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executed yesterday. PETER NIESEWAND in Islamabad assesses his rise a

Dictator who gave his nation



MILLIONS of Pakistanis mourn the fate of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Widely revered by the mass of ordinary people, Bhutto was, to them, a world statesman who gave Pakistan confidence and respectability, a man who ensured, when he spoke, that other statesmen listened.

He was a politician who broke away from the gentlemanly cabals of wealthy landowners and bureaucrats who had previously ruled Pakistan between military dictatorships. Bhutto brought power to the people, campaigning in a western style. He promised food, clothing and shelter. He exchanged his Savile Row suits and silk handkerchiefs for baggy trousers and long Pakistani shirts, and he went electioneering in the bazaars and in remote areas previously shunned by his rivals.

The people loved him. If Bhutto muzzled the press and sacked independent-minded journalists and editors, so what? Freedom of the press is not a concept which much exercises the minds of a largely illiterate people.

If Bhutto bent the rules on paying import duties on air conditioners and other luxuries, or handed out gifts at the expense of the state to his friends, ordinary Pakistanis shrug and look puzzled. Of course he did, they say. Don't they all?

Bhutto was a complex and contradictory figure. He was intellectually sharp and came from an illustrious family: the combination often jelled into arrogance.

He was born at Larkana in the province of Sind on

Mr Bhutto in his heyday as Pakistan's president

January 5, 1928. He spent his last birthday — his 51st — in the death cell of Rawalpindi gaol, scarcely able to eat because of an untreated gum disease, and unable to keep down much of what he forced himself to swallow.

If Bhutto was a bully, he was no coward. His bearing and his demeanour in the last appalling months were noble. He would not be beaten by adverse circumstances, would not beg, or plead.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto lacked for nothing as a child. His family were rich and influential. His education was rounded off in the United States and Britain: he graduated in political science from the University of California at Berkeley in 1950, and later studied at Christ Church, Oxford. There he was awarded MA honours with distinction in jurisprudence in 1952, and became a barrister at law in Lincoln's Inn, London. Later Bhutto went to lecture in international law at the University of Southampton — the first Asian to teach there.

He kept up his legal work briefly when he returned to Pakistan, but soon became enmeshed in politics. In 1957, he was sent to the United Nations General Assembly as part of the Pakistan delegation, and the following year he led a team to the Geneva conference on the law of the sea.

At that time Pakistan was coming up to another of its military coups. According to some reports, the plot was hatched on the Bhutto family estates, where some officers would come for the game shooting. When Field Marshal Ayub Khan (then

General) seized power in 1958, he invited Bhutto to join the Cabinet.

Bhutto himself wrote later: "I began a career in high public office at the comparatively early age of 30, as minister of commerce in the martial law government. In December 1960, as minister of fuel, power and natural resources, I went to Moscow to conduct negotiations with the Soviet Union for an oil agreement. I mention this fact because it marked the point at which our relations with the Soviet Union, most unsatisfactory until then, began to improve."

After Bhutto had been Foreign Minister for about three years, he clearly saw the writing on the wall. He told friends he had initially believed the Ayub Khan government intended leading the country to full democracy, but as time went on, nothing was being done. Instead, corruption was growing up around the military rulers.

Bhutto finally left the Cabinet in 1966, ostensibly on the grounds of ill health, but the following year he was back, taking to the politics of the street and leading agitation against Ayub Khan.

In 1967, Bhutto became chairman of the newly-formed Pakistan People's Party. Outlining the PPP's policies, he declared: "Islam is our faith, democracy is our policy, and we believe in the supremacy of the people."

A year later, with unrest and rioting in several parts of the country, Ayub Khan ordered that he be placed under house arrest in terms of the emergency laws, and he was held for three months. But Ayub's regime was in a decline, and in

March 1969, political ferment broke down from the favour of Khan.

Bhutto's party was soaring in 1970, no fewer constituencies of Pakistan national but in terms retained only his home. Yahya Khan power and poised for dealt a crucial national move the way for the pinnacle

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