


PAKISTAN MILITARY DICTATORSHIP EXPOSED



***Statement in Front of Military
Tribunal by Jam Saqi, Member,
Central Committee, Communist
Party of Pakistan***

Gul Hayat Institute

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

No. 10 ; August 1981 (C 354)



Gul Hayat Institute

Printed by Jiten Sen at the New Age Printing Press, Rani Jhansi Road,
New Delhi-110055, and published by him for the Communist Party of
India, Ajoy Bhavan, 15 Kotla Road, New Delhi-110002,

FOREWORD

As a small token of our party's expression of solidarity with the militant and persecuted Communist Party of Pakistan and with the courageous struggle that it is conducting against Ziaul Haq's military junta for the restoration of democracy in their country, we bring to the Indian public the English text of the statement of comrade Jam Saqi, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Pakistan, which he made before the Military Tribunal in Hyderabad (Sindh) during the so-called trial last year. Comrade Jam Saqi has very recently been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment by the Military Tribunal which of course was a foregone conclusion since the decision in this case had already been taken by the Zia military junta in pursuance of its terrorist and fascist methods against communists and all other democrats of Pakistan.

Comrade Jam Saqi's case is a typical example of the Zia regime's torture chamber methods that are being employed particularly against communist revolutionaries. For one and a half years after his arrest and before being brought up for a formal trial comrade Jam Saqi was shuttled from one jail to another, from one military camp to another, physically beaten and tortured so that he can break down and admit the so-called guilt i.e. the so-called conspiracy against the Zia regime. Zia obviously has learned a great deal from his mentor, the late Shah of Iran, and from the hated SAVAK to terrorise political opponents.

But all the horrible torture methods miserably failed to break the militant spirit of this courageous communist who stood firm in the best revolutionary traditions of communists everywhere in such situations. When he was brought before the Military Tribunal he was already a crippled man physically because of the torture inflicted on him. Even then he spoke before the Tribunal in firm tones, without mincing matters and without compromising his communist principles.

Comrade Jam Saqi's has been a life of constant political suffering since the days of Ayub's military dictatorship. He has been tried and jailed several times since then. This has only made him a more determined communist fighter.

Comrade Jam Saqi's statement that we publish here is in fact an aflaming and powerful indictment of the Zia regime, how it usurped power, destroyed democracy and the dirty tactics it employs to keep itself in its illegitimate power. As a true Pakistani patriot, comrade Jam Saqi speaks with deep anguish about the sufferings of the common Pakistani people, including the rank and file soldiers, and exposes the hypocrisy of the present Pakistani regime. He quotes extensively from the Holy Quran with telling effect.

The fraternal Communist Party of Pakistan is the most persecuted political party of that country. It has been under a ban since almost 1950, when a trumped up conspiracy case, known as the Rawalpindi conspiracy case, was launched by the then rulers of Pakistan against a number of communists and progressives, including late comrade Sajjad Zaheer (then general secretary of the Pakistan Party) and the great Urdu poet of the sub-continent, Faiz Ahmed Faiz. That case only exposed the foreign (imperialist) hand behind it.

However, the Pakistani communists have fearlessly continued their work in the most difficult conditions. They have suffered and some like comrades Hassan Nasir and Nazir Abbasi have even been murdered in jail.

We salute the fraternal Communist Party of Pakistan and express the confidence that in unity with all the left, democratic, patriotic and anti-imperialist forces of Pakistan their struggle against the Zia military regime and for restoration of democracy will ultimately triumph, ushering in a happy and democratic life for the people of Pakistan. In bringing about that historic turn the sacrifices of comrades like Jam Saqi and the martyrdom of comrades like Hassan Nasir and Nazir Abbasi would be counted among the great contributions.

23 JULY 1981

N. K. KRISHNAN,
Secretary,
National Council,
Communist Party of India

MR PRESIDENT AND HONOURABLE
MEMBERS OF COURT

I have been brought before this court after more than seventeen months since I was detained. During this period I was kept in solitary confinement and subjected to innumerable other tortures. Had the case against me been genuine it would not have required such a long period to concoct and cook up fictitious stories.

I had been tried by summary Military courts under the illegal Yahya regime. I was arrested early in 1969 on grounds of distributing badges against One Unit. I was tried in May 1969 in a court presided over by Major Javed Majid. A CID witness stated in the court that they had received a wireless message that I intended to cross the border. I had felt awfully hurt at this situation and became sentimental in my reply. The presiding Officer could follow my feelings as I saw tears in his eyes, yet he sentenced me to one year's RI.

I still remember another strange event. I was charged with violation of MLR 5, 16 and 19. I knew that I violated MLR 19 by opposing One Unit. I requested Major Javed to tell me what MLR 5 and 16 were. He replied saying that he did not know. There upon I took the stand that I could not allow the court to proceed until the court knew the regulations which I had allegedly violated. Major Javed ordered a ten minute break and when the court resumed he told me that MLR 5 concerned abetment. About MLR 16, he smilingly told me that even the big gun at Hyderabad could not remember what it was about. However without any further delay he announced the sentence which he had been sent to deliver.

I was tried again by a summary Military court in December 1969. This court was presided over by one Major Beg. He awarded me one year's RI for making an inflam-

matory speech in a hostel room at the Agriculture college Tando Jam before six hundred students. Six hundred students in a little hostel room!! The statement was not corrected nor was the concoction of this absurd statement brought to book while I was conveniently convicted.

I have no complaint against these majors as I could and can understand their compulsions. I rather pitied them as I could well imagine the pain which an honest man feels when compelled to act against his conscience. However this court where I am standing trial is not a Summary court. But it is not a civil court either, though the difference would not have amounted to much, in view of the trampling of judicial norms in our unfortunate country. A Chief Justice of Supreme court (Justice Yakoo Ali Khan) was removed from office for admitting a writ petition of Begum Nusrat Bhutto. The judges of the high courts were compelled to violate their oath of allegiance in the constitutional framework within forty-eight hours. A justice of a high court was harrassed by conducting a house search and issuing warrants of arrest against his son because he had differed with a brigadier regarding the disqualification of ex-law minister Mr Hafeez Pirzada.

I know very well what kind of justice a person like me, one who is a communist and stands for scientific socialism, can expect in a regime where the CMLA, C-in-C and president openly declares himself to be a rightist.

Military courts are more of military and less of court. Their decision are first confirmed by the military hierarchy and only then announced. In these circumstances there is not much scope for this honourable court to decide this case freely, fairly and fearlessly. This is especially so since the relevant authorities have been insisting throughout that only my coffin shall come out of the clandestine concentration camps or jails. Isn't it strange to accuse a person of opposing the army and then throwing him to be tried in an army court. The prosecutor is also the judge! In Sindhi we call this justice "Jahan Khan Style".

If people belonging to the privileged classes like Hafeez Pirzada do not get justice, if peasants in the Pat-Feeder area, workers in Multan and common people in thousand other places are mowed down by bullets, if

students of Sind university and other institutions are lodged in jails and concentration camps and campuses closed, then how can I, who espouse the cause of workers, peasants, youths, intellectuals, oppressed nationalities and other downtrodden people, expect justice from a regime that openly boasts of being rightist.

However, sir, let it not be construed that I consider my appearance before this court an exercise in futility. This court has the opportunity of winning the respect of all honest countrymen, including honest and patriotic elements in the armed forces by acting according to the dictates of justice and its conscience.

HON' MEMBERS OF THE COURT

Decisions in political cases are two-fold. Individuals stand trial before the court and the court stands trial before the country. One verdict is delivered by the court and the other by history. Let us hope that the decision of this court will be upheld by the more inexorable decision of history.

Gentlemen, allow me to place before you the facts about the boorish and inhuman treatment meted out to me by our bilious brothers in uniform. I refer to certain ever-zealous army officers who without the least care trample under foot the un-armed people of Pakistan and vent their wrath on them. I refer also to FIU officials (I speak of the FIU separately, as I find it difficult to recognise the FIU as an integral part of our army set-up. I will elaborate this later).

I was arrested on 10 December 1978 from the staircase of Dawood Mansion, Hyderabad. There were four police vehicles and two army vehicles of the 17th battalion of the Punjab Regiment. The ever-zealous C.O. of the 17th Punjab Regiment Col. Rahman was not only the chief operator of that operation but was himself present on the spot. He was not prepared to trust the police-post because of the rumour that no Sindhi official would be ready to arrest me. A little latter it was further rumoured that not a single civilian official is ready to do so either. So the Col. was not only on the spot but as soon as I was arrested, ac-

accompanied me to the City Police station (not the Market Police station as is mentioned in government documents)- Col. Rahman left the Police station after a few minutes. An hour later he rang up the SHO of the City Police station, Mr Khalil Bajwa and not only asked him to take me to Quarter guard of 17th Punjab Regiment but he also rebuked him for the civility of his attitude. I was sitting near by and could gather this from the apologetic tone of the SHO over the telephone. Mr. Bajwa said, "No sir, I have not taken him to my quarter, he is here in my office before me."

Within an hour of my arrest I was taken away to the Quarter guard of 17th Punjab Regiment, blind-folded. This was at about 10.30 P.M. or so. At 11.30 P.M. I was again taken to 2 AC's office from Quarter guard. Three persons were waiting for me there. Col. Rahman pretended to be DSP Hyderabad. Major Zaheer, also pretending to be another DSP Hyderabad, and a man of some intelligence agency were present.

There I was told that if I would refrain from politics I could be set at liberty. Naturally, I refused. The Col. made another offer if I agreed to join NDP, the government will not only let me free but will also provide me with a profitable business, land or cash enabling me to live a luxurious life. I told him that such efforts to make me bow were futile as I have already dedicated my life for socialism and intend to carry on the struggle till the exploitation of man by man and nation by nation comes to an end.

The reaction of the frustrated Col. Rahman was very violent. He immediately ordered the soldier to bring a cane. My caning commence at 1 A.M. and continued, along with abuses and shoutings, till 3 "Sajeely Jawans" of the army were exhausted. I started bleeding and it was dawn.

However I would like to make it clear that no one can dare to behave in such a callous manner nor make such offers on his own. There must have been some big gun who belonging to the actual ruling clique, because, for a professional army official, let he be a colonel or general, it would have mattered little whether I join the NDP or not.

After four days without any rest, they left me simply lying in the cell for six days. I could make out afterwards that they had made up their mind to hand me over to FIU-FIC 715.

At first they tried to get a receipt from the central prison at Hyderabad that I was detained there and quickly killing me while putting the blame on others. Since jail authorities refused to do so they decided to take me to FIC-715 at Karachi.

On 20 December, I was taken away to Karachi blindfolded and was handed over to a clandestine concentration camp of FIU-FIC 715. There they detained me in a dark dungeon for few days with thumping on the roof and from below the floor of that dungeon. That room was constructed in such a way that its floor had a hollow vacuum beneath it. The darkness of the dungeon was such that I could not see at all and had to grope for the mug of water or meals. After few days they took me out of that dungeon and kept me in another cell sleepless for four days.

That torture and exhaustion was further flavoured with abuses and slapping. The police are notorious for abuses since British rule, but there I saw that some institution and certain people have specialised in abuses and thus are qualitatively superior in that police, because they could invent new obnoxious abuses on the spot. After four days they alternated tortures with question-up. They had snatched away my spectacles, tooth brush, comb etc. as soon as we reached there on 20 December, 1978. These were returned to me in the first week of February 1979.

During the period I was visited by a quack who pretended to be a qualified doctor. When I asked him for spectacles and told him that I have been advised by the eye specialist to use spectacles for almost all the time, he replied, "Oh no, he was mistaken. That does not make any difference." I think eye specialists of our country need not go abroad and spend so much foreign exchange. They can learn a lot from those quacks of clandestine concentration camps. I hope the court will agree with me that even an accused has his rights and can enquire into the identity of a person who has been sent to see him, masquerading as an eye specialist.

Sometimes when they were keeping me sleepless they sprinkled cold water on me in the cold nights of December and January, shouting abuses and saying, "you are feeling sleepy, you..."—I spare the court the narration. Many times they would pull the hair of my head, arms and mustaches till some hair was plucked away. I was told that it will not make any difference for them if I die during the torture as Hasan Nasir died or become mentally abnormal like Doctor Musaddik of Iran.

I was also told that I can be made impotent with injections. This threat, I agree, was natural enough for a rightist regime representing parasitic and impotent classes. What else but impotence can be offered by a system that has since long lost its own creativity, capacity for innovation and urge for progress. People generally say "where there is no law, there is Martial Law." But I feel, on the contrary, that "where there is Martial Law there is no law." However, I was mentally prepared to tolerate such torture as I knew the regime would inflict on me. The tortures only confirm, again, our analysis about the character of the government.

But there were certain other things which offered much more agony. For example during those long nights which I spent without rests they used to harp repeatedly that agrarian reforms are against Islam and therefore land should not be distributed among peasants. Only feudal lords should own the land. They knew, and I also told them, that it is an article of my faith that land should go to the tiller first and then proceed to cooperative farming. But they went on harping for whole nights. During some of the nights, some 'specialists' come to me convincing me about imperialist capital. They continued their so-called arguments for so many nights.

Being a citizen of Pakistan and thus a master of the country, at least in theory if not in practice as yet, I have every right to know who they were? It disturbs me to believe that those 'gentlemen' belong to the armed forces. If that were not so how could these agents of imperialist capital and of rotten feudalism have access to that clandestine concentration camp which was guarded by the army and where I was not allowed to walk with untied

eyes out of the cell. Some officials were very vicious and vindictive about a statement issued by the Communist Party of Pakistan demanding that "general Nasaire be declared *persona non grata* and sent back to Iran for facing the charges of myriad of murders during the days of Raza Shah Pahlvi being the founder and chief of SAVAK". Why should officers of Pakistani army be so very displeased with the demand of extradition of a SAVAK chief until and unless there was some special reason behind it? If a government does not have enough commonsense of its own to see the future, it could at least try to learn from our statement! During the days of turmoil and turbulence in Iran even a layman could understand that this tumultuous situation would emancipate the great Iranian people from the yoke of a tyrannical monarchy which acted as a mask for imperialist interests. If the government would have accepted our demand our relations with the present government of Iran would have been very close and cordial and she could not have declined to lend us ten million dollars for which government then had to mortgage the next paddy crops.

Analysing the attitude of those FIU officers and keeping in view the open secret that some intelligence agency of our country had close coordination with the SAVAK of the Shah of Iran, when I read the statement of Iranian ex-health minister on 15 December, 1979 (probably in daily *Mashriq*, Karachi), saying that SAVAK had close cooperation with Israeli Massad, American CIA, a west German Agency, and a Pakistan intelligence agency, one can easily understand that the said agency is FIU (i.e. Field Investigation Unit of Inter-Services-Intelligence).

Since I was under their control for about nine months, therefore I know something more about FIU. I know that essentially this agency was organised for counter intelligence. It dealt with espionage. During Bhutto's regime it started dealing with smugglers on the plea that some smugglers may be foreign agents. But during this regime it started poking its nose in politics. Rightist and liberal politicians are silent about it because they feel that only progressive political workers are being tortured. But they do not know that if the situation conti-

nues as such, this agency will soon become a man-eater and will not spare even those rightists and liberals as happened in Iran. Therefore, in the interest of the army, in the interest of the country and also in the interest of the people (I insist that they do count), this process should immediately be stopped. While interrogating me they were worried about a pamphlet *Who Won the Land?* which advocated that poor peasants and original owners from whose land was snatched in the name of forests, or army officers as absentee landlords, should be given back their land. This pamphlet was issued by the 'Sind Revolutionary Democratic Front' in 1975. But those 'gentlemen' felt personally affected and wanted to know about elements which were against their extra-benefits.

My interrogators grilled me for opposing the military action in Bangladesh during Yahya's regime. I was stunned to learn that even now such servile elements occupy posts of responsibility as have failed to learn that no army on earth has ever been, or will, ever be able to defeat its own people. At the most it can create a momentary malaise, but the dormant volcano of the people's wrath will soon erupt and wash away the signs of stead. I seriously feel that with such people in responsible positions our people and our poor country is again in danger. It was during that time that wounds inflicted on me by torture got infected and pus appeared. I had a swollen back and ran high temperature. I was injected with antibiotics, four times a day for almost one month. But those arrogant officials did not discontinue torture. At last wounds were healed up but there are still visible scars on certain parts of my body which the court can inspect.

I was also threatened that if I do not pray five times a day I will be sent to Lahore fort to face the same fate as that of Hasan Nasir. I believe in the freedom of conscience and feel that whether one prays or not is nobody else's business. I think in this way they are not serving Islam. Exhibitionary prayers under coercion in Secretariats have made it clear that some officers pray to plead the high ups. In this way the government is producing 'Munafiqeens'... Muslims by birth only are much better than 'Munafiqeens' (hypocrites).

I was told that my wife was almost a prostitute. But I have gone through a book entitled *Method* by Perry Days from which I could easily understand that this allegation is a patent one made under every rightist regime. Moreover I knew about the chastity of my wife. Later, I came to know that she sacrificed her life, assuming that this pro-American rightist regime will not let me live. Unfortunately, while being aware of the character of the government, she underestimated the strength of the people. Otherwise she would have been not only hopeful but confident that sooner or later I will come out and will be with my people and with her.

However when I was allowed an interview with my father on 11 September, 1978, I came to know the details of her sad demise. I was shocked to note that the protagonists of Nizam-e-Mustafa and spokesmen of the ideology of Pakistan were trying to vilify the character of my faithful wife after they had definite knowledge that she had already expired and was lying in her grave.

At first they alleged that I was getting Soviet arms through Afghanistan. After few days they withdrew the allegation but said that I had some connection with KGB. Again after a few days they withdrew that allegation too and said that they have recovered a revolver from my hand bag. I told them they could easily recover a tank also. The officer replied, "But common-sense will not approve of it.". I told him that Martial Law had nothing to do with commonsense. "You people can issue an MLO that a tank can be recovered from a bag adding a clause 'B' that this MLO cannot be challenged in any court of law."

I was later told that the Communist Party of Pakistan is instigating army officers to stage a leftist coup, hence I had been arrested under an Army act.

Sometimes I was told that I had something to do with the Official Secret act or that we were intending to wage guerilla warfare. Gentlemen, a civil government formulates charges first and arrests a person afterwards, but a Martial Law government, being a force of occupation, first arrests people and then formulates charges. This mentality reminds me of the story of the wolf and the lamb.

The wolf alleged that the lamb was spoiling the water of river, the lamb replied that it could not possibly do so as it was down the stream. The wolf then accused the lamb of abusing him last year. The lamb retorted that it was born only six months ago. The wolf said, "Then it must be your father who abused me." The lamb observed, "Okay, sir, if you want to eat me why are you taking the trouble of finding excuses."

This foolish barbaric behaviour of those bravemen continued till the first week of February 1979. Then they made up their mind to send me to Lahore fort. As a last resort they sometimes used to come to me and tell me that even at that stage if I was ready to give the list of the members of the Communist Party of Pakistan, they will not send me to Lahore fort.

Abuses were normal features. But a dumpy Naib Subedar was specially deputed for abuses, pulling hair etc. I do not know whether this was their mode of offence in general to demoralize detenus or that dumpy man was sadist, but in my case they are not earning any goodwill for the government.

In the first week of February 1979 I was awarded the honour of having my own spectacles, tooth brush, paste, comb etc. But they did not allow me newspapers or cigarettes. I was kept hand-cuffed round-the-clock, continuously for all the nine months during which I had to remain in that clandestine concentration camp of FIU.

On 17 March I was allowed an interview with a friend, Shamim Wasti, and with defence counsel Mr Noorud-Din Sarqi, by an order of the Sind High court. It was arranged in the presence of a major of the FIU but we were not allowed to talk about the case since even three months after my arrest the government was still undecided as to the charges to be levelled against me. Perhaps government intended to organise a vicious propaganda against me. Government thought that if people come to know that I was being tortured for my views and patriotism then this whole affair would end in fiasco. I consider the later reason to be more correct, because, afterwards, when I was served a charge sheet, its first head-

ing was the word 'confidential', each letter being in capital, and it ended with the same word in the same manner. I am of the firm opinion that the above mentioned charge sheet should be made public, whether the government is able to prove the charges or not, as I have reasons to believe that the government is carrying out a virulent whispering campaign about such false and frivolous allegations that it cannot even present in any kind of court. So if this charge sheet will be made public then the vilification campaign will vanish. I have therefore annexed a copy of the said charge sheet.

On the same day, 7 March, in the evening I was flown to Lahore with very dramatic precautions.

Twelve years earlier in the year 1968 the government intended to send me to Lahore fort for torture when I had openly declared that I stood for socialism, for the cause of workers, peasants, students, women, oppressed nationalities and other democratic and patriotic sections of society.

But that was a period of mass upsurge against the hated Ayub and Yahya regimes. So the government had to bow before the pressure of masses and abandon its nefarious designs.

In Lahore fort I was again kept in solitary confinement and pressurised to submit before the dictates of government and threatened with torture with electronic gadgets if I failed to do so. However they hold their hand either due to the people having learnt that I had been brought to the fort and that there was a writ petition filed in Lahore High court or else because the sadists who tortured were begun shivering in their pants at the news of the glorious exploits of the masses in neighbouring Afghanistan and Iran! I take this opportunity to thank the revolutionary people of Afghanistan and Iran for it is really due to them that I am alive and present in this court today. My humble thanks are also due to communists, progressive people and revolutionaries all over the world who launched an international campaign in support of me, a campaign about which I did not know much at that time.

The authorities continued threatening me that I will have either to capitulate or follow in the foot-steps of Hasan Nasir. Poor fellows could not imagine that the name of communist Hasan Nasir is a source of strength and inspiration to me and other revolutionaries. The Lahore High court allowed me a meeting with one of my counsels, Mr Choudhry Asghar Khadim but it was arranged in the presence of a DSP and two inspectors of CID. Everywhere in the world a client has the right to confer with his counsel in privacy. But not so in this country which claims to be establishing Nizam-e-Mustafa. I have been repeatedly told by FIU officials and fort officials that it is the right of the state to extract necessary information from the accused but nobody told me whether as citizen of Pakistan I had any rights.

Gentlemen! rest assured that the world will not judge us on the basis of our prattle about religion but on the basis of whether we have acquired the very elementary form of civilization, respect for civil rights and decency or not. I was told that they could tolerate a 'normal communist' but since I also stood for the rights of smaller nationalities and contributed to the four nation theory, in addition to communism therefore I could not be allowed to go unscathed. I told them that not only communists but every democratic and man of conscience is in duty bound to oppose oppression wherever he finds it. But later, as a last resort, I was told that the government would be prepared to release me if I promised to provide it a list of Communist Party members. Naturally, I refused, and thus faced solitary confinement, which has been declared to be a form of torture, and thus illegal, by high courts.

In the last week of March 1979 I said to them that if elections are held and there are normal democratic conditions we would like to open our offices. At this they informed me that there will be elections on 17 November. I told them there is no possibility of elections. One zealous captain told me that general sahib has promised in holy Mecca that elections would be held on 17 November 1979. I replied that if elections were really held on November 1979, I would be ready to retire from

politics because I know that when a general usurps political power, he never retires voluntarily. At this a gentleman said, "we are not fools as we are considered to be; we may have a bit more indigestion, but why are you people worried? There have been more than three hundred coups in the third world." I questioned them and they could not quote the example of any other country where generals were responsible for the disintegration of their own country during their rule.¹

After the dictum of Lahore High court they allowed me to read magazines but made it clear that as far as political periodicals were concerned I could get only those published by the Jaamat-i-Islami.

The fort authorities were worried as to how I knew the Punjabi language? They assumed that I had learnt it in order to instigate the armed forces. But what if they would have come to know that I know a little bit of Pushto also. They would have been startled. For the benefit of this court I may state that serving time in different jails of the country yields such fringe benefits.

On 15 July I was brought back to Karachi. Hyderabad police was present at the airport with orders from the home secretary to take me to Hyderabad jail. But the FIU officials at once appeared with orders from Corps Commander to detain me again in their clandestine concentration camp.

There I was once again detained in a cell with occasional appearances by FIU officials who used to accuse me for the Afghan revolution. I am waiting for the day when I will be criticised directly by imperialists instead of their agents for the Pakistani revolution. Let me expect that the members of this court know the difference between a coup and a revolution. They also used to abuse me for believing in scientific socialism, thereby exposing their abhorrence for the people of Pakistan. They stopped supplying newspapers despite the dictum of Lahore High Court. I stopped taking meals. On the fourth day, some subedar came to tell me that even if I died of hunger nobody would care.

1. Pakistan is the only country which disintegrated under military rule.

On the fifth day an official came and told me that they would allow me only the newspaper *Jang*, and magazines, but no political periodicals or Sindhi magazines published even by semi-government institution like Sindhi Adabi board. I was not even allowed to read literary magazines on the grounds that these contained chapters with criticism. When I tried to make it clear that criticism is a branch of literature they told me that they knew that when read between the lines all literature including poetry, short stories etc. was directed against them.

On 22 November I was brought to Hyderabad blindfolded and was kept with the 17th Punjab Regiment and 23 Baloch Regiment and 41 F.F. in solitary confinement. On 27 January I was brought to 41 F.F. I was refused newspapers and magazines. I do not know whether this was due to some new attitude among some high ups or because the adjutant of 41 F.F. was a protagonist of the Jammāt-e-Islami. So I gave them notice on 10 February that I may be allowed to write six letters, as even our POWs² were allowed to write six letters per month, and get newspapers etc. (soldiers told me about this), get newspapers and magazines (as per the dictum of Lahore High court), which still carried a moral if not legal force to be allowed to donate a bottle of blood to Red Crescent to console myself that I could still do something for my poor people, to be allowed a radio to pass my time in solitary confinement a bit easily—else I would go on a hunger strike from 14 February 1980. I also added that I may be tried or sent to the judicial jail to study. I started my hunger strike on 14 February as I had already informed them. But the officials remained unmoved till 27 February when they brought me to jail, though with instructions that I should be kept in solitary confinement, should not be allowed interviews with anybody and be kept in 'C' class. If they would have had a little bit of commonsense they would have allowed me to write to my father and mother because in whatever trouble I might have been

2. POWs: prisoners of war in the 1971 Pak-Indian war.

would have naturally written them that I am all right, as I would not have liked to add agony to a family already grieved with the demise of my wife.

Mr President and Members of the Court! I now proceed to lay before you the reasons why I have been so abnormally treated.

(a) I was the member of the Communist Party of Pakistan. The Communist Party of Pakistan was the party of the most conscious elements of the working classes of the country. It therefore championed all democratic causes and thus earned the bitter hatred of the ruling cliques especially that of the usurping military generals who have repeatedly intervened in the political affairs of the country on behalf of world capitalism and internal vested interests. My party was the integral component and consistent champion of the struggle for peoples rights from the very inception of Pakistan. My party struggled against the reactionary line of the non-recognition of the different languages spoken by the people of Pakistan, and alongwith other democratic forces smashed that reactionary line in the East Bengal general elections of 1954. My party opposed the military pacts with imperialism and suffered savage reprisals as a consequence. My party raised the banner of protest against One Unit and Ayub's Martial Law and I feel proud to belong to a party that produced communist Hasan Nasir who laid down his life in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. My party opposed the military operation in Baluchistan and campaigned for general elections on the secular and 'one man one vote' basis. My party struggled for land reforms, rights of workers, students, women and intellectuals etc. My party struggled against the genocide in Bangladesh in 1971 and called for a political solution to political problems.

Indeed sir, I being to a party that has a brilliant record of always being in the mainstream of the struggles of the masses against their oppressors. Internationally also, our party always remained solidly united with the socialist camp, with the international working class movement and with the anti-imperialist and peace camp. I admit that the splitting by the Chinese maoists did pro-

vide imperialism with opportunity to split the movement in Pakistan also and set up many anti-people groups under the banner of maoism. But now that imperialist strategem stands exposed in Pakistan and also internationally the crooks stand exposed but the misguided are being re-absorbed into the communist movement.

It is not my intention to subject this court to a briefing session about the communist party of Pakistan. The court can, no doubt, benefit from the documents of my party on its record. My main aim is to point out the fact that being based on the principles of scientific socialism, the line adopted by our party has always proved to be in accordance with history. I will give you two examples at random. The party campaigned in favour of the Tashkent Declaration for which it earned the enmity of the short-sighted chauvinists. Another war and much suffering was required to make the ruling classes accept all the principles of the Tashkent Declaration when the Simla Accord was made six years later. Secondly so many patriotic sons of Pakistan have been termed anti-national and been victimised for advocating an independent foreign policy. But even this most naked pro-imperialist government has been forced inevitably to join the ranks of non-aligned movement—at least in name. In the same way I now declare with full confidence that those who obstruct the will of the people of Pakistan will soon join company with their SAVAK brethren in eternal rest. The people of Pakistan, its toiling masses and our allies, stand together for the restoration of the sovereignty of the people, and to throw the enemies of the people into the garbage heap of history. The people of Pakistan are going to be solidly united with their brethren in Afghanistan and Iran, with the Arab world and with the anti-imperialist forces of the world. Pakistan is on the verge of radical social change and those who oppose it should be wary! It is very natural that imperialism and the parasitic ruling classes have an enmity against me and my party and use the state's coercive apparatus against me.

(b) Repression perpetrated by the army-government against the people is always in proportionate to the amount of isolation it faces against the masses. The most demo-

cratic regimes of capitalist countries always retain black laws for denying civil rights to spokesmen of the masses. Ours is not a capitalist but a neo-colonialist regime which means that it works in the interest of world imperialism and its handful of internal allies. It is answerable only to its imperialist masters. In the face of the rising tide of consciousness of the people it has found civil norms and the police insufficient for its rule and has brought into play its ultimate coercive organ, the defeated soldiers led by certain senior generals loyal to their imperialist masters. But imperialism is being successfully rolled back from the region, shaking the foundations of the reactionary ruling clique which is naively trying to stem the peoples' tide by savage repression and cooking up false cases like the present one.

(C) Guided by my party I was among the first politicians who stood up against the army action in Bangladesh in 1971 and claimed that if political problems are not solved politically it would lead to the dismemberment of Pakistan. There were processions in Hyderabad, Nawabshah, Karachi, Lahore, Quetta and Peshawar etc.; demanding an end to army action. My statement warning against the disintegration of Pakistan as an inevitable result of the genocide was carried by newspapers in many countries and broadcast by almost all important radio stations except radio Pakistan and radio Peking. The intelligence agencies were much annoyed by the national and international opinion I helped create against the genocide and spread the rumours that I was broadcasting anti-Pakistani speeches from All India Radio. I commented in the daily *Jang* on 12 January that if any person other than 'CID-walas' could say on their honour that they had heard me speaking from All India Radio or had seen me in India I would be prepared to be hanged.

Certain generals, predecessors of the present senior general, were ready to concede more than 6 points to Mujibur Rahman, but were not ready to grant 6 points to the Bengali people. They were ready to lay down arms before General Arora but not before their own people. They silenced the politicians of the upper classes with threats, licenses and permits, but could not silence me

and many other working class oriented politicians. Hence their vindictiveness against me is justifiable.

The Yahya clique appointed General Umar to assassinate me at any cost. Warrants were issued but I was sheltered by the people of Pakistan. General Umar got articles published in newspapers to the effect that I had 'crossed the border' and spread the rumour that I was delivering speeches from All India Radio. Afterwards police officers were called and told: "Saqi is somewhere here in rural areas, and has gone underground. Get him, assassinate him and arrange a khaki uniform for his dead body and give us photographs of the 'corpse'." Simultaneously a rumour was spread saying: "Saqi entered Pakistan through the chor sector, as an Indian army officer, and was killed by our army. Photo of corpse is lying with government."

It was also propagated that I was attacking my own villages along with Lachman Singh. It is a fact and also interesting to note that the same Lachman Singh attacked my village, killed three of my relatives, insulted and battered my father because one of his men was killed in my village during a previous attack. When I came to know about the plan of General Umar, I commented that a day will come when we will walk on our sacred soil with honour and when neither Yahya nor Umar would be able to walk in the street with honour. Even today when I am under torture and imprisoned I am not unsung or unlamented.

Yahya and General Umar went off the stage but some senior generals could never forget that I had dared to condemn army action. They did not forget it during Bhutto's rule, when I was arrested and was at that time the only political prisoner in Pakistan. At the initiative of the Central Working Committee of NAP, Bhutto saheb, the then president of Pakistan was asked by the representative of Wali Khan to release me. But Mr Bhutto replied by saying: "The youngman has opposed army action, therefore senior generals are not allowing me to release him."

(d) We have always demanded that lands be distributed among peasants and basic industry be nationalised but the

ambitious generals have taken just the opposite course. They denationalised government-controlled industrial units which were nationalised during PPP regime while Iran and Afghanistan have started the process of nationalisation. A captain told me that nationalisation is un-Islamic, but I am sure neither the majority of our army officers think so, nor the government can dare to declare nationalisation and agrarian reforms as un-Islamic. However this government stands for denationalisation and is against agrarian reforms and has reduced agricultural tax as a concession to big landlords and has let loose a reign of terror. Incident of Multan and Patfeeder are glaring instances. Thus the regime serves on few feudal-lords and a handful of capitalists. Therefore it is automatically opposed to the people of Pakistan.

Mr President, let me clarify that whenever I say 'certain senior generals' I mean those generals who got themselves recruited in the British army. If a gentleman got himself recruited in the British army and remained as a professional soldier, then his seniority is virtuosity, as in other services. But instead of minding his own business, when he pokes his precious nose in politics, claims himself to be the only custodian of the country and starts accusing progressive and patriotic political leaders then we who either fought for liberation or are born in Pakistan remember that while we were going to jail for Pakistan and were busy in ousting British imperialism, this gentleman was presenting his arms to British bosses and had guns in hand on behalf of British colonialists. If he was not zealous enough to join the movement, he would have joined some other service or would have kept quiet and stayed at home. We can excuse a soldier for his illiteracy and poverty, but not a commissioned officer, especially when he enters politics and starts accusing us, the people of Pakistan. We also correctly conclude that this gentleman could and can kill any one for money.

If by virtue of seniority a gentleman becomes a civilian, it is all right. I have never even thought for a moment as to whether our postmaster-general, or chairman of railway etc., were recruited before Pakistan or afterwards. But we can't allow any service-man to accuse politicians

and occupy the post of president of Pakistan. It is the right of the people of Pakistan to elect their president. Personally at least I have no objection to a general getting elected as president. If the people of Pakistan, who were intelligent enough to oust imperialists and attain Pakistan, have become mentally retarded during 33 years, then the army could elect the president so that we could at least console ourselves by saying that even if we are not given the right to elect our president at least he has been voted by our six lakh sons and brothers. But if it is by virtue of seniority that he is president then he represents only himself.

(e) As for the international role of our country, we, the people of Pakistan are eagerly waiting for the propitious occasion when our armed forces will fight to liberate 'Al-qadus' shoulder to shoulder with our Arab brethren, instead of killing Palestinians in Jordanian camps under the order of king Hussain and Americans (1971). How can we forget those who used the skill of our sons and our soldiers against our brother Arabs and thus calumniated our country. The American government has threatened to use its army against Iran but our government is not prepared to retort and say that it will not tolerate any attack against Iran.

A leader of the 'Bhagoras' (Afghan renegades) Mr Zia Khan Nasri has said in a press conference that "due to the Russians presence in Afghanistan, the poor Americans can not attack Iran" (*Jang*, Karachi, 11 January 1980). That he further said that the Russians have purchased whole tribes in Afghanistan, and hence they are supporting them, is a separate story. The conclusion of a report by an American secretary to congress committee is nothing short of a declaration that USA will use the sacred soil of Pakistan against the uncertain situation in the area and for insurgency in Iran and Afghanistan directly or indirectly, and that the bilateral pact of 1959 (of U-2 fame) will allow her to do so (*Pakistan Times*, 7 June 1979). Now it is an open secret that the USA is using our country directly or indirectly for its nefarious activities and would like to do so to an even greater extent yet our government is not prepared to sever the pact with USA. I

am sorry to say that the government not even deny the report. America has also announced more than once that she will capture Arab oil fields if it were needed. But these statements went unchallenged by our self styled Islamic government.

More over the new situation in this area is sensitive. The USA has nefarious designs for the whole area. It wants to fight Soviet Union up to the last Pakistani soldier, it wants to capture Arab oil and to resurrect the kingdom of Iran.

(f) It has been said that if wishes were horses, the beggars would ride. The imperialists no doubt yearn for the good old days, when they could deprive the entire local population of the America of their rights. But gone are those days, and the days of neo-colonialism, and for days of indirect rule by dollar diplomacy are also receding. The balance of forces is changing in our region before our very own eyes. The decisive superiority of socialism as a system is apparent to all. In this situation when direct intervention by imperialism is becoming impossible it is resorting to the old game of divide and rule in new ways. While reactionary generals have played havoc with history in many countries our generals have played with geography as well. The government is pitting one people against another, it is using national grievances to sow discord; it is straining every nerve to stem the democratic movement by pushing it into regional channels, as saving any part of the country for imperialism is dearer to it than the unity of our motherland. We progressives and communists, while firmly believing in the granting of rights to all people, resolutely oppose the disintegration of states and the re-demarcation of frontiers, since this is not conducive to good neighbourly relations and is against anti-imperialist unity. We thus earn their enmity.

(g) Senior General Sahib Mr. Ziaul Haq has openly claimed that he is a rightist. People of Pakistan have never and will never elect any rightist party whenever given a chance. Our army gets the lion's share of the budget amounting almost eighty per cent. There is a popular American usage, and those who consider the

United States so near and dear should read it carefully. It says, "taxation without representation is tyranny." Moreover the major amount of taxes in our country are from indirect taxes to thus we face a double tyranny. Indirect taxation means that it is paid by poor people while purchasing consumer goods. The poorest Pakistani pays few paise as tax while purchasing salt worth four annas. It is in this way that the greater part of the revenue is got. A very negligible share is paid by capitalists and feudal lords. Our 'senior' officials should either keep quiet or allow those who pay the major share to call a spade a spade. If someone is obstinate enough and insists to be on the right is, of only a gang of elites, a microscopic minority, and wants to serve imperialism, then he must not get his pay from the national exchequer, should not put a uniform and not come as General Sher Ali did in 1970 on the platform of Jamaat-e-Islami where he faced defeat. I am amazed when those 'senior' generals talk about socialism in a taunting manner, whenever an eminent Japanese economist has said: "Japan's survival lies only in receiving Russians (socialism) with two flags, white and red..." (*Dawn*, 9 April 1980). Not only this, but America's ex-president Richard Nixon writes in his recent book *The Real War*, "The danger facing the West during the rest of this century is less that of a nuclear holocaust, than it is of drifting into a situation in which we find ourselves confronted with a choice between surrender or suicide; red or dead." This confirms the claims of Dr Kissinger that Europe will be Marxist within ten years. I am not a rightist, therefore, I am facing torture and trials at the hands of a government headed by a man who proclaims to be a rightist and who has not been invited by anybody but has come on his own.

(h) Not only this that Mr Ziaul Haq announces openly that he is a rightist but, I noticed that certain officials, especially of FIU, speak in the language of the editorial and essays of American sponsored Urdu magazines of Lahore and a pro-American Urdu daily paper. It is yet to be analysed as to whether these officials were representing those periodicals and papers or whether those papers represent these special officials. However two

things are very clear: one, that the officials, having such an attitude, and such political ideas are not leading the country to peace and progress but on the contrary, are harmful to the very existence of the country. Secondly those officials whose points of view have always been rejected by the people are avenging the country and people like myself who openly stand for scientific socialism.

(i) Mr Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto has been hanged in the name of law and justice. He was alleged to have hand in the assassination of Nawab Kasuri. If everybody is equal before the law, why has nobody been hanged for the massacre of more than hundred workers in Multan? Has anybody been hanged for the murder of Moulvi Shamsud-Din MPA? Has anybody been hanged for taking the life of Sherpao? Has anybody been punished for the assassination of Hasan Nasir? Or for the murder of Assadullah Mengal? Has anybody been accused for army action and thus the massacre in Baluchistan? Nobody. We can take it for granted that because Nawab Kasuri was a Khandani Nawab (a baron by descent) therefore, his blood was more thicker! I will not say it was a deeper red. But then what about the blood of Nawab Liaquat Ali Khan. I know his premiership is not worth a cent for present rulers but he was also a Khandani Nawab. Why is his murder still a mystry?

We can console ourselves with an idea that there is lot of difference between nawabs also. There are chhota nawabs (small barons) and bara nawabs (big barons). Okay, but then what about Pakistan? Has anybody been tried for amputating Pakistan? Because, at least in theory, hundred nawabs can be sacrificed for Pakistan and thus Pakistan is much more important. There was a report called 'Hamood-ur Rehman Commission Report'. From my point of view its reference was incomplete because it did not discuss conditions which compelled East Pakistan to become Bangladesh. However, even that incomplete and limited report has not been made public. Bhutto Sahib while delivering a speech to Pakistani citizens in Canada made it clear that while he was prepared to make it public, the generals were not allowing him to do

so. Leaders of the 'Putrid Negative Alliance'³ were also vociferously demanding that the said report be made public during Bhutto's regime. They made most humble requests to the present regime and were snubbed by some 'senior sahibs' and these people forget all about it. But our people know more than government thinks they do. They know why all these murders and amputation of country are still a mystery and they know that the culprits will not be apprehended till there is a peoples government in Pakistan.

Thus, Mr President, we have never been satisfied with this type of law and justice. We believe that all officials should bow before one general, and that is *general will*. This should abide by the law formulated by representative of the peoples of Pakistan and we believe in a justice in which courts are free from fear or favour.

(j) Mr President! government is destroying the institution of army and we stand in the way. Allow me to elaborate:

1. Sometimes ago certain battalions of the Punjab regiment were compelled to commemorate the powers shown by the Punjab regiment during the war of independence in 1857, — when their hands were soaked with the blood of their own brothers on behalf of British masters. We are ready to ignore the action of soldiers and young officers, knowing the mechanical iron discipline of our army but what about the mentality of those who order the celebration of the British conquest over India? At least I am not ready to recognise them as members of my armed forces as they are still obedient servants of British colonialism. These gentlemen did not know that the Punjab regiment has yet to wipe off such smear and compensate for the deeds of 1857.

2. During the Jam Shoro incident in October 1978 many students were arrested and tortured. A few have been awarded long sentences by military courts. A poor JCO has been dismissed for travelling on a route with

3. A united front of the revolutionary political groups formed in 1976—Pakistan National Alliance.

military vehicles where students were marching in a procession condemning the calousness of a major. The whole thirty years of that JCO went in vain. His real mistake was not knowing that somewhere a major sahib has committed such an offence that students are furious. Now students are behind the bars and a JCO and NCO have been terminated from service. But Major Kifayatullah who was the cause of the whole incident and regarding whom even Choudhary Zahoor Elahi the then federal minister and a trusted man of the C-in-C—so much so that he was sent from Islamabad to take into the matter rather than the defence minister Mir Ali Ahmad who was present in Hyderabad said that Major Sahib had only called Shereen Soomro into the army camp by a fake and fraudulent story about her father but did not commit other offence. (To me the offence of calling a girl into an army camp through a fraud and thus culminating against the character of the army is enough for a deterring punishment). Mr Kiffayatullah was only demoted for a few months and is again a major. By pampering and patronising one pet the government created an ugly impression about this army. People started feeling that by virtue of being an army officer one can commit any offence without fear of punishment. Soldiers and JCOs do feel and told me during my detention that the real culprit Kiffayatullah was allowed to go unscathed because he was a major, thus 'Noori Makhlooq'.⁴ The poor JCO and NCO (apart from those who lost their lives) were treated as they were 'Nari and Khaki' Makhlooq.⁵

Gentlemen! These practices are a two edged sword. It is creating a wedge between army and people and between soldiers and officers. Therefore, these poisonous practices should end. Those who demand an end to these practices or criticise them are the real wellwishers of both the army and the country.

3. I can cite another example of a similar nature, that is, of the Shabnam dacoity case. Among the convicts there

4. Credit of light.

5. Creature of fire and clay.

were police officers, an army officer and civilians. But one was startled to see the convictions. Civilians were awarded death sentences, police officers with ten years' RI, not strange enough for persons of the law enforcing agency and the army officer involved only one year RI. This is a case of flagrant favouritism, because, in my opinion, if a member of the armed forces indulges in such activity, he should be given deterrent punishment since he is supposed to be symbol of sanity. Thus, whoever arranged for, and announced this decision have hampered the creation of harmony between the masses and army.

4. Mr A. K. Brohi speaking during Nusrat Bhutto's case in the Supreme court argued that in Islamic history every Mufti and Kazi (Judge) has always sided with rulers. The only example, so unpleasant and indisciplinatory for him of someone who did not bow before big gun was of Imam Husain. The learned lawyer seems to be unaware that all the law making Imams, Imam Abu Hanifa, Imam Malik, Imam Hanbol, Imam Shafai and Imam Jaffer Sadiq have expired in jails. Gentlemen! The whole country knows that he said so on behalf of the military government. Therefore it created ill-will for the army. I do not recognise this government as an army government. It would have been an army government only if it had been elected by the army. Since it has not been elected by the army it is only a 'Zia and commanding officers' government'. By virtue of seniority they represent only themselves. They are using our army in the interest of certain vested interests.

5. Army men are generally supposed to be men who are true to their words. But here in our country certain seniors pretending to be 'soldiers' are such big liars and their deeds have smeared the soldiers uniform. We have heard on the national hook-up pledges about elections with two verses of Holy Quran, every four months. But for the fulfilment of promises we have to wait 1111 years till the gentlemen finishes reading the 6666 Holy verses.

6. I read in the daily *Jang* (August 1979) an article written by one brigadier Shamus-ul-Kazi Haq in which he quoted a senior general, Khalid Masood Sahib as say-

ing, while speaking in the staff college, that "there are ruling classes in every country which provide the leader of the army." I feel Maj. General Khalid Masood is not alone by saying this that, unfortunately, it reflect a full-fledged school of thought and is harming both our country and army by having upper hand in affairs.

7. In January 1980, an article appeared in the daily *Jang* under the name of retired Shmusul Haq Kazi, which advised Arab Shaikhs that since Arab soldiers can revolt against the kingdom therefore they should recruit Pakistani soldiers who always remain very faithful to the king. Moreover the Brig. Sahib advised the government to provide soldiers on hire and earn precious foreign exchange. A splendid idea! The gentleman was probably commissioned in the British army and is therefore so naive as to think that our soldiers can bow before currency notes without any consideration of conscience. However since this article appeared while there is such a strict censorship and was written by a senior official (albeit retired) therefore I can draw only one conclusion, i.e. that this is the line of the government, and the government wants to convert our army into a fullfledged mercenary army.

8. I remember a discussion I had with Brig. Afzal in 1968, the then GOC Hyderabad. When I asked him about recruitments, he told me that in Sind (and even in Punjab), the people belonging to districts having agricultural land or any other employment do not come for recruitment in army. People come from only a few districts such as Mianwali, Compbellpur, Rawalpindi, Jhang; Jehlum Gujrat and some from Sialkot and Kohat. Therefore the GHQ had never allowed any government (and will never allow any government) to arrange for water for agriculture, factories for providing employment or other opportunities as might give an incentive to the people to remain there. When I replied by saying that this was as bad as conscription and further pointed to the fact that the government does not provide sufficient emoluments to give incentives to join the army as other countries do, he said, "Young man!; this a bitter reality and you have to swallow it." But I could not swallow it as the results

of this policy are well-known to all of us. I still feel that we should pay our soldiers honourably, and not give them mere pittance. This conscription on behalf of the people and in the name of the people should stop. But if some one points a dagger at us, he is neither our son nor servant. Such a person may be paid from party funds of those particular parties, or personal pockets of the bosses, whom he serves.

9. So many people in our country do not know and even I did not know before this detention—that names of companies in army units are A.B.C.D. alias, alphas, charlies, dotas. Why not Tipu Sultan's, Hoshoo's, Bhagat Singh, Hyderali's, Siraj ud Doola, Dulla Bhatti's; Khushal Khan's and Khair Bux's. But since all these heroes fought against the British empire and other foreign aggressions therefore certain 'brave' people loyal to imperialism will not allow these meaningful names for the army units. When the government discards this legacy of imperialism soldiers will feel much better, would zealously fight to honour the names of the popular heroes. But probably some seniors think that this army is not meant to avert any imperialist aggression, therefore, they find meaning in absurd names like charlie and dota, or they are sure that a company with the name charlie can do anything they want it to do, but a company named Dulla Bhatti will not be ready to swoop on its own soil. Thus even those names may hinder in making them mercenary.

10. Almost a year ago Mullahs were appointed in the army. The government has tried to appoint 'Ahle-Hadis Mullahs'. Because the 'Ahle-Hadis' are opposed to elections and give *Fatwa* that any way is a 'Saleh' comes in power he should not be asked to relinquish power. Naturally whosoever becomes the president, he considers himself to be 'saleh', let he be an usurper. But I am sure the main reason is still more dangerous. The Ahle-Hadis sect is a microscopic minority in this country, the government wants to make the army a special separate institution, not only administratively, socially, economically and politically but wants to make it a separate sect—a religious sect, which may be used tomorrow against the majority of peo-

ple of Pakistan or "Bidaatees". This conspiracy is bound to be catastrophic for the country and therefore should be put an end to.

11. Only during the course of my present detention did I come to know that soldiers are paid Rs 6, majors and some other officers Rs 55 as 'martial law allowance', in addition to their regular pay. So far as pay is concerned I agree it is a meagre amount in view of such soaring prices and thus we are already demanding that minimum pay should be fixed in accordance with the price of with one 'tola' of gold, to ensure that salaries automatically vary with prices. But so far as the national interest is concerned every sensible and honest man agrees that martial law should end immediately but the personal interest of our 'jawans' is that it must linger on indefinitely due to the martial law allowance that they get. Thus the situation is such that personal interest of our army personnel clashes with national interests. Sensible citizens, even in service, should immediately take notice of this dangerous phenomenon. I regretfully remember a remark made by a soldier wherein he said: "Sir, we know that the nation does not like martial law, but because we cannot pull on with the pittance paid to us, and the martial law allowance added to our three hundred—helps us, therefore, we are sorry, but we welcome it."

12. During the last two years, more than a hundred majors and brigadiers have been absorbed in civil services—mostly in the police. This policy is also a double-edged sword. On the one hand it is creating a wedge between civil services and the army. A DSP told me that if these gentlemen had not been imposed on them he would have been a SP by now. And on the other, it is creating a wedge between commissioned officers and soldiers. I have been in army camps for more than a year and know how soldiers, COs and NCOs feel about it. They feel that a few favourites are going to the civil services, in the name of army, and they start talking in terms of 'makhlooq'. Not only this, but this will, or might, lead to efforts for obtaining lucrative jobs. May I expect members of this court who are mostly officers to be aware of

this danger? Some seniors are tempting our young army officers. This is a way of perpetuating power. But this process is very dangerous. I, alongwith other progressive and patriots, have always opposed this putrid practice.

13. There are persons who accuse the whole army of being ambitious. For instance, Mr S. M. Zafar wrote in his book *Dictator Koty* that: "In my book *Through the Crises* I analysed and concluded that Ayub Khan was reticent to transfer power to politicians because he was not sure about the reaction of the army". Mr Fazal Muqem Khan wrote in his book *Pakistan's Crises In Leadership* that "some close companions of Yahya Khan openly said that the army betrayed in 1958, because the government had taken over in the name of army and with the help of army, but after some time the army was shouldered away, and others started ruling."

Mr President, these gentlemen have not been accused because they are close to ruling quarters, and also because they have accused the whole army and have not singled out persons really responsible. Government seniors feels that if some one abuses the whole army he serves them because this way they will get a chance to call upon the whole army and say "all accused unite!" But I, as a progressive, point out only those who commit crimes. I do not accuse the army as a whole. I condemn only those who harm my country, torture my people, students, workers, peasants and journalists or open fire on them and thus bring a bad name to the army also. Therefore this government is against me.

14. This government is using our 'jawans' to fire on us,—their fathers and brothers, and is using army officers for non-military purposes for this way they will not be able to fight on the frontiers with any enthusiasm. A soldier or an officer used against his own people and thus against his conscience, will not remain better than a mercenary. As I have already mentioned above, FUI will become as bad as SAVAK if the situation continues to be the worst, for some time more. SAVAK also started torturing progressives, but latter on, it did not spare any-

body. Therefore it is in the interest of both the army and country that the government must stop using the army against the people of Pakistan. Since I have been demanding this therefore the government is extremely embittered against me. This government has given a false impression to our soldiers, for its own ulterior motives, that they have been defeated by Indian forces and not by their own brethren in 1971. If a soldier is repeatedly reminded that he has been defeated by such and such country, he will be demoralised. As an after effect he may remain capable of swooping on his own soil but will not be able to avert any aimful aggression. For some other purposes and in addition to malign Mr Bhutto, certain seniors, for example Mr Yahya Khan, in an interview with *Urdu Digest* of January 1979, have confessed miscalculation and confessed that "we started the 1965 game and have had heavy losses."

15. During detention I read a book written by Col. Salik and, thereby, came to know that pips on the shoulders of Indian army officers are made of cloth. So I asked an officer that if India which is ten times bigger than our country, and has such vast resources can ask her officers to wear pips of cloth, why not Pakistan, which is a small country with limited resources. The officers told me that though an officer can be recognised even if he has pips made of cloth, yet pips of cloth will not provide that *Lashkara* (glitter). Gentlemen, a mercenary army may care for *Lashkara* but not our army. Our army ought to be imbued with patriotic zeal.

16. Apparently it has been posed that the 1965 war was an adventure or miscalculation but I tell you the real reason. The then government of Pakistan was advised by America to attack India, so that India which was shifting away from America more and more day by day, might return to America through this blackmail. Now, hear the remarks of Sheikh Abdullah on the hanging of Mr Bhutto, "God saved us", he said. "If we would have been in Pakistan, we could not cope with martial law and would have been hanged." Moreover, in Indian Kashmir, there have

been five or six elections, and in our Kashmir, mostly a brigadier or a joint secretary of ministry of Kashmir affairs have been heading the government.

17. When the government of field-marshal Ayub Khan felt that it would not be able to face our own intelligent army officials regarding war calculations and purpose, it started buying them with land as prizes and thus also created a wedge between rightful peasants and our army officers. Some officers may have benefitted and by this more, but I tell you, that this way our national interests have been harmed. I have been victim of their vigour. I remember the case of a peasant leader Mandhal Shar. He was tortured by FIU officials for more than three months till he was about to die. At last some honest official opened that Mr Mandhal Shar may be anything but was not an agent of any other country. But he was threatened that if he took part in the politics of peasants he would be shot dead. The real reason was that unfortunately he belonged to the Sukkur Barrage area where some army officers were in litigation with peasants over the ownership of land, and poor Mandhal Shar was on the other side of the barricade, that is, with the peasants, and thus had to face humiliating torture.

18. If the BBC broadcast quoting a British defence journal is correct then we have one hundred and ten generals for six lakh soldiers whereas India has only forty generals for more than a million soldiers.

19. It was alleged during my interrogation that I had opposed Pakistan, during the course of an interview published in *Jadrata* (a Sindhi magazine). When I said that this was impossible. I was told that I had opposed the army, and that this amounted to opposing Pakistan. I replied by saying that I had not oppose the army but had always opposed the participation of an army in politics, because I consider this to be a conspiracy against my country. Moreover I am against the concept of equating any institution—say, the army—with the country, as a whole, an equation which leads to equating the country with a single individual.

I refute such ridiculous formulae. The army is only one of the hundreds of institutions of the country. Thus the C-in-C is not equivalent to Pakistan. Pakistan is much more important than any person or institution.

20. During the course of my detention in army camps, I have come to know that our soldiers get a meagre pay, do not get meals as prescribed in the menu, do not get eggs, never get dry fruit, very rarely the fresh fruit prescribed in papers, do not normally get the allowance of Rs 2-50 per day, and are always scared of bara khana (big buffet) as they call it since 'bura khana' (bad buffet) spoils their 'chhota khanna' (small buffet) for several days. Because they do not have any assemblies or other channels to convey such complaints to the government therefore I promised our Jawans that as I am being tried in army court I will also put up their problems before them no matter what the result is. I hope government will make note of this.

21. The army seniors want us to believe that our army can be defeated by some other army but is brave enough to crush its own countrymen. They feel that if the people come to know that they were not defeated by Indian army but Bengalis in 1971, then they will not be able to impose martial laws in Pakistan. It is due to this reason, and they like to talk about the lack of supply system etc. in Bengal, forgetting the fact that even the American army, with her army numbering 18 lakh (18 hundred thousand) soldiers could not vanquish the Vietnamese inspite of the best supply line and the latest weapons. I am talking especially of the manner of thinking of certain senior generals. So far as our soldiers are concerned, I have been with them during my detention, therefore, I know that they are almost invincible for any aggressor, but they cannot continue of attacking their own people. During the PNA movement, which was confined to only a few cities, about 300 soldiers refused to fire and lost their jobs. So how will they be able to fire when even the people of the countryside come out.

22. Officers of the intelligence agencies (not necessarily intelligent) accused me of having criticised both the constitution and Bhutto, during Bhutto's government and that now my point of view was exactly the opposite. I do not know whether those officials were not intelligent enough to understand the clear difference, or whether the government does not understand it or may be since the government really does understand my point of view, therefore it is against me.

I agree that I criticised the constitution and still have hundred and one objections against it, but cannot allow a usurper, representing only himself, to come and put the constitution in abeyance. When spokesman of this government accuse me of criticising the constitution while itself abrogating it and spread rumours about destabilisations while carrying out a coup despite constitutional clause six, it is the buffalow that is condemning the cow for black tail. I do agree that I criticised Z. A. Bhutto and would probably have been still criticising him if he were prime minister. But this government has hanged him for his positive steps, has hanged him for distributing five per cent land among peasants, whereas I criticised him for not distributing the remaining ninety five per cent. The Military Junta hanged him for nationalisation and I opposed him for not nationalising imperialist capital. The difference is the same as that between day and night, dawn and dusk. Bhutto is now a martyr for the people and now the completion of his mission shall be nothing short of scientific socialism. I have heard some one saying that "Bhutto sahib did not kill Nawab Kasuri, but even himself. He betrayed us by doing away with only one, we voted him to however to get rid of all the nawabs of the country."

23. We, the people of Pakistan, struggled against British colonialism not because we did not like the complexion of English faces or because we hated any language but we fought because we wanted sovereignty of our country. Sovereignty is not imposition of black Britons on us. We, the people, wanted a government according to our will, we

wanted the right of changing our government exploitation. We never wanted a government off the people, far from the people and to buy the people. At the same time we do not like appearance of apostles with ammunities. The days are gone when apostles used to appear.

Even Bhutto's government, a government which was supposed to have vast powers, was only a semicivilian government. I have many examples to show how it was rendered helpless by senior generals on a number of occasions. To mention a few:

i) Bhutto was the president of Pakistan, and wanted to release me, the only political prisoner at that time but he was unable to do so since some senior generals did not want me to be released.

ii) He wanted the Hamood-ur-Rahaman Commission Report to be made public but he was not allowed to do so. This was openly declared by him in Canada.

iii) He made an announcement in the national assembly to the effect that there would be a referendum but it was Mr Ziaul Haq who disallowed such a referendum.

iv) Bhutto as president of Pakistan while on a tour ordered the concerned commissioner, and IG police of Punjab, to take control of the historical Abasi palace of Bahawalpur and hand it over to national archives department. Both officers however declined to do so, and said that they could and would not do it until and unless directed by GHQ to do so because the palace belonged to a relative of a general.

v) Bhutto wanted to appoint Sheikh Ayaz as vice-chancellor of Sind university, but it took him six months to seek prior permission from real ruling circles. In addition to that, I remember an off-the-record statement at the press conference of Pir Pagaro which was published in *Alfatah*, in which he said that almost all rightist leaders are agents of GHQ, right from Asghar Khan and Mufti Mahmood to himself, including Jamaat-e-Islami and Msan Noorani. He made it emphatically clear that GHQ does not allow who

does not agree with them and is not lined up with them to remaining in politics. The problem with me is that I am not ready to line up with seniors, and therefore have to tolerate tortures and trials.

24. I have always opposed the Mashehdi Square Economy, which the seniors are inflicting on our unfortunate country. For instance, Ayub Khan was rightly accused for having issued currency notes worth Rs 7000 millions in a small country like ours. Yahya Khan increased the amount to Rs 12000 million? in his term of two years, and later on, Z. A. Bhutto was criticised for issuing currency notes worth Rs 16000 millions. But the present government has issued notes worth Rs 14000 millions in less than three years time. Now the total amount of currency notes in circulation is 30000 million rupees. This is what I call the Mashehdi Square Economy which is about to collapse. This type of economy always exploits people with fixed salaries and offer surplus only to the affluent, the people for whom this government stands. I am with poor people of Pakistan and since the government is on the other side of the barricade it accuses me.

25. Senior generals want to vilify me by conducting vicious propaganda against me. They termed my statement opposing army action in Bengal as speeches from All India Radio, pretending as if they have records of those speeches, and invented stories about my crossing the border. But now more than the contrary, when I asked them as to why they did not question me in this regard. They replied saying that they knew that I had never been to India or any other country. Therefore they would neither ask me any question about it nor challan me in any court under this allegation.

I am sure that there are other reasons for this. For one, at the time of the interrogation the Janata Party was in power in India and since it was pro-American, it was their brother. Therefore they did not want to say anything against it. The more important reason however is that because lands are being distributed among peasants in

Afghanistan. Usury has been abolished there and there is an anti-imperialist government in Afghanistan, the situation has become "un-Islamic". Moreover Afghan army has created a 'bad' example by transferring power to civilians within three days of taking over which shocked our seniors, and they can never forget it. Thus all the guns aimed against India are now turned on Afghanistan. So I was asked whether I have any connections with Afghanistan. Just as in 1969 I was accused of intending to go to India and this was a preparation for the propaganda in 1971. On the same way, I am sure that now not only myself but many other progressives in Pakistan will be accused of having connections with Afghanistan or intending to cross over the border.

26. I have been told that I am being dealt with a heavy hand because the hawks in the government have learnt a lesson from the Afghan revolution and by according exemplary torture and sentences to me, they will discourage progressives of Pakistan from expecting any positive change on behalf of the army. This simply means that the government wanted a scapegoat to attack the socialists and encourage elites. If they had not been able to arrest me there would have been some other revolutionary in clandestine concentration camps instead of me.

27. Our soldiers have to swear by the Holy Quran that they will obey the orders of seniors. It is interesting to note that they do not have to swear that they shall lay their lives for the country. But I am confident that soldiers are not such simpletons as they are supposed to be, and that they can see through the designs of the seniors.

28. Pakistan exists because of the general will of the people, and not because of gimmicks of some senior generals, and will exist till people wish so. The present political situation in our region demands the non-viability of existing frontiers. We will have to oust any regime that poses a threat to our country. If any fool thinks that he can vanquish the valiant people of Pakistan he will soon

find out his mistake. It is this point of view of ours that makes the government so vindictive against me.

There are several countries where there are so many national languages, say, in India there are eighteen, in Switzerland, there are four and in the Soviet Union more than twenty languages. Those languages are never harmed. But our rulers are neither ready to learn a lesson from the world nor from our own experience in Bengal.

29. Let it be said to the credit of Gen. Zia-ul-Haq that he is not very particular about hiding the wide gulf that exists between his words and his deeds. Bhutto has already informed us that the general's statement pledging loyalty to the legally constituted civil government on the eve of the coup was initiated by General Zia himself. General Zia has himself volunteered to repeal how he poked his precious nose in politics before the proclamation of martial law by informing us that he vetoed Mr Bhutto's referendum plan. In the light of these facts it is not difficult to figure out the presence of senior generals behind the conglomeration known as the PNA. That teaming up of all rightist riffraffs having no internal cohesion or positive programme took place at the instance of their generals who were using the PNA leaders as errand-boys. It is very clear by now that the government of the seniors is really aimed against us, since we had been warning the nation, regarding the ganging up of the rightist and pro-American elements against Bhutto since 1975, and denounced the PNA as soon as it was formed. Our party warned of the danger from the rightists in its resolution entitled "Change of races is no solution to the problems of the country". The secretary of our party Comrade Imam Ali Nazish issued a statement exposing the PNA as a front organisation of imperialism and certain elements in the GHQ. Comrade Nazish sent an open letter to prime minister, Z. A. Bhutto urging him to unite with the workers, peasants and other democrats to face the danger from the seniors who would not keep their precious noses out of politics. Apart from our party and

other democrats, especially the NDP progressive group of that time (which later became the NPP led by Dr Azaz Nazir) and the Afrasiab Khattak, staunchly opposed the PNA all along the line. Many student, working-class, peasant and women's organisations also stood firmly against the PNA, with the result that the PNA hooliganism was confined to certain urban localities under the influence of Mullahs.

We took this anti-PNA line on the basis of our political assessment, and also discovered the precious noses of certain seniors behind the PNA, through marxist scientific analysis. But these gentlemen, not accustomed to use brains, suspect that we have contacts in GHQ who fed us information. Thus they are furious at us and are bent on seeking revenge.

30. The PNA which is patronised to such an extent by the present government, harmed our country in a special context which I have not yet discussed. The PNA movement was confined to certain cities only whereas Bhutto had his support in villages. Therefore it created political wedge between rural and urban areas.

In the capitalist system rural areas are always economic colonies of urban areas. Cities obtain cheap raw materials from villages and sell them at a large profit. Thus in the capitalist system relationships between the cities and villages is based on the exploitation of villages. Moreover cities enjoy more amenities of life, such as roads, electricity, water, sewage system, gas, education system, health services, telephone, buses etc. Therefore all over the world rural areas are given certain concessions, quotas etc., either to avoid sharpening of contradictions or to eradicate inequalities. The PNA played such a putrid role during its 'movement' that it sharpened the rural-urban contradiction and thus harmed the solidarity of our country in the long run.

This government used the PNA for preparing favourable conditions for carrying out a coup and rewarded many of them by appointing them ministers. These ele-

ments know that they will never be elected to power by the people of Pakistan. After Bhutto was hanged they were thrown out.

Certain senior generals of our country are always prepared to impose their rule but are not ready to tolerate any criticism. There is a Punjabi adage which says that he who marries will have to tolerate abuses of sisters in dowry. So if any body plunges into politics he will have to hear views other than his own. There is no Syed in playground so they cannot immunize themselves. They consider all such government which allow the people to protest as foolish. But the other governments are wise enough to remember what Spencers, a May Day martyr in Chicago, shouted while being hanged, "Tolerate people talking with tongues or they will speak with ammunition."

The biased behaviour of the Zia government is already clear from the refusal of the DMLA to allow me to continue my studies which, otherwise, is my right. In the so-called Islamic Republic of Pakistan, i.e. while I am deprived of my right of education, on the other hand, most of the socialist countries of the world have cent per cent literacy. The court can learn a lot from the opening sentence of Fidel Castro who while addressing the thirteenth World Youth and Students Festival in Havana in 1978, said to his audience: "Students and youngmen of the world—I cannot say only students, because, unfortunately, there are still a large number of young men in the world who are not students."

Mr President! From now I would like to discuss the charge sheet briefly. It says that I was in possession of literature which causes hatred. Sir, ever since society was divided into classes, into oppressor and oppressed, these classes have been at war in one form or another. Thus, writers, intellectuals and leaders have been forced to take sides. I plead guilty of criticising the exploiting classes. But if that is an offence, I am sure the Holy Quran should also be prescribed at least during this regime, since it is

clearly mentioned on various occasions in the Holy Quran that whenever prophets were sent, it was always the elites who opposed them. For instance, "whenever I sent prophets in any area, opulents of those cities said that we saw our forefathers following one, religion and will follow their foot-steps" (Zukhuru 2nd verse), or "When I sent prophets it was always the opulents who opposed them." (34th verse of Saba).

Here, in our country, those who exploit workers and peasants, are really responsible for class hatred not those who oppose exploitation and stand for an equitable economic order. The government is responsible for hatred because it opens fire on the exploited on behalf of capitalist and feudal-lords. I do call all those people bastards who tortured and massacred workers and peasants in Larkana, Patfeeder, Multan, Charsadda and Nawabshah.

In Nawabshah, if a landlord Qasim Umar usurps a land in the fake name of Jhangal s/o Nabgah (it is a bitter truth) and when the peasants who oppose him are tortured by Major SP I stand on the side of the peasants. If a capitalist, being a friend of Ch Zahoor Elahi, instead of reinstating workers arranges tortures for workers and the peasants supporting them, in collaboration with callous officials, naturally I cannot keep quite, and I feel duty bound to oppose the capitalist. If Choudhary sahib, usurps a resumed land in Deh Karberi, Tando Bego with forged entries and fake name and by greasing the palm of the AC and other officials, I will have to come out in support of the peasants. If this is preaching class hatred and thus a crime, let me make it clear that I have always committed it and will increase it tenfold. The reason is clear. We have no intention of expropriating the people but will only expropriate the expropriators of the people.

Mr President! It has also been alleged that I was found in possession of such literature which was being calculated to promote the feeling of enmity between different provinces. What a stupid allegation! There is a queer contradiction in this allegation. On the one hand the government

accuses me of carrying literature issued by the Communist Party of Pakistan, and thus standing for the slogan "Workers of the world-unite!", and on the other hand it accuses me of promoting feelings of enmity between different provinces. Either authorities are such simpletons that they do not know that he who believes or stands for sovereignty of the people would never believe in promoting enmity between provinces, or else the government understands all this and wants to hide this fact from the people of Pakistan. There is such a strong upsurge in Iran because the people, who are like a dormant volcano, will have to erupt some day smashing every dirty strong hold of dictatorship. There can be momentary silence but only a stupid reason can imagine that the people have been overpowered forever.

I challenge any one to pin-point a single sentence uttered either by me or by my party, where provincial hatred has been preached, either directly or indirectly. We are committed to the toiling masses spread in all the four corners of the country, and indeed, of the world. The ruling classes oppress us everywhere from the remote mountain-regions in the north to the lap of the Indian Ocean. And we believe that the masses of the country can win back their rights only by their unity and joint efforts.

I have also been accused of having been in possession of material which attempted to bring into hatred and contempt or excite dissatisfaction against the armed forces of Pakistan. This is simply a reprisal and recrimination. I can oppose a general for poking his precious nose in politics and not minding the business we pay him for, but how can I oppose the armed forces in general. I know that the absolute majority of our army men are sons of peasants. Being a peasant worker how can I hate my own brothers and sons. I know that three hundred soldiers refused to fire on the people of Pakistan and had to pay for it. I know and admire General Sahibzada Yaqoob, Admiral Ahsan and Air Commander (probably) Masood, for refusing to be a party to carryout or arranging for the

dismemberment of our country. I know that courageous men are always ready to lay down their lives for their country. I admired a Colonel Sadiq Malik, president, executive committee of rural development foundation, who, on his return from Japan, said in a press conference that Japan has developed because it has abolished absentee landlordism and by limiting the land holding to maximum of about four acres (*Pakistan Times*, 13 June 1979).

Though his remarks coincide with the recommendations of the agricultural reform and rural development conference organised by the FAO in 1979 but are clearly in contradiction with the policies of the present regime. Let me hope that these favourable words will not harm his future. Moreover agricultural reforms are directly concerned with defence. If government distributes the land among the peasants, every peasant will know that if this country is harmed in any way his holding will also be snatched. Bhutto sahib distributed five per cent land among peasants with the result that he became even more powerful. If he had distributed all the land, Mr Zia would not have dared to carry out the coup d'etat. Wherever a government has distributed land among peasants that country has immediately become strong. I have already mentioned the Soviet Union context and should add that because the Afghan government has distributed land among the peasants, all the people like Mr. Zia, along with the help of American imperialism, cannot harm it. It is strange that servant of General Greecy who started his career as an enemy of his people and lured soldier of the Britishers who carried out a coup against the constitutional government of Bhutto, and who clearly claims in an interview that power will always remain with the C-in-C whether one likes it or not, (which itself is an announcement that he and his successors will always be blatant intruders and usurpers), accuses me of contempt of army. Our army, like all other armies, have neither come from heaven nor from hell as an institution. I know that wherever there is a state,

there will be an army. As individuals our soldiers are both good and bad because soldiers come from our society. What I have opposed is the role of certain seniors in politics. I feel by playing such a role these 'seniors' are earning a bad name for both army and country (as well as for the soldiers). It is unfortunate for both our 'bravos' and our country that which only few years back, when a soldier was seen in the street, people used to chant 'Dhol sepahi', but now the Pakistani people pity these soldiers who have pledged their lives for the sacred soil of Pakistan, but are being used for the defence of imperialists and other ruling classes. This practice must stop and this is the only way to restore regard and respect for our soldiers.

Under MLR 18 which is used as a political panacea against every type of offence, it has been alleged that I was in possession of material against ideology of Pakistan. This weird slogan of 'Ideology of Pakistan' was invented for certain special reasons. But before I discuss the reasons, I must make it clear that because this slogan was invented during Yahya regime therefore both Qaid-e-Azam and Liaqat Ali were unaware of it.

Mysterious slogans are always invented by usurer cliques in order to perpetuate their power and to serve the coterie whom they represent, ostensibly in the name of nation or country. Further, when a ruling clique, especially when it consists of generals, is unable to defend the country, it invents some weird slogan to camouflage its dirty designs. The Yahya regime, which was determined to dismember Pakistan, started shouting that it is worried about ideological frontiers so that in this whole hash people may forget that our poor country has geographical frontiers also which should be defended. The Yahya regime invented this slogan and dismembered the country. Now this government has started mouthing some slogans and I am again worried about the intention of the government regarding our geographical borders.

This government talks so much of Islam but is unaware

that in the Holy Quran the word *Qoom* (nation) had been used three hundred and three times but not even once in the sense that the government claims it to be used. It has been used for a group of people in some places. But *Qoom* is a group of people belonging to a geographical area, and even infidels speaking same language are declared as brothers of or from *qoom* of prophets such as: "We sent an apostle, except in the language of his (own) nation to make things clear to them." (Ibrahim 4th verse).

"Your nation tries to refute you, truth is that, tell them that you are not warder (An'am 66th verse).

"If you murder muslim from enemy nation, free a Muslim slave as penance" (Nissa 92nd verse).

"And his nation started quarelling with him" (An'am 79th).

"O my nation! I am indeed free from your (guilt) of giving partners to God" (An'am 78th).

"Are you unaware that, I destroyed the nation of Ibrahim" (A'raf 70th).

"Some persons from nation of Masses became believers" (A'raf 83rd verse).

"Those who were infidel chieftains from his nation said We see (in) thee nothing but a man like ours" (Hud 27th verse).

"Said O my nation I am right and sent by God you are blind" (Hud 28th).

"An angel came to Noah (and said) there will be no more believers from your nation... (Hud 36th verse).

"Chieftain of his nation said you are an imbecile and also a liar" (A'raf 66th).

"And when I sent loot, when he told his nation that you do such perversion which no body did" (A'raf 30th verse).

"Various chieftains of his nation said we wear that we will banish you and your believers or return to our religion" (A'raf 83rd verse).

"O my nation! you may face catastrophe for opposing me as the nation of Noah, nation of Hud, nation of Salih and nation of Loot" (Hud 89th).

“O my Lord! Truly my nation took this Quran for just foolish nonsense” (Furqan 30th).

Besides these there are a number of other examples also. As for the believers of one religion, they have been called a *millat*, not nation, as the government does now and then. Sometimes our government starts warning us against exotic ideologies forgetting the fact that even Islam is not a local religion. All human knowledge acquired anywhere is the inheritance of the whole of mankind.

In a message to the USA on her national day, Qaaid-e-Azam had made it clear that Pakistan will not be a theocratic state. In a speech while commenting on the great exodus he appealed to the Indian muslims to remain in India itself and be faithful citizens of that country, since I have not been allowed to have books and periodicals, therefore, I am sorry, I cannot give the particular references. Moreover Quaid-e-Azam in his speech to the constituent assembly said: “You are free. You are free to go to your temples, to your Mosque or any other place of worship. After sometimes Hindus will cease to be Hindus, Muslims will not remain Muslims, not in the religious sense, but in the political sense. We are all Pakistanis and that makes it clear that Pakistan is equal to Pakistani geography. So as far as one's faith is concerned it is none of the government's business, whether anybody is prepared to become Ahle-Hadis, or remains Hindu, Christian, Sunni, Shia, etc.” The Quaid-e-Azam also said that there will be Islamic socialism in Pakistan something which the present government is so scared.

However what the economy or system of our country is to be are matters that are to be decided by the people of Pakistan and not by any...

In the clandestine concentration camp I was accused for my belief in socialism, by so-called specialists pretending to have vast knowledge. A gentleman came to the clandestine camp in Karachi, while I was being tortured, and started preaching Islam. What a proper place and time chosen for preaching! He said: “Why do you stand for

socialism, when Islam declares it to be the duty of every muslim to distribute 40 per cent of his wealth?" When I said that "It is not 40 per cent but fortieth part i.e. 2.5 per cent", he insisted that Zakat is 40 per cent and said, "All right, even if that is so, the property will come to an end in forty years." The poor fellow did not know that any yearly deduction will not do since every government saving schemes pay up to 10 per cent interest per year.

The government must be honest enough to tell the people frankly that since it wants to wield power in the interest of monopoly capital, big landlords, imperialist masters, it is against the struggle for socialism and rights of the people and nationalities. Why should it make mysterious changes and launch a clandestine case? This case is semisecret because the charge sheet is confidential. This honourable court otherwise working in district council hall has been brought to the barracks. Further, if and when some more political workers are available, their names will be added to my name, and they will be dealt with a heavy hand. The government has produced some documents, especially the "Four Point Programme" in a suspenseful and special way, even before the judges of High courts and posed as if they have secured a Hydrogen bomb from my hand bag. I did not form any army as they allege all in the army but now I must say that if the army is used continuously in politics, naturally the soldiers will, if not today then tomorrow, refuse being used in favour of few feudal lords, capitalists, some seniors and their imperialist masters. Then this government will try to hang me and other people who have a noble programme under the slogan of 'ideology of Pakistan'.

Gentlemen, the country is people, geography, history and some other factors. Whereas every party has its own ideology, the ideology of this clique is flogging, amputation, service of monopoly capitalists by denationalisation and killing workers, the service of feudals through rebate and killing peasants and serving imperialist masters through pacts and intervention in Afghanistan.

By ideology, that is, the ideology of Pakistan for me is scientific socialism, radical agricultural reforms, nationalisation of basic industries and imperialist capital, serving 1959 pact with USA and rights for smaller nationalities.

Sir, the Communist Party of Pakistan is merely a contingent of the international working class movement. Our policies are integrated with policies of international movement as expressed by the programme of 81 parties, the peace manifesto, etc. It is our considered opinion that all countries of the world generally, and of our region particularly should cultivate good neighbourly relations so that the unity of Asian countries may be able to dislodge world imperialism from its entrenched positions. This policy is currently called the policy of Asian Collective Security. This policy, to which we wholeheartedly subscribe, is opposed to the disintegration of states or even alteration in the geographical boundaries of states, since such a policy would undermine the anti-imperialist unity of the states of our region. Our party is a strong defender of the sovereignty and solidarity of Pakistan, not because it fears any funny dictator, but out of its own conviction. This is testified by the statements of the party as well as statements of our secretary-general comrade Imam Ali Nazish.

It is interesting to note that the government has profited from our 'Four Point Programme', and derived the idea of an advisory council from it. Though this derivation is of such distorted nature that it reminds me of an anecdote of a horse which was being sold very cheap—say for five rupees. All the four legs, its eyes, ears etc. were in good condition, but had no life. So, the idea of '4-points' is very good, but without real representatives of peasants, workers, womenfolk, journalist, and without delegating powers, authority, etc. it is like the dead horse. However instead of being thankful the government has started accusing us.

A word about the 'Four Point Programme' of the party will not be out of place. As known to all, my party, along with other democratic and progressive people, opposes the PNA, and the coup which it paved the way for. After the

events of 5 July 1977 we assessed that the ruling classes are now so isolated that they cannot hold even general elections leading to representative government. Our country should first have a representative government, which will hold general elections, leading to a *de jure* government. The reversal of the democratic process becomes necessity in police states where the people are not allowed to organise themselves in political parties. However, as was witnessed in Iran, a government of the people was established after ousting the Shah and the democratic process of election was resumed later.

The events of the last two years have shown the truth of our thinking. Recently the government further snatched away all powers of the courts in its attempt to hinder the democratic tide. But the discontent of the masses is already being transformed into the movement of the people. All democratic, patriotic and toiling sections of the masses are becoming even more active in the struggle for their demands and the unity in their ranks is increasing. The court should see the writing on the wall.

It has been innocently claimed that while the police was on a secret duty, it suddenly got information from some informer, came and challenged me, and later came to know who I was! Splendid! what an innocent story? Would it have harmed any one to speak a little truth about much chasing which went on for months and, the presence of a colonel, army vehicle to arrest me or do they only fabricate fables out of sheer habit.

Now something about the musheernama, which, as I have already told you, was not prepared on the spot, as stated by the police witness. I was in possession of two copies of *Surkh Parcham* (of December 1978) in Sindhi and Urdu, both. I also had one copy of *Halchal*, which I read, like thousands of others, whenever I get it. Wherever there is censorship and gag, when such papers come out the people like to read them in quest of news and views.

I also had two issues of *New Times* (of October 1978 and November 1978) and also a book entitle *What is Historical*

Materialism. All these are available in the market. But the authorities have added three pamphlets 'Four Point Programme', 'Phatkan jo Haqdar Kon', and 'Zamima' of *Surkh Parcham*. 'Phatkan jo Haqdar Kon' was published in 1977 'Four Point Programme' was published on First May 1978 and 'Zamima' in October 1978, therefore, there is no sense in alleging that I was carrying one copy of each many months after they were published. It would have been much more suitable to allege that, these pamphlets have been issued by the Communist Party of Pakistan and I have courage of conviction to claim to be a communist, therefore I can be held responsible.

I had an issue of a weekly paper, *Awami Jhmoriat*. It is amazing that a paper which comes out with a declaration, and circulates openly, should be found to be objectionable if I carry it in my bag.

However, none of these papers, books, magazines or pamphlets have been proscribed. Therefore, it is not any crime to carry these, even if the said three pamphlets were really found on me. Gentlemen! Unfortunately two different dictionaries (or dialects) have developed in our country. For instance, I was accused in clandestine camps for speech delivered in 1970 at Sind university, in which I demanded that the army should be recruited from all provinces. I was told that this was 'Shar Pasandi' (mischief). And when I was asked about the movement of journalists (the camp was the same where journalists were tortured), I said that if the government had been wise enough to accept their demands instead of flogging them it would have been far better. I was told that my comment was 'Shar Pasandi' probably that is why people start thinking that 'Inteshar Pasandi' means reasonable.

Therefore I pray that my statement should not be seen in the light of the new, notorious dictionary of the government, but should be taken in a political sense.

Finally I must say that even the higher courts of our country have been sometimes awarding decisions contrary to that of history. But after some years they get a chance

to retrieve and thus restore their respect. It is in the recent past and everybody knows about Asma Jilani case, Dosa case or Molvi Tameezud Dīn case etc. But this court will never get another chance to make its decisions in harmony with history.

Therefore Mr President and members of this court, this is first and last chance to be remembered in history.



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