

**THE
SUN
BEHIND
THE
CLOUDS**

FARID AHMAD

**the
sun
behind the
clouds**

Farid Ahmad

**dedicated to
the memory
of my
parents, who
at an early stage**

**taught me to
speak the truth
and only the
truth.**

—the author

**—And cover not truth
with falsehood, nor
conceal the truth
when ye know (what it is).**

—al Quran

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The Sun Behind the Clouds

————— FARID AHMAD —————

Introduction

It is an irresistible pressure on both mind and heart that led me to write this book—a pressure to unveil the veiled, to explore the unexplored, to explain the unexplained and to exhibit the unexhibited. Almost two dozens of invaluable years have elapsed silently but unsmoothly since our emancipation from the clutches of colonial rule, and yet we are groping helplessly in utter darkness. Our crawling nation of 1947 remained where it was— or, as I am heavily inclined to say, it moved in a regressive way. Our genuine struggle against un-Islamic and undemocratic norms and practices, autocratic rules and bureaucratic manoeuvring, ruthless economic exploitation and rootless political propagandists, against restlessness, chaos and confusion, against parochialism, provincialism and regionalism miserably failed to achieve its goal; we failed repeatedly to crown our movements with success. And therefore we, as a distinct Muslim nation, as a separate sovereign political entity is faced with a big—very big ‘why’.

Democracy and justice, the conceptions of Islamic equality, brotherhood and Muslim nationalism were stabbed in 1958 and within the following four or five years all these virtues succumbed gradually but completely to this injury. We were forcibly submerged into the ocean of darkness, into the state of an oppressive authoritarian rule, into the helpless condition of trembling prey to the treacherous torture of the ambitious bureaucrats under the aegis of a strong autocrat. And yet they called themselves democratic, they pictured themselves as the champions of democracy and justice. Tocqueville was fully right when he remarked. ‘It is our way of using the words ‘democracy’ and ‘democratic government’ that brings about the greatest confusion. Unless these words are clearly defined and their definition agreed upon, people will live in an inextricable confusion of ideas, much to the

advantage of demagogues and despots.’ Democracy must be defined in simple understandable terms. People must know it and they must unmistakably distinguish between the champions of democracy and the murderers of democracy.

‘Peace, quiet, and orderly progress—these are only memories of a past long dead. Crisis seems to have become almost a daily feature of international life—in fact, the very word ‘crisis,’ defined by Websters’ as the ‘decisive moment, turning point, a crucial time,’ has been robbed of its meaning. So many moments that were decisive and crucial have come and gone that the observing citizen has become almost immune to the stocks of these recurring ‘turning points’. He watches helplessly, for what can he do to influence events—except perhaps to retreat into a nostalgic quest for formerly quieter time, for simple and easy answers to the complex and seemingly overwhelming problems of the world in which he lives.’ These words of John W. Spanier about contemporary world may be applied in case of our beloved country too. The recent political turmoil and catastrophe amply supports this contention.

We must then run after that big ‘Why ?’ Why our political sky is so much clouded ? Why the eternal tenets and principles of the holy Qur’an and Sunnah are not practiced in Pakistan which was achieved, obviously and undoubtedly, at the cost of millions of lives of Muslims, in the name of Islam ? As a Muslim nation we couldn’t—we simply failed—to mould our life—both social and political—in the heavenly light of Islam, in the teachings of Allah and his Prophet (Peace be on him). But the question remains. The big ‘why’ haunts us, and so we must see in retrospect. We must have our self criticism. We must analyse and interpret our past. People must know what happened beyond their vision, the curtain of falsehood and smokescreen must be lifted. My present book is a humble endeavour in this direction.

The book is exclusively based upon my diary covering a period of about one year—but a very crucial year of our national existence. In 1954 I was elected a member of the Provincial Assembly and in the following year I was elected as a member of the Second Constituent Assembly. In those days I was not so much conscious about maintaining a personal diary scientifically. However, subsequently, when I was arrested at Lahore in 1964 and was imprisoned, I began to note

down significant events and activities, albeit, not too systematically. Nevertheless, on my release on Oct. 27, 1964 through a decree of the West Pakistan High Court (the 'democratic' government of those days, however, expelled me and prohibited my entry into West Pakistan as soon as I was freed) I published a book in Bengali entitled 'Karagare Sataish Deen' describing the memorable days inside the prison bar. (Society itself, in a broad sense, is a prison as Peter L. Berger remarked, 'Society is the walls of our imprisonment in history'). In 1967, the Election Tribunal declared me elected to the National Assembly unseating my rival Mr. Gyasuddin Chowdhury and from those days on I began to keep short notes on the proceedings of the National Assembly in black and white. During the mass movement against Dr. Fazlur Rahman for his mischievous book on Islam I had been keeping notes on important events and occasions and to tell the truth, during the Round Table Conference which began on February 20, 1969, and in which I took part as one of the representatives from East Pakistan, I was the only person to maintain systematic diary on the proceeding to the RTC. The present book as you see, is exclusively based on these diaries and other notes on various meetings.

The present book covers the period between May 3, 1968 and March 25, 1969. This period, for several reasons, was one of the most crucial moments in the twenty-four year old history of our national existence. The RTC was the the first opportunity for us to restore democracy, to rebuild our society on the principles of Islam, to reorganize our national life on the teachings of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. But our dream remained unfulfilled—our leadership failed to achieve the goal for which the nation as a whole sacrificed much blood, for which the entire people was awaiting with eagerness, for which the Pakistanis launched the historic movement of 1969. What was the cause of our failure ? What factors were responsible for such a tragic end that culminated in the reimposition of Martial Law ? Who played what role in this national drama ? All these questions have assumed greater significance in view of the present political disaster that shook the very foundation of our existence as a distinct Muslim nation. And my present endeavour is directed towards the end of solving these questions. Obviously, the reader must not hope to find the complete answer and the solution is not so easy.

I have tried my best to present facts and events without prejudice or bias. Utmost caution has been undertaken to maintain simple neutrality and to present the facts as they were. However, I wish the readers do not to forget the words of Alain, 'Our ideas are our spectacles.'

The solution of the problems that we or the entire humanity confronts today lies in Islam and Islam only. Islam alone can offer an answer to the query of peace-loving people, to the cries of self-destructing human race, to the pessimistic, crisis-torn, ravaged mankind. Love and creativity have perished from the minds of men, brotherhood and wellbeing have gone from the hearts of the human beings. Destructiveness has become the measure of man's power, strength and civilization. Islam alone is the answer to this state of affairs. It alone can bring peace, tranquillity and progress. Allah, the Almighty, himself asserted : "I have given you the Quran, (in which): you will find (the description of) anything and everything; and read it (because) it is capable of giving you peace."

This book is perhaps the first attempt to cover a very crucial political phase of Pakistan. My labour and endeavour will be of meaning if the present book can attract other authors and political figures to explore this horizon more and more penetratingly.

May Allah bless us. May Allah give us the courage and strength to rebuild Pakistan on the principles of Islam, on the teachings of the holy Quran and Sunnah. Pakistan Kainabad.

The Author—

FROM MY OWN DIARY

3rd May, 1968, 5 Safar, 1389 Hijri, Friday

Warm send off at the Dacca airport by the members of the Pakistan Brotherhood. Arrived Lahore and received with great warmth by Sabir Jaffry, Baquir, Rana Zafrullah Khan and A.D. Khan. Had interesting talks with Nadim and Katil both of them being famous feature writers in Urdu dailies and periodicals. Lahore-Pindi flight was bumpy with dust storm and it was a pity seeing Pir Abdul Hye, Parliamentary Secy. in pains like in the death-bed Received at the air port by Salahuddin Khan, and Qureshi, P.D.M. Secy. Stayed in Kamran Hotel but found it inconvenient for offering salat. Joined Asr and Maghreb salat with the Pir Sahib of Golra Sharif at Chawla Garage. Went to Mrs Davies Hotel and fixed Room No 4 and decided to move next day.

4th May, 1968, 6 Safar, 1389 Hijri, Saturday,

Rose early, salat and went out for 3 miles walk on the Murree Road. Went to the Assembly and submitted notice for 2 adjournment motions. Learnt that the Govt was serious about getting a favourable judgment in the election writ case by Friday next. Changed over to Mrs. Davies Hotel after midday meals. Went to Sadar and purchased shoe, cap, typing papers and a book on Yoga. Salate Maghreb and Awwabin in Chawla garage with the Pirsahab of Golra Sharif, the usual meeting place of the Pir from Asr to Maghreb.

5th May, 1968 7 Safar 1389 Hijri, Sunday

Usual routine of early rise, salat and 3 mile jog-run for your life. Ishraque. Did some research on salat. Wrote letters to wife, children and relations, took naasta in the Dining Hall where I met Hasan Akhtar Gardezi of APP and had interesting talks with him. With Khurshid Sahib accompanying me, went to the Assembly hall on foot and read newspaper to keep myself upto date with events. Khurshid Sahib took dictation of letters to Abdus Salam, Chairman

Cox's Bazar Town Committee and Vice-Admiral A.R. Khan regarding the compensation, gratuity and pension of Pakistani seamen displaced from India as a result of the '65 September war. Contacted Janab Nurul Amin on phone and made appointment with him for a meeting which was fixed for the afternoon. 4 Jordanian boys studying in Pakistan saw and talked about their problems. Read the report of the Central Public Service Commission. Went to the Kohinoor guest house where Janab Nurul Amin was staying and requested him to call a meeting of the opposition M. N.A.'s. He agreed to convene a meeting tomorrow at 8-30 a.m. Went to the office of PPI and drafted a press statement in that office. Went to the office of APP and met the Manager and the staff. Met Major Abdur Rashid of Army Sports and exchanged views about the present state of sports and how the bottlenecks for improvement can be removed. Met Arif Iftikhar and the discussions took long time and thereby missed dinner at the hotel as the dining hall was closed.

6th May, 1968, 8 Safar, 1389 Hijri, Monday

The usual morning schedule. Did some Yoga asans Later. Went to meet Arif Iftikhar in Hotel Flashman as previously arranged and waited for about 45 minutes but there being no chance of his getting earlier than midday, went to the meeting of the opposition M.N.A.'s. Participated in the debates in the Assembly in all the motions and I was back in my old form. Law Minister Zafar paid me compliments saying that I have brought 'Raunak' to the house. Saw Gyasuddin Chowdhury (my rival who defeated me in the election but who was unseated as a result of the election Petition filed by me) in the Assembly lobby hobnobbing with Khan Abdus Sabur Khan and others. It is for the sole purpose of influencing the decision of the case in his favour through the intervention of Ayub Khan. Late launch and no siesta. Dictated a few letters and assembly questions to Khurshid Sahib. It is raining in the afternoon. Drew T.A. and D.A. bills and went for shopping. Owner of Kamran Hotel entertained me with tea in his restaurant and narrated his tale of grievances and expected me to do something. Met Minhaj Sahib of Pakistan

Services Ltd which operates the Intercontinental Hotel. A shop keeper came running out of his shop and greeted me with warmth and told me of his appreciation of the services rendered by me.

7th May, 1968 9 Safar, 1389 Hijri, Tuesday,

Got up at 3 a.m. and was glad to have been able to offer Tahajjut after a long time. Tilawate Quran. After the routine was over, tried Sirsha Asana (Standing on head). Started for the Assembly at 8.30 a.m. and did some reading in the library. The attitude of the most of the members of the opposition betrays a sense of responsibility to the people and self centredness and their anxiety to do things solo made me disgusted. Returned to my room past 2 p.m. Short siesta after midday meal. Dictated letters, questions and amendments. Went before maghreb and performed salat ul maghreb in a masjid west of the hotel in jamaat. Purchase a shirt. Greetings all the way from every section of the people who want me to fight for them. Made a few purchases but the shopkeepers refused to accept payment from me and requested me for doa. Tried Tritak as I felt uneasiness in my vision.

8th May, 1968, 10 Safar, 1389 Hijri, Wednesday,

Got up just in time but morning jogging delayed. Went to the assembly and took Amanullah and Gardeji. A.P.P. correspond in the car of Law Minister Zafar who gave us a lift in his official car while we were waiting for a taxi. He praised me for having raised the standard of debate. Attended meeting of the assembly but had very little to do as having spoken yesterday I had no right to speak to-day under the rules. Succeeded in infusing some sense of cohesion among the opposition members during the question hour by friendly suggestions. I participated effectively in asking questions and preventing the Ministers in evading the real answer. Afazuddin Faqir (Independent member of the opposition) proposed during the recess that all the members of the opposition should meet and evolve a common line of action against the Govt. Janab Nurul Amin did not like the idea. Spoke to Shah Aziz (deputy leader of the opposition, A.L.). He also did not show any

enthusiasm. Saw Gyasuddin Chowdhury in Sabur's room. In all likelihood making tadbir for the case through him. Tobacco Board Ordinance was placed for approval of the Assembly and I took full advantage of the situation by driving a nail in the coffin when I raised the question as to who had assented and signed the Ordinance because Ayub was mortally ill during the relevant time. "It was a Govt. in comma," I said and the ministers sat in bewilderment. Went to Chawla Garage and offered Salats along the Pir Saheb of Golra Sharif. 4 East Pakistani journalists in my hotel come and had long talks with them on various problems. Asrar of the Daily Azad and leader of the Journalists Union of Pakistan asked me questions on current topics and gave him proper briefing on the situation as I saw it.

9th May, 1968, 11 Safar, 1389 Hijri, Thursday

In spite of going to be quite late in the night, got up quite early for performing the religious obligations. Went to the near by masjid for salatil Fazr. Went out on jogging mission and dropped in the room of Deputy Speaker, A.T.M. Matin in East Pakistan House Saw Burhanuddin (Secy Ministry of Education, Govt of East Pakistan) in East Pakistan House and talked to him briefly. Talked to Law Minister Zafar and Sabur Khan regarding Telephone calls made to Siddiki from Pindi. Did some reading in the library on law and finance. Khurshid Sahib metan accident in his scooter when a taxi hit from behind. One Malik of Nairobi came to see me in connection with a representation pending in the Ministry of communications and I promised to do my best.

10th May, 1968, 12 Safar, 1389 Hizri, Friday,

Usual routine of morning activities. Attended Assembly session but very little to do. Studied for sometime in the library. There is good deal of activities for filling up the vacant seats of ministers. Had a quick midday and rushed to the nearest masjid as I was late in returning. Returned to the hotel after salate Juma and had some rest. Two East Pakistani employees saw me to represent their grievances. Attended a reception by the citizens of Pindi in honour of PDM leaders in Liaquat Bag and spoke in Punjabi. Called on Chowdhury Muham-

mad Ali at Darul Hayat and discussed the current political situation. Chief Settlement Commissioner came to pay his respects. Took up the case of the East Pakistan settlers in G.M. barrage area. Malik Shafi saw me again with his papers.

11th May, 1968, 13 Safar, 1389 Hijri, Saturday

Got up for Tahajjut. Slept for an hour and then got up again for salate Fazar. Umar Khan, an-employee of the Ministry of defence and Malik Shafi called on me. Framed questions for them. Drafted a press statement on the problems faced by the East Pakistani settlers in G.M. Barrage area. Went to Islamabad and called on Mutlaq, the Saudi Arabian Ambassador. Told him about the role of Hedaj qua the vicious propaganda carried against her in the western countries. Went to the M.N.A. Hostel where I met Afazuddin Faquir and Hasan A. Sheikh. Returned from Islamabad, had meal and a short nap. Some candidates for Army Commission saw me to take up their case for 3rd chance.

Addressed public meeting in Liaquat Bag. under the auspices of the P.D.M. Made a forthright frontal attack on Ayub's one man rule and my similes went home to the minds of the audience who seemed to like them immensely. Daulatana, Moudoodi, Nurul Amin and others also addressed the meeting but their scholarly discourse did not seem to create much enthusiasm.

12th May, 1968, 15 Safar, 1389 Hijri, Sunday,

After the usual morning schedule went and called on Chowdhury Muhammad Ali in Darul Hayat where from we started by car for Haripur accompanied by Nawabzada Sahib, Mahmud Ali, and Mian Tufail Muhammad. Addressed a meeting of the workers in Haripur. Start for the residence of Abdur Rauf Khan Jadun via Abbotabad. Had quick dinner and then started for Manshera and addressed a public meeting upto 10 p.m.

13th May, 1968, 15 Safar, 1389 Hijri, Monday,

Staying in Abdur Rauf Jadun's country house along with the leaders. Could not maintain Joga exercise. The house is in the valley with

hills on all sides. The green in the valley reminded me strongly of my own village where I was born.

Went to Abbotabad and addressed the Bar association there for more than half an hour. Qazi Sadique, President of the Bar Association, is a class fellow of Ayub. He asked me question after my address trying to elicit answer in favour of his friend but I was in top form out to kill with my humour and repartee.

Returned to Jadun's place for a quick lunch and went back to Abbotabad and addressed a workers rally Drove back to Pindi after the meeting. Had quick dinner and went to bed at 10-30 p.m. and had to abandon study.

14th May, 1968, 16 Safar, 1389 Hijri, Tuesday,

No change in the morning schedule of activity. Aminul Islam Chowdhury M.N.A. told me that Supreme Court was aware of what was happening in the High court. The proof of divine design. Gauhar Ayub greeted me in the Assembly lounge. Sabur Khan told me a secret which showed the degree of discontentment and utter state of helplessness within the Govt. party.

Moved an amendment to the Tobacco Board Ordinance and utilised for launching a frontal attack on the misdeeds of the Govt. Returned to the Hotel and had some rest after meals. Drove to Jhelum accompanied by Mahmud Ali M.N.A. reaching at about Maghreb time. Addressed the public meeting which is the biggest ever held and my turn to address came past midnight as the organisers feel that they can keep the audience waiting for me. Found great enthusiasm amongst the people. who greeted me often and on during the address. Drove back to Pindia reaching at 3 a.m.

15th May, 1968, 17 Safar, 1389 Hijri, Wednesday,

Got up late due to the last nights journey and the public meeting. Did Joga. Went to the Assembly. Rather a dull day. Assembly proceedings becoming farcial without any purpose and direction. No concept of the dignity of the house. Talked to Janab Nurul Amin on the subject and he is no more interested than others. Returned to Hotel.

16th May, 1968, 18 Safar, 1968 Hijri, Thursday,

Got up at 4-30 a.m. Tahajjut, Fazar, Ishraq, Chast and the 3 mile jog on the Peshawar Road. Discovered method in approach and work. Went to the Assembly and talked to Lahore and Karachi. Also telephoned and apprised him of the difficulties being faced by the East Pakistani settlers. Raised some points of order during the debates in an endeavour to restore dignity. Returned to the Hotel and had early meal and some rest. Worked on the Five Year Plan and took copious notes. Went out to Saddar and purchased some books from the London Book Depot. Did some study at night. Khurshid Sahib is going to Lahore in connection with the Atco job. May Allah grant him his pray.

17th May, 1968 19 Safar, 1389 Hijri, Friday,

Got up twice for Tahajjut and then slept beyond Fazar. 2 PDM workers from Gujranwala saw me and demanded that I should start at once and address the Bar Association. Rather an awkward proposition for me without previous intimation, upsetting work and make a car dash of 130 miles. I had to decline politely and told them that I am committed to addressing the public meeting there this night as originally arranged.

Attended the Assembly and spoke on the Chartered Accountant's Amendment Bill. Paid the bills of the Hotel and started by car at 1-30 p.m. Offered Johar prayer at Gujrat past 3-30 p.m. Reached Gujranwala at 4 p.m. Addressed worker's rally before Mahgreb and also a huge public meeting past midnight. Conventionists headed by the Chairman of the Municipality had spoilt the meeting originally arranged by watering it.

18th May, 1968 20 Safar, 1389 Hijri, Saturday,

Got up in time despite the fact that I had gone to bed past 2 a.m. Had early breakfast and started for Lahore by Khyber mail at 7-30 a.m. M.N. Jahan, the famous footballer of the national team, now serving as a Railway Inspector gave me a V.I.P. treatment.

Attended a meeting of the national executive of PDM at the Gulberg residence of Chowdhury Muhammad Ali from 5 p.m. to 8-20 p.m.

19th May, 1968, 21 Safar, 1389 Hijri, Sunday,

Attended meetings of the National Executive in the morning as well as in the evening. Malik Golam Jilani told the meeting that Yhaya had wanted to take over on February 5, 1968 when Ayub was critically ill. Fida had wanted a political settlement. Gilani told me in confidence that he had talks with Fazlul Quader Chowdhury who is very keen to become President. Bhutto is prepared to wait for another term.

Malik Golam Gilani thinks that I am the most suitable candidate. Daulatana group wanted time to have their separate meeting. Strange stand but in keeping with their tradition. Lengthy discussions took place on the issue of participating in the election. Confused thinking. Had no intention of participating in the discussions but felt constrained to speak at last. The discussion led to some direction and it was decided to participate in the election to the Electoral College. The decision regarding the election to the office of the President was deferred. I objected to the participation in the election to the Electoral college without participating in the election of the President. Sense of heaviness in my head.

20th May, 1968, 22 Safar, 1389 Hijri, Monday,

Had to hurry as I was hard pressed for time. When out for a stroll met Baquir. Attended a meeting of the working committee of the Nezame-Islami party at the residence of Chowdhury Muhammad Ali. Dr. Siddique Mirza and Rana Zafrullah Khan amongst others came. Flew to Dacca after a hurried lunch. Difficulty in landing due to clouds and poor visibility. Reception by members of the Pakistan Brotherhood.

3rd June, 1968, 7th Rabi, ut-Awwal 1389 Hijri Monday, Pindi

Attended meeting of the National Assembly, came to the Hotel and rested for some time after meals. Went to Chawla garage for Asr

and Maghreb salats where I happened to meet Malik Khizir Hayat Khan Tiwana, the controversial Premier of the Punjab shortly before Pakistan came into being. He is a disciple of the Pir Sahib and attends the Pir Sahib whenever he is in Pindi. Pir Sahib mentioned to me that Dr. Fazlur Rahman has written a book called Islam wherein he has cast doubts on the fundamentals of faith. Dr. Fazlur Rahman being the Director of the Islamic Research Institute and member of the Islamic Advisory Board, the book carries grave significance for Pakistan as well as for the rest of the world as being the official view of the Govt. of Pakistan. He wanted to know if I could raise the matter in the Assembly so that people might know. He told that he had approached many members of the Assembly with the request but none had agreed to do anything and now he pinned his hope on me. I promised to do my best but then I wanted to read the book myself and be satisfied before raising the question in the Assembly.

4th June, 1968, 8 Rabi-ul-Awwal 1389 Hijri, Tuesday, Pindi

Went to the Library of the Assembly and looked for the book. On enquiry I was told that the book has been issued and was lying with Mr. Mahmud Ali, M.N.A. Contacted him but as he was still reading it, he he could not hand it over to me.

In the afternoon, reported the matter to the Pir Sahib of Golra Sharif who directed one of his disciples to purchase the book and hand it over to me.

5th June, 1968, 9 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1389 Hizri, Wednesday, Pindi

Started reading the book and found that there was a planned attack on the basic tenets of Islam, such as (i) the existence of Hazrat J̄brail (Peace be on him) (ii) Miraj is a story invented in imitation of the Christian doctrine of the ascension of Christ (Peace on him) (iii) The Quran does not contain the words of Allah but is the language of Hazrat Muhammad (Peace be on him) (iv) The Quran does not mention 5 salats daily but only 3 and the Prophet himself used to offer salats 3 times a day and 5 times a day were subsequent innovation (v) Zakat is not a religious obligation but only a form of taxation (vi) On the day of

keyamat (final judgement) Hazrat Muhammad (Peace be on him) shall have no power of Shafa (intercession) on behalf of his ummat. I was fully convinced that Dr. Fazlur Rahman was in active conspiracy with an international gang of the enemies of Islam to adulterate the faith in a manner that nothing of Islam remain in the minds of the English educated Muslims who are already the victims of so much doubts, confusion and derision. It was also clear to me that Dr. Fazlur Rahman has been inducted into the high office of interpreting Islam at their instance and it suited Ayub Khan fine as he saw his role as that of Akbar the Great.

6th June, 1968, 10 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1389 Hijri, Thursday, Pindi

Framed question on the book in such a manner so that suspicion is not raised and it is not outright rejected by a too obliging Ayub speaker.

7th June, 1968 11 Rabi, ul-Awwal 1389 Hijri Friday, Pindi

Attended meeting of the Assembly and discussed the matter with Janab Nurul Amin. Mahmud Ali also happened to be present there. Both of them told me that they did not find anything wrong in the book and asked me not to do much ado about it. I politely told that I could not agree with their views. Submitted the question.

22nd June, 1968, 26 Rai-ul Awwal 1389 Hijri, Saturday,

Law Minister Zafar answered the question and told the house that the book was not published by the Govt. A.P.P. fully controlled by the Govt. took good care to see that the proceedings with relation to this question is not published and the reporters were under positive orders not to give any publicity to it though trivial matters of the Assembly used to occupy a lot of space having been covered by APP. I spoke to Akhtar Gardezi and Amanulla. Both of them were evasive. However Ahmed Hasan of PPA (Rawal Pindi bureau chief) prepared a separate story and circulated it.

23rd June, 1968, 27 Rabi-ul-Awwal 1389 Hijri Sunday

All the newspapers of Pakistan except the Nawa i Waqt and the Mashriq of Lahore blacked out the story even though a national news

agency had circulated it. That shows how powerful the anti-Islamic forces are in the Govt.

5th July, Friday, 1968, 9 Rabi-us-sani 1389 Hijri, Karachi

Arrived here yesterday after the Assembly session on way to Dacca. On invitation went to the Bihar colony masjid and addressed the congregation after Juma on the teaching of the Holy Prophet (Peace be on him) and the attempt made by the Ayub Govt. to denigrate his image.

Drove to Korangi colony and addressed PDM workers. Addressed 2 more meetings at Saudabad and Drigh Road colony. Rang up Darbar Ali Shah, CSP, Commissioner Karachi regarding the complaints received by me from the places visited by me to-day. Malik Golam Jilani suggested that I should seek election as President from the PDM.

6th July, 1968, 10 Rabi-us-sani Hijri 1389, Saturday, Karachi-Dacca,

Got up at 4-15 a.m. and got prepared for departure. Abdul Karim Rajkotwala drove me in his car. Called on Chowdhury Muhammad Ali on the way and held discussions with him on the flag of the party and distribution of party literatures. Met Prince Abbasi, 2nd prince of Bahawalpur who is now accredited

Reached Dacca with Abdul Karim Rajkotwala who is staying with me. Had a report on the latest development of the Agartala conspiracy case.

9th July, 1968, 10 Rabi-us-sani 1389, Hijri, Tuesday, Dacca

Held a meeting of the Neazame Islam leaders and workers present in Dacca. Syed Mahmud Mustafa Al-Madani, Syed Moslehuddin and others attended. It was reported to me that there was no news about Fazlur Rahman's book in East Pakistan as no news paper carried it. However, a copy of the Nawai Waqt was received in our party office and a Bengali translation of the story was given to the Daily Azad and somehow a belated report was published and religious minded Muslims have taken serious notice of this dangerous attack on Islam by Govt. sponsored officials and organs. It was strongly

felt that a movement should be launched as if such a grave matter was allowed to go unnoticed, Ayub Govt. would succeed in establishing their own version of Din-e-Elehi. All of us agreed that we should waste no time in launching movement and the co-operation of all Islamic elements should be sought.

23rd July, 1968, 27 Rabi-us-sani 1389 Hijri, Tuesday, Dacca.

Listened to B.B.C. broadcast which highlighted student's demonstration before Ayub's hotel room in London. Attended a meeting of PDM in Nurul Amin's house.

28th July, 1968, 2 Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1389 Hijri, Sunday, Dacca.

One Raunak Jahan, studying in Harvard University for his Ph.D. interviewed me regarding the history of the Nezame Islam party.

4th August, 1968, 9 Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1389 Hijri, Sunday, Dacca

Went to the meeting of Agarpara Madrassah and addressed the audience on the vile attacks contained in Fazlur Rahman's book for nearly one and half hours.

5th August, 1968, 10 Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1389 Hijri, Monday, Dacca.

Argued the case of Qamrul Anam Khan of the daily Azad in the Supreme court with success. A deputation led by the Aeroplane masjid Imam called on me and requested to address a meeting on the book "Islam." Attended a meeting of East Pakistan Relief Committee at the residence of Aatur Rahman.

7th August, 1968, 12 Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1389, Hijri, Wednesday, Dacca

Haji Ziauddin of Laboratory Road, saw me with a request to address a protest meeting on "Islam" in his locality.

9th August, 1968, 14 Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1389, Hijri, Friday, Dacca.

Offered salate Juma in Aeroplane masjid, Elephant Road, and addressed on "Islam."

10th August, 1968, 16, Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1389 Hizri, Saturday, Dacca.

Addressed another protest meeting at Badshahi masjid Lalmatia. Wave of indignation running through the veins of all true Muslims. Spoke to Profesor Golam Azam of Jamate-Islami and requested him to lend support to our movement. He replied in his characteristic fashion and took pity on me for wasting my energies on such a trifling thing. I did not persue the matter further knowing him as I did.

18th August 1968, 15 Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1389 Hijri, Sunday, Dacca-Feni

Started for Feni by Ulka and reached there at about Johar time. Usual reception by the enthusiastic crowd. Heavy rains rendered the Mizan Maidan slasy and no where a place to sit on. Large number of people have come from distant places and their degree of infectious enthusiasm can be gauged from the fact that they kept on standing for hours to listen to the speeches. People still feel inspired whenever there is a challenge to Islam despite all their shortcomings. Meeting a great success. Heard that Maulana Muhammad Akram Khan expired to-day at 6-15 p.m. Left for Chittagong by Chittagong mail.

19th August, 1968, 23 Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1389, Hijri, Monday, Dacca

Reached Dacca in the morning. Went to see the dead body of Late Maulana Muhammad Akram Khan lying in eternal sleep. He looked rested and at peace. Group of persons reciting the Holy Quran in solemn and sad tones.

23rd August, 1968, 10 Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1389, Hijri Friday, Sylhet,

Reached Sylhet this morning by train from Dacca. Syed Moslehuddin was already there and had come to the Railway Station along with thousands of others with garlands. Warm reception characteristic of the people of Sylhet. All the Sheikhs of Sylhet including Fultali, Baghai and Maulana Muhammad Mushahid were there.

Addressed a big gathering of people at the Registration ground. Maulana Mushahid was very sentimental in his approach and while

referring to my role, described me as the Amir Sunnate Jamat. People are pining for action. There was hartal in the city yesterday as a preparation for to-day's meeting. Dewan Abdul Basit, the provincial minister came on a special errand from his masters to his native town to prevent the meeting and had the mortification of seeing himself chased by the crowd and running for at his life. Earlier I offered Jamat the Jame masjid where I was surrounded by the Musallis. Started for Dacca by Sylhet Mail.

*30th August, 1968, Zamadi-us-sani 1389, Hijri, Friday,
Dacca-Jessore-Khulna*

Flew to Jessore on way to Khulna by 6-10 p.m. flight Earlier offered Juma at the Laboratory masjid and addressed the congregation., the movement is gathering momentum. Also addressed the congregation at the Hazaltala masjid at Khulna after salate Esha.

Addressed the members of the Khulna Bar Association on the duties of the members of legal profession. Also spoke at length on the dangers posed by the book "Islam."

31st August, 1968, 7 Zamadi-us-Sani, 1389, Hijri, Saturday, Khulna

Went to the Bar Association and addressed the members on the problems facing and the challenge to the conscience posed by Fazlur Rahman's book. Mixed reaction.

*2nd September, 1968, 9 Zamadi-us-sani 1389, Hijri, Monday,
Dacca-Comilla*

Went to the vacation Bench of the High Court and moved a bail application. Returned home for a quick meal and left for Comilla by personal car reaching Comilla at 4-15 p.m. Impatient crowds waiting for my arrival. Addressed a huge gathering in Comilla Town Hall presided over by Janab Ashrafuddin Ahmad Chowdhury. Tremendous response from the people who are eager for action. Stayed at Madrassa Qasam-ul-Ulum with mosquitoes intermitently disturbing sleep.

*3rd September 1968, 10 Zamadi-us-sani, 1389, Hijri, Tuesday,
Comilla-Chittagong*

Started for Chittagong by Dacca Mail. Put to great inconvenience

as despite my repeated requests, the local organisers did not arrange reservation with the result that I had to move like a shuttle from compartment to compartment in a vain attempt to get accommodation. While the train was already on the move, succeeded in getting on board in the guard's compartment. Changed over in Laksham. Maulana Ashraf Ali accompanied me.

Went to Nezame Islam party office in Chittagong and took light refreshment. Drove to Hathazari Madrassah. Warmly received by the students and Mudarrisin of the Madrassah. Stayed in the Madrassah sharing their food and accommodation.

Addressed a big public meeting in the Dakbunglow maidan. for more than an hour. People worked up to high pitch of religious fervour. Halted the night in the Madrassah and joined the big jamaat for early salate Fazr.

4th September, 1968, II, Jamadi-us-Sani, 1389, Hijri, Wednesday

Started for Mekhal to pay respect to Hazrat Maulana Mufti Abdul Wahab, revered by millions as a living saint living in seclusion in his rural home. Made the journey firstly by baby taxi and then by a sampan. He entertained me, gave the movement his unreserved blessing and gave his choicest blessings. He recited a Hadith that with the advance of time, people will be left very Iman, those who wage Jihad in the cause of Allah and His Prophet (Peace be on him) will be entitled to the same degree of felicity as the companions of the Holy Prophet (Peace be on him) himself.

Came back to Hathazari Madrassah and travelled by train to Nazir Hat. At the railway station there was a big crowd to give an affectionate reception. Taken in a procession to the Nasirul Ulum Madrassah. Suffering from acute stomach trouble due to irregularity and excessive rich foods in various places.

With stomach ache and a few painful motions that made me run several times to a distantly situated rural latrine, got for the meeting which was a great success both from the point of view of attendance and audience participation. Started by train a painful slow journey without any water and other facilities in the train. Reached Chittagong at 10-15 p.m. The news of the press conference addressed by Law Minister and Fazlur Rahman in defence of the book "Islam" on 2.9.68.

5th September, 1968, 12 Zamadi-us-Sani, 1389, Hijri, Thursday.

Stomach trouble is becoming acute with motions becoming more and more frequent. Started for Satkania Tewarihat at 11 a.m. by car. 2 hours time wasted in crossing the ferry at Dohazari. Reached Tewarihat at 2 p.m. Had quick meal and took plenty of green coconut water to ease the stomach trouble.

There was a huge crowd of about 50,000 to 100,000 people assembled to listen to me from distant places of the Police station. There had never been such a gathering before in living memory. The enthusiasm of the people infected me and when I led prayers at the conclusion of my speech, thousands of people were in tears like children stunned at the shock of great personal loss. Was forced to take a quick meal after the salate Maghreb despite my protest and car dashed to Chittagong, reaching there at 10 p.m. Came to know of huge protest processions having been taken in the cities of Jhang and Sargoda demanding stern action against Fazlur Rahaman and Zafar.

6th September, 1968, 13 Zamadi-us-Sani, 1389, Hijri, Friday

Salate Juma in Dewan Bazar masjid and then started for Fatehabad meeting near the birth place of the famous Muslim Bengali poet Alaul. It was raining heavily but there being no arrangement of cover for protection against rain water I had to address soaked in water for more than an hour. Principal Rezaul Karim presided over the meeting. In spite of heavy downpours people did not leave the meeting.

Went to Charia Madrassa and stayed there as the guest of the Madrassa. Read newspapers and learnt that Fazlur Rahman had been forced to resign due to the pressure of public opinion culminating in the violent mass demonstration against him and the autocratic Ayub regime. A silent revolution has taken place albeit the press having deliberately ignored it at least in East Pakistan. Ayub's Governor air dashed to Pindi to request, Ayub Khan to dismiss Fazlur Rahman and ban the book as he found the weather too hot with the indignation of the people mounting up every day. Every masjid and every Mahfil was converted into centres of discontent against Ayub and Monem.

7th September, 1968, 14 Zamadi-us-Sane, 1389, Hijri, Saturday

Started from Charia Madrassa for Raozan in a baby taxi and reached there by midday. Stayed with Qazi Sahib in Sultanpur, Raozan and had midday meals with him. Addressed a successful meeting and reached Chittagong.

8th September, 1968, 15 Zamadi-us-Sani 1389 Hijri, Sunday

Reached Chandraghona from Chittagong by baby taxi. Addressed a meeting in the local Jame masjid in Dubashi Bazar. An officer of D.I.B. showed me a copy of a telephonic message received from DSB, Dacca by his Chittagong counterpart saying that Fazlur Rahman's book has been proscribed by the Govt. Had great difficulty in returning from Chandraghona as baby taxi drivers refused to go beyond Chandraghona at night.

9th September, 1968, 16 Zamadi-us-Sani, 1389 Hijri, Monday.

The car did not come for me as promised. Started by minibus for Chakaria with Maulana Ashraf Ali and Syed Ahmad. Inordinate delay in crossing the ferry. Reached Chakaria at 2 p.m. Learnt that car sent by Rafique Sahib of Cheringa had crossed us. Had lunch at Rafique's place. Reached meeting place at aerodrom near about 4 p.m. Addressed the meeting successfully. Nazir came in a jeep to pick us up. Went with Maulana Siddique and Ashraf Ali reaching C & B at 9 30. pm.

10th September, 1968, 17 Zamadi-us-Sani, 1389 Hijri, Tuesday.

Spent a busy morning at home attending to the grievances of the people and trying to help them. Amma was not at home She had gone to Chittagong to see my ailing siter Roushan Ara. Addressed a big public meeting in front of Cox's Bazar Public Institute. People all over the sub-division had come to attend the meeting. Relapse of stomach trouble having a teeling effect on strength and efficiency.

11th September, 1968, 18 Zamadi-us-Sani, 1389 Hijri, Wednesday

Started by minibus for Banskhal. Reached Banskhal by baby taxi from Satkania through the hilly ass. Quite a risky journey. Went to Jaldi Madrassa at about 2 p.m. Addressed one of the biggest ever meeting held in Jaldi. Saw people sobbing during my address. Visible demonstration of the love of the Muslims for their Holy Prophet (Peace be on him). Whenever his name is uttered with love, it causes tears to flow. Stayed the night in the Madrassa with the teachers and the students.

12th September, 1968 19 Zamadi-us-Sani, 1389 Hijri, Thursday

Started for Chittagong by baby taxi. The road is hopelessly bad and shakes one to his fibres.

*12th September, 1968, 19 Zamadi-us-Sani, 1389 Hijri, Thursday,
Chittagong*

Reached Chittagong from Bankshali. Suffering from stomach trouble in an acute form. Addressed a press conference at Hotel Miskha and flew to Dacca reaching home at 7-30 p.m. Did a lot of reading to put myself abreast with the events.

15th September, 1968, 21 Zamadi-us-Sani, 1389 Hijri, Saturday, Pabna

Arrived here yesterday in connection with a civil case between father and his son and took the opportunity in addressing a crowded public meeting. The audience participation was so sincere that they paid money in the meeting for conducting the jihad against the Ayub Govt. for its anti-Islamic deeds. The resignation of Fazlur Rahman created misgivings in public mind about the utility of continuing the movement further.

16th September, 1968, 27 Zamadi-us-Sani, 1389 Hijri, Friday

Availed the first flight to Chittagong to address a series of meetings on special request from the local people. To-day was fixed for the Ziri meeting but Maulvi Amjad played foul and called it off. He is now

in the pay of Mufti Mahmud who came here and tried to do harm to the movement firstly by engaging some moulvies in alleged relief work for which he is reported to have paid a sum of Rs. 30,000/- to the pliant Imam of Chittagong Jame Masjid. Mufti Mahmud also made a feeble attempt to divert the movement by raising anti Qadiani issue though there is no existence of such a problem. Money seems to be no problem with the poorly paid achers of Madrassas while we had been raising funds in public meetings in order to meet the expenses of the movement.

17th September, 1968, 28, Zamadi-us-Sani, 1389 Hijri, Saturday

Went to Bibirhat by train and car via Nazirhat. Local leadership organised the movement and they arranged a warm reception and a slogan chanting long procession lent colour and strength. Addressed a crowded meeting. People vied with each other in paying their donations to me in rupees, annas and paisa. Reached Chittagong by train at 11-30 p.m. and had to forgo meals as it was too late. The delay in the arrival of the train was due to Ayub's visit to Chittagong. This is the way a dictator interferes with the lives of the people.

*18th September, 1968, 29 Zamadi-us-Sani, 1389 Hijri, Sunday,
Chittagong*

Flew to Dacca by the 1st flight and youngest son Shahid received met at the airport. Attended both the sessions of PDM at the Dacca District Bar Association Hall and delievred a fighting speech. Addressed a crowded meeting on Fazlur Rahman's book and the anti-Islamic activities of the discredited Ayub-Monem Govt. People gave me warm support.

24th September, 1968, 2 Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Tuesday

Arrived Chowmohani by train from Chittagong. Reception at the Railway station by Maulana Mohibullah and others. Stayed in the house of an Awami league minded businessman who also decided to lend his support to the movement on religious grounds. Addressed a vast gathering at the Heliport. People attained highs of emotions in the name of Islam and paid more than Rs. 500/- on the spot.

26th September, 1968, 4, Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Thursday.

Reached Bajra by train from Chowmohani and started for Amashipara by slow moving country boat as jeep driver reported illness and inability to drive. While waiting for the hiring of the boat, Headmaster Bajra High School entertained me with sweets. Arrived in Amashi para and stayed in the Madrassa and for the first time during the movement, got food to my liking. Good crowd despite the fact that it is a hot day. People stopped their normal activities and joined the movement ; proof of their love for Islam. Started for Sonaimuri by boat at 11-15 p.m. and got into a compartment with great difficulty. A contractor told me of the corruption in preparation of a stage on the Dacca-Narayanganj Road for the reception of Ayub What scant regard for public money for a vain glorious usurper masquerading as a great man.

27th September, 1968, 5, Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Friday.

Reached Chittagong. People from Dharmapur have come for reception. Travelled upto Gohira in a hired taxi and jeep not being available hired a baby taxi to cover the Kutcha road upto Dharmapur. Principal Rezaul Karim and Maulana Siddique Ahmad also joined me later. Addressed a big meeting which continued upto 10 p.m. Sayed Moslehudding came from Dacca and addressed the meeting.

28th September, 1968, 6 Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Saturday.

Travelled to Chittagong by jeep and then proceeded to Bathua in a hired taxi. Stayed in Bathua Madrassa and addressed a sizeable crowd and collected donations in the meeting. Principal Rezaul Karim also came and addressed the meeting.

29th September, 1968, 7 Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Sunday

Principal Rezaul Karim came to pick me up in his brother in law's car to take me to his village Sharafbhata in Rangunia P.S. Crossed the Karnafuli river at midday. Warm reception. Entire village was at the ghat for reception. Midday meal in the house of the paternal

uncle of Rezaul Karim. Addressed the biggest meeting ever held in that locality at the foot of a hillock amidst scenic surroundings. Heated oppressive weather with depression. Dinner at the residence of the maternal uncle of Rezaul Karim. Came back to Chittagong late in the night.

30th September, 1968, 8 Rajab, 1389 Hijri Monday.

Started for Cox's Bazar in minibus accompanied by brother Nazir Ahmad and brother in law Muhammad Amin. Reached Eadgonj by 12 p.m. Stayed in Almachia Madrassa. The meeting was scheduled at the Madrassa premises but they backed out of fear. A sad commentant and fear of loss of favour by Ayub Khan. Had to arrange a meeting at Eadgonj fish market. No effect on the size of the crowd. Returned to my Cox's Bazar by baby taxi.

1st October, 1968, 9 Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Tuesday

Started for Ukhya and addressed a record crowd there though it was a bazar day. Jalal Mia told me that Zafar Alam is determined to contest against me in the next National Assembly election.

2nd October, 1968, 10 Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Wednesday

Started for Moiscal by I.W.T.A. ferry and went to Nayabazar in Bara Moiscal and addressed a very big meeting even exceeding the crowd I had when I addressed on September war against Hindustan. Stayed the night in Bara Moiscal.

3rd October, 1968, 11 Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Thursday

Returned to Cox's Bazar at 8 a.m. It is raining incessantly since the morning and yet a large number of party workers assembled in my residence for the workers meeting. Held discussion with them on a number of problems.

4th October, 1968, 12 Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Friday

Addressed a grand meeting in front of Ramu Jame Masjid Had to spend a lot of time replying to the points made by the hired maulanas

of Zafar Alam who held a meeting in his locality in defence of Fazlur Rahman.

5th October, 1968, 13 Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Saturday.

My first teacher of early childhood Maulvi Abdul Latif saw me with a request to help him in finding a seat for Hadj. I must do something about. I owe to him more than I owe to any other teacher. Flying to Chittagong. Met Chief Justice B.A. Siddiki at the airport. He was very friendly. Presided over a general meeting of the Chittagong Steel Mill Workers Union of which I am the Presidaent. Bulk of the workers are temporary hands and living in a state of insecurity. Drove to Kalurghat Isphani masjid and delivered a short speech. Dashed to the air port and reached Dacca by the last flight.

6th October, 1968, 14 Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Sunday

Went to the Paltan meeting organised by PDM. Reached the meeting place at 5-30 p.m. Abdus Salam Khan and Golam Azam prepared a list of speakers and ommitted my name from it. Golam Azam took the mike himself. At intervention of Nurul Amin, they were forced to include my name as the crowd demanded that I should address them. There was time limit of 5 minutes and as I came to the end of my time, people demanded that I should not be subjected to any time limit. I delivered an aggressive speech hitting the Govt. hard and people applauded me with claps. Took out a procession and led the procession in a rickshaw as I had an inflammed eczema.

15th October, 1968, 23 Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Tuesday

Went to the residence of Shah Sahib. He gave me instructions relating to spiritual matters. He was constantly praying for me and I would be given additional responsibilities.

16th October, 1968, 24 Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Wednesday

Presided over the joint meeting of T.T. and R.M.S. Union and addressed them on the question of recumpment of flood advance relief and

medical facilities. The meeting authorised me to take up the matter with Minister Sabur Khan and the departmental authorities.

18th October, 1968, 26 Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Friday

Attended a dinner at the residence of brother-in-law Muhammad Hussain. Large number of guests. Lengthy discussion on the fast deteriorating situation in Pakistan. The affairs of the University came for special discussion with reports of looting and sexual orgies by the Govt. sponsored students organisation. They had snatched away the mike from the Vice-Chancellor while the latter was speaking: Zamir Ali being the student leader.

20th October, 1968, 28 Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Sunday

Attended a Milad Mahfil at the residence of Shah Sahib and on his command I had to speak on the life of the Holy Prophet (Peace be on him). Shah Sahib had arranged midday for the devotees who attended the Mahfil.

21st October, 1968, 29 Rajab, 1389 Hijri, Monday.

Attended the death reference of late Justice Abu Saleh Muhammad Akram, the first chief justice of East Pakistan who died in Lahore on 9.10.68. I had worked with him in the Economy Committee in 1957 set up by Suhrawardy Govt and was touched by his simplicity and honesty. He had mastery over Sufi Persian literature. High court did not sit after the recess as a mark of respect to the memory of Late Justice Akram. The appointment of Justice Hamoodur Rahman as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Justice Mujibur Rahman as a Justice of the same court were announced by Radio Pakistan.

22nd October, 1968, 30 Rajab, 1389 Hijri Tuesday

Children brought a Sufi who took his food with great reluctance after being sure that there was nothing haram either in the earning or in the food itself.

THE SUN BEHIND THE CLOUDS

25th October, 1968, 3 Shaban, 1389 Hijri Friday

Osman Bhai came and reported that the spiritual indications say that the days of Ayub were numbered.

26th October, 1968, 4 Shaban, 1389 Hijri Saturday

Attended a meeting of the office bearers of PDM.

27th October, 1968, 5 Shaban, 1389 Hijri, Sunday

Participated in a symposium at the Islamic Academy on revolutionary thought and action of man.

29th October, 1968, 7 Shaban, 1389 Hijri, Tuesday.

Went to Zaina Mudrayan in Abhoy Das Lane to supervise the work of the press. Old father of Muhammad Ali a press worker knows the science of answering queries by opening a page from the Holy Quran. He experimented on me and told that my ambition would be fulfilled and my disease would be cured.

1st November, 1968, 10 Shaban, 1389 Hijri, Friday

Osman Bhai said that he had the spiritual head of Chittagong Division that Ayub is to face death and has to go by March, 69. I was due to attain heights by 64 but some unknown cause had prevented it. I have to seek special blessings of the Almighty so that the curse is removed. He advised me to go to the mazar sharif at Chawkbazar masjid and offer special prayers.

2nd November, 1968, 11 Shaban, 1389 Hijri, Saturday

Went to the bank of the Buriganga and dropped the 3 talisman in water and thereafter went to the Chawkbazar masjid and joined the congregation of Salate Juhar. Went to the mazar sharif of Hafiz Jaunpuri and offered special prayers as suggested.

3rd November, 1968, 12, Shaban, 1389 Hizri Sunday

Started for Habiganj by Ulka. Change over at Akhaura, Reached Shaista ganj and drove to Bahubal by car arranged by the organisers

of the meeting. Addressed a big crowd and acquainted the audience on Fazlur Rahman and the conspiracy of Ayub against the basic tenets of Islam. Returned in the jeep of Magistrate Tawfique who had been deputed to attend my meeting. He is an old Awami Leaguer who has started believing in Islam and the integrity and unity of Pakistan. Waited in Shiastaganj to board the train from Sylhet going to Dacca.

7th November, 1968, 16 Shaban, 1389, Hijri, Thursday.

Started for Chittagong by 10 a.m. flight via Comilla, G.O.C. Maj-General Muzaffaruddin was also travelling by the same flight. Drove to Dohazar and addressed another meeting on Fazlur Rahman.

8th November, 1968, 17 Shaban, 1389, Hijri, Friday.

Started from Chittagong and arrived in Ranirhat just in time for Juma. Proceeded to Rajanagar in Rangunia by rickshaw in an hour's time. The Raja-Rana combination of names owe their origins to the rulers of Rangamati. Addressed a big public meeting in Raja and returned to Hotel Shahjahan.

9th November, 1968, 18 Shaban 1389 Hijri, Saturday.

Started for Mashigara in Debidowar P.S. in Comilla by car and addressed another meeting of the movement. Stayed in the village with an acute attack of stomach ache with constant motions.

12 November, 1968, 21 Shaban 1389 Hijri Tuesday.

Attended court and went to witness the final of the Aga Khan Gold Cup Football final between Md. Sporting, Dacca vs. Ceylon which the former won by 5-0. Ayub's Governor Monem Khan had come for the distribution of prizes but he was jeered and boed when he entered the stadium and when he went to distribute the prizes police had to throw a cordon for his protection.

13 November, 1968, 22 Shaban, 1398 Hijri, Wednesday.

With depression in the bay of Bengal, the weather is dull, sultry and oppressive. Attended a reception given by Indonesian Consul General Nazar Yacub in honour of the Indonesian Ambassador in Pakistan. Also attended by members of the Indonesian Football team which came to participate in the Aga Khan Gold Cup. Was introduced to the British Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca. He took special interest in this first meeting and invited me to dinner the same night at his Gulshan residence Shamolee. Had discussion on a wide range of subjects and his real intention seemed to have to know who the Presidential candidate from the opposition would be. He seemed well posited with facts and well acquainted with the political personalities of Pakistan.

14th November, 1968, 23 Shaban, 1389, Hijri, Thursday.

Called on Shah Sahib to pay my respect. He told me that Siddiki can not pass judgment against me in the election writ case. and I shall continue as member

15th November, 1968, 24 Shaban, 1389 Hijri, Friday

Osman Bhai came and told me that 3rd week will be dangerous for Ayub Khan and Monem Khan, Ayub not to continue beyond March, 69. I should be prepared to lead the country and the leadership would continue for six years.

18th November, 1968, 27 Shaban, 1389, Hijri, Monday.

Mustafa Kamal of Gorakghata came and reported that a student threw his shoes at Monem Khan when the latter was in Chittagong. Read Fathul Gyub by Hazrat Abdul Quader Gilani.

19th November, 1968, 28 Shaban 1389, Hijri, Tuesday

High Court Bar Association Lawyers joined District Bar Association Lawyers to protest against *West Pak* atrocities. Asghar Khan ex-Air Chief has joined the battle against Govt.

21th November, 1968 : 30 Shaban 1389 Htjri, Thursday

Attended a meeting at Chawkbazar (Brahbanbaria). No arrangement for transport. A memon came to congratulate me for having told the N.A. in the past that treasury bench was treachery bench. Flew back to Dacca by 7-40 p.m. Feeling depressed. Ramadhan moon is sighted today.

24th November 1968 : 3 Ramzan 1389 Hijri, Sunday

Read comments in Sunday's newspaper on the entry of Asghar Khan into politics. He has made an impact by his entry at a critical moment of national life. Heading to a speculation about his future.

25th November 1968 : 4 Ramzan 1389 Hijri, Monday

Shah Sahib who advised to rely entirely on Allah who will arrange things without any effort from my side. Al-Amin Bhai repeated his apprehension about unhappy things happening in March and of regime. Naidu reported that Fazlul Qader is very jubilant and counting heavily upon contesting next Presidential election. He thinks that Bhutto and Asghar could not contest and he is the only candidate.

28th November 1968 : 7 Ramzan 1589 Hijri, Thursday

Went to High Court and waited for sometime. Fazlul Qader trying to float his candidature in an unceremonious way by addressing Bar Association. Stiff opposition to his addressing the gathering.

29th November 1968 : 8 Ramzan 1389 Hijri, Friday

Went to District Court and moved the Sessions Judge for bail of Hamid Ali Bayati and others. There was great success inspite of initial handicaps. Came to High Court for joining the procession protesting against Govt. repression. From High Court, Topkhana, Jinnah Avenue upto Railway Crossing and then back to Baitul Mukarram, ending in prayer. Fazlul Qader came uninvited at the end of the procession at Baitul Mukarram. Offered Juma prayer in Baitul Mukarram.

THE SUN BEHIND THE CLOUDS

Came home. Feeling urge to do work. Sent the article on power of legislature to Mahbulul Huque for publication in the Pakistan Observer. Wrote an article on Cornelliuss and Islamic sense of justice. Dictated a statement to the press by phone on the reported move of Govt. to amend articles 2 and 98 of the constitution.

30th November 1968 : 9 Ramzan 1389, Hijri, Saturday

Attended meeting of East Pakistan Bar Council. Moid was sent by me to Abul Hashim who told him that Ayub had invited him for consultation to meet the emergent situation. According to him 15 Generals hold a meeting at Pindi to discuss the latest situation in the country. Of them 11 were ex-Generals, others were serving. They are reported to have told him that he should see reason and concede demand of the people. Hashim's own suggestive would be to concede adult franchise and removal of Monem Khan.

1st December 1968, 10 Ramzan 1389, Hijri, Sunday

A deputation of Homeopaths led by Dr. Nurewahab and Dr. Saleh Ahmad Choudhury waited on me to appraise me of their difficulties in not getting allocations in the 4th Five year Plan. A deputation of the Arakanese muslims came to represent their grievances. So also came T and T stores.

Attended meeting of PDM executive and gave suggestions on action programmes. Attended Iftar party in Hotel Shahbag given by Brothers International and gave a speech on eternal aspect of Islamic laws. Widely cheered and appreciated. Left for Gulshan and attended reception given by Mr. Michael Stewart, British Foreign Secretary.

2nd December 1968, 11 Ramzan 1389, Hijri, Monday

Attended P.D.M. Action Committee meeting and decided details of procession on 5th of the month (5.12.68).

6th December 1968, 15 Ramzan 1383, Hijri, Friday

Attended assembly session and created some storm. Got in a defeated mood. Ministers prefer to remain silent in the face of attack from opposition. Attended a meeting of the N.A. parliamentary party in the residence of Nurul Amin and took a number of decisions regarding to-morrow's session. Bhasani held a big meeting and asked the crowd to go to Govt. house. Confrontation with police took place. Police gave way and eventually crowd passed through Govt. house road. Met Govt. party members who told me that Govt. would follow a tough line.

7th December 1968, 16 Ramzan 1389, Hijri, Saturday

Attended Assembly session. Forced hartal in the city. Transport being damaged. Urged walk out from the assembly en block. Went to Medical College Hospital and saw one man dead and another injured. Received a phone call from M. Anwar and went to Hotel Inter Continental and met him. He seems to be harbouring a desire to float Murshed's candidature.

8th December 1968, 17 Ramzan 1389, Hijri, Sunday

Went to Hotel Intercontinental and attended meeting of Pakistan Bar Council requisitioned to consider the proposed amendment to articles 2 and 98(2) of the constitution. There was unanimity in the meeting. Justice Kaikaus adopted a firm attitude against any inroad into existing rights of the people and move to curtail powers of the Superior Court. The second day of strike call proved a flop.

9th December 1968, 18 Ramzan 1389 Hijri, Monday,

Went to National Assembly and raised point of order and participated in the adjournment motion of Abul Qasem to discuss the failure of the Govt. to draw up a master plan for the control of floods in East Pakistan. It was a biting criticism of the Govt. Came home and then rushed to the residence of Nurul Amin for the meeting of Party leaders.

10th December 1968, 19 Ramzan 1389 Hijri, Tuesday

Went to National Assembly and raised point of privilege regarding Law Minister's answers on Fazlur Rahman. Delivered another fighting speech on Capital Development Authority. Attended an Iftar party in Nurul Amin's place in honour of Air Marshall Asghar Khan who paid special attention to me in course of discussion on various topics. Attended a reception given in honour of Sir Cyril Packard British High Commissioner at Shymolee.

11th December 1968, 20 Ramzan 1389 Hijri, Wednesday

Went to High Court and from there to the Assembly and participated in the discussion. A.B.S. Jaffery told me in the context of yesterday's failure of Bhasani's hartal that Monem Khan has an instinct of survival. Attended the dinner at the residence of Mukhlesuzzaman Khan MNA in honour of Asghar Khan. Suggested to him that he should attend Friday prayers at Baitul Mukarram and create opportunities of addressing the crowd. He readily accepted the suggestions provided I accompanied him. Murshed trying desperately to project himself.

12th December 1968, 21 Ramzan 1389, Hijri, Thursday

Attended Assembly and delivered speech on the import policy bifurcation resolution of Professor Yusuf Ali. Saw Asghar Khan more sympathetic now in view of the changed circumstances. Attended Iftar party at the residence of Asghar Khan. Leaders of all shades of opinion except Council Muslim League and Jamate Islam attended the function.

13th December 1968, 22 Ramzan 1389 Hijri, Friday

Hartal complete success. Response spontaneous. Walked on foot to Assembly and participated in the debate and staged a solo walkout. Walked on foot again to Dacca Club and picked up Air Marshall Asghar Khan and accompanied him to Baitul Mukarram. People started recognising him and after the final munajat, people rushed towards him. In the meanwhile, I came out to the verandah and

succeeded in converting crowd into an audience when I addressed for ten minutes and then requested him to speak. He had a go at the Govt. and exposed the misdeeds of the Govt. I led the prayer at the end of the speech. While coming out obstructed by I.G. Police and S.P. who offered us lift. Crowd continued to follow us. People on either side of the road gave us cheers. Police used riot van and sprayed coloured water on our persons. Journalists also affected near Press Club. Col. Mutahar P.S. to Air Marshall arrested by order of S.P. Took rest in Press Club, had a gossip and then came to Dacca Club.

14th December 1968, 23 Ramzan, 1389 Hijri, Saturday

Went to the Assembly and delivered speech on Banking Co. ordinance pleading for saving E.P. banks. The success of yesterday's hartal has surprised everybody. Went to Shah Sahib and paid respect to him. He told me that he was praying and things would be alright. Spent the day at home.

15th December 1968, 24 Ramzan, 1389 Hijri, Sunday

Attended PDM workers meeting at Engineers Institute. Asghar Khan being the chief guest speaker, Murshed also participated. Asghar delivered a speech with effect-he was under pressure to speak about parity and he did well. Murshed's speech was confusing. I spoke on the significance of the 13th hartal and analysed pragmatically the factors involved in it and gave positive suggestions about the achievement of unity and impediments that hinder us from achieving unity.

Asghar, Murshed and Shah Aziz made reference to me in their speeches. Asghar told that I was one of the distinguished leaders of East Pakistan.

Flew to Lahore accompanied by Mr. Uquaili, Finance Minister And A.M. Adamjee. They agreed that Ayub had lost grip over situation and questioned why Asghar had not spoken earlier when things went wrong and agreed that B.D. system was corrupt. Attended Action Committee meeting in Dr. Javed Iqbal's house.

16th December 1968, 25 Ramzan, 1389 Hijri, Monday

Addressed a packed meeting of Lahore High Court Bar Association Spoke on following points :-1) Role of Lahore as Gateway and maker of history 2) Contribution of Allama Iqbal and new leadership with his son 3) Significance of the movement, People in West Pak discovered their inner strength and realised that Ayub is vulnerable. 4) Historical role of lawyers in present society 5) Problems of unity 6) Movement creates base for new understanding between East and West. West Pak. must take initiative in removing misgivings in East Pak. Dr. Javed Iqbal moved from the Chair that this meeting supports all the legitimate demands of E.P. and requested other associations to follow suit. Resolution unanimously adopted amidst cheers.

17th December 1968, 26 Ramzan, 1389 Hijri, Tuesday

Attended Assembly Session and raised points of privilege and points of order which stopped Defence Minister from making statement. Also raised a point in favour of the Pakistan Observer.

19th December 1968, 28 Ramzan, 1389 Hijri, Thursday

Warm and enthusiastic reception at Chittagong Railway Station. Taken in open jeep in to Hotel Miska after addressing the crowd at railway station. There was a short press conference. Attended the meeting at Chittagong Bar Association, jam packed hall. Addressed workers meeting at Muslim Institute. Went to the residence of Māhmoodun Nabi Choudhury and had dinner there. Went to Patenga Airport to see Air Marshall Asghar Khan off. Stayed in the residence of Zahurul Huq.

24th December 1968, 3 Shawal 1389, Hijri, Wednesday

Maulana Ibrahim and other Moulvis came and discussed problems. Met several other persons, mostly old faces, Emdad Sowdagar taking

1st January 1969 : 11 Shawal 1390 Hijri, Wednesday

Q.A. Khan rang me and sent Aziz Mirs and another to advise as B.A. Khan had been kidnapped and his resignation taken on typed sheets. Wrote legal notice and rang Matin for Moti's men. National Council Session of NIP began this morning at my residence. Six W.P. and 20 E.P. councillors attending. Submitted a report on the political situation and suggestions for meeting the challenge Sent Nasrullah to Press Deptt. in D.C.'s office. Continued afternoon session Four more W.P. councillors attended afternoon session. Discussions on a high level. Dr. Siddiq Mirza suggested that we give ultimatum to Ayub. Ayub broadcasted his monthly talk.

2nd January 1969 : 12 Shawal 1390 Hijri Thursday

Went to High Court. Saw C.J. Siddiqi. He greeted me and wanted me to stay longer. Other judges also came later. Decided to meet Shah Sahib. Went to PDM meeting. Saw Choudhury Sahib and told him about my reaction to the movement. Decided to attend Bar Council meeting at Karachi. Hafiz Abdul Karim saw me.

3rd January 1969 : 13 Shawal 1390 Hijri Friday

Fazar and Ishraque Karim was sent to EPIDC for hardboard deal. Saw Shah Sahib. He said that he had talks with a Prophet. He assured me that success has been assured and Islamic way will come into being. He debunked Masjvb's power of prediction. Attended High Court and got relief in two matters. Chief Justice Siddiqi and Justice Jabir granted stay in Gyasuddin Choudhury's case against Election Commissioner. Saw Mukul in Azad Office and took all possible steps against arrest and closure of the Azad. He was in tears and moved to a great extent. Went back, to High Court and argued Muza-har's Civil Revision in Justice Islam's court. Attended meeting of National Executive of PDM and then started for Karachi with Justice Soyem, Justice Muhammad Hossain and Advocate General Asrar Hossain

4th January 1969 : 14 Shawal 1390 Hijri Saturday

Went to Dawood Centre and talked to Siddiq and Mittu Seth. They seemed to be confident that storm has blown over. Attended lunch given by Habib at cafa village. Baquer also joined. Habib seemed very critical of opposition. Attended meeting of Pakistan Bar Council. Milky and Abdul Huq went against. Dr. Kamal Hossain betrayed me and got himself elected as Vice-Chairman. Met large number of people. Instructed local leaders to hold meeting at Quaid-e-Azam's mazar. Md. Din Malek rang from Hyderabad for tomorrow's procession.

5th January 1969 : 15 Shawal 1390 Hijri Sunday

Went to Cantonment Station for the reception of Asghar Khan. 45 minutes to get out of compartment. J.A. Rahim in excited mood complaining of neglect. PPP chaps displaying couple Bhutto's pictures and trying to take position of Asghar. He joined me in the jeep. Biggest ever crowd and infectious enthusiasm. Half mile crowd 3 hours to reach Quaid's mazar. Asghar delivered a brilliant speech highlighting inequities and corruption. No lunch. Met Asghar at brother Anwar's residence. Persuaded him to visit Dacca to join unity talks. Arranged press publicity with PPI. Met Muazzam in the morning. He tipped me on the Govt. tactics to stay in power. Had talks with the local PDM leaders including Jamat people.

6th January 1969 : 16 Shawal 1390 Hijri Monday

- Flew to Dacca by 6 : 30 a.m. flight accompanied by Asghar. Heart to heart detailed talks with him on a number of issues. He seemed to appreciate me better than before. Received at airport by PDM leaders. Attended meeting of National Executive, PDM. Unity talks making headway. Attended court. Dinner at Salam's place. Asghar canvassed two points, 1) Extra constitutional measures in case of boycott and Bhutto's participation. 2) Alternative leadership is necessary to convince armed forces of ability to carry on Govt. in absence of Ayub. Had detailed talks with Mukul on Azad affairs.

THE SUN BEHIND THE CLOUDS

Memorandum of talks held with Asghar Khan in 6.1.69 in the plane while flying together to Dacca to join PDM talks on Unity and defining attitude towards election.

Interview with Bhutto in jail a day following announcement of his candidature :

Bhutto stood by declaration of J.A. Rahim about former's candidature, must have been with his consent. Aim was to build his image and strengthen party. Participation in election is part of movement and offers wonderful opportunity to project ideals and issues. PDM leaders are talkers and not doers. They want to by pass him. However he showed signs of climbing down and seemed to be downcast.

Meeting with Azam

Met twice. Azam wanted Asghar to support him. Intention to become President.

Murshed

Unfortunately shown too much anxiety to project himself as a candidate and made his position insecure. Impression creating gestures.

Election

Seemed to favour participation adopting Bhutto's line of argument. Election keeps movement within bounds of constitutionalism. Dangers of violence and lawlessness.

Alternative leadership

Bureaucracy and forces would like to be assured about alternative leadership meaning ability of men in opposition to run the country with concrete programme. This could be achieved by merger of parties within PDM excluding Jamate Islam.

His future role

Feels that Bhutto could be moulded to give up his ultra radical socialist programme by bringing him within bigger fold else danger of socialism in violent form taking control of situation. Support of militant elements specially students.

Ayub Khan

Personally kind to him. Asghar gave dinner to Mother-e-Millat during her visit to Peshawar in 1964-Presidential election campaign as she was sister of Quaid-e-Azam. Ayub disliked it. Dearth of people of character in the nation. Voluntarily gave up PIA Presidentship. While handing over charge Ayub requested him to accept suitable job as he had young children to look after. Ayub is full of greed and lust for power. Gauhar amassing wealth by any means.

Meeting with Soekarno during September War 1965

Declared Indonesia at war with India, offered anything that Pakistan needed. Got four planes (Mig 21) equivalent to Phantom jets. Navy Chief offered ships and conquest of Andamans Islands.

Chou En Lai also offered assistance.

Impressions

Sharp intelligent to the point, man of few words. Not showy. No granduer. Learning fast, but yet lot to learn about politics and personalities in Pakistan. Does not seem interested in immediate power but might have plans for future power. Saw his palm. Saw there is crossing of him of Jupiter which otherwise is very strong. Some Apollo also developed. A late rise in life and appears to have close touch with people in forces who really matter.

Invited to join his Sind tour. Keenly interested in publicity. Liked publicity arranged by me and talked of appearing personally in 188 case which would have tremendous publicity value.

Choudhury Sahib told me that Asghar intended to be with Bhutto but would get soon disillusioned.

7th January 1969 : 17 Shawal 1390 Hijri Tuesday

Met Choudhury Sahib and got a report about last night's meeting with Asghar Khan arranged on my suggestion to thrash out matters. He wanted me talk with Asghar. Talked to Asghar and cleared some points. Argued two cases in High Court. Went to Observer and

arranged publication of two pictures of Karachi procession. Drove with Asghar to Murshed's place. Murshed had private talks with Asghar probably on the question of non-participation decided by PDM last night. A.L, NAP and Jamatul Ulema Islam also joining in boycott. Drafted resolution on political situation for PDM National Executive. Attended dinner by Shawkat. Diplomats took great interest in me. Chief Justice Siddiqi was very respectful. Also send pictures to Azad.

8th January 1969 : 18 Shawal 1390 Hijri Wednesday

Went to Choudhury Sahib where leaders of parties signing joint declaration on boycott of election. Introduced to Vice consul. Had long consultation with them. Saw Choudhury Sahib and Nawab-jada Nasrullah off. Khawja Shahabuddin walked pale and forlorn.

9th January 1969 : 19 Shawal 1390 Hijri Thursday

Went to High Court and argued Muzahir's case. Yakoob came to pick me up and drove to Roy Fox's house. Had discussion with him on current political situation. He agreed to supply me with Times & Economist. He reported a meeting with Altaf Gauhar who told him that there was no spontaneity in E.P. as contrasted with W.P. Wanted to me after Sind tour. Mrs. Anwaruddin Ahmed came to pay her respects and said that her husband has regards for me. She asked me various questions regarding future programme.

10th January 1969 : 20 Shawal 1390 Hijri Friday

Mohiuddin (NAP) asked me to go to Sarkar's house and then to Dr. Wadud's house for meeting of eight parties. Attended court and argued case of Muzahir, could impress Judge today. Went to USIS and took a set of Myrdal's Asian Drama. USIS acting Chief highly impressed. Witnessed Haj Ceremony in Balaka with family. Attended PDM meeting at Nurul Amin's place. Nurul Amin wanted me to be the President of Eight-party and Salam Khan wanted me to be spokesman.

11th January 1969 : 21 Shawal 1390 Hijri Saturday

Went to Bldg. Revenue and then to A.K.M. Musa, Chairman

EPIDC and spoke about Kader, Kiswar Jahan, Abu Taher. Musa talked of a licence to party recommended by me. Had a sitting with Haroon of Tiger Mansion. Came home and went for meeting of regional co-ordination Committee. Elected President of the meeting. Took initiative to decide matters. A.L., NAP & Jamatul Ulema Islam in one group. Pressed hard for A.L. Presidentship.

12th January 1969 : 22 Shawal 1390 Hijri Sunday

Hasmat and Dr. Siddiq Mirza came to see me. Consulted with office bearers of Pakistan Telephones Employees Union and suggested some work in.....of living for preparing charter of demand on revision of pay scale of class III & IV. Read newspapers extensively. Azam might be playing into hands of a section of army which is divided. Read chapter on Pakistan in Asian Drama. Presided over the meeting of E.P. ACE....took a number of decisions. Nizam told that 6 points were not against us but against vested interests. Group from 'Concept of Pakistan' came to meet me.

14th January 1969 : 24 Shawal 1390 Hijri Tuesday

Busy day. Argued 3 cases. Telephoned number of people. Rafiqul Huq came and predicted great things. He told me that if I give up longing for position then responsibility will be thrust. Even if I come by M.L. I shall not be dislodged like Ayub. Presided over meeting of E.P. Regional DAC and decision taken at my instance. Moti brought news that Badrul Anam is traceable and could be recovered. Mukul wanted my help. Met Ahmad & Siddiq Dawood. Latter told me that Asghar and I shall form party. Unhappy over Asghar's statement that Bhutto is also right. Some people greeted me at Hotel Intercontinental. People more attentive these days than before. Muazzam Hossain, Engineer came to invite me. Rafiq predicted that foreign power may assist.

15th January 1969 : 25 Shawal 1390 Hijri Wednesday

Dispersed a number of people. Akhtar Bhai was kind enough to call on me at 8 a.m. Talked to him about the latest situation and duty of

patriotic citizens. He agreed with my analysis and promised to do his best. Went to High Court for a short while. Went to Habib Bank and operated from there for a long time. Got gift of Eastern Mercantile Bank and Tibet. Had talks with Khalil Omar. He was also sympathetic and promised to do his best. ARUSA is monopolising Defence and PIA purchases.

Allama Abdul Khaleq of Bhawalpur came to see me in connection with Islamic front consisting of representatives from all parties. Attended DAC meeting in Nurul Amin's place. Presided over the meeting and conducted deliberations fruitfully. Decided to participate in the 17th January procession. Invited Mukul, Gaffar Choudhury, Haji Rahim, Moti Matin and Shafiq to dinner. Ahmad Dawood told me that Monem not contesting in B.D. election going to be held.

16th January 1969 : 26 Shawal 1390 Hijri Thursday

Went to High Court and mentioned a matter before Justice M. Hossain who readily give it. Went to Adyrkhaeb and settled claim at Rs. 5000/- Ahmad Dawood did not send Rs. 2000. Akhtar Hossain did not turn up. Khalil Omar promised to send everything by 3 p.m. but no news. Flew by 4 30 p.m. flight from Dacca. VIP treatment at Karachi airport. One officer with Mercedes waiting. Contacted Moazzam Ali Choudhury, Mahmud Ali and Asghar Khan on phone. Warm reception at airport. Addressed meetings at Lalukhat and Usmanabad.

17th January 1969 : 27 Shawal 1390 Hijri Friday

Woke up at 4-30 a.m. and went to Air Marshall's residence and started for Hyderabad at 6 a.m. Mumtaz Bhutto and Golam Murtaza Khan accompanying. Warm reception. People shook hands and ran for autographs. Staying with Haji Naimuddin Laghari. Addressed public meeting at Fort Maidan. Mammoth crowd. Warmly appreciated. Tussle between DAC, PDM on one hand and PPP on the other. Bhutto's limited support confined to Rasul Bux Talpur group and a few others mostly negativity and frustration. Few Sind

slogans during procession beaten up. My speech was very much appreciated. Asghar incurred displeasure by mentioning Bhutto's name again and again. Some crowd left meeting. Bhutto is reported to have told Air Marshall that he could be released soon and then he would judge people's reaction thereafter.

18th January 1969 : 28 Shawal 1390 Hijri Saturday

Addressed Bar Association. Proposed boycott of Mashriq for distorting opposition news. Bar responded readily. Addressed meetings at Joydapur, Tendo Allah Yar and Sultanabad. Mirpur Khan reception most spontaneous and warm. Biggest gathering at stadium. Addressed meeting of party worker Also addressed workers at residence of Ashfaq Mirza. Drove back. Developing new idea and techniques. Dr. Safdar Hossain Khan proposed scholarship for two E.P. students. Grievances of Mohajirs regarding evacuee property. Deputy Commissioner (Nazir Mohd.) taking bribe. D.C. also not suitable.

19th January 1969 : 29 Shawal 1390 Hijri Sunday

Started for Malti by 9-30 a.m. Mumtaz and Murtaza not accompanying perhaps give up hopes of influencing decisions by their presence. Wayside crowd at Tado Md. Khan. About two miles away from Malti students of two groups started procession and delayed it by two hours. Pro-Bhutto students raising slogans in my favour. Addressed a record crowd at Malti for half an hour and dealt severe blow at dictatorship. Widely cheered by people.

Had quick tea and started for Hyderabad. Lunch at Hotel Orient by students. Delivered a short speech, and talked of the necessity of having a national policy. Attended reception by PPP at Rasul Bux Talpur's residence and was compelled to speak which pleased them. Also addressed workers meetings of the party. Attended dinner at Haji Mobarak Ali Shah's Motimahal. Had some private discussions with Asghar Khan.

20th January, 1969 : 1 Zilqad, 1390 Hijri Monday

Started at 8 a.m. from Hyderabad. Addressed public meetings at Hala, Shahdampur, Tando Adam, Nawabshah, Sind Students Federa-

tion, and Railway Mosque—six meetings. Asghar Khan also spoke. Jai Sind slogans by pro Bhutto group. People not yet considering me seriously for high responsibility. Widely appreciated for my speeches. Staying at residence of Abdul Falluk Memon. Advocate Usmani of PPP has come and joined here. It seems that they do not want to give me petrol alone and realise importance of Asghar Khan Haider Bux Jatoi's release brought cheers to Jai Sind who celebrated it by Ho Jamalo. Asghar put a garland on my neck.

21st January 1969 : 2 Zilqad, 1390 Hijri Tuesday

Staying in Memon's house. Addressed Bar Association meeting. Grand success. Asghar picked up my theme and demanded resignation of Monem Khan. Spoke about injured pride of Sind., E.Pak and Pathans. Found secret of Bhutto's success. Stopped on the way at Sukarand (Airport) and delivered speech and got decision in favour of boycott. Khatpur took over at Dadu-Posted placard for Bhutto's candidature and Shouted Pro-Bhutto slogans. Difficult public meeting at Dadu with PPP misbehaving. Restored order with great difficulty and confronted them. Explained future to Nawabjada Muzaffar and Nawab Yasin Khan. They were visibly impressed. PPP avoided at two places at Khairpur But people picked me in Nasirabad and shouted slogans. Staying at Bhutto's house.

22nd January 1969 : 3 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Wednesday

Rather late than usual due to soft living in Bhutto's house. News came that police stopping buses at Larkana. Wanted to telephone SP but he was out. Went round the town and inspected bus depot. Police playing mischief. PPP specially Mumtaz and Mustafa kept me out of Air Marshall's car in procession but people on the way greeted me as usual. Delivered 50 minutes speech punctuated with cheers and applause. Feeling a little dejected. Meeting by PPP. Huge gathering. Attended meeting of students and spoke on educational problems : Dinner at Khatpur's place.

23rd January 1969 : 4 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Thursday

Packed up and waited for German TV team. From interview it was plain that Asghar wants eventually to become a Presidential

candidate. He is very cautious. Started for Larkana at 10 a.m. Stopped Deru. .e Rotho Dero. TV compelled to take notice of me and recorded my speech and filmed it. PPP trying to steal show and trying to show themselves off. Reached Jacobabad at 2 p.m. Speech liked by all. Talked and had lunch with Murad Jamali who expressed great confidence in me and Choudhury Md. Ali. Had another meeting in Jacacobad. .Suggested change of name to Fatehpur in view of the declaration of Rahim Bux Sumroo defecting from Govt. party.

24th January 1969 : 5 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Friday

Started from Shikarpur. Receptions on the way. Forced our way through students resistance. Reached Bar Association 25 minutes late. Addressed Bar, Sukkur and impressed them highly on the analysis of present situation. Addressed a hostile public meeting at stadium ground. Silenced pro-Bhutto and anti-one unit group. Addressed workers meeting at Hall on the significance of Islam's economic programme and socialism. Attended PDM dinner at PDM office. Asghar left by plane at 4-14 p.m. Also addressed PDM workers after dinner and left for Sukkur by ear and boarded Khyber Mail. Ticket collector was very sympathetic.

25th January 1969 : 6 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Saturday

Reached Karachi Cantt. at 7 a.m. Received by A Karim Rajkotwala. Met Rafi Munir and found out his equations with Bhutto. He is thick and thin, has great confidence in him. Had one hour talk with Asghar on future problems and programme. His confidence in Bhutto misplaced, correct picture must be presented to him. Went to ... colony and addressed PDM meeting. Also addressed a fairly big meeting in Sher Shah colony-Warm greeting from people. Gaffar came to see me. He mentioned that Gohar Ayub was given foreign exchange of Rs. 2 crores to set up industries in Nepal Apprehensive about Asghar. Asghar wanted to rest after the revolution. He was thinking of Murshed as the person from E.P.

Meeting with Asghar Khan at Karachi on 25.1.1969

Asghar believes in Islam-emphasises on character and actions more than on rituals.

Army may not be dragged-rank and file conservative Junior. COs muslims and like modern Islam.

Ayub might quit and leave matter to speaker and election within three months.

Bhutto dedicated. Hopes Bhutto can be brought round.

Interim Govt. Islamic vices. My points explained-survey of the entire field. Study of over literature, version of Islam neither too strict nor too loose.

Elections to Assembly and Presidentship to be held on the basis of Adult Franchise under 1962 constitution.

26th January 1969 : 7 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Sunday

Started from Karachi by 6-30 a.m. Had talks with Malik Jilani on phone. He promised to come and discuss matters with me some 4/5 days hence. Met with an American lady expert in Family Planning from Ford Foundation and Mr. Ziauddin an architect who took interest in me and in the party. Kazi Kader coming from Karachi in the same plane. Fida Hassan coming from Karachi for parleys.

Got into Azad affairs straight way. Mukul is very nervous. Matin has made a mess of everything by estranging relationship with Mukul. Decided to file a writ petition against curfew. Consulted Dr. Kamal Hossain, Hamdul Huq Choudhury and Dr. F. K. Munim. Drafted the adjournment motion.

27th January 1969 : 8 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Monday

Had exchange of hot words with Speaker Jabbar on the question of curfew. Raised objection to disallowing adj. motions, one, on renaming Second Capital as Sher-e-Bangla Nagar and descretion of Aram-bagh Masjid and defiling Holy Quran, and previledge motion on curfew. Raised temp and others took, it up. Made Jabbar Khan's order infunctuatous, ordered my removal from house. Defied orders Sergeant-at-arms came to remove me physically. Others opposed. House adjourned for 15 minutes. Got agreed to have discussion on situation in the country. Safdar came to see me at residence. He complemented formation of DAC for National unity and policies at mass level. Invited suggestions : removal of Monem, climate for dia-

logue, DAC must be united. 6 points and NAP taking students over. Brought over settlement of Azad dispute.

28th January 1969 : 9 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Tuesday

Went to High Court and saw through the writ petition. Went to Assembly and brought out the point of DPR against 20 Govt. MNAs Khalil Omar send the matter as previously promised. Others seemed more responsive today. Nuruddin Ferista on behalf of Md. Bhai is going to see me tomorrow. Ministers were all attentive and respectful. Went to Roy Fox's house on special invitation. He told me that E.P. was unhappy with the use of army for curfew duties. He had sent a report to HMA that Ayub is to go and observed that people are more disciplined and determined. Checking by army at many points.

29th January 1969 : 10 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Wednesday

Went to High Court and attended hearing of my writ no 3169 in presence of Attorney General who conceded that there was no lawful authority to shoot at sight. No order could be shown calling army in aid of civil Govt. Dr. Kamal drafted wires to President, Governor, Chief Secretary and G.O.C. requesting withdrawal of army and..... shooting order. Attended session of N.A. and delivered speech on controlling authority in Municipal administration bill. People more attentive and respectful. Came home and started working. Moin had been following me from yesterday with proposal for a daily newspaper. Has to watch him closely. Siddiqui was taking light view of the shooting. Full crowded court room.

Invited by Mohammad Bhai and Nooruddin Feresta to friendlier talk with promise to help. Mustafa Sarwar also promised to help me uncalled for. Talk to Roy Fox and put him on errand. Things moving at quick pace. Drafted speech for duty. Attended meeting of PDM. Asghar Khan relinquished title in protest. Suleri published talk for a dialogue. Even Shah Aziz was meaningfully respectful.

30th January 1969 : 11 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Thursday

Went to High Court at 9-30 a.m. Some affidavit of additional facts about the authority responsible for calling the army and passing

orders for shooting. Justice Siddiqi did worst thing. It is reported that he held a conference last night with Monem and Muzaffaruddin in the writ petition and it was a dictated judgement. Great shock and disappointment in all circles. Went to Assembly and raised it there. Met Col. Muktar with Ahmad. Seems he had a mission I shall find out. Attended meeting of DAC as well as advisory meeting with Nurul Amin in drafting tomorrow's speech.

31st January 1969 : 12 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Friday

Went early to National Assembly. Stormy debate. Only Nurul Amin spoke on behalf of opposition. Sabur's speech apologetic, Vice-Admiral A.R. Khan wanted to show backing of army behind. Had passage of arms with A.R. Khan vices of Admiral, few of virtues. Gained ascendancy in Assembly. Great disappointment in lobby as I did not speak. High court in turmoil. Great resentment against Siddiki (Chief Justice) because of his judgment. Move to boycott him reported by Rafiqul Huq. Justice Siddiqi wanted to take back the certified copy. Reported consultation with Sayem on the issue. Consultation with Dr. Kamal on refiling S. Court appeal Abdul Huq and another NAP advocate tried to be funny with me on my appeal for peace. They are upto destroying the movement. Delivered a fighting speech at Bar Hall in DAC meeting. Widely acclaimed by all. Attended PDM meeting and provided guideline. Dated with Col. Muktar his mission to meet Murshed and Manik. Murshed hurt because Asghar wanted to by pass him. Col. Muktar told me that Daulatana is trying to use both Azam and Murshed through Jilani. Jilani told me at Karachi that he would be coming to E.P. to address Bar Association on invitations Ayub's second daughter being married to the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi.

1st February 1969 : 13 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Saturday

Disposed of a number of people. Went to EPIDC and met Musa. He spoke against Monem. Met Muzaffar, Zafar, Noon and Anwar Hayat Tiwani in Intercontinental. Came home and slept in the afternoon. Mr. Ali Hyder Choudhury of Miresuarar and Iqbal Hussain of Pabna

telephoned to say that they would stand by me and join party. Attended meeting of DAC and drafted resolutions. Attended party given by Haleku in Continental. Obaidullah, Hasan Sheikh, Wahiduzzaman, Ahmedul Kabir were invited. Heard President's broadcast offering settlement.

2nd February 1969 : 14 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Sunday

Attended meeting of PDM. Walked out of the meeting protesting against Samad's attitude. Checked up with Col. Mukhtar left without notice though promised night before last. Spent some time at Bawany's place. Showed interest in future.

Went out on foot. Attended meeting of DAC. Left meeting after meeting after 45 minutes from due time. Haji Siddiq of TIP TOP came and join party. Had talks with Safdar, Mahmud Ali and Khairuddin left for Lahore in response to a call from High Command.

3rd February 1969 : 15 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Monday

Rushed to Safdar's place for breakfast and discussion. A.L. for release of Sheikh Mujib as a precondition for dialogue. Danger of A.L. and NAP (both) forming united front. Student Front and labour front to be tackled. Attended Assembly and raised question regarding Englishmen's attack on Prophet (Peace be on him). Fazlul Qader wanted to bluff me saying that he would show strength after sometime. Jadu is jillery, lack of confidence, trying to play upon assumed exaggerated strength. Talked to Hanif. He is worried about Mujib's release which cannot be granted as he might prove dangerous in future. Sheikh's release being built up in talks. Shah Aziz is frustrated. Had talks with Safdar in Dacca Club. Asghar sent message that he is going to Lahore next day. Shah Aziz felt forlorn. He has to be utilized. Julmat for students points.

4th February 1969 : 16 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Tuesday

went to the Assembly. Asked a few supplementaries. Local journalist on strike. Held talks with Gohar Ayub. He was friendly. Tried to impress me with his father's regard for me, his father was sincere. Impressed on him

necessity of right climate. the Wild dancing music and rejoicings by people on Monem's reported removal. Ayub will take to establish his bonafides and sincerity. Saw PA Nazir Registrar. He was extremely polite and respectful. Roy Fox was not there in office when I called on him on prior appointment. Rushed to court for hearing but no hearing.

Mr. Rafiq came to talk of a dream a while I was reaching heights-cobra tried to bite me but the attack was averted. He saw my palm to power soon but reaching Presidency after 10 years. Aminul Islam MNA came for quick lunch, party workers-organisational matters. Met Safdar and discussed import of foreign interference. Md. Hossain came. Discussed student problems.

5th February 1969 : 17 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Wednesday

Attended Assembly session and delivered speech. Went to High Court for cases but not taken up. Went to Safdar and talked on some national issues such as disintegral forces to be continued. Retired home and then went to airport and received Nawabjada Nasrulla Khan. He seemed confident with President's letter of invitation to have dialogue on behalf of DAC. Lot of people around him-perhaps now smelling power. Had personal briefing with him in the latest situation. Ayub can't but agree to parting with power. Attended dinner at Rafique's house. Informed about incident at the Azad at 12 p.m. and rushed. Saw Mrs. Mukul and then went to thana. Met Mukul and read instruction. Did not sleep the whole night.

6th February 1969 : 18 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Thursday

Went to meet Gouhar Ayub at Hotel Intercontinental with Gaffar Choudhury and discussed the Azad matter with him. Impressed upon him the necessity of helping the cause. Also contacted Sabur Khan and briefed him on the subject. Gauhar sawat my instance and told him to evacuate Mrs. Mukul. He said no. Attended Assembly and spoke about Akram Khan and the present condition in Azad. Came home and kept on persuing. Hundreds of calls for saving Azad. Succeeded in securing release of Mrs. Mukul from the clutches of ene-

mies. Only Gaffar amongst staff stood by me. Rafique and Matin rendered spontaneous service.

7th February 1969 : 19 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Friday

Saw Mukul's wife. She has full confidence and gratefulness. Saw S.D.O. Jalal and told him about Azad case. Saw Afzal and stopped rival group from functioning and getting paper. Attended Assembly and talked to Sabur and Gouhar regarding Azad. Roy Fox talked to me about MCC tour to East Pakistan, Juma prayer. Went to High Court. Better attention by most people. Went to Yakub Sahib, of Tiger Mansion and he placed full confidence in me. Hafizul Islam of Jung saw me. Briefed him. Gaffar Choudhury came. Gave him legal advice regarding Azad for publication in newspaper. Dainik Pakistan and Morning News started publication from today.

Saw Rizvi-sincere, and God fearing. Rose from ranks. Convinced about my powers and bonafides. He told about Muslim renaissance and Islamic rise in 1983 in which Pakistan is to play the leading role. Faiz came to see me. Sadri promised to see me. G.M. Adamjee to meet me tomorrow at 9-30 a.m. Yahya sent me tape recorder. Had rough words with Mithu-ended talks ended abruptly. Afazuddin Fakir saw me, made him interested. Matin disclosed that Qamru was interested in selling shares to me.

8th February 1969 : 20 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Saturday

Gulam Hossain came to say that Bakul is fed up and willing to take refuge with me. Alerted Gaffar Choudhury, others signalled. Had interview with G.M. Adamjee and explained the situation in detail. He seemed to have been impressed and promised to talk to Yahya. Saw to the arrangement of bail of Mukul. Also talked to Safdar.

Morning News being printed in Jatio Mudrayan from yesterday. Matin told me about a plan to have Henry taken to custody. Dr. Kamal came to see me.

9th February 1969 : 21 Zilqad 1390 Hijri Sunday

Roused from sleep by Golam Hossain who brought Badrul Anam Khan to me. Bakul has come seeking asylum. He touched my feet

with tearful eyes and wanted my protection. Sent for Gaffar Choudhury, Matin, Rafique and Moti. Had consultation with them about future programme. Agreed to make announcement in a press conference and meet D. C. Anwar. Saw Mukul's wife. Hye telephoned to O.C. for the arrangement of bail. Attended PDM meeting and gave lines for confrontation with 11 points wallas. Went to jail to meet Z. Karim but the meeting could not be arranged. PDM accepted my line. Press conference could not be arranged. DC out on duty.

Saw processions coming. Leftists sponsored placards, banners and slogans. A few diehard and hard core leftists. Big gathering but little support. Addressed meeting of Book Binders Association and spotlighted problems in the light of Islam. Attended DAC meeting attended by Choudhury Md. Ali, Mian Mumtaz Daulatana and Mian Tufail who arrived from Lahore. Outlined policy. Distinguished between negotiation-point and pre-condition. Many joined Nizame Islame Party today. Mostly educated youth.

10th February 1969 : 22 Zilqad 1390 Hijri, Monday

Rushed to Assembly. Sabur apprised of urgency of situation. Public meeting on 14/2 which is hartal day. Went to DAC meeting. Nawabjada Nasrullah returned seeing Ayub agreeable to all pre-conditions except Mujib's release because of armed forces involment. Wanted time. Awami protest. NAP apparent support. Nawabzada met him with Nazrul Islam and 4 others. Mujib reported adamant; hoping to blackmail and capitalising on issue. A.L. wanted time to get Working committe's verdict next morning at 9 a.m. Dinner at Mujib's house. Awami pensive, Manik Mia gave third line. Nurul Huq MPA eager for settlement. NAP pamphlet doing the tricks of tilting the scale.

Had talks with Amin Hossain Shah. Mujib's wife personally appealed to me to secure his release by settlement. Twenty of us, PDM and Dudu Mia met in Hamidul Huq Choudhury's place and discussed pros and cons and devised strategy. Decided to adopt firm line. Daulatana supporting A.L. and moving now in our favour.

11th February 1969 : 23 Zilqad 1390 Hijri, Tuesday

Attended meeting of DAC; formal drafting of resolution and press release. Peter Hazel Hurst of the Times talking friendly with Amirul Islam, Maudood, Dr. Kamal Hossain and Nurul Amin. Attended press conference and explained stand vis-a-vis PPL. Lunch to DAC leaders at my residence. Saw off leaders at 2-30 p.m. flight to Lahore. Gauhar Ayub returning to Karachi. Haji A. Sattar allowed his house free of cost if I liked. Muzzafar gave revealing information about Masihur Rahman being seen with Altaf Gauhar. Met Yahya. G.M. Adamjee was only partially convinced. Met Mukul in Jail and explained to him latest situation. Returned home. Attended Assembly session at 6 p.m. Attended PDM and then meeting of DAC. A.L. and NAP more sympathetic than before. Nepalese Consul General invited me to dinner with request to bring friends.

12th February 1968 : 24 Zilqad 1390 Hijri, Wednesday

M.R. Khan got irritated because of my delay in meeting at 9-30 am. instead of 9 a.m. Went to Wakf Administrator's office and got order. Met Sabur and briefed him. Telephones cables replaced immediately. Drafted and dictated 3 petitions and affidavit for Bakul and got them typed. Went to S.D.O.'s court and filed them. Shared lunch with S.D.O. which was brought from his house and outside. Bakul made affidavit. D.I.G. told about the occurrence. Talked to B. Zaman additional S.P. to look into the investigation. Took Bakul to Anwar, S.P. and he explained facts. D.C. mentioned previous affidavit. Convinced about grievances.

Attended PDM office. Golam Azam told about situation; Nakhla-para fight and PDM procession. AL and NAP coming closer. Took Afazuddin Fakir, Aminul Islam Choudhury, Abul Qasem and Julmat Ali Khan to Nepalese Consul General's dinner. Talked about religion and other interesting topics.

13th February 1968 : 25 Zilqad 1390 Hijri, Thursday

Talked to large number of people in drawing room. Went to Joint Stock Registrar and talked to him about the affairs of the Azad. Got some new light and gave some. Attended meeting of U.O.P. at

Nurul Amin's residence to discuss the situation arising out of resignation of three MNAs. A.B.M. Nurul Islam confirmed foreign agent. Hasan Sheikh opposed press release. Nurul Amin vacillating. Shah Aziz was diffident. Agreed on a compromise draft. Accompanied Shah Aziz and Prof. Yusuf Ali to MPA hostel. Probed into the crisis of Shah Aziz and he agreed to act according to my advice. Came home and disposed off a number of people who came for mobilisation. Rushed to the opening ceremony of the New Office at 16, Zohra Market. Shah Aziz, Aminul Islam Choudhury, Fakir Afazuddin, Rahimullah Choudhury, MNAs, Nurul Islam Choudhury, and Moulana Abdur Rahim addressed the meeting. Great enthusiasm. Explained new dynamic concept of Islam in modern world. Addressed a rally of Book-binders Assiciation at Ahsan Manzil.

14th February 1969 : 26 Zilqad 1390 Hijri, Friday

Complete spontaneous hartal, nothing like it before. After Juma prayers started on foot and reached Control room, Jinnah Avenue. DUCSU leader Tofail and others in the control room demanding that Nurul Amin must not preside and Khondkar Mustaque should preside. Obvious tactical move by leftists to subvert DAC movement. Saw others yielding to pressure. Talked to Gholam Azam and Shafiqul Islam. They said students adamant and would prevent Nurul Amin presiding. Explained to them great consequences of yielding to threat. It meant political death. Saw rostrum filled up with EPSU men (Menon group) objecting to Nurul Amin's presiding. Found Abdur Rahim dragging Nurul Amin out of the dias apprehending disturbance. Gholam Azam, Shafiqul Islam and other leaders following them. Prevented them from leaving by threat; supported by Nurul Islam Chowdhury only. Then came the demand for 11 points. A.L. was told of their incapacity to control them. Tofail spoke and then pleaded for listening to National Leaders. They tried to control the mike. Amina Begum and Tajuddin spoke. I received a warm welcome. Took up stand and demanded release of Sheikh Mujib, mentioned unity of movement between wings. Curfew, firing case. Demanded removal of Monem Khan. A.L. also spoke of Sheikh and

also mentioned need for unity. Some students followed me with bad intention. Addressed a small crowd at Baitul Mukarram.

15th February 1969 : 27 Zilqad 1390 Hijri, Saturday

Flew in a company of thirty other political leaders of DAC to Lahore. Warm reception at airport. Meeting of DAC at Choudhury Mohammad Ali's place. A.L. (six points) reinforced by pressure group. Inconclusive meeting until 11 p.m. Asghar is here. Meeting televised.

16th February 1969 : 28 Zilqad 1390 Hijri, Sunday

Talked to Mustafa Sarwar who told me about Sheikh and A.L. attitude. Shahabuddin promised to them about Mujib's release. Asghar was met. He had been taken unaware in supporting demand for Mujib's release. Bhutto is likely to accept invitation for dialogue. Addressed a meeting of party workers at the residence of Rana Nazrur Rahman. Attended DAC meeting. A.L. agreed to participate on Mujib being made available. Firing, arson, killing and curfew in Dacca over dead-body of Sergeant Zahurul Huq. NAP made most of it. Prisoners of Agartala case in hunger strike. Zahiruddin told me about Awami League's obnoxious role. Awami's likely to put further pressure for the withdrawal of Agartala case.

17th February, 1969 29: Zilqad, 1390 Hizri, Monday

Up at 5-30 a.m.; telephoned Zafar and Sabur Khan at Pindi. Zafar not available on phone for more than 2 hours. When contacted, asked him about the latest legal position of Agartala case vis-a-vis the withdrawal of the Emergency. He evaded direct opinion & seemed unsure. Sabur Khan talked in depressed mood. He felt betrayed by Ayub at the instance of Khawja Shahabuddin & Zafar. Studied the legal position by reading several books on constitution and case laws. Gave my opinion to A.L. members who took no notice of it.

Talked to Tajuddin at Dacca 4 times over phone. He made the following points.

- (1) No formal invitation to Mujib yet
- (2) Unconditional release of Mujib

(3) In view of the killings situation in Dacca totally changed.

(4) Mujib should be allowed 2 days time to meet the workers who were leading the movement following the killing of Sgt. Zahurul Huq and conference be postponed.

Attended meeting of East Pakistan DAC. Told them about my review on the legal position. Amirul Islam took up position that tribunal was still in existence. Lunch of DAC members at Lahore given by Col. Abid Hossain. Again contacted Zafar; he told that Justice S.A. Rahaman was consulted at Dacca and that Mujib was coming. This was at 3-15 p.m.

Chowdhury Muhammad Ali self saw Brohi in Hotel Inter Continental at Lahore at 3-30 p.m. He told that he had seen Mujib in Dacca Cantonment and the latter assured him of his anti-Bhasani and Pro-Pakistani stand. Mujib was sending some one to talk to the President.

Special flight from Lahore to Pindi arranged for R.T.C. delegates and DAC leaders. Shafiqul Islam told me on board that Mujib was not coming as told to him by his nephew Professor Gulam Azam. On being questioned, Gulam Azam told that he had been told by news editor Wahid of the daily Mashriq, Lahore on the basis of a PPI news story released from Dacca.

Went to the residence of Sabur Khan and tried to activate him. He was reluctant. Persuaded him to talk to Ayub on phone. He would not believe the story. According to him Mujib was definitely coming. On being told about the situation Ayub asked us to go and see him. Drove to President House and talked to him frankly and candidly. I told him that nation stood above individuals and I had no ill will or rancour for the hardships I had suffered at his hands. He reciprocated.

It was forgive and forget. I told him that Mujib had refused to come. He would not believe me. When pressed hard, he phoned Zafar who told him that A.R. Khan knew about it. Ayub seemed a man who was shaken and shattered and having totally lost grip over the situation. Ayub Khan then talked to A.R. Khan who like Zafar maintained that Mujib had agreed to come and was in fact coming. Ayub then asked Sabur Khan & myself to go to A.R. Khan. We then made a motordash to A.R. Khan's residence. He would not give any credence

to my story about Mujib. Eventually he yielded and phoned G.O.C. Muzaffaruddin who confirmed that Mujib was not coming and this position was there at 9 a.m. when Mujib was brought to G.O.C. A.R. Khan told me that Mujib would be brought under civil custody and G.O.C. handing over custody to I.G. Police. On the way, Sabur Khan told me that M.L. regulations were ready. Bhasani and Bhutto had agreed to come on the intervention of Altaf Gauhar. Bhasani had demanded some pre-conditions.

Rang up Tajuddin and wife of Mujib, requesting them to see Mujib and persuade him to come. Tajuddin wanted transport and escort in view of curfew. Phoned G.O.C. Muzaffaruddin and requested him to provide facilities and he agreed.

18th February 1969 : 30 Zilqad 1390 Hijri, Tuesday, Pindi

Contacted Tajuddin twice over phone and requested him to meet Mujib. He informed me that he had met Mujib for six hours. According to him, Sheikh Mujib told him that (1) Agartala case must be withdrawn; (2) He must meet the workers now leading the movement and discuss with them the situation arising out of the killing of Zahirul Huq. Sheikh was sending him to the conference in his place and told him about difficulty of obtaining seat for which I talked to Durrani, Managing Director, PIA and Sabur Khan. Contacted Mujib over army telephone and he talked with me in presence of the G.O.C. I requested him to come and save the country from disaster. He refused to come on civil custody as mentioned to me earlier by A.R. Khan which meant that Mujib would be handed over to the I.G. of police by the G.O.C. and the cops would escort him to the aircraft. I asked him whether he was ready to come on his own responsibility if set free. Then Mujib expressed anxiety for the other accused persons. He wanted to know what would happen in that case to his friends. I assured him to take up the whole matter with the authority, meaning obviously the President. Subject to success, Mujib said that he was fully aware of the danger of anarchy, arson and loot. I promised to get clearance from the authority, who, however, took up a different attitude towards the case. President referred the matter to Zafar, Shahabuddin and A.R. Khan. On query through Sabur, A.R. Khan declined to accept

Mujib's demands. According to him, the Agartala case still lay after the repeal of emergency. Contacted Zafar who quoted Law Secretary's opinion and said that he was referring it to Pirzada whom I contacted on phone in Lahore. He asked me to request A.K. Brohi to send his note. Brohi refused flatly. Asghar contacted me twice. He promised to let me know his decision after coming to the airport to meet Murshed, Tajuddin, and Dr. Kamal Hossain. After meeting them at the Lahore airport he made statement there rejecting offer for participation in R.T.C. Amirul Islam found very active. Tajuddin arrived in the DAC meeting at Darul Hayat and misreported the incident relating to my contact and caused publication in the daily Ittefaq to the same effect. Awami league expressed to be with DAC but not sending representatives. Daultana, Sardar Shawkat were insisting for Sheik's release more than AL. Muzaffar toeing them. Wali Khan was found to adopt similar lines. Others were ready to participate in the talks. Meeting lasted till 2.30 a.m.

19th February 1969 : 1 Zilhaj 1390 Hijri, Wednesday

DAC meeting from 10 a.m. Inconclusive discussion in morning session. After lunch a proposal of Choudhury Mohammad Ali to send Nawabzada Nasrullah as sole representative was accepted. Wali Khan had suggested it yesterday. Read out DAC decision to Pressmen. Had exchange of words with Abdullah of the Imroze. Shahabuddin conveyed Ayub's reaction. Reaction of offer as stood inconsistent. Emergency meeting called. Daulatana and Shaukat still insisting on Mujib's participation and break of DAC. Nawabzada tendered his resignation. A.L's.-Qamruzzaman and Nazrul willing to participate. Dr. Kamal and Amirul Islam came by the same plane. They are flying to Dacca to get Mujib's approval for talks. Tajuddin going with them. Tajuddin's ticket was shown by Dr. Kamal. Who is paying ? Khondokar Mustaque told that Tajuddin would not go. Jamate Islam and NDF showed their willingness to go to conference and stand by DAC decision. My telephone connection cut off.¹

¹For proceeding of DAC Meeting please see appendix.

20th February, 1969, 2 Zilhaj 1390 Hijri, Thursday, Darul Hayat J 260,

As we have entered the most critical period of our history, I am being dictated to write a full diary containing salient features so that it may form the most authentic chronicle in future. So I abandon the short cryptic diary and proceed to write on the events of today and it is past 12-30 midnight.

Chowdhury Mohammad Ali called me aside and expressed his disapproval of my attitude in yesterday's meeting in sending a communication to President instead of having the talks. He was sorry to have contradicted me in the meeting but the nation came before any individual. I explained to him with great difficulty that I had tried to force those who were opposed to the dialogue and were trying hard to wreck it. He explained to me in detail how the initiative had passed from our hands to other hands. On the 17th Feb. we were right on top with Ayub Khan in a mood to agree to anything we demanded and yet today we are lying on the dust and he referred to the article of Suleri in the Pakistan Times to-day captioned "They Funked." Now even if we went to the talks Ayub would be dictating terms. He had tried for unity all through ever since 1964 as manifested in the formation of COP, PDM and then of DAC. Now, he had been convinced that there could be no unity except unity of ideas. We have to go alone and strengthen the party and he proposed that I have to give up my practice. He seemed to be irritated and impatient. He had come to the conclusion that the talks would fail. Our attitude had proved that we were nobody in East Pakistan and that Sheikh Mujib and Bhasani alone could deliver the goods.

Peter Hazel Hurst of the London Times, representatives of the New York Times, Baltimore Sun and a Canadian correspondent interviewed me on the current political situation.

H. M. came and offered me his services and wanted to pinpoint the information I needed: Imtiaz came twice to invite me to lunch as his bosses wanted to talk to me. Dictated the minutes of the meetings of DAC held on 18.2.69 to Selim and then proceeded for lunch with Imtiaz at 12-40 P.M. No news regarding Sheikh's arrival had

been received except that the team of 3 which left Rawalpindi last night to persuade Mujib to come had met him in Military custody along with Manik Mia and that the plane was delayed in its departure from Karachi this morning from its scheduled time of departure at 6-30 A.M.

Had lunch and had fascinating talks with Imtiaz's Masters. Though knowledgeable, they seemed to be uninformed about the visit of Chinese Charge de affairs to Dacca prior to the 14th Feb. hartal, public meeting and procession. They were told that the battle between the right and the left had started and the right choose their leader and other leaders at various levels in order to face Mr. Bhutto who would be picked up by he left in the coming months. Asghar was intelligent but was being misled by left today and his emotional sympathy with Mr. Bhutto whom he thought he could bring round and isolate from the heterogeneous elements who were using him. One O'clock news bulletin told that application for Sheikh's release had been filed before Tribunal and pending consideration, the prisoners would continue to be detained in Military custody. Unless there was a prior agreement between authority and sponsors of Sheikh Mujib's release this could not have happened as tribunal had adjourned 3 weeks ago on 16.2.69 and Chairman Justice S.A. Rahman had left for Lahore on the 17th.

Met Muzaffar and Dewan Mahboob Ali of NAP lunching in Silver Grill and Muzaffar asked me about latest situation. He seemed to have been influenced by non-participation and his decision for non-participation was dictated by incorrect information.

Chowdhury Muhammad Ali further asked me to convene meeting of the party consisting of Jaffery, M.R. Khan, Khan Salahuddin, Chowdhury Sahib and self. It could not be materialised due to my failure to establish contact with Jaffry and M.R. Khan.

H. M. had telephoned in my absence as he was due to meet me in my room at 1-30 P.M; but he promised to come again after giving a ring. Charles Smith of the Financial Times, London, came to my room at 2 P.M. on schedule but I returned from lunch shortly after 2 P.M. and my Zohar prayer took me upto 2-30 P.M. Before proceeding to answer him I checked up the policy of his paper and his personal

policy and views which were right-wing labour. He considered Harold Wilson to be opportunist. He had worked for the Financial Times for a short time and while visiting foreign countries, he served in Buens Iris for some years and then switched back to the Financial Times. He is married and had 3 children. He was born in June, 1935, and had classical language and philosophy as his subjects in the University.

Before he could ask me question, I asked him as to when he had arrived and what he had been doing. Innocently he told me that he had interviewed Messrs Bhutto, Brohi, Ahmed Dawood, Md. Rangoonwala in Karachi and M.M. Ahmed, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission in Pindi and the following were the gist of the interviews.

Mr. Bhutto : Economic policy : Nationalisation of Industries accelerating the pace of repayment of foreign debts after inviting Pakistanis in foreign countries to bring capital. This sounded rather idealistic than pragmatic. Foreign Affairs : Reserve on China; expect that he would restore the confidence of China in Pakistan. Pakistan should come out of Commonwealth but then India must also come out. When asked as to the method he replied that conditions had to be created for India quitting Commonwealth. Seato and Cento must be written off. Future Political ambition : He wanted to be the next President in the general elections to be held on the basis of adult franchise both for Assemblies as well as for the office of the President. This presupposed a strong President of De Gaulle variety of France with his mass support in West Pakistan. He had no appreciable mass contact in East wing but he hoped to make up by having an entente with Sheikh Mujib whom he intended to meet in military custody. Asghar too talked of adult franchise for Presidential election and this needs investigation to find out whether Asghar's stand is inspired or innocent conditioning by inspired lobby.

Mr. Ahmed Dawood : Talked more of his philanthropic activities. Did not disclose extent of wealth. Seemed confident enough in terms of future investment.

M. A. Rangoon Wala

Laid more emphasis on agricultural development and heavy industry. Pleaded for more economic laissez faire:

Iqbaluddin, Chairman, Investment Promotion Corporation.

Talked of continuing the cartels for big industrialists who would not be given opportunities for investment. Investment opportunities to new comers and diversification of wealth and capital.

A. K. Brohi

Thought himself to be the Father Philosopher and benefactor of the Nation. Saw his role as a mediator between political parties. Thought Jamate-Islam, Awami League, and Nezame Islam should closely co-operate as the right wing of future Pakistan policies.

M. M. Ahmed.

Talked of the 4th-Five Year Plan and seemed to be poised. Thought of exportable surplus of rice and wheat. He was unhappy with the high price of steel import causing drain on foreign exchange with precarious balance. Thought that dependence on USA should go with Steel Mills coming up. Thought that Bonus vouchers price now ruling at Rs. 190/- was high and it should be brought to Rs. 150.

Smith questioned me about latest political situation in the Country. I narrated to him the events and their implications. Suggested that the stay of Ayub was impossible as people hated and some people wanted him to be tried and his property to be confiscated; if he wants to prolong his stay in power he will spell disaster for the country as well as his relations and close associates. If he realized it, it would be better for him. His safety as well as the safety of the country lay in the transfer of power to the people and arranging for his phased exit from Pakistan.

Charles was surprised to learn that Muslims had to acknowledge Jesus Christ as a true and great Prophet. Gave him a long discourse on Islam, story of creation, main's viceregency, have equal status and dignity and common ancestry from Adam as foundation of Islamic Philosophy and social order. He was deeply impressed and promised to send the copies of the Financial Times and to meet me in future.

Selim wrote out the dictation rather poorly and I had to correct it

patiently for an hour or so. He could not type as the type writer was out of order.

I was informed by Rafiq at about 4 P.M. that Mujib was coming today at 6 P.M. and he claimed to have heard from Nawabzada. Then Manzar Bashir also confirmed this and told that he had learnt it from Sarder Shaukat that Mujib had missed the flight after coming to airport and that he would be travelling via Karachi reaching Pindi at 9 P.M. Jaffery told me that he had heard from a Council Muslim League leader on the authorities of leaders that Mujib was coming. Some one had gone out on the streets at 12 p.m. with a mike fitted in a taxi that Mujib was arriving Pindi at 6 P.M. More than a thousand students had gathered at the airport to greet him.

Shortly before 6 P.M. Azam Ali of Radio News Service and Khalid Batalavi of A.P.P. asked me about the situation and I talked to them as I heard from Manzar Bashir who in turn heard from Sardar Shaukat.

Shortly thereafter Qamruzzaman MNA arrived at Darul Hayat and informed that he had talks with Sheikh's nephew' at 5 P.M. before coming to Darul Hayat and the latter had confirmed that Sheikh Mujib was not coming and had not come to his residence. I immediately contacted Khalid Batalavi who was dictating the news from Phone 62844. He immediately cancelled the story.

DAC meeting began at 6-15 P.M. after Maghreb prayers. I was not informed about the meeting that was due to take place. Moulana Akram of Jamiate Ulema-i-Islam was also found sitting inside the drawing room where meeting was being held. Lundkhur vigorously protested against outsiders being allowed to attend the meeting. I brought it to the notice of Nawabzada and eventually Moulana Akram went out. Meeting was obviously called in order to take decision about participation of all eight parties in view of the reported visit of Mujibur Rahman. Qamruzzaman reported in the meeting that Mujib was still in custody and that thousands had gathered in his residence in expectation of meeting him on his release. Family members had gone to meet Mujib in Cantonment. This information caused great depression and Nawabzada adjourned the meeting hoping that some news about Mujib's coming would be available by next morning and members would be in-

formed by telephone and he requested Golam Azam to inform everybody. On his reluctance I took upon myself the responsibility of informing and took down the telephone number of members not known to me before. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury came to Darul Hayat and left at Maghreb time for Dacca. Mahmud Ali attended in his place. Syed Nazrul Islam did not attend. Only Qamruzzaman and Khondkar Mustaque attended the meeting. Janab Moudoodi also did not attend and Mian Tofail had come in his place. Sarder Shaukat did not attend either.

7-15 P.M. news bulletin mentioned that I had told that Sheikh Mujib was coming on parole and immediately. Nawabzada was seemingly concerned and left the drawing room and withdrew to his own room where people started collecting and heated discussion took place. The attack was mostly turned towards me. Khawja Khairuddin entered the room when I was addressing some students who had come to meet me and were listening to my discourse on Islam and modern world. Khawja Saheb asked why I had said about parole and in reply I analysed the factors and showed that it would in no case include the coming of Sheikh Mujib because if their report of Sheikh Mujib having started by delayed departure of plane from Dacca at 2-15 P.M. in which case he had been flying for over five hours. He however replied that the departure might be delayed.

Abdul Mannan, Mustafa Sarwar, Shamsul Huq and Molla Jalal of A.L. came and expressed grave consternation that I had used the expression on parole in relation to Sheikh Mujib. I told them that I regret it very much that my name had been used and would do anything to rectify it. They suggested issuing contradictions to Radio Pakistan and APP. I rang up and told that I was misled by information received by me from Manzar Bashir and requested Azhar Ali of Radio Pakistan to rectify the mistake in 10- O' clock News Bulletin. Syed Nazrul Islam came but did not meet me. He went to Nawabzada's room and joined the discussion. Manzar Bashir was confronted by me as to whether he had informed me on the authority of Sarder Shaukat and he admitted it before nearly a dozen students. Naqvi of Hyderabad came to see me past 5 P.M. and told me how CML leaders custigated

Daulatana and Sarder Shawkat for their role in delaying the conference. He also showed me the press cuttings to prove that he had clearly warned people of the desire of Asghar Khan to build up Bhutto.

Shahnawaz of Sahiwal, ex-MNA greeted me as a National leader. Chief Reporter of the Daily Kohistan, Pindi told me of the rumour he heard in about imposition of ML in the same manner as it happened in 1958. Questioned closely he said that he has confirmed news that 3 C-in-Cs' were here and they held a meeting amongst themselves and later with Ayub Khan from 2 P.M. to 5 P.M. On my telephoning Sabur's residence I was told that he had left for President's House after 6 P.M.

Students asked me about Bhutto's signing Taskent Declaration. Sheikh Abdur Rashid came to see me and introduced to me one student leader. Sought permission to kiss my hand and another student with little beard promised to lay down his life for Islam under my leadership. The talks with the students proved very warm and affectionate. It established the fact that I enjoyed great popularity among students community and could win them over. They invited me to address them in Govt. Degree College on the 22nd. February between 11 A.M. to 12 O' clock.

Maulana Shahib also came to renew request for my address in Ahle Hadith masjid. I told them to adjust the programme looking to the convenience of the respective parties.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri, Col. Abid Hussain and Khurshid Kasuri met me in the balcony of Darul Hayat and asked me about the latest news of Sheikh Mujib's release. When I told them that I heard from Manzar Bashir they informed me that some one had gone out in the streets announcing on the mike that Mujib was due at 6 P.M. I expressed my concern as to what was happening. At this Kasuri told me that Altaf Gauher and prior to him, his brother Tajamul Hussain had told him about 1-30 P.M. that Sheikh Mujib was on board the plane. This could only have meant that the news was so false that nobody could commit such mistake knowingly. Tajamul had no business now to be in Pindi leaving his important work in the Department of Finance of which he was the Secretary in Lahore and events were

so important even in Lahore with Assembly Session. How could Tajamul afford to come to Pindi leaving behind his responsibilities in Lahore? Moreover the information was wholly and totally incorrect.

Went to Col. Abid's room at Hotel Intercontinental with Kasuri, his son Khurshid and Abid Hussain. Before dinner at room, I narrated to them the entire series of events connected with the demand for Sheikh Mujib's release. Kasuri rang Altaf Gauher's Phone No. 62248 and was informed that he had communicated this news on the strength of news received from PIA about booking. It is unbelievable that a powerful, well informed and intellegent Information Secretary of the Govt. of Pakistan could behave in such a fashion. This is manifestly wrong and must be rectified.

Pir Zulfiqar came and reported that my star alone was in ascendency. The talks will now fail but will succeed with everybody coming. Khurshid Kasuri told me that he had heard from Aftab Ahmad, former Secretary of the late Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy at 11 A.M. that Sheikh Mujib was coming. Kasuri talked to Mujib's residence whereon Elias Choudhury told neither Mujib nor his representatives would be attending conference. Hamid Jalal of PID told me on phone at about 9 P.M. that Sheikh Mijib even refused to sign bail petition.

Air Marshal Nur Khan met me at 11-58 P.M. at the entrance of Hotel Intercontinental. He had two companions who looked rather mysterious and suspicious. Nur Khan on my query told me that he had come in the evening. He called me, "Hello, Farid, wanting to be a minister?" I replied, "I am not interested in becoming a minister. I wanted to remain a humble servant of Islam and Pakistan. I want that everybody should be enabled to act according to his conscience which must remain free. Nur Khan also asked me and enquired if I wanted to become a Pir. I replied that I did not want to prevent anybody from thinking freely.

Lastly I prayed that Pakistan should remain intact and almost everybody said 'Amin'. Nur Khan was in ordinary civilian suit and he left in a private car with his 2 companions. Kasuri contacted Jilani on phone at Room no. 634 and went to see him. Altaf Gauhar told Kasuri on the phone that he had no information about Mujib's coming.

Mysteriously, my telephone connection had been cut off since the early night of the 19th and all my attempts at restoration had failed. One workman came and put the cables right but connection was not given and all those seemed to avoid and evade real answer. A definite conspiracy to block my contact and prevent me from acting in foiling the conspirational net.

Pir Zulfiqar's verdict :—Leaders will be discredited. None but I have standing with people. There will be a second talk with all participating. Ayub has to go. I shall be charge of events shortly. He promised to examine the affects of planets on Mujib and Nasrullah.

21st February 1969, 3 Jilhaj, 1390 Hijri, Friday

Got up late and while reading newspapers in bed, Chowdhury Muhammad Ali came and told me with good deal of consternation about the mistake in talking to Radio Pakistan reporter and that we are passing through the most critical period of our history. He compared the conditions immediately after partition but then Quaid-e-Azam was alive and on the Govt. side he was the Secretary General. Now there was no focal point, because Ayub has lost grip and none amongst officers can act as leaders. All sorts of rumours are being manufactured. He advised me to keep quiet and not to talk to press. Nurul Amin was reported to have said that my news in Radio news bulletin about Mujib's coming stiffened Mujib's attitude. I pointed out that I had previously wanted to switch the issue but he opined that it was premature. He told that there will be a meeting of DAC at 11 a.M. Everybody would be required to express his opinion individually and separately. He told that he had close connection with High-ups in the administrative highest level, but he mentioned none. He regretted that there was no focal point either in the political field or in the administration. We must now act together as a party. He emphasised that he was only interested in me and considered me as a younger brother.

Around 8 : 50 A.M. Nasim Ahmad of the Dawn now representing Canadian Broadcasting Service wanted to interview me and he had a tape recorder. He mentioned about the Radio News. I refused to be drawn into any discussion.

Khondkar Mustaque rang me from East Pakistan house requesting me to attend a meeting of Regional DAC at 9 : 30 A.M. and thereafter DAC meeting at 11 A.M.

Choti came and attended on me. Rafique promised to go to Peshawar to meet his brother.

While on the Murree Road on a taxi, found Khawja Khairuddin going in a limousine and when Choti approached him on my behalf, he moved away in his car saying that he was going home. Obviously he had come to see Nawabzada.

Arrived at East Pakistan house and found only Khondkar Mustaque and M.R. Khan present in room. M.R. Khan told me that Sardar Shawkat was in Prof. Muzaffar's room where Nazrul Islam and Qamruzzaman were also present. He had come at about 8 : 45 A.M. Sometimes later Yusuf Ali Choudhury and Khairuddin were seen going out of East Pakistan house.

Drafted resolutions of Regional DAC in E.P. House on Shahid Day, repression, firing, killing of Dr. Zoha and refusal of the Govt. to meet one man delegation of DAC. Held a brief conference in Mr. M.R. Khan's room with Sabir Jaffery and M.R. Khan. M.R. Khan reported about the jealousy and bitterness of E.P. leaders towards me. Decided to call party leaders from districts. Attended DAC meeting at 11 A.M. which continued till 1:30 P.M. Choudhury Muhammad Ali proposed that a 14-man delegation should go and meet the President and talk to him. Nawabzada held out assurances that Mujib would be released and case might be withdrawn. Daulatana brought counter proposal that we should stick to one man delegation. Sardar Shaukat walked out of the meeting in protest against Nawabzada's protest that Convenor should only speak on common problem of regions. He announced resignation of Convener'ship and from DAC. Janab Akram of Jamiate Ulama-i-Islam again wanted to attend the meeting. Wali Khan, Prof. Muzaffar, Daulatana and Mufti Mahmud supported one man delegation proposal and rest supported 14-men delegation proposal. While the meeting was in progress, M. Anwar appeared and said that President was due to broadcast at 5 : 30 P.M. announcing constitutional changes and M.R. Khan reported that

Khawja Shahabuddin had left for Dacca to secure the consent of Mujib and Bhasani for participating in talks. Thereafter Khawja Khairuddin went out briskly and returned to say that President was going to broadcast to the nation at 5:30 P.M.

Went to Ahle Hadith Masjid for Juma prayers and delivered a speech on Islam and Socialism, highlighting the main distinction between the two. Musallis highly appreciated it and wept with me with tears rolling down their cheeks specially when I led final doa. Offered Asr prayers at the same masjid and took lunch at 4 P.M. in a nearby house. Went out in a car and purchased two pair of socks. Went to buy transistor in the market where people collected and listened to me with great interest. The topic centered round the future and the solution and talked to me of problems after people's victory was achieved. Purchased a Sony transistor and listened to the broadcast of the President announcing that he had decided not to contest election and remove obstacles in the way of meeting all leaders. In case of non-agreement, he would make his own decision. Promised free and fair elections. Announcement was received with great joy by people who danced wildly in the streets and took out processions. Sweets were distributed. People had their own misgivings. Will the unity of DAC remain intact? What will happen to Ayub? Should he be permitted to go away unpunished? Will the bureaucracy be permitted to go unpunished?

Paid a visit to the residence of Khurshid Ahmad Khan. Lady is wrecked mentally, as a bundle of nerves. She resisted me for a time and thereafter showed great concern for me. Came to Darul Hayaat and attended meeting of DAC. Wild joy and congratulations from people. Students again listened to me. Then Tofail Muhammad paid compliments for my speech in Masjid Ahle Hadith. Mufti Mahmud who had not agreed with Nawabzada was found closeted with the latter. This new interest was rather suspicious. Muzaffar seemed to be unhappy. Meeting adjourned after some time. Our mission in restoration of democracy has succeeded despite conspiracy from inside and outside.

THE SUN BEHIND THE CLOUDS

Ata Hossain came and picked me up for dinner. Went to Silver Grill, a lady came near and talked to me freely. Feeling exhausted; condition needs serious re-thinking. Aspirations must be fulfilled and enthusiasm must not be allowed to die down.

22nd February, 1971. 4 Jilhaj, 1390 Hijri, Saturday

Had quiet sleep last night. Felt refreshed. Took hot bath. Met Sabir Jaffery. Eventually persuaded him to agree to the proposal. Had talks with Choudhury Sahib. Took up the question of convening a party meeting at Pindi to discuss current political situation, and regarding Ayub's decision to step down. Choudhury Sahib thinks that he sent words to him and the same bore fruit.

H. M. called on me and explained the latest thinking of various sectors of society; the possibility of another ML cannot be ruled out. Senior Generals (a section) were opposing transfer of power. The battle between right and left has started. He thinks that my briefing had effect on Ayub's decision. According to him, I must take the offensive on behalf of Islam. He has arranged a dinner tomorrow and he wants me to join and meet important people. He also suggested a meeting with a retired General who I think, may provide me with necessary contacts with people who matter and their thinking. Pir Zulfiqar came and predicted there was possibility of bigger change within 21 days. Murshid may be next President, Mujib may be in trouble within next few months. There will be three names for Governorship of E.P.viz, Nurul Amin, F.Q. Choudhury and self. He did not see much prospects for Asghar and Azam Khan. Bhutto will not be the President but he will gain fame and glory. •

Attended a meeting of students at Govt. Degree College, Rawalpindi. About a dozen student leaders spoke with Shaikh Abdur Rashid presiding. Each one was busy showing himself up but I must admit that the debates were of a high order. Shahrrior of Karachi reported to be a Leftist was a disciplined one. He is a forcible speaker but by overdoing he created rift and dissension in the audience. Most of the speakers laid emphasis on economic justice of Islam & resented narrow interpretation of Islam with and reference to the prolem of bread. Shahrriar

had a dig at Nawabzada Nasrullah by referring to his Ahrar past and opposition to Pakistan. He appeared to be definitely pro-Bhutto. At this stage, I had to go to the dias and speak forcefully dispelling misgivings and doubts. A lot of confusion was created deliberately. I also spoke about the 4 point programme of my party and was lustily cheered all throughout my speech. I referred to the foundation of Islamic economic policy. By the time I finished, I won the approval of all except a handful of confirmed leftists. My munajat for the Shuhada brought tears in their eyes. On my suggestion the students took out a procession and for a time they carried me on shoulders and shouted slogans in my name. Eventually I suggested a pick up for the procession and stood on the car with Sheikh Abdur Rashid. The procession was stopped near Liaquat Garden by police force. A.D.C. came to stop the procession but he could not deliver the goods. Eventually D.C. Pindi came and was forced to relax 144 section Cr. P.C. prohibitory order and allow the procession to pass through Cantonment area. The procession went via Goalmandi and then to Pindi city and terminated at the Shahid Square. People gathered there and I talked to them and explained the significance of the day. Victory procession with 'Ho Jamalu' dances. The following were the main points of speech 1) It was a victory parade, 2) Signified East-West unity. 3) Symbolised youth and ages combined strength. 4) Blessing of the people 5) No longer bloodshed but confident step forward 6) withdrawal of sec. 144 Cr. P.C. order without any delay.

Meeting lasted from 11-30 A.M. to 3-15 P.M. and procession ended at 6 P.M. Had to go without food throughout the day. Met Choudhury Mohammad Ali and Nawabzada Nasrullah and reported to them the impact of the situation. They seem to have changed their opinion and wanted to be the main speaker for tomorrow's public meeting at Liaquatbag. M.R. Khan came and suggested about formation of a secular party by amalgamating 21 parties. He informed me of the talks he had with Hamidul Huq Choudhury. Golam Azam came to talk about the future alliance for election. Daulatana is reported to have invited A.L. leaders to lunch and talked to them about an alliance.

Pir Zulfiqar came and gave me the results of his calculation by

stars 1) Moon has entered my house and therefore there would be close sharing of power. 2) Military-politician combination is indicated by the influence of Mars, which means that I shall share power even in a military set up 3) By August, there will be military interference in National politics. 4) Within next two days there will be unthinkable change in my future for better. 5) Murhisd is seen as President at some future day 6) there shall be a vice-President and either Asghar Khan or Murshed will occupy the position 7) I should keep both of them in hand 8) Nurul Amin is seen as next Governor of East Pakistan, 9) Change shall come by April, 10) No danger from Bhutto or Mujib 11) Mujib is seen in opposition to my stars 12) Threat of secession of E.P. can be undone only by me 13) If I go to Baba Sahib I may seek his blessings for Presidentship 14) Proposed his joining the party with his followers 15) Should offer position to Murshed straightway, 16) Govt. party members will join as the party will dismember soon.

23rd February, 1969. 5 Jilhaj. 1390 Hijri, Sunday

Got up at 2 A.M. and finished writing diary and read Economist for sometime and then slept again. Rose somewhat late. Choudhury Sahib asked my opinion about merger of parties. To start with Nezame-Islam, A.L. (Nawabzada) and N.D.F. should merge, of course, we should not give up our Islamic ideology. Jamate Islam will closely co-operate with us. I nodded my approval and M.R. Khan also talked to me regarding future of the party. For the first time he was respectful.

Jamal Ahmad came and started typing the minutes of DAC meeting. Arranged air journey to Lahore to meet Asghar and Murshed. Went to Riaz Saheb's house and happened to meet Farkhanda along with others. Attended Walima ceremony of Advocate Chote's brother at R/56 Saidpuri gate. Controller of Habib Bank and other persons were present to whom I exposed the monstrosity of banking with interest. They eventually agreed with my analysis.

Ata Hossain came conveying message of Saudi Arabian Ambassador who wanted to talk to me on the future of Islam. He is going to India on

one week's holiday. He informed me that he has been financing a political party and he thinks that it cannot deliver the goods any longer. Obviously he is interested in me and that explained why he is after me. Meanwhile, I undertook to prepare a working paper.

Attended a public meeting organised by Jamate Islam students with Barkatullah presiding. When I went to the meeting around 3 P.M. in Liaqatbagh, I found Abdur Rashid Sheikh speaking. He seemed to be a changed man with backing from Pro-Bhutto group of students to the right. He had been metamorphosed overnight. Had either been bribed or influenced. Subsequently I learnt that he is left-oriented. He sought the support of audience for voting rights for 18 years old citizens and direct election for the election of the President. It was not difficult to see the clever hand operating behind this design. This suits Mr. Bhutto, Asghar Khan and Murshed, all of whom want to become President with unbridled powers. It is essentially a Bhutto lobby trying to do the trick innocently. It is also obvious that Asghar had been led to it or else he is a willing party to the game. Having committed himself to an East Pakistani President he will find it difficult to sponsor his candidature in a Presidential system.

When I followed Shaikh Rashid on the dias I was lustily cheered by the crowd. I started with the theme of enemy conspiracy directed towards wrecking the conference. I mentioned how Mujib was proposed to be brought under humiliating conditions which would have made the Conference impossible. When I touched upon how Radio Pakistan people were deployed and got a false news broadcast about Mujib's being released on parole by misusing my name. At this stage some one from the crowd shouted 'Tody' and journalists led by Mahmood of the Pakistan Times threatened boycott and wanted to walk-out of the meeting. Some people wanted to persuade them and in the meanwhile people on the stage (i.e. Jamate Islam students) requested me to applogize. I wanted to know what specific remark had offended them and there was no reply. At this they walked back to their seats. Then I wanted to know, in view of some uneasiness at the journalists corner as to whether I should continue my speech. The entire crowd shouted in reply that I should. Then someone in the crowd shouted

Tody' again and asked to go away. Then as they were going, people jeered at them and pelted stones.

Then I unfolded the entire conspiracy including the disruption of my telephone connection. Thereafter, I proceeded to explain the implication of a President being elected by direct adult franchise and I had nearly succeeded in convincing the audience. Rashid Sheikh was asked by hired students elements to leave the meeting. At once in an excited dramatic fashion, he tore his garland, jumped out of the stage and left with his hirelings. The audience was happy to get rid of him and the image that had been built up was totally destroyed.

I explained how necessary it was to preserve Ayub Khan for the peaceful transition of power. The audience fully agreed with me. Refuting the cry of Saudabaji raised against us, I explained that all of us had suffered and there was nothing that we could bargain. Sardar Sikander Hayat Khan, son of Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan then stood up excitedly and wanted to ask me a question. This gave rise to some disorder which was pacified when at my suggestion he was brought on the stage. I replied to his question publicly and he was satisfied and at my bidding nodded to the crowd in approval.

Meanwhile, Rashid Shikh had collected a crowd and they took out a procession. When after Maghreb prayers, I was going out, I found little crowd which was debating the merits and demerits of Presidential and Parliamentary Systems of Govts. I was requested to address them and I did. When the crowd was nearly convinced, another planted agent started heckling me and on my isolating him and appealing to the crowd, the agent took to his heels. Obviously enemies are planning physical violence against me.

On the way to Palmer's party, H. M. explained the role of Altaf Gauhar as to how he had in a planned manner arranged the undoing of Ayub. He mentioned the name of King of Afghanistan being mentioned as His Royal Highness in the book Friends not Masters. He also took me to General Ghaus. He appeared to be lagging behind with the pace of events. H. M. also told me that Altaf Gauhar was very much against Mujib and unless he was removed nothing could be done.

Attended the party. Met Talbot, Director of AID in Pakistan, who was a prominent guest. From the Pakistanis there were present Anwar Adil, Jahangir, Sharif Hussain and Babar with their families. Interesting talks took place. Talbot told me that he had been associated with Pakistan for a long time. He was in Aligarh. He was in Lahore when Pakistan resolution was adopted in 1940. He was in Pakistan on the 14th. August when it came into being. Now he is again in Pakistan during one of the most crucial periods of its history.

Talked to Sharif Husain, and the Director of AID programme on the concepts of Islam's democracy and economic policy. Mr. and Mrs. Talbot took great interest in me. Jahangir, an artist from Satkhira seen with an old vampire Anver Adil and Babar, with their wives. Mr. and Mrs. Sharif Hussain, Director, Television programme were also present in the dinner.

Pir Zulfiqar came twice and confirmed his previous predictions. He maintained that Mujib shall not enjoy more than 10 days of popularity. From the beginning of the 25th February, visits of immense possibilities shall open for me. Its magnitude could not be gauged. Neither Bhutto nor Asghar shall become President. Murshed might give up V.P. in favour of Asghar and Vice versa. Chowdhury Sahib suggested that we should start publication of Urdu and Bengali daily newspapers from E.P. and W.P. respectively. My suggestion for going to Lahore to meet Asghar, Murshed and Azam approved by Chowdhury Sahib and Nawabzada.

24th February, 1969, 6 Jilhaj 1390 Hijri Monday, Pindi & Lahore.

Got up late. Spent busy hours upto 9 A.M. and then started for Lahore by 9-40 Plane. Gauhar Ayub was at the V.I.P. lounge to see his wife off to Karachi. Mr. and Mrs. Talbot travelled with me from Pindi to Lahore by the same plane. Met Engineer Patel and his engineer friend and became quite friendly with them. PIA officers showed good deal of interest in me. Drove to the residence of Brig. Aslam, brother of Asghar straight from the air port and was with him for about half an hour. He suggested that DAC should agree on the minimum before going to the conference. He also suggested that

Nawabzada should go as the sole spokesman with 2 others as advisers. He would let me know his reaction after meeting Mujib. He also mentioned that Aga Shoraish Kashmiri had addressed a meeting at Mochi darwaja yesterday in which he demanded an open trial of Altaf Gauhar. He suggested that I should meet Murshed and Azam. He made a positive promise to inform me about his decision. Of course, Murshed has already announced his decision to join the R.T.C. Met Sabir Jaffery who drove me to the residence of Azam Khan. He was definitely cold and non-communicative. Appeared to me to be over confident and aggressively egoistic as if he knew what was coming and knew the answer. He told me that he would do the right thing and he had been always doing so. He knew what he was doing. He rushed to another room to talk to Z.H. Lari on phone, the latter having called from Karachi. He wanted me to realise we had been wrong and that was why I have come to see him.

To both, I explained that it was essential to preserve Ayub in order to get peaceful transition of power. If he was destroyed by any means there would be chaos and confusion.

Tried to contact Murshed but in vain. He is staying with Khawja Abdur Rahim, Retired Commissioner (he was Commissioner of Rawalpindi at the time of Liaquat assassination) and now a practitioner of law. I was told that Murshed had gone to have lunch with Muhammad Arshad Khan. Visited Lahore High Court Bar Association and a circle of inquisitive admirers gathered round me trying to know the latest situation from me. Got hold of Baquir in the midst of his busy schedule and asked him to drive me in his car to the Lahore Airport to be eye witness to the arrival of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman with Bhutto accompanying him after his abortive mission to Dacca. Took up position in one corner of the 1st floor of Airport Restaurant, commanding the scene from a height. Bhutto supporters have come in cars, buses and truck, numbering about 400, mostly students and laborers. Baquir reported to me that some students have paid as much as Rs. 500/00 for the day. The DAC have also collected a crowd of 600. For sometime, there was confusion as to whether Mujib and Bhutto would get down in PPP truck decorated with the pictures

of Bhutto and a picture each of Quaid-e-Azam, Asghar and Mujib. Bhutto got down in one of 45 trucks loaded with hired supporters. Bhutto's supporters were by the southern side of the V.I.P. lounge and he was seen standing in the truck clapping and dancing to the tune of Ho Jamalo chorus of his supporters. Few minutes later Mujib got down on the step and there was a mad rush as to who should be nearest to him. As Mujib stepped down from the plane Asghar, Azam and Murshed vied with each other and flanked him from all sides and came down to the tarmac and whisked away to Malik Golam Jilani's residence at Gulberg where Mujib is to have his lunch and have talks with selected people. Tajammul Hussain was at the air port mixed up with the crowd and I see him leaving the air port in the company of Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri and his son Khurshid. Of course, they waited for sometime allowing the crowd to disperse.

I telephoned Jilani's residence and was told that Mujib was having discussion with Asghar, Murshed and Azam Khan. Also ascertained that Mujib was canvassing support for representation on population basis. Entrusted Baquir with the task of finding out the real intention of these leaders and after bidding him good bye, came to the V.I.P. lounge and waited for the plane to Pindi.

Met Dr. Adam Malik, Foreign Minister of Indonesia. He was accompanied by Indonesian Ambassador in Pakistan and Indonesian Ambassador in Kabul along with 2 senior air force and landforce officers. Talked to him for sometime. He seemed to know the Quran well. Talks mostly concerned with Islam and modern challenge. His coming at this opportune moment appeared to be linked up with American lobby. Moreover, he was in New Delhi for 3 days before coming to Pakistan.

Flew back to Pindi by 15-35 flight. Rather a rough flight mostly through clouds. But Pindi was sunny. Seemed to be symbolic of Pakistanis envious struggle for preserving Pakistan and making it ideal Islamic.

There were some crowd at the airport. They had come to meet Mujibur Rahman. Some placid Bhutto agents and other neutralist or party men wanted to create trouble for me by forcing to

talk to the crowd. I took up my stand and tried on to the hood of a car so as to explain when the same elements prevented it and put me in a car. Arrived at residence and explained incidents to Chowdhury Sahib and Nawabzada. They listened with respect.

Visited a top man and had a long exchange of notes. He felt dejected and sad at his failure to prevent interference of foreign power in Pakistan. He confessed to his failure in this regard. He told me that a certain pattern had emerged and made the following points :

(1) Altaf Gauhar. was a Qadiani and so were M.M. Ahmad and N.A. Faruqi. They were close to President and misleading him.

(2) Foreign powers had paid Bhutto, as they did finance Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

(3) Asghar was being built up in America and also to Great Britain. I suggested the following to him :

(i) Ayub must have a hot line with Mr. Nawabzada as transmission through agent did not convey the real state of affairs. (Nawabzada as convener of DAC did not have any direct link with president Ayub. Nawabzada used to talk to Khawja Khairuddin who in turn talked to Khawja Shahabuddin. He would have consultation with Altaf Gauhar, A.R. Khan and Fida Hasan. Then Khawja Shahabuddin would speak to Ayub and the cycle would be reversed.)

(ii) He must be ready to take immediate steps for constructive changes unilaterally even if the other parties can not take any decision.

A top man told me that Bhutto was a CIA man and he had pictures of Bhutto dancing with American embassy people.

(4) Daulatana and Shaukat had connection with Altaf Gauhar who had been meeting them.

(5) Asghar's brother was a Qadiani and he had packed up PIA with Qadianis.

I asked him to do the following :

(a) He should talk to President and he should talk straight to Nasrullah and give up intermediaries.

(b) He should arrange a meeting with me to impress upon him the following :

(1) In case of disagreement, Ayub should agree to adult franchise and Federal Parliamentary system.

(2) Ayub should call National Assembly immediately and get the constitution amended.

(3) Those M.N.A.'s who had joined the Peoples party should be made to lose their seats.

Came home and wrote the diary until I felt sleepy.

25th. February, 1969 : 7Jilhaj, 1390 Hijri, Tuesday, Rawalpindi.

Started the day somewhat late. It is a day of great expectations because of Sheikh Mujib's participation. An attempt had been made this morning by the Pakistan Times and the Taamir editorials urging to malign Mujib because of his reported stand on representation on population basis and his desire to open one unit issue. Strict discipline was maintained today in keeping visitors out of the gallery of the conference room.

Matin and Julmat came from Dacca and conveyed grave anxiety of my sons and wife on account of the deliberate campaign of destroying my image because of my being the only thorn in their felsh. Matin had him sent by Haji A. Rahim sharing the anxiety of my family. Matin and Haji A. Rahim thought that I might visit Dacca due to Eid and that would expose me to the dangers of humiliation and physical harm. Members of the family had been threatened over the telephone with violence and they had shifted to Hussain's house. Julmat came because he felt he had a duty towards me. Harun sent me a letter expressing his dilemma over the conflict between right and left. He has his own interpretation of the nature of the movement. He mentioned about his being a materialist a year ago but now he prefers an honest right to a dishonest left. His letter made me thinking. Harun had been brought up in a peaceful home with pronounced Islamic bias. He had been offering his prayers and keeping fast. I was aware of the spiritual crisis through which he had been passing. He mentioned an element of fear which prevented him from expressing his doubts. It anyhow escaped my notice and that shows my own deficiency and my inability to find out gap. Julmat told me

that he had money enough to spare. Enemies had succeeded in creating misunderstanding and resentment amongst a section of the people.

Kazi Faiz Mohammad of Nawab Shah entered the meeting room but for my whispers to the ears of Nawabzada to clear the meeting of outsiders he had to quit. Later on he came in and handed over some papers to Khondker Mushtaque and then left. The meeting started with all attention focussed on Sheikh Mujib who was asked to give his opinion on the latest situation. He enunciated his thesis by expressing himself in terms of a prior agreement as to what should be placed in the conference. According to him, it will serve no useful purpose if we go to conference with a vague mind without ironing out differences and resolving our conflicts. The other side of the picture was presented by Chowdhury Mohammad Ali who strongly expressed himself in favour of presenting two constitutional demands and invite reaction of the President. This to him, was the correct attitude which would shift the onus. Sheikh Mujib mentioned that East Pakistanis had been deceived in the past and could not like to repeat it in future. He referred to the agreements made in Murree in 1955 to which Daulatana and Chowdhury Mohammad Ali had been parties. There was a note of sincerity in his attitude and he seemed to have mellowed down in detention. His concern for one Pakistan was discernible even on the surface and was respectful towards Pakistan. An attitude of belligerency of the past in sharp contrast. Various aspects of the problem were discussed and it was decided to meet again at 5 P.M. In the meanwhile, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan proposed to meet Mujib in East Pakistan House where he was staying at 3-30 P.M. Sheikh Mujib also reported the result of the talks he had with Bhasani, Bhutto, Asgar, Murshed and Azam. He expressed the hope that the last three would be joining the Conference. As a matter of fact, Murshed was in city already and Asghar would be arriving in the afternoon. Mujib also told the meeting that Azam would be arriving next morning in time to attend the conference. CML could not agree to the proposal of Mujib though before Mujib's arrival, they were the main fighting lobby of the latter. The change in stance is dictated by the group operating under Altaf Gauhar.

Mujib was not very friendly with me in the beginning and he at first said no to my proposal for having an exclusive private talk with him in his room. This happened at the end of the morning session of the DAC. However, he then asked me to accompany him. Left for West Pakistan house where Mujib had a short talk with Hamidul Huq Choudhury and Nurul Amin. This was at his initiative. Thereafter we (Mujib, Nazrul, Khandker Mushtaque and myself) left for E.P. house. When we were proceeding to VIP room no. 4 where Mujib was staying, Khawjah Khairuddin took him away for a 10 minute talk in the inner garden. Others went to dining hall for lunch. It was known at the lunch table that Maudoodi was having exclusive talks with Mujib. At lunch table, Donald Milner (B.B.C.) joined us and Amirul Islam was the prime mover and the proof of a lasting acquaintance, was there for any one with discriminating eyes. Abdul Malek Ukil, Molla Jalal, Dr. Kamal, Khandkar Mushtaque were there. Molla was rather cross with me. Usmani of Pindi, previously of Panipath, was there looking after the guest on behalf of local PML.

After lunch went to the room of Mujib where lunch was brought for him in a tray. Hanif Khan was there already sitting on a chair close by. A Bengali speaking E.P. was also in the room looking after personal comforts and asking for phone connections for Mujib from PBX. Hanif looked harassed and worried. Mujib referred to Hanifs' AL past. On my request Mujib telephoned Sabur and expressed regrets for the arson of his house at Khulna and told him that he considered Monem as a Namrud Feraoon and if he had him removed 15 days earlier so many precious lives would not have been lost. He squarely put the blame on Monem for Agartala Case. I talked to Mujib in Bengali in presence of Hanif. I told him the background relating to his release. He seemed to have him briefed by his wife on my sincere efforts for his release. He was convinced about my sincerity for him but in a mood of self contentment he asked me not to worry about it. He would set it alright, he assured me. At this stage at about 3 P.M. Moudood ushered in. Donald Milner (BBC) and N.Y. Times, the Baltimore Sun, the Telegraph, correspondents entered into the room and requested Mujib for an interview to the exclusion of others. Maudood

also mentioned how Telegraph men had assisted him in the beginning of Agartala case. Donald mentioned that they had seen him on the dock and now they were meeting him as a free man. On my query Mujib told me that Maudood was his private secretary ever since his arrival from U.K. Mujib also expressed his apparent disapproval of the fact that some feigning friends did not want his release. He knew it but he would prefer silence. He knew the efforts made by me for his release and his wife had told him about it. He was also aware of the hostility of Altaf Gauhar towards him.

While Mujib was holding his closed press conference with foreign journalists, I asked Hanif to give me a lift to my residence and took the advantage of talking to him. He told me that he had been with Ayub and told him about the gang formed by Altaf Gauhar and Khwaja Shahabuddin. He informed me that Khawja Shahabuddin, Zafar, Qasim Malik and Khizir Hayat formed a clique who worked in league with Altaf Gauhar. Chowdhury Fazal Elahi and Asgar Ali Shah had also spoken to Ayub and warned him of the dangers from this clique. Ayub is reported to have started doubting the bonafide.

Chowdhury Sahib insisted in the morning session that he would reserve the right to agitate the question of confronting Ayub with two issues and leave him to decide rather than sorting them out amongst ourselves.

Engaged myself in activities during the afternoon. Murshed came early to the meeting which lasted for about 15 minutes. It was decided that we would meet in R.T.C. tomorrow between 10 to 11 a.m. to be fixed in consultation with President. Nawabzada went out with Sheikh Mujib and then came back together after the magreb prayer. Asghar followed them soon. Nasrullah announced that we should meet tomorrow at 10-30 a.m. Mujib also informed that Azam would arrive at Pindi and go for talks. The announcement was greeted with great hopes and expectation.

Ahmad Husain of P.P.L. came for interview and have information. Nawabzada Muzaffar Hussain and Osmani with Naqvi came to my room. Discussed the political situation. Muzaffar Hussain Khan in-

formed me that the counter demonstration in Sind were motivated by Qazi Akbar with the desire to rehabilitate positive his position against Bhutto as the representative of Sind. Nawabzada, Muzaffar also told me that he met Asghar at Multan and while the latter was on his way back from Larkana after meeting Bhutto Asghar had told him that he was sure of winning Bhutto back to the fold.

Went to the residence of a top officer who had gone out to a dinner given by his British counterpart in Hotel Inter-Continental. Spent the time profitably by making useful contacts. Talked to Asghar, Shoraiash Kashmiri at Lahore and obtained valuable information regarding Altaf Gauhar. Also contacted H.M. on the phone and obtained further information regarding the clique. Altaf Gauhar had met Daulatana. The latter had met again Asghar and Hamid in Lahore. He told me that it was confirmed news. (Altaf had illicit connection with Aga Zobaida and Rokeya Kabir, wife of Shahid Hussain.) Altaf was going to control the army. Hamid Jalal was very much in the game and so was Saud Ahmed. Altaf had also met Bhutto. This explain's latter's stand that he would come to Pindi and if there was consensus, he would go to East Pakistan to bring Bhasani from Dacca. The enemy pattern seems to be (1) to make the talks impossible and then discredit both Ayub as well as DAC leadership and would create conditions in which Army Coup de-etat would be possible and the fury of the people would be directed against both. Altaf seemed to be the keyman in the drama.

A top officer came late in the night towards 11 p.m. He informed me that Mujib had asked him to come and see him when he had contacted him over the phone. He further told him that he was not afraid of any body. The visit did not take place as Mujib had unscheduled visitors and that he was due to meet him next morning at 8 a.m.

We exchanged notes in a number of subjects and cleared our minds. Ayub, according to him, does not want to run away from the country but to live in Pakistan as an ordinary citizen. He would not like to give up a friend. Hanif told me over phone that he had sent Gohar Ayub to his father and former had told him about the dangers posed by the group that moved him. Ayub was reported to be thinking. Hanif

promised to meet Gohar Ayub and get further details. The officer promised to give me all the assistance at Lahore to conduct further investigation. I expressed optimism about the outcome of the meeting tomorrow. It was good to see his pessimism being replaced by optimism. Drove home at 12 p.m. Had a long session with Matin and Rafiq.

At the end of the evening session, Mujib pressed for the inclusion of Regional DAC convenors in R.T.C.

26th. February, 1969, 9th. Jilhadj 1390 Hijri, Wednesday,

The morning was spent with brisk activities in an air of expectancy because of DAC decision to go to RTC as announced; delegates started collecting in Darul Hayat by 9-30 a.m. Justice Murshed was quite early to arrive. Moulana Akram was found taking more than usual interest in the proceeding. There was a call from General Azam meant for Nawabzada Nasrullah and I rang up General Azam and invited Nawabzada to talk to him. In a brief conversation General Azam informed that he was not attending the conference even though he had air dished from Lahore this morning with the avowed intention of joining but could not make up his mind and made himself a laughing stock. Sheikh Mujib on hearing of it rushed to the telephone and asked General Azam point blank as to whether the latter was attending on his answer. Mujibur Rahman felt hurt and insisted that Gen. Azam had promised to attend the Conference. The latter perhaps could not furnish any satisfactory answer and was trying to take his stand on same ground. Mujib's disappointment and wrath could be seen on his face.

Mufti Mahmud led the prayer in an appealing recitation from the Holy Quran which brought tears to my eyes. Muzaffar took mild exception to it. I started in the same car with Mujib. On the way, we were cheered by the crowds. On my arrival, I found Asghar Khan there. There was a collection of journalists, cameramen, both foreign and local. We got seated in our respective seats. I was pushed to a corner and Sardar Shaukat got a better place than myself. There seemed to have been a prior secret arrangement. To my utter surprise, I found Mahmud Ali, Khandkar Mustaque Ahmad and Sardar Shaukat Hayat

in the delegation. It must have been arranged between Nawabzada, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and NDF leaders. Nurul Amin was given the place as leader of the opposition while the two regional DAC convenors were also included. Vice-admiral A.R. Khan who was not originally included also came in from the Govt. side.

Ayub came dressed in a grey lounge suit with a Karakuli cap on. Photographers and journalists also came in for a short while. He went to the seats of individual members and shook hands. He had as usual bright moments with me, asking me question about my kalandar ka gira and I offered him atar. There was a brief conversation with me. The meeting commenced with recitation from the Holy Quran by Mufti Mahmood who was requested by Ayub to do so while earlier Manjare Alam came from a corner and attempted to recite from a written text but Ayub intervened. Ayub paid me compliments as a charming personality.

Ayub spoke from a short one paged note which he brought with him. He spoke directly and there was a note of sincerity about it. He welcomed the delegates and praised their patriotism for their approach to national interests. He admitted that his system had failed being either too idealistic or unrealistic. It would be ludicrous to quarrel about fundamentals after 21 years of freedom; settled issues should not be raised again. We should put our heads together and evolve a system that will ensure stability and progress. There had been great unrest and lawlessness which must end at once. Climate must be created in which national issues can be discussed dispassionately. Regional interest must be satisfied. There were differences within the regions. However, all can not be satisfied. India is posing a threat to our security. The expert services including those from foreign countries would be needed. They will place balance sheet of situation and it would be upto politicians to make the final decision, keeping in view the experts balance sheet. He would be available for anything in connection with the RTC.

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan thanked the President for having responded to the demands of the DAC in the release of detenues, restoration of civil liberties, withdrawal of emergency, restoration of the

Chattan and the Ittefaq. The opposition was as much concerned with the defence of Pakistan as anybody in the Government. Mufti Mahmood raised question about the release of rest of political prisoners and Maulana Maudoodi pleaded for the withdrawal of political cases. Sarder Shaukat also joined them. Ayub replied that everything possible was being done to create a congenial atmosphere for RTC. He had released prisoners. India had open hostility towards Pakistan. He had agreed to withdraw the Agartala case in spite of the involvement of the discipline of the armed forces. Two delegates from each side were chosen for drawing up a joint communique. Khawja Shahabuddin pleaded for a joint appeal for restoration of normalcy.

After the meeting, Qasim Malik came to me for having a draft of the speech of the President as none else had any note of the proceedings and I dictated to a stenographer, with Qasim Malik making changes wherever he thought fit. Ayub had committed himself in favour of our attitudes.

Accompanied Chowdhury Fazle Elahi to the residence of Sabur Khan. On the way I took delivery of the letter of Harun given to Ahmad Hasn of PPI. I had also issued a statement inviting Khawja Shahabuddin and Bhutto for the promised confrontation on Tashkent.

I picked up Fazal Elahi on the way to isolate the intriguers. Sabur was depressed and would not like to be drawn into any conversation. Came to the residence and hurriedly telephoned a number of people. A top officer told me that he had the meeting with Mujib this morning and he was satisfied with the talks. Rushed to the airport and saw him rushing to meet Bhutto. There was hardly a crowd of 200 people at the airport to receive him. Flew by special plane to Lahore by 1-30 p.m. Talked to Mr. H. M. over telephone from the airport and gave him the line, requested him to work out line of some of the Generals and of Altauf Gauhar.

Read Muslim News article on Islam and distribution of wealth by Mufti Shafi. It is a quite penetrating article and an objective analysis of Islam's theory of economic justice. Showed Shafiqul Islam Harun's letter and he was deeply impressed. Requested him to review the political situation in the light of latest experience and think in terms of

either getting rid of the undesirable leaders or quit the party. Had lunch served in the plane. Molla Jalal who had jeered at me on a previous day, was asked by me to take cigarette at Pindi airport. Mujib again tried to take out 'Kalandir ka gira' and put it in side my pocket. He later on agreed to my putting on the neck.

Azam also travelled by the same plane. He was accompanied by Ghaus Bux Bizenzo who sat by his side and kept on breifing him. He is obviously in their hands. At the Lahore airport, Ahmadul Kabir MPA and some other EP. NAP(W) were there for reception. It might be those lobby which was responsible for changing his decision after his arrival in Pindi.

Mujib and others left for Dacca. Jaffery Bhai did not come to the airport. Driver was not there. Telephoned Baquir to drive me from the airport. P.P.I. and A.P.P. interviewed me on my reactions to the R.T.C. I spoke of it as a happy augury.

Came to Baquir's residence and got down to work immediately. Manzar Bashir informed me that Nawabzada was coming by car. Dictated a long note on the proceedings of the day. Manzar Bashir requested me to send the article of J.A. Rahim to Asghar Khan containing his proposals for constitutional changes. Showed to Abrar by comparing the display of photographs and headlines of the Pakistan Times, Nawai-Waqt and Dawn how Bhutto, Wali Khan and Shaukat were being played up. How issues like counter revolution, election of President, BD's threatened hunger strike if Ayub did not revise his decision to withdraw from contest, went deep to a pattern of conspiracy of creating confusion in the country with a view to create a condition so that a coup may take place on the excuse that both President and DAC have failed to deliver the goods.

Had a long session with Baquir and he gave me valuable information regarding Malik Golam Jilani's activities. On his release from detention, Jilani carried an affair with a handsome society girl from Karachi for about a year and he spent 213 lacs on her. Suddenly she disappeared and he failed to contact her. She was no longer available at her home. Jilani made efforts through one Nawab, a book maker, to trace her out but with no results. His house was on rent with Americans arran-

ged by Daulatana. He was constructing another house. He was in financial difficulties for some time and used to borrow money from Baquir. All on a sudden he became very affluent. Baquir had seen him giving money to students in Hotel Inter-Continental on some occasion. On the 18th February, Jilani was to take a loan of Rs. 10,000/- at 11 a.m. The request was made on the previous night. But he did not turn up to take the money. He always carried bundles of 500 rupee notes in his pocket. He also reported to Baquir that Mrs. Bhutto was paid a sum of Rs. 15000/- by some industrialist.

Enemy pattern seemed to be to cause confusion in the country and prolong the deliberations of RTC and cause dissatisfaction amongst people so that a *raison de etre* may be found for the new take over.

Wahiduzzaman, Makhdum Hussain Raza Jilani came together to the airport lounge at Lahore and flew together to Karachi, of course, Jilani will land at Multan. I told Bashir Qureshi of PPI about my intention to perform Eid in Lahore and was also interviewed by APP. Baquir informed me on the authority of Asgher of PPL that Brohi is a CIA agent according to a book published in E. Germany.

27th Feb. 1969, 10th Jilhadj, 1390 Hijri, Thursday, Lahore

Again got up somewhat late but compared to the late going to bed past 1 a.m. it was early. Baquir woke up me and it took some time before I could get ready. Baquir drove me to the Badshahi mosque. Some people saw me outside the mosque walls and offered us seat in the prayer sheets spread by them. It was the first time that I was away from members of my family on an Eid day. But as a Muslim, I have accepted the entire world as my temporary abode and all human beings as children of Adam. What difference does it make at all where I am? This of course does not imply that I do not owe special responsibility to the members of my family.

Those who recognised, came to greet me and I embraced them. Went to the Majar of Allama Iqbal and offered Fateha. At once I felt the spiritual communion with his soul and I knew for certain that he is one of those who never die even though there had been a biological extinction of cells. Tears slowly and silently rolled down my

cheeks. These were not tears of sorrow but of joy; a feeling that while he had found his equation with his Creator, I am yet in search of it. I felt how this nation of ours owed the discovery of its spirit to this devotee of the Holy Prophet (Peace be on him). He saw the vision of the glory of Islam and discovered the secrets of the soul of a Muslim. He was saturated with the knowledge and meaning of the life as expressed in the Holy Quran and re-interpreted Islam in the face of challenge of Modern existences.

Aga Shoraish met me as arranged on the previous night. In his car, I came to his house. Khawja Abdur Rahim came with his son Tariq; conversation turned round various subjects. It was reported on our arrival that Nawabzada and Asghar had called a few minutes earlier. I wanted to know about the background of the General whom the adverturists are seeking as the Subandrio of Pakistan. He confirmed his allegations against Altaf Gauhar and maintained that he was a confirmed Qadiani. Khawja Rahim invited me to dinner tomorrow.

While I was talking to him, came Margoob Siddiqui and later on Majid Nizami. Aga explained the Qadiani conspiracy in great details. Sometimes later Mumtaz Daulatana came with Malik Golam Jilani. The latter appeared to be perturbed at my sight but later on tried to give the impression that I looked to him with the same amount of wrath as before. Daulatana felt uneasy at my presence and left rather quickly. It now seems that Daulatana is trying to avoid me as far as possible. The conversation with Nizami and Siddiqui did not turn out to be happy. Nizami was longing to defend the policy of his paper. Incidentally he mentioned that Bhutto was a patriot. He held high opinion about Asghar. Siddiqui fought hard on the issue of Bhutto becoming the President. He wanted to prove his superior knowledge about journalism.

Nizami drove me and Aga in his car and dropped me at Baquir's place around 2 P.M. Squadron leader Rashid of PIA was visiting Baquir with his wife. He was interested in talking about politics with me. I have succeeded in clearing a lot of misunderstanding about certain views and matters. He mentioned that he relinquished his job in PAF

as a mark of protest (without passion) on a matter of principle which brought him in conflict with Air Marshal Nur Khan. He complained that efficiency and honest service was no longer the criterion of promotion in PAF. However, Nur Khan realized his error and recommended Rashid to the Defence Secretary who turned down the recommendation. His wife who serves with Farid is an alert person but with disprecipitating possessive instinct.

Telephoned Jilani who invited me to dinner and promised to drop me at Baquir's residence. He did not turn up but his son rang me up to confirm invitation to dinner. Baquir left with his wife to see his wife's relations. I was left with television in their bedroom. Eban has succeeded Levy Eskol as acting Premier pending the election of a new party leader in Israil. Eskol died daybefore yesterday of heart failure according to Israili sources and of bullet injuries according to Al Fatah sources.

Baquir came back and dropped me in Jilani's place. Jilani greeted me. He lives in a princely style and yet a year ago, he was financially a brook. Moizuddin CSP and another from Army, his brother-in-law were there. Dr. Sarwar previsionist of veterinary services, and Butt were there. Butt brought with him a carlton of cigarettes (555). Later an officer whose name I forgot and he avoided introducing himself, also came. He appeared to be of Intelligence services. Discussion centred round the civil service and its being the most organised and the only political organ of Pakistan. I liked Moizuddin's analysis. He made a comparision with old I.C.S. and explained the deterioration due to relationship with people and being one of them, decrease in real wages and lack of political leadership on the top. I also explained the Islamic stand point on various economic issues facing Pakistan.

Mahmud Ali Kasuri came with his son Umer who went in and remained busy, perhaps interested in Jilani's girls. Jilani told that Asghar had called on him. Manzar Bashir telephoned to request me to send J.A. Rahim's constitutional proposals to Asghar and it was given to me by Choudhury Sahib in the plane while flying from Lahore to Pindi on the 17th.

Jilani informed me that he had been crying for the release of Sheikh

Mujib and DAC desire to go to R.T.C. without him. I started answering the question relating to Mujib's stand on representation on population basis when Kasuri came in. I had also partially explained the disparity in the context of historical imbalance. As Kasuri was very keen to talk, I left the talking to him. I explained the position of Federal Parliamentary system, unitary system as well as a Federation with four provinces in W.P. I suggested that E.P. should be divided into four provinces and it should be a Federation with equal representation on population in lower house. He said that it was acceptable to him. He mentioned that either the President in Presidential System or a Prime minister with a cabinet system was to come from E.P. He was prepared to accept that position. He had no objection if East Pakistan becomes the real ruler for the next 10 years. In case of Federation he was of the view that communication, Central Water and Power should go to centre. In East Pakistan, he felt that even transport between the provinces must go to the centre. He asked me whether East Pakistani friends were aware of the implication of such a proposal. He mentioned that Sheikh Mujib, Nurul Amin and Justice Murshed were the three probable candidates for high office unless of course, someone from nowhere becomes the leader of East Pakistan; by which he meant, the party leader securing Majority of seats in N.A. in the next assembly election. Jilani came to see off upto car and also handed over the car to me.

28th February, 1969, 11th Jilhadj, 1390 Hijri, Lahore

Rose earlier and felt a bit refreshed. Started working early writing diary as I had become somewhat anti-dated lagging behind in time. Abar came and dictated the following portion to him.

- (a) Find out the whereabouts of the girl Jilani was having affair with in Karachi,
- (b) Trace Nawab, book-maker and friend of Jilani,
- (c) contact with Shahinshah Hussein,
- (d) Payment of money of Aftab Gul, son of Advocate Mufti,
- (e) Sudden affluence of some advocates trying to buy cars
- (f) A top army officer being absent from Kharian for a number of days,

- (g) Jilani's influence with Bhutto, Asghar, Azam, Sheikh Mujib and Nawabzada,
- (h) Sources of his money,
- (i) Rafi Munir's financing,

Talked to a high official at Pindi. He told me that Ayub had agreed to talk to Nawabzada through Fida Hasan. It is marked important from the confidential report of Shahabuddin. Hanif Khan not available as perhaps he had gone home for Eid.

Received phone call from Choudhury Mohammad Ali who had arrived from Pindi. Went to his residence and discussed matters relating to postponement of National Council meeting of the party from the 2nd March to the 9th March. There was call from M.R. Khan also. He laid special emphasis on Moulana's refusal to join N.C. meeting at Lahore. Issued a press statement and also informed A. Karim Rajkotwala through Aziz. Nawabzada had telephoned me day before yesterday on his arraival from Pindi as some are claiming to be from Dacca telephoned Hotel to know whether Nawabzada had arrived. He get panicky and wanted me to see him after the Eid. I communicated to him my line of argument. He agreed with me with regard to crushing but he thought that the foreign power operating was China and not the U.S.A. He told me further that Aga Shoraish Kashmiri had been briefed that Mumtaz Daulatana had pressed for his inclusion in the DAC as an independent leader. I now saw the light in the beeline before Aga Shoraish Kashmiri for roping him in. I requested Nawabzada to straighten matters with him and establish contact with him over phone.

Information was received while at the residence of Chowdhury Mohammad Ali in the morning that Daulatana was contemplating merger of CML and A.L. (6 Points) into a new organization to be called Awami Muslim league. Perhaps this is sought to give cover to the ambition of both. There can be no doubt that he is an arch conspirator.

Went to his residence and was told that he was still asleep. I performed my asr prayers and wanted to go to the library. Servant informed me that the key would be brought in no time. I started drafting a

statement, on the impact of R.T.C. on law and order situation. After some time, another servant came and asked me to vacate the room as girls would be having tea there. In the meanwhile information came that Daulatana was having an attack of fever. I came out in the verandah when I was again told to shift. Eventually I was asked to move out in his car. I left for PPI office shortly before Maghreb and completed writing the statement and handed over the same to Bashir Qureshi. Met Naqvi, Mohammadullah Khan and Masood Shahriar of PPI. They had misgivings about my alleged remarks about journalists in Pindi meeting. I cleared up the matter by telling the truth. They admitted that it is the human character that matters eventually. Manzar Bashir came to fetch Bashir Qureshi to the dinner given by Begum Shah Nawaz. It seems that Manzar Bashir is still concentrating on Air-Marshal in the hope that he might one day come to power. Waited in PPI office for more than an hour and Khan A. Rahim took me to his residence for dinner. His son Tariq, Majid Nizami and Begum were there. Conversation centered around the political situation. Majid Nizami suggested about the possibility of having one party with merger of CML, A.L. and NIP. I pointed out the improbability of Mujib agreeing to the programme based on Islam. I gave my own analysis of the situation in East Pakistan by sighting out the role of the rural population which constitutes more than 90% of the total population. Khawaja Rahim spoke of the sacrifices made by the Punjab in the development of poorer regions. He did not conceal his strong dislike for the concentration of economic power in Karachi and said that the banking should be provincialised and shifted to Lahore. I took the opportunity of selling the idea of four units for East Pakistan in order to match the number of provinces in West Pakistan in case of dismemberment of one unit.

Returned with Bashir around 11 P. M. Telephoned H. M. at Pindi. He informed me that Altaf Gauhar had come to Lahore on the same day of our arrival. His movements need strict scrutiny. Aga Shoraish told me yesterday that Tajammul Hussain had forgotten an attche case at the Lahore Airport, containing a sum of Rs. 1.97

thousand. Altaf had been meeting with his co-religionist high officials of the Provincial Government during his stay there. From an Awami Leaguer of West Pakistan (Nasrullah group), I learnt that the merger of the two groups were being discussed. Baquer told me that Malik Jilani resented my activities and wanted to get rid of me. Perhaps, he and Daulatana talked about it.

1st March, 1969, Saturday, 12th Jilhaj 1390 Hijri Lahore-Pindi.

Talked to Abrar in the morning. A top army officer had left for Abbotabad. Is there a probability of his contact with Asgher there? He agreed with the line suggested by me.

Nazrur Rehman came to see me on my telephone. He had poor opinion about Murshed as the latter was not keeping fast and wanted cigarettes from A. Kader Hussain of the Nawai waqt even though latter was his guest. Nazrur Rehman told it on the authority of an advocate (CML) that agreement had been reached at Dacca between A.L. and CML for merger under the anem of Awami Muslim League. Went to see Chief Justice (Retd.) Cornelius. Discussion primarily centered round religion, role of Islam in Pakistan Society. Difference between Christianity and Islam. Cornelius believed that if Islam was explained in simpler terms it will not only secure corverts from out side but will also secure converts from within. He described ignorance and aggression as the two main reasons for youth explosion in the country. He also mentioned the loss of parental authority behind the uneasiness. Having freed himself from the authority, he wanted his share in the politics of the country. Once English education was passport to money, authority and prestige. Now there prevailed a sense of insecurity which made the youth restless. He made special mention of CSP having dominated every aspect of Pakistani society.

He described Chrishianity as a sister of Judaismand concerned more with romanticism than realities of life. Christians might be taken as worshiping God through Christ. At the root of Christian mind is a sense of romanticism and romanticism was fast dying out in Europe.

One could not shut his eyes to the great Chinese experiment. Mao Tung at the age of 77 was leading his country from the glory to glory.

He cared for the minute details of human organization. He has succeeded in removing aggression from the minds of the Chinese people and diverted them to constructive activities. The Chinese experiment and success had created indelible impression in the minds of the youth here. We have to learn from the Chinese experiment but co-ordinate it with the ideals of Islam. He warned me against the jealousy from DAC leaders. Baquer told me that Khawja Tariq had told him on the authority of a journalist who heard me speaking with a high official on the phone. I asked him to check up the name of the journalist.

Left for Pindi by Tezgam. Yakub Bajwa, Justice of the peace, was with me in the same compartment for some time. Had lunch in the dining car. Spent most of the time with Akram Khan Bhosan, Arshadullah Choudhury and Darya Khan Khosa discussing current problems. They were deeply interested in constitutional problems. When I talked to them about the necessity of having lands which one would cultivate himself they reacted very sharply but when I explained the implications of Islamic theory of ownership, they were inclined to agree with me.

Read Harun's letter to Cornelius who thought highly of his style. The same opinion was also held by three MNA's.

Rang H. M. He had further information and has arranged a meeting with friends tomorrow.

A high official once suggested the name of Quyyum Khan as a Governor of West Pakistan and saw his statement in the news papers.

Nazrur Rahman informed me that Maudoodi was thinking in terms of making Jamate Islam a mass organization.

▲ *2nd March, 1969, Sunday, 13th Jilhaj, 1390 Hijri, PINDI.*

Fixed an appointment with Gauhar Ayub and saw him in President's Guest House. I elicited the following information from him : (1) Mahmood Haroon rang Altaf Gauhar from London but call given to Gauhar. Mahmood Haroon informed Gauhar that he would be visiting Pindi on Monday morning and wanted confirmed booking from Karachi to Pindi on morning flight. (2) He did not know that Altaf was Quadiani and Zafar and Shahabuddin Pervezi told him (i) about

the movements of Altaf ; air dash to Lahore twice to meet Asghar, Azam, Bhutto and a top army man. (ii) conspiracy in misinforming him on 17-2-69 about Mujib coming on 18th. (iii) False news on 20-2-69 about Mujib's departure for Pindi, missing the plane for Lahore and then boarding plane for Karachi. (iv) Assuring President that Bhutto and Bhasani were coming.

He promised to communicate the news to his father faithfully. He rang Yusuf Haroon in Karachi to tell him that Mahmood Haroon's seat was confirmed through Durrani. Mahmood Haroon had accepted the London assignment on express condition that he would visit Pakistan occasionally at his personal expenses.

Impressed upon him the necessity of removing Altaf from this position.

He did not know that Yusuf Haroon who was in New York had gone to Dacca for meeting Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Yusuf Haroon left on 28-2-69 for Dacca and returned to Karachi on 1-3-69.

Visited Inter-Continental and purchased a Capricon astrology book at the Hotel. Came to West Pakistan House and talked to Manzure Alam on the phone. He refused to accommodate me in West Pakistan house on false plea.

An army General is reported to have gone to Abbotabad. He might try to see Asghar. Why Asghar should come to Abbotabad for a short visit when he has to go back to Lahore on 5-3-69?

Met a young man going for Army selection. He was non-committal. Later on I made him friendly.

Had lunch with Khan Salahuddin. Pir Zulfikar came to residence and told that for the first time in his life, Babu Shahib had asked him to take me to Darbar. He prayed for me. He told me that Bhutto's money was finished. Asghar was reported to have received foreign aid. Bhutto who finished Asghar could never become President. Murshed was bound to become President.

He was in a trance and told Khan Salahuddin that he would go abroad in 1971 as ambassador.

His own relations wanted to finish him. His daughter would win

prominence. His heart, stomach and lumber were diseased.

H. M. came and drove me to Inter-Continental; while alighting from car, he suggested that his former wife was going at distance. I wanted to find when Kelly stopped his car on seeing me. He was in an excited mood. I invited him to join the tea party at hotel given by Chowdhury Sahib, an advocate and friend of H. M. Azizul Haque, D.S. Cabient Division also joined later. While I was explaining Islam, Holy Quran, Prophet and the relation between Chrishianity and our acceptance of Jesus (peace be onhim) as a prophet, immaculate conception, Holy spirit and his being raised, he was almost in tears and said sobbingly "why do you want me to make a Muslim ? I am your slave. I will do whatever you ask me to do. I have sent wire to Washington, Paris and London to the effect that Sheikh Mujib was to be the premier and Daulatana the President; election to be held within June." I pointed out the difficulies in the situation; he seemed to be sceptic. After all Americans are not that well informed.

He thought that I should be the Head or President because I was humane. He promised to find for me a Transistor, TV and Dicta- phone. He promised to send me his car tomorrow morning. He invited me to dinner to-morrow.

Pir Zulfiqar also told that Ayub was not to last beyond September this year. Kelly's birth date is 8-1-37.

Azizul Hussain had to go to see his wife. Went to Arshad Nomani and told him about Sheikh Fazlul Elahi's mentally retarded son. Also took books on Bio-Chemistry.

Went to the residence of Dr. Abdul Hye, former Head of the Deptt. of General subjects at Kakul Academy for 18 years since 1949 to 1967. Dr. Hye told me the following :

(1) Gen. Rafi : Military Secretary to the President since last 7 years was commandant Kakul Military Academy and refused to take serious note of a Baluchi student when he had written scandalous things about the life of the prophet. (peace be on him).

He suggested the shifting to the mosque of Academy which was to be converted into an office.

Matin, Dy. Speaker rang me. I rang him and found out that he was interested in talking about situation in East Pakistan and had ran away from there to Pindi in order to keep at distance from evil. He was very non-co-operative.

Brig. Qurban told me :

- (1) He was decorated on 23-3-66 and was retired on 24-3-66 mentioning that it was due to no fault of the officer,
- (2) He recomanded removal of Maj. Gen. Ismail because of his foolish move to retreat in Sialkot front.
- (3) Maj. Gen. Yacub as also a favourite of the high-ups
- (4) Rafi had been with the President as Military Secretary for seven years now,

3rd March, 1969, Monday, 14th Jilhaj, 1390 Hijri, PINDI,

Fred sent me his car and Kale Khan, a driver from Punjab, who placed it at my disposal. Went to East Pakistan house and met Matin. He is obsessed by the fear of Hindu terrotists mischief. He was overwhelmed by the exhibition of upsurge in Dacca and ran away from home in order to get solace in West Pakistan. He is too emotionally subjected to unable to think on sound lines. I outlined the guide lines of enemy design and requested him to see the President and do his part.

Started for Abbotabad accompanied by Chote. He told me about Khudadad Khan, his concern for the orphans, his dedication to the family and hard work on the land in Wagah border. Yahya and Hamid stay with him at Lahore. Khudadad Sahib did great injustice to him by attempting to block his higher education. Started for Abbotabad past 11 a.m. and reached there past 1 P.M. Talked to the members of the Bar Association on the current political situation. Outlined Islamic economic policy. They listened to me with rapt attention and fully appreciate my point of view. Bhutto's image stands distorted amongst the intelligentia. Mufti, advocate ordered for lunch which I took in Bar room.

Called on Asghar at 3 P.M. He was surprised to see me. He was reserved and scrutinized me from head to foot. He refused to come out of his shell. His wife is from the family of the Pesh Imam of Delhi Jame

Mosque. He is being supplied with the Times, News Week, New York Herald Tribune, Telegraphs, London Observer, London Times, Confidential Reports of the Economist as well the Economist. Source of supply being the book shop at Hotel Inter-Continental. He had the latest (March) issue of the Economist with him. He was receiving quite a lot of mails: one of them, a picture painting him with a colour on head and some writing in Arabic. Found Mrs. Jilani, wife of Gen. Jilani there. Jilani had left for Karachi to meet Bhutto. This annoyed Asghar who told that while Jilani did not come to see him, he had gone to join Bhutto's party. Mrs. Jilani promised to join Asghar's party if he were to form one. Mrs. Salim Mahmood, sister of Sardar Shaukat Hayat was also there.

Talked to Asghar about his idea. His romance with Bhutto was over. He is obviously worried over the Mujib-Daulatana-Mohammad Ali trio which kept him out of the picture. He agreed with me that there was Bhutto-Bhasani alliance in the offing. He mentioned about my assistance in introducing him to the musallies in the Baitul Mukarram, Dacca on 13-12-67. He repeated his old theme that while rendering his five minute speech, I had delivered 15 minutes speech. On my mentioning Eid day incident of Azam when he attempted to address Eid congregation at Lahore, none cared to listen to him. Asghar mentioned that earlier in Karachi, Azam had refused to address a mosque gathering on the ground that he would not address them in a mosque. He showed great interest in the talks to be held at Lahore for the merger of political parties. He told me that he was going to meet Chowdhury Mohammad Ali at Lahore where he intended to be on 5-3-69. I made him interested in the proposed merger as I suggested that unless he came in at the initial process he might find himself left out. It appeared to me that the point went home direct. In my presence, he went to attend phone calls from Mrs. General Hayauddin and Wali Khan. While Mrs. Jilani was interested in undoing one unit Mrs. Salim Mahmood kept quite most of the time but she seemed to be waiting for her turn to talk exclusively to him. She might have been sent by her brother Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan.

I asked Umar, Asghar's son and he innocently told me that General

Syed Abid Hussein Billgrammi had called on his father yesterday and that a lot of people were seeing his father. When Wali came in, we went in a bigger airy room and found Mrs. Hayauddin sitting there. She had come all the way from Peshawar for some special assignment. She told me that her late husband was her third cousin. Mrs. Jilani was her full sister. Her son who was studying Engineering final was also there. They were highly agitated on the one unit question. Wali Khan had also a mission.

Rauf Khan, Jadun (AL) were requested by me to keep watch on the movement of Asghar; informed me on the authority of his friend in Intelligence that Col. Rashid, brother of K.H. Khurshid had called on Asghar and Asghar might have visited him. A top army officer did not call on Asghar but they might have met at Rashid's place.

Daud Shah accompanied me upto Havelian. He told me that while addressing the Bar association in Abbotabad last year, Bhutto was incoherent, no control either over his emotions or language. In course of his speech, he mentioned the name of Fida Hasan, out of cabinet and said "Ask Fida Hasan; who is Fida Hasan, who is he"? He was extremely agitated and spoke in great anger.

Daud Shah's report :

Advocate Mufti was tipped as a Judge of West Pakistan High Court last year and in anticipation, he had tendered his resignation as President of CML & PDM. Hanif Khan and Iqbal, Parliamentary Secretaries had hold meetings in Nawshera and brought Pro-Ayub processions out of sheer desperation that it might be the only way out, thus falling into Altaf's net. They are reported to have brought truck loads of people. People belonging to PML in some places are joining PPP in a frenzy because they see no prospects in PML after Ayub's departure from the scene.

Read the Times, the News week and the Economist of the current week. The Economist had left secession issue entirely open. Time mentions Bhutto and Mujibur Rahman : Bhutto is mentioned as fading out and hint at Mujib's potentiality if he develops an all Pakistan stand.

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The News Week giving the same fact but mentions Asghar as the only possible personality having popular base in both wings. Special mention is made of his attributes of discipline, modernity and sobriety and that students would find him tough. Asghar also mentioned to me about the desirability of having personalities being acceptable in both wings. Prospects of Mujib-Daulatana alliance unnerved him.

Travelled back to Rawalpindi via Rehana Performed jiarat of Ayub's mother and saw his village home. Environment with rugged hills and panoramic view can impart their greatness to human character. His mother died in July, 1965 and since then his misfortune started.

Met Shafiul Azam, Amanullah and Matin in E.P. House. Had a long discussion with them and outlined the design and forces at play. Shafiul Azam was taken aback. He had been living in another world and was puzzled by the magnitude of the conspiracy. Matin rang up Enayatullah of Motamare Alame Islam in Karachi and asked him to come to Karachi. On query he told me that we were financing Alfalah Commandos. He spoke of Jews operating through M.M. Ahmed. He thinks that our planning is dictated from Tel Aviv: Qadiani and Jews alliance was too obvious to miss the eye.

Amanullah, brother-in-law (sister's husband) of Dr. Kamal Hossain of the Awami League was in Pindi as Manager of the Standard Bank. He is intimate with the four musketeers of the Pakistan Army, all of whom were, undoubtedly, loyal to the President Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan. One of them called him (Amanullah) from Hotel Inter-Continental to Standard Bank's Rest House on 22.2 and 23.2 and discussed political situation specially that in East Pakistan. Amanullah was due in Pindi earlier but due to the death of his father in Karachi, he arrived here yesterday. He has sent a wire to Shafiul Azam that he would be arriving late. He is setting up a jute mill in East Pakistan. He missed the dinner at Yahya's place on 24-2-69. He promised that my warnings would reach Ayub and that Yahya would ring me. Yahya was giving a dinner to Gen. Baker next night. He assured that Altaf and the

Generals hated him intensely would be removed. They would see to the removal of Altaf immediately.

Gave following task to Matin :

- (1) Hot line between Ayub and Nasrullah
- (2) Removal of Altaf
- (3) Not to trust Shahabuddin, Zafar, Quasim and Khizer Hayat
- (4) Have an East Pakistani Secretary for information
- (5) (a) Unearth conspiracy of misinforming Ayub on 17-2-69 about Mujib's coming
- (b) Altaf's telling people that Mujib was coming that day i.e. 20-2-69
- (c) False report by Altaf to Ayub on the question of Bhutto and Bhasani joining R.T.C.

Shafiul Azam reported that Dr. Huda told him that President had told Dr. Huda on 20-2-69 that Mujib was coming that day.

Read the Ittefaq and found that Yusuf Haroon had left for Dacca on 28-2-69 and left for Gopalganj by a chartered PIA helicopter which once failed to locate and then came back to Dacca. Thereafter he again went by the same helicopter.

Came home and worked upto 1-30 a.m. and felt sleepy but took a long time again as itching in a minor form started.

4th March, 1969, 15, Jilhaj, 1389 Hijri, Tuesday, PINDI

Abandoned the idea of visiting Peshawar to-day, as I felt that I was more needed here. Advocate Chowdhury came with Afzal and his brother Imtiaz of the Punjab Marbles. Choudhury is irrational and represents the ignorantly proud Punjab view of being the defender of other people. Such feelings are likely to ruin the basis of Pakistan. His stupidity provoked me to the pitch of indignation and I almost lost balance. It made me very weak indeed. I regret such relapse into my old moods of temper and must regard against its repetition.

Telephoned to Qazi Saeed, PRO to President and told him about the discontinuance of my telephone. He promised to do his best but nothing came out of it. Also told Fida Hassan in later afternoon. He was surprised by the fact that I was singled out for victimisation and promised to look into it.

A meeting with Saudi Arabian Ambassador had been arranged for tomorrow at 10 a.m.

Amanullah when contacted by me promised to arrange interview with chief but never heard from him again.

Had a brief tele-talk with Khan Salahuddin. In spite of his being so generous and pure hearted, he is still under the shell of certain notions of a traditional kind about death and destiny.

Pir Zulfiqar came and reported that Azam was calling old servicemen to Lahore for discussions leading to the formation of a political party to be called Democratic Party. Yahya is going on 3 months leave and never to resume duty again. Akhter Malik likely next C-in-C. Asghar likely to join the Democratic Party. New Government in May. Daulatana-Mujib axis. Asghar is a recipient of foreign money. Baba sahib when suggested about ministry rebuffed and said that ministers will be kissing my feet. A Faquir, almost naked, demanded the cigarette packet given by me to Pir Zulfiqar and then shouted "Farid Ahmed Zindabad". All old political leaders except myself will get discredited. He again emphasised the name of Murshed as a probable President.

Contacted Mahmood Haroon who helped me to talk to Yusuf Haroon. He came to my room accompanied by Zain Noorani. The latter had joined PML at the behest of Yusuf Haroon. The following transpired :

"Zain telephoned him at New York on 22-2-69 where he is serving under Inveterate, a Union Carbide concern, meant for contracting works in the Middle East. Zain talked to him at New York and he came home to assist in the political process. They talked in code words. Yusuf dashed to Pakistan, reached Pindi and then Lahore calling on Daulatana. He paid tributes to Chowdhury Mohammad Ali for his

untiring efforts in rousing democratic consciousness and talking to people. He also mentioned Jamate Islami as an organised party and their services in opposition. He talked to Mujib in the larger interest and seemed to be quite happy with the results achieved. Mahmood Haroon will be meeting Ayub today. They seemed to sell the idea about cooling down Karachi where Bhutto was trying to seek political support. They will work in Karachi to set it off. The intervention of Altaf Gauhar seemed very suspicious. Deputy Speaker Haji A. Matin is going to President to-day at 6 P.M.

Ashraf came and got the forms for telephone connection on payment of advance money but nothing happened.

Went to R's residence but found him absent as he had gone to dine at relation's place at WAH ordnance factory. Son attended on me very well indeed. Telephoned at residence at Dacca and talked to Haroon. He replied that the anti-feeling against me had died down by now. A feeling was being created that Ayub and opposition were out to share power. Students were trying to assert their political strength by mobilising public opinion in today's Dacca meeting. There is a tangible cleavage between A.L. and N.A.P.

Rioters tried to set fire to PML building and shops in Bogra and curfew had to be clamped. Must be doings of the Leftists. Nawabzada issued a statement in Lahore outlining the task of future Government which alone can tackle students and workers problems. He assured that new jagirs would be abolished and no more concentration of wealth in few hands.

Mujib, perhaps would be left out in to-day's meeting at Paltan and that will injure his hero ego.

Wali Khan to-day has come out in the open supporting disintegration of one unit. Imtiaz also confirmed that USA was trying to install an A.L. and CML combination at the centre.

It was ascertained that Altaf Gauhar inspired and drafted the anti-Ulema resolution of PML adopted in the meeting held at Muslim League House, Pindi with Sardar Aslam presiding, Col. Ashraf, Asgar

Ali Shah and Sher Bahadur attending. The meeting was a sequel to the boycott of Sarkari Eid on 14-1-67 as Ulemas did not agree to Eid without seeing the moon. Maudoodi, Mufti Mahmood and a Shia Divine were detained under DPR most probably at his instance. Matin reported last night that war with India was at the instance of this group only in order to destroy Ayub.

Mr. Bashir Advocate who was No. 1 party man in Pindi stays in settelite town (106) but covertly a CID man. Met him at a friend's place. He reported about the popularity of Bhutto. There was a feeling that Ayub was manipulating these pro-Ayub demonstrations. I think Ayub should publicly disown these demonstrations, processions and hunger strikes engineered by panicky PML leaders. Others are joining PPP. This power vaccum in PML must be filled and forces of disintegration of party members arrested at once to prevent a debacle. This might create problems of loyalty of MNAs and MPAs in getting constitutional and legislative amendments to give effect to RTC decisions.

Talked H.M. on way to dinner at Kelly's place. Altaf had called a meeting to-day with H. Jalal, Mufti Munir Hussein, H. M. participating. The talks centered round the proposed repeal of Press and Publications Ordinance. H.M. submitted a note as called for but Altaf Gauhar wanted to know the position with regard to U.K. and H.M. was asked to ascertain the position and submit a note within three days. Obvious tactics to gain time and use it as a cover. Munir raised question about propriety of news about lesser personalities. Altaf Gauhar asked an officer to put up a list of the Presidents and secretaries who could be considered fit to find space in Radio news. Half an hour after this H. Jalal told that he was going to Karachi in the first afternoon flight to discuss broadcasting policy with the Director of News, Radio Pakistan. Dr. Shahin walked in and mentioned that Tariq Ali could not be a problem in view of his own feudal back ground. H. Jalal told that his upbringing was not feudal but that his family was different. Nazir P.S. to Altaf Gauhar mentioned casually that Altaf Gauhar had been talking to Asghar over the phone at Abbotabad.

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It seems that Asghar is being briefed by him. He had also briefed Daulatana. Daulatana is reported to have expressed the desire to meet Bhutto to persuade the latter to join RTC talks. May be an inspired more by USA in order to build up Daulatana as a possible elderly statesman of Pak politics. Bhutto is going to Hyderabad, Bhawalpur, Multan and then arriving at Lahore. USA seems to be less interested in him now in view of the difficult situation in which he had placed himself.

Yousuf Haroon and Zain would be going to Lahore to maintain liaison with Seikh Mujib.

Attended dinner at Kelly's place. His wife talked to us as Kelly was busy taking bath. She refused to give her date of birth; attempt to conceal in order to look younger. Raymond-Close and Shell came without wives. The representative of Japanese embassy also came without wife as she was not feeling well. Jain of Indian High Commission and his wife, both from Lahore also attended. He was last in Washington before coming here. He was also in Cairo. He knew Arabic as he had learned it as a foreign service subject. He was posted at Karachi in 1961, Cairo and thereafter in Washington from where he came to Pakistan again. His wife and he himself are from Lahore. Tayokishu first secretary of Japanese embassy is a Linguist. Dr. A. Rössbuch, Secretary (Economic) of German Embassy, speaks with an English accent. A Canadian couple (elderly) from Canadian High Commission were also there. Faisal Bin Hameedi, Charge-de-Affairs of Jordanian Embassy attended with his wife. All of them were keen to know my views on the shape of things to emerge. Guessing and pre-judging their concerted move, I kept myself out of haror's way and started demolishing their favourite notions of democracy, civilization, culture, basis of nationhood on ethical, linguistic and territorial grounds. None of them could defend their accepted wrong notions and at the fag end Raymond Close was compelled to say that it was impossible to argue with me and I had an answer to almost every question. When I confronted German First Secretary Dr. Auten Rössbuch, he replied that the president was going soon. This was a confirmation of the cable sent to Nixon containing proposal for a Mujib-Daulatana combination to

come to power after June election. On way home H. M. told me that Altaf had talked to Asger at Abbotabad on phone. Enemy seemed to have been alerted and realizing that I was standing on the way to their unholy designs.

5th March, 1969 : Wednesday, 16th Jilhadj, 1389 Hijri, Pindi, LAHORE

Last night I went to sleep but could not sleep due to itching but I had enjoyed my rest. I think I can do without sleep, provided I know how to rest. Mr. H.M. had fallen ill with flue. His former wife had not yet arrived. Prof. Imtiaz came for invitation to lunch or dinner. I promised to let him know afterwards.

Ata Hussain came to pick me up. He drive me to S.A. Embassy and met the ambassador. We were four viz. Ambassador, Ata Hussein, Interpreter Mannan and myself. On the way to Islamabad Ata quoted the ambassador as saying that millions dollar had been spent on an Islamic party; but the ambassador is convinced that they are incapable of delivering the goods and his Government was now looking forward to find others capable of meeting the challenge. I gave him an analysis of International Zionism operating through the Qadianis and grave implications of the fruiting of such a move. He listened to me very carefully and seemed to be appreciating the soundness and truth of my thesis. He had to go to the Air Port to meet the Sudanese Ambassador. He asked me a few questions and I replied to them to his satisfaction. He took Ata and spoke to him in confidence which was indication of his interest in me. I told him that I considered it as my own duty and that I have no ambition except to serve and die while performing my duty to Islam. He was deeply impressed.

Telephoned Yusuf Haroon. He promised to discuss things with me at Lahore when he was expected to-morrow.

In the morning I dictated a statement to Khan Salahuddin on the role of Bhutto in setting pre-conditions for Tashkent according to the desire of Lal Bahadur Shastri and he in fact went to Paris and talked to Russian Foreign Minister Mr. Gromyko at Paris prior to the meeting at Tashkent.

Informed Quazi Sayed, President's P.R.O. about President's encirclement by his feigned friends who under cover of friendships are out to destroy him and his missions. He promised to inform President whenever he got an opportunity.

Telephoned Yahya but was told that he was in a meeting. So was Ayub in a cabinet meeting, being routine affair.

Rushed to Silver Grill only to discover to my dismay that Imtiaz did not turn up. Kelly and Stell were to join in the lunch. Being contacted on the phone, Afzal Mir told me that Kelly and Stell had expressed their regrets and would like to have the party after my return from Lahore DAC talks. Iftekhhar was reported to have been sent to an advocate in connection with a matter in DCM's Court. It is obviously a pretence. They perhaps suspect me of having understood their conspiracy and they want to avoid further exposure before me. Two engineers from Jhelum came to my table and talked to me of the political situation and their concern about the prospect of failure.

A man from Taxila approached me for saving the country from the hands of disruptive elements. A friend from the Army came to see me and I accompanied him to his residence and took lunch there. Gave an analysis of International ring of espionage and the role of Qadianis. He agreed with my analysis. He also saw the point of probable ambitious army officers working in the political vacuum when both Ayub and DAC will stand discredited. He informed me that the current thinking was that either RTC will not meet on 10-3-69 and even if it meets, there will be no understanding amongst DAC leaders.

Reached a top officer's residence; he was roused from his siesta and for the first time he took interest in what I was telling. Obviously, he did not as much as I did and took notes of what I was telling. Impressed upon him the imperative necessity of removal of Altaf Gauhar who anyhow still manages to enjoy his confidence. It is a pity that Ayub can not discover who his well wishers are. I listed the problems one by one and he took copious notes. He appreciated the appreciation given by me but requested me to concentrate upon Altaf alone. I was asked by him to prepare a charge sheet against him mentioning all his misdeeds and emphasizing the failure of his policy.

Ata Hussein met me at the Airport and reported as to what Ambassador of Saudi Arabia had told him. He had promised to write to his Government at Riyad and he was absolutely convinced about the necessity of having dynamism and appeal in the Islamic leadership.

Met Allah Yar Khan and Dr. Ressenbach of German Embassy on the plane. German Ambassador is also flying to Lahore with intention of attending some conference in Lahore on technical co-operation but there may be something beneath the surface. They may be the covermen of CIA.

Flew into Lahore reaching at 6-20 P.M. Offered Maghreb prayer at the V.I.P. lounge and driven to Jaffery's residence in Allah Yar's car. Briefed him on the enemy game and he promised to give me the list of the leading enemies of Islam, as well as giving information about the technical co-operation meeting in Lahore Secretariat.

Met with Matin and Rafique who have returned from Peshawar. Matin as usual painted a gloomy picture of the popularity of Bhutto and appreciation of Murshed in this Pathan land. Matin described the appalling poverty of Swati masses groaning under the rule of the Wali. They are waiting for the day of deliverance.

Ata Hussain confirmed that Altaf was at the back of Fazlur Rahman's book on Islam. He mentioned how his inability to accede to the request of Shahabuddin while being ambassador at Cairo in publishing an ordinary article in Arabic by one of his favourites.

Attended the dinner at the residence of Dr. Zafar Mahmood. Baquer, his wife, Salahuddin of Mutual Insurance, Shaukat Qureshi, Masood of Kohinoor Rayon, Zafar's brother, Ex engineer, a Deputy Secretary of the Home Department of the Government of West Pakistan and Mr. & Mrs. Maliq, Said Hussain were in the party. Said Hussain spoke very slightly of my party and became self-appointed spokesman of PPP annum programme "Islam, Socialism and Democracy" He defined Islam as offering five prayers daily, Zakat, Fasting and Hajj while in economic field it meant nationalization of banks and big industries-Import trade also to be nationalised, forfeiture of Jagirs, limit of holding to 12 acres. I confined him as to what he meant by Islam

and explained that Ebadat is the total life of an Abd and therefore once he accepted Islam, he was bound to obey His command in all sphere of his life. I gave interpretation of property its wightful mode of acquisition subject to the restrictions imosed by Allah. I explained Islamic attitude to Banking, Industry and Import-licences and maintained that there was no right to live on the fund of another man. In the end he had to admit that if that was the interpretation of Islam, he was with me. They wanted to know my reaction to various current problems including Mr. Bhutto's popularity. When I gave a detailed account of all the efforts made by various opposition parties and leaders for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan since 1962, they had to revise their opinion about Mr. Bhutto's sole efforts. Dr. Zafar showed great interest in various issues and the discussion took us to 5-30 a.m.

6th March, 1969 17th Jilhadj, 1389 Hizri, Thursday, Lahore.

Offered Fazr prayer and then went to sleep at 6 a.m. Got up at 8.30 a.m. and began usual round of activities. Started writing diaries. Sadiq Kasuri of the Chattan came with a photographer to take a special snap. He took a special interview for next week's Chattan. I demanded resignation of Kh. Shahabuddin and action against Altaf Gauhar.

Baquer telephoned me to say that Halem was interested inseeing me. Gave dictation to steno on political and the Jewish conspiracy. Attended meeting of DAC at Chowhdury Mohammad Ali's house. Syed Nazrul Islam on behalf of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman demanded the following :

- (1) Representation on population basis,
- (2) Dissolution of one unit
- (3) 6 Point Programme with Defence, Foreign Affairs and currency with centre; Foreign Trade not to affect foreign relations, examples from Canada and Australia,

Prof. Muzaffar supported the move. He pleaded for unity on the basis of persuasion and not force. He was very strong on the role of

the feudal elements and called one unit a fraud. He supported the arguments of Nazrul Islam. He maintained that the smaller units had the right of self-determination including right of secession and it could not be left to the sweet will of the people of larger units. He said that there could be representation on population basis.

There was dinner at Chowdhury Sahib's house at 9 p.m.

After the meeting Chowdhury sahib called me and wanted information on the working of Asger's mind and I posed him with his ambition to become a President and he would align himself with any party that gave the platform.

Asger had closed door meetings with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Nasrullah Khan.

Chowdhury Sahib reported to me that he had appraised Asger Khan on the various proposals before DAC. Though Chowdhury Sahib was sincere; Asger was very reserved and reluctant.

Came to Jaffery's house and went to bed at about 12 p.m.

7th March, 1869, 18 Jilhadj, 1389 Hijri Friday, Lahore.

Got up early but could not take my daily morning bath as the bath room is down stairs and there was no proper contact. Feeling rather sub-dued. Took breakfast and came back to room and lay on the bed as I did not feel like attending conference.

Matin came from Hotel Inter-continental. He wanted advance facilities from U.B.L.

I was called to the meeting of DAC and went to DAC meeting nearly fifty minutes late. There was a lull and a sense of stalemate due to A.L. proposals. No body directly opposed the proposal made by A.L. yesterday. Mufti Mahmood adopted a conciliatory note and wanted the conference to meet on the 10th as scheduled. Sheikh Mujib wanted that all problems should be settled here and now. Elements of destructions were entering the field and might try to destory the prospect of a settlement. He maintained that he was all for unity. Asgher came about 15/20 minutes after I had come. I proposed that convernor

should talk direct to President. It was supported by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Muzaffar.

Asger was found talking intimately with Sheikh Mujib and then with Daulatana. He is trying to find his feet in political parties. Moudoodi invited Sheikh Mujib for discussion and he accompanied Moulana to his residence for talks. Khondkar Mushtaque proposed a meeting of Regional DAC. He requested me to get support for full autonomy for East Pakistan and save the Conference. Outside there is a feeling of dispondence amongst people.

Had a talk with two APP correspondents on the Liaqatabad incident. I told them categorically that I had never said a word against any pressman. They appeared to be convinced. Saw Hasan Sheikh MNA rushing to Chowdhury Sahib's place at about 11 a.m. He told that he had come from Karachi. There must be something behind. Nasim Hasan rang me at about 3 p.m. and wanted to know what was going on. Anxiety was writ large in his tone. He promised to come to me after having presided over a meeting of handicapped children. Of late he has been taking interest in me perhaps due to the change in general political condition.

Rizvi was coming to Lahore. The anxiety of President must have been too great. The mounting pressure with delay will make task of settlement more and more difficult.

The Jang correspondent (Lahore) rang Sabir Jaffery to find out the decision of the meeting. Accidentally I spoke to him and he agreed to come to me personally. He came and I made friends with him and took him to confidence. Gave him special line of reporting and stuck a publicity deal with him. He promised to bring the right-minded Islamic journalists to me so that we might open our own front against the extremists. I sent the statement on Karachi strike to APP and PPI through him and he did it gladly. Aziz rang me from Karachi to report that Karim had left with Mahammed Din Malik by Awami Express and that they would be reporting to me on the assignments give to him. I asked Aziz to inform Federation of Chamber & Textile Owner's Association to contact me immediately at Lahore.

I conducted a new experiment with Hena, Rafat and Israt. I started loving them as I have never done before. They at once reciprocated. They are still immune from the influence of Iblis and as such nearer to Allah and one can get to their heart and soul easier and quickly. Hena requested me to bring her chocolates and Refat two cars. They are opening out their hearts. They agreed with my suggestion that they should accompany me to Dacca and they obtained the permission of their mothers. Israt reported Hena as saying that she had no affection for Ayub or Bhutto but she had enough for me and that I should go up and Bhutto should burn in fire.

Allah Yar Khan rang me to find out whether I could take part in a dinner at his place. In view of the DAC meeting and dinner in reference I signalled my inability. He requested to lunch to-morrow. He promised to do whatever he could in collecting material on Qadiani Officers. He sent me the car of Khizer Hayat Khan for outing this afternoon.

Moulana Moslehuddin arrived from Dacca. He described the dictatorial mentality of M.R. Khan and the rumour that I was becoming a Central Minister and M.R. Khan, provincial minister, source being M.R. Khan.

He resented the extension of invitation to Azizur Rahman for National Council meeting. He went to my residence and it was told to him that everybody was O.K.

Went out shopping and purchased chocolate for Hena and toy bus for Refat. Also purchased powder for sun-glasses for self. Visited the Office of the Chattan but found Aga absent. Talked to Sadiq Kashmiri about the papers relating to Altaf Gauhar. Two persons on the way were kind enough to accompany me to the Chattan Office. Chattan's front page was shown to me. One picture alighting from Car and the other with Mujib, Nazrul setting in between. Driver of Khizir's car expressed confidence in Allah who would set things right. He held Bhutto responsible for all the killings, loot and arson and repeatedly told me of Bhutto's statement that if Ayub resigned, he would ask the students to go back to studies. He showed his sense of humour when he

said that since Ayub was his father, how could he claim succession during his father's life time?

Came to residence and read the Morning News of Karachi specially over the S.I.T.E. incident. Also read Maudoodi's statement on forfeiture of illegally earned property. Everybody shall be asked his source of property and wealth. Saw Urdu news in TV and attended meeting of DAC.

Found discussion going on between Chowdhury Mohammad Ali and Hamidul Haq on the meaning of Federal Constitution visa-a-vis the representation of Units. Hamidul Haq Chowdhury mentioned package deal and explained it by saying that each item would be taken up each day. Mujibur Rahman suggested that PDM should place its eight point programme while others shall have the liberty of placing their own demands. He made out the point that DAC's spirit was demand for participating in election. It was in the back ground of boycott of election under B.D. system.

Moudoodi pleaded for an agreement on the basis of two demands as each day things were getting worse. Asghar suggested that a committee of 4 should seat and thrash out matters. Salam khan supported it. I proposed that let us base agreement on eight points demand of DAC and find out what is common between the parties and tick them off. Let each party be given right to place its own demand after agreed demand gone through in R.T.C. I supported Mujib's contention that DAC demands were meant for participation in the election. Shaukat told that Daulatana had mentioned that elections should be held within 2 months and as such things should be left to the next election.

Mujib was happy that I had supported him. He said that I was like his real brother and that he would try to remove misgivings about it. He again felt that my kalandar ka gira should not be shown. He asked me to put it off. He suggested whether I wanted to become the Prime Minister of Pakistan. In reply I told him that I had no objection to becoming one and I could wait for 4 years. Avoided taking full meal and remained satisfied with vegetables.

Nazrur Rahman dropped me in his car. He promised to supply me with a qualified stenographer for writing books. A group of students

came from Multan (Islamic students) (J.I.) to urge upon me the necessity of having Islamic laws. I told them that they had to meet ideas with ideas and force with force. Nazrur Rahman also invited me to reception given by him in his capacity as President of Anjumane Shahrane-e-Lahore in honour of the newly elected President of West Pakistan Lawyers.

8th March, 1969, 19 Jilhadj, 1389 Hijri, Sunday, LAHORE.

Got up early; went to the residence of Chowdhury Mohammad Ali accompanied by Syed Moslehuddin. As usual began a lengthy discussion on the situation and came to the conclusion that there was no point in discussing the points of agreement further. Then outlined the various proposals relating to Unitary system, Federal Parliamentary and Federation with sub-federations. I also supported the demand for North Bengal and that would to my mind suit in the scheme of things. It was difficult to make him climb down from his pedestal.

Attended meeting of East Pakistan Regional DAC due at West Pakistan House from 10-30 a.m. Various proposals were put forward. Mr. Nurul Amin and Hamidul Haq supported all the East Pakistan demands but thought that it may not be able to realize them all at a time. Nazrul Islam narrated the impact of movement. He described the movement as being out of control. He pleaded for the adoption of representation on population basis, six points and CML pleaded for the transfer of capital to Dacca. Prof. Gulam Azam supported the East Pakistan stand but emphasised the Islamic aspect of the movement. When I was called upon, I gave a resume of the various constitutional proposals and ultimately Federation with Bi-cameral legislature, upper house on representation of Units, Lower house being on population basis; of course in that case, there could be no special provision for Provincial Autonomy. Mushtaque requested me to prepare a Draft which I did mentioning about dissolution of One unit, representation on population basis, Bi-cameral legislature with lower house having financial control. Moulana Moslehuddin attended with me.

Left for Allah Yar's residence and had lunch with him. Brig. Muzaffar, Director of Artillery also came unannounced. Had

interesting talks with them on current situation. Muzaffar was deeply impressed.

Did not attend the function given by Nazrur Rahman on behalf of Anjumane Sharia, Lahore to the new President of Lahore High Court Bar Association. Went to Hotel Ambassador and met Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and found Nawabzada and other members of the committee going to meet Mujib over there. Asghar was also there. Wanted to talk to Nazrul on the results of the meeting but he seemed to be annoyed with Chowdhury Sahib and did not like to talk to me.

Offered Maghreb prayer in Hotel Ambasadddor and then went to Hotel Shobra and met Karachi contingent of Rajkotwala and Mohammad Din Malik and three others. Went to Khawja Rafiquie's dinner accompanied by Nasim Hejaji. He told me the plan of bringing out party news-paper named The Millat Pak and explained the difficulty with regard to the printing machines, which are now controlled by Anti-Islamic forces. He talked of the possibilities of importing machine from U.K. within 3 weeks. He had suffered a lot at the hands of the cruel regime. Came home by taxi and found East Pakistani delegates of the party Jaffery. Had again rough time with M.R. Khan as he seemed to be under the impression that he knows better and that he has the right to dictate to me. He has a habit of complaining against the whole world. Syed Muslehuddin had his own tale of grievances against the dictatorial high handedness of M.R. Khan. Felt a bit tired and went to sleep without my prayers.

9th March, 1969, 20 Jilhadj, Monday, 1389 Hijri, LAHORE

Got up early for Fazr prayers and took breakfast. Allah Yar Khan sent the car and the driver of Khizar Hayat. The driver did not turn up at 9 a.m. as promised by him. Attended meeting of the DAC at 9-40 a.m. though the meeting was scheduled at 9 a.m. Chowdhury Mohammad Ali reported the agreements arrived at yesterday. Dissolution of one unit. Restoration of provinces as on September, 1955 ; inclusion of Karachi in Sind. Tribal area to go to Baluchistan and NWF provinces. Zonal Federation with 4 prvinces. Talks broke down on the question of representation on population basis.

Went back to council members of the party and gave a brief resume of the situation since the last meeting of the council in January, 1969. Some people were in an impatient mood. I explained why one unit had to be dissolved. Council accepted my proposal. With great force of logic and inner strength restored some kind of discipline in meeting by confining councillors to issues, viz danger of the battle between Islam and Kufra and problems of merger of similar ideological parties on close association. Went back to DAC meeting only to find that talks had broken down. Chowdhury sahib sought my advice as to the duty of informing the party about the failure of the talks.

Chowdhury Sahib came and gave a lengthy discourse. Drafted the resolutions to be passed.

Left for Pindi by 5 P.M. flight. Met Shahidullah and Prof. Yusuf MNA's. One of them kissed my hands. Performed Asr prayers at VIP lounge. Matin came to see me off at the airport. Murshul also travelled with me in the sameplane. Arshed Hussain Khan was accompanying him. A bearded Rokan of Jamate Islami from Shahiwal was also with him. A.P.P. and other Press reporters took my press interview. Quite a warm reception at Pindi Airport. Television Cameramen were there to film our arrival and and reception. Riaz and his friend came to see me. They were very respectful to me. Pir Zulfiqar came to see me. He predicted the favourable stars of Chowdhury Mohammad Ali, Daulatana and self. He informed me that Ayub had gone to Haripur to meet Qayyum Khan, Qizilbash, Mia Jaffer Shah, Sardar Rashid, Hasan Mahmood and Ayub Khuro. He smells danger in it. He also told me of the reported move by 6 ex-Generals and of serving Generals. He predicted the down fall of Mujib within 3 months. Moti and his friend came to see me. Went to dinner at Mrs. Hussain's place. Met Zuleikha, and her son. Mr. & Mrs. Islam. Nawabzada came by special flight. There was fighting at the air-port, PPP fellows were beaten. Tariq Ali was there too.

10th March, 1969, 21 Jilhadj, Tuesday, 1389 Hijri PINDI.

Humming activities since morning; telephone buzzing, the horizons had widened in scope and dimension. Saqir Borani came to press

the demands of the people of Swat State and had to be polite but firm and confined him to the essentials. Mohammad Ali and Moula Bux came to see me I told them about the imperative necessity of organising the Islamic forces to fight the menace of enemies of Islam. Gave letter for wife.

Attended the second meeting of R.T.C. Atmosphere surcharged with uncertainty. Nawabzada Nasrullah opened the proceeding after recitation of Holy-Quran which referred to the success of the Muslim and the Kafir become unhappy. Nashrullah Khan outlined the points of agreement on two points in DAC. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman made a lengthy statement from written text. He canvassed the point regarding the representation on population basis and his 6 points. He failed to create great impression.

Wali Khan laid great emphasis about granting of political rights and removal of misunderstanding among people. He lent his support to adult franchise and Federal Parliamentary system. Mufti Mahmood laid emphasis on Islamic ideology. Asghar Khan appeared bitter. He wanted interim Government. Murshed also made a short statement, supporting Shikeh Mujibur Rahman. Some headway was made. Created scene and told M.L. Delegates about the conspiracy to undo the conference. Khawaja Shahabuddin was perturbed. R.T.C. adjourned at about 1 P.M.

Came back to residence and had lunch. Mujahid from Haripur came and informed me that PPP, NAP (w), NAP, (B) and Awami League planned to stage demonstration against us on the 19th in case R.T.C. failed.

Moulana Muslehuddin arrived from Lahore and staying with me. Heard from him a resume of the activities of M.R. Khan.

Spent a busy day meeting people. Went to Riaz's house with Ayaz for seeing TV news. Mr. Riaz was not present. Talked to his wife, Farkhanda and Nasreen. Made them change their taste and asked them to cut their nails and they obliged me. There was no TV today. Spent a friendly hour in by home environment. Came back and found many waiting.

Pir Zulfiqar had a long session with me. He suspected Ayub of conspiracy against Liaqat. Red file still with I.G.P., West Pakistan. Zulfiqar was deeply impressed with my spiritual powers and more with my sincerity. There was a meeting of PDM in East Pakistan House but I did not go there deliberately. Met Chowdhury Mohammad Ali and Nashrullah Khan who seemed crest fallen. Chowdhury Abdul Hamid telephoned from Lahore inviting me.

11th March, 1969, 21 Jilhadj, Wednesday, 1389 Hijri, PINDI

Things are improving in every direction, Eczima sore is becoming less painful and is drying up. I think Allah in His infinite mercy at last answered my prayers and reinforced by shakey faithin His words, namely, to every disease, there is cure but it comes only when He has forgiven His slave and viceroy of the sin of transgression. On December 27, 1968 I had visited the Chamber of Dr. Nurul Islam (Homeo) who was forced to prescribe NAT. SULPH 6X with instruction to take 2 pills each time twice daily, once in the morning and the 2nd before retiring to bed. The medicine was to be taken for 3 months after which, Doctor would consider what medicine could be prescribed. This medicine in his opinion would act on the stomach and disgestial organs and I might feel temporary relief from scratching of wounds. He prescribed it on my positive suggestion that my eczema had an intimate connection with the digestive system in that then there was better digestion I felt better and with the slightest disorder, there was an aggravation of the ailment. I continued taking the medicine and within a short time, there was aggravation of eczima but also of the parts of limbs which had one time or another had some skin disease drying up and then occasionally reappearing. The re-eruptions in my hand and fore arms, buttock and thighs. My wife got perturbed and insisted on my discontinuing the medicine. I refused to comply with and instead went to Doctor after 2 weeks and he advised me to take medicine once daily. Though the aggravation subsided, yet there was no improvement. I continued to take it during the tour of Sind from 17-1-69 to 26-1-69. When I arrived in Lahore on 15-2-69, medicine had nearly

been exhausted and when I stopped taking it, scratching became violent, frequent and painful. After coming to Pindi on 17-2-69, Dr. Arshed Nomani was kind enough to call on me on 20-2-69 and he suggested taking medicine 3 times instead of twice daily. After following his advice, I noticed some marked improvement in my digestive power and in spite of occasional scratching urge past-midnight (usual period). I saw Dr. Nomani in his chamber on 2-3-69 evening and borrowed his book SCHUSLER'S Twelve Tissue Remedies written by Boerick and Tafhafel as well as a booklet issued on behalf of a German Bio-Chemic firm. I read them past mid-night and found that in chronic disease, dose is 5 pills and they have to be taken 4/5 times daily. I also found that Nat. Sulp. 6X is the proper medicine for constitutional cure of eczema. Since then, the improvement has been steady and visible. In spite of irregular meals and very little sleep (3/4 hours daily), I now feel confident that He has forgiven me and ordered my cure because He needs me as an instrument for the fulfillment of His design to bring about His Social and Spiritual Order, not only in Pakistan but also in the world.

Bacchu came for a discussion but behaved more like an ignorant but well meaning bureaucrat. I don't blame him for being out of time because like many other informed persons of our country, he has been overtaken by the events. He wanted to know if I had any new information. I could not oblige him as I had to talk to his D.G.I.

Many persons came, all with valuable informations of help in great task. I am now more than convinced that all that I see, hear and feel has a meaning and every thing is an ayat or sign as ordained in the Quran. M.R. Khan wanted a free discussion on the affairs of the party but in fact his intention was to clear the way for his uncontrolled authority to become the boss with his own group sub-ordinate to him. I took him to Chowdhury Shahib on the dining table and he could not resist being his own publicity officer and as usual with untrained selfish ego started frontal accusations against me for my failures comparing me with leaders like Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who looks after his supporters. He also mentioned before the arrival of Chowdhury Sahib that neither he nor myself ever took the trouble of knowing how he and his group were living.

He mentioned with some tone of superiority that he had been defending me against all accusations from almost everybody in the East Pakistan House where he is residing. By now, I have become sick of him not because that I have any particular aversion towards him but more because he has been a constant irritant and deterrant on my pursuit of Divine pleasure and I did not seek shelter in any mental reservation. There was a confrontation long due and I did not feel sorry for it because it was better to force the puss out of the boils and it would show me the way to future obstructions to my spiritual discipline and development.

Everybody was leaving for R.T.C. meeting when I came out in search of transport. Qureshi, local party Secretary took me in. Rafique and Azizur Rahman also accompanied me.

Abdus Salam Khan wanted me to occupy the vacant seat of Azam Khan in the Independent block and I did not protest because it would remove me from his closeness and would also afford me better opportunity to have a better view of the R.T.C. Before the proceedings began, Mufti Mahmood recited "Wal Asre.....bi Sabr". Allah is putting appropriate sura in his mouth. At the very beginning Sheikh Mujib disputed the contention that thousands of Hindus had infiltrated into Pakistan and that rifles were being sold. There was an agreement between Ayub and Mujib and when in the end Ayub asserted himself on the basis of his information from various sources, Mujib did not protest any more. I personally think it was not proper as it had made him vulnerable to the charge of being Pro-Indian and his proud claim to be able to face any situation whatever may be its magnitude. I also raised the question of villification by Huq Nawaz and Ayub straight away recognised the wrong and admitted that it must be set right. He said this turning his face towards Shahabuddin, Zafar and others who nodded approval. Daulatana began his analysis of the situation by the flavour of word, glittering but fragile style which failed both to carry conviction and effectiveness in the last analysis. He spoke of the failures of the politicians, injustices to the people of East Pakistan and himself; minority provinces without committing directly either to

representation on population basis or dissolution of one unit.

He was followed by Nurul Amin who spoke of the history of the constitution making and laid special emphasis on dissolution of the house whenever Constitution was on way to be finalised by the first constituent assembly. He spoke with a sense of frustration if not bitterness regarding the inability of East Pakistan to get justice from the hands of Central Government. He lent support to Mujib's demands. He was obviously in a conflict torn between loyallists to local politics represented by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and at the same time hauled by the spectre of failure of R.T.C.

Maudoodi confined himself mostly to Ideological question, of course, giving his own opinion about constitutional problems. He wanted the acceptance of two points demand of DAC and leaving the rest for the next N.A. He wanted Islam to be based on Justice and equity for all. He pleaded for not talking on in terms of regions.

Asghar Khan, who spoke in the opening session also made a speech but non-committal on controversial issues. He more or less supported DAC line but parried direct answers to the non-agreed items.

Chowdhury Mohammad Ali gave a very convincing reply both on history as well as on legal-cum-constitutional aspect of the problem. Ayub listened to him patiently and judging by the questions put by him to Chowdhury Sahib exposed grave danger. It was clear that Ayub was re-educating himself. How ill-informed he was on such vital issues of fact and constitution R.T.C. adjourned to meet at 6-45 a.m. Found many people waiting in my room. Donald Milner gave me a lift from President House to residence. He came followed Hazel Herst of the Times and took long interview from me on the latest situation. My optimism exclusively unfounded, intrigued them. They were shoked to know that no proceedings of RTC was being taken. Major Msabdar came to tell me in private about Asghar Khan's plan to take over power. Other people had to be dealt with in summary fashion. This was possible because of the inner peace of soul. None was offended and everybody was happy. F. Kelly came to pick me up for a quiet

tea and he drive me to ChangWah. He was obviously under great strain. He was apologetic for their failure to turn up for the lunch.

Went to attend evening session of R.T.C. begining at 6-45 P.M. There was no transport for me. Nasim Hejazi came right in the nick of the time and saved me from the unenviable position of standing on the road waiting for a transport.

Chowdhury Mohammad Ali made a deep impact on Ayub and every body else. He refusted the unfounded allegations of Nurul Amin that Constituent Assembly CA was dissolved not because parity was given in the constitution but because election was going to be held; Asgher spoke but did not made such an impact. He was very personal and revenge Mr. Abdus Salam Khan made a mess of everything by beating about the bush. R.T.C. got disgusted. Meeting however, had been educative and helpful in understanding each others points of view. Ayub seemed to be hearing facts and points of view for the first time in his life. I felt confident and happy. Talking to APP outside the verandah of the President's guest house, I became poetic and told that thunder showering clouds are dispersing and the gust storm is clearing up and Allah willing the sun will shine in all its brilliance.

Came home and took meal sitting on the floor with Rafique and Ijaz. Daud Shah came to inform me about situation in Abbotabad, Amir of Ahmadiya Masjid, Mufti Shafi called on me. Brig. Kiyani and other displaced persons from Islamabad saw me in connection with their claims. Saw Television.

12th March, 1969, Thursday, 23rd Jilhadj, 1389 Hijri

Began the day in a hectic fashion. Talked to Bachchu on the phone. He was still groping in darkness. Trst not possible without special favour from him. Talked to Fred and Shirin on the phone and fixed the appointment for the evening. Karachi friend came to hear the latest news. Habib Reza talked for writing and publishing a book on Islam and Socialism.

Attended RTC at 10 a.m. Rafique and Ijaz accompanied me. In the morning Chowdhury Sahib told me that he had been mis-reported in the Pakistan Times. I told him about the mis-reporting in this morning's 3 news bulletins I had deliberately left out of TV yesterday and Chowdhury Sahib seemed to have come to the realization that Mass media was playing with us. He promised to take it up at RTC to-day. The meeting went off to a story start as Asghar objected to the statement of Vice Admiral attacking him as having under external influences. This brought reply from the President that he had been attacked openly by Asgher but he had not replied back. Zafar suggested that Asghar could take legal action. Hashimuddin, Sabur Khan, Ajmal and Khizir seemed to have taken great exception to Asghar's remarks. I supported Asghar and also Ayub upto the point they were right but the real point was getting lost in the heat and excitement of argument. Shaukat Hayat, Mujib, Nasrullah and self tried to cool off but Asghar walked out of the conference in protest. Before that I had attempted to raise the question relating to my being defamed by Huq Newaz, Shaukat Hayat wanted to interrupt me and I retorted. He threatened me to come out and then he would tear me to pieces. I shouted him down. He was subdued. Ayub mildly requested me to try to have patience. The shouts could be heard from a distance and news paper men rushed towards Guest House. To-day again Abdus Salam Khan occupied the place to which he had virtually pushed me. Everybody seemed to be advising without trying to understand what had really happened and did not care to find out what gave rise to the situation. People are mostly concerned with the last situation and are not prepared to find out the guilt where it squarely lies. My humour brought some laughter from Ayub and others. A.R. Khan in his reply insisted that he had proof against Asghar. Asghar appealed to Ayub saying that he had known him well and personally and that he had not even a type writer at his disposal. He was annoyed but not very firm. Ayub told that being brought up under military discipline, patience was expected of him. Asgher's threat was not real but an attempt to cover up. While Mujib was trying to defend Asgher, A.R. Khan went out for him and said that Mujib also knew. Mujib also protested but not with firmness. The meeting,

thereafter, broke up divided in several groups and in different rooms. Ayub looked dejected and non-plussed.

I had an intimate talk with Qazi Said, Fl.Lt. Malik, and Major Said of the President's staff. They all listened to me with great interest. I explained how the Pakistan Times, other press trust newspapers and News-paper-men had been indulging in anti-RTC tirade. They were deeply impressed. The A.D.C. was taking notes. I trust and I feel the beingr hands of Allah a working everywhere. I saw Ayub Khan walking alone to our room looking for the bath room. Thereafter, he came with S.M Rzafar and Shahabuddin and wanted to go to the next room. I offered to go away and then he sat in the room I was in. Thereafter, I went to the room next went to the meeting room and found Asghar Khan drafting a statement containing apologies of both A.R. Khan and his own. Sheikh Mjuibur Rahman, Shaukat and myself persuaded Asghar to tore down his statement. Went to Ayub, and told him that the statement was being finalized. He requested me to bring it quickly and begin the proceedings quickly. When I returned I found that Asghar because of his fondness of typing, had given the draft for typing. Shaha-buddin took the draft for discussion with Ayub. I saw him whispering meaningfully to his ears. The draft was then taken to A.R. Khan who had his own idea and he prepared a draft which was taken to Asghar Khan sitting in the next room. To me it appeared that this dialogue was being unnecessarily prolonged deliberately. I took A.R. Khan to the room of Asghar sitting in the next room and made him to shake hands. A little steam was let off and then A.R. Khan remarked that as a minister he has information. Asghar flared up a little but was cooling down when Na-ullah showed his impatience with me, and expressed his disgust when he said that why I brought A.R. Khan. Mujib also murmured disapproval and disgust. At this stage, Qasim Malik came to the room and said that Ayub was calling me to the meeting room. I felt a little amused. When I walked into the room and faced him, Ayub said humourously that friends were feeling dull and keenly felt my absence. I and on the intertial Ayub walked to the seat of Chowdhury Mohamad Ali and was engrossed in deep talks. The seriousness could be read from his face.

It took some more time for the draft to be finalized and in the meanwhile, the proceedings began. Salam Khan delivered the last speech. It was out of the turn and irrelevant for the purpose. Chowdhury Hamidul Huq made some good points. He read from a written note. Even to-day when I raised the issue, he wanted to parry it by saying that Press Trust was no longer controlled.

Had a heart to heart talk with Manzar Alam and Huq Nawaz and cleared the mis-givings. Huq Nawaz agreed to issue a statement withdrawing his previous statement. This I think was a great step forward.

Came home for lunch. Brig. Kayani took me to Silver Grill where the displaced persons of Islamabad had arranged a tea party in my favour. Talked to them on Islamic lines and convinced them about the prospect of undoing the wrong: cited to them the example of Bengal Requisition of Property Act and explained their position in the light of Islam.

Went to Shirin. Start up before sunset. Shirin was warm and seductive but intvition was obvious. There is no doubt that Shirin is an agent and runs the show for their purpose. I did not lalk any politics but concentrated on the soul but succeeded in reaching the mind. She had to accept my superiority.

Came back and Ata Hussain came with Ayub's draft. Made additions and improvements in language and points. Finished at 11-30 P.M. Started dictation of my speech and Md. Afzal ungrudgingly typed it for me. I started writing diary when he started typing. Corrected the draft type. I did not want him to do the final typing. It took him nearly 6-30 a.m. I did not sleep the whole night. It has been a wonderful experience working for a cause. With Allah's help everything is possible.

13th March, 1969, Friday, 24th Jilhadj, 1389 Hijri PINDI.

Could not rest much as I had to get engaged from the morning. Went to breakfast in neighbouring house. He had been in Calcutta during the Pakistan movement and had been actively associated with

Pakistan Movement. They are taking a lot of interest in me. Time for going to the Conference. Went to the conference in Qureshi's car. Rafiq wanted to accompany and I agreed. Aziz forced himself in. Went to the conference. Crucial day, a lettered day in every sense of the term. Ayub was late in coming. RTC started at about 10-25 a.m. After some time, the draft came; Ayub started reading the draft and corrected it at few places. Shahabuddin suggested some changes in the 3rd page. Meanwhile Dudu mia, Gulam Azam and Nazrul Islam spoke. I requested Chowdhury Sahib through Malik Din to tell Nashrullah that I should be called to speak first of all. The order was not followed. Rather, Nashrullah insisted that none should speak more than 10 minutes. When I started speaking, Ayub was still reading the draft speech. He looked at me and started listening to me with rapt attention. East Pakistani members led by Dudu Mia, Khondker Mustaque, Salam Khan started creating disturbances. Shaukat Hayat also joined the chorus. Nashrullah was signaling enemy line. Even Chowdhury Mohammad Ali joined in. Nothing deterred me and I continued to speak. I finished my speech inspite of all oppositions. After the speech several persons congratulated me. Qazi Akbur wanted full text of my speech for publication in the Ibrat. Zain Noorani also joined in the chorus.

Ayub delivered his speech in a cool, confident manner. He agreed with the two suggestions of the opposition with regard to adult franchise and Federal Parliamentary System.

He promised to incorporate further amendments if the parties so agreed. Mohammad Ali, Nashrullah, Maudoodi, Hamidul Huq, Mufti lent unrestricted support. Wali supported with reservations. Nurul Amīn was mixed in his reaction. Mujibur Rahman took up the theme of representation on population basis.

Talked to people for some time. Gave my reaction to APP. Istezhar returned home. Had talks with H.M. in complete disarray. He had been going out every day from office without telling anyone about his destination. Hamid Jalal seems to-day very much attentive and respectful.

Sami Khan came to me, to have a talk. Got up again and got into the usual round of activities. Md. Afzal came again in the

afternoon. Sami had invited me to dinner on the previous night. H.M. told me that Shirin was a cover for CIA. Her duty is to be in touch with important personalities in politics and use them. She was friendly with Bhutto and was seen dining in Inter Continental.

In her dinner, there were two U.N. men. One was a Danish with wife and another was a bachelor. She was very friendly with the bachelor and paid more attention to him. A.T. Abbas came. It appeared that he was friendly with her and she had visited him in office several times. Mirza & Anis Mirza was there. Masood of SCOP and his tall handsome friend were there too. There were 2 Americans. I kept myself out of the main talks deliberately and avoided talking to him. Shirin talked alone to Masood, Mirza and Abbas. Shirin told me that she was leaving for Lahore on Saturday morning to spend the week end there and would return on Sunday morning. I have to look up. They left one by one. American from the Political service wanted to give me a lift but Shirin prevented it. I was held back. One American lady from the Economic affairs gave me lift in her big car. She was visibly impressed by my simple queries on the meaning of life. Yusuf Jamal came with Sami Khan to my residence in my absence. So did Ata Hussain. Yusuf Jamal telephoned me again at night and wanted to come to me and wanted to know if I could be alone with her. She tried to get a car but failed. She was very much perturbed and reported to me that H.M. had married again. It was obvious that she wanted to go back to him. Attended reception given by Nashrullah in the Guest House. M.M. Ahmed came and talked to Shahabuddin, Mujib, and Salam Khan. Muzaffar did not come.

14th March, 1969, Saturday, 24th Jilhadj, 1389 Hijri, PINDI. •

Got up at 8 a.m. Talked to H.M. and he told me that he was going to see Sheikh Mujib at 9 a.m. He was also wanted by Altaf Gauhar. Yusuf Jamal also telephoned me. She is *crest fallen*. She is waging a lost battle using her daughter as a cover. Yakub Sahib came and accompanied him to C.C.I. & E. office. Nurul Islam at once admitted

the mistake and wanted to know how it could be rectified. Asghar had announced the formation of his political party (Justice Party). Came back with Yakub to room. Salahuddin Khan came and told me that he was deeply impressed with my stand. He praised me for my courage and conviction. He was grateful for having secured the autograph of Ayub Khan.

Lawyers came to invite Chowdhury Sahib to a tea-party in Silver Grill. They also reluctantly invited me. Karim telephoned me from Karachi. Asghar has created a bad impression about himself. Bhutto has lost all ground there. He promised to send me the draft. Zulfiqar came with uncle Major Mansabdar. They wanted to be absorbed. Azam is trying to form party with ex-servicemen Asghar had put him at a disadvantage by employing him.

Went to Silver Grill past three O'clock. Fred Milnar, Enamul Huq, Hashmi and Gayyur were seen sitting on a table. Enamul Huq and Hashmi had gone to meet Mujib in the morning. There must be a link. Wasti, Public Relation Officer of PML was expressing disgust at PML's debacle. They wanted to know about socialism and Islam. Yakub took me to the Hotel and presented me with a suit piece, Sari and two ties. Also met three Peshawar University students and made friendship with them.

Returned and did some reading on Communism. H.M. came and picked me up. Went to his residence and met his wife. She is an intelligent warm person with religious bias. Mujib had told him that he would come to Pindi to see the passage of Constitutional amendments. He wanted Murshed as Governor. He was not creative but good for cultural activities. He was confident of winning 80% seats. He was not afraid of Bhasani. He seemed to be physically declining. H.M. was very much disappointed at the fact that he had not grown up mentally. Mujib and Zahiruddin and stayed with him and his wife when they were in Cairo. He was taken in a big CD car, shortly before 9 a.m. and returned at 11 a.m. Ruhul Quddus had come with family and staying at Hotel Inter-Continental Room No. 500. Ruhul Quddus had been expecting him out. Mujib did not turn up.

At about 9 a.m. he was seen by Brig. Kayani at Hotel Inter Continental. There was a big headed fellow (white man) in the car. He later on sat in the lounge of the Hotel. Daulatana had gone to the Airport but came from there and drove to the Flour Mill of Zakir Qureshi. Thereafter Daulatana went to see the President. Daulatana is perhaps trying for a last minue bargain with Mujib. Mujib has not been kind to Daulatana as he felt betrayed by false promises made by Daulatana. Chowdhury Mohammad Ali, Nasrullah, Nurul Amin, Mahmud Ali, Khawaja Khairuddin saw the President. Almost all are jockeying for position. Apparently they are talking about holding general elections. Nashrullah left for Lahore. Karim telephoned me from Karachi to say that Bhutto has lost popularity and Asghar Khan's announcement for forming Justice Party has not been accepted with good grace by people. H.M. went to meet Sheikh Mujib. The meeting was at the instance of Sheikh himself as he wanted to spend a quiet day with the family. Yusuf Haroon, Enamul Huq and Hashmi of APP also went there to see him. Mujib had seen the President the previous night. He sought the interview in order to put his own suggestion about the Governor of East Pakistan. He would prefer S.M. Murshed because he would be a mere ornamental head than a person of action. Mujib will be contesting election and would personally come to Pindi to see the amendments through. He is physically exhausted and it does not seem that he would recover very soon.

Asghar has pre-empted Azam into forming the Political party. Asghar is mainly relying on ex-servicemen, break away PML members, some from CML. He has been advocating nationalization of Banks, Industries, insurance. The same programme as Mr. Bhutto but in the name of socialism. He will try to utilise the name of Islam in order to gain confidence of the religious minded people of Pakistan. In order to carry favour with students, he is proposing a R.T.C. of students. He is pressing hard for a Government of the Independents.

Went to dinner at the residence of Brig. Kayani. Brig. Mirza also came there. Had interesting talks with them on various subjects.

Pir Zulfiqar told me that my name has also been mentioned as a

Governor because I was not anti-state though an enemy of Ayub.

15th March, 1969 : Sunday, 25th Jilhadj, 1389 Hijri

Moulvi Shafi, Imam, Ahmadiya Masjid, Rawalpindi, came to take me to breakfast as per previous appointment. He came in a hired taxi, but the meter was not put on. I was taken to the residence of Major Syed Maqbul. He is retired Major for the last 8 years and is secretary of the local Ahmadiya Community. He is staying in a big house alone without the members of his family. They showed their anxiety over Mufti Mahmood's reference in R.T.C. regarding the definition of a Muslim and wanted to impress upon me the necessity of confining it to those who recite the Kalima Shadat. To extend more according to them would invite all kinds of troubles. Quoting a Hadith, Syed Maqbul said that no man could be the judge of the intention of another. They wanted to know whether N.A. Faruqi would be changed. They wanted to gain my confidence by mentioning that Pakistan was encircled by enemies specially, CIA, Zionists and India who were out to settle old scores against Pakistan.

Syed Maqbul mentioned that Zionists were annoyed with Pakistan because of her role. They wanted to know the real shape of things to come. Obviously they are a bit nervous.

Came back to residence at 10 a.m. Zafar Ansari came; exchanged notes with him and worked in room almost without any interruptions. Ata Hussein came to pick me up. Altaf Gauhar came and waited for Chowdhury Sahib. He was closeted with him for about two hours.

Baquer has arrived from Lahore. He informed me on the phone that Bhutto had arrived from Lahore and had availed the next plane to Peshawar. None came to see him off and receive him. He was looking crestfallen and spent up. Mustafa Khar was accompanying him. He was due to return to Lahore the same day.

According to previous night's information Shirin had left for Lahore. Definitely to meet Bhutto; any how our people are now alerted.

Had a long talk with Saudi Arabian Ambassador. He had read my note and it seems that he was impressed with the arguments. Told him that the reason behind Zionists' concentration in Pakistan is that

once Pakistan is destroyed, their games of extending the frontiers beyond Medina would find smooth sailing. King Faisal could assume the leadership of the anti-zionist front because of Saudi Arabia being the custodian of the holy places of Islam. He asked several questions relating to the situation and specially situation in East Pakistan. He was still awaiting reply from home regarding the message sent by him. He expressed his desire to visit East Pakistan and asked me whether he could make the trip in April. Ata Hussein told me later that he being carrier diplomat wanted to proceed cautiously and wanted to take no risk. The stay was extended upto 2 P.M. Went to Shaherjad and took a belated lunch.

Returned to residence; Zulfiqar was waiting. He wanted to know the names of the foreign agents so that he could talk to a top officer. I have to check it up. He wrote few names.

Attended reception given by Pindi Lawyers. President Bar Association referred to the welfare of the man in the village and balanced social order. Nurul Amin spoke on the necessity of applying their minds to the passing of the amendments to the constitution. Chowdhury Mohammad Ali stood up, expressed his support to Mr. Nurul Amin and resumed his seat. Maulana Maudoodi spoke for the ideological basis of Pakistan and described democracy as the first step towards the attainment of the goal. Some lawyers spoke in a chorus demanding that I should speak. They cheered me heartily when I stood up. Spoke on the task ahead (i) End lawlessness (ii) pass the amendment (iii) Hold free and fair election (iv) Remove the present election commissioner (v) Prepare fresh voter list (vi) balanced socio-economic justice by securing employment to all and prevent exploitation. Before the meeting could be over before Maghreb, Pir Dudu Mia wanted to stop me by signalling that it was time for prayer. After the meeting some lawyers congratulated. After meeting the Oldest lawyer came, embraced me and shouted "Farid Ahmad Zindabad". Chowdhury Sahib, Maulana Maudoodi and his followers also congratulated me.

Fred told me in the morning that according to the Morning News report some people had ransacked the plane on 14-3-69 at Dacca in search of Golam Azam and self. Golam Azam told me whether I had

read the Morning News report. He would go to Lahore, send letters, await reply and then go.

Salahuddin Khan told me in the morning that when I would come for the National Assembly session after a few days I should stay elsewhere since his sister was coming there for treatment of her heart disease. This seemed rather unusual in view of the relationship that had already developed. This was in the morning, later in the evening he told me that he should not be misunderstood and he would reserve a room in Davies Hotel and I should be his guest.

H.M. came to pick me up. Went to Kelly's place. Johnson also came. Had an interesting party. Kelly' and Johnson became highly interested in me. Talked to them about religion, philosophy, history, politics, Yoga, Spiritualism and various other subjects. Kelly suggested to me that I should become a Minister in the Central Government and then move on to the United Nations and from there I should go to Oxford and Harrow as Professor on Philosophy, Religion, History and Ethics. I tried to diagnose Johnson's problem. He is made to sign cheques but previously he was political officer and Vice Consul. They were so interested that they waited up to 1-45 a.m. in the morning. Kelly wanted to know whether Mujib would be for amendment of the constitution. Kelly insisted on power of taxation for East Pakistan which betrays their ultimate intention. It also transpired that Asghar would be getting support from a substantial section of PML MNA's. Their floating to Asghar seems too obvious. They picked up Mujib for Premiership but on close inspection they found that he lacked the depth and could not sustain it except for a short while. It seems next that they were solely banking on Asghar as their answer to the situation.

In the end I found that the resistance of Kelly and Johnson were gone and they had really surrendered. Advised Johnson to have a second look at his mind and then see the difference in his attitude and also remember me at times. It was when I was departing Kelley proposed that I could stay with them if I liked.

16th March, 1969, Sunday, 26th Jilhadj 1389 Hijri

Went to bed after 3-30 a.m. and got up around 7-30 a.m. Mr.

Salahuddin Khan reported that Mrs. Baqer had telephoned him from Lahore to say that Maidur Rahman had arrived from Dacca with the message that the enemies had planned to assault me physically and and that I should not proceed to Dacca. This did not purterb me. If necessary, I could go. I telephoned Matiur Rahman in room 128 of Lahore Hotel and talked to him and got preliminary report according to which thousands of people had come to the Air Port and some of them had entered the aircraft to search the four, Viz., Salam Khan, Mahmud Ali, Golam Azam and self named by Mujibur Rahman. It is significant that he has singled out only four of us and eliminated Jamiatul Ulema and Khwaja Khairuddin of CML. The pattern is very clear and significant.

Appointment of Yusuf Haroon came to me as a surprise. He has been serving dubious masters in New York. He was brought under instructions from Altaf Gauhar. He has similarly brought Mahmud Haroon from London. This is clearly a triumph of the conspiracy and Altaf Gauhar wants to rehabilitate himself in office by giving a new line to Ayub and the line may be (1) Understanding with Mujibur Rahman (2) Satisfy the minority provinces (3) Karachi base against Bhutto (4) Political appointment. Since he produced the theory and brought it for Ayub's rescue, he is still a benefactor of Ayub. Yusuf Haroon had seen Mujib shortly before the latter's departure for Dacca.

It has to be verified whether Nawabzada and Chowdhury Sahib had been consulted on the matter of appointment of Yusuf Haroon.

Chowdhury Sahib came to my room and told me that he had met Ayub along with Nawabzada and that he was called by Ayub to meet him. On the demand that the Election Commissioner should be changed, a meeting with N.N. Farooqui was arranged in which the question of the preparation of fresh electoral roll and printing of the voters lists was discussed. As Chowdhury Sahib had complained to Ayub about the Ministry of Information, Altaf Gauhar was asked to see him.

Syed Moqbul related an incident that while Quaid-e-Azam was in Dacca in March, 1949, Khwaja Nazimuddin had requested Quaid to take Khawaja Shahabuddin away with him as he considered himself unsafe.

Zafar Ansari came and reported that Chowdhury Sahib had earned a bad name. Chowdhury Sahib came to see me perhaps as Moulana Siddique Ahmad, Ashraf Ali and others had told them about my disappointment with his attitude. Zafar Ahmad Ansari also related that Altaf Gauhar had tendered his resignation.

Met Nurul Amin, Mahmud Ali and Golam Azam at the air-port. Nurul Amin is proceeding to Dacca perhaps on the good conduct certificate granted by Mujibur Rahman. Mahmud Ali and Golam Azam are worried with reports from Dacca and will stay in Lahore until the situation clears up.

Chowdhury Mohammad Ali was by my side in the 9-40 a.m. flight to Lahore. On my query, he told me that Altaf Gauhar had told him that he had no hand in 6 point programme as well as in the working of the Ministry of Information's mis-reporting.

Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri met me at the airport and he invited me to his son Umar's marriage. At the airport, Khalil Batalavi was taking statement from Mahmud Ali on Yusuf Haroon's appointment and on the assault on Bhasani. I also dictated a statement on the situation. Khalil also asked me about my reactions but I refrained from giving any statement on the subject.

Maidur Rahman saw me at the airport and told me that Mujib had already arranged the crowd in Dacca and singled us out for the purpose of victimisation. I came to Baquier's residence. Maidu told me that there had been varied reactions from time to time. Wife and children are worried. Students held meetings in Battala and mentioned the fact that I had not yielded to their 11 Points demand in Paltan meeting on 14-2-69 inspite of their pressure. There had been telephone calls at residence threatening us with dire consequences and family had been shifted for the second time. Huzur had said that I should not accept any thing less than Governorship of the province and should consult him a priori. This seems to be in accord with what I have heard in Pindi. People are now pining for peace. The attempted assault had brought sharp reaction in many minds and they are now determined to fight

it to the bitter end. Some people are preferring Martial Law to this state of lawlessness.

Slept for quite some time after lunch and started writing diary. Attended marriage ceremony of Kasuri's son. Solaiman came to me. Had interesting talk with Dr. Nasim Hasan Saheb who told me that Chief Justice Abdul Aziz had lost 3 years extension for his judgement in my write case in my favour. Abdul Aziz introduced himself with the remark that he had let me off.

Dr. Sharif suggested that I should be the Education Minister as something had to be done and I have had the courage to do it. A rumour was being spread that Nurul Amin, Murshed and Rashid were being sworn in as Central Ministers. When confronted most of them could not say who the source is. Had friendly talks with Hamoodur Rahman, Chief Justice as to why he did not go to Dacca with the Supreme Court. He told me that Bar Association had adopted a resolution to that effect.

Malik, CSP Prov. Education Secretary wanted to see me. Montgomery lawyers told me that corruption must be eradicated: some of them mentioned that they were collecting materials against the officers.

Asif, Editor of the Pakistan Times and Amjad Hussein Chief Reporter of the same daily wanted to know whether I had any proof that Ministry of Information was responsible for many of the misdeeds of the past and present. Amjad Hussain wanted to provoke me by saying that a top officer had informed me about Mujib's coming on the 20th. When I replied that others were doing things as CIA agents there was no harm in being in touch with his own intelligence service.

Justice Yakub Ali and Kaikaus were also met by me. Consulted Zafar with the publication of news and Akhtaruddin as a constitutional expert. Also met Brohi who had returned from Dacca day before yesterday and he considers the situation too grave.

Went to Park Hotel and found Chowdhury Mohammad Ali, Mahmud Ali and Abdus Salam Khan sitting in Nasrullah's room. Salam Khan was not agreeing with me. He had no specific proposal to make to tide over the difficulty. From the talks it appeared that Mujib had

ambitions to become the real ruler of East Pakistan and Salam Khan suggested that Nurul Amin should be the Governor of East Pakistan. It should satisfy Mujib because Mujib had publicly certified about his pro-E.P. stand at R.T.C. Salam Khan proposed that money should be made available to us so that if necessary we should hire people from Nazira bazar and Islampur. Khwaja Khairuddin should also be utilized for the purpose.

Rafiqul Islam came in from somewhere and started propagating the thesis of unity of all democratic forces as an answer to the anarchy of the leftists. In the end, he brought in the name of Asghar Khan. According to him Nurul Amin should be made Governor of East Pakistan and this according to him would also suit Asghar Khan. Rafiqul Hossain has been in West Pakistan since 5.3.69. Before Tareq leave, Chowdhury Mohammad Ali and Nawabzada assured Salam Khan that they would be with us through and thorough in life and in death.

We drove in Col. Abid Hussain's Mercedes-Benz. On Salam Khan's suggestion Rafiqul Hossain also travelled in the same car. On the way, he propagated the same thesis. He told Chowdhury Mohammad Ali that Mujib had tried to win over Nurul Amin and neutralise him. He has signled out Abdus Salam Khan, Mahmud Ali, Golam Azam and self in one bracket and he directed his tirade against Nawabzada, Chowdhury Sahib and Moulana Moudoodi. Thereafter, he would speak about Asgher Khan. That has been his modus operandi. The main theme was that once democrats got together and announced their unity, then Mujib would be nowhere. He seemed to have deeply impressed Chowdhury Sahib. There is no doubt that he is here with a mission and he is part of a paid lobby. I have to warn others of the consequences.

As I had enjoyed some seista, I decided to work past mid-night and continued writing diary for an hour or so.

17th March 1969, Monday, 27th Jilhadj, 1389 Hijri, LAHORE

Was late again but got into busy strides in no time. Had to sit on the breakfast table without bath. Baquer and Farih had finished early

as they had to leave for their jobs. Karim Bibi, Mother of Baquer was there with me at the table. Tried to establish a closer relationship with her as I accepted her as a mother and Baquer as a full brother.

Dressed up quickly. Maidur Rahman came with newspapers of Dacca and query regarding his case. Consoled him by explaining the real position. Went with him to Chowdhury Sahib's house. Talked to him in private and he told me that no names regarding West Pakistan Governor was asked. He only gave the requirements of the person but casually mentioned the name of Yusuf Haroon and wanted to know his opinion. He did not have a high opinion about his integrity and he told him so. He also mentioned Yusuf Haroon had been telling months ago that Ayub would appoint him Governor. The appointment has not been received well by people in general because of his belonging to the chosen few rich of the country. I explained to him how the appointment has been brought about by Altaf Gauhar by propagating theory about containing Bhutto in Karachi and his friendship with Mujib and the fact of his being a person from minority province. I also warned him of the role of Rafique Hussain and his shaky past.

Chowdhury Sahib promised to pay air fare of East Pakistan Committee. He gave me the impression that money would be contributed by others and he himself. Warned him about the dangerous role of M.R. and his close association with NAP and his going to Kabul with Dewan Mahbub Ali and M.R. Khondakar who still remains a 6 Pointer. He was now behaving with a greater sense of appreciation of the information I possess.

While I was talking to Chowdhury Shahib, Nasim Sheikh came to see him and Chowdhury Sahib told me that he would need about an hour for talks. I think that the rich are now thinking in terms of investing money in politics to save themselves.

Maidu informed me about the propaganda being carried out by M.R. Khan in Dacca during the period of his stay after staying in Pindi during the 1st round of R.T.C. and DAC meetings. His intention now becomes manifest. What is he spending all the money for ?

Maidur Rahman further told me that my own supporters have been bewildered due to the contrary statements appearing in the papers about me. I tried to pull him up and transmit some of my confidence. I had to tell him something about the blessings I receive.

Hafiz Abdul Karim of Khulna arrived there accompanied by WAPDA employee who volunteered to accompany him under the impression that he was Farid Ahmad because of the similiarity of looks. He talked of a gathering of Ulemas to take final decision regarding the closure of madrasah in order to take part in the jehad for our survival as a Nation with Islam as our ideological base. Ulemas had prepared answers containing their interpretation of Law, and the Socio-Economic Order of Islam. There was going to be a conference of Ulemas here in Lahore to take final decision regarding the attitude to be adopted towards Islam and Socialism. Salam Khan told him that he had interfered only to set me right. He insists on saying that he was the greatest enemy of Mujib who feared him most. He is obsesed for leadership. Expressed himself in favour of freeing ourselves from the control of West Pakistan Leaders.

Amir Leghari of Rahimyarkhan and his barrister relations along with 2 others also came to call on Chowdhury Sahib. Maulana Siddique Ahmad and Moulana Ashraf Ali were seen at the gate as soon as I finished my statement regarding Maulana Siddique & Ashraf Ali. Hafez Abdul Karim took me as a person with extra-ordinary powers and told Moidur Rahman that I had such powers. Talked to Moulana Siddique and Moulana Ashraf Ali. They seemed to be appreciating my merits now.

Telephoned Malik Abdul Latif, Education Secretary and he sent me car to the residence of Chowdhury Sahib. While coming out of the house, I saw Naseem Sheikh coming out of the room. He was not gloomy.

Made friends with PA of Latif and offered him my own ciggarettes and talked to him without any reservation. He seemed to be liking me very much. On the way to Secretariat he told me that he had served under M.M. Ahmed for 7/8 years. He thought the former was a goodman.

Saw Dr. Hamiduddin, Presidnet, Inter-Secondary Education Board Sargodha Division and another inside his room. Established re-

reciprocity with him. He is keen to go to Harvard for 4/5 years in order to write a book challenging the validity of consitution. He agreed with all that I said. Latif telephoned Qasim Rizvi. He talked to me on the phone and confirmed his being all right. He was informed by D/C Lyallpur that I would be visiting it day after tomorrow. I don't know who informed the DC like that. Syed Imran Shah CSP, Secretary to the Government of West Pakistan also came to the room. Latif went to the Government House for talks with Governor. His P.A. told me that Latif works very hard and there was never any file pending at the end of the day; he could say that every file had been disposed.

P.C.S. Private Secretary to Khan Md. Ali Khan, Education Minister came along with his brother, who is a doctor and Asstt. Director, Health Services, Peshawar Division, came for his posting. Had very educative talks with him on the minimum quantum of sleep and according to him one and a half hours sleep was enough for a person, the rest being luxury and acquired habit of earlier years. He confirmed that I should weight 128 pounds and should avoid carbohdyrides. He advised milk for the night to replace the dinner. Before taking leave, he wrote in Pushtu, equivalent for "KHUDA HAFIZ." Telephoned Baqer in his office and he showed his willingness to come and pick me. He came and Dr. Hamidullah was still there. Introduced Dr. Hamidullah and the proposed subject of research. They had an interesting debate with Baqer following the traditional line while the Doctor was trying to explode the myth economic theories.

Sharply before 2 P.M. Baqer started from Secretariat driving me in his car to the residence of Shikh Riaz, his friend, who was holding a Walima lunch in his Model Town Residence. On the way, Baqer told me that a miracle had happened to-day, as the case about which his mother had been worrying me since yesterday had been unexpectedly decided in favour. It was writ petition which reserved the findings of facts in Revenue settlement case. I told Baqer that I had accepted her as mother and that I would like to present her something. Baqer mentioned the efficacy of prayer in that one client had men-

tioned as having prayed in Data Darbar and insisted upon to have a writ petition in a matter which was delayed by eight years. Baquer reluctantly filed it and was afraid of facing the Judge but he found that Judge had passed order issuing a Rule without even hearing him. Now the otherside was requesting for a compromise. This was a miracle.

Reached Sheikh Riaz Ahmed's residence when Malik Said and his friends were leaving. Asked Malik Said to stay and he complied with my request. He politely admitted that my prophesies made at Zafar Omar's dinner early this month came true. He called me a prophet. I confronted him with issues and invited him to join me. He tried to evade and eventually agreed to invite me to a lunch to discuss matters to-morrow.

Bangesh, advocate, who had joined the Justice party, was introduced to me. He looked nervous. According to reports, he had previously been in the Convention Muslim League. The case is very clear by now. Sardar Iqbal, Dr. Nasim Hussain Shah and another judge of the High Court wanted to know about the future of Pakistan whether unrest will continue and secondly whether East Pakistan will remain united. I firmly told them that Pakistan was a special creation of Allah and He would see to its integrity and the establishment of Islam in every walk of life. Eradication of corruption and punishment of the corrupt seems to be a recurring burden amongst all sections of the people. On way home Baquer told me about the grabbing of land by a judge of W. P. High Court. I told the judges about dubious role of S.M. Zafar and they wanted to change the topic because of their affiliation with the Law Minister.

Returned to Baquer's residence and experimented with Baquer's mother and she prayed for Baquer so that he may have a son and she might perform Jadj. On my intervention, she prayed so that Baquer may become Minister. She also made a lengthy prayer which showed her depth of religious teaching. She also wanted me to be a minister which perhaps represents to her the maximum attainable goal.

She met me separately and described the strained circumstances in which Baquer was brought up and the assistance rendered by Mian

family, after his father had left for U.K. in search of a job sometime after the birth of the 2nd issue, a daughter.

Telephoned Chowdhury Mohammad Ali and told him about the payment of loan due to air passage. I warned him about Rafiqul Hussain who was sitting with Nawabzada at that time. Ascertained on the phone that Mohammad Ali, Altaf Qurcschi, Rafique (Khwaja) and Rafiqul Islam were present in the room of Nawabzada. Altaf Quraishi had invited Moulana Moudoodi, Nawabzada and Chowdhury Mohammad Ali to a dinner this night.

Maidur Rahman was sent to Daulatana but he could not meet him as Ahmed Dawood and another were present. Dawood has been seeing number of people. Mr. Brohi is here making himself available.

Talked to H.M. several times on the phone. He confirmed that Yusuf Haroon had been placed by Altaf Gauhar and the former had dined with the latter. The game is by now too well known to be mistaken. Altaf Gauhar is very busy. H.M. had been to a party of Yankees last night. Rogers has framed a very good opinion about my ability. He has been invited to a dineer by them on the 19th.

Telephoned Kelly. He informed me that Sabur Khan and Dr. ~~Huda~~ had refused the Governorship of East Pakistan and that my name is being considered. On query, he told me that I answered the requirements of patriotism, ability, immunity from foreign influence and the courage to face the people.

Came to the residence of Malek Abdul Latif who seemed baffled by the magnitude of the task. Discussed in some detail the problem relating to the demand of the college teachers and showed him the guide line for solution. I was more concerned with his personal problem, namely, liability to get over issue and loss of sexual appetie. Examined the reports of the foreign and own doctros on the various te'ts carried on since 1962 and they had so far failed to get on issue. Saw the fallacy of the treatment and suggested treatment in the light of Divine Light. Mr. and Mrs. M.H. Shah also came in and they were also in an unhappy lot. They had two issues, daughter born in 1948 and son in 1958. Mrs. Shah was also suffering from

appendicitis and loss of appetite. She is often depressed. She related it to the death of her father in 1965. According to her, her father's memory did not haunt her as frequently as it does now in Lahore because of the association here with her late father. When I asked her whether she had any trouble she denied in the beginning and yet after 2 minutes of questioning she burst into tears which showed how unhappy she was. There seemed to be a sense of guilt which manifested itself from the plain statement that she wanted to die. Talked to them about the Divine treatment and showed them a few yoga exercises. They were very much impressed. It was about 1-30 P.M. when the party broke up. Mr. Shah who was next door to Malik Latif who drove me home with his wife seating in the rear of the car. Latif Khan told me that last year in UNESCO the Arabs could not agree as to who should move the resolution for making Arabic as an official language. When Pakistan did it and got it passed, Arabs were embracing others.

18th March, 1969, Tuesday, 28th Jilhadj, 1389 Hijri, LAHORE.

Did not sleep upto 4-20 a.m. Performed Tahajjat, followed by Baquer's mother. I then fell asleep for a short while. Before Fazr she ~~roused~~^{used} me.

Baquer' and his wife were ready early. Took breakfast and came to my room and telephoned a number of people.

H.M. told me that Altaf Gauhar has become very busy and active. He has left his room for unknown destination without letting anybody know about it. Maidur Rahman came on being telephoned. He started behaving as if I don't understand anything. H.M. also confirmed that my name is being mentioned as a Governor of East Pakistan. His source being a Jang correspondent.

Went to the residence of Latif Khan. His wife was out to her father's place. Occupied the dressing room and used it as operational base. Talked to Taher and Sabera.

Kelly and Shirin talked to me over the phone.

Feeling a little tired and a tendency to rest. There was wind and storm with rains. Did briefing of Maidur Rahman. It seems that he was now in a position to see the truth better than ever before. Told him about the back ground of CML leaders. He promised to move no confidence motion against Daulatana. Shaukat seems to enjoy his confidence. He wanted to contact Sadar Anjam Khan and Daulatana and Shaukat ascertain what way they were moving. He had asked the Secretary of Bhagbanpura CML to lunch and would discuss the situation with him and get inner information.

H.M. is going to a dinner given by the information boss of U.S. Embassy. Briefed him as to what to find out. Only 46 have joined the Justice Party. It seems that these people are joining the Justice Party in accordance with a plan. How can people join a party even before a convention is held and manifesto announced? Most of them have been migratory birds, having been in Convention. They might have also changed party affiliation several times before.

Baquer came to take me to Said's lunch. The discussion centered round Bhutto and the situation in East Pakistan vis-a-vis Mujib and Bhasani. Bhasani has come out with open challenge to take over mills and factories and burn down polling booths if the elections are held. His plan is now becoming obvious. Somebody has to tell the truth. Hamid Sarfaraz was there. There was another advocate who had joined PPP by paying money though he had not signed the party pledge. After some talks, he seemed to be reconsidering his position. Representation on population basis and shifting of capital have become a sore. 2 Divisions of soldiers have been reported to have started for East Pakistan in view of the interest of several high ranking Army officers in the capital at Islamabad and in Rawalpindi.

Went to Latif's residence and found him absent. Came to residence and did some writing and then went out again with Baquer and his wife. They are going to the party given by A.K. Brohi.

Met Mr. Cornelli in his hotel. Had a lengthy discussion on the political situation. He did not have good opinion about Yusuf Haroon. He told me that Yahya had come to Lahore. That may be to find out

Someone's whereabouts. He also told me that Murshed was a great devotee of Devel Shariff. Maidur Rahman told me that Murshed was feeling let down as he had expected others to support him in fulfillment of his ambitions. Mr. Cornellius drove me to house. Mr. and Mrs. Cornellius were going to attend a dinner at Gulberg. Came home and feeling tired fell asleep early reading the Economist.

Cornellius told me that he would not like to be Governor. Moreover there was constitutional bar to his appointment.

19th March, 1969, Wednesday, 29th Jilhadj, 1398 Hijri, LAHORE

Offered Fazr prayer in time and had enough to do things. Was ready for breakfast before Baquer got ready.

Went to Baquer's chamber as residence telephone is defactive. Telephoned wife about the situation. She wanted me to talk to Qurban Ali who told me that the situation has improved. The daily Ittefaq headlined Toaha's speech in Baitul Mukarram in which the latter had said that Mujib was willing to come on parole. It was Bhasani's stand and the fight of the students which forced the withdrawal of the Agartala case. Our students, political workers of Jamat and Nizam-e-Islam and Madrasah students would come prepared to receive Golam Azam and self and he wanted to return to Dacca next day.

H.M. told me that Altaf Gauhar was responsible for the appointment of Yusuf Haroon. This was according to the report of Hamid Jalal in an officers meeting. Rogers had spoken of me in glowing terms in a dinner attended by him last night. The Jang's reporter confirmed that my name had been considered by the Government as Governor of East Pakistan.

Golam Azam telephoned me from Nawabzada's room wanting to know about the situation in Dacca and I repeated to him what I had heard on the telephone. Salam Khan telephoned me to express his thanks for what I have done.

Talked to Bashir Qureshi of PPL and he came to chamber. I dictated to him a lengthy statement with following points (1) Situation

of unrest with Bhasani preaching lawlessness (2) East Pakistan situation (3) Students problem (4) Labour problem (5) Transfer of Capital (6) confiscation of illegally hoarded wealth and punishment of corrupt officials.

Rana Zaffrullah came to take me to Chowdhury Mohammad Ali's residence and I visited his house at about 12 noon. Zafar Ansari Sahib was there. Chowdhury Sahib reported that he heard from Yusuf Haroon that people were not happy with his appointment because of his link with Mujib and Daulatana and warned him of the consequences in case he went wrong.

Chowdhury Sahib suggested merger of Nizame Islam, CML, Nashrullah's A.L., N.D.F. and Jamiatul Ulema Islam. I pointed out CML might split up and Jamat may not agree at all. Chowdhury Sahib also spoke of the Justice Party. It seems there is some tacit understanding between Asghar and leaders. Chowdhury Sahib gave me a cheque for Rs. 6,000/- towards payment of air fares of National Council delegates.

Went to Rana Zulfiqar's residence and took lunch there. While on the way the Khaksars were parading the streets of Lahore in celebration of 18th March, 1940. When some Khaksars died by the bullets of Police. They also saluted me. The Amir came and shook hands with me and presented me with their weekly magazine the AL-ISLAM containing description of the saga of the Khaksars 29 years ago to-day, the 19th March, 1940, when some Khaksars fell by the bullets of the Imperialists.

Took a quite lunch at Rana Zafarullah Khan's house along with some other workers of the party. It was revealed that Rana Zafarullah's family does not live here and that I could use it for the purpose of my temporary head quarter at Lahore. It would remove the feeling that I stay in posh Gulberg Area and would give me the opportunity of meeting with the poor section of the community. I agreed with the suggestion of Haji Md. Yunus of the Tent Service.

Called Aslam Sheikh from his residence and he drove me to Jamea Ashrafia Ichra. On the way, I discussed the problem of joining the Interim Government. He expressed himself in lines of

keeping out in view of the failure due to the device of CSP's. I explained to him that such resistance will remain even when we go to power after general election. He had no counter argument to offer.

Reached Ichra at 3-25 P.M. instead of 3 P.M; but most of the leading Ulema had not come as they had gone late. Moulana Afghani placed the main themes of the meeting, namely comparison between Islamic Economic System and Socialism. He referred to the import trade being appropriated by individuals. Ulema of all sections attended. Afghani Sahib enuanciated the fundamentals of Islamic Social Justice. I was asked by him to give my opinion on the situation and I suggested that (1) Feudalism and Capitalism were identified with Islam in the minds of intelligentsia and a firm declaration should be made by the Ulema on these two vital aspects of modern life (2) Vigorous compagin to be started to educate the ulema on the stand of Islam on capitalism and feudalism and the out lines of the Islamic economic theory based on exploitation free and equal opportunity for all. I further suggested a convention of the Ulema to debate these issues, in full public view and then give consensus which shall form the Ijma of the millat. These in future will go to the foreign countries, specially to the Muslim countries. These will save the Muslims from the twin curses of communism and capitalism of which every Muslim country is a victim.

Came home and started reading and writing. Telephoned H.M. and came to know that 2 Divisions of army have been sent to East Pakistan to save East Pakistan from Communists. Yanks trying for ministership. Shirin confirmed that the Jang report was not without basis.

20th March, 1969 : 1, Muharram 1390 Hijri, Thursday, Lahore—Dacca

Got up in time. Did packing of suitcase with my own hands and felt joy at being able to remove dependence on others. Had pleasant time at the breakfast table. Saira allowed me to kiss her. Farih was very warm and wanted to know how I reached Dacca. Apparently she is worried that things may go rough with me at Dacca. Salam Khan told me that he was coming via Karachi. He is damn afraid to come. He wanted police protection at the airport and requested me to inform

the I.G. of Police, E.P. This was last night. He talked to the I.G.P. over phone who told him that things were all right.

Golam Azam telephoned me to say that he was leaving tomorrow by the 2nd flight. I pressed him for accompanying me. He took up the plea of marketing. He disclosed that Maulana Maudoodi was met by some class one officer who told him that 1,000 persons were waiting for us at the airport to take revenge for our anti-role in the R.T.C. Maulana Maudoodi had cancelled his reservation without asking him.

M.R. Khan telephoned from the Civil Service Academy, Lahore. He talked in a friendly fashion and wanted to do work by resolving differences with Maulanas.

Telephoned Rana Zafrullah with a request to contact Malik Habibullah at Pindi regarding Huzur's case. Talked to H.M. He alone had been to Sharon last night. She talked of the general situation and showed interest in my career, maintaining the Jang line which seems to be their own line.

Arrived at the Lahore airport. Yusuf Haroon's arrival was being delayed by one hour. I.G. of Police, West Pakistan saluted me and talked to me most respectfully. Salahuddin, M.N.A. wanted to know who should be the Governor of East Pakistan and agreed that I was the most happy choice. Justice Cornelli confirmed yesterday that Yahya had been to Lahore.

Raja Said Akbar, Advocate-General of West Pakistan reaffirmed his faith in me as future leader of Pakistan who alone could save the country. Everybody around was respectful. The senior reporter of the Pakistan Times paid great attention and addressed me respectfully. A PIA officer was there to look after me.

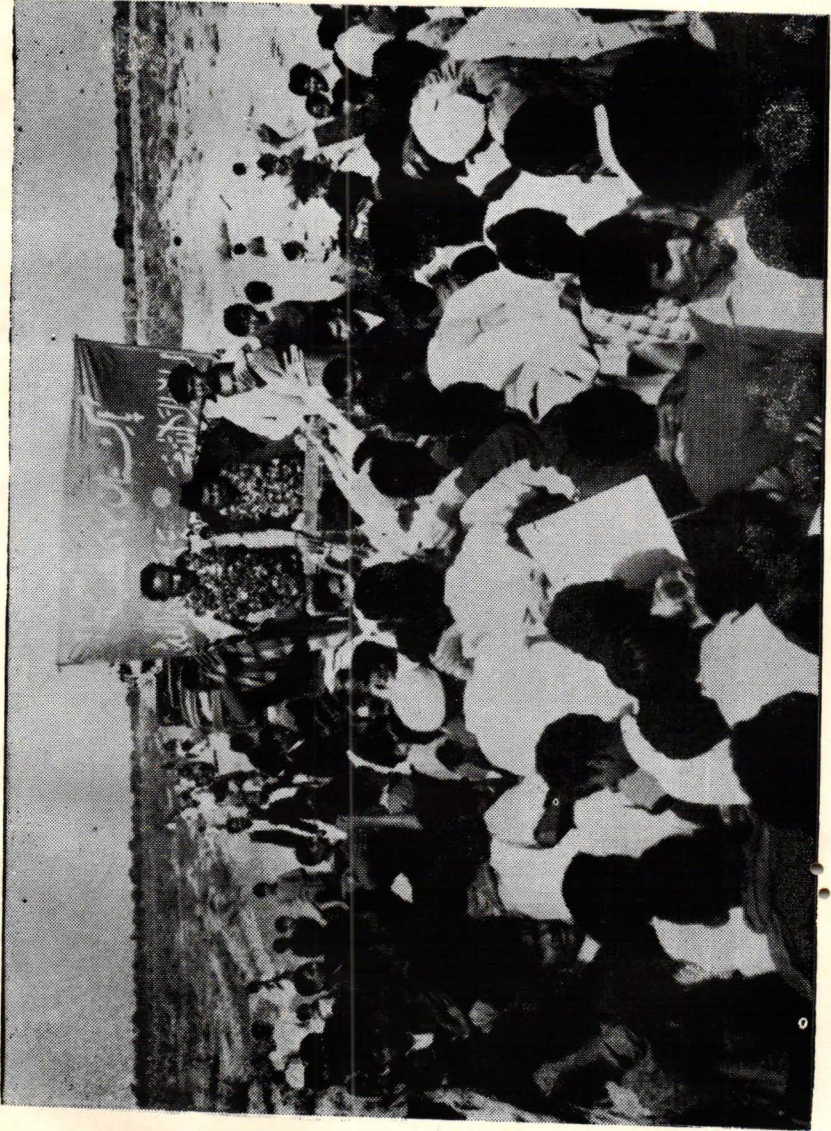
In the plane, read newspapers and magazines. Maidu had agreed to accompany me to Dacca today though yesterday he had resented my request. Made friends with Abdul Aziz of the United Traders and Colonel Arshad of the Army. I got the best out of them and made them brother and friends. Col. Arshad insisted on drinking milk when the air hostess hesitated. He told that if others could be given alcohol, he was within his rights to demand a glass of milk. Rafiqul

Hossain and Shahidullah also travelled with me. Rafiqul Hossain is coming after doing his brief for Asghar. Rafiq mentioned that I should face the music from those waiting for my blood at the Dacca airport. He read my statement in the Dawn and observed that if students read my statement, they would welcome me.

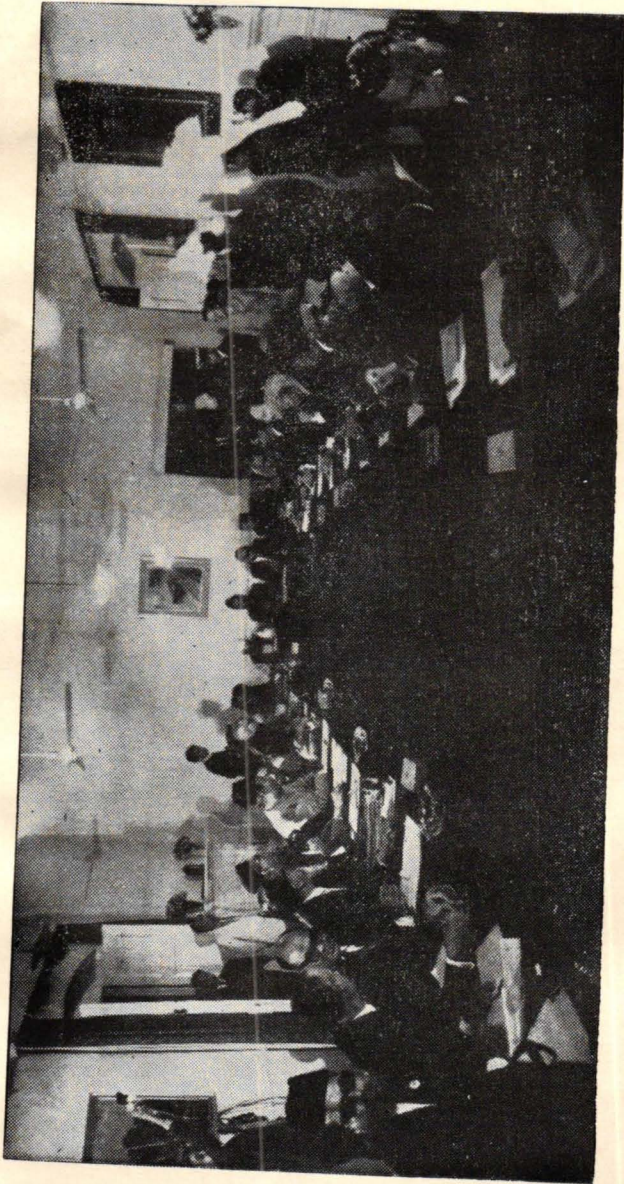
Reached Dacca at 2 p.m. A big crowd and a warm welcome. Addressed the cheering crowd at the airport. Party workers, Jamat-i-Islam men, madrasah students and Islam-loving citizens garlanded me heavily while PPI men were covering and taking photographs. Taken in a procession and brought to my residence where I addressed them again. While at the airport, Matin told me in reference to Julmat's warning that I should stop speaking. Later he told me that I might be saying things against newspaper men, and suggested a news conference. While addressing the crowd outside my residence, Matin again interrupted me by sending a slip that I should speak about autonomy. I threw away the slip.

Came home. Kissed wife and children. Had bath and then talked to people who waited for me. Maulana Moslehuddin came and narrated the efforts made by him. Ahmad Sobhan telephoned and wanted to come and see me. He must be interested in something. He promised to come and see me at 9 p.m. Islamullah Chishti telephoned me congratulating on my bold stand.

People are still in the grip of fear. They are obsessed with fear of 11-pointers and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and wanted me to talk on them lending support. My arrival had electrified the supporters. Matin again dictated to me as how I should behave. He is a wretched egoist and thinks that he has done me favour and has audacity to dictate what is right and wrong for me. Gave him task to do, viz., printing of my speech at the Round Table Conference, publishing my arrival report in the Ittefaq. He started giving me briefing and I detected his method. I have come to the end of patience and told him plainly that I had not have time for such nonsense. If he did not have faith in me, he should better leave me. Slept beyond night after writing diary for sometime. At night, there was announcement over the mike that strike was called off.



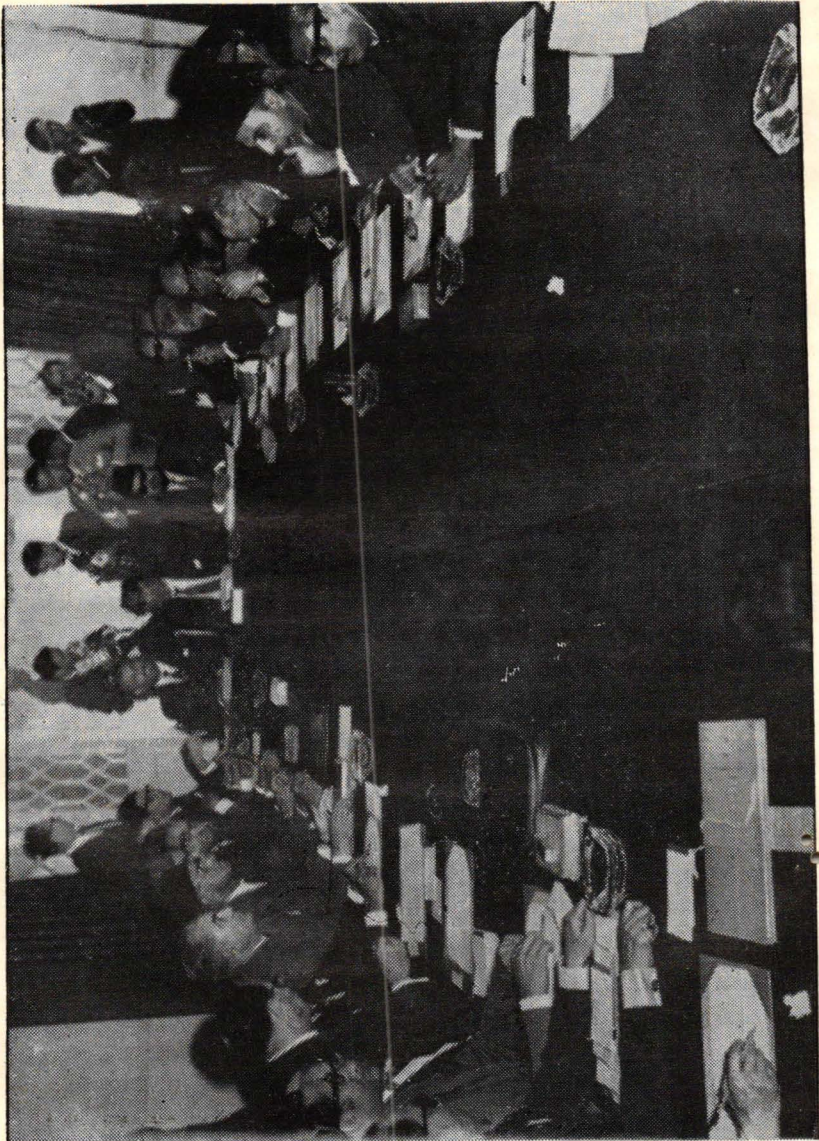
The author and Asghar Khan in an anti-Ayub procession in Sind in the third week of January, 1969.



R. T. C. Meeting on February, 26, 1969.



*An informal chat in the Lobby of the President's House during the R. T. C. Left to Right :
Daultana, Asghar Khan, Wali Khan and the author. (February, 26, 1969)*



R. T. C. Meeting on March, 10, 1969

know the fate of his appointment pending with the Law Ministry. T.H. Khan, whose appointment was being challenged by some 'Agartala Case' minded anti-elements, because of his association with the case rang me asking me to pray for him.

Ray Fox rang and fixed an interview with me for 9 A. M. tomorrow. Now it seems he is interested in me and wanted to know whether I would be in a position to deliver the goods.

Gave some tasks to Farivddin after finalising terms with him. Monthly emoluments fixed at Rs. 400/- He seemed happy as he was doing nothing more profitable.

The Concept group came with translation in Bengali of the Distribution of Wealth in Islam. They seemed to have read the article but put rather poor effort.

Eczema hearting up as granulations are being formed in the affected parts.

Asked Dr. Mohiuddin to subscribe Bio-chemic medicines for Harun, Khaleq and Qamru. Yesterday, after the swearing in, Roy and his wife (neighbour) appeared very friendly and invited me to see them. Korban came on the previous night. Settled out matters with him and he promised to put on the Moonstone for my sake if not for anything else. He was worried over financial matters. There is marked line of Apollo and I should get him. Korban condmened the narrow mindedness of Jamat leaders and told how he had been fighting with others to undo the mischief done by Akhtaruddin in spreading lies against me during his association with Jamat. Muazzem also came in for sharp criticism.

Maidu eventually got interested in Bio-chemic medicine but failed to take his chance with Dr. Mohiuddin. He told me that he wanted a clinic near about Elephant Road as he was told that room was available for hire. I promised to do my best for him.

Telephoned Firdaus and asked him not to allow Matin to take his books and articles. Fariduddin promised to join today but he did not. Reasons are not known. Firdaus also told to bring the stocks of my books from Matin. Moti Miah sent to Matin and the latter said that time was necessary.

Donald Milner had seen Mujib before going to Comilla yesterday.

Book Binder Association was given time today for executive meeting; but I had to cancel the same as I was called to the conference of political leaders by the Governor.

Shah Aziz telephoned at 9-40 A.M. and told that he was going to Ataur Rahman's house at 10 A.M. as the latter had requested him to have discussion. H.M. told me last night that one of chhatra Shakti leaders named Azizul Islam who was in Jail was being wooed by Wali Ahad and Ataur Rahman was trying to form a Political Party with Nurur Rahman, Zamir and Wali Ahad. Julmat Ali Khan rang me and wanted him to come to me and have a talk.

Shah Aziz came with Nurur Rahman and Zamiruddin while Julmat Ali came separately. Talked to them about spiritual powers which Allah has favoured me with and how strange favours were being shown to me and things are coming to my way.

I telephoned Ziaul Ahsan and he came. Told him about strengthening the party by recruiting young blood as he had to seek election from Dacca on behalf of the party.

Ayub, s/o Muhammad Yaqub telephoned me and I wanted him to come to take a letter to Ata Hussain for being posted at Islamabad.

Had to lunch with Mahbubul Huq at the Observer Office, but he got it cancelled as office was harried by Press workers. Muhammad Yaqub came to fetch letter as his son did not come.

Akhtar Bhai showed interest in me immediately after my arrival mentioning when I would occupy the vacant house (meaning Government House). He promised to talk to me but I do not know what went wrong.

Shah Aziz and Nurur Rahman were confirming about the existence of spiritual order while Julmat Ali was resisting such suggestion with vehemence as well as ignorance. Shah told me that he had brought Nurur Rahman and Zamir to me. Seems that the talk of a Party did not go well at Ataur Rahman's house. Shah is becoming more and more convinced about the blessings which I receive directly from Allah. He promised to give me a ring and come to me for a personal interview.

Nurur Rahman also nodded approval. Zamir was quite respectful to me throughout the 21st of March. Zamir had asked me to see Aatur Rahman. Forced Zulmat to stay for lunch. He was afraid of the spiritual world and wanted to remain satisfied with the material world. He wanted to serve country and wanted to earn gratitude of people after his death. He was fed up with the weakness and indecision of Abdus Salam Khan. He repented that he had wasted his time running after Mujib and Abdus Salam Khan. Belated lunch finishing at 3 P.M.

biren had been taking a lot of interest in me trying to help me in visiting West Pakistan. He had been good to me certainly. He had been supporting me in the Bar Council as well as outside. While he was thoroughly disillusioned about NAP's Abdul Huq and other persons styling themselves as progressives.

Mian Abdul Aziz of Nishat group of Industries called on me around 3-30 P.M. Though I was a neighbour, yet he did not take any interest in me previously. Promised to return the call as soon as I get leisure.

Moti came on being called. Sk. Ali Ashraf brought Shah Salahuddin. He had written articles in the Daily newspapers. Moti did not wait for me to come back from Nishat House, where I had gone for a return visit.

Permitted Maulana Matin to join the conference as my wife permitted him. Maulana Matin came to my residence. Paid return visit to Mian Abdul Aziz. Mian Hanif was also present. Talk centered round future political programme and not politics.

Attended Conference at the Government House. Most of the leaders came much late. Dr. Huda was also late in coming, due perhaps to the fact guests were late. But this is doing injustice to the timely arrivees.

All parties except the Awami League and Moscow NAP attended the meeting. Mujib is reported to have taken the plea of indisposition and time for consultation with his partymen; whereas nothing was known about Muzaffar.

Dr. Huda pleaded for the formation of Peace Committees (Central) with branches at all levels. He proposed a small Committee consisting

THE SUN BEHIND THE CLOUDS

of one representative from each party and a sub-Committee and daily meeting be held. He also promised to hold daily meeting. He said that law and order was the first priority. It was being suggested that National Assembly could not be summoned unless law and labour situation improved. He had come for one year only. He promised to place all facts before the Peace Committee.

Jadu (Mashihur Rahman) complained of Police and EPR excesses and wanted to know whether law and order was for passing the amendments agreed upon in the RTC. He wanted to know if there was a threat for Martial Law. Khwajah Khairuddin who sat nearby nodded his head in approval. Jadu apprehended that move for peace was meant to stop worker's demands.

Mohiuddin talked of Fire Brigade refusing to rush without obtaining consideration of bribe.

I supported the formation of Peace Committee and small Committees with daily meeting I also suggested that irresponsible press report exaggerating disturbances must be stopped and suitable action be taken to bring to book all hinderer irrespective of party affiliation.

Abdur Rahim (Jamati-Islami) suggested that no Committee will be worth the name unless all parties came in. This clearly means that he is carrying Mujib's brief. Gholam Azam also supported it.

Dr. Huda said that in view of lack of unanimity on the issue of Peace Committee, he would not go ahead with it. The proposal for adjourning the meeting did not find favour with him. The meeting, which commenced at 7-5 P.M. continued for 2 hours and we proceeded to the dining table. During the dinner, Dr. Huda was reading the press Communique to be issued. It was read at the end of the dinner and was approved unanimously after minor amendments.

25th March, 1969, 6, Muharram, 1390 Hijri Tuesday, Dacca

Martial Law Proclaimed :

Went to bed at 4-30 A.M. and as such could not get up earlier than 9 A.M. Roy Fox had requested me to see him in his office. There

was a phone call from his office and it was fixed at 10-15 A.M., by which time, I went to DAC's Office. I was detained for some more minutes, as Fox had been busy with a visitor. When I stepped in, I found him worried. He wanted to know what would happen to trade, industry in view of the impossible demands made by workers by Ghe-raos and accepted by management without any intention of fulfilment. According to him, there was no money to pay. Even if these high salaries were paid there would be inflationary condition and the economy would be in a mess. He showed me highly exaggerated alarming reports sent to London by British correspondents. He thought like the industrialists here that Sheikh Mujib provided the answer.

I pointed out that he had not the capacity to meet the challenge of lawlessness, he himself having incited violence against political opponents. He wanted my suggestions. I told him that an alliance of the Right including Mujib was not possible. He insisted. I predicted that he had no political future in a fight between Marxists and Islamists. He did not fit in with the picture. I told him that I would issue a statement to-day on the economic crisis. I told him that only answer to the problem was a bumper crop which could be given by Allah alone. British interests were at a great jeopardy. He expressed himself alarmingly against the demand for nationalization of foreign capital. It was nearly 12-30 P.M. when I left him.

Came home and immediately started doing work. Drafted a statement on the situation suggesting joint meeting of workers, management and the Government and another meeting of students, guardians and teachers to remove the genuine grievances of the students.

Mian Abdul Aziz came to see me and I gave him a copy of my statement which could be pursued by the members of the Pakistan Jute Mills Association meeting at 5 P.M. They are to meet the Governor at 7 P.M.

Ray Fox wanted a copy and sent his driver. I had to keep him waiting as I made several attempts to procure the last copy given to Mian Abdul Aziz but without any success.

Eventually sent Ghulam Kibria to fetch PPI copy. When he returned, he told me that someone in PPI had told him in secret that

Martial Law might be proclaimed within 15 minutes. Waited in expectation of the announcement which came around at 8-15 P.M. Ayub abdicated in favour of Yahya Khan, C-in-C, army as Chief Martial Law Administrator and the Deputy C-in-C, army and C-in-C's of 2 other forces as Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrators. Ayub has been granted 3 months leave and permitted to stay for 3 months in the President's House. Constitution abrogated and holders of office under the Constitution cease to hold office. Brought a great sense of relief to most people who were living in a state of panic and lack of safety.

Student leaders reported to be fleeing away from Halls. The guilty conscience working. Bhashani left a Press-Conference without finishing it. Mujib is reported to be in dire distress and looking dejected. according to Maidur Rahman who went to Mujib immediately after the imposition of Martial Law. People coming to meet him and he was asking them to go away.

People wanted to know reaction. There was no alternative short of total breakdown of economy, chaos, confusion and anarchy. Bhashani, Mujib and Student's aggression to blame for the loss of political rights. Those who had pleaded the extreme point of view must share the responsibility squarely.

Maulana Muslehuddin and Maulana Abdul Majid Khan came to call on me and to know the instructions in the new situation. He had endangered his reputation (Mujib). He had a wonderful opportunity to become a leader of the people, but could not rise above the level of commonplace.

We three prayed together. They wept profusely when I led Muna-
-at at the end of the prayer. I prayed for the restoration of peace. The imposition of ML let loose panic. Everybody was scared. People were running for safety.

APPENDIX—1

Proceedings of the meeting of the Central DAC held on 18th to 19th Feb, '69 at Darul Hayat at 5 P.M. with Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Convener of DAC presiding.

Members present

1. Janab Hamidul Haq Chaudhury
2. Janab Nurul Amin
3. Ch. Muhammad Ali
4. Farid Ahmad
5. Mian Mumtaz Daultana
6. Khawaja Khairuddin
7. Khan Abdul Wali Khan
8. Prof. Muzaffar Ahmed
9. Sayid Abul Ala Maudoodi
10. Prof. Ghulam Azam
11. Mufti Mahmood
12. Pir Mohsinuddin alias Dudu Mia
13. Abdus Salam Khan
14. Sardar Shaukat Hayat (Convener W.P. Regional DAC).

Mr. Abdus Salam Khan wanted to know the results of the talks that Nawabzada Nasrullah, Chowdhury Muhammad Ali and Daultana had with Air Marshal Asghar Khan, in view of the latter's rejection of the invitation to participate in the talks with the President.

Chowdhury Muhammad Ali informed that Asghar Khan seemed to be uncertain in his attitude. Mr. Daultana said that Ashgar reported to him the result of the latter's talk with Mr. Bhutto at Larkana. Nawabzada stated that he had not discussed the question of participation in his facts with Asghar Khan. Nawabzada explained the points involved in the invitation extended to the leaders outside DAC, namely, Bhasani, Bhutto, Asghar, Murshed that it was at the instance of the DAC that President Ayub had agreed to extend the invitation to Asghar

and others. Then a discussion followed on Asghar Khan's non-participation.

Taj-ud-Din Ahmed attended the meeting at this stage and he was requested to report on the latest position and the attitude of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman, whom he had met before starting from Dacca for Rawalpindi today. Taj-ud-Din Ahmed stated as follows :—

Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman asked Tajuddin as to how many of the political issues have been settled so far by the President as preconditions for a fruitful dialogue, how many detainees have been released so far ? His (Tajuddin's) own personal experience was that 10/15 detainees were brought to the Jail Gate for being released and then re-arrested under security law. These were not well-known political personalities but smaller people, such as Trade Unionists. These actions were not protected by the legal cover of Ordinances promulgated following the withdrawal of emergency. Sheikh Mujib told him that his person should not be brought as a political issue. Sheikh Mujib got impression that he would be released and would come as a freeman.

Agartala conspiracy case prisoners under Military custody are afraid of their lives because of the killing of Flt. Sgt. Zahir-ul-Haq. Saner and older people feel that Sheikh Mujib would be released. Mr. Farid Ahmad had rang him up from Mr. Sabur's residence and he came to understand that authorities had agreed to bring Sh. Mujeeb as a freeman without any condition, but I.G., Police of East Pakistan went and the G.O.C. told him, that he would hand over Sheikh Mujib to the I.G. of Police after obtaining a receipt from the latter and would bring Sheikh Mujib under Police custody. This was considered as a great insult and humiliation by him.

* In reply Mr. Farid stated as follows:

At 3. 15 P.M. today Law Minister Zafar told him on telephone from Pindi that Sheikh Mujib had agreed to come but while he boarded the plane at 4.30 P.M. at Lahore, on the 17-2-69, Shafiqul Islam of CML told him that the latter was informed by Prof. Ghulam Azam that news had been received at the desk of the Daily Mashriq to the effect that Sheikh Mujib had declined to come. This was stated to be PPI Agency report. After disembarking at Pindi airport, Prof. Ghulam

Azam confirmed it. This gave rise to suspicion in his mind and apprehending that an ugly situation would develop if Sheikh Mujib was forced to come on parole and having come, he might create another situation which would completely wreck the talks. He decided to find out the way to save R.T.C. from ending abruptly.

Then in the evening he contacted Khan A. Sabur, who on contacting (President Ayub) confirmed that Sheikh Mujib was coming. Defence Minister A.R. Khan being incharge of bringing Sheikh Mujib was contacted and he also confirmed that Sheikh Mujib was coming. When questioned by members as to the source of his information, he said that this was the information of the Law Minister given to him at on 19-2-69 on being contacted by him on phone from Lahore at 2 P.M. Defence Minister after consulting Maj-General Muzaffaruddin G.O.C. East Pakistan at 9.30 P.M. informed that Sheikh Mujib was not in fact willing to come on parole. Thereafter Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed was contacted by Farid Ahmad over the telephone at Dacca with a request to prevail upon Sheikh Mujib to come and that necessary facilities would be provided for his relations and other political workers to meet him in Kurmitola. Tajuddin had confirmed this morning that Sheikh Mujib had asked him to attend the Conference on his behalf and that he would not attend under any circumstances except as a freeman. Sheikh Mujib also confirmed it personally, over the telephone that he was sending Tajuddin to attend the Conference on his behalf and that another A.L. delegate would be Syed Nazrul Islam.

Mir Tajuddin did not contradict this statement.

Mr. Nazrul Islam then said that his party was grateful to DAC for the sincere efforts in pressing for the withdrawal of Agartala case but now, new situation has developed as a result of the killing of Flt. Sgt. Zahurul Haq and the situation in Dacca and elsewhere in East Pakistan as a result of the killing under Military custody was grave. Convener Nawabzada had done everything possible to secure Sheikh Mujib's release. 16th February resolution of DAC made the availability of Sheikh Mujib as a precondition for talk and Sheikh was the only

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representative of the party in the talks. Since he has not been made available none else had authority to attend. A.L. shall abide by any decision taken by DAC if satisfactory results were obtained and remain with DAC if 8 points are realized. If, however, there was a failure, A.L. shall have the liberty of their own action. DAC had no control over circumstances created as a result of killing of one man in custody and exciting emotions have been created. If DAC' decided to attend, it must respect Bengali sentiments and Awami League should not be misunderstood.

None but Convener should talk to the Press. Mahmud Ali had talked to the Press as DAC's spokesman saying that Presidential or Parliamentary system was negotiable.

Then Sayed Abul Ala Maudoodi stated as follows. Was it due to nonavailability of sole Awami League representative that A.L. representatives were not attending the talks ? It means A.L. is unrepresented at the talk and people will get the impression that A.L. is boycotting the talks.

Professor Muzaffar Ahmad then said DAC had given no thought to the new situations—conditions in East Pakistan were alarming. He had been threatened with black flag demonstration on his return to Dacca. He enquired whether DAC could seek clarification and must seek clarification in view of the deterioration of the situation.

Sardar Shaukat Hayat said that there were three preconditions for talk and one of the preconditions i.e. Shaikh's release was not yet fulfilled. Thus the net result is that Sheikh will not be available for talks. Outsiders made statement that DAC should demand withdrawal of Agartala case. We will not be able to face the people. Janab Farid Ahmad pointed out that eight points of DAC were not pre-conditions for talks. Legal and controversial issue to be decided in the talks and other issues had been made preconditions. Daultana said that the situation has to be studied from this aspect; namely, pre-conditions have not been fulfilled and certain conditions which we expected had not been fulfilled. Most important aspect of the problem was the unity of 8 parties and that created the impact. Disunity

would be disastrous and unless we go to the conference united we will lose our representative character. Leaders outside A.L. have come out with statement demanding withdrawal of Agartala case and his party would not attend in such circumstances. DAC can achieve nothing as one of its leaders was not coming to the conference. C.M.L. will not be able to go to the conference.

Maulana Maudoodi formulated two alternatives :—

- 1) Reject the conference because one leader is not available; and
- 2) Attend the conference with the cooperation of A.L. Most important thing was that we should not break. Two points were important for the future of the country viz. Adult franchise and Federal Parliamentary system.

If President does not concede the first demand then DAC would walk out. If these demands are conceded, the rest would automatically follow including release of Sheikh Mujib.

Wali Khan. Eight points are the demand of DAC. He suggested that we should go to the conference and put forward the demands. Convener should go alone to President and place our demands. It will put him on the dock and his patriotism will be on test. It will also register our protest at not making Sheikh Mujib available. Abdus Salam Khan supported the suggestion. Wali Khan stated that some organised forces will take control of the situation, if we fail.

Pir Mohsinuddin. In view of fast deteriorating situation Convener should go alone to the President and know his attitude on fundamental issues and also demand for the release of Sheikh Mujib.

Nawabzada said we have to decide one way or the other; settlement or outright rejection.

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APPENDIX—2

Proceedings of the meeting of the RTC held on 10th March, 1969 from 10 to 12 A.M. in President's Guest House, Rawalpindi 16 representatives two from each of the 8 constituent parties, Convener of the two

regional DACs attended the meeting along with two independents, Air Marshal Asghar Khan and S.M. Murshid. On the request of the President, Mufti Mahmood recited the verce from the Holy Quraan which says that the desire of the God is fulfilled and the Muslims become victorious even though the 'Kafir' dislike it. After the recitation from the Holy Quran was over Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan on a signal from the President said in Urdu as follows :—

“What is happening today is painful to every patriotic Pakistani. There is no law and order in the country. Business has come to almost stands still and the mills have stopped functioning. Prices are going up. The problems of the students demand immediate attention. There are other important problems which must receive the attention of the RTC. Sentiment regarding the repeal of Press and Publication Ord. has to be considered with sympathy. Students arrested in the wake of the popular movement should be set at liberty at once and adequate compansation has to be paid to those who were killed. There is great unrest among teachers, engineers, doctors and low paid employees. We assure you Mr. President that we will extend all our cooperation to you. Our sincere desire is that the present deadlock must be resolved because elements indulging in chaos and confusion are taking undue advantage of the situation. If attention is paid to these problems it will not be difficult to find a solution to these probles in the light of resolutions passed by various Bar Associations.

We have urged unanimity on the question of restoration of Democracy, Federal Parliamentary System of government and Direct Election on Adult Franchise and Regional Autonomy and I now request Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman to speak about the rest of the problems.

Mr. Abdus Salam Khan objected to Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman being mentioned by name.

Janab Farid Ahmad :

May I know as to why the President's inaugural address at the RTC on the 26th of February, 1969 was neither published in any newspaper nor announced over the radio ? May I ask whether any arrangement

has been made for recording the proceedings of the RTC ?

Malik Qasim :

We are all keeping notes.

S. M. Zafar :

Yes, several from amongst us are keeping notes. Do I understand that agreement has reached on Federal Parliamentary System and Direct Election on Adult Franchise ?

Nawabzada :

Sk. Mujib-ur-Rahman will speak now. Sk. Mujib-ur-Rahman then read from a prepared text.

President Ayub :

I want to ask you one question, do you not want a strong Federal Government ?

Mujib-ur-Rahman :

I wanted a strong Pakistan but not a strong Central Government.

President :

Provinces will give a share of Revenue to the Central Government and the Central Government shall have no power to tax.

Mujib-ur-Rahman :

Central Government shall have power to tax Provincial Government.

President :

Central Government shall live on donations.

Mujib-ur-Rahman :

No, arrangements will be made by which the Central Government's share of the Revenue will automatically be transferred to the account of the Central Government.

President :

Is there any precedent anywhere in the world that a Central Govt. lies on donations given by Provincial or State Govt. or in the alternative will you explained to the Conference how it would function in the case of Pakistan.

President : Chaudhury Sahib is an economic expert, he may be in a position to enlighten us.

Khundkar Mushtaq : It will be a constitutional obligation.

President : Any comment from you (pointing to Hamid-ul-Haq Chaudhury).

Hamid-ul-Haq : I reserve my comments for tommorrow.

Chudhury Mohammad Ali;(meaning President) let us have your opinion on the two agreed points; then other points be decided later on after proper consultation.

Murshid : Choudhury Muhammad Ali is not the only expert. I am a keen student of economic and Political Science. It can be calculated through Provincial Government. A simple amendment will do.

Ch. Muhammad Ali : On a point of personal explanation; I do not claim to be an expert for less the only expert.

Wali Khan : President, I do not claim to be an expert either on constitution or on legal matters. My approach shall be political. I have extensively toured both East and West Pakistan. Khan is a very unpopular word in East Pakistan. They would not believe that there is stark poverty in Hasan Abdal not far away from Islamabad. I have toured the Frontier Regions, Karachi and Sind. I have come across the same feelings. I have toured the Punjab and it is the same story. I appeal to you to give to the people a feeling of participation. They can defend their country. Majority of the people are asking for parity when I know they are 54

or 56 percent. People feel that they have no political rights. There is lack of economic security amongst people. Sind is heading for a civil war. There are forces which are openly advocating for civil war. Problems should not be channelised but they should be solved. We should not create conditions by channelising them in different direction. Let us not stand at on formalities. In no time Sindhis will start fighting against non-Sindhis. If One Unit is kept alive as an election issue for future it will rouse patience. In the DAC we took the right decision for disolution of One Unit. If we have decided on a Federal System we have to decide how many federating units it should have. I am only giving my personal view.

Mufti Mahmood :

Restlessness and confusion in the country are due to the conditions that were created with the proclamation of Emergency, depriving the people of their rights and promulgation of Section 144. People were groaning under a sense of oppression. High prices, poverty and hunger have become the order of the day. The decision to have an Islamic research institution was an welcome provision but it was manned by wrong people. During the Martial Law particularly Muslim Family Law Ord. was promulgated. People felt hurt though they were not vociferous in their protest. There is an unanimity about direct Election on Adult Franchise and Fedeal Parliamentary System

of Government. The ideological basis of the country must be settled once for all. Pakistan was not created for any otherism except Islam. Ulama representing all shades of opinion, Shia, Sunni recommended 22 points as the basis for the constitution and it can be framed in accordance with those points. Ensure rights to the people. Those of the 22 points which were not already there must be incorporated. There is a provision in the constitution that President must be a Muslim. The word Muslim has to be defined. A Muslim who rejects Quran, Hadith, the last Prophethood can not claim to be Muslim.

President :

People will judge who is a Muslim.

Mufti Mahmood :

Then why keep a provision that the President should be a Muslim (Kh. Shahabuddin was found making notes in Urdu).

Prof. Muzaffar :

Let us hear the opinion of the other side.

President :

We will give you our assessment of the situation tomorrow.

Prof. Muzaffar :

There are still warrant of arrests against political workers; Progressive Papers Ltd. be restored to the original owners. Prices of rice going up from 45 to 49. Mujib has been conferred the title of Banga Bandhu. He is the accredited leader of Bengal. He has spoken about the grievances of the people. These are the 5 nonnegotiable demands, dissolution of One Unit, representation in the Federal Legislature on the

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basis of population; Direct Election on Adult Franchise; Zonal federation for the provinces of West Pakistan.

President : Are you thinking of three governments ?

Prof. Muzaffar : Yes. (Then there was a request by some members for adjournment)

President : Not much work done as yet. It is still 12 P.M.

Air Marshall : Sir, may I speak ? I will speak on the general political situation. I consider that your decision not to seek re-election was a correct one. Normally, it would have restored confidence but the situation has deteriorated and now threaten to go out of control. Group of armed people are staging a reign of terror. I hope sir, you do not mind my being candid. There are vested interests who are staging demonstrations. The impression is gaining round that you want to stay in power. The present Ministers do not represent any-body and they must go at once. They are not capable of looking after law and order. There must be a new Government. The Governors must also go, especially the Governor of East Pakistan, and he must go at once and as I have pointed out earlier he is thoroughly unfit to hold that high responsibility.

President : Some people feel that way, namely that I should not go but I have not changed my mind. The situation in East Pakistan is

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very grave. People are being stopped while carrying foodgrain to the Bazars. There has been large scale of smuggling of foodgrain from Khulna, Denajpur and Rajshahi. In Khulna alone there have been nearly 30000 infiltrators with Rifles ; may be, the number is 50000. Rifles from India are being sold at Rs. 40/-. Some people are deliberately aggravating the situation. There is no emergency now. To meet the situation arising out of threat of economic life or security of Pakistan, the deliberations must have a sense of urgency. There is no sense of law and order.

Sardar Shaukat :

There has been no procession from our side. It is the other side who is staging the processions.

Murshid :

Sk. Mujib-ur-Rehman has voiced the unanimous feelings of the people of East Pakistan and also of the people of West Pakistan. This is a country of the Muslims and I agree with Mufti Mahmood that the ideological basis of the country must be settled. Our differences can be thrashed out and we can arrive at same solutions. Mr. Wali Khan has also supplemented the arguments of Sk. Mujib-ur-Rahman. There are certain facts of history and one cannot run away from history.

President :

I am not a candidate. I will go with this Assembly in doing everything possible and I can only appeal to the people.

The situation in East Pakistan is very grave. According to East Pakistani newspaper of today as informed by a Minister from Dacca that an Engineering Student was shot to death at Kawran Bazar. In the city of Dacca a 'Darban' was overpowered and killed. Paddy boats carrying foodgrains were looted because they did not accede to the demand of selling them at Rs. 10/- per maund. I understand that there is unanimity with regards to three points : (1) Direct Adult Franchise; (2) Federal Parliamentary System and (3) Regional Autonomy.

APPENDIX-3

The book contains names of important personalities of Pakistan and other countries: certain names are so much known to the general reader that no introduction on them is necessary. Short notes on less known persons are hereby added for the information of the general public.

- (1) *Ahmad, Moulana Siddique* :He is the president of East Pakistan Nezam-i-Islam Party.
- (2) *Ahmed, Syed*—General Secretary, Chittagong District Nezam-i-Islam Party.
- (3) *Alam, Badiul*—A practising advocate at Cox's Bazar, Chittagong.
- (4) *Ali, Moulana Ashraf*—He is the General Secretary of the E.I. Nezam-i-Islam Party.
- (5) *Anwar, Mohammad*—He is a former Advocate General of West Pakistan. He served as member of the National Executive Council, PDM.
- (6) *Bhai, Osman*—He is an employee of a commercial firm. He has keen interest in, and an expert of, occult science based on the holy Quran and is in touch with a living Muslim Saint.

- (7) *Baquir*—Bar-at-Law. He is a practicing advocate of West Pakistan High Court and Supreme Court. He was the host of the author at Lahore.
- (8) *Chowdhury, Ashrafuddin Ahmed*—Former Congress Leader. He is an ex-General Secretary of the Forward Block. He twice served as Provincial Minister from Nezam-i-Islam Party in Shere-Bangla Fazlul Huq and Abu Hossain Sarkar's cabinet.
- (9) *Hasan, Sheikh Nasim* :—He was the Vice President of the Al-Pakistan PDM. Now Secretary General, PDP.
- (10) *Hossain, Colonel Abid*—Late Col. Abid Hossain was a leader of of the Republican Party. He served as a central miniter of Education.
- (11) *Huq, Zahirul*—Mr. Huq is a practicing advocate at Chittagng. He is a relative of the author through his wife.
- (12) *Jaffery, Sabir*—Former leader of the Nezam-i-Islam Party. Served as the Secretary General, West Pakistan PDM.
- (13) *Karim, Rezaul*—He is an educationist serving as the principal, Chittagong City College, Chittagong.
- (14) *Khan, Rana Zafrullah*—He is the founder of Jamea Islamia, Pat Pattan, Sahiwal, W. Pak. He served as the Chief Organizer of the Pakistan Nezam-i-Islam Party.
- (15) *Masood, Dr. Elyas*—Dr. Elyas Masood S/o Late Masood Qureshi is a famous Homeopath. He is the editor of the Lahore based Homeopathic Journal.
- (16) *Matin*—Personal aide during the period mentioned.
- (17) *Moslehuddin, Moulana Syed*—Former Vice President, PDM. At present Vice-President East Pakistan Democratic Party.
- (18) *Paul, Zakiuddin*—He is a former leader of the Awami League. Now a Judge of Lahore High Court, Lahore. A former Leader of PDM.
- (19) *Pir (Golra Sharif)*—Gadinshin Pir and son of Late Pir Syed Meher Ali Shah of Golra Sharif near Rawalpindi.
- (20) *Rafique*—Personal attendent during the R.T.C.
- (21) *Sarwar, Mustafa*—He is an industrialist and Managing Director,

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Sarwar Jute Mills. He served as the Treasurer of Awami League.

- (22) *Ullah, Aman*—He is a muhajir businessman; former bank employee and Dr. Kamal Hossain's sister's husband.
- (23) *Wahab, Haji Mufti Abdul*—He is a renowned spiritual Leader. Patron, Hathazari Madrashah, Chittagong.
- (24) *Zulfiquar, Pir*—He is an occultist (Islamic branch of occult science) from Pindi area.

APPENDIX-4

The words DAC, NIP, PDM, RTC would occur frequently in this book. These words and their significance is well-known to political leaders, workers and intellectuals. However, a brief note on their history is given below for the benefit of the general readers and the public.

- (1) *Democratic Action Committee* : In late 1968, the important political parties of Pakistan engaged in a crucial deliberation to unite themselves on a common programme for the greater interest of the country. In those days, the prime task before the entire nation was the restoration of democracy and of peoples rights. On January 7, 1969, 8 political parties of Pakistan joined their hands to carry on the struggle for social justice, democracy and one strong, united Pakistan. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan was the Convenor of this Democratic Action Committee (DAC). Two regional DAC's in the two wings of Pakistan were also formed. The author acted as the first Convenor of East Pakistan DAC and Sardar Shawkat Hayat Khan of West Pakistan DAC. In early 1969, President Ayub officially invited the DAC to meet him at the RTC to discuss the political issues facing the country.
- (2) *Nezam-i-Islam Party* : Nezam-i-Islam Party was the Political offshoot of the Jamiatul Ulema-i-Islam. Moulana Atahar Ali and Moulana Syed Moslehuddin were the first President and General Secretary of the EP. NIP respectively. In 1954 it participated in the election to the Provincial Assembly as a component party of the United Front and secured 25 seats. Among the elected PA members the dignitaries were Moulvi

Farid Ahmad, Maulana Ashrafuddin Ahmad Chowdhury, Moulana Athar Ali, Mvi. Nasiruddin Chowdhury and Syed Kamrul Ahsan. It may here be mentioned that inspite of its being a party to the United Front it did not support the latter's 21-point programme on certain principles. Nezam-i-Islam Party was a component member of the DAC and PDM. In 1969 it officially submerged with the Pakistan Democratic Party. However, its splinter group is still on the political scene under the guidance of Moulana Ehteshamul Huq Thanvi.

- (3) *Pakistan Democratic Movement* : It was formed at Dacca on May 1, 1967. Five prominent political parties, viz., All Pakistan Awami League, Nezam-i-Islam Party, Jamate-i-Islam, Council Muslim League and National Democratic Front (NDF). Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and Mr. Mahmud Ali were the first President and General Secretary of the organization respectively. Its prime objective was the restoration of a democratic social order in Pakistan. On March 13, 1969 after the failure of the RTC, the Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM) stood dissolved.
- (4) *Round Table Conference* : During late 1968 and early 1969, the people of Pakistan as a whole led a historic movement to undo the autocratic, undemocratic rule of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan. Students of East and West Pakistan started the movement and in a short span of time it spread throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan from Teknaf to Peshawar. A chaos and confusion engulfed the entire nation. In this background President Ayub called a Round Table Conference of the political leaders of all shades and opinion. All political Leaders except Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani (NAP pro-Peking) and Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Chairman, Pakistan Peoples Party) attended the conference. The RTC was schedule to commence on February 17, 1969. But it was deferred upto February 26. On March 10, 1969 it met for the last time and consequently on March 13 it broke away.

ERRATA

Page	Line	What is	What should be
37	10	Introduced to vice consul	Introduced to Patrick. vice consul
38	10	Work inof	Work in cost of
38	14	ACEtook	ACE and took
41	7	Asghar Khan	Asghar Khan's associates
44	18	of army and shooting order	of army and that of the shooting order
47	29	Gauhar saw at my instance	Gauhar saw Sabur at my instance
97	3	went in a bigger	went to a bigger

From page 33 to page 76 the Hijri year should be read 1389 instead of 1390 as printed.

THE END



FARID AHMAD

Commissioner Cox's Bazar Municipal Committee, 1951.

Joined Nizam-i-Islam Party, 1952. Elected member of East Pakistan Legislative Assembly from United Front (NIP) in 1954. Member, Second Constituent Assembly, 1955. Chief whip of United Front Parliamentary Party, while Sher-e-Bangla was the leader. Chairman, Cox's Bazar Municipal Committee, 1956. Toured Iran as a member of Pakistan Parliamentary Delegation in 1956. Represented Pakistan in Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference in London in 1957. Member of the Economic Committee & Public Accounts Committee of Pakistan Parliament in 1957. Sworn in as Central Labour Minister in I.I. Chundrigarh's Cabinet, 1957. Led Pak Delegation to Regional ILO Conference in New Delhi, 1957. General Secretary EPSF, 1959-60. General Secretary Pakistan Nizam-i-Islam Party, 1958. Elected to the N.A. in 1962 & acted as the leader of the Islamic Democratic Front in the Assembly. Chairman, Public Accounts Committee of the National Assembly of Pakistan during 1962-65. Represented Pakistan at Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference in Belgrade, 1963. Imprisoned in West Pakistan under West Pakistan Maintenance of Public Safety Act, 1964. Chairman, East Pakistan Combined Opposition Party (COP), 1964 during Madar-i-Millat's election campaign. Deputy Leader of Kashmir Delegation to 14 Afro-Asian & European countries, 1964. Led Pak Delegation to the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference in Algiers, 1964. Elected member of the Executive Committee, PDM, 1967. Elected MNA to the 1965 Assembly. Member DAC & Convener EPDAC, 1969. One of the representatives to the RTC. Elected V.P. of PDP in 1969. Led Pak Delegation to the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference in Damascus, 1971. Founder President, Pakistan Peace & Welfare Council, 1971.

Contributed articles to various journals and newspapers. Author of "Karagar Sataish Din" & "The Sun Behind the Clouds."

Born 1923. Received his education at Cox's Bazar High School, Chittagong Government College & Dacca University, wherefrom he obtained his B.A. (Hons.) in English, M.A. in English & B.L. degrees in 1945, 1946 and 1947 respectively. G.S. Athletic Club, D.U., V.P. DUCSU, 1946, awarded champion Debator's Cup from D.U. in 1946; holder of D.U. record in broad jump and 100/200 metres race.

Served as lecturer in English, Dacca College, 1947-48. Led the student front of Muslim League & took active part in 1946 referendum for Pakistan. Practised law at Cox's Bazar, 1948. G.S. South Chittagong Motor Workers' Union, G.S. Cox's Bazar Bar Association; Cox's Bazar Public Institute, Cox's Bazar Food Committee and Cox's Bazar Jame Mosque.