

My Apologies Again:

This volume-II points towards more facts of unlawful compromises and concessions unmasking the actual faces of Pakistani rulers.

Some people are living in that part of the world called Pakistan:

- Where the ruling political party {the PPP} does not opt to complete investigation concerning Ms Benazir Bhutto who was murdered three (3) years earlier but takes pride in reopening of the case of Mr Bhutto who was (judicially) murdered thirty (30) years ago. [*See the Reference no: 1 of 2011 of the SC*]
- Where a sitting prime minister {Mr Gilani} appeared in person before the SC [in January 2012] in contempt of court charges and shown respect for the apex court but his Parliament never explored the possibility of re-considering those laws under which certain military officers could be taken through due process in courts who were guilty of keeping the Chief Justice and seven judges of the SC in 'illegal confinement' [in Nov 2007] for days & weeks.
- Where 103 journalists were killed in 2011; 44 in 2010 and 110 were slaughtered in 2009, making it the 4th dangerous country in the world to work for the media. Not even a single case worked out yet. [*Referred to Vienna-based press watchdog IPI's press briefing dated 5th January 2012*]
- Where the ISI & MI admitted before the SC that four out of eleven prisoners they had taken out from Adiala Jail for interrogation had died in their custody; five were in hospital. Then what; in Pakistan even SC cannot take action against any army officer in any context. [*Referred to SC proceedings dated 30th January 2012*]
- Where a Federal Minister raises demand in a press conference that '*all groups: Sindh, Pakhtun, Baloch, Seraiki and Punjabi, should get an equal share in corruption.*' [Referring to Abdul Qayyum Jatoi's press conference in Quetta on 26th September 2010]
- Where more than one third of cabinet ministers pay no taxes whatsoever and that Prime Minister Gillani had not paid tax for any of the three years covered by the disclosure. [*Referring to GEO TV dated 27th September 2010*]

It had continuously been debated through the whole decade that whether the 'War on Terror' propelled into the South Asian region after 9/11 was of America or Pakistan's own. Long ago, the question had lost its utility. When the fire engines are busy in showering fountains over the burning fields, no body ponders that which non-smoker was having lighter in his pocket. This question is always left for insurers to dig out but till then everything goes in ashes. In Pakistan, nothing is insured; neither the people, nor their future, nor their dreams, nor the governance patterns and not even the governments in succession.

Referring to the daily '**Jang**' of **27th May 2009** [Dr Shahid's opinion]:

'The last decade of battles & wars spread over the territories of Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine and Afghanistan had made it clear that to start a war you may not need permission from any but to win the same you definitely need assistance of all.'

True, the peace palaces cannot be built on foundations and drenches which are filled with skulls and bones; not at all. It also questions a common perception that '**is the majority always right; not at all**'.

We are all intellectually dishonest [purposefully word 'corrupt' is avoided], probably the whole crowd of 187 million. Only one person is needed, one more Qaid e Azam, one Ahmedi Nejad like of Iran, one Mohatir Mohammad like of Malaysia.

Lt Gen K M Arif once himself narrated Pakistan's 'glorious past': the Chief Justice of Pakistan Anwarul Haq was attending a state dinner when Sharifuddin Pirzada [then military government's lawyer to contest the validity of Martial Law of July 1977] conveyed him a message of Gen Ziaul Haq. The CJP left the dinner in between, reached home and made changes under his own hand in the typed manuscript of the judgment to be announced next day; the CJP had allowed Gen Ziaul Haq to make changes in the Pakistan's Constitution of 1973 (**PLD 1977 SC 639**).

By virtue of that judgment, the General made major amendments in the 1973 Constitution *inter alia* to oust the jurisdiction of the superior courts to review the orders passed by the Martial Law authorities and to remove 'honourable justices' who were not acceptable to the 'establishment'. The judiciary had cut its own hands with the CJP's 'sharp edged' judgment.

Similar nice treat was given to the next military monarch in year 2000 by another CJP Irshad Hasan Khan who had not only once more validated the military coup but also allowed Gen Musharraf to avail another three years in his office as ruler & dictator; a relief which was not even prayed from the court.

In **ARY's live TV program of 30th January 2012**, Hassan Nisar had rightly pointed out that Pakistan is being governed by mafias since its birth [forget mafias of Italy and Sicily which only deal in drugs]. It started from PM Liaqat Ali Khan's announcement that *'if you are not in possession of your degree, never mind; give an affidavit, the government would believe you.'* Result was that the librarians of undivided India got Vice Chancellor's slots in universities of newly born Pakistan.

Consider it further; then 'Claim Mafia' surfaced; the tenants and sharecroppers claimed lands in thousands of acres; the labourers claimed factories & mills. Then 'Syed Mafia' cropped up; once there were more *Syeds & Shah jees* in Pakistan than the whole population of Saudi Arabia from where they originated.

During Gen Ayub Khan's rule, an 'industrialist mafia' was purposefully sponsored and backed by the government which had only 22 families as members virtually controlling 85% of the whole Pakistan's wealth. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto developed his own 'jiala mafia'; creating Iftikhar Taris and Manzoor Mohals like parliamentarians who used to enter the DC's offices by banging their doors with their foot-kicks. Gen Ziaul Haq gave birth to 'Kalashnikov & drug mafia' which had joined hands with *Mujahideens* to betray the police and courts but contrarily introduced 'Akhtar Brother's Dynasty of industrialists' to the nation.

The next decade was of 'politician mafias' of Sharifs and Zardaris under the banners of PML and PPP which befooled their innocent public turn by turn by building up their foreign accounts in Dubai, London and Geneva and expanding their industrial and real estate empires un-proportionately. Under their auspices, small mafias continued to prosper but remained subservient to their political bosses at all times.

In metropolises, especially in Islamabad, Lahore and Karachi, land & *Qabza* (occupation by force) mafias, *bhatta* (cash money extortions) mafias, *chanda* (donations) mafias; sugar and textile quota mafias (nexus between high stake hoarding politicians) and Bank Loan Eaters are operating since three decades. In all these fields the ruling regimes issue SROs, circulars and notifications to favour their party members to provide them extra financial gains and legal protections. ***Above all there exists a 'target killer mafia' to serve all the above groups to provide 'an adequate answer' if someone questions their authority.***

The last decade was of 'Chaudhrys & [some] Generals' in which era the mafias of two newly elite allegedly brewed maximum advantage from Gen Musharraf's lust to remain in power. Elahis and Hussains were comparatively new in the field and in-experienced so were unnecessarily dragged in mud by the 'links & ties' of Sharifs & some judges in the name of 'independent judiciary'; ultimately forced to join the PPP to save their skins.

Since about three decades, the parliamentarians, both at provincial and federal level, are mostly related with mafias mentioned in above paragraphs, generously termed as 'elite

classes'. One needs quarter a million Pounds to buy major party's ticket for provincial assembly; about half a million Pounds to have major party's ticket for National Assembly and a million pounds are needed for a Senate seat; but all feel pleasure to 'invest' [in the name of 'party fund'] for their bright future.

After general elections, when Z A Bhutto's dubious National Assembly met in Islamabad on 28th March 1977, only the PPP members had shown up. He offered to enter into a dialogue with the opposition thinking that it would settle for increased representation in the Assembly's session but miserably failed. Afterwards Mr Bhutto declared a national emergency and used '*Defence of Pakistan Rules*' under which all the opposition leaders were arrested. He called for his political opponents to negotiate a solution but they did not trust Bhutto and the demonstrations continued throughout April till June [1977].

Tired of the strikes and agitations, once Mr Bhutto called an emergency meeting, where Gen Ziaul Haq and Gen F A Chishti were also present amongst other key persons, and said: '*Gentlemen, I've decided to resign; brother Ziaul Haq would take over.*'

In the meeting, Gen Chishti had the courage to say: '*Sir, I'm personally your humble servant but cannot guarantee the behaviour of jawans who believe that the elections were vastly rigged.*'

But Gen Ziaul Haq stood up with his right hand on the left part of his chest, little bowed down and said that '*Sir, Army is with you; you are Fakhr e Asia, have been the Chairman Islamic Summit Conference; you will not resign whatsoever.*'

The irony of fate: Mr Bhutto was confident that with the allegiance of the Army under Gen Ziaul Haq he would be able to control the situation, but he could not. The result was that, after the military coup of 5th July 1977, Mr Bhutto was first sent to jails and then to gallows. Pakistan's stalwart PM of today, Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani, was the right hand man of Gen Ziaul Haq then.

Referring to **pages 245-246 of Qayyum Nizami's book** [*Jo Dekha; Jo Suna*]: a veteran columnist, late Irshad Haqqani was once called by Malik Meraj Khalid, Prime Minister in the interim government of 1996 and told him while on the breakfast table that the then CJP Sajjad Ali Shah had met him [the interim PM] and told: '*most of the judges on the SC bench hearing Benazir Bhutto's petition were holding opinion of re-instating her government back in line with Justice Nasim Hassan Shah's judgment in Nawaz Sharif's case of 1993.*'

President Farooq Leghari had also got air of that development. Mr Leghari had also known about one Kh Tariq Rahim who had tried to convince the judges that the army wanted BB's re-instatement. Due to Leghari's timely handling, the 'agencies' had conveniently managed to convey to the judges of the bench that '*the army is not interested in the come back of Ms Bhutto.*' Democracy was upheld again.

One can imagine the bravery of our superior judiciary that even in the 'top democratic era' of 1990s, the judges were always found ready to play at the tunes of their army counterparts and the agencies were playing the 'ruling games' at their whims and wishes.

Since the last coup in 1999 the military has lost a lot of power and influence inside Pakistan. The Internet, and more media outlets in Pakistan, has made it impossible for a government to control the news. Evil acts of some short sighted officers in the ISI or the military now get publicized immediately resulting in much reduced popular support for military coups. More and more journalism is coming from unidentified amateurs. The warrior groups and the military both resorted to raise their death squads hunting down journalists who were seen as 'unhelpful'.

A total 103 journalists were killed in 2011, with Mexico as the most dangerous and Pakistan as fourth dangerous place to work for the media; Vienna-based press watchdog IPI told on 5th January 2012. This was the second highest toll on record after 2009, when 110 journalists were killed. Cases of Wali Khan Babar and Saleem Shahzad went hot in media; although no

cogent results but intelligence agencies went naked in public. Alarming to note was that 55 journalists were killed in 2001.

Coming back:

Again submitted; these are mostly my published articles and live TV discussions, so chapters may not be inter-related. Each chapter is a different scenario.

'Judges & Generals in Pakistan' is a collection of essays, may be irritating for some; explaining diverse scenarios. This book evaluates some varying news, editorials, opinions and criticisms on historical issues.

No misleading intelligence story, no distracting investigative report, no concocted interview and no feed from the 'concerned ones' yet everything seems innovative; no fiction in this book but simple narration of facts.

'It is the collection of tragedies and misgivings which are deliberately buried in suspicious darkness since decades. I've simply dig them out, collated and placed together for those who want to keep a track of their past.'

I want to end this chapter of apologies with a special note of thanks for Umezahra for all material assistance concerning language and references.

(Inam R Sehri)

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