

Scenario 102

JUDGMENT IN AM ASGHAR KHAN CASE:

{Air Marshal (Rtd) Asghar Khan had filed his petition with the Supreme Court of Pakistan in 1996. Till 1999 it was occasionally heard just to push away the time. During the same year Justice Saeeduzzaman Siddiqui, the then Chief Justice of Pakistan concluded the hearing but could not find courage to announce the final decision. The file was shelved in the cold room.

*The said Asghar Khan Case [challenging unlawful distribution of Rs: 140 million amongst 'some chosen' politicians by the Pakistan Army's ISI in 1990's parliamentary elections] caught momentum when the apex court was moved once again in **December 2011** [may be just by coincidence] on the basis of an article '**Similar Looks wanted please**', appeared on internet media through www.Pkhope.com on 8th October 2011.*

*It is an educated guess that the PPP's high command had picked up that article; asked some of its veteran lawyers to make out a fresh reminder for the Supreme Court, **not to malign the army or its ISI but to drag certain politicians [with special ref to Sharif Brothers]** into slippery mud of mockery and contempt who were the recipients of huge amounts of money from government exchequer through the then president GIK's planning.*

*Later the same essay was made part of a book titled '**Judges & Generals in Pakistan: Vol-I**' published in UK in January 2012 [its chapter no: 18, pages 165-178 under head '**Is Hamam Main Sab Nangay...**' is hereby referred].*

The apex court cited that book openly in its hearing held in the first week of February 2012 and made it part of the judicial record. Of course, it is never too late.}

A M ASGHAR KHAN VS Z A BHUTTO:

Air Marshal (Rtd) Asghar Khan criticized Late Mr Bhutto on numerous occasions, holding him responsible for tyranny during the 1970 elections.

During the Bangladesh Liberation War, Asghar Khan did support the East-Pakistan morally, alleging the West Pakistan under Bhutto, of depriving East Pakistan from their political and economical rights. He also demanded power to be handed over to the people of East Pakistan. In 1972, after Mr Bhutto was made president, Asghar Khan accused him for the break-up of the country.

During Pakistan People's Party [PPP]'s rule from 1971 to 1977, Air Marshal Asghar Khan played a major role in opposition to Z A Bhutto. During the 1977 elections, Asghar Khan allied his party, the *Tehreek-i-Istiqal* [TI], with the Pakistan National Alliance [PNA] against PPP. During this period he faced frequent attacks by PPP supporters and the Federal Security Force [FSF]. He was imprisoned in Kot Lakhpat and Sahiwal prisons from March to June 1977.

In 1977, AM Asghar Khan won elections from two seats by a huge margin, from Karachi & Abbotabad; despite alleged rigging by the PPP. The PNA rejected the election results and launched a nationwide agitation against the results. Asghar Khan resigned from both the National Assembly seats as a mark of protest against massive rigging in elections.

When Mr Bhutto felt that Pakistan Army was trying to get benefit out of that political chaos, he started negotiations with Mufti Mahmood of JUI [father of Maulana Fazalur Rehman]. With days of deliberations, **on 2nd July 1977**, Mr Bhutto accepted all the demands of the opposition and an accord between the PM and Mufti Mahmood was ready to be signed. ***During all the sessions of negotiations Asghar Khan advised the opposition NOT to go for any deal with Mr Bhutto.***

While imprisoned, Asghar Khan wrote a much criticized letter to the GHQ, asking them to denounce their support for the 'Illegal regime of Bhutto', and asked them to ***'differentiate between a lawful and an unlawful command... and save Pakistan.'*** This letter was considered by the historians as instrumental for take over by Gen Ziaul Haq. [*However in later television shows, Asghar Khan strongly defended his stance.*]

AM Asghar Khan was there to assure all the leaders of opposition that ***'he has contacts with Gen Ziaul Haq, the then COAS, who has assured to get them new elections within 90 days – so do not believe Mr Bhutto.'*** Mufti Mahmood, on the instance of Asghar Khan and Jama'at e Islami [JI]'s Chief, delayed the negotiated accord till Gen Ziaul Haq took over the reins of the country on 5th July 1977. Intelligentsia understand that Asghar Khan had played a major role to fetch eleven years dusk and darkness of Gen Zia's military rule in Pakistan.

In summer 1978, Asghar Khan was offered a cabinet post by Gen Ziaul-Haq, which he refused. He had, perhaps, expected to be the future prime minister after Bhutto's political demise; allowing Gen Ziaul Haq to continue as the president. Many people kept the view that Air Marshall's own past was not 'so clean' in political field. There were questions that if he had done the right job by agitating the Supreme Court in 1996 in connection with Mehran Bank affairs and in fact tried to blow the image of his own person by dragging the ISI in the trial - dock.

It remains a fact that a retired army officer [Gen Naseerullah Babar] was the first person to highlight this issue on the parliamentary floor. After taking the portfolio of Federal Interior Minister in 1994, during Benazir Bhutto's second term of premiership, he first time raised question of scrutinizing the deposits of the poor people in Habib Bank & Mehran Bank which were allocated to the ISI without any legal authority by Yunus Habib, bank's president then.

On 20th April 1994, Gen Babar had also delivered a fiery speech against Gen Mirza Aslam Beg demanding an enquiry against the General and Yunus Habib for which Gen Abdul Waheed Kakar, the then Army Chief, had provided all the moral and material help. Then Gen Asad Durrani was contacted and an affidavit having all the details of names and moneys was obtained from him. For providing the moral and documentary help to the Benazir Bhutto's government against his own previous organisation ISI, Gen Durrani was made Pakistan's Ambassador in Germany.

In 1996, a tussle cropped up between CJP Sajjad Ali Shah and the PPP government [over Judges Appointment issue]; AM Asghar Khan filed a petition in the Supreme Court which ultimately got decided in 2012.

SC's JUDGMENT IN ASGHAR KHAN CASE:

On 19th October 2012, the Supreme Court announced a landmark ruling 16 years after Air Marshall (Rtd) Asghar Khan had filed a case, accusing the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) of doling out money to a group of politicians in the 1990s. The apex court ordered legal proceedings against former heads of the Pakistan Army & ISI over allegations that politicians were bankrolled to stop the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] from winning the 1990 election.

[It should be kept on record that Air Marshall (Rtd) Asghar Khan was the petitioner in the court for this case. On Gen Nasirullah Babar's orders, FIA had started investigations against Yunus Habib, the then President Mehran Bank, for 'bribing' ISI to raise an army backed political faction in the name of Islami Jamhoori Ittehad [IJI].

When news of rift amongst the PPP and the then Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah surfaced in 1996, AM Asghar Khan gathered all news clippings and moved the said petition in the Supreme Court.

*During the same period [November 1996] PPP's government was sent home. In November 1997 when Justice Sajjad Ali Shah was disgracefully removed, PM Nawaz Sharif brought Justice Saeeduz-zaman Siddiqui as CJP. Justice Siddiqui tried to find out a midway of this case {**the 'Jang' of 22nd October 2012 is referred**} and wanted to get away the Generals after issuing a censure but Gen Babar did not agree at all.]*

A 3-judges bench comprising the Chief Justice Iftikhar M Chaudhry, Justice Jawwad S. Khawaja and Justice Khilji Arif Hussain issued the short order after hearing the said petition alleging that Rs:140 million of poor people's money were illegally spent to create the *Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI)*. [Only Rs:60 million were distributed amongst the politicians and the rest of the funds remained with the ISI's Accounts or the said two Generals]. **The petition was based on an affidavit of Gen Asad Durrani, himself a former head of the ISI.**

The Supreme Court ruled that there was ample evidence to suggest that the 1990 election was rigged and that a political cell maintained by the then President Ghulam Ishaq Khan [GIK] supported the formation of the IJI to stop the expected victory of the PPP. The apex court held that:

'The election cell was aided by Gen (R) Mirza Aslam Baig who was the Chief of Army Staff and by Gen (R) Asad Durrani, the then Director General ISI and they participated in the unlawful activities of the Election Cell in violation of the responsibilities of the Army and ISI. Further that the 1990's elections were [of course] influenced monetarily.

The political cells of the ISI and the President House should be abolished; the Defence Services not to participate in politics.

The government should take legal action against former two retired Generals involved in corruption as well as against Younus Habib, former president of the defunct Mehran Bank.

The money that was illegally disbursed among the politicians by the then president and the ISI should be recovered and deposited in the Habib Bank along with the accumulated interest on it; legal action should also be taken against the politicians who received the money.'

For some legal experts, the order, authored by the CJP himself, was '**declarative**' in nature. The declarations made therein were:

- that "in view of the overwhelming material", the 1990 election was "subjected to corruption and corrupt practices" through an "Election Cell" created in the Presidency, "aided by" the then COAS, DG ISI and Younus Habib;
- that "the President of Pakistan, the Army Chief, DG ISI or their subordinates certainly were not supposed to create an Election Cell or to support" any political party or individual;
- that Ghulam Ishaq Khan [GIK], Gen (R) Aslam Beg, and Lt Gen (R) Asad Durrani "participated in the unlawful activities of the Election Cell" and violated the Constitution "by facilitating a group of politicians and political parties, etc";
- that the "ISI, MI or any other Agency like IB have no role to play in the political affairs of the country", nor must they "facilitate or show favour to a political party" or individual; thus "violative of oath of their offices";
- that any Election Cell in the Presidency or ISI or MI or within their formations "shall be abolished immediately";
- that recovery proceedings be instituted against the "persons specified", and Rs:80 million deposited in Account No:313, titled "Survey and Construction Group Karachi", maintained by MI, be returned with profit.

These declarations, especially the ones relating to the guilt of former two Generals were fascinating for the PPP workers at least while holding them accountable for their actions. However, the apex court also made certain opposing observations.

While declaring the activities of the then COAS and DG ISI as "unlawful", the order stated that these were "**acts of individuals but not of institutions represented by them respectively**". However, in the words of one, Saad Rasool, as opined in the '**Pakistan Today**' dated

20th October 2012, *'what about if an army General captures an enemy post; would it be an individual act.'*

The CJP Iftikhar M Chaudhry, being the head of the bench, tried to kill two birds with one stone by cursing the retired Generals on one side but appeasing the sitting army elite at the same time; see the words: *'The Armed Forces have always sacrificed their lives for the country to defend any external or internal aggression for which it being an institution is deeply respected by the nation.'* Basically, the CJP had successfully narrated the nation's voice but with heavy heart otherwise the CJP's open hatred for the Pak-army was known to many.

The other part of the order from Supreme Court was more interesting. No politician was declared guilty even while making mention of guilt of those who accepted the money, sometimes twice and thrice. The apex court declared that:

'Rs:60 million was distributed to politicians... however, without a thorough probe no adverse order can be passed against them in these proceedings.'

The post-retirement behaviour of the CJP Iftikhar M Chaudhry reflected that during his assignment in chair he had been extending all the help and judicial romance to the then political opposition PML(N) with particular attention to the Sharif brothers which ultimately helped the later party to win 2013's general elections.

The fact remained that the list of the 'beneficiaries' of alleged bribed money was there on record; most of those belonged to PML(N) [*beyond doubt the CJP's favourite*]. For eye-wash the FIA was directed to commence 'legal proceedings' against all such 'politicians'; the order was not to be followed ever opposite to many like NRO's implementation case.

A step further; the apex court pointed out that the President 'represents unity of the Republic under Article 41 of the Constitution,' and that partisan politics by the President (e.g. establishing an Election Cell) violated the Constitution. It was correct and everyone got the message that reference to 'action against' the President for partisan activity was not for Ghulam Ishaq Khan, but for Mr Zardari; as the dual-office case was pending before the Lahore High Court at that moment.

The Attorney General, while pleading the said case, had forwarded the remarks that:

'Judges had taken oaths under the PCO in the past and had also allowed the military to step in, in violation of the Constitution; adding that the Asghar Khan case had been pending for the past 15 years and the judiciary should take the blame for its delay.'

BRIG SAEED'S PERSONAL DIARY:

A day earlier [**18th October 2012**], former head of the MI Sindh chapter Brig Hamid Saeed submitted his statement claiming that **'the 1990 operation was initiated by the army and supervised by the MI for national interest'**. The court decided to keep his written statement confidential. Brig Saeed claimed that it was not an ISI operation and that the MI was supervising it when Lt Gen Asad Durrani was its Director General [Gen Durrani was probably made DG ISI on 20th August 1990].

Brig Saeed contended in his written affidavit that he had received money from the GHQ directly, out of which he distributed Rs:19.1 million among politicians in Sindh and returned the remaining / left over amount directly to the GHQ.

Brig Saeed submitted in the court that the then army Chief Gen Mirza Aslam Beg was in contact with him regarding the distribution of money among politicians; adding that:

'Once, I brought something to the notice of my immediate boss, Gen Durrani, who told me to report to Gen Beg, and not bring such things to his (Durrani's) notice.'

During the hearing, he also presented his 21 years old diary before the judicial bench, which had details of all accounts saying that:

'He did not possess any official document revealing any secret information'; all I mentioned in my written statement is based on my diary, which I maintained on a daily basis.'

Brig Saeed had assured the apex court that he was making this statement with absolute responsibility. He had not requested the apex court to keep his statement confidential; the court itself decided **'not to make it public in the national interest'**; the media critics held that the CJP did so because certain important politicians were named in the diary – some from Balochistan and some who had later made or joined PPP & PML[N].

The Pakistan Army, however, endorsed the landmark Supreme Court judgment, insisting that the military should not interfere in politics admitting that Gen (rtd) Mirza Aslam Beg and Gen (rtd) Asad Durrani were rightly held guilty for overstepping their authority by interfering in the country's politics. A top General then in uniform [March 2012] told the media that:

*'During the last four and a half years, there were occasions when the army could have overthrown the civilian government, but it did not do so. A **clearly defined policy** of the current military leadership is that they will not seek any direct or indirect intervention.*

No political cell exists in the ISI, or any other military related institution. If anyone has evidence, they should come forward with it.'

The Inter-Services Public Relations [ISPR] didn't speak on the judgment.

The dissection of the said ruling of the Supreme Court revealed that in fact the PPP stalwarts wanted to smudge the image of superior judiciary by pointing towards Asghar Khan Case which was lying pending there since 16 years but the same judiciary was adamant to conduct the NRO proceedings on immediate basis in which PPP's Chairman was being dragged on thorns. Understandably, the bullet which was fired at (late) GIK - actually aimed to hit Mr Zardari because:

- President Mr Zardari was barred to hold a dual office [*for which certain people were agitating since four years in Lahore High Court but could not avail*].
- The President was asked to shun his intimate relations with politicians; who were none other than PPP's stalwarts.
- The President was advised to refrain from conducting political sessions and party meetings in the Presidency.

Immediate and cogent response to the judgment came from the sitting PM Raja Pervaiz Ashraf that the PPP government would do the best to implement the decision. The first hurdle appeared when the FIA investigation team found that most of the dignitaries [**80% as per media reports of 9th, 17th & 28th March 2012** with reference to Yunus Habib's affidavit] who had availed benefits from ISI's charity were later welcomed by the PPP and awarded seats in the Parliament. When these reports were read with magnifier, the Federal Information Minister [Mr Qamar

Zaman Kaira] issued a press statement that '*nothing will happen as it would be termed as political revenge*'; **Tain....Tain.... phish.**

[Gen Aslam Beg, in his live tele-interview with ARY News on 24th October 2012, told the nation that the original affidavit given to Gen Babar by Gen Asad Durrani had contained four names of PPP's high ranking stalwarts but when Gen Durrani was made approver and was asked to take over ambassador's slot in Germany, those four big names were removed from the list. Astonishingly neither Gen Beg named those four persons nor Gen Durrani offered any comments on this statement.]

GEN ASLAM BEG GOT UPSET:

The Prime Minister Raja P Ashraf, Federal Information Minister and the PPP politicians all went extremely joyful while pointing fingers towards PML(N)'s Nawaz Sharif & Shahbaz Sharif [as they were named to accept ISI's money] and demanded their resignation from Chief Minister's slot in Punjab. The PPP also asked for a public apology from both because one brother had ruled over Pakistan as prime minister and the younger one had reigned Punjab province as Chief Minister using the shoulders of IJI which faction the Supreme Court declared 'illegal' in the said judgment.

*[The facts may be kept on record that it was Gen Aslam Beg who had argued with President GIK in 1988 to get Benazir Bhutto as next prime minister of Pakistan; **press interview of Brig Hamid Saeed dated 18th October 2012** is referred.*

That the pad & stage of IJI was launched by Gen Hamid Gul in 1988 with the approval of high ups to bring late Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi as the future prime minister of Pakistan because he was a tested friend of the establishment.

Mr Jatoi had lost his own seat in 1988 elections but the Generals managed to get a seat for him in the Parliament as a result of by-elections held in 1989 from Kot Addu vacated by Ghulam Mustafa Khar. Mr Jatoi was made 'Leader of Opposition' in the Parliament to play the Sindh Card against Sindhi PM Benazir Bhutto.

That on 1st August 1990, during his meeting with President GIK at Islamabad, Mr Jatoi was categorically told that soon he would

*be the PM. That on **4th August 1990**, Mr Jatoi addressed a press conference to tell the nation that soon Benazir Bhutto would face a 'no confidence move' in the parliament.*

*Tow days later, **on 6th August 1990**, Benazir Bhutto was sent home and Mr Jatoi was made the interim prime minister.]*

Kanwar Dilshad, the Election Commissioner of Sindh in 1990, told the pressmen on the same day [18th October 2012] that:

'President GIK and the Establishment got their desired results in 1990 elections and wanted to nominate G M Jatoi as the PM but then suddenly the circumstances changed and Nawaz Sharif got that slot'.

The fact remains that throughout the interim premiership of Mr Jatoi, the presidency and the army continued their blessings upon him.

On 24th October 1990, Mr Jatoi was told that the election results would come to the 'Election Cell' at the presidency first and then the same would be passed on to the press & public. Mr Jatoi was more than satisfied and confident but the winning results from Punjab and Khyber PK provinces were of the candidates belonging to the PML. Nawaz Sharif was gaining strength in comparison with Mr Jatoi. The presidency got upset and in - charge of elections in ISI was reprimanded.

An immediate decision was taken then that a public rally of IJI would be taken out under the lead of Jatoi and would travel from Rawalpindi to Multan. When this rally was crossing Lahore, the Sharif brothers managed to instigate the PML workers which started raising loud slogans of ***'Our PM – Nawaz Sharif'***.

The changing colour of the rally disturbed all including the army and the IJI leadership. In despair Mr Jatoi left the rally at Okara, proceeded back to Islamabad direct and the procession dispersed. There was no option left for the Generals and the President GIK except to nominate Nawaz Sharif as the next prime minister.

Coming back again to Asghar Khan Case, the media successfully pointed out that the money allegedly distributed by the ISI amongst politicians was \$0.56 million as per 1990's dollar exchange rate whereas during Mr Zardari's regime only one Ambassador, Husain Haqqani in Washington was given \$8 million as secret fund [Daily 'Jang' of 22nd October 2012

is referred], forget the other Pakistani missions abroad. Haqqani never divulged the details of expenditure when he left the office in ending 2011.

There were many mega scandals about Mr Zardari, PMs Gilani & Ashraf & Makhdooms & Maliks spread on media pages, open like RPPs and secret like eating up state money through IB Secret Fund & Pakistani Missions abroad [*mentioning London, Washington & Dubai in special*], the PPP government could not find courage to touch **Gen Beg & Gen Durrani because there was no allegation of personal gain on any of them.**

A few days after the Supreme Court ruling, Gen Beg said that 'he has been dealt with injustice and that the list of beneficiaries provided by former Gen Durrani was fake'; he was speaking in a live **TV program of ARY News on 24th October 2012.** Gen Beg maintained that:

'I do not accept this judgment ... apex court says that criminal liability has been proved – without any proof. The money used in 1990 elections was not public money and that he has proof for that. I knew from where that money had come; the president also knew about it but to whom the money was given to; I don't know.'

When asked whether the money was given to Nawaz Sharif, Gen Beg said: *'Why only Nawaz Sharif, everyone who is on that [Gen Durrani's] list did take money; he definitely believed that the then ISI chief had lied in court.'* Gen Beg also pushed aside the facts presented by Younus Habib, the former chief of defunct Mehran Bank.

Interalia, Gen Beg, in his televised live interview, revealed that Air Marshal (rtd) Asghar Khan [petitioner in the said case] had sabotaged the PNA government deal by instigating Gen Ziaul Haq to stage a coup of 5th July 1977. Gen Beg told that:

'He [Asghar Khan] wrote to Gen Zia that if Bhutto was not immediately removed, he would destroy the country. Gen Zia sent the letter to his formations to create public opinion and a few days later he installed martial law.'

The former army chief further revealed that it was on Asghar Khan's insistence that Z A Bhutto was hanged in April 1979.

GEN EHTESHAM ZAMIR SPEAKS LOUD:

The interference in politics by some ambitious army Generals is not a new phenomenon in Pakistan's history; the army as institution was used later by those individuals being the heads. Many books are written on meddling by Gen Ziaul Haq and Gen Musharraf; analysis of all elections would lead us to the same conclusion. Gen Musharraf and his four associates in person had planned to bring Ch Shujaat Hussain's PML(Q) in power in 2002 elections and used the Pak-Army as tool.

*[In fact PML(Q) was coined and made by Gen Musharraf for this very purpose through Tariq Aziz & Maj Gen Ehtesham Zamir, the then head of Political Wing in ISI; **Gen Musharraf's Autobiography is referred for details**]*

Not only this, creation of Patriot PPP [PPPP], formation of MMA [**Mutahida Majlis e Amal**], doing away with BA Degree in 2002 elections, admission of '**Madrissa's Certificates**' equivalent to graduation and many more steps were all taken as intrusion from Gen Musharraf's personal team in politics.

When Maj Gen Ehtesham Zamir & Tariq Aziz could not get desired strength of PML(Q) members in 2002 elections to lead the Parliament, **the Ulemas of Muttehida Majlis e Amal (MMA) approached Gen Musharraf to get PM's slot and met him many times in pitch dark nights.** Gen Musharraf did not want to see political *Ulemas* at so high echelons so kept them in waiting queue.

In the meantime, the ISI succeeded in breaking the PPP and a new wing in the name of PPPP was launched with winning PPP members like Faisal Saleh Hayat, Rao Sikandar & Aftab Sherpao etc. They were made to join hands with PML(Q) and that mixed squad of Gen Musharraf went good till 2008 elections allegedly under the able guidance of ISI.

Furthermore, in Senate elections of 2003, the Awami National Party [ANP] of Khyber PK province had no chance to get any Senator's seat because of hopeless numbers in the provincial assembly but even then Asfandiyar Khan Wali (who could not get his own seat in the Parliament in 2002 elections even being ANP's President) and Ilyas Ahmed Bilore were the contestants. Due to ISI's blessings [*for details daily **the 'Jang' of 23rd October 2012** is referred in which Fareed Toofan's frequent visits to Shami Road Peshawar are mentioned*] both the members of ANP got seats in the Senate and then never spoke even a single word on the floor during their whole stay during Gen Musharraf regime.

The main wheeler and dealer of the ISI during the 2002 elections, the then Maj Gen Ehtesham Zamir [later retired and died], came out of the

closet and admitted his guilt of manipulating the 2002 elections, and directly blamed Gen Musharraf for ordering so.

Gen E Zamir once termed the defeat of the King's party PML(Q) in 2008 elections:

'.....a reaction of the unnatural dispensation (installed in 2002). The ISI together with the NAB was instrumental in pressing the lawmakers to join the pro-Musharraf camp to form the government to support his stay in power.'

Responding to a question regarding corruption cases which were used as pressure tactics on lawmakers, Gen E Zamir said:

'Yes! This tool was used, not only by the ISI, the NAB was also involved in this exercise. I was a serving officer and I did what I was told to do. [Q: if you were committing a crime at public expenses] I never felt this need during the service to question anyone senior to me.'

The General was ready to admit their blunders if there were any – but the succeeding government of PPP performed so poorly that the people started looking back once again. Even though, the former No: 2 of the ISI, Gen E Zamir, called for the closure of political cell in the agency [which had already been closed by Gen Kayani] confessing that might be its involvement in forging unnatural alliances like of the IJI in ending 1980s, pose a problem for progressive democratic values.

Another officer, (late) Lt Gen Jamshed Gulzar Kiyani had also disclosed that majority of the corps commanders, in several meetings, had opposed Gen Musharraf's decision of patronising leadership of the King's party. Gen J G Kiyani had spoken while Gen Musharraf was still in power:

'That the PML(Q) leadership was the most condemned and castigated personalities. They are the worst politicians who remained involved in co-operative scandals and writing off huge bank loans. But Musharraf never heard our advice; Kiyani said while recalling discussions in their high profile meetings.'

'One of their colleagues, who was an accountability chief at that time, had sought permission many times for proceeding against the King's party top leaders but was always denied.'

[Ref: **'The man, who rigged 2002 polls, spills the beans'** at www.Defence.pk dated 24th February 2008]

The intelligentsia termed the 2008 elections 'fairer than 2002' because there was relatively less interference of intelligence agencies this time but zero interference was never assured.

It should also be kept on record that [earlier] Maj Gen Ehtesham Zamir had also played a key role in organising the referendum in April 2002. Under intense pressure to admit a presidential referendum which he won was heavily rigged, Gen Musharraf had to apologise in public after ballot boxes were stuffed with yes votes and government employees were ordered to vote 'in positive manner'. Official figures gave him 97% of the vote, with a huge turnout.

In fact, Gen E Zamir was blamed and afterwards made the scapegoat because it was his idea to hold the referendum. As a cover up, Gen Musharraf in his speech before the nation had intended to announce an investigation into the allegations and the sacking of the Chief Election Commissioner, Irshad Hassan Khan, a former chief justice who had organised the vote but two hours before the speech, aides encouraged him to tone down his apology and kept Justice Khan in place.

A sketch of that era appeared in **'the guardian' dated 28th June 2002:**

'Gen Zamir, who until last August was a divisional commander in Karachi, became a powerful figure and influential aide when he was elevated into the top ranks of the ISI. He was one of a handful of advisers who suggested a referendum would give Gen Musharraf the nationwide endorsement he sought.'

'For years, the feared ISI has covertly manipulated political parties and politicians. In the past 10 months Gen Zamir, the son of a respected Pakistani poet, has secretly tried to engineer an expedient alliance of politicians to support Gen Musharraf in the upcoming elections. But he has failed to create a solid pro-government political platform and opposition parties, particularly Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's party (PPP), remained a significant force.'

KEEPING THE RECORD STRAIGHT:

Gen Hamid Gul, the former Chief of ISI himself admitted in so many live TV interviews that he had made IJI in 1988; himself used to say **'kar lo jo karna hai – why don't you call me in the court'**. The history would also prefer asking another former Chief of ISI, Gen Ahmed Shuja

Pasha, allegedly giving new birth to Imran Khan's PTI in 2011, to dig out the facts or allegations whatsoever. Let us wait for those manly moments.

Referring to an e-mail available on media [Salman Khaliq (sal-mankhaliq@yahoo.com), **Sent: 27th October 2012** 23:59 **To:** us-mankhalid@rifah.org] one can ponder that how the intelligentsia in Pakistan were feeling disturbed over the continuous rupture in the social hierarchy of the country.

!..... May I say that I am surprised at the inaccuracy and illusion.....

It is NOT the job of the Army to make or break Governments. This excuse / ruse have been used many times to undermine the constitution of Pakistan, although the Army is not the only organization responsible for doing so.

*[Gen] Ayub Khan appointed Yahya; the duffer and alcoholic fell into a drunken stupor and halted the onslaught and we could not reach Akhnur and later on half of Pakistan (**Primary reason being Yahya's lust for power with the connivance and abetment of the Fascist Bhutto**)... It is a sad story and is too painful to repeat.*

While ZA Bhutto was never a democrat (contrary to the propaganda by his Party), Benazir was NEVER a security risk. That is complete nonsense and this story was invented by a certain category of officers to justify their illegal and unwarranted intervention for which they had always been scheming... Gen Aslam Beg and Asad Durrani have a reputation (right or wrong) of being very devious people....

*In a recent interview with Mr Badami of the ARY NEWS, **Gen Aslam Beg said that any action against him amounts to an action against an institution (meaning the Army).***

*Does it mean that the Head of an organization can do anything and no action can be taken against him EVER because it will bring that organization into disrepute? It is the same excuse which is being given by the big wigs of the present Government [PPP] who say that any action against them will mean action against the grave of Benazir. **What xxxxx; all officials who commit questionable acts forward similar ruses.***

But the question arises that why the said amount of Rs:140 million was distributed by the ISI amongst Benazir Bhutto's opponents. What personal

benefits Gen Beg & Gen Durrani could derive from this whole exercise while they were already heading the Pakistan Army & ISI respectively and the IJI could not give them more than that? However, the fact remains that though the PPP was winner in 1988 elections but Benazir Bhutto was allowed to take oath as prime minister only after 'making her to accept certain conditions from the Army, ISI & the Foreign Office' after going through harsh negotiations. It was because:

'Benazir Bhutto had been declared a 'security risk' by the army Generals; the main 'risk' was that she had started negotiations with Indian Prime Minister Rajev Ghandhi to mutually agree on reduction in their respective armies so that the residual expenditure could be spent on welfare of the poor in both countries.'

This wholesome game was played in the name of 'American Plans'. Within the country the PPP was labelled as anti - army political party: see two paragraphs of the written statement of Brig Hamid Saeed, former Chief of Military Intelligence Sindh Chapter, submitted before the Supreme Court **on 18th October 2012:**

[7. Earlier that year the PM [B Bhutto] had also publicly criticized the army for crossing the red line by enriching uranium to the levels which were not acceptable to big powers. She also gave an interview to BBC in which she mentioned of her support to India in crushing Khalistan movement. Sometime later the PM also criticized the army for conducting annual exercise in the Sindh province without her consent. ISPR had to clarify through a press release that under the law COAS was not obliged to seek anyone's permission for conducting training exercises in any part of the country. All such incidents were reported by the press media.

8. During the same year, the government also gave attractive jobs to the Al-Zulfiqar activists in Railways, PIA, Customs, KPT, Immigration, Exercise and Taxation and other sensitive departments, thus endangering national security. These activists of AZO had been imparted proper training by India, in sabotage, arson, bomb blasts, mass killings and other acts of terrorism. The authentic record of these terrorists was available with all the intelligence agencies. All these matters were reported to higher ups through normal command channels.]

Another issue: incorporated in Asghar Khan Case judgment, the Supreme Court announced that it would separately hear the case regarding

'Rs:500 million Intelligence Bureau (IB) funds' allegedly misused to buy loyalties of dissenting politicians and Punjab's MPs in 2008-09. One of the major characters of this mega scam, Wing Commander (Rtd) Tariq Lodhi, enjoyed a lucrative job in Europe [GM NADRA for UK & Europe based at London] gifted to him for his 'services' to the PPP, costing the government of Pakistan more than £10,000 per month. Earlier, he served as DG National Crisis Management Cell (NCCM). Incidentally, NADRA and NCCM both were under the administrative control of Federal Interior Minister Rehman Malik.

Referring to **'the News' dated 10th November 2012**, the issue of Rs:500 million embezzlement first came to light when Dr Shoaib Suddle was made the DG IB. Suddle confirmed the withdrawal of the said amount, and also that he had informed the then PM Mr Gilani about it.

The said amount of Rs:500 million was sanctioned by PM Gilani in June 2008 and was immediately withdrawn by the then IB Chief, Tariq Lodhi, not for the intelligence purposes at least. PM Gilani had whispered Rehman Malik's name, however, did not explain why the Interior Minister got this hefty amount out of the secret fund of the IB.

The apex court in fact had mentioned Rs:270 million of the IB, an amount used allegedly for toppling the Punjab government through buying political favours in March 2009 when Dogar court had disqualified Chief Minister Punjab Shahbaz Sharif, resulting in the imposition of Governor Rule. That was a different case.

Rs:500 million withdrawn in June 2008 was a clear case of embezzlement as there was no odd political situation in sight in June 2008 concerning Punjab at least. The informers held that the whole amount was 'disbursed' amongst the two bigs - Mr Zardari and Rehman Malik; ***its spending to buy the Punjab's MPs was a concocted drama to keep silent the PPP's other shareholding cabinet members.***

A draft law framed by Dr Suddle later to check such embezzlement and other unauthorised practices in the IB, also went missing like the Rs:500 million. How this money changed hands and where it had gone made a big question mark on PPP's credibility but in Pakistan who bothers for such 'small' peanuts of corruption.

DR A QADEER KHAN's OPINION:

Referring to the **daily 'Jang' dated 5th November 2012**; Dr A Qadeer Khan, the veteran nuclear father of the nation, described the actual happenings during those days of 1990. He portrayed the President GIK as the most honest and 'loyal to Pakistan' person who never uttered a single word against any politician or ruler; civilian or from army. Illustrating a mutual meeting with Gen Aslam Beg [the then COAS], Dr Khan wrote:

'Once I was with Gen Beg at GHQ Rawalpindi when the then Chief Election Commissioner Justice (Rtd) Nusrat Mirza came there to see him. During general discussion on Pakistan's politics, Justice Nusrat said that, in his opinion, Benazir Bhutto and her PPP was likely to win the elections. Gen Beg immediately replied that if she wins she would make the government; it is her constitutional prerogative.'

Dr Qadeer Khan added another phrase in his essay that he had never heard any negative opinion from Gen Beg's lips against Benazir Bhutto. In Dr Khan's opinion there was no clue of differences found from the Presidency or the GHQ against the PPP before 1988's elections but afterwards the situation changed because:

- *'Soon after the take over by Benazir Bhutto in 1988, stories of Mr Zardari's corruption started flying high and he got an international reputation and title of Mr 10%. IB, ISI, FIA and other departments were sending documented evidence of his corruption to the President GIK and the Army Chief Gen Beg.*
- *Secondly, PM Benazir Bhutto provided details of Sikh activists and Khalistan's leadership to her Indian counterpart through her special envoy [right or wrong; the opponents had quoted in press the then Federal Interior Minister Aitzaz Ahsan] which was never condoned by the GHQ and the Presidency; it was taken as an anti-national move by all.*
- *The most alarming step taken by Benazir Bhutto was to freeze the enrichment of Uranium in Kahoota Research Laboratories at 5% level without indicating the basis of that wish.*
- *This proposal appeared just a few months after her take over during a meeting at Presidency in which only five concerned were present; President GIK, Gen Beg COAS, Gen Imtiaz, Dr A Q Khan and Benazir Bhutto was in key chair. She was going to America after few days then and she wanted to please them by this decision.*
- *This proposal was never liked by any one because they knew in what inconvenient and tiresome circumstances Mr Bhutto and Gen Ziaul Haq had continued with this project. That was why im-*

mediately after, the whole nuclear program was taken under Pak-Army control by Gen Waheed Kakar.'

Making of the IJI was done in 1988 but it was probably boosted and used in 1990 due to above cogent reasons.

THE PRACTICE CONTINUED [?]:

On 8th November 2012 the Supreme Court issued the detailed judgment comprising of 141 pages which was drafted by the Chief Justice Iftikhar M Chaudhry declaring that doling out money to a group of politicians was an individual act rather than of the institution itself.

The verdict also said that the duty of secret agencies was to protect the borders instead of forming election cells. The diary of Brig (Rtd) Hamid Saeed was also included in the detailed verdict which carried names of the politicians who allegedly received money and the amount they accepted. The judgment noted that:

'Political cells in the army and the President House should be abolished as the army and ISI chiefs unfairly used authorities bestowed upon them and also violated the constitution of Pakistan'.

Asghar Khan Case was no doubt a tragedy with the whole Pakistani nation but the practice had not ended there. In 1994, the same practice was allegedly re-invented and repeated by the ISI when millions of rupees in cash were once more taken out from the same Mehran Bank of Peshawar to remove the PML's Chief Minister Sabir Shah. Through a dubious move the then establishment wanted to bring Aftab Sherpao as the new CM through **buying provincial members of the then NWFP [now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa] Assembly.**

On top of it, when the game plan was over, an officer of FIA approached the provincial Director of Mehran Bank Peshawar, named Hameed Asghar Kidwai, and asked for the whole record concerning with those tainted transactions. He got the files, filled in a big carton and departed with the intentions of 'further investigations'. That record was never found later, no investigation report on record, neither of the FIA nor of bank, and the history is still silent on that issue.

Referring to the words of Umar Cheema as appeared in **'the News' of 9th March 2012:**

'The Swiss cartons drama led by Pakistan High Commissioner in London, Wajid Shamsul Hasan, in which potentially fatal evidence was whisked away by the ruling party [PPP], was just an action replay of a similar operation carried out in 1994, when the evidence was taken away by the then PPP government in the then NWFP and was never seen again.

Documents of the Mehran Bank case, some available, revealed that a senior official of the FIA [Rehman Malik was the Director Peshawar then] collected the evidence under the pretext of 'inspection' in 1994, took it away in cartons from Peshawar to Islamabad and never sent them back.

He had travelled all the way from Islamabad to Peshawar in his black official car on April 13, 1994.'

The Mehran Bank later went under control of the State Bank of Pakistan. After the arrest of its president, Younus Habib on 24th March 1994, Shafiqullah Siddiqui's team of the SBP conducted the audit and sought production of the missing documents. Later a criminal case was registered against Mr Kidwai and during the court proceedings it was placed on record that *'the FIA should have returned the papers but they didn't.'*

Mr Kidwai was acquitted on the basis of the above statement of fact.

Ayaz Amir, a veteran columnist contested Gen Musharraf's 2002 elections on PML(N) ticket and lost though got respectable 70,000 votes against the winner's 71,500. The Nawaz Sharif and his family was much fond of reading his columns during their days of self chosen exile – the result of a Saudi and Hariri-mediated deal, whereby they washed their hands of national politics for ten years in return for generous Saudi hospitality – ***see its full details in VOL-II of this book.***

In February 2008 elections, Ayaz Amir contested on PML(N)'s ticket and won the seat for the Parliament. In May 2013 general elections, he was not given the ticket again by that party due to his critical stance against the PML(N) policies in his columns. Ayaz Amir had refused to turn his columns into living party propaganda.

The particular episode was regarding the Asghar Khan judgement by the Supreme Court in which ***'a long line of politicians headed by Nawaz Sharif and Shahbaz Sharif were caught with their pants down receiving ISI money, from ISI officers, in the 1990 elections. But no follow-up action, no prosecution, no accountability – the cul-***

prits behaving as if they had been washed in holy water, Amir wrote bluntly.

Imagine if the Asghar Khan Case was about the PPP and not the PML(N); all hell would have broken loose, the fire and thunder from the Supreme Court of CJP Chaudhry. One could recall Raja Pervaiz Ashraf, the former prime minister, who was disqualified on the basis of a CDA transaction, but the recipients of money in Asghar Khan Case were ignored rather given salutes - the wholesome naked double standards on display in that case.

CJP Chaudhry's SC had repeatedly told the nation that bank defaulters would be out of the elections but the 'sacred' politicians knew about the inside game; so laughed openly. The Chaudhrys of Gujrat had their loans written off, everything in order on paper but the Sharifs went one step further, not going to the trouble of getting anything written off and instead simply refused to pay anything on nearly Rs:3 billion loan taken by them from the National Bank and eight other banks in the 1990s – hats off to Pakistan's upright courts.

[Ayaz Amir could not find time to go through Justice Qayyum's three decisions of mid 1997 in which he had given the clean chit to Sharifs.]

Referring to Ayaz Amir's essay in **'the News' dated 20th April 2013:**

"All this was 'regularised' when Nawaz Sharif became prime minister in 1997 and he went on television and proudly declared that his family was clearing the loans by offering assets in lieu of them. Sharifs had suggested that this was an act of unrivalled sacrifice.

*That the collateral offered was in the form of their most rundown assets. The echoes of that announcement had hardly died down when a Sharif's relative went to court saying he was a shareholder in the properties offered and that Sharifs had no right to dispose them off. **This matter is still pending in the Lahore High Court for the last 15 years.**"*

In Ayaz Amir's words; after Asghar Khan Case, one was at liberty to ponder about other expensive and directionless gimmicks: *sasti roti*, laptops, *Jangla Bus*, *Daanish* schools etc – choose anything for praise in Pakistani perspective.

What to speak about **CJP Chaudhry's 'independent' judiciary:** think Gen Musharraf's episode - the judiciary validated his coup of 1999 not

once but twice and there was no shortage of judges who took oath under Gen Musharraf's PCO. But it is the continuing tragedy of living Pakistan.

FIA's INVESTIGATION STARTS:

On 18th November 2013; the Federal Investigation Agency [FIA] formed a special committee under its ADG M Ghalib Bandesha to probe the Asghar Khan Case. In the said case, the former Army Chief Mirza Aslam Beg had filed a review petition almost a year earlier claiming that he had no role in distributing money to political parties. It is on record that the SC had concluded that the then President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, along with Gen Beg and former ISI Chief Lt Gen Asad Durrani, had distributed funds among various political quarters to influence the 1990 general elections.

On 5th December 2013, Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf (PTI)'s MNA Shafqat Mahmood urged the government to implement the SC's judgment in Asghar Khan case and to direct the FIA to investigate all politicians accused of receiving money for the 1990 poll fraud. Astonishingly, during PPP regime the said case was not taken up due to PPP – PML(N) secret alliance for loot & plunder in the name of democracy. Mr Mahmood held that:

'It was pity that the PPP, who had blamed Nawaz for receiving money from the ISI to rig the 1990 polls, was now covering up PML-N's malpractices. Now the PTI would decide its future strategy accordingly.'

On 20th December 2013; Air Marshal (Rtd) Asghar Khan giving his statement to the FIA had reiterated the 4-member investigation team to probe the then Pak-Army Generals. The FIA team got documentary evidence from Asghar Khan in connection with the case. Asghar Khan had emphasized that Gen Baig and Gen Durrani had breached the army discipline. The FIA team confined itself to the listening of versions only and just kept the balls rolling to gain more time. After all it was the matter amongst the Generals themselves with no probable outcome. The leadership of the PPP & opposition of PML[N] were one from inside.

Notable thing was that the PPP government did not order any investigation into the ISI money distribution scam [despite the apex court orders] due to the then opposition leader Ch Nisar Ali Khan's outright rejection of an investigation by the FIA.

Interestingly, at a press conference in Islamabad two days after the court verdict, Ch Nisar expressed surprise over the court move to give respon-

sibility of the investigation to the FIA despite knowing its "poor performance" as a reliable investigation agency. A year later, he was heading the same FIA with pride & honour.

While voicing reservations over paragraph 14 of the judgment in which the government was directed to carry out a thorough investigation through the FIA, then [in 2012] Ch Nisar had questioned the FIA while saying; **"Did the FIA carry out a transparent probe into the NICL, OGDCL and Haj scams?"** But a year later [2013], Ch Nisar in his capacity as the Interior Minister in PML(N) government deemed it fit to implement the apex court ruling and constituted a team of his own choice to investigate the scam; just to get an eye-washed investigation report from FIA – saying that **'nothing proved'**.

During the hearing of the Asghar Khan case, **Younas Habib had deposed before the apex court on 8th March 2012 that he had himself handed over Rs:3.5 million to a PML(N) leader [after the 1990 elections] at his Lahore residence** while Rs:2.5 million had been sent to another PML(N) leader through a Telegraphic Transfer through one Asif Jamshed on **27th September 1993**.

Although the PML(N) had described Younas Habib's deposition as a pack of lies, **Gen Aslam Beg and Gen Asad Durrani did confirm in their respective affidavits that PML(N) leaders were among the recipients of the funds** arranged by Younas Habib and distributed by ISI under President Ghulam Ishaq's orders.

The PML(N) leader, **on 25th October 2012**, had not only strongly refuted allegations of having received money from the ISI but had also announced taking legal action against Younas Habib on defamation charges; saying in a talk show on a private TV channel:

"I neither met Younas Habib nor received money from him. I can recall that the industries owned by my family had paid Rs:920 million in taxes during the year 1990, and considering this, accusing me of having received meagre amount of Rs:3.5 million from the ISI was a joke."

On 10th April 2013, the PML(N) leaders had sent a legal notice to Younas Habib on defamation charges, worth Rs:10 billion. The notice stated that Younas Habib had levelled fabricated and unsubstantiated allegations to defame their political and social standing. Served through Cornelius, Lane and Mufti Advocates, the notice sought a formal apology from Younas, in print and electronic media, within 14 days. But the very

next day, Younas responded to the notices, saying **'he stands by whatever he has stated about the PML(N) leaders in the apex court.'**

Not only this, at a press conference in Islamabad, Sheikh Azfar Ameen, the counsel for Younas Habib, said his client would not be afraid by the threats and notices from PML(N) leaders. He said his client won't apologise to anyone and he would be ready to prove each and every word of his statement about the PML(N) leaders once they sue him.

Following Younas's refusal to apologise to the PML(N) leaders, the likely course of action for their lawyers was to file a civil suit of damages against the banker in the court of law for defaming their clients. But since no such civil suit has been filed so far by the lawyers of the PML(N) leaders, Younas's attorney Sheikh Azfar Ameen maintained that **'it amounts to the admission of guilt on part of the PML(N) leaders.'**

ANOTHER THREAT OF PANDORA BOX:

Referring to Rauf Klasra's column in the **daily 'Dunya' dated 22nd December 2013**; Gen Aslam Beg, the most important character of the said scandal, told the media that **'if the FIA would take up the case, another Pandora Box would be opened before the nation.'**

Those were the days when every wrong doer in Pakistan when approached by NAB or the FIA threatened about 'opening of a Pandora Box'. Earlier the Pakistani nation was endangered by the Pandora Box of **'3rd November 2007's Emergency'** when Gen Musharraf was being tried for the follies committed by his associates.

Though Gen Beg had admitted his guilt before the SC bench in open that **'he was involved in the distribution of money to the politicians through ISI under the command of the then President GIK'** but even then he was ready to open a Pandora Box for the nation. Extending threats to the poor Pakistani population had become a routine talk by the crocodile public figures.

On 23rd December 2013, National Accountability Bureau [NAB] decided to take up the inquiry of scandal regarding issuance of more than 2,000 blue passports [*passports issued to the government officers to travel abroad for official job or duty only*] to unauthorized persons by Rehman Malik during the PPP regime of 2008-13. The PML(N)'s Interior Minister Ch Nisar, when asked to divulge the names of those 2000 persons, told the media that **'had he made those 2000 names open, many people would hold their heads AND a Pandora Box would be opened'**.

The fact remains that the judges, Generals and the politicians have made the whole Pakistani nation terrified. They are threatened with Pandora Boxes of various kinds each day with in fact no substance in them. Result; that citizens have equipped themselves with guns and grenades. The state departments were sufficiently corrupt but then gradually started feeling threatened. The height of the syndrome was that Gen Beg sponsored a wrong practice in 1990, then admitted his guilt in the Supreme Court and then started extending threats to the whole nation through media and TV live programs – that new Pandora Box was ready.

Of course, it was not the mandate of the SC to investigate the details of the Asghar Khan Case. When FIA started investigations, the threat of Pandora Box was once more repeated. FIA wanted to know the answers of certain odd questions like:

- In 1990s, why an amount of \$2,50,000 was transmitted from Gen Aslam Beg's account in Younas Habib's Mehran Bank, then to an American bank account; and what activities were going on there.
- Why the hefty amounts were continuously being paid from Gen Beg's account to Fakhruddin Ebrahim Jee and for what services.
- Why a named major of the army was being paid large amounts of money from above mentioned accounts of Gen Beg.
- How many bulky amounts of payments were being continuously received by his NGO titled 'FRIENDS'; and from where the amounts were coming; and why those amounts were finally transferred into Gen Beg's personal account.
- How an ex-army chief had managed to send continuously heavy amounts to America even after retirement to one named person.

There were tens of more questions to be added, the details of which were available in detailed judgment of the SC. The SC was quite angry when Gen Beg went silent on above questions. Further; the said details were given to the apex court by none except his own colleague Gen Durrani.

Gen Beg remained contended throughout the court proceedings that he had done nothing wrong; only distributed money amongst the politicians on orders of President GIK to cause defeat of the PPP and Benazir Bhutto. Three years later, the same GIK was found taking oath from Benazir Bhutto's husband Zardari as federal minister under a new deal with PPP.

Some bureaucrats were also equally culpable along with Generals in that dirty game of 1990. Younas Habib had stated before the SC on oath that one **Roedad Khan**, the most powerful Secretary of those days and attached with the Election Cell of the Presidency, had called him from Karachi and ordered for releasing required funds. **'When I showed my ina-**

bility to do any more, I was picked up by an FIA team from the Karachi Airport the moment I landed back', Younas Habib had divulged in open before the media.

Every thing is already out on record; what is left in the Pandora Box for which the nation was being threatened. Is it on the court record that son of an Advisor to PM Nawaz Sharif was also mentioned on the list of Mehran Bank eaters because he had managed to finally approve the license of the said bank.

Amongst the other eaters and looters, there were names of numerous relatives of PM Nawaz Sharif who were all issued large amounts of loans on phone call from the PM House. Mehran Bank was 'advised' to approve loans against those names on phone and the compliance report regarding money transfers into the respective accounts had to be conveyed on phone during the same night.

So what is left behind in the Pandora Box.

The PPP stalwarts had known about the weak points of Younas Habib much later. One PML + Gen Beg looted the Habib Bank through Younas Habib and later the PPP + others plundered the Mehran Bank through the same person. That was why the PPP did not issue green signal to FIA to start investigations as per SC orders during their regime.

After going through the history of Habib Bank and Mehran Bank, the tradition of loot and plunder was sincerely followed during Gen Musharraf's times under the active advice of the then PM Shaukat Aziz. During that army regime the loans worth Rs:60 billion were made zero while during PPP's rule of 2008-13, the loans worth Rs:130 billion were condoned. This time the National Bank of Pakistan was targeted and the beneficiaries were intimate friends and family members of Mr Zardari and PM Gilani.

PM Gilani's wife got relief of Rs:550 million while the Speaker Fehmida Mirza got her Rs:870 million pardoned from five scheduled banks.

So what more to be seen in the Pandora Box by the poor Pakistanis except that some more cruel faces of bureaucrats and politicians would be there – not of any Rahim Bux or Faqero or Tony or David; so why to worry any more.

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