of a great nation of over one hundred million people -- carry a heavy burden. As I reiterated to you throughout our meetings this morning, you can rest assured that we will do all we can to help you with this burden.

You know, this is a particularly appropriate setting for us to see off Prime Minister Bhutto and her husband. A few days before their wedding in 1987 -- while Pakistan was still under military rule -- an American writer asked Mr. Zardari if he knew what he was in for. "Yes, yes," he said with a smile, "No one is promising me a rose garden."

Well, here you are.

Prime Minister Bhutto, on behalf of the American people, I applaud and encourage you and the people of Pakistan in your valiant efforts to move forward to promote democracy at home -- and peace and stability throughout South Asia. God bless you and the people of your homeland. And Godspeed you on your journey home -- and in the challenges ahead.

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DRAFT

(McNally/Martin)
May 31, 1989
7:00 p.m.
Draft One
(B:BHUTTO)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: P.M. BHUTTO DEPARTURE STATEMENT
THE ROSE GARDEN
TUESDAY, JUNE 6, 1989
_:00 _.M.

We've just concluded a round of very frank discussions on a matter of great sensitivity to both leaders. And I think it's a fair characterization to say that the Prime Minister has flatly refused my latest offer -- she won't go double or nothing on this year's Harvard-Yale game.

This is a particularly appropriate setting for us to see off Prime Minister Bhutto and her husband. A few days before their wedding in 1987, an American writer asked Mr. Zardari if he knew what he was in for. "Yes, yes," he said with a smile, "No one is promising me a rose garden."

Well, here you are.

I didn't promise Barbara the rose garden, either.



On Assignment with

Benazir Bhutto

How I midwifed the
autobiography of Pakistan's
courageous Prime Minister

By Linda Bird Francke

Benazir Bhutto pauses to kiss the Holy Koran in the doorway of Al-Murtaza, her family's ancestral home in Larkana, Pakistan. It is election day, November 16, 1988, and the 35-year-old political leader is on her way to vote in the first democratic election held in Pakistan since her father was overthrown 11 years ago. As journalists and television crews from



Bartered Bride: Benazir in December 1987 (left), on the day of her arranged marriage to Asif Zardari, and 11 months later (above), on the day of elections, visiting a women's voting station.

all over the world record her every move, Benazir makes her way with her mother and sister through the throngs of political supporters dancing in the walled courtyard. No one would guess that the tall, elegant young woman has barely recovered from an emergency cesarean section five weeks ago, and has had only six hours' sleep in the last two days of campaigning. As I climb into a jeep to follow Benazir to the polling station, the turmoil of working with her on her memoirs over the last 19 months is muted by wonderment. Benazir and her political party, the Pakistan People's Party, are the odds-on favorites to win the election no one thought would ever be held. And the book, which has strained me at times past the breaking point, is about to have its third and completely unexpected last-minute ending.

The project had seemed straightforward enough when I was approached with the idea in the winter of 1987. I had just finished

"Jiye Bhutto!" Long live Bhutto: She is to her people the redeemer of dreams, the vindicator of her murdered father.

working with Jihan Sadat, the widow of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, on her memoirs when a New York literary agent called with a new collaboration proposal: Benazir Bhutto. I hardly hesitated. Like many others, I'd been awed by the news stories of Benazir's daring return to Pakistan from European exile in the spring of 1986, following the lifting of martial law. The beautiful young political dissident, showered with petals and greeted by ecstatic mobs numbering in the millions, seemed the stuff of political myth. Here was the brave and determined daughter of Pakistan's only democratically elected prime minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who'd been overthrown in 1977 and subsequently hanged by Zia ul-Haq, his army chief of staff. Benazir, a graduate of Radcliffe and Oxford, had picked up her father's political banner after the coup and, at great cost to herself, during the next nine years of martial law under General Zia, constantly challenged the dictator to hold democratic elections.

The contrast between our lives was sobering. While I was feeling burdened by a full-time job at *Newsweek* and raising three



children, Benazir was spending the better part of five years being arrested, released, and re-arrested, detained in houses declared jails by Zia's military regime, and ten brutal months imprisoned in solitary confinement. After her release from political detention in 1984 to seek treatment abroad for a mastoid condition that would permanently damage her hearing, she spent two years fighting the dictator from exile in England, only to see the younger of her two brothers poisoned in a still-unresolved killing and the other—deemed a terrorist—forced into hiding. Three months after the lifting of martial law on December 30, 1985, Benazir had returned to test Zia's claim of renewed democratic freedom, only to be arrested again in August 1986 and jailed for a month. Benazir, now more or less free to move about Pakistan, was still making her populist fist under the nose of her father's assassin.

Her story was irresistible. I signed the contract.

"Don't tell anyone at the Pakistani consulate you're going to work with Benazir," I was advised by a Pakistani friend in April 1987, when I and my editorial associate, Daniel Wolfe, were preparing to leave for Pakistan. "They work for Zia and you'll never get a visa." We adopted the cover of travel writers and, armed with letters from *Condé Nast's Traveler* magazine, got the visas. Still, we were nervous as Lufthansa sped us eastward from refueling stops in the deserts of Saudi Arabia and Dubai on toward Karachi. We were about to arrive on General Zia's turf to work with his political nemesis on a book he definitely did not want published. As we stepped into the deadening 100-degree heat in Karachi, I felt the way I had when I encountered two hammerhead sharks 40 feet below the surface of the Humboldt current. In their element, not ours, sharks' rules prevail.

Ancient banyan trees lined the boulevards of fashionable Clifton, where Benazir's grandmother had built the Bhutto family home shortly after Benazir's birth. As we were driven past the Libyan, Soviet, and Iranian embassies, rooks circled overhead, their constant cawing underscoring the tension. Nothing was reassuring. The 15-foot walls of the Bhutto compound at 70 Clifton were topped by coils of barbed wire. Our car, Benazir's Pajero jeep, had bullet dents in the door from a recent attempt on her life. Pictures of Benazir, of her murdered father, of her mother who had been imprisoned herself after the coup and was now living in Europe, were plastered all over the Pajero, along with political slogans of the Pakistan People's Party, written both in Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, and in Sindhi, the provincial language. People gaped as the familiar jeep went by. The Bhutto family was definitely not low-profile on the subcontinent. Nor from the moment we entered the gates of 70 Clifton, observed through binoculars and photographed by Zia's intelligence agents in the military van permanently stationed across the street, were we.

"Never tell anyone your plans in advance," Benazir directed me that day, "especially over the phone; it's tapped. And remember never to use your last names. Let Zia's intelligence agents work to find out who you are." We were sitting in the windowless reception hall of the sprawling two-story house in which she, the eldest child in the family, had grown up with her grandparents, parents, sister, and two brothers, and where she now lived alone. Her cat, who was her only company during her detention in this house, was curled up beside her on the couch. Pictures of her brothers, who had left Pakistan at their father's orders shortly after the 1977 coup, were on the table, as was a picture of her sister Sanam, who now lived in London. It was in this room, Benazir told me,

Today I'll do the last visit I had with my father in his death cell," she said, pacing up and down the room.



ANDY HERNANDEZ/SYGMA

Beauty and Power: B.B. is the stuff of great myth.

that she and her sister were held at gunpoint by the army while their father was taken away. "You shameless cowards!" the normally shy Sanam had yelled at her father's captors.

"I'll tell the story chronologically," Benazir said. Each morning during the three hours she set aside every day from her political schedule to work on the book, she sat on the floor next to the tape recorder on the coffee table and, with perfect recall of dates and events, recounted her life. While she talked, she drank glass after glass of water, as if to finally quench the thirst she'd endured during her five months of solitary confinement in a desert prison in 1981. I had been told by a journalist in London that Benazir could be temperamental and cold, but in our early sessions she seemed soft, almost girlish, as she reminisced about her childhood. Her paternal grandmother, she said—Lady Khurshid, whose husband, Sir Shah Nawaz, had been knighted by the British for his government services before the partition of India—had given a 100-rupee note to a poor man passing in the street to invoke a blessing on Benazir when she was born on June 21, 1953. Nicknamed Pinkie because of her rosy complexion, Benazir uttered her first word, *ao*—"enter"—from her potty in her parents' room in response to a servant's knock on the door.

She was born into one of the wealthiest land-owning families

I had no choice," Benazir told me . . . "If I ever were to marry, I knew it would have to be an arranged affair."



The Groom: "Everyone in Pakistan is in love with her."

in Pakistan; their holdings, before partition and subsequent land reforms, had been measured in square miles, not acres. The Bhuttos, however, had broken with feudal tradition. "Many land-owning families did not bother to educate their sons, let alone their daughters," Benazir told me, "but my grandfather believed strongly in education." Her father was the first Bhutto son sent to study in the West (Berkeley and Oxford), while she, in turn, became the first Bhutto woman to be educated abroad.

I searched Benazir's face for signs of the losses she had suffered or the danger she was still living under in Zia's Pakistan. But there were none. Dressed as always in colorful *shalwar kameez*, her almond-shaped eyes rimmed in black kohl, she talked nonstop, moving through her pampered childhood to her years at Radcliffe, where she answered a telephone for the first time in her life and graduated cum laude in 1973, to Oxford, where she became the first Asian woman to be elected president of the Oxford Union debating society and where she indulged a craving for Baskin-Robbins ice cream by driving her yellow MGB very fast into London. Two weeks after she returned to Pakistan from Oxford in June of 1977, impatient to join Pakistan's foreign service, the army surrounded the prime minister's residence in Rawalpindi

while the family slept. Two years of agony followed, during which her father was tried on trumped-up charges of conspiracy to commit murder and she herself was in and out of detention as she struggled in vain to save his life. In the retelling, as hope ran out for her father our taping sessions grew increasingly painful.

Her face was very pale when we met for our work session about ten days after my arrival in Pakistan. "Today I'll do the last visit I had with my father in his death cell," she said, pacing up and down the room, her posture so erect she almost seemed to be leaning backward. "Are you sure?" I asked, knowing that she had never talked about it before. "I've got to face it," she said. "Give me the tape recorder and don't interrupt me." Her anguish during the next hour was palpable as Benazir put herself back in time to Rawalpindi District Jail on April 3, 1979, where she was forced to reach for her emaciated and ill father through the bars of his cell door because the prison authorities refused to open it. "Until we meet again," her father had called after her as she and her mother were taken back to their own nearby prison in a deserted army camp. They knew he would be executed that night. "Are you okay?" I asked when she was done, wiping the tears from my own eyes. "Yes," she said. "Are you?"

Over the next six weeks, while we traveled with Benazir all over Pakistan, my admiration for her grew. So did my skepticism about her chances of prevailing. Though there was little hope of Zia's ever sanctioning democratic elections, Benazir stubbornly held public meetings, paid condolence calls on the families of political prisoners executed by Zia's regime, and, in this very Muslim country, prayed at the shrines of saints. The political pace never let up, and as the temperature hovered at 105, I took to wearing a water-soaked scarf around my neck to keep from fainting. It became a matter of honor, after taping the personal accounts of tortures suffered by her political colleagues, lawyers, journalists, even housewives, not to succumb to something as trivial as the heat. Or to the menacing atmosphere. Death threats from Zia's agents preceded Benazir wherever she went.

But so did idolizing crowds in the hundred of thousands. Zia's regime did not allow any pictures of Benazir or even the mention of her name on state-controlled television. The only way she could reach the people and buoy their hopes for elections was in person. "Jiye Bhutto!"—"Long live Bhutto!"—Daniel and I quickly learned to call out in Urdu when frenzied supporters of the Pakistan People's Party packed hundreds deep around our car in the dusty processions following Benazir. Gaily painted trucks and buses loaded beyond overflowing regularly took over all four lanes of highway traffic and paralyzed the narrow streets of the old cities. With no protection save for her unarmed, volunteer student bodyguards, Benazir waved to the crowds through the sunroof of her jeep, ducking down only to change the cassettes of the political songs blaring on the tape deck. At times she was almost invisible in blizzards of rose petals.

"Hurry! Hurry!" her aides yelled at me when we arrived at a public meeting in Hyderabad. "Lady! Lady! Lady!" they shouted to part the dense crowds of young men so I could get through to the stage. I was wrenched along, my hand gripped by an aide who was plunging ahead, invisible in the dense sea of people in front of me. "Now! Now! Now!" I was commanded after my arm had been passed to another aide on the steps of the stage. As he hauled me up, I crashed into an overenthusiastic but unauthorized supporter being hurled down. We both ended up flat on our backs in

the dust. "I understand you had a little accident. Are you all right?" Benazir said calmly when I finally limped onto the stage, to the envious stares of 150,000 people.

"What is it about her?" I asked Samiya Waheed, one of Benazir's close friends and traveling companions, as I looked out over the acres of people. "The people of Pakistan feel enormous guilt for not having saved her father's life," Samiya explained. "They think of her as an orphan, and themselves as her family. She has suffered for the people and they, in turn, will lay their lives down for her." Shortly after Benazir began to speak, in Urdu, Samiya came to get me. "You've seen the crush of the crowds. You have to leave a half hour before she does," Samiya whispered. "Otherwise we cannot be responsible for your safety."

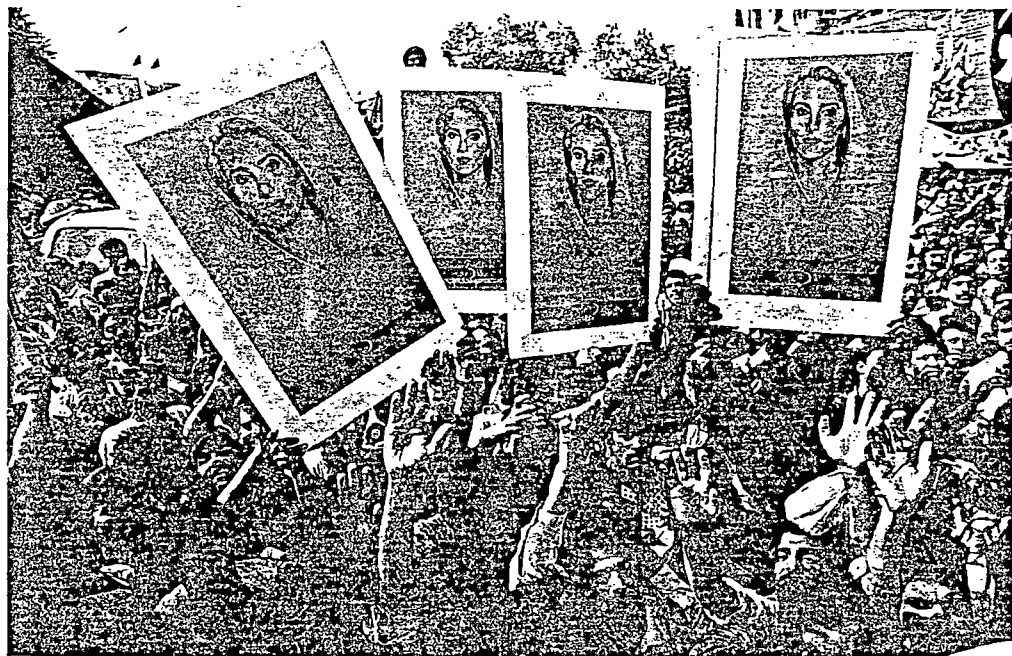
In early May we finished taping the book. We were in Lahore, the capital city of Punjab where Rudyard Kipling immortalized *Kim*. It was Ramadan, and everyone in the household where we were staying was fasting from dawn to dusk. The political mood was grim. One of the party's student leaders had been kidnapped by a militant fundamentalist group, and a volunteer bodyguard had been killed after falling off a car in Benazir's motorcade. Zia's regime had stepped up its surveillance of Benazir. Troops armed with automatic weapons surrounded the house just out of sight behind the walls. Chills passed through the household after an intelligence officer inquired at the gate about "Mrs. Linda."

As a precaution before leaving for the States on our separate flights, Daniel and I made duplicates of Benazir's tapes and the photocopies of her prison diaries. As a going-away present, Benazir gave me a gold ring—and a briefcase with a large lock. "Send a message to let us know you arrived safely," she said. My flight was scheduled for 11:00 P.M. At 10:30, one of Benazir's political allies picked me up, then stopped to pick up a sympathetic immigration officer at his home. "Just follow us without talking," my two escorts told me at the airport. My eyes never left their backs as I walked through immigration and customs without being questioned. My heart almost stopped when the flight was called and the priceless briefcase was taken from my hands and placed in the back of an airport minivan. The only other two passengers who got into the van had briefcases in the back identical to mine. Were they playing a shell game?

I successfully retrieved my briefcase at the steps to the plane and, in case Zia's men came after me, stashed it in an overhead bin far away from my seat. I'd put my sister's name and address in London on it. "If anything happens to me, please see that that briefcase gets delivered," I said to the startled British Airways flight attendant. Then we sat, and sat, on the runway. "This is nothing," my seat companion said unconcernedly. "We got all the way out to the end of the runway in Sri Lanka when the plane was called back and the police got on and arrested two people." I

downed a stiff scotch when the plane finally took off, the first drink I'd had since I'd arrived in this Muslim country, and toasted the receding coastline. Little did I know that trouble with the book was just beginning.

Communication with Benazir over the next few months proved to be impossible. The few unsatisfactory times I managed to reach her on the phone, the line would abruptly go dead. Only material hand-carried by friends to her or from her ever arrived. Then, two months after my return, I picked up *The New York Times* and read, dumbfounded, that Benazir was marrying a Karachi businessman named Asif Zardari. Even more dumbfounding was the news that Benazir, the epitome of the modern Muslim woman, had agreed to an arranged marriage. "Conscious of my religious obligations and duty to my family, I am pleased to proceed with the marriage proposal accepted by my mother," read her official statement from London. I tracked her down by phone in England.



Idol of the Bazaar: PPP supporters line the streets of Lahore.

"Don't you think it's a happy ending for the book?" Benazir said. "There are limits to what one has to do for happy endings," I said.

In December 1987 I flew back to Pakistan for the wedding. "I had no choice," Benazir explained to me in her bedroom at 70 Clifton as a hairdresser was arranging her hair in a trial wedding style. "If I ever were to marry, I knew it would have to be an arranged affair. There is no way with my high-profile life that I could ever get to know someone normally. There's enough gossip about my every move already. And my relatives have been after me for years to marry."

"But is it politically expedient?" I asked, sensing that much of her support came from her seeming vulnerability as a single woman in such a family-oriented society. "The people want me to be happy," she said. "As long as they know my marriage will in no way deter me from pursuing a better, more secure future for them, they will support it."

They certainly seemed to. In the (Continued on page 128)

week before the wedding, hundreds of people gathered outside the Bhutto compound. Gifts of food and handmade clothing were constantly being passed through the gates. Wedding dolls fashioned in the likeness of Benazir and Asif appeared in the bazaars, along with cassettes of wedding music. The Asian press was claiming it the wedding of the century on the subcontinent.

"I like him," I said to Benazir. Once again we were in her bedroom, where, two days before the wedding, she was trying out a second hairdo and new makeup. "You do?" she said, her eyes huge in her pale face. "Yes, I do," I said firmly, not even attempting to imagine the jitters she must be feeling marrying a man she'd never been alone with.

"Do you know what you're really in for?" I'd asked Asif the night before as the growing crowds outside the compound cheered and sang. "Yes, yes, I'm not a child," he said with a smile. "No one is promising me a rose garden." "But are you in love with her?" I pressed him. "Everyone in Pakistan is in love with her," he replied diplomatically.

When I left Pakistan a week later, having been followed to and from 70 Clifton by a military-intelligence truck filled with troops, the palms of my hands were hennaed in the intricate vegetable-dye design for women in a wedding household, and Benazir was a married woman. I arrived home just in time for Christmas with the material for the new final chapter and the hope of better communications with Benazir. She had given me a secret telephone number to a fax machine hidden somewhere in Karachi—she never told me where (fax machines were declared illegal by the regime). My fax connection was in the house of a Sagaponack, Long Island, neighbor, author John Irving. For the next three months he and his wife, Janet, were woken up regularly in the middle of the night by the fax bell announcing the arrival of corrected pages from Karachi. In April, a year after my first visit to her house, Benazir came to mine. We spent two marathon weeks in New York and Sagaponack finishing the manuscript. To let off steam, when she was with me on Long Island I took her to the stretch-and-tone class every

afternoon at a health club in Southampton. When she left for Washington on April 24, before returning to Pakistan, I thought the book was finished for the second time.

I was wrong! "Benazir's pregnant," a friend said to me at a party on May 25. "She's not," I said. "She just left here four weeks ago. She would have told me." My friend shrugged. "I read it in a newspaper

While I was forgetting all about Pakistan on the boat to Block Island, General Zia had been killed in a plane crash. "Can you believe it?" said Benazir from Karachi. "After all the years of terror and pain, Zia is simply gone."

in Boston," she said. Four days later the news from Pakistan was even more startling. Not only was Benazir's pregnancy confirmed, but Zia had simultaneously fired his government and called for the first general elections in Pakistan since the coup 11 years before.

Once again the book was blown open. The British publishers, Hamish Hamilton, extended their deadline to the end of June. There was less urgency in America, where Simon & Schuster was planning to publish four months after the British. But the English deadline had to be met.

"Okay. Let's hit it," I said to Benazir over the phone to Karachi on June 1, rigging my tape recorder to the receiver. Mercifully the connection was good and, for the first time, uninterrupted. Benazir told me that she had not known she was pregnant until she had seen a doctor in England on her way back to Karachi from America. The timing of Zia's call for elections, she said, was very suspicious. "A lot of people are convinced that the news confirming that I was expecting prompted Zia's announcement of elections. They say he can't

afford to have me on the campaign trail. But I doubt in any case that the elections will be fair and impartial. Zia is already on record as saying he will not return power to those he had taken it from."

"When is the baby due?" I asked her.

"In the fall sometime," she said vaguely.

I found out later that she was purposely keeping the due date a secret to thwart Zia's intent to schedule the election around her confinement. The baby, a son named Bilawal, would be born a month prematurely on September 21, two months ahead of Zia's calculations for the elections, set for November 16. For now, though, she was looking for names for the baby. "Can you and Daniel think of some auspicious Muslim names?" she said. "We'll send them to you on the 'messenger,'" I said, using the code word for her fax machine. "And you send us the material we need."

Janet Irving manned the fax machine for nights on end as background material, clips, and a draft of the final chapter billowed into her living room from Karachi. On June 5 Daniel flew to Pakistan with the new pages for Benazir to edit. The bulk of the book was already in galleys in England. The latest additions would be included as a postscript. When Daniel returned on June 24, we worked around the clock, and when Federal Express left with the final material for the British deadline, we uncorked a bottle of champagne.

July was spent in a blur of copyediting and proofreading the British edition, and updating the American one. I celebrated the end of the project in August by going to Block Island, a ferry ride from where I live. I arrived on August 17, to be greeted on the front steps of the hotel by the manager. She was holding a legal-size yellow pad covered with phone messages. While I was forgetting all about Pakistan on the boat to Block Island, General Zia had been killed in a plane crash.

I was stunned by the news and immediately returned home. "Can you believe it?" Benazir said over the phone from Karachi. "After all the years of terror and pain, Zia is simply gone." The British publisher was just as agog. Past the eleventh hour, the news of Zia's death could be added to the British edition only as an editor's note. Simon & Schuster had time, albeit barely, to

BENAZIR BHUTTO

include the death and the upcoming elections in an epilogue. Working from newspaper clips faxed from England and Pakistan, brief phone calls to Benazir, and tapes from a friend who had gone to Pakistan to work on Benazir's campaign, I prewrote what I could of the epilogue. On November 8, Daniel and I flew to Karachi.

The fall air was cool, only 93 degrees, when we arrived for the elections and moved back into the now-familiar compound at 70 Clifton. The pencils, notepads, paper clips, and yellow "flags" we had left behind on previous trips were still in the desk; a supply of Diet Coke was already in the refrigerator. Benazir, hardly recovered from the kidney infection that had sidelined her after the birth of her son, was away campaigning in the provinces of Sindh and Punjab, where her crowds were reaching half a million. Her 63-year-old mother, Nusrat, was campaigning from 70 Clifton despite a burning fever.

The atmosphere in Karachi was radically different from that of the dictatorial Zia era. Two months after Zia's death, the supreme court had upheld Benazir's constitutional petition to allow political parties to participate in the elections. As a result, colorful political banners spanned the width of the streets, and party symbols (the bicycle for Benazir's major coalition opponents in the Islamic Democratic Alliance; the arrow for Benazir's Pakistan People's Party) were glaringly displayed on billboards and compound walls all over the city. "Do you believe what we're seeing?" Daniel and I wondered. Even the intelligence van stationed across from the compound was gone.

The army moved into position in Karachi two days before the elections, sending tanks into sensitive areas and setting up sandbag escarpments on street corners. Inured by now to the presence of the military, I did my Christmas shopping under the barrels of automatic weapons. "Gidget goes to the elections," I muttered a bit hysterically to Daniel as we crisscrossed one heavily fortified area. But if ever there was a time to celebrate in Pakistan, this was it. Benazir's 11-year-long call for democratic elections was finally being heard.

"Congratulations," we said to Benazir when we met up with her at her family's country home in Larkana on November

15, election eve. Huge painted portraits of her, her father, and her mother hung on the front of the house, along with a Pakistan People's Party arrow outlined in white lights. While women and their daughters from this conservative rural area looked on from the lawns, hundreds of men danced in the courtyard to the throbbing sound of oboes and drums as television crews filmed

The army moved into position two days before the elections. Inured by now to the military, I did my Christmas shopping under the barrels of automatic weapons.

the action. There wasn't a vestige of the gloom that had hung so heavily on our previous visits.

We gave Benazir a tiny Harvard sweatshirt for Bilawal. She seemed different: softer, younger, her skin freckled by non-stop campaigning in the sun. "Can you believe all this has happened since we began the book?" She smiled, her face almost radiant. The pace of events did strain credulity. After 11 years of unrelieved tension, in the past 11 months she had married, had a son, seen the nightmare of the Zia era end, and was about to arrive at the climax of her stubborn crusade to vindicate her father's death and return the country to democracy. "I'm glad you're here. We've been through so much together," she said to me, as if the pressures of the book were comparable to all else that she had endured.

On election day Daniel and I went with Benazir while she voted in the separate polling stations set up for women, then on to pray at her family's walled ancestral graveyard, which itself has become a shrine. I could only imagine her feelings as she stood barefoot in the dust looking down at the graves of her father and brother, blanketed as ever in the colors of the Pakistan People's Party and covered with roses and marigolds.

We stayed up till dawn on election night, watching the returns on television. As the broadcast was in Urdu, only by looking at Benazir's face and the faces of others in the room could Daniel and I figure out how the vote was going. It was not until noon the next day that the count was completed. Pakistan's first democratic political party, founded by the man who lay buried 15 miles away and now led by his daughter, had won a resounding victory. The Bhuttos were back.

Benazir started editing the epilogue on the plane back to Karachi on November 17. After a day of press conferences and nonstop political meetings on November 18, she finished up in a grueling editorial session with us that began at midnight and lasted till 3:00 A.M. "I'm sorry I didn't have time to take you all to lunch," she said when we left a few days later with the ultimate ending. "Let's stay in touch."

Back in Long Island, I held my breath for days. The Pakistan People's Party had won a plurality of seats in the National Assembly, but not a majority. The army stood in the wings. So did the vestiges of Zia's regime, whose coalition party had run second to Benazir's. Who would be asked to form a new government? The final pages of the book were sitting on my desk. Everything was finished except for the two last sentences, which by now would have to run in an editor's note.

The Federal Express truck was waiting in the driveway when the news finally came through. On December 1, Benazir Bhutto was named Prime Minister of Pakistan. "At 35, Bhutto became one of the youngest elected leaders in the world and the first woman to lead a Muslim country," I hastily typed, then reached for the phone. "I want to send a telegram to the prime minister of Pakistan at the prime minister's residence in Rawalpindi," I told the Western Union operator, daring to believe again in happy endings. "What is the message?" the operator asked. "Only two words," I said. "'Welcome home.'" ■

Linda Bird Francke, who worked with Benazir Bhutto on her memoirs, Daughter of Destiny, just published by Simon & Schuster, is currently writing a biography of Christina Onassis.

DRAFT

5/31/89

THE OFFICIAL VISIT
OF
HER EXCELLENCY
MOHTRAMA BENAZIR BHUTTO
PRIME MINISTER
OF
THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN
AND
MR. ASIF ALI ZARDARI
TO
THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 1989

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

MONDAY
JUNE 5, 1989

4:00 pm Her Excellency
Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto,
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan, and
Mr. Asif Ali Zardari arrive
Washington, D.C.-Andrews Air Force
Base via Pakistan Aircraft from
Geneva, Switzerland.

Welcoming Committee.

4:20 pm Depart Andrews Air Force Base via
U.S. Presidential Helicopters enroute
the Washington Monument Grounds,
Reflecting Pool.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

MONDAY
JUNE 5, 1989

- 4:30 pm Arrive the Washington Monument
Grounds, Reflecting Pool.
- 4:35 pm Depart the Washington Monument
Grounds, Reflecting Pool, via
motorcade enroute Blair House,
1651 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
- 4:40 pm Arrive Blair House.
- 5:00 pm- Meeting with The Honorable
5:30 pm William J. Bennett, Director of the
National Drug Control Policy, at Blair
House.
- 7:00 pm- Informal Reception at Blair House.
8:00 pm

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

MONDAY
JUNE 5, 1989

8:30 pm Briefing by His Excellency
 Jamsheed K.A. Marker, Ambassador
 of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to
 the United States of America, at
 Blair House.

9:00 pm Dinner at Blair House.

Overnight: Blair House

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

TUESDAY
JUNE 6, 1989

10:00 am White House Arrival Ceremony.

10:30 am- Meeting with The Honorable
11:30 am George Bush, President of the
United States of America, at the
White House.

12:00 noon- Meeting with The Honorable
12:30 pm James A. Baker, III, Secretary
of State, in the James Madison
Room of the Department of State.

12:30 pm- Luncheon hosted by The Honorable
2:00 pm James A. Baker, III, Secretary
of State, and Mrs. Baker in
honor of Her Excellency
Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto,
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan, and
Mr. Asif Ali Zardari in the Benjamin
Franklin Room of the Department of
State.

2:10 pm- Signing Ceremony for Aid and
2:25 pm Narcotics Agreements in the Treaty
Room of the Department of State.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

TUESDAY
JUNE 6, 1989

3:10 pm- Mr. Zardari tours the
5:10 pm Aberdeen Proving Ground.

3:00 pm- Meeting with The Honorable
3:30 pm Carla Hills, United States Trade
Representative, at Blair House.

3:30 pm- Private meeting at Blair House.
4:00 pm

4:00 pm- Meeting with The Honorable
4:30 pm Michel Camdessus, Director of the
International Monetary Fund, at Blair
House.

4:30 pm- Meeting with The Honorable
5:00 pm Barber B. Conable, President of the
World Bank, at Blair House.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

TUESDAY
JUNE 6, 1989

5:00 pm- Meeting with members of the Board
5:40 pm of Editors of **The Washington Post**
and **Newsweek** at Blair House.

8:00 pm State Dinner hosted by
The Honorable George Bush,
President of the United States of
America, and Mrs. Bush
in honor of Her Excellency
Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto,
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan, and
Mr. Asif Ali Zardari at the
White House.

Dress: Black Tie/National
Dress

Overnight: Blair House

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY
JUNE 7, 1989

9:30 am- Breakfast with members of the
10:15 am Senate Foreign Relations Committee
in Room S-116 of the U.S. Capitol.

10:20 am- Interview with the Today Show
10:40 am in Room H-128 of the U.S. Capitol.

11:00 am- Address by Her Excellency
11:30 am Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto,
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan, to a Joint
Meeting of the United States
Congress in the Great Hall of the
House of Representatives at the U.S.
Capitol.

11:35 am- Meeting with members of the
12:05 pm House Leadership in Room ____ of the
U.S. Capitol.

12:00 noon- Mr. Zardari attends a
1:15 pm private luncheon.

12:15 pm- Honors Ceremony at the Pentagon.
12:20 pm

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY
JUNE 7, 1989

12:20 pm- Photo opportunity with The Honorable
12:25 pm Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense,
in the Secretary's Office (3E880) of
the Pentagon.

12:25 pm- Meeting with The Honorable
12:45 pm Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense,
in Room 3E928 of the Pentagon.

12:45 pm- Luncheon hosted by The Honorable
2:00 pm Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense,
in honor of Her Excellency
Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto,
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan, in the
Secretary's Dining Room (3E912) of
the Pentagon.

1:30 pm- Mr. Zardari receives
2:45 pm a briefing on drip
irrigation by a
representative of the
Department of
Agriculture at Blair
House.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY
JUNE 7, 1989

2:30 pm- Cornerstone Dedication Ceremony
2:45 pm for the new Pakistan Embassy,
12 International Drive, N.W.

3:00 pm- Meeting with members of the
4:00 pm Pakistan Community in the
Regency Ballroom of the
Omni-Shoreham Hotel,
2500 Calvert Street, N.W.

4:30 pm- Interview with Mr. Peter Jennings
5:00 pm of American Broadcasting
Corporation at Blair House.

7:00 pm- Dinner hosted by Her Excellency
9:30 pm Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto,
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan, and
Mr. Asif Ali Zardari in honor of
The Honorable Dan Quayle,
Vice President of the United
States of America, and
Mrs. Quayle in the Dolly Madison
Ballroom of the Madison Hotel,
1177 15th Street, N.W.

Dress: Black Tie/National
Dress

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY
JUNE 7, 1989

9:30 pm Prime Minister Bhutto and
Mr. Zardari depart the Madison Hotel
via motorcade enroute Andrews Air
Force Base.

9:55 pm Arrive Andrews Air Force Base.

Farewell Committee.

10:00 pm Her Excellency
Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto,
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan, and
Mr. Asif Ali Zardari depart
Washington, D.C.-Andrews Air Force
Base via U.S. Presidential Aircraft
enroute Boston, Massachusetts,-
Logan International Airport.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY
JUNE 7, 1989

11:10 pm Her Excellency
 Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto,
 Prime Minister of the Islamic
 Republic of Pakistan, and
 Mr. Asif Ali Zardari arrive Boston,
 Massachusetts-Logan International
 Airport.

Welcoming Committee.

11:15 pm Depart Logan International Airport
 via motorcade enroute a private
 residence.

11:30 pm Arrive the private residence.

Overnight: Private
 Residence

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

THURSDAY
JUNE 8, 1989

- 8:45 am Depart the private residence via
motorcade enroute Johnston Gate,
Harvard University.
- 8:50 am- Official photograph in Harvard Yard
9:00 am at Massachusetts Hall.
- 9:00 am Procession into Tercentenary Theater.
- 9:45 am- Commencement Ceremony in the
11:15 am Tercentenary Theater of Harvard
University.
- 11:15 am- Recession into Memorial Hall.
11:30 am
- 11:40 am- Reception hosted by
12:10 pm Mr. Scott Harshbarger, Chief
Marshall of the Harvard Alumni
Association, in Memorial Hall of
Harvard University.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

THURSDAY
JUNE 8, 1989

- 12:15 pm- Luncheon hosted by
1:25 pm Mr. Scott Harshbarger, Chief
Marshall of the Harvard Alumni
Association, in Memorial Hall of
Harvard University.
- 1:30 pm- Prime Minister Bhutto participates
2:15 pm in a review of the Harvard Alumni
Parade.
- 2:30 pm- Meeting of the Harvard Alumni
4:15 pm Association and Address by
Prime Minister Bhutto in the
Tercentenary Theater of Harvard
University.
- 4:30 pm- Press Conference in Memorial Hall
5:00 pm of Harvard University.
- 5:10 pm- Garden Party at the residence
6:30 pm of Ambassador John Kenneth
Galbraith.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

THURSDAY
JUNE 8, 1989

7:00 pm- Dinner hosted by The Honorable
10:30 pm Edward M. Kennedy, United States
Senator, in honor of Her Excellency
Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto,
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan, and
Mr. Asif Ali Zardari in the Pavilion of
the John F. Kennedy Library and
Museum, Columbia Point, Boston,
Massachusetts.

Dress: Business Suit

Overnight: Private
Residence

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

FRIDAY
JUNE 9, 1989

9:00 am- Interview with Barbara Walters.
9:30 am
(Tent.)

11:00 am Prime Minister Bhutto and
Mr. Zardari depart the private
residence via motorcade enroute
Logan International Airport.

11:25 pm Her Excellency
Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto,
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan, and
Mr. Asif Ali Zardari depart Boston,
Massachusetts-Logan International
Airport via U.S. Presidential Aircraft
enroute New York, New
York-LaGuardia Airport.

12:15 pm Her Excellency
Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto,
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan, and
Mr. Asif Ali Zardari arrive New York,
New York-LaGuardia Airport.

Welcoming Committee.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

FRIDAY
JUNE 9, 1989

12:20 pm Depart LaGuardia Airport via
motorcade enroute the New York
Times Building, 229 West 43rd Street.

12:45 pm- Luncheon hosted by the New York
2:00 pm Times at the New York Times
Building.

2:15 pm- Meeting with His Excellency
2:45 pm Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary
General of the United Nations, at the
United Nations Headquarters,
405 East 42nd Street.

3:00 pm- Meeting with members of the
4:00 pm Editorial Board of Time Magazine
at Time Magazine Headquarters,
1271 Avenue of the Americas.

4:15 pm- Meeting with Mrs. Wadia at the
4:35 pm Waldorf Towers.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

FRIDAY
JUNE 9, 1989

4:35 pm- Meeting with Former President
4:55 pm Richard Nixon at the Waldorf Towers.

4:55 pm- Meeting with Mr. Yusuf Buch
5:15 pm at the Waldorf Towers.

5:15 pm- Meeting with The Marquis Herrera
5:30 pm at the Waldorf Towers.

7:00 pm- Reception and Dinner hosted by
9:00 pm the Asia Society in honor of
Her Excellency
Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto,
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan, and
Mr. Asif Ali Zardari in the Grand
Ballroom of the Grand Hyatt Hotel,
East 42nd Avenue.

Dress: Black Tie/National
Dress

Overnight: Waldorf Towers

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

SATURDAY
JUNE 10, 1989

Private morning and afternoon.

5:30 pm- Meeting with Dr. Armand Hammer
5:55 pm at the Waldorf Towers.

6:00 pm- Meeting with the New York City
6:30 pm Pakistan People's Party at the
Waldorf Towers.

6:35 pm- Private Reception hosted by
8:00 pm The Marquis Herrera in honor of Her
Excellency Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto,
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan, and
Mr. Asif Ali Zardari at the Plaza
Hotel, 768 5th Avenue.

9:25 pm Prime Minister Bhutto and
Mr. Zardari depart the
Waldorf Towers via motorcade
enroute John F. Kennedy
International Airport.

9:50 pm Arrive John F. Kennedy International
Airport.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

SATURDAY
JUNE 10, 1989

Farewell Committee.

10:00 pm Her Excellency
Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto,
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan, and
Mr. Asif Ali Zardari depart New
York, New York-John F. Kennedy
International Airport and the United
States via Pakistan Aircraft enroute
London, England.