



A HOPE IS LOST

Shaheed Benazir Bhutto

1953 - 2007

Editor

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"A Hope Is Lost"

an Asset for the Nation, says Asif Zardari

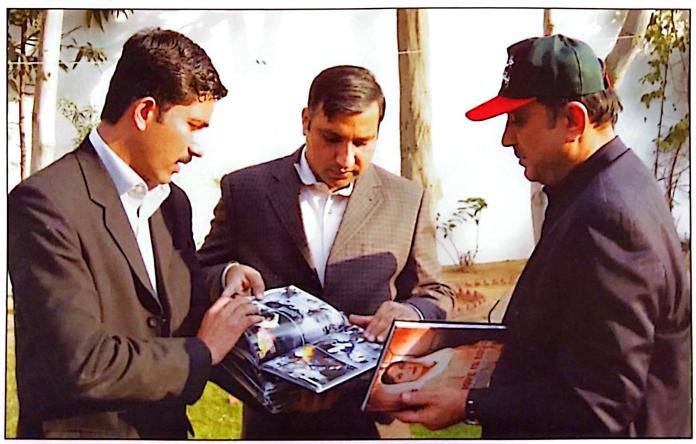
The first book on Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto Shaheed after her assassination was launched on January 27, 2008 at Bilawal House, Karachi.

"A Hope Is Lost" is a pictorial review of Mohtarma's life, which carries 400 pictures on different aspects of her life.

PPP Co-Chairman Asif Ali Zardari while receiving the book from Zubair Ahmed Kasuri said that this book is really an effort to keep people informed about the various aspects of Mohtarma's life.

Zardari further said this book is really an asset not only for him but for the whole Pakistani Nation.

He appreciated Zubair Ahmed Kasuri and his team's efforts in compiling the book. To make people understand that many thought she had taken away the chance of democracy with her. But it seems even beyond the grave that Bhutto still refuse to be defeated is a message which is tried to deliver among the masses through the book. It is a book on Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto to show her life through the lenses of camera.



Karachi: Jan 27- Zubair Ahmed Kasuri and M Haseeb Khalid are presenting the book 'A Hope Is Lost- A Pictorial review of Shaheed Benazir Bhutto life' to PPP Co-Chairman Asif Ali Zaradri at Bilawal House.

Preface

We all are lamenting the assassination of former Prime Minister Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto Shaheed. Analysts and politicians are calling it the death of hope for democracy in Pakistan.

Her father, Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was Pakistan's first elected Prime Minister and founder of the Pakistan People's Party had the force and charm of a socialist demagogue. Adding glamour to the inherited chairmanship of the party and the romantic tragic legacy, Benazir won the support of masses both at home and abroad.

Her glamorous good looks and fluent English led to sustainable relations with western politicians and journalists, many of whom had known her either at Harvard or Oxford. For those with the standard Western prejudices against the Islamic world, she had the added assets of a pronounceable name and a tolerant religious outlook.

The death of the 54-year-old charismatic former Prime Minister threw the campaign for the general election into chaos and created fears of mass protests and an eruption of violence across Pakistan.

With the finger of accusation being pointed in all directions as to who was responsible for her death, the question now remains about the future of Pakistan. Despite her flawed past in which she was twice dismissed she, has always been a major force in the political field. Politically her death leaves a huge vacuum at the heart of Pakistan's political system.

When Benazir Bhutto was laid to rest, many thought she had taken the chance of democracy with her. But it seems even beyond the grave, the Bhutto name still refuses to be defeated.

Tributes to a charismatic leader, May Allah rest her soul in peace!



Acknowledgment

After 'Paradise Lost' and 'My Heart Aches' now at the tragic death of Shaheed Benazir Bhutto 'A Hope is Lost' is an effort to pay tribute to Gigantic personality of the world.

First of all, I am grateful to my parents specially to my Ami Jan whose motivation and encouragement made me able to achieve the things in my life. I would not have been able to do this without her support.

I thank the people who contributed to this book with informal reviews, suggestions, and fixes.

I would like to express my gratitude to Mir Shakil-ur-Rahman Group Editor in Chief of Jang Group of Companies, whose expertise, understanding, and patience, added considerably achieve this task.

Special thanks to Salim Bukhari, Editor, 'THE NEWS', Rana Tahir, Editor, Jang, Magsood Butt, Chief Reporter Jang, Lahore. A special thanks to Bashir A. Tahir, CEO Abu Dhabi Group, I doubt that I will ever be able to convey my appreciation fully, but I owe him my eternal gratitude.

Tarig Malik, CEO Wateen Telecom, Zibber Mohiuddin, CEO Ericsson Pakistan, and Ali Qadir Gilani, EVP PTCL encouraged me as well for the completion of this book.

Especially Murtaza Hashwani, CEO Hashoo Group, I am thankful to him, it was under his tutelage that I developed a focus and became interested in vision and human factors.

I also received invaluable assistance from people and news agencies AFP, AP, Reuters, and APP who got the source code and sent in patches for the completion of this tribute to Shaheed Benazir Bhutto.

Zubair Ahmed Kasuri

Editor-in-Chief





FOREWORD

Zubair Kasuri is a wonderful individual and his person possesses many dimensions. I have seldom seen people who react to a historic event as swiftly as he. He is not known to me for long. In a short span of time that I had known him, he has impressed me in more than one ways. He is a journalist, a sales man, and a company executive. I was first impressed by him when he came out with a book 'Paradise Lost' containing images of earthquake devastation that claimed tens of thousands of human lives. It was a pictorial review of victims, survivors and rescue operations besides reflecting the spirit of the Pakistani nation with which it responded to heal the wounds of their brethrens. The publication of 'Flare Cares', the book received acclaim across the world. This book did wonders in attracting attention of the world community and donor agencies forcing them to reach out to the earthquake victims.

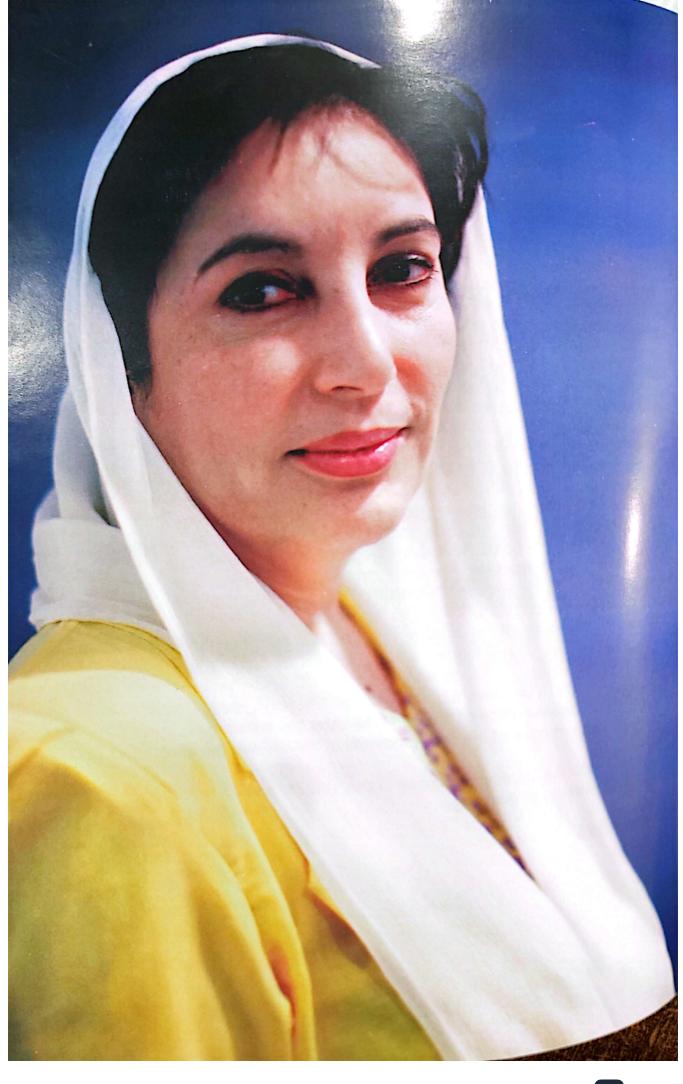
And now once again, Zubair has risen to the occasion and came out with yet another Herculean task by publishing 'A Hope is Lost' comprehending greatest tragedy of Pakistan's otherwise chequered history, the assassination of country's towering politician, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto. Zubair reacted faster than anyone else could. While the entire nation was lost in grief and pain, his mind was working to contain all aspects of the event in form of a book. He spent days and nights along with his brilliant assistant, Muhammad Haseeb Khalid collecting/selecting photographs and looking for authentic material on the person of late Benazir Bhutto, who is now popularly known as 'Shaheed' (martyr).

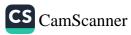
I have not even an iota of doubt in my mind that this effort would also be appreciated and acknowledged widely. Despite the fact that late Benazir Bhutto needs no introduction; this book will unfold various aspects of her life. It provides a quick look into her family, early life and her rise to the highest office of the Prime Minister twice through popular vote. It includes images of the final moments of her life and the aftermaths.

I wish Zuabir Kasuri every success in this venture and all others that he is either working or planning.

Salim Bokhari Islamabad







Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto Shaheed (1953-2007)

EARLY DAYS

Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto Shaheed was a politician who chaired the Pakistan People: Party (PPP), a centre-left political party in Pakistan. Bhutto was the first woman elected t lead a Muslim state, having twice been Prime Minister of Pakistan (1988-1990; 1993-1999). Bhutto was the eldest child of former Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Her paternal gran father was Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto. Benazir was sworn in for the first time in 1988 at the of 35, but was removed from office 20 months later under the order of then-president Ghulam Ishaq Khan on grounds of alleged corruption. In 1993 Bhutto was re-elected but was again removed in 1996 on similar charges, this time by President Farooq Leghari. Bhutto went into self-imposed exile in Dubai in 1998.

EDUCATION AND PERSONAL LIFE

She attended the Lady Jennings Nursery School and then the Convent of Jesus and Mary in Karachi. After two years of schooling at the Rawalpindi Presentation Convent, sh was sent to the Jesus and Mary Convent at Murree. She passed her O-level examinatior at the age of 15. She then went on to complete her A-Levels at the Karachi Grammar School. After completing her early education in Pakistan, she pursued her higher educati in the United States. From 1969 to 1973 she attended Radcliffe College at Harvard University, where she obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree with cum laude honors in compative government. She was also elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Bhutto would later call her tin at Harvard "four of the happiest years of my life" and said it formed "the very basis of [he belief in democracy". As Prime Minister, she arranged a gift from the Pakistani governme to Harvard Law School.

The next phase of her education took place in the United Kingdom. Between 1973 an 1977 Bhutto studied Philosophy, Politics, and Economics at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, ing which she completed additional courses in International Law and Diplomacy. In December 1976 she was elected president of the Oxford Union, becoming the first Asian woman to head the prestigious debating society. On December 18, 1987, she married As Ali Zardari in Karachi. The couple had three children: Bilawal, Bakhtwar and Asifa.

AWARDS AND HONORARY DEGREES

Bruno Kreisky Award of Merit in human rights, 1988. Honorary Doctorate of Law, L.L.I Harvard University (1989) Honorary Fellowship by Lady Margaret Hall, University Oxford, (1989) Honorary Fellowship by St. Catherine College, University of Oxford, (1989) Honorary Phi Beta Kappa Award (1989), presented by Radcliffe College. Highest Moroccan Award "Grand Cordon de Wissam Alaoui" Highest French Award "Grand-croix de la Legion Honneur" (1989) The Noel Foundation Award, 1990 (UNIFEM). Honorary Doctorate of La (Honoris Causa), University of Sindh (1994) Key to the city of Los Angeles, presented by Mayor of Los Angeles (1995) Presidential Medal, Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Science (1995) Medal by University of California at Los Angeles (1995) Honorary Doctor of Law (Honoris Causa), Peshawar University (1995) Honorary Professor of the Kyrghyz

A HOPE IS LOST

Bosnia. Gold medal Dragon of Bosnia awarded by President of Bosnia (1996) Awarded the Businessmen Association (MUSAID) on account of providing assistance to the people of OHYUKAI, Alumni Association of Gakushuin, conferred by OHYUKAI Tokyo (1996). The Gakushuin Honorary Award, Tokyo (1996) Award by the Turkish Independent Industries and University, Kazakh-Turkish International Language University, Kazakhstan, 1995. Honorary Doctorate of Economics, Gakushuin University, Tokyo (1996) Honorable Member of State National University (1995) Kyrghyzstan. Honorary Professor of Yassavi Kazakh Turkish International Woman of the Year - in Dubai 2006. Awarded American Academy Award of Achievement in London, October 28, 2000 2000 Millennium Medal of Honor by American Biographical Institute, Inc. in November 1998

Benazir Bhutto's Books

- Benazir Bhutto, (1983), Pakistan: The gathering storm, Vikas Pub. House, ISBN
- Daughter of the East was also released as: Benazir Bhutto (1989). Daughter of the East. Hamish Hamilton. ISBN 0-241-12398-4
- Benazir Bhutto (1989). Daughter of Destiny: An Autobiography. Simon & Schuster. ISBN

Mark Siegel, is expected to be published in February 2008.[115] At the time of Bhutto's death, the manuscript for her third book, to be called Reconciliation: Democracy and the West, had been received by Harper Collins. The book, written with

Books about Benazir Bhutto

- W.F.Pepper, (1983), Benazir Bhutto, WF Pepper, ISBN 0946781001
- Rafiq Zakaria (1990). The Trial of Benazir. Sangam Books. ISBN 0-861-32265-7
- Series), Franklin Watts, ISBN 0531109364 Katherine M. Doherty, Caraig A. Doherty, (1990), Benazir Bhutto (Impact Biographies
- Islam, Eureka Pubns, ISBN 9679783200 Rafiq Zakaria, (1991), The Trial of Benazir Bhutto: An Insight into the Status of Women in
- Books (Mm), ISBN 0553158570 Diane Sansevere-Dreher, (1991), Benazir Bhutto (Changing Our World Series), Bantam
- Christina Lamb, (1992), Waiting for Allah, Penguin Books Ltd, ISBN 0140143343
- 024554965X M. Fathers, (1992), Biography of Benazir Bhutto, W.H. Allen / Virgin Books, ISBN
- Blackbirch Pr Inc, ISBN 1567110274 Elizabeth Bouchard, (1994), Benazir Bhutto: Prime Minister (Library of Famous Women),
- Iqbal Akhund, (2000), Trial and Error: The Advent and Eclipse of Benazir Bhutto, OUP
- Pakistan, ISBN 0195791606
- Libby Hughes, (2000), Benazir Bhutto: From Prison to Prime Minister, Backinprint.Com,
- Iqbal Akhund, (2002), Benazir Hukoomat: Phela Daur, Kia Khoya, Kia Paya?, OUP
- Pakistan, ISBN 0195794214
- Publishers, ISBN 0791077322 Mercedes Anderson, (2004), Benazir Bhutto (Women in Politics), Chelsea House
- Books, ISBN 0756517982 Mary Englar, (2007), Benazir Bhutto: Pakistani Prime Minister and Activist, Compass Poi
- Press, ISBN 0745325459 -Ayesha Siddiqa Agha, (2007), Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy, Pluto

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Why the World Needs emocracy in Pakistar

he world has rightly welcomed
President Pervez Musharrafs
retirement as Army head and
announcement that emergency
rule will end on Dec. 16. However,
a crucial question remains. Is
akistan heading toward a democratic

Pakistan heading toward a democratic future? Parliamentary elections are currently scheduled for Jan. 8. Among many worrying signs of corruption, the election commission is biased and not acting on complaints of fraud.

Yet if credible elections are not held, it will have dangerous consequences for Pakistan and the rest of the world community: Extremism will continue to grow, putting everyone at risk. The world must act to prevent this. It must insist on free and fair elections in Pakistan.

President Musharraf's last term in office demonstrated that dictatorship has fueled extremism. The tribal areas of Pakistan have turned into havens for militants to mount attacks on NATO troops in nearby Afghanistan. Lack of governance has led to the expansion of extremism into settled areas of Pakistan.

Democracy offers the best hope of containing extremism. Yet democracy depends on a fair electoral process and an independent election commission willing and able to implement Pakistan's electoral laws to prevent vote fraud. That is not happening.

"Improvised" voting stations, a pseudonym for ghost polling stations, dot practically every parliamentary constituency. Electoral lists - prepared with financial assistance from

USAID - are fatally flawed, with more than 10 million unverified and missing names (clearly enough to "win" or "lose" an election). The sanctity of any future ballot is doubtful against reports that district returning officers have been ordered to disperse 20,000 ballots already marked in favor of pro-government candidates. These bogus votes will be "cast" through the process of double voting in the "improvised" voting stations - in ballot boxes that are translucent rather than transparent.

ment candidates. The election commission them shamelessly to campaign for governand government resources and are using stop them. Politically motivated officials have tices but has taken no concrete efforts to has asked for "a report" on such malpracmanipulate the elections further, although gence services and key state posts to been placed in charge of the civilian intelliter has been made a returning officer to pre election laws demand that such officials be simply a fancy way of buying time and doir plaint is being "looked into" as well, which i side over elections in his area. This comneutral. An assistant to a former chief minis nothing. Mayors continue to control guns, police

Punjab Province, which elects more tha half of Pakistan's parliament, chooses 148 the members through direct elections, excluding reserved seats for women and minorities. Of these seats, it is believed th 108 have been marked for rigging for government-backed candidates.

By the time all such reports of fraud

come in from across the country, the elections will be over.

On top of all this, the media remains gagged, opposition leaders remain imprisoned, voter lists and voting locations have not yet been provided to opposition parties or to the general public in final print or electronic format, and no effort has been made by the pliant electoral commission to regularly consult with political parties on these issues.

There is also no plan in place to ensure that votes counted at voting stations will be delivered to local consolidation centers without being manipulated en route. The National Reconciliation Ordinance, which provides for an immediate consolidated count, has been suspended.

Put quite simply, the elections are being stitched up to give the country a continuation of the outgoing government - one that failed to prevent the spread of militancy, extremism, and terrorism. Major terrorist attacks, including the latest plot discovered in Germany this summer, tracked terrorists' footsteps back to Pakistan's northern areas.

Unless there is a change in the status quo, the past will repeat itself. But that change can only come when the world community puts its weight behind fair elections and its faith in the people of Pakistan.

Musharraf sent a delegation to the US last week to talk to the Bush administration and members of Congress about the current situation. This visit was only meantto feign progress and deflect criticism.

Musharraf wants the world to believe that the coming election, though not perfect, will be "good enough for Pakistan" given the country's difficult circumstances. But the current circumstances are of the regime's making. Those in charge can - and must - do much better on this count.

The international community must send a clear message that it will not be an accessory to this coming crime. It must not wait to

see if the elections on Jan. 8 are free and fair. It must insist on a minimum set of benchmarks to be met for the election to be recognized as free and fair. If the benchmarks are ignored, the international community must be prepared to signal its displeasure to the Musharraf regime in specific, tangible ways.

Flawed elections will worsen instability in Pakistan as civil society and political parties protest. Imposing international restrictions after the fact will be fruitless and only deepen anti-American sentiment.

At the very least, America can and should prod Musharraf to give Posistanis an independent election commissic a neutral caretaker administration, and around to blatant vote manipulation.

America is the world's most powerful democracy. By standing up for democracy at this critical time, Washington can give this nuclear-armed nation an opportunity to reverse the tide of extremism that today threatens not only Pakistan but the larger world community as well.

The Article was published in international newspapers and "The News". This is the last piece of writing by Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto.

Courtesy: The News



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Benazir Bhutto Quotes

which are collected from different links and papers mindless dominance and injustice. Here is a collection of quotes from Shaheed-e-Jamhurat lenges. But she refused to be cowed down. Benazir Bhutto quotes inspire us to rally against tim of terror attacks. Twice elected the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Benazir faced many chal-Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto Shaheed, fondly called "the Daughter of the East," became a vic-

On the attempt to assassinate her in October 2007.

"We are prepared to risk our lives. We're prepared to risk our liberty. But we're not prepared to surrender this great nation to militants. The attack was on what I represent. The attack was on democracy and very unity and integrity of Pakistan.

"Just before the attacks happened, I was very happy. The procession was one enormous me, that was the real Pakistan." party, the atmosphere was joyful, people were dancing in the street, it was magnificent. For

On threats to her life

who are behind extremism and fanaticism." "I know exactly who wants to kill me. They are dignitaries of General Zia's former regime

"The supporters of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda have threatened my assassination. The Taliban leader Baitullah Mehsud has said that his terrorists will 'welcome' me on my return."

"Despite threats of death, I will not acquiesce to tyranny, but rather lead the fight against it."

"Don't worry, I'm going to be safe, and God willing I'm going to be safe."

On returning to Pakistan in October after eight years of self-imposed exile she said:

force General Musharraf's ouster. But I feel that if we have an agitation four months before the election, it could lead to yet another military rule ... or it may lead to extremists taking "They would like me to come out on the streets now [in August], before the elections, to

people of Pakistan in the political life of their country" if you believe in a cause you have to pay the price." She said her duty was to mobilise "the "I know some people will think it was naïve [to return despite death threats]," she said. "But

Recalling a visit to her father before his execution

"I told him on my oath in his death cell, I would carry on his work."

"You can imprison a man, but not an idea. You can exile a man, but not an idea. You can kil a man, but not an idea"

Farewell to Wadi Bua

truth, the sad truth. The last fifteen years were not one we spent as friends or as relatives, that is also the truth. But this week, I too want to remember her differently. I want to remember her differently because I must. I can't lose faith in this country, my home. I can't believe that it was for nothing, that violence in its purest form is so cruel and so unforgiving. I can't accept that this is what we have come to. So, I must offer a farewell. One that is written in tears and anger but one that comes from a place far away, from the realm of memory and forgiving -- a place where at another time, we might have all been safe. As a child, I used to call my aunt Wadi Bua, Sindhi for father's older sister.

y aunt and I had a complicat-

ed relationship. That is the

When I got the news, I was told that something had happened to Wadi Bua. It was an expression I hadn't heard or used in a very long time, when I heard it said to me over the phone I remembered someone different.

We used to read children's books together. We used to like exactly the same sweets -- sugared chestnuts and candied apples. We used to get the same ear infections, ear infections that tortured us and plagued us throughout the years.

I have never before written an article that seemed so impossible. We were very different. Though people liked to compare us, almost instinctively, because well, they could. It is difficult for me to write about two people, one in the present tense and one in the past, at the same time.

Especially when one person's passing

makes the other one wonder whether there is a cusp to things and whether or not there really is a past and present to life.

I never agreed with her politics. I never did. I never agreed with those she kept around her, the political opportunists, hanger-ons, them. They repulse me.

I never agreed with her version of events. Never. But in death, in death perhaps there is a moment to call for calm. To say, enough. We have had enough. We cannot, and we will not, take anymore madness.

I mourn because my family has had enough. I mourn for Bilawal, Bakhtawar, and Asifa. I mourn for them because I too lost a parent. I know what it feels like to be lost and left at sea, unanchored and afraid.

I mourn for the workers of the party, those who have been bereaved of their own loved ones in this tragedy.

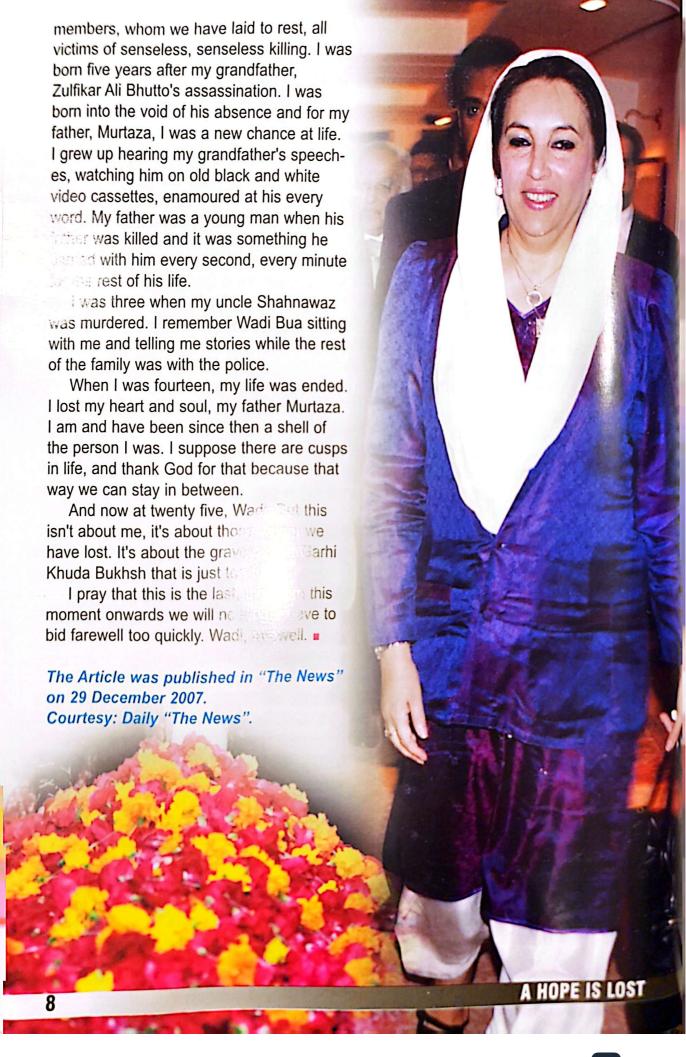
When congregants gather in a church, temple, or mosque they offer prayers for those that reside beyond. The congregants sing to the heavens and they offer the divine their hymns of sadness and hope. There are no hymns consisting of frustration or anger - this too shall pass, they say, remember that. What hymns do we sing now?

In those hymns, there is hope encapsulated in the sadness. There is a lingering sense that after darkness a dawn will rise. What then do we have to be hopeful for? And how do we proceed to wake the dawn?

I have always been honest with you, I promised that to you at the beginning. Honestly, I am at a loss. I am compounded in a state of shock.

I am in shock because I have yet to bury a loved one who has died from natural causes. Four family members, immediate family

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Why I Cried, at Last

t is male chauvinism or bloated egos, but men don't cry, at least in public. But when my friend Masood Haider of Dawn, who had just arrived from New York, called me from Lahore after the news of Benazir's sudden death had broken, both of us just held the cell phones without saying a word and cried, sobbing aloud, tears flowing. I was in the office and told him to calm down and I got back to work, as the job had to be done first. Tears could wait.

What we both were recalling were the numerous sessions we had together with Benazir Bhutto, whenever she was visiting New York or Washington during the last many years of her exile. These were exclusive sessions and what we talked about was everything probably no one else would ever dare to raise with her, friend or critic. Like once she asked how she could correct the perception created about her that she was corrupt and prompt was Masood's reply: Divorce Asif Ali Zardari. She took it without a whiff of protest but then asked us to accompany her to the JFK Airport as she was leaving and wanted to talk more. We did and she argued all the way why Masood was wrong.

She knew about all the long critical articles and stories that I had written during her first and the second tenures in government and would argue with force that the data and equipment that I quoted was leaked, distorted and misrepresented by the establishment, reaching my hands through agents whom probably I did not know but trusted as good news sources.

But she also knew that whenever she was out of power, it was the same media, the same writers and journalists who stood by the persecuted and fought their case. In 1991 when Asif Ali Zardari was in Jam Sadiq Ali's dreaded jail, shortly after Benazir had been

removed as Prime Minister, she recalled that journalists from Islamabad were the first to go and meet him, in jail, despite Jam's fierce resistance. I was part of those six journalists, others including Nusrat Javeed, late Azhar Sohail and Shakeel Sheikh, and had been invited by Jam Sadiq to tour Sindh at his expense but write what we saw. That we did and almost every article shredded the late tyrant's claims of peace and tranquility in Sindh. That jail visit was where we all began a long lasting friendship with Asif Zardari.

She remembered and discussed those days with praise and gratitude. Benazir thus was not an arrogant person as many portray her to be. She was inexperienced and a little naïve in her early years of power but with trials and tribulations of horrendous magnitude she matured into a polished politician, a diplomat par excellence and a pragmatic' leader. Her years of exile taught her more about politics and how to handle people than her years in power. She developed a direct rapport with anyone and everyone and used the internet to the maximum. Her E-mail politics, as her critics used to joke, did wonders for her. She was in direct touch with all and she got feedback instantly, helping her make quick and right decisions. That style of politics kept her ahead of her opponents and kept the cadres engaged, giving them a feeling of intimacy and a feeling of access to the top leadership.

My first hand experience of that E-mail politics was when she was planning to visit Jeddah to condole with Mian Nawaz Sharif as his father the late Abbaji had expired in exile. Asif Ali Zardari had also made it to Dubai and they were planning to meet Nawaz for the first time outside their country. Since I was on her E-mail grid and frequently exchanged notes, I asked her what she was

expecting to achieve at the Jeddah meeting with Mian Nawaz Sharif as it should be a major political event and not just a condolence meeting. In reply she asked what I thought should come out of Jeddah.

I gave her my view as an objective observer. The meeting must produce some document which gives hope to the people that the two major political parties of Pakistan are now ready to sit together and discuss their past, present and future relations, I suggested. On her insistence I sent her a onepage brief of what they should discuss and announce publicly. I called it the Charter of Democracy. It should, I suggested, candidly admit the past mistakes committed by both the sides and lay down the course of political action making solemn pledges and commitments that never again would the two parties undermine each other to favour any third non-political institution.

Benazir was so excited she responded instantly saying I have just got this paper and I am flying after a few hours and I will take this paper to Mian Sahib. What we saw then was an announcement about the Charter as both Mian Nawaz Sharif and Benazir made it into a cornerstone for their future politics, a watershed of sorts. They set up a committee which gave real shape to the basic idea which remained the reference point of both the leaders, despite their variances in approach, for dealing with the military regime.

That was Benazir Bhutto, the mature who would listen to others and them her confidence and trust, the mature and trust, so to say.

was the never ever, even in the wild world of the paparazzi, the media men and camera guys chasing world celebrities, any personal scandal about her was discovered, though she travelled almost continuously between world capitals. She was always conscious of her image back home, wearing the proper head dress when appearing before the cameras and always showing respect for other

religions and sects.

She was not always happy with Masood and myself as we would sometimes say things she would not like. In July this year when she was hobnobbing with General Pervez Musharraf some friends met in Washington and reached a consensus that her secret backdoor channels with the military would damage her politically. Somehow I took that on myself to inform her in detail that this was a mistake. Editor Najam Sethi was also part of that discussion and he immediately dissociated with the consensus view. The diplomat Benazir just did not respons to the communication and we did not bother.

When her meetings with Musharraf started yielding results, positive for her but ci cised by almost the entire civil society, a seling started developing that probably she ad a point in showing pragmatism as she did not have enough guns and commandos to fight her way to power and win against an entire army. But probably she miscalculated either the commitment of the other side in her secret talks or the resistance within the institution to her teaming up with General Musharraf. She achieved a lot but she misread the open and hidden opposition, wherever it was. They were out to get her and General Musharraf either did not bother, did not know or did not care. She paid the price for her pragmatism.

We lost a great leader, a popular politician and also a person with whom an intelligent, candid and frank discussion could be held, without fear of any repercussions. No one is left in the political spectrum to match her level of sophistication, international exposure, popular support and still open to receive and act on good advice.

We lost a friend and when I returned home at 3 am, this shocking reality sunk in that the friend was being air lifted in a casket and her grave was ready to receive her. Benazir in a grave, the thought suddenly jolted me, brought waves of tears and I shed them all in silence, and alone.

A Good Human & a Great Friend

That Benazir is no more is something I can't get over. To me, above all else, she was a great friend. And I want her children to know that Benazir was a good, solid, human being.

I first met Benazir when she and I went to Oxford in 1972. We were in the same class and we got to know each other a few days after our terms started. But the relationship our families shared preceded our knowing each other. My grandfather was high commissioner to Pakistan and knew her grandfather very well. My sister and Benazir had the same guardian in London and it was inevitable that we would go on to be great friends.

One of the most enduring images of Benazir from our days at Oxford was her absolute determination to succeed, especially in those areas where her father had succeeded. I can't forget the times when she had set her mind on becoming president of the Oxford Union. She had to fight three times before making it to the position.

Not just that, she even dropped a year at Oxford to fulfill her quest. Eventually, she graduated a year after I did. The only reason that I mention this is to underline her determination.

Then there was the time when there was a move at Oxford to confer an honorary doctorate on her father, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. But there was a section of fellows at Oxford who didn't want that, in large part because his name was linked to the crisis in Bangladesh. Benazir worked very hard to tell those opposed to him that their impressions of her father were not in tune with reality. Clearly, she was her father's daughter.

She was always a happy go-lucky person and lived a good life. There was no pretence or arrogance around her about being a prime minister's daughter. My friendship with her was one of the closest, in spite of my being an Indian. I suspect we were so close because I was Indian. Our nationalities were never a boundary.

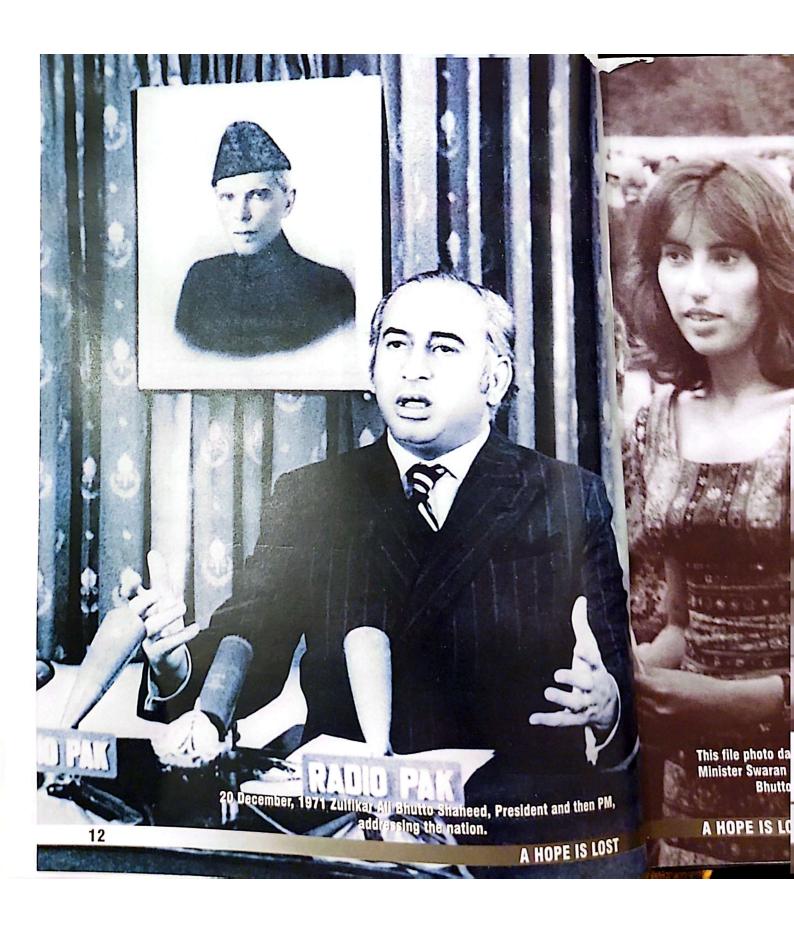
Time went by and she went on to become PM of Pakistan. I was also on the board of Shell in Pakistan and each time I visited the country, I would call her office and leave a message. She would always call back; but at a time when it was impossible for me to meet herwhen I was about to board a plane, for instance.

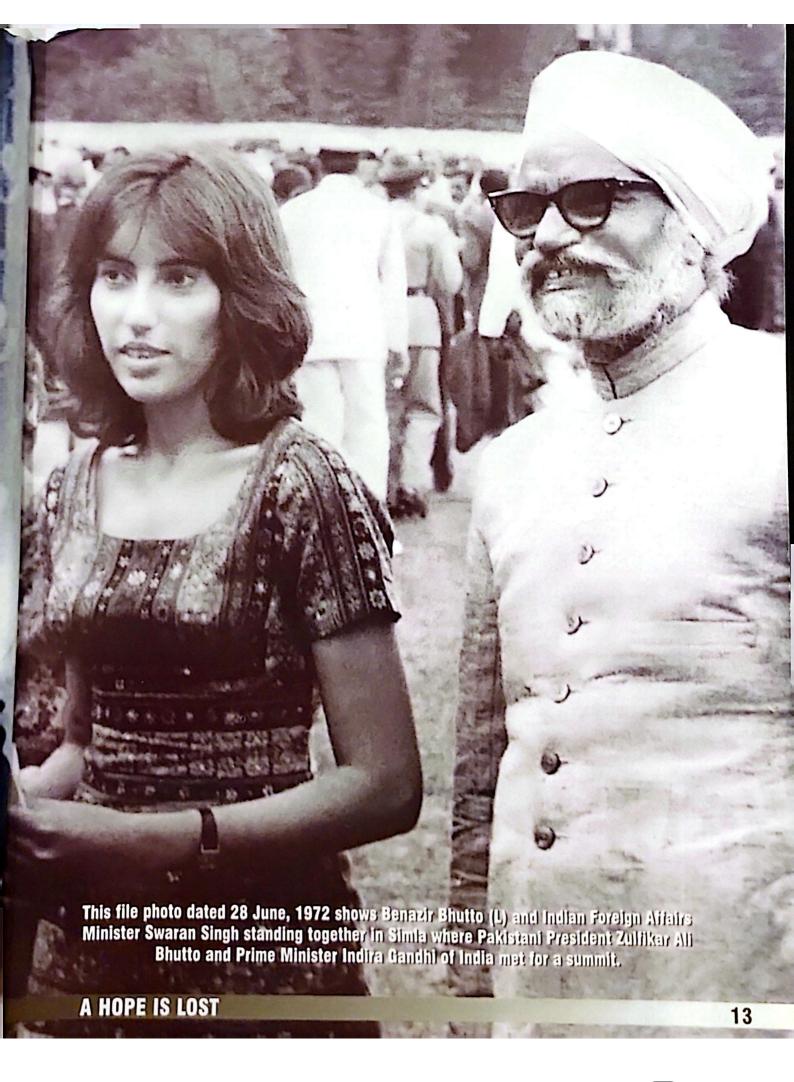
I know I am putting words into her mouth. But I came to believe it was her way of saying, "I can't see you now. I am the PM and you are an Indian. But you are on my mind." I always considered this an affirmation of her friendship and acknowledgement of the practicalities of life.

During her time in exile, I used to meet her in London, Dubai and America. She'd talk of her plans to return to Pakistan. She was aware that she could be arrested. But her life revolved around Pakistan. I will miss you, my friend.

Mehta is chairman, Shell (India)
The article was published in various international newspapers.

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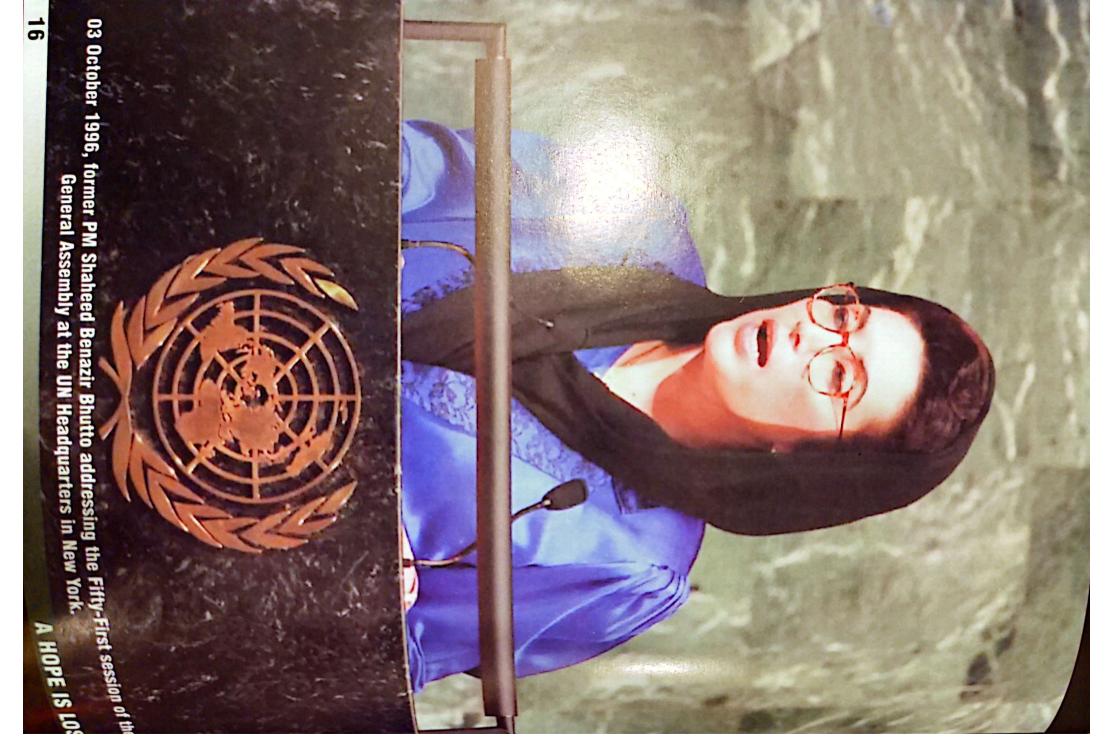






















Islamabad: 03 November 2007, Come together not as rivals but allies against dictatorship.

A HOPE IS LOST

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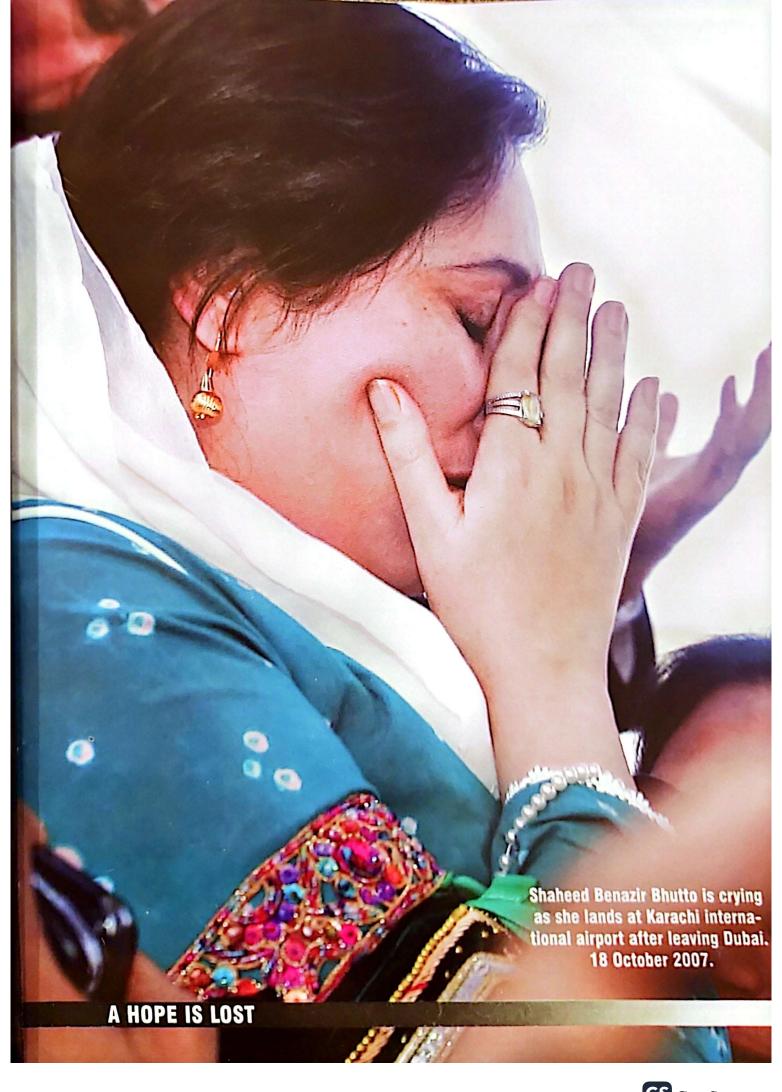










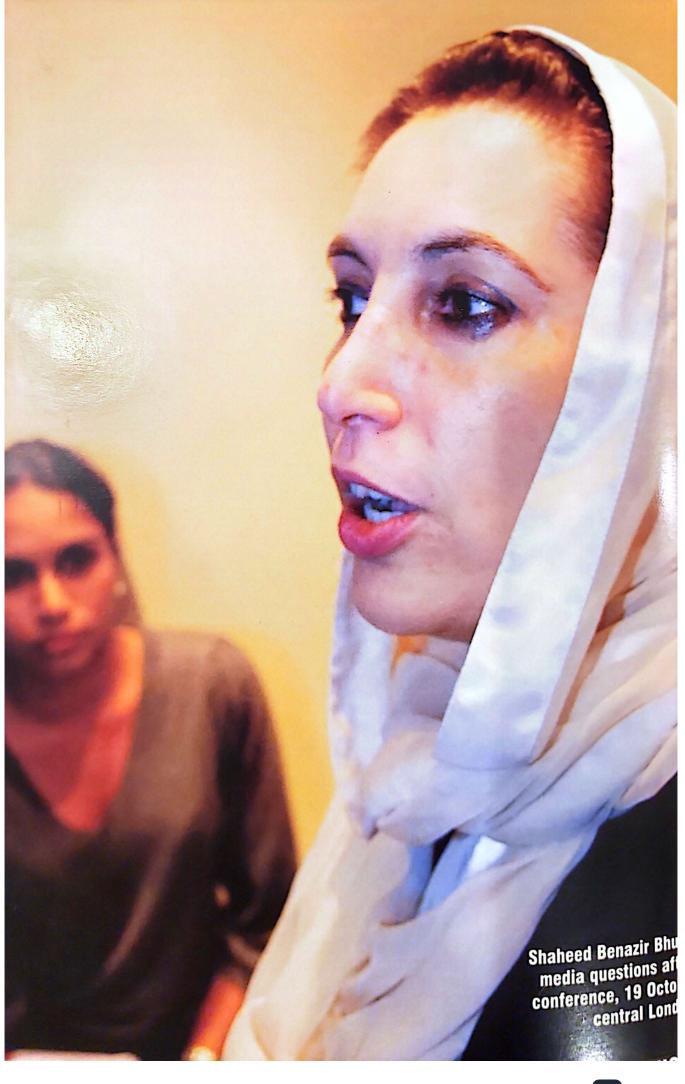




















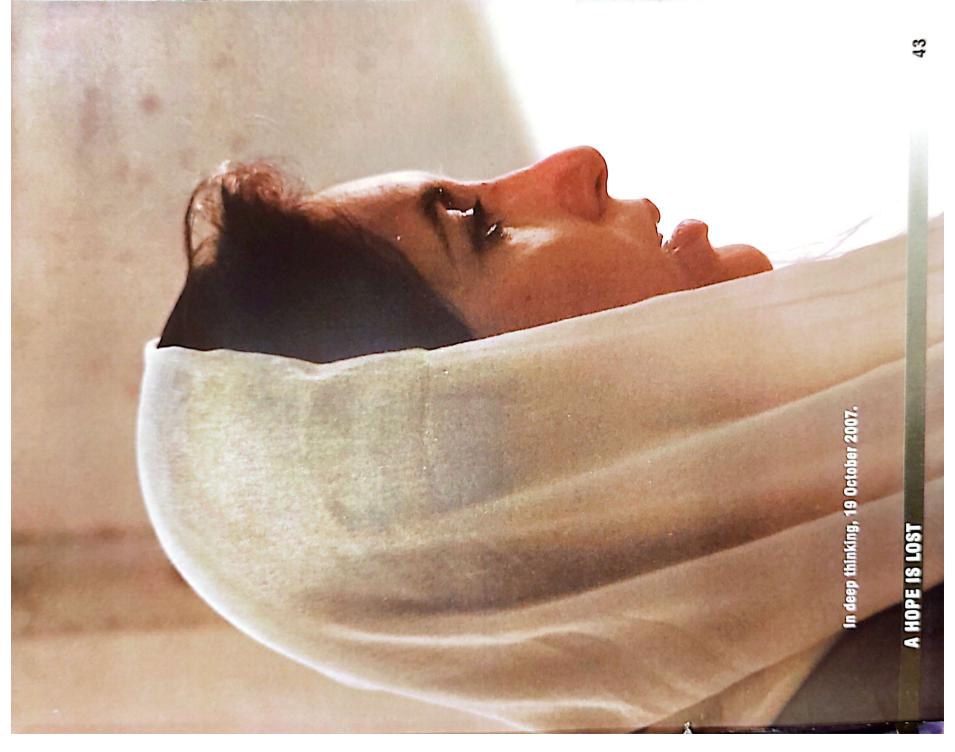






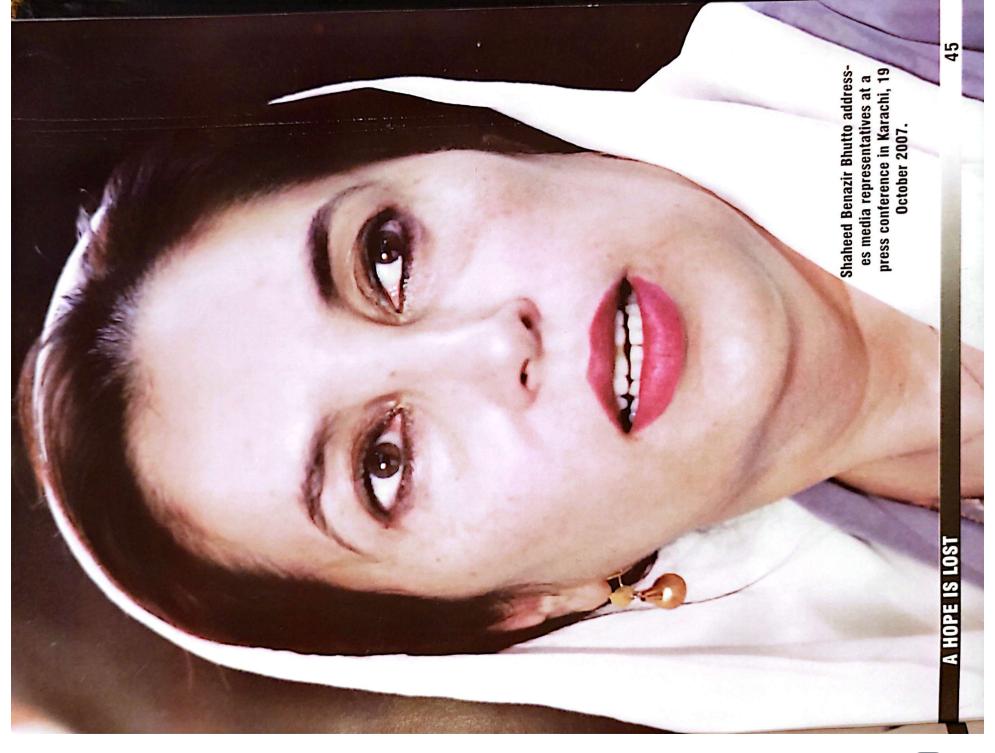




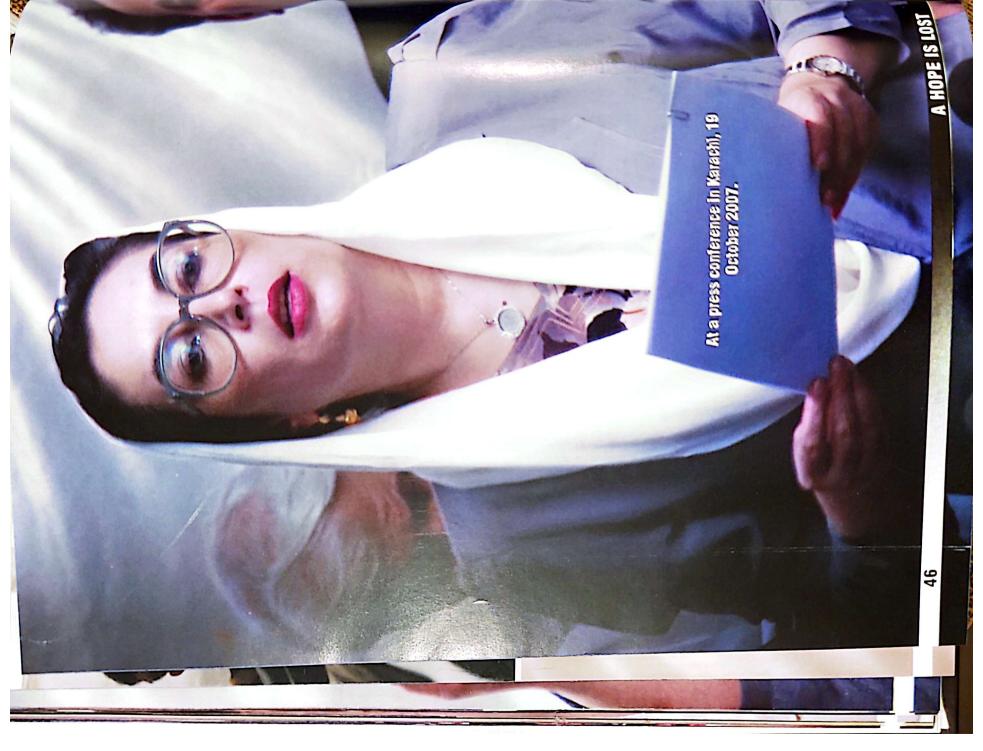


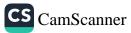


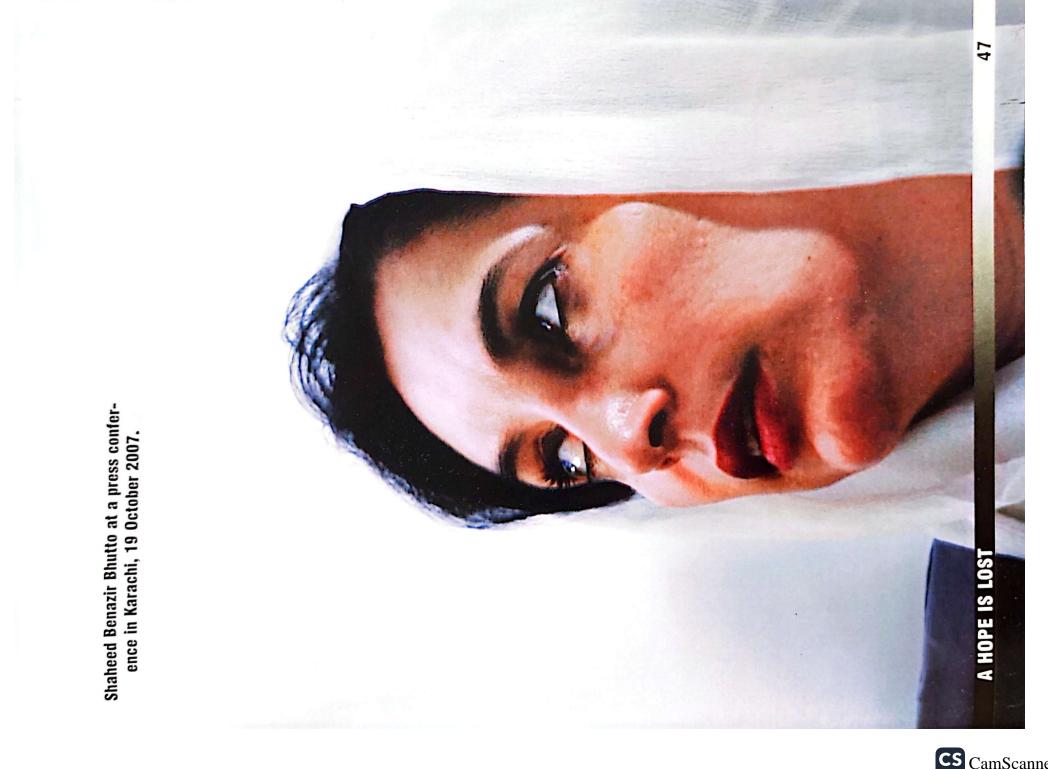




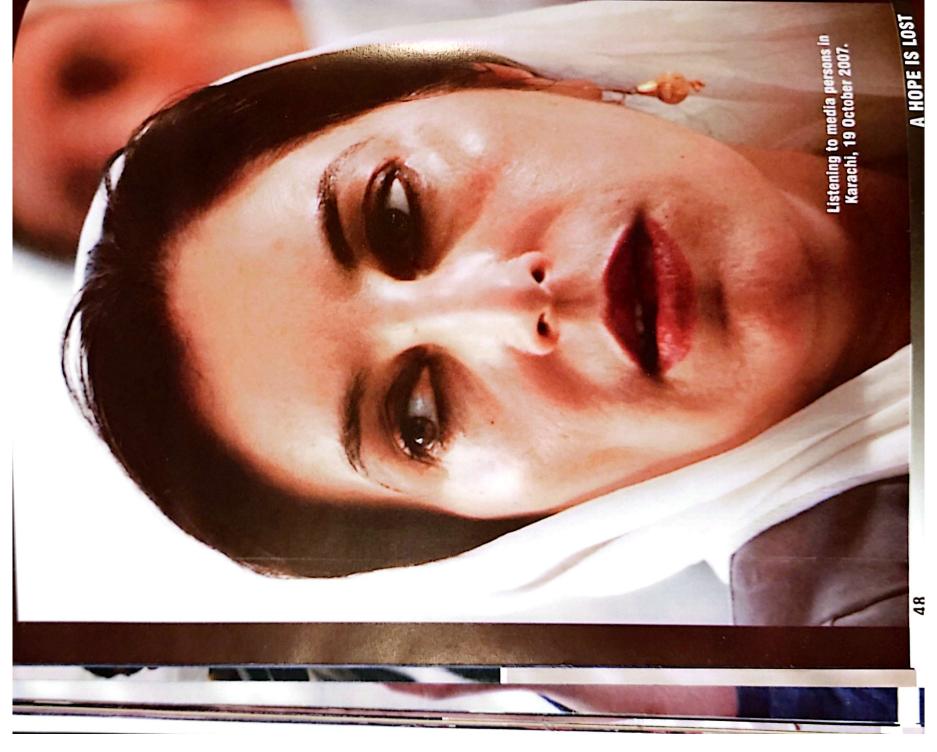


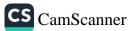


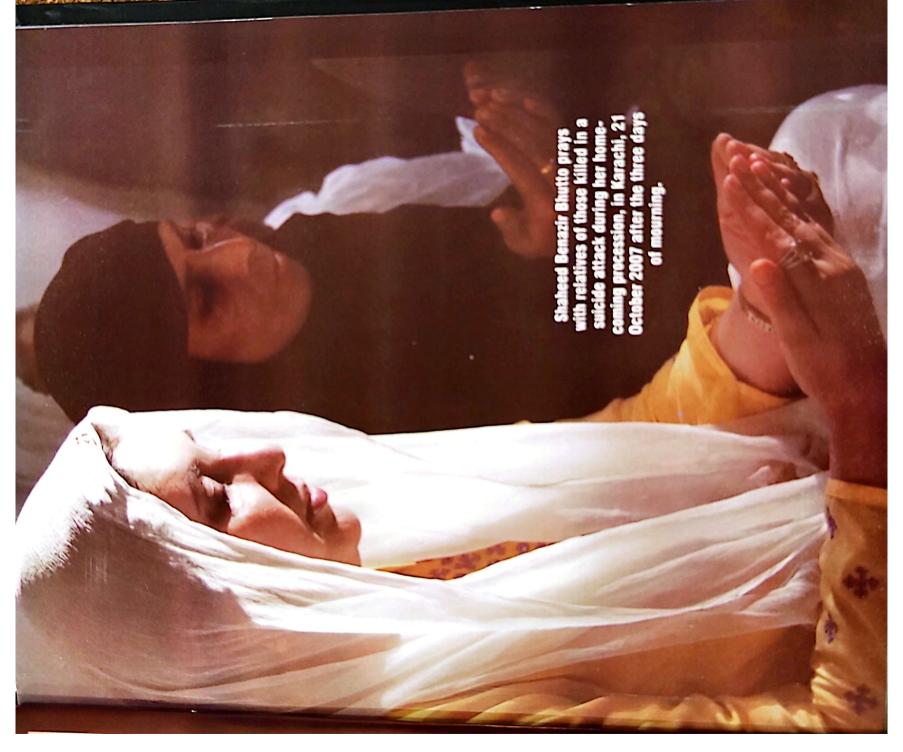








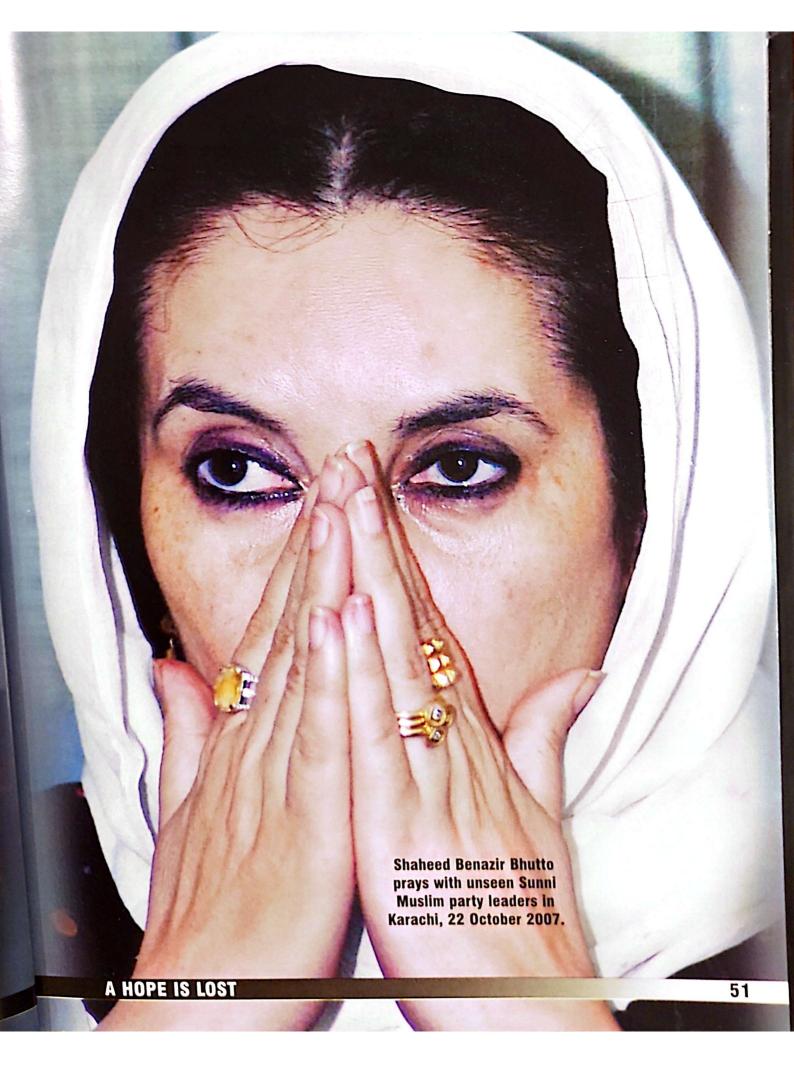






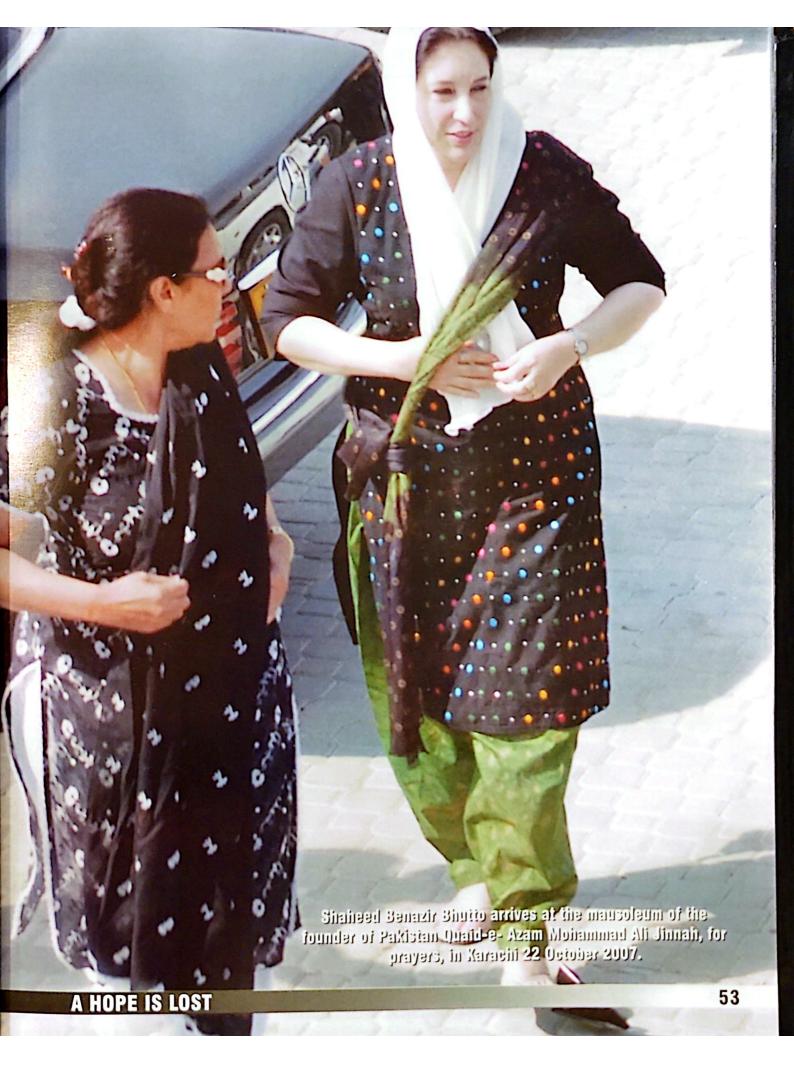






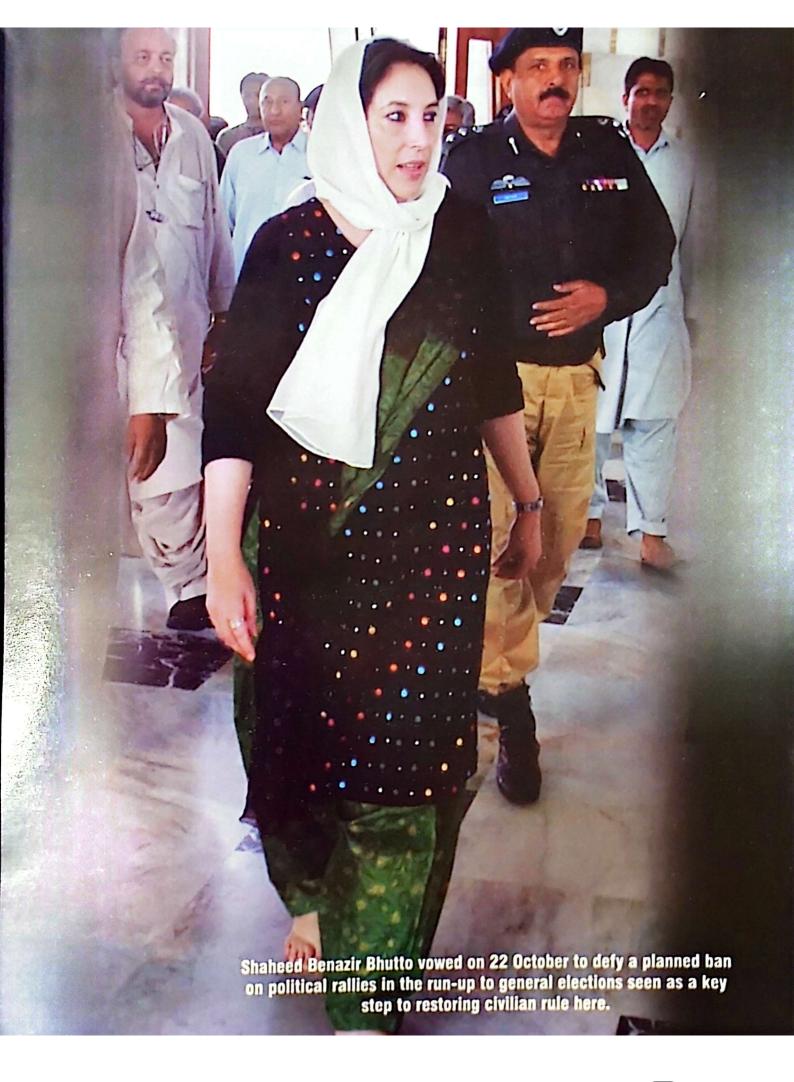


































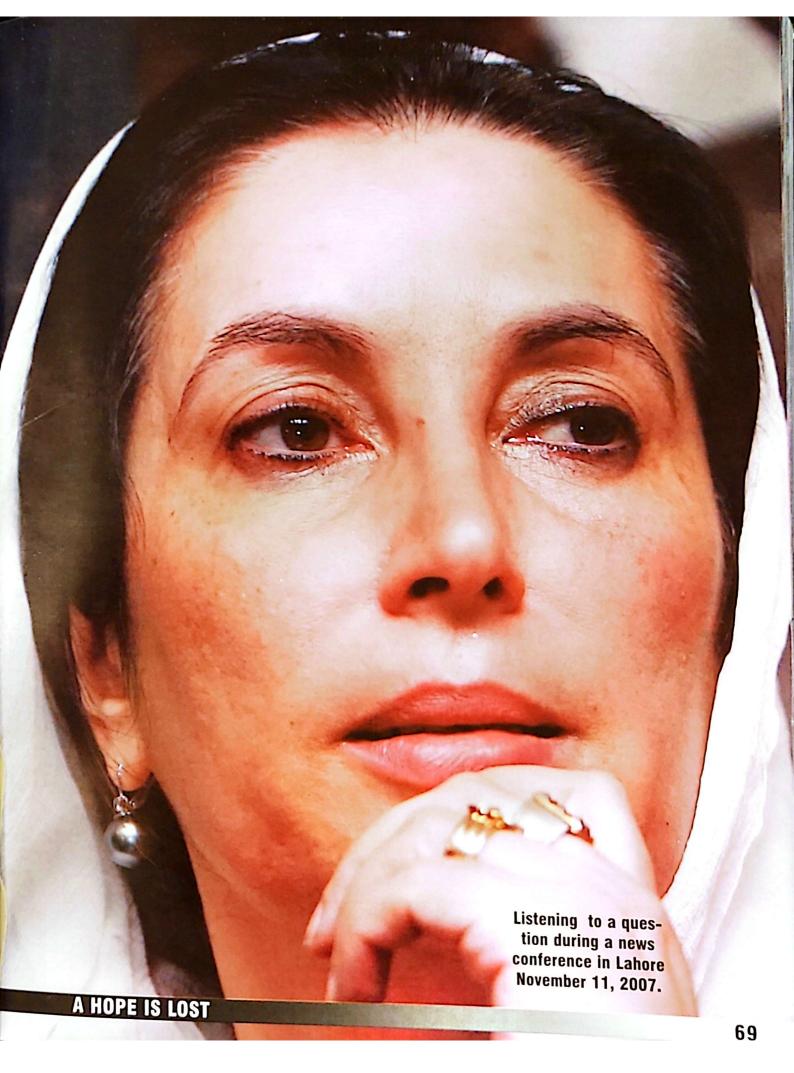




















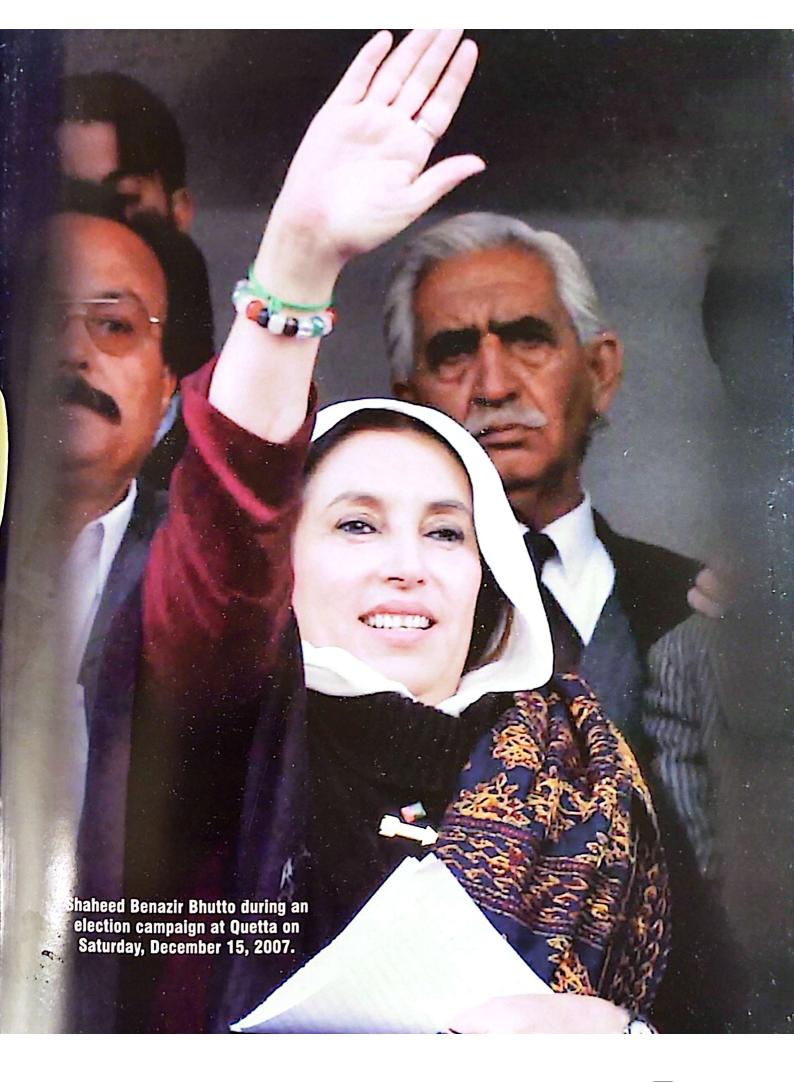




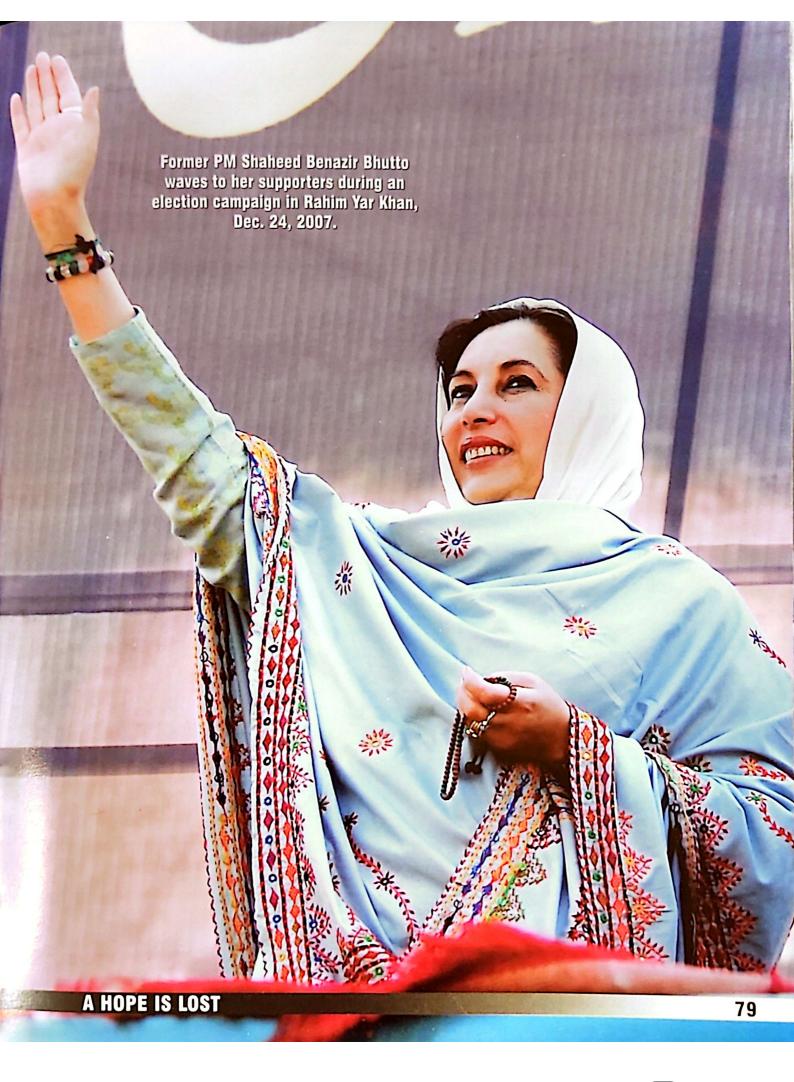








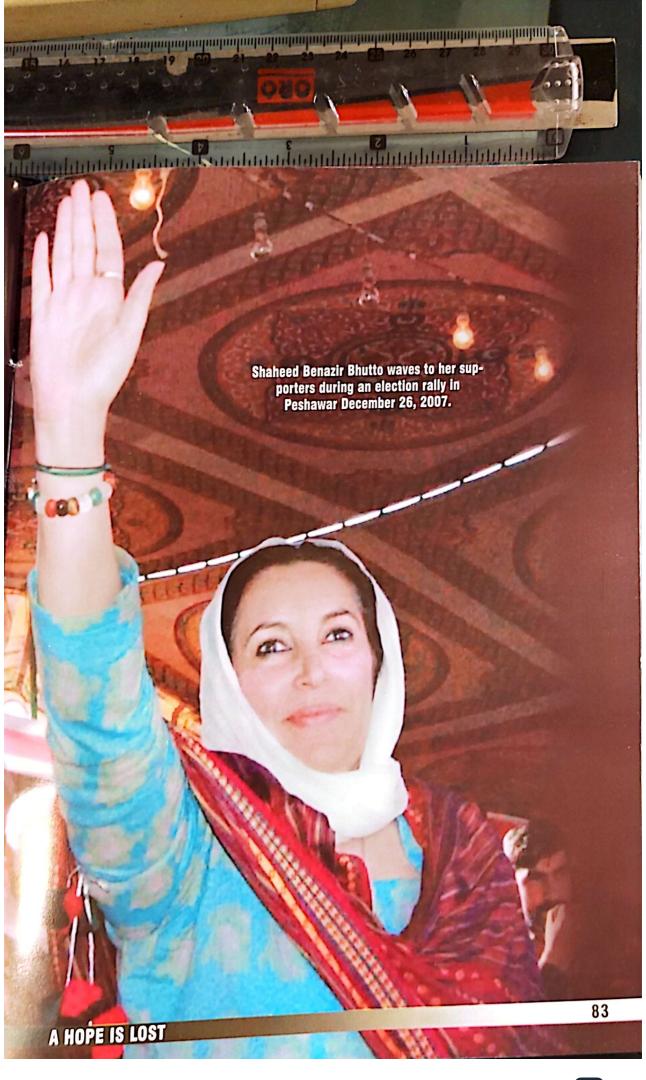


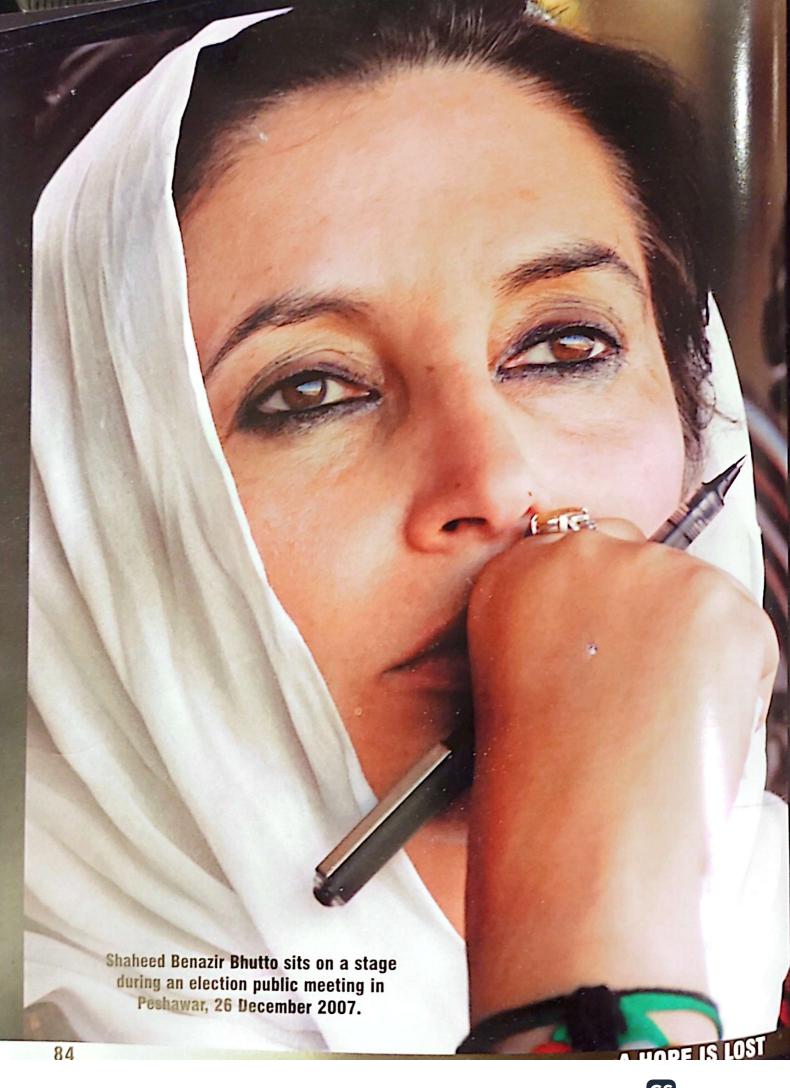














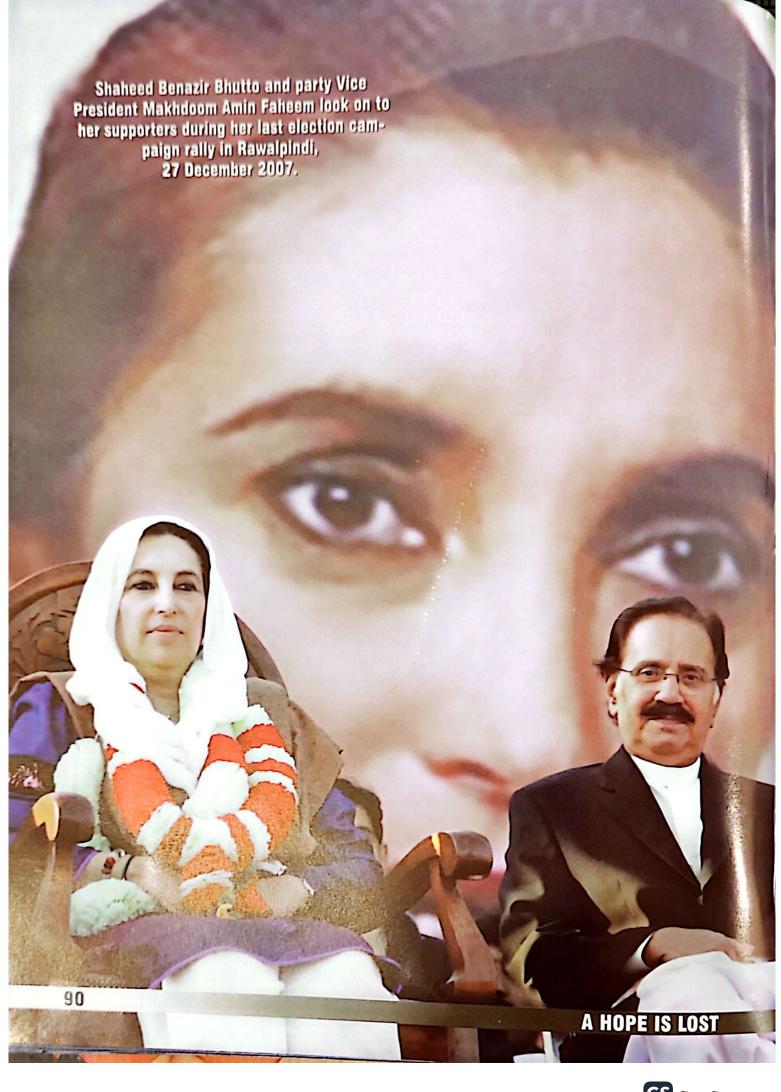












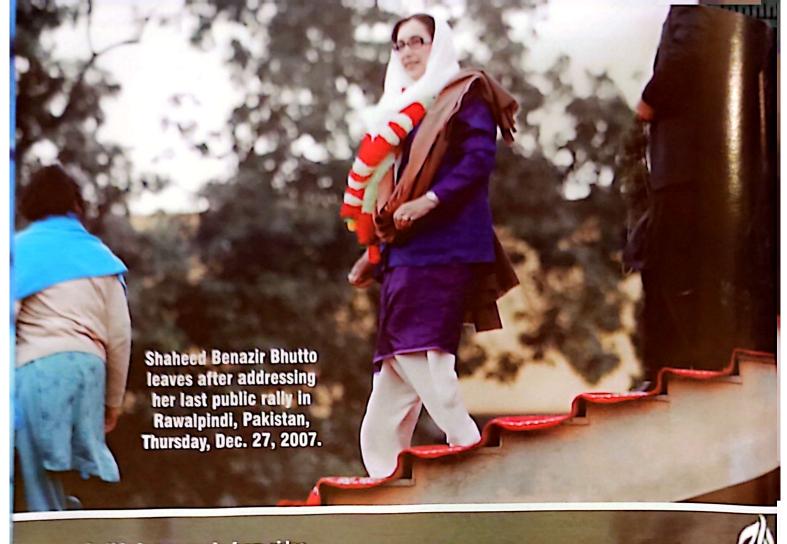


A HOPE IS LOS

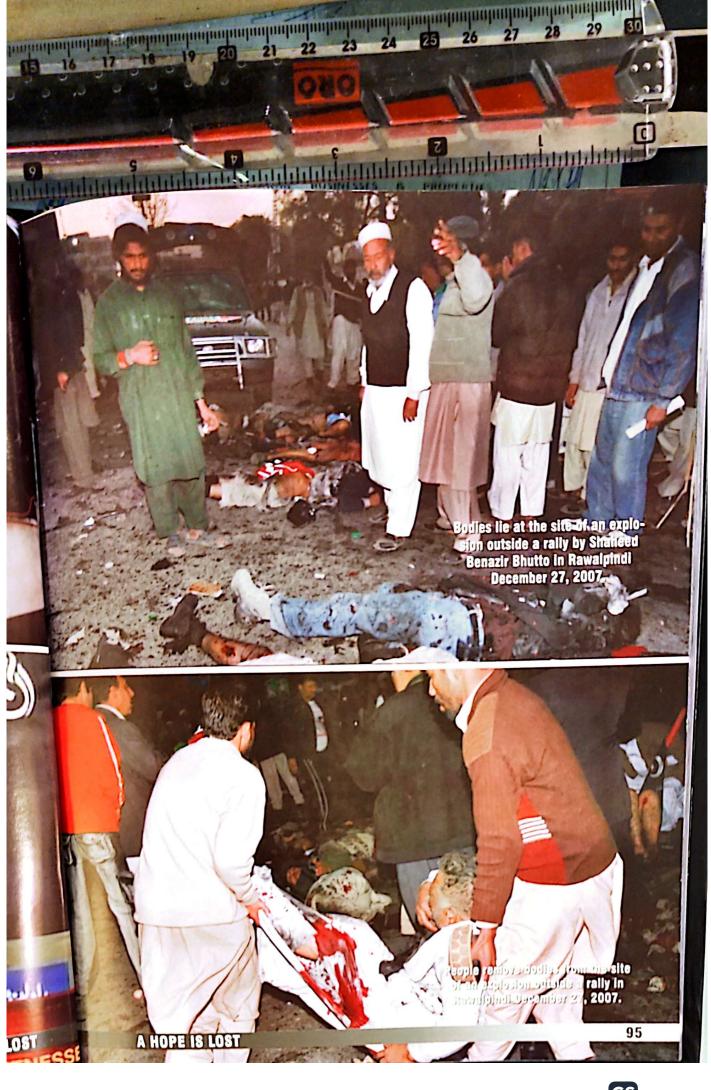




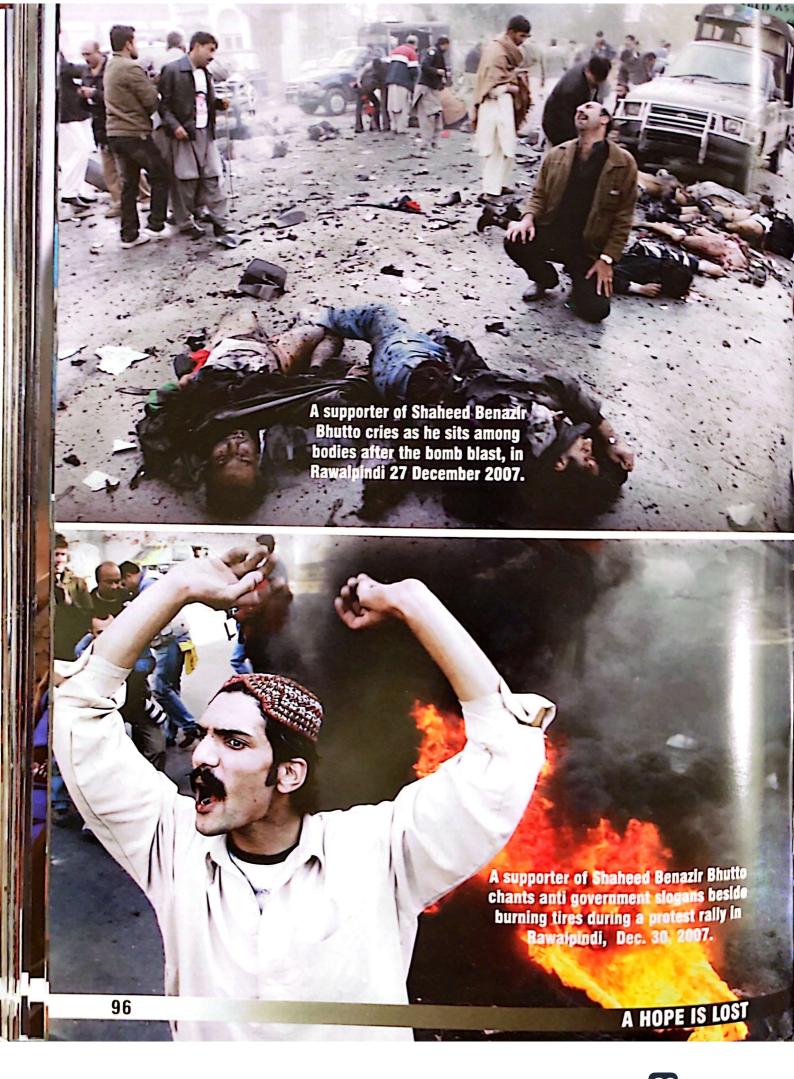






















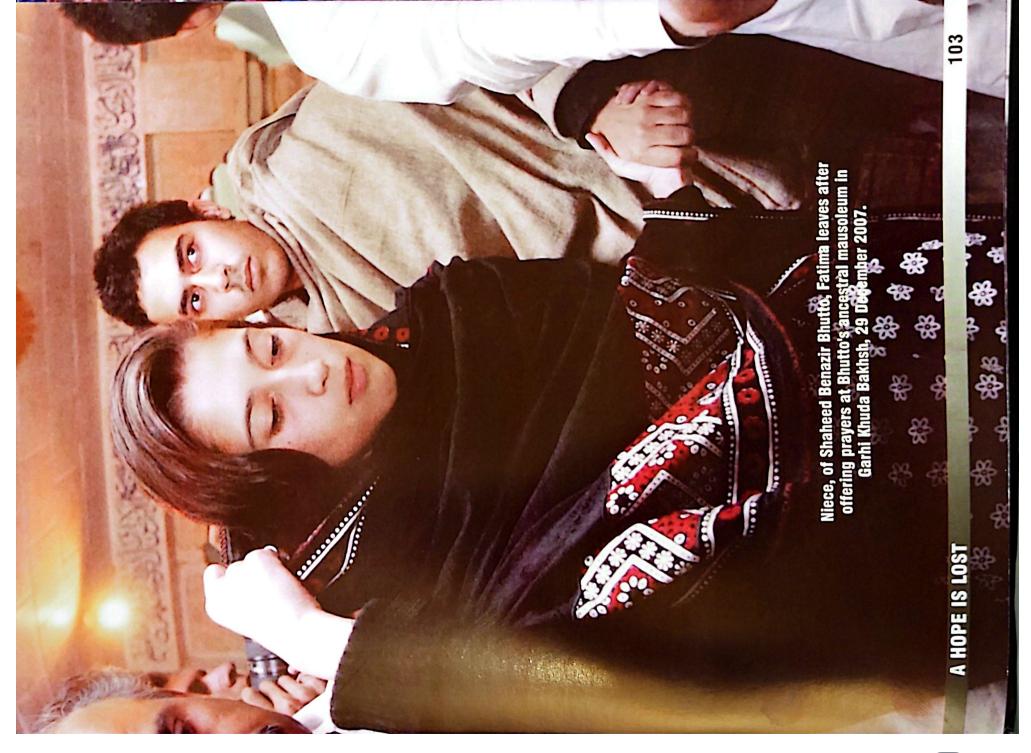




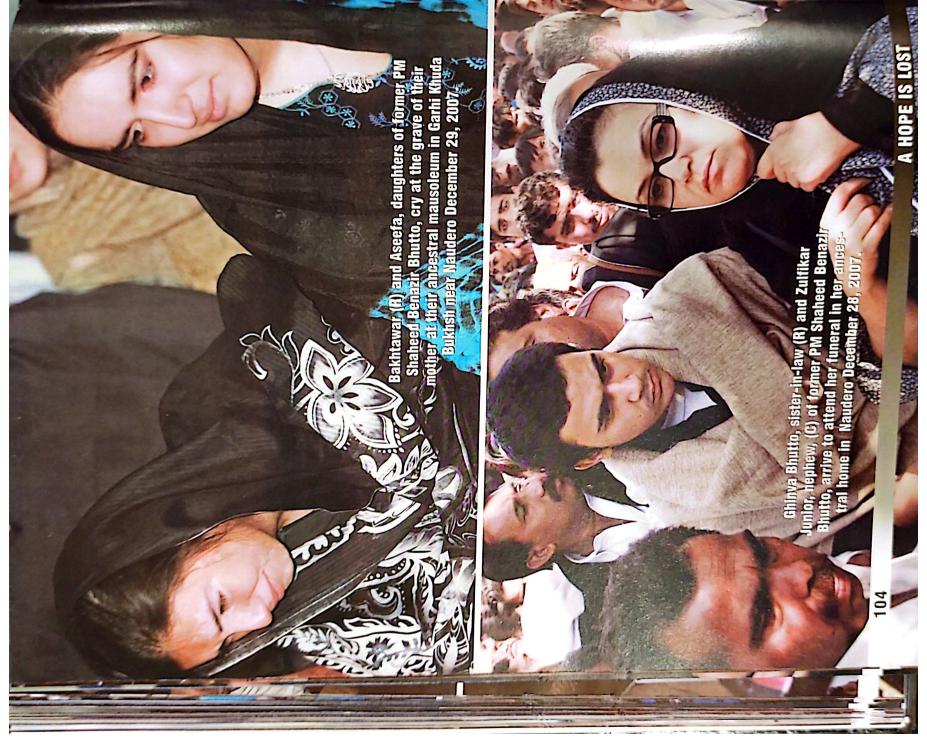




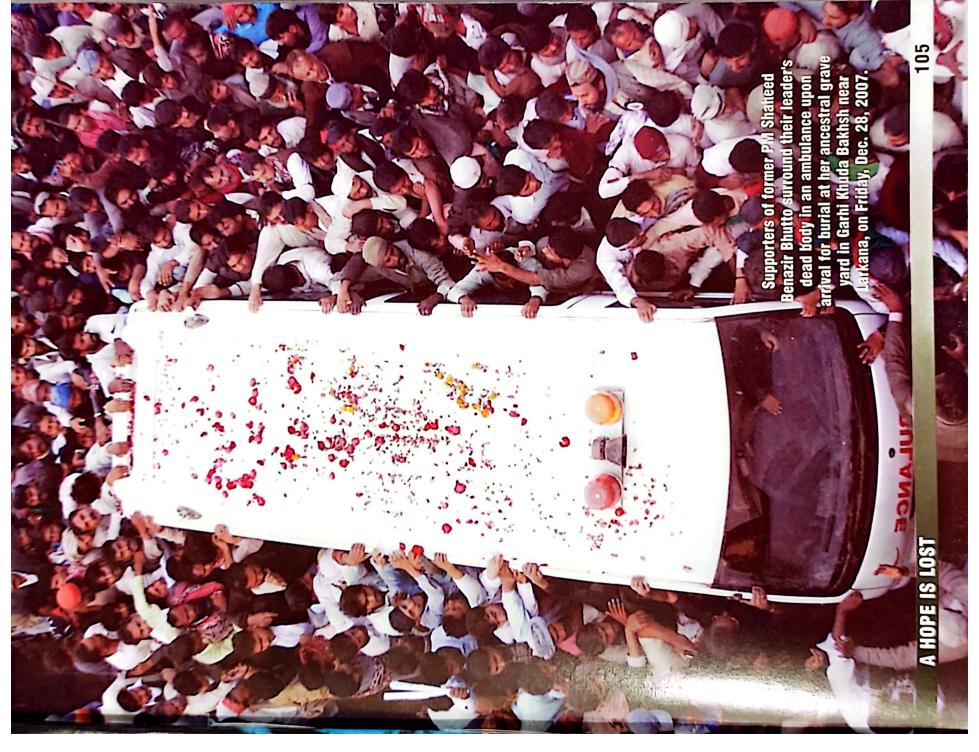




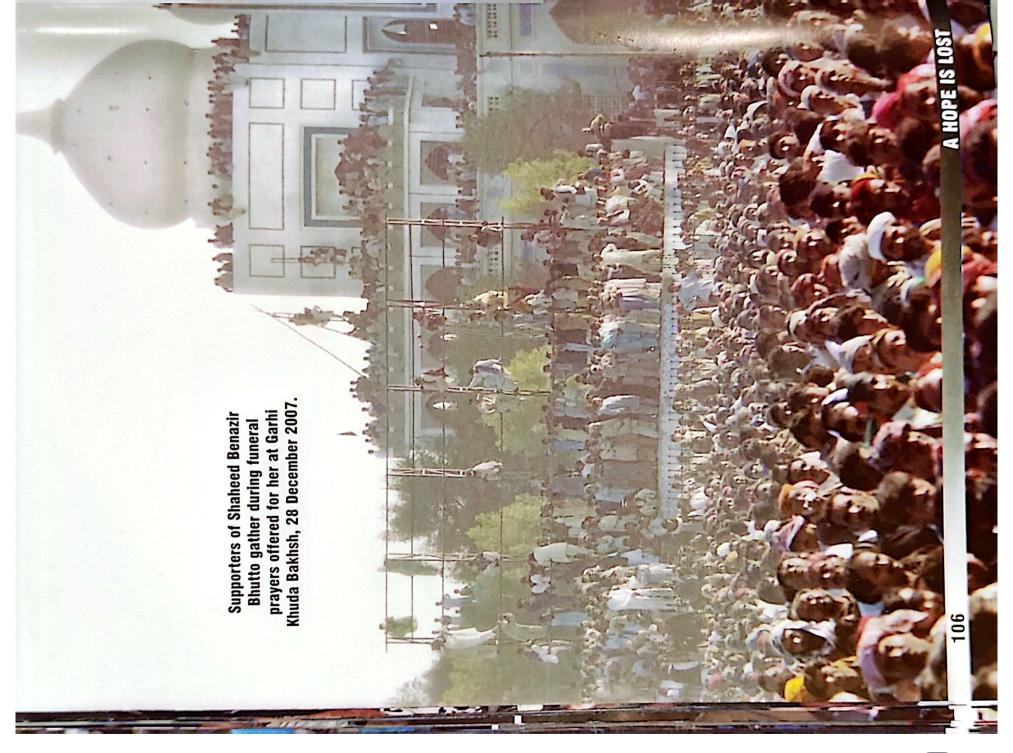




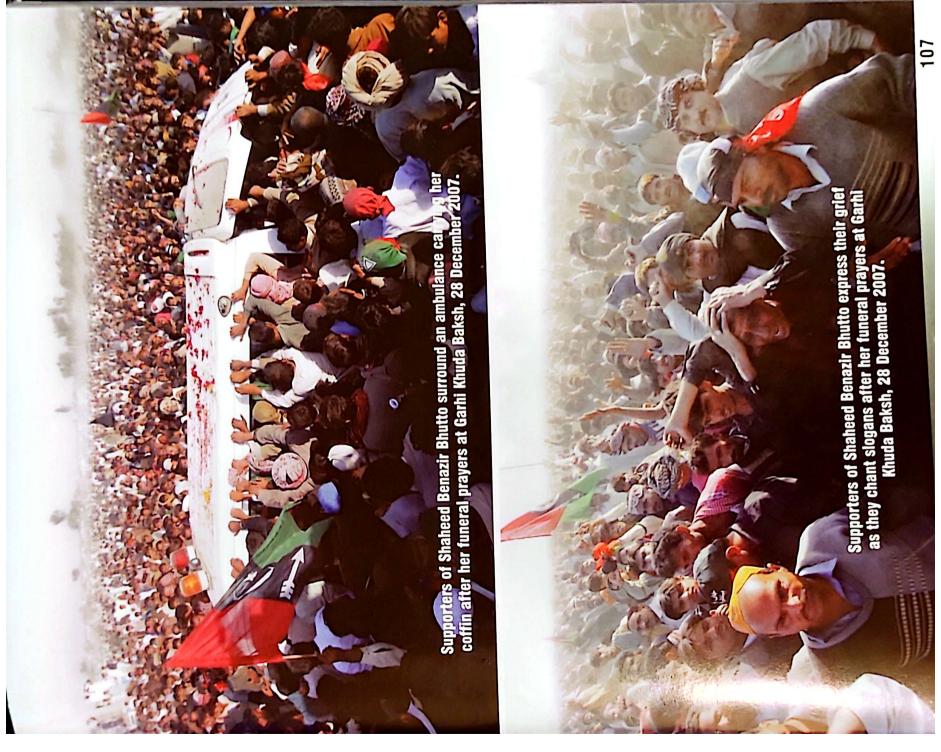














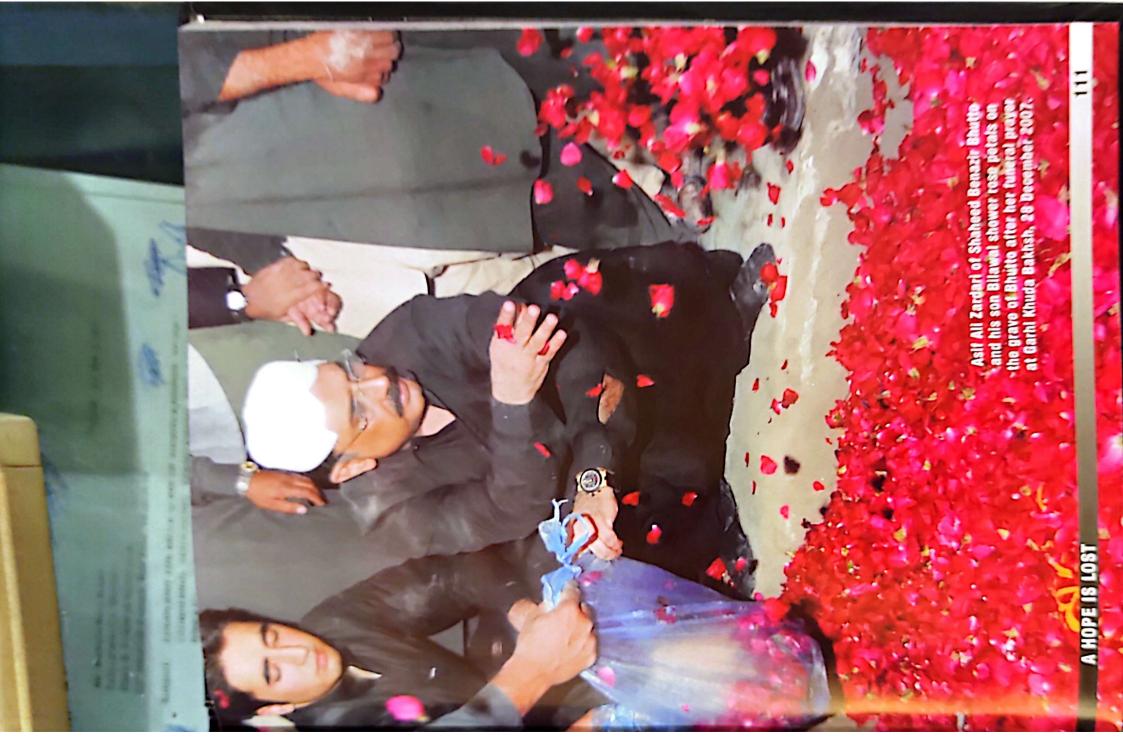




























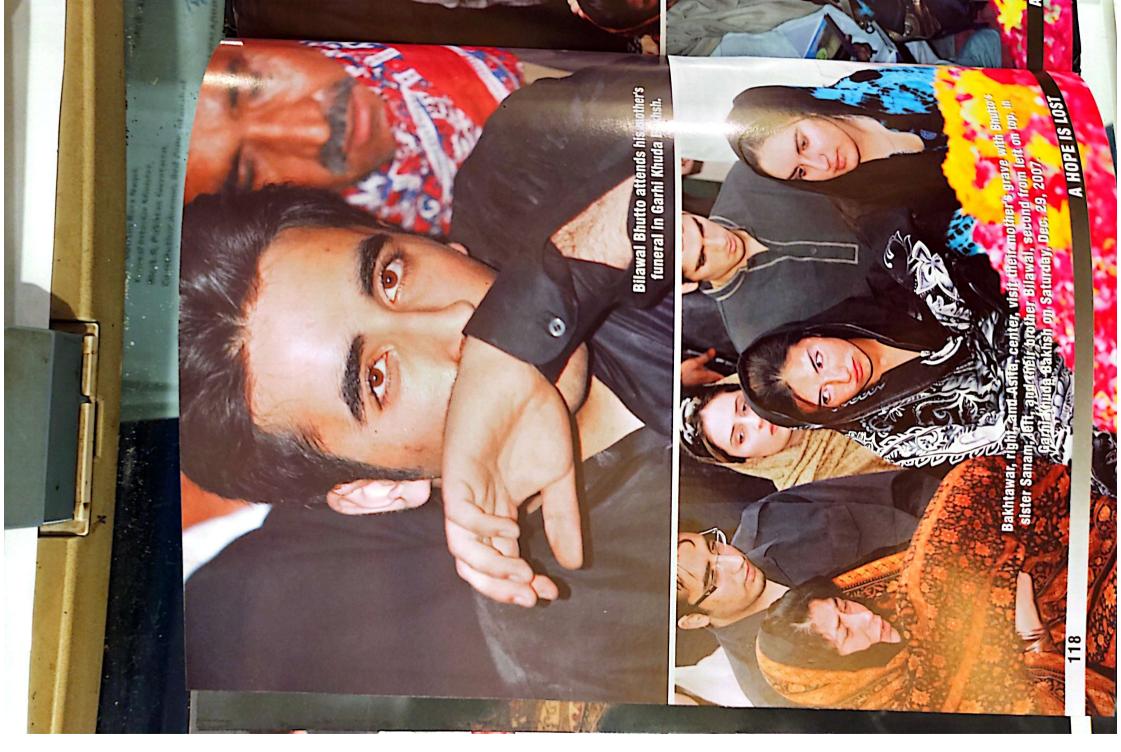






















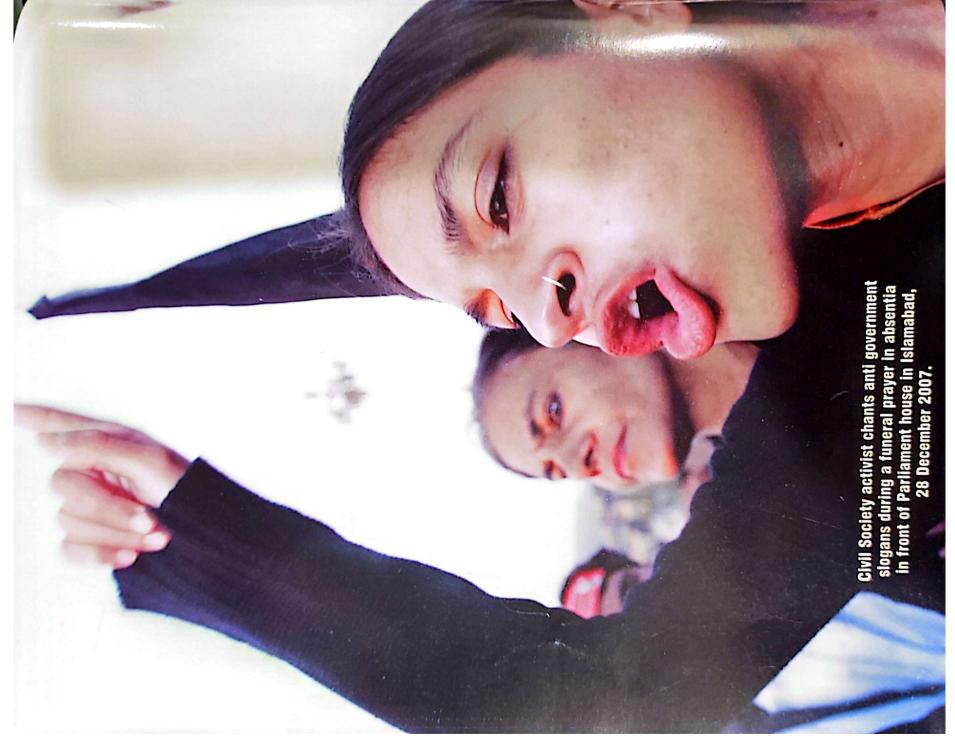






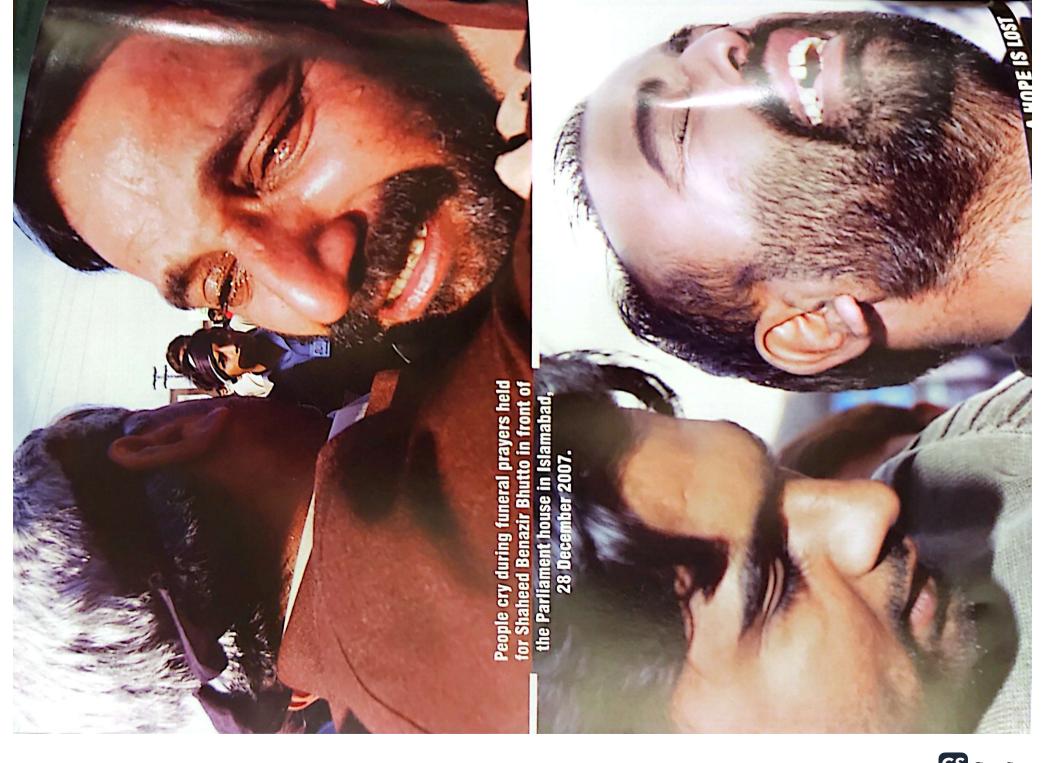














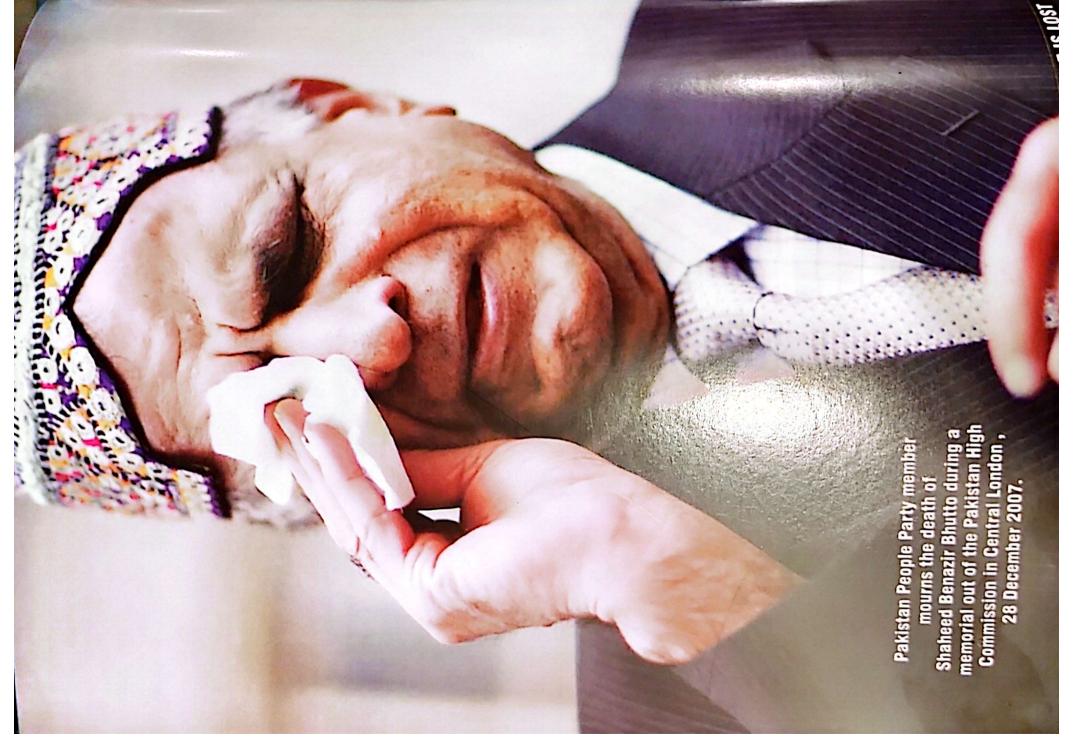


















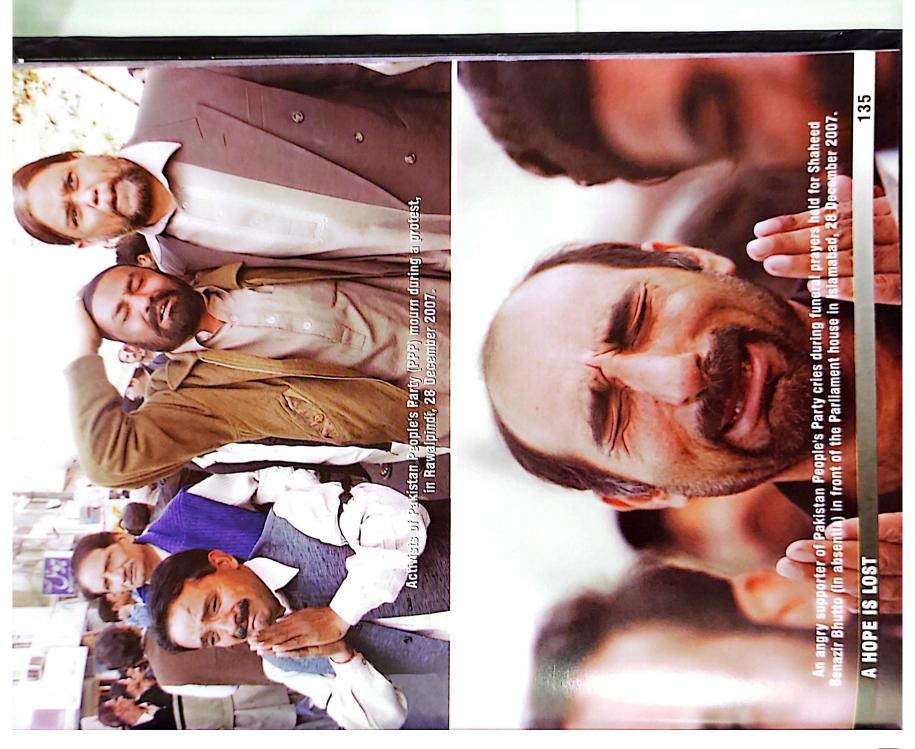






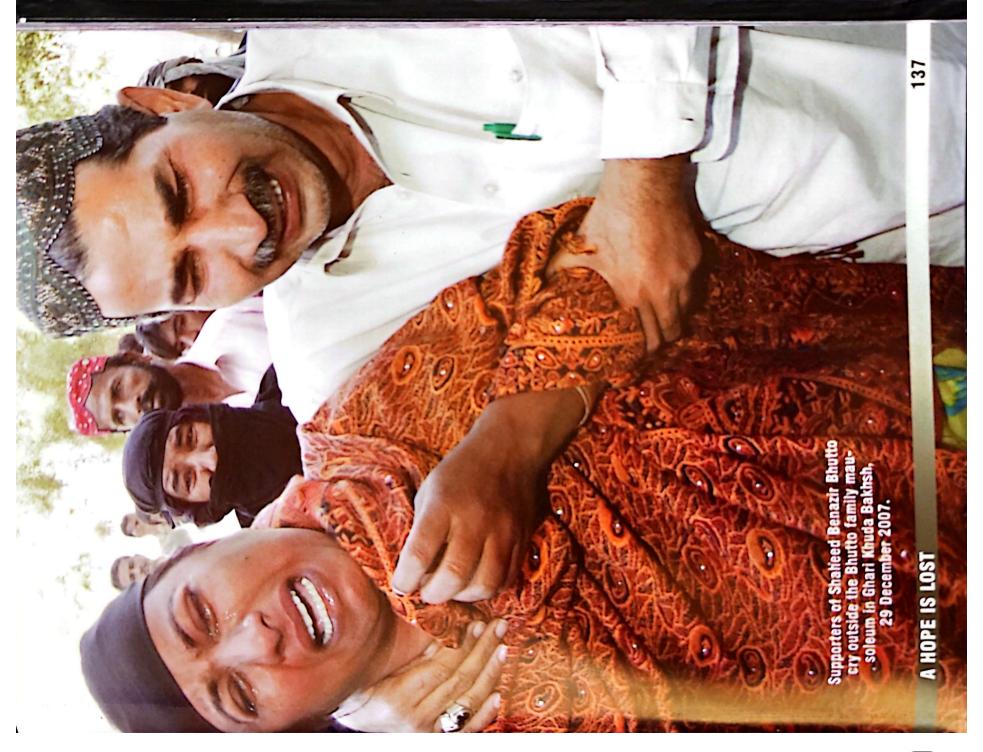




































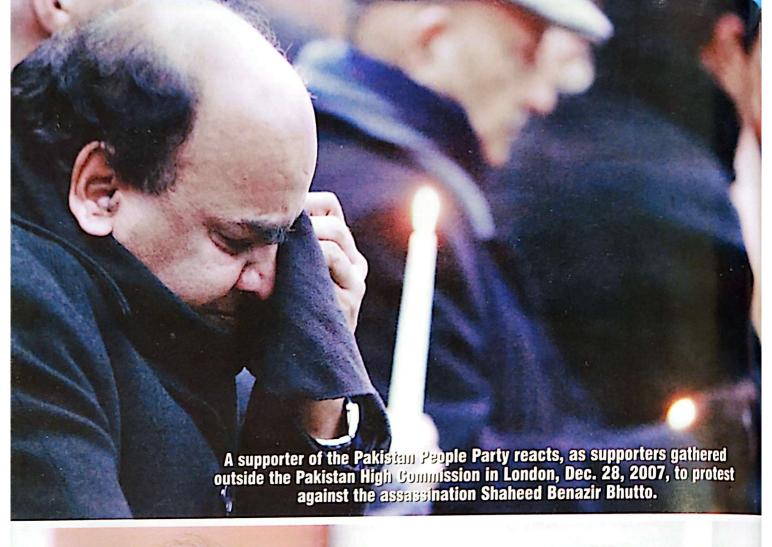


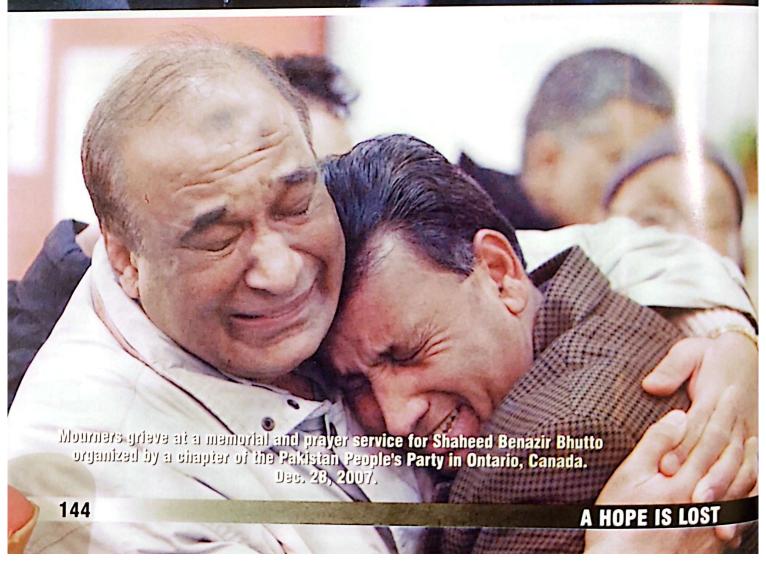
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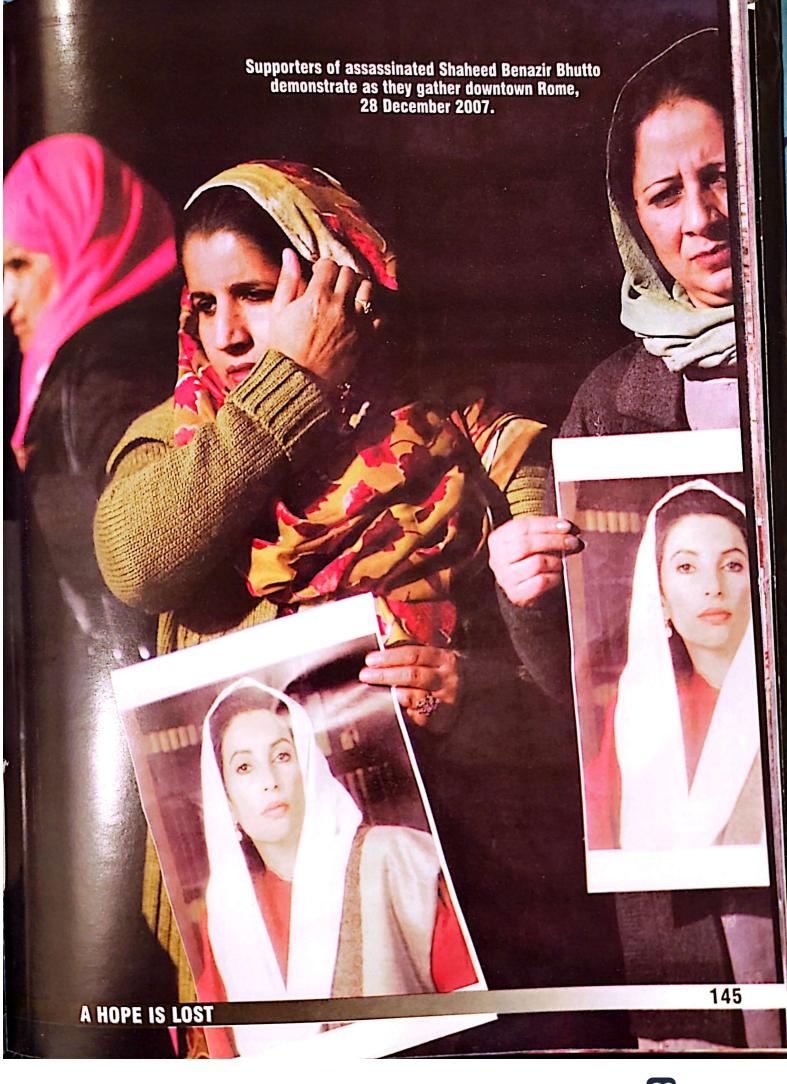


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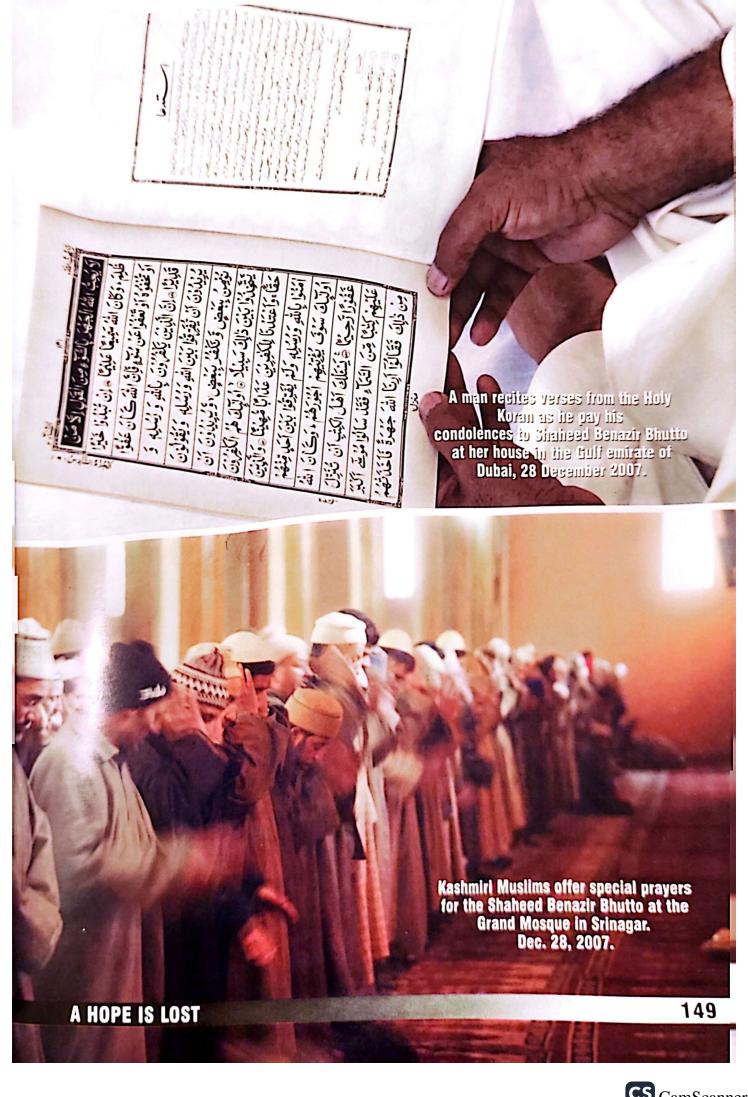




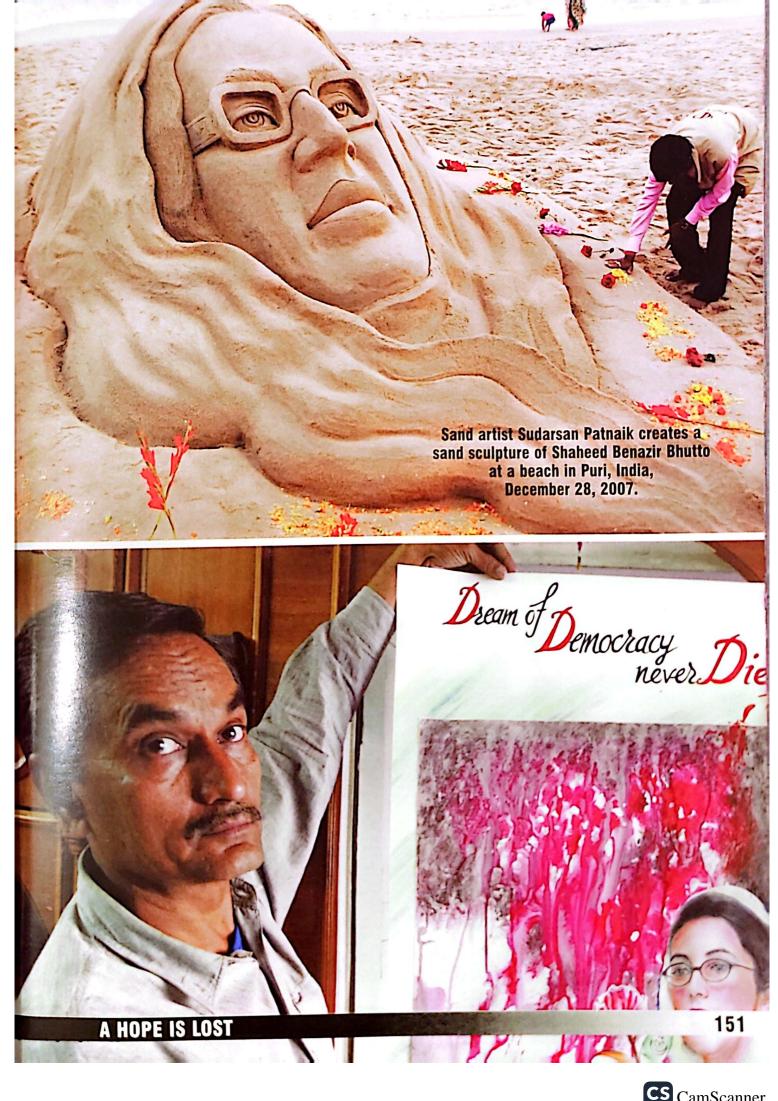


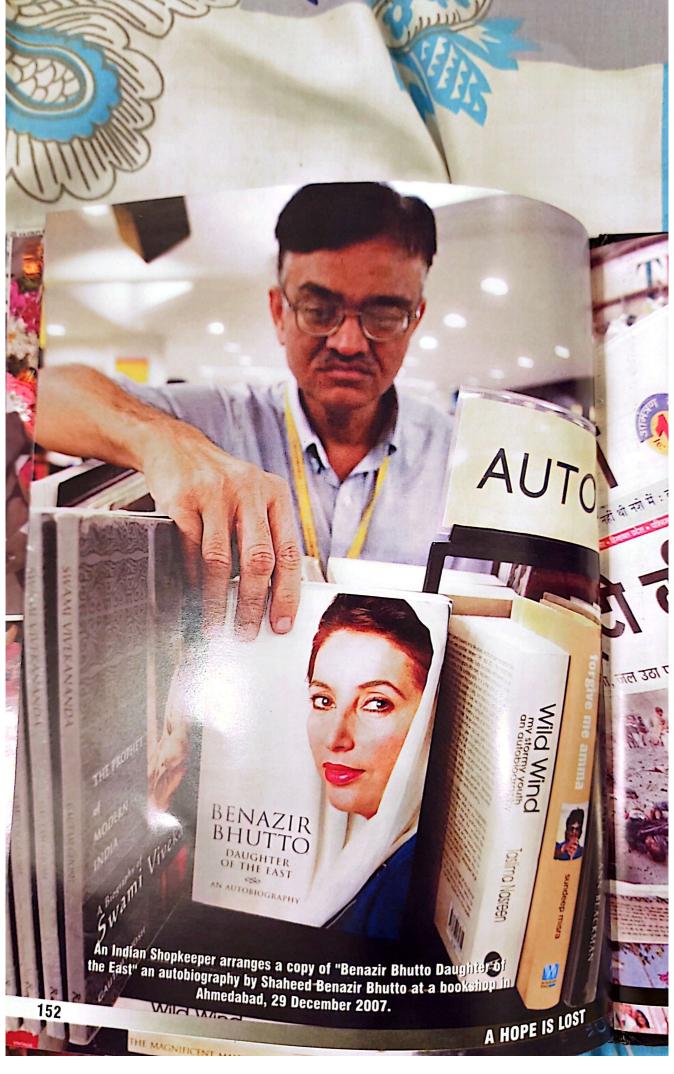




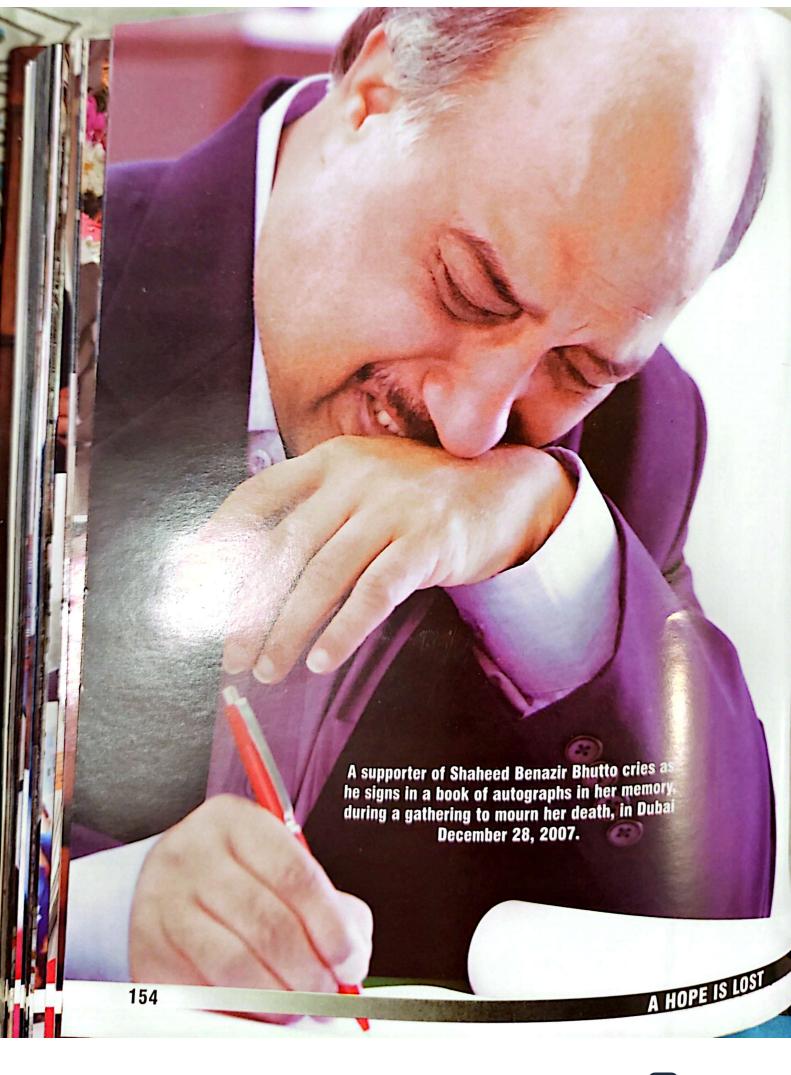


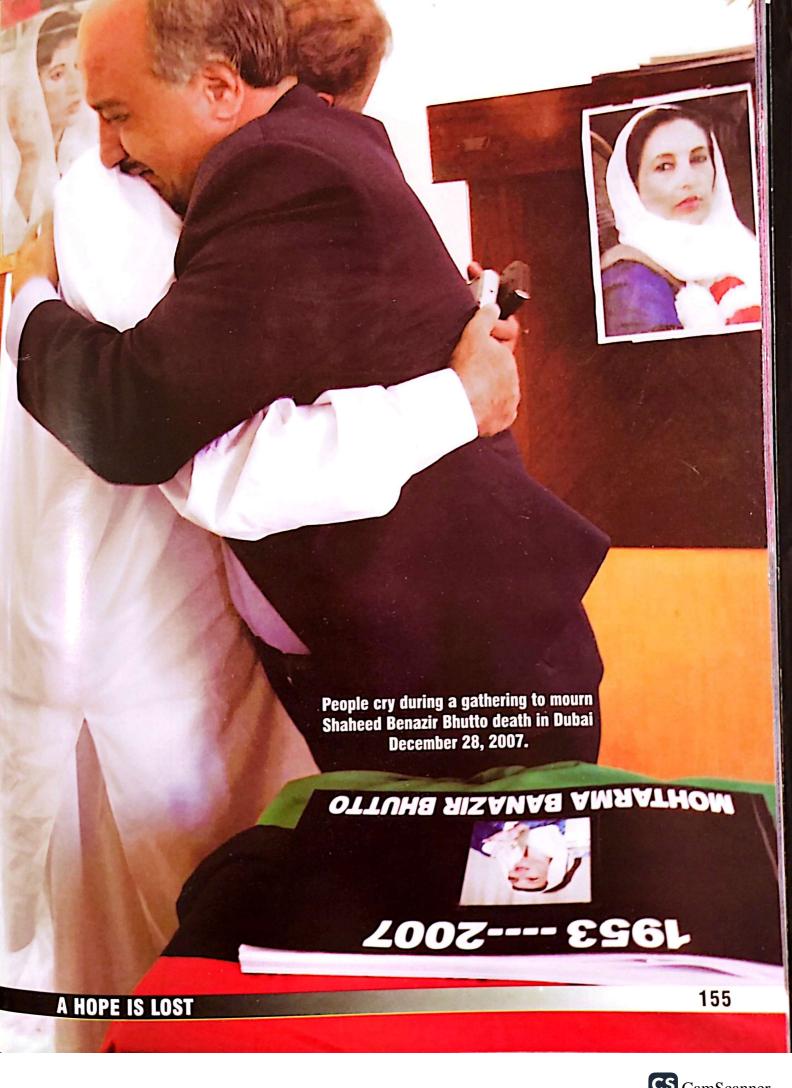


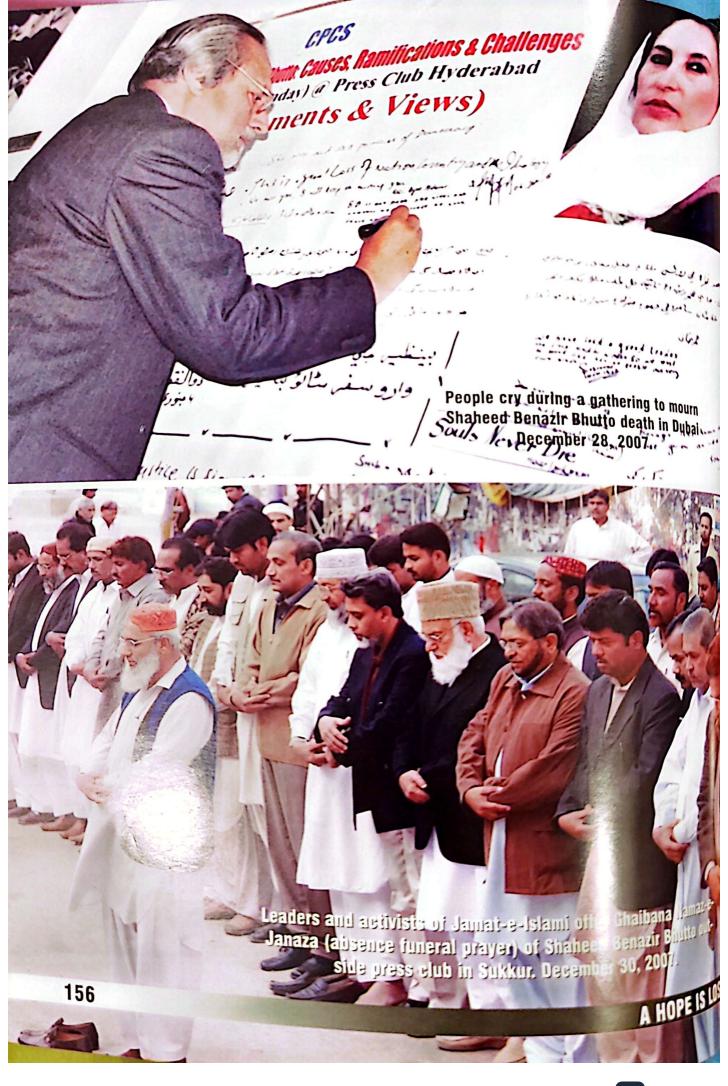














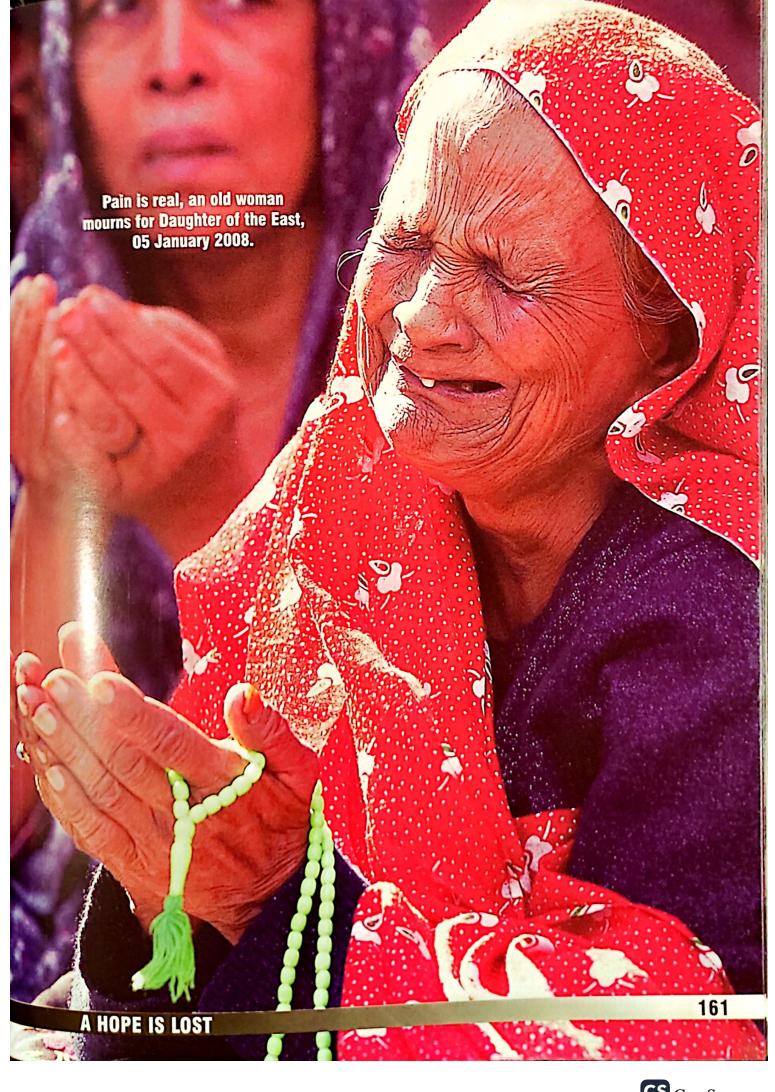


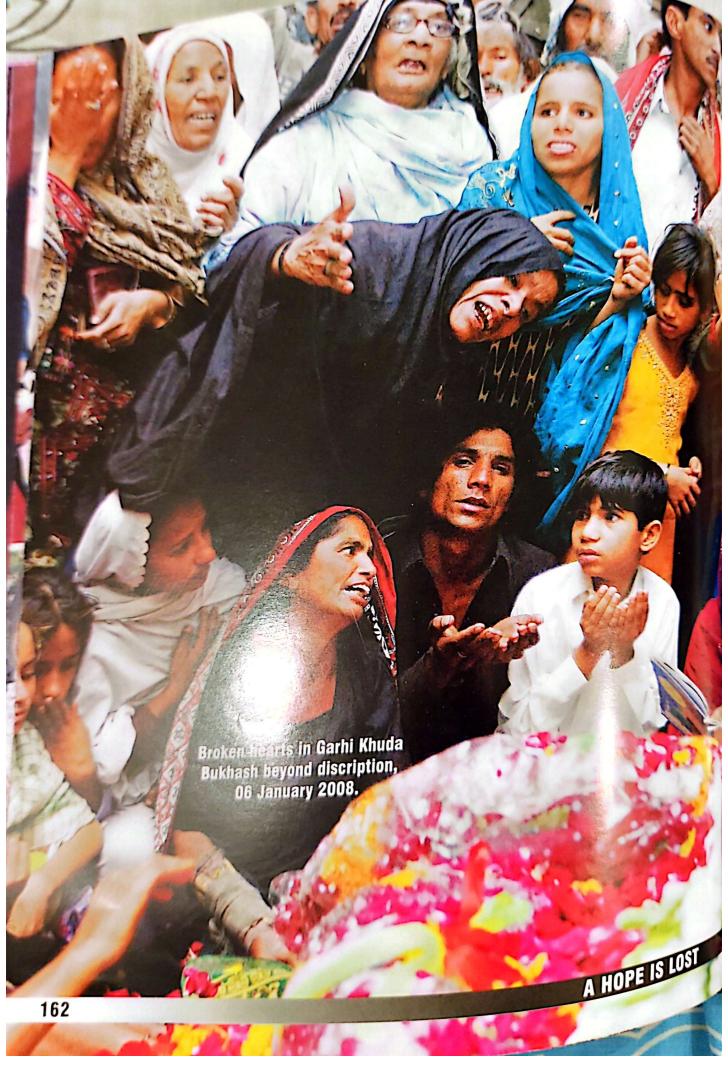






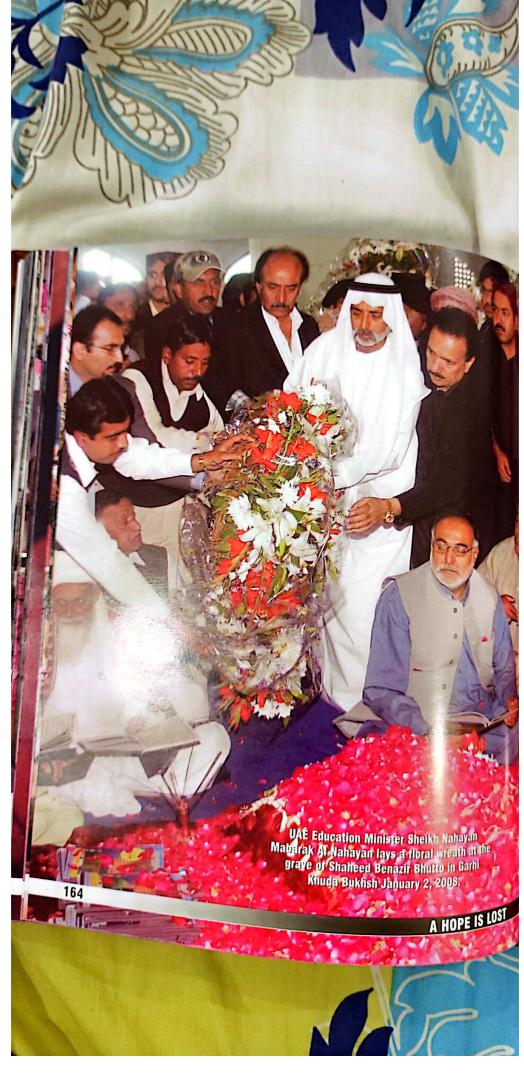




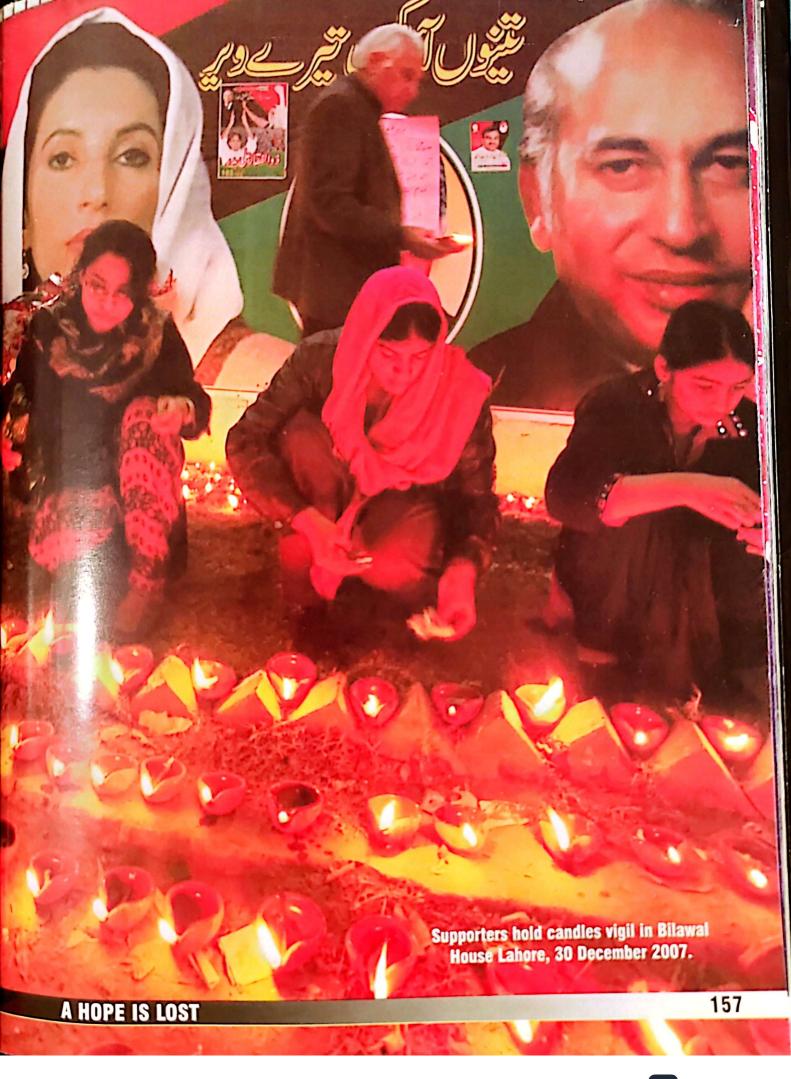




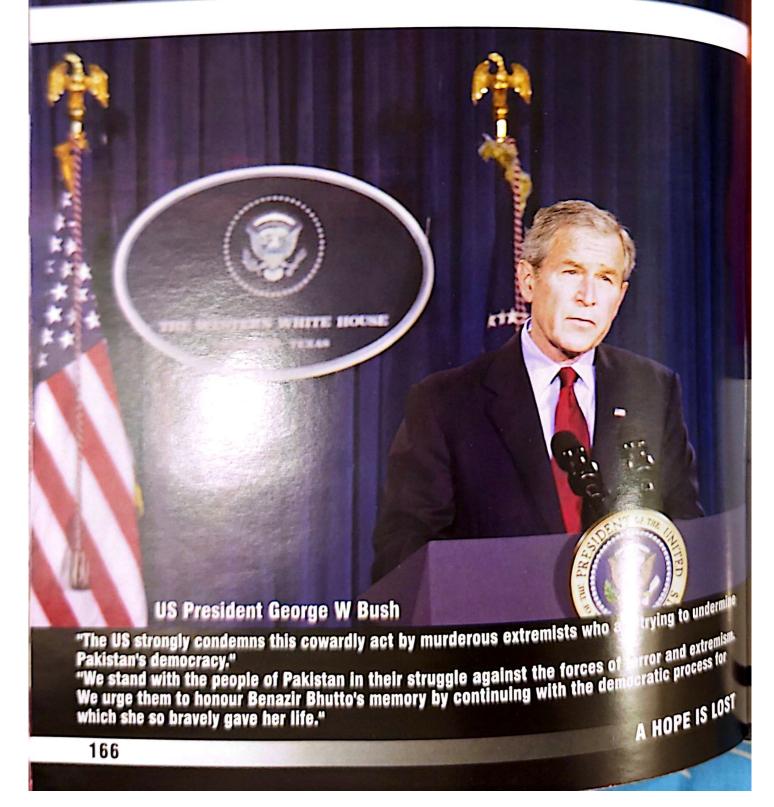








World Leaders React: 'Benazir was Iconic'





President Pervez Musharraf

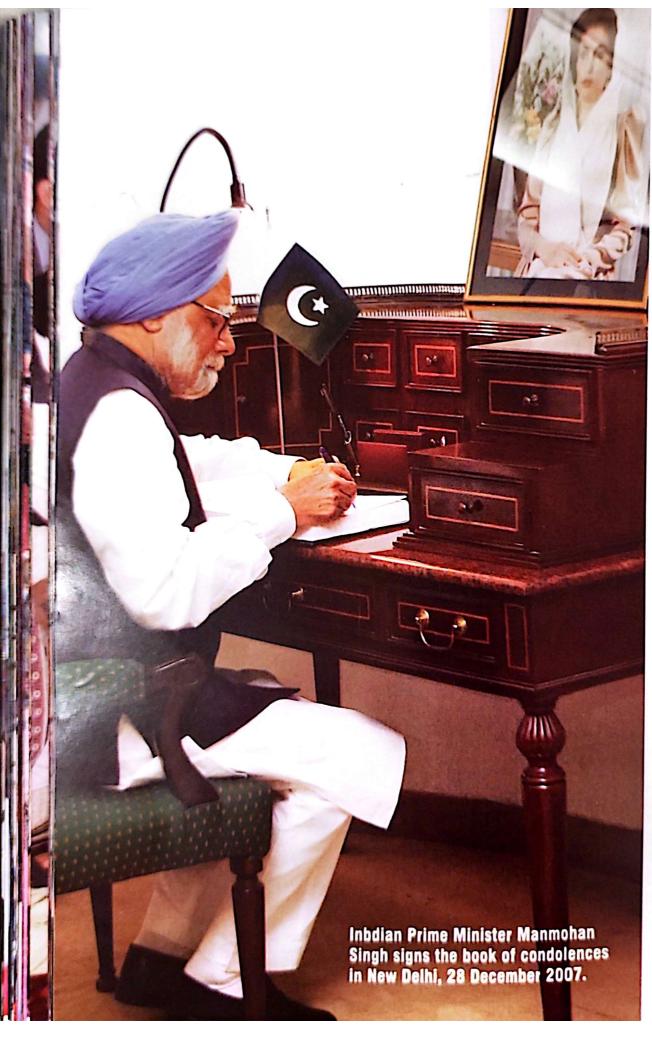
"At this unfortunate incident, in honour of Madam Benazir Bhutto, I am declaring three days of mourning. Our flags will fly at half mast."

"This is the work of those terrorists with whom we are engaged in war. I have been saying that the nation faces the greatest threats from these terrorists. Today after this tragic incident, I want to express my firm resolve. I express my resolve that -- and I also seek solidarity from the nation and cooperation and help -- we will not rest until we eliminate these terrorists and root them out."

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"The grievous blow is the demise of Bhutto, this great tragedy once again is a reminder to all of us of the great harm that terrorism can do to the peace, prosperity and well being of the region. We all have obligations to work together to deal with this menace which threatens the ways of civilised people living all over the world."



Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman Mohammad Ali Hosseini

"We hope the Pakistani government will identify and bring to justice those behind such a criminal act and restore tranquility to the country."

The strike was "aimed to disrupt calm in the neighboring Muslim country."

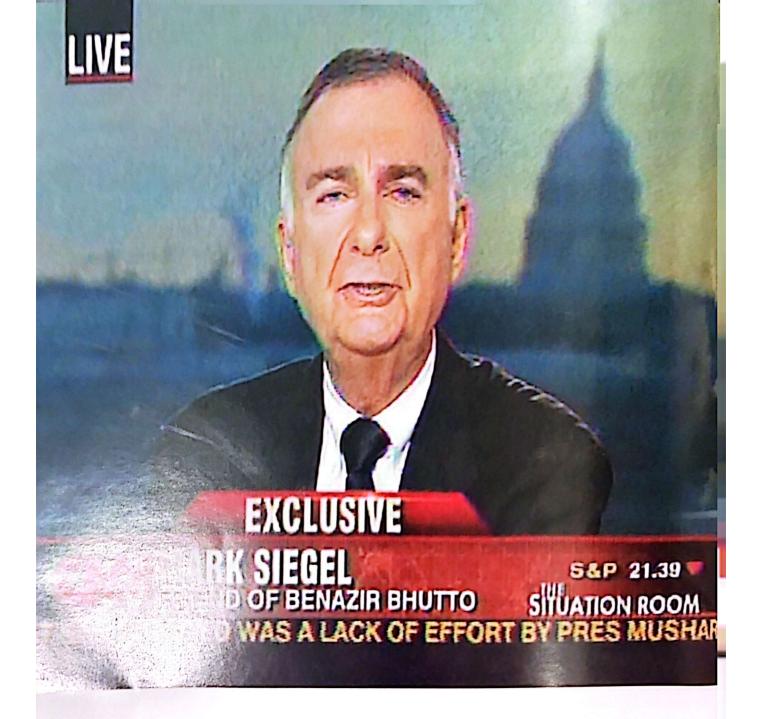
Hosseini expressed the sympathy of the Iranian government and nation to the

Pakistani government, nation and the relatives of Benazir Bhutto on the tragic event.

Iranian Foreign Minister Manouchehr Mottaki (R) prays after he lays a wreath of flowers in front of a portrait of Shaheed Benazir Bhutto at her party central secretariat in Islamabad January 4, 2008.

A HOPE IS LOST





CNN shows an interview with Mark Siegel on 27 December 2007. obtained an email sent from former Pakistani Prime Minister Bena friend and attorney Mark Siegel in late October in which she said pen to her that Musharraf is to blame. Siegel spoke to Wolf Blitzer ing today's edition of "The Situation Room." "Nothing will, God will! ed u to know if it does in addition to the names in my letter to Mus' would hold Musharaf responsible. I have been made to feel insecure by his minions and there is no way what is happening in terms of stopping me from taking private cars or using tinted windows or giving jammers or four police mobiles to cover all sides could

happen without him."

N exclusively Bhutto to close lything should hapout the email durhappen. Just wantaf of Oct 16th, I

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Indian Congress Party

"It is a matter for the domestic agencies of Pakistan to investigate. Be deep concern at anything that disrupts and disturbs the even keel of der Pakistan,".

we must express our ratic governance in

Singhvi said Indian democracy loathes the cult of violence, saying "it not only anti-democratic but also generates instability."

"In her death, an extremely charismatic leader and a naturally engaging speaker has gone."

President of Indian National Congress Ms. Sonia Gandhi visits Pakistan High Commission to record her feelings over the tragic death of Shaheed Benazir Bhutto.

A HOPE IS LOS



UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon

"I am shocked and outraged by the assassination of Mrs. Benazir Bhutto, the leader of the Pakistan People's Party and former Prime Minister. This represents an assault on stability in Pakistan and its democratic processes. I strongly condemn this heinous crime and call for the perpetrators to be brought to justice as soon as possible. I convey my heartfelt condolences to Mrs. Bhutto's family, her colleagues and to the people of Pakistan. While strongly urging for calm and restraint to be maintained at this difficult time, I call on all Pakistanis to work together for peace and national unity."

A HOPE IS LOST





World Leaders React: 'Benazir was Iconic'

World leaders reacted to the assassination of former Prime Minister Shaheed Benazir Bhutto with shock, sadness and condemnation.

Saudi King Abdullah

"We pray to Almighty God to bestow the deceased martyr with forgiveness and mercy and to allow her to reside in paradise and to bestow condolences and patience upon her family and relatives. We also pray that Almighty God bestow dear Pakistan and its noble people with pride, power, and triumph over the gangs of evil and darkness."

Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd

"I strongly condemn the murder of Benazir Bhutto and of all those killed in this temble act."

Benazir Bhutto was an historic figure of tinfluence in modern Pakistan. She had a campaigning resolutely for democracy at country. Throughout her life, Benazir to showed great courage and defiance in her resistance to extremism."

"The extremists behind this attack cannot be allowed to succeed. I urge all parties in Pakistan to act with restraint and to work for a return to a peaceful democratic process. It is my hope that a democratic Pakistan will be Benazir Bhutto's legacy."

Afghan President Hamid Karzai

(Karzai met with Bhutto 27 December 2007 morning during a visit to Pakistan.)

"I found her to be a very, very brave woman with a clear vision for her own coun-

try, for Afghanistan and for the region."

"We in Afghanistan condemn this act of cowardice and immense brutality in the strongest possible terms. She sacrificed her life for the sake of Pakistan and for the sake of this region."

Jose Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission

"The European Commission condemns this callous terrorist attack perpetrated less than two weeks ahead of election day in the strongest terms. This is an attack against democracy and against Pakistan."

"We send our condolences to the family of Mrs. Bhutto and to the family of the other victims. We hope that Pakistan will remain firmly on track for a return to democratic civilian rule."

Israeli Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni

"We convey our condolences to the people of Pakistan and to the families of the victims. Benazir Bhutto was a well-known leader in Pakistan and in the international community who demonstrated brave leadership for her people. Israel expresses the hope that Pakistan will continue along the path of reconciliation, moderation and democracy."

Russian Foreign Ministry

"We strongly condemn this terrorist act, present our condolences to the family and friends of Benazir Bhutto and hope that Pakistani authorities will provide for national stability," Russian Foreign Ministry

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spokesman Mikhail Kamynin said.

The ministry has repeatedly said that the Pakistani government "must do its best to ensure the maximum stability in the election period and prevent terrorist acts against Benazir Bhutto and other political leaders," Kamynin added.

Statement on behalf of French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner

Kouchner "expressed vivid emotion following the attack that cost the life of Benazir Bhutto, whom he knew personally. He presents his condolences to her family, to other victims' families in this attack and to the Pakistani people. He strongly condemns this horrible act and he salutes the memory of Mrs. Bhutto, an eminent figure in Pakistan's political life. He reaffirms France's commitment to the stability of Pakistan and its democracy that must be at the center of attention for the international community."

British Foreign Secretary David Miliband

who lost their lives in this senseless attack. Benazir Bhutto showed in her words and actions a deep commitment to her country."

"She knew the risks of her return to campaign but was convinced that her country needed her. This is a time for restraint but also unity. All those committed to a stable future for Pakistan will condemn without qualification all violence perpetrated against innocent people."

"In targeting Benazir Bhutto extremist groups have in their sights all those committed to democratic processes in Pakistan.

They cannot and must not succeed. The large Pakistani community in the United Kingdom will be gravely concerned about these latest developments. Let me reassure them that the UK government will continue to work with all those who want to build a peaceful and democratic Pakistan."

South African President Thabo Mbeki

On behalf of the government and people of South Africa and on his own behalf, condemned the assassination of Ms. Benazir Bhutto and other Pakistani nationals in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, earlier today."

"South Africa condemns all forms of violence to promote political objectives and in this regard reiterates its oft-stated view that violence can only beget violence."

"Accordingly, the South African government appeals to all political parties and the people of Pakistan to remain calm during this very turbulent period in its history and remain committed to the political processes towards elections."

"South Africa joins the international community in reaching out in thought and prayer to the family of Benazir Bhutto as well as to those who have lost their loved ones."

"South Africa expresses its confidence that the authorities will leave no stone unturned to ensure that the perpetrators of this heinous act face the full might of the law."

Arab League

The Arab League commend the assassination as a "heinous te official MENA news agen reported. mned the assassination as a "heinous te official MENA news agen reported."

Amr Mussa, secretary eneral of the 22-member pan-Arab body, andemned the killing and "offered heartfelt condolences to the Pakistani people over the tragic development."

He also expressed shock and anger at such a "heinous terrorist crime,"

Bangladesh

Bangladesh strongly condemned the "cowardly bomb attack" in Pakistan that claimed the life of opposition leader Benazir Bhutto.

"It was an unpardonable crime that has shocked the world. The government and people of Bangladesh mourned this tragedy with their Pakistani brethren," the interim government Chief Fakhruddin Ahmed said in a statement.

Japan

Foreign Affairs Minister Masahiko Komura condemned the attack, saying that "it is absolutely unacceptable to try to solve something by the means of violence.

Jordan

King Abdullah II, in a message to Musharraf, condemned the assassination and expressed Jordan's "support to Pakistan" to overcome the consequences of this incident.

Amnesty International

A an Program Director Catherine Baber is shocking to see someone's life cut said shor such a brutal way. Attacks such as thes. an never be justified. They violate international law and the rules of democratic behavior. We know that the government of President Musharraf will find itself under enormous pressure to go after the culprits and keep the country calm and stable, but Amnesty International calls on President Musharraf - and on the security forces - to exercise restraint and uphold the rule of law. The killing of Benazir Bhutto must not be allowed to become a setback to civilian governance or indeed lead to a further crackdown on civil liberties."

Human Rights Watch

A statement was calling the assassination a "tragic event with serious implications for Pakistan's transition to democracy" and stating that "political violence of this nature has claimed far too many innocent lives in Pakistan and it must stop. Benazir Bhutto was a democrat who believed in the supremacy of constitutional rule and throughout her career, sought power through the ballot box. Today, she died campaigning for votes and calling for a free election." HRW South Asia researcher, speaking for the organization, called on the Pakistani government to "undertake an independent and transparent investigation into Bhutto's assassination and fully cooperate with such an investigation."

World Bank Group

President Robert Zoellick said, "This tragedy will only hinder Pakistan's critical agenda of meeting the urgent needs of its many citizens. On behalf of the World Bank Group, I would like to extend my sympathies and deepest condolences to Ms. Bhutto's family and to the families of the other victims of this tragic event."

Organization of the Islamic Conference Secretary General Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu
"condemned in strongest terms the outrageous and brutal murder of the former Prime
Minister of Pakistan and leader of Pakistan
People's Party, Ms. Benazir Bhutto in a
shocking suicide attack in Rawalpindi."

Nawaz Sharif

Nawaz Sharif described Benazir Bhutto's assassination as the most tragic incident in the history of Pakistan

"I also feel unprotected and the lady must also have been feeling very unprotected," Sharif said.

"If Musharraf can spend crores on his own security, could he not spend some amount on the security of Bhutto."

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Mother of all Tragedies

wonder when the Allah almighty was scripting the destiny of Pakistan the task was given to Shakespeare. The sad demise of Benazir Bhutto forced me to change my opinion because even Shakespeare would not have imagined such a tragic end to such an illustrious political career. When her father was executed by the establishment of Pakistan she was a young girl with no political ambitions. Circumstances forced her to assume the charge of the largest political party of this hapless country having a scanty democratic record. She was subjected to ultimate forms of repression, persecution and physical and she didn't bow before the b ave father. Her party and have uncles talented or ands with the establishto hijack the party. ses the young girl was intelligent and only to save the party from the PROK of hyenas, but within a decade she turned the party in to a formidable political force. Had the establishment not conspired again in 1988, PPP would have swept the elections. Imagine a feudal, stagnant, illiterate and fragmented society like Pakistan and imagine a woman taking charge of the affairs of this nation. She was the bravest, a 21st century Joan of Arc, she was a revolutionary. In a country where women are deprived of fundamental rights and are barred from voting, she swam against the tide and was elected to the top office twice and she was almost there for the third time before she was eliminated. When Z.A.Bhutto was executed people thought it's a great tragedy that the most popular leader of the country was

killed in a fake judicial encounter. I honestly believe that tragedy was nothing in comparison to the killing to Benazir. Bhutto challenged establishment only once and got himself hanged, Benazir locked horns with establishment for thirty long years and emerged victorious on a number of occasions. She was truly a champion. She was the only hope we had and with her all the aspirations and ambitions of Pakistan in general and the democratic forces of the country in particular have vanished in thin air. I was arguing with my friends that this election will be the last opportunity for PPP to exploit the legacy of Z.A. Bhutto, and the party must deliver now otherwise it will be reduced to a regional party. Now the tables have turned, even after thirty years of indoctrination establishment despite all out efforts could not obliterate the legacy of Z.A. Bhutto, they are faced with the legacy of Benazir Bhutto at this moment. My feeling is the the legacy of Benazir is going to haunt then or many more years.

I saw some pseudo intelle als discussing the future of PPP, dor vorry about the future of PPP folks, the real cause of concern is the future of Pakistan. I remember when Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated people thought that the Nehru era has come to an end. Sonia emerged and now Congress is in power again. Her circumstances were far more difficult than they are for the leadership of PPP. I am sure the party will survive; it will survive for the good of this country. What is at stake here is the integrity of this country. The affairs of our country are managed with sheer recklessness. The issues of judiciary, tribal areas, Lal Masjid, Swat are handled

with utter thoughtlessness. At present the only course of action when faced with a problem is to eliminate it. I think its time to bid adieu, and leave the bloody civilians to their vices and virtues.

A lot of things will be said in coming days, reactions will be expressed, and emotions will be shown, but nothing will bring back the 'Pinky' of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, and the 'Behan' of all the Pakistanis. Pakistan's history is full

of tragedies, from the death of Quaid-e-Azam to the fall of East Pakistan. From the hanging of Z.A. Bhutto to the air crash of Zia ul Haq, may it be the repeated army interventions or persistent failures of civilian Governments, one after the other the tragedies kept on following each other with hardly any moment of respite. Nonetheless the sad demise of Benazir Bhutto is the mother of all tragedies.

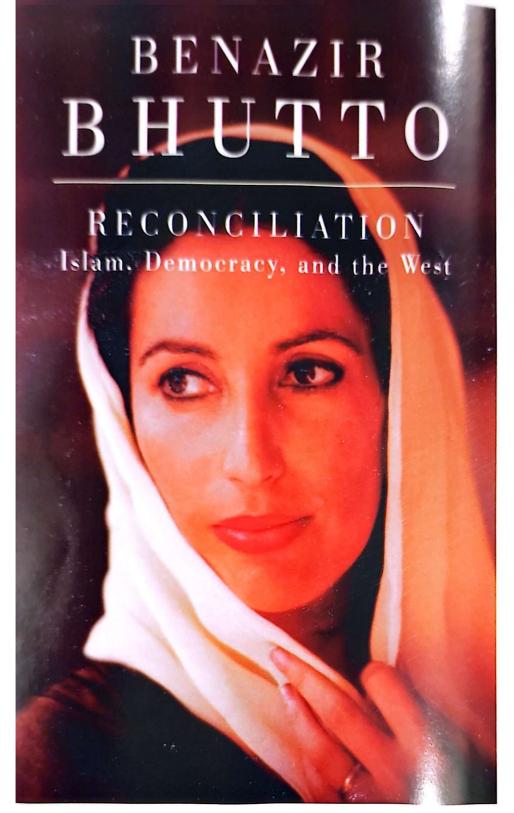


A girl lights a candle to pay homage to Shaheed Benazir Bhutto during a rally in Islamabad, 09 January 2008.

A HOPE IS LOST

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is handout photo courtesy of HarperCollins received Ottomulary 2008, is the book cover for "Reconciliation Islam, Democracy, and the West by zir Bhutto. A book by Shaheed Benazir Bhutto, finished and days e her assassination, is due to hit bookshelves, her public er said. Inciliation: Islam, Democracy, and the West" is to come out earlier originally intended on February 12, HarperCollins said in a statement inuary, explaining that Bhutto's family and advisors supported the release. She writes in the book of her joy in returning to Pakistan in iter and about a previous attempt on her life, when two suicide ers attacked her homecoming parade, killing 139 people.



