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Resistance from the Labour, Journalists, Students and Women against Zia's Dictatorial Regime: A Case Study of Punjab

Abstract

After imposition of third military dictatorship in Pakistan (1977-1988), civil society consisting of labourers, journalists, women and students of Punjab took the stance of resistance against dictatorial regime. The military administration took strict action against the civil society through brutal use of military courts or through police force imprisonment. The civil society move remained parallel to dictatorial regime. The dictatorial regime could not minimize the impacts of movement in the society despite severe punishments to participants of the move. The only demand from civil society was the restoration of democracy in the county which was promised by military dictator time and again.

Key Words: Punjab, Resistance, Civil Society, Dictatorship, Opposition

Labour's Resistance in Punjab:

When General Zia ul Haq came to power he targeted trade union which was the symbol of labour rights declared null and void under MLRs. The step of dictatorial regime caused reaction from the workers community and they became part of resistance movement which was moving against dictatorial regime day by day.¹ The agitation and strike by the labour workers began on 2nd January 1978 when nineteen workers of Colony Textile Mill in Multan were shot dead and various injured by police during strike of mill workers against administration of mill. This incident cleared the intentions of martial law that supported mill owners against workers.² Mill owner Mughees Sheikh invited General Zia on her daughter's marriage ceremony, there was rumor that workers would attack on wedding ceremony. In preemptive reaction was taken against mill workers³ which caused casualties and injury of workers. This was the drive of resistance against dictatorial regime. The incident of Multan Textile Mill caused stimulation the

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¹ Farukh Sohail Govindi, Interview by researcher, 4th March 2020, Jamhoori Publishers 2-Awan-e-Tajarat near Governor House Lahore.

² Khalid B. Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980), p179.

³ Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Pakistan Paradox: Instability and Resilience*, (Guragon Haryana: Random House Publishers, 2015), p329.

passion of the workers against the regime and workers in the various part of the country especially in Punjab became the part of resistance against the regime.

Z.A Bhutto's birthday; 5th January 1978 was observed as "Democracy Day" by PPP and arranged anti martial law activates the labour also became the part of these resistance activates resistance against the dictatorial regime. On "Democracy Day" The workers in various factories came out on the call of PPP, they did not join duties and especially the workers in PECO factory. The railway workers at *Mughalpura* Lahore also became the part of PPP call they were moving in groups after reliving from their duty places wearing black bands on their arms and raising slogans in favour of PPP.⁴ The workers became the part of the move gradually especially in Lahore. The agitational processions of the workers started and take momentum when political mobilization generated against the dictatorial regime in the Punjab.

The Military Court Lahore was awarded one year Rigorous Imprisonment (RI) and ten lash each of the workers who were arrested under MLR.5. The workers inhaled from Rustam Sohrab Cycle Factory Shahdra, Lahore the five workers who trialed and awarded punishments under MLRs.⁵ There was a gathering of the workers at Lahore under the banner of All Pakistan Workers Co-ordination Committee (APWCC), almost two hundred workers were gathered and condemned the incident of Multan Textile Mills; the government was not taking seriously who were responsible of the incident. The major participation was from the railway workers and journalist workers, Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim from FUJ preside over the meeting⁶ condemned the incident and passed resolution in which paid homage to the sacrifice of the workers and divert the attention of the administration towards the matter of the killing of innocent workers.

The industrial workers organized a procession and meetings on the eve of "Struggle Day" at Lahore, the major gatherings were at KotLakhpat, Gulberg, Ravi Road, Badami Bagh, Shahdra and Multan Road areas Railway workers were also the part of the movement and they raised slogans against the administration prior to their duty hours. At Kot Lakhput Pakistan Workers Federation, *Muthidda Mazdoor*, *Majils-i-Amal* workers local and front committees of all workers arranged a meeting at Kot Lakhpat and criticized the anti labour policies of the military regime, there were black flags vowing during the gathering and their protest continued for two hours⁷ with reference to "struggle day".

The Lahore PTV center seven employees were detained under MLR 10⁸ and trialed them in Summary Military Court Lahore. They were awarded one year RI

⁴*Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 6th January 1978.

⁵*Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 10th January 1978. (The victimized workers were; Muhammad Amin S/O Muhammad Bashir, Muhammad Aslam S/O Muhammad Siddique, Sajjad Qamar S/O Qamaruddin, Muhammad Javed S/O Umar Din, Muhammad Sarwar S/O Ghulam Nabi)

⁶*Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 28th January 1978.

⁷*Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 17th February 1978.

⁸ MLR 10 was formulated to minimize the role of the employees at the working place, they had no right in the matters of the official assets and employee had to follow the instruction of the government. There was not the concession of political gathering and mobilization. If

and 10 to 15 whiplashes punishment each of them, the employees were; Inayat Hussain, Shahid Mahmood Nadeem and Agha Shahid were awarded punishment of one year Rigorous Imprisonment and fifteen flogs each of them.⁹ The step was taken from the military administration to nip the move of resistance which formulated on the base of their rights and spread in the entire Punjab after celebrating "Struggle Day" against the dictatorial regime of General Zia ul Haq.¹⁰

The Summary Military Court also rewarded one-year RI to the workers of Rawalpindi/Islamabad Television Station. The worker union president and general secretary were also including among the persons who were reward punishment under MLR 10 and 18 on the charge of interference and creating disturbance and pressure at working place. Major Najamur Rehman declared the verdict of military court. The employees who were awarded punishment were; Raja Muhammad Hussain (workers union president and planning officer), Zaheer Javed (news producer and general secretary), Muhammad Ilyas Bhutti (production assistant), Muhammad Bashir Billa (driver), Aurangzeb (camera man), Hafeezur Rehman, (record keeper) Muhammad Khaliq Ghazali (painter). All seven persons were sent to Rawalpindi jail¹¹ for the procedural accomplishment of the employees of the television.

Summary Military Court Multan gave punishment to three worker leaders of Colony Textile Mills Multan under the charge of mobilized the workers for unlawful agitation and strike in the mill and raising slogans against the dictatorial set up the military. The labour leaders were Wasi Muhammad was awarded six months RI and five flogs on the charge of motivated the workers for illegal strikes, and furthermore punishment of one year RI and ten lashes on the charge of raising slogans against the military. Amir Ali and Abdul Khaliq were given nine months RI and seven lashes and further punishment of one-year RI and ten lashes each of them on the prescribed charges under MLR 13. While two other workers Ghiasud Din and Muhammad Nawaz were released after giving warning that not to indulge in political activity.¹²

The workers of PECO Lahore were sentenced by the military court, they were; Muhammad Amin Bhutti, Mushtaq Ahmad, Muhammad Sadiq and Hakim Alias commonly known *Hakoo*, they were sentenced nine months RI, fifteen flogs and two thousand fine, all kinds of punishment were awarded to them under MLRs, 5, 13 and 33 furthermore if they would not pay fine their RI would be extended three months more. They were charged of indulging in procession, slogans against martial law and mobilization political activity¹³ which were not bearable in the dictatorial regime of General Zia ul Haq. The move from the side of workers remained the part of resistance and severe punishment from side of dictatorial regime could not conquer their minds through threat.

any step against this MLR the punishment of RI and stripes were awarded during the Dictatorial Regime Zia ul Haq.

⁹*Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 20th February 1978.

¹⁰Khalid Chaudhry, interview by researcher, 16th March 2020, 18/2L St 160 DHA Phase I Lahore.

¹¹*Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 22nd February 1978.

¹²*Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 13th March 1978.

¹³*Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 21th March 1978.

Resistance from Media workers against Zia's rule:

General Zia ul Haq made his plan quite secretly by imposing strictness on the press. He did not share to the cabinet colleagues but he was also fully aware that by curbing press he would be able to control the political activities of the country. He further argued that purpose of strictness was only to control the political temperature of the country but not imposing censorship.¹⁴ The feature of all dictatorships was the dissolution of the constitution and implementation of regulations according to the whims of a dictator. A dictator when imposed martial law and abeyance the constitution of the country, designed the source of information according to his whim and desire because he had no roots among the mass in the twentieth century a dictator used the press and executives in his favour in prolonging his regime. The dictator used press to get popularity¹⁵ among the people and pretend to be well-wisher of the mass. The journalist were the source of information and the desire of the General Zia-ul-Haq to convert the print media according to his plans but when most of the journalist could not fulfill the desire of dictator he used his self-imposed authority but journalist took the step of resistance the center of resistance was in Punjab. The initial step of dictatorial regime was to take strict action against journalism the most prominent was censorship which would be main restriction on the publication of opponent opinions about dictatorship. Those publishers who dare to publish booklets and pamphlets against dictatorship would be punished severely.¹⁶

The journalists who were the pioneer of presenting the actual picture of martial law S.G.M Badruddin the editor of daily *Musawat*, Altaf Hussain Qureshi *Monthly Urdu digest* Lahore and Nazir Naji the resident editor *Musawat* were arrested under MLR 13.¹⁷ Mr. Minhaj Barna Chairman APNEC and President PFUJ and Secretary General PFUJ Nisar Osmani condemned the step the military administration in a joint statement that step of military administration against the norms of press and all kinds of surety provided to the press by CMLA after taking charge and the strict steps could be stopped the liberty of expression. They criticized the extra ordinary regulation on the platform of APNEC and PFUJ.¹⁸ The stance of resistance from the side of journalists began after taking strict measure and action from the side of MLA in the province of Punjab.

The Journalist organized "Struggle Day" with the col Labouration of the workers at press club under the Chairman of APNEC Mr. Minhaj Barna and Mr. Nisar Usmani General Secretary of PFUJ Mr. Hafiz Raqib General Secretary of APNEC, Mr. Riaz Malik President PFUJ and Mr. Abdullah Jan of PPL Workers Union. A resolution was unanimously adopted that all the steps against the journalist had been taken were to remove and all conditions of restrictions were against the

¹⁴Sartaj Aziz, *Between Dreams and Realities: Some Milestones in Pakistan, s History*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), p62.

¹⁵N.B. Naqvi, *Dictatorship and the press, (Society and Dictatorship)*, (edit) Bernd M. Scherer (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1990), p86.

¹⁶Muhammad Aslam Brohi, *The Non-Violent Democratic Resistance in Pakistan: The Role of Nusrat Bhutto (1977-1981)*, (Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. XXXIX, No.1 January- June 2018), p186.

¹⁷Zamir Niazi, *The Press in Chain*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1987), p177.

¹⁸*Dawn* (Karachi), 23th October 1977.

integrity of the newspaper worker and the strict action that was taken against “Sun” and resignation of the NPT chairman¹⁹ during the dictatorial set up after the promulgation of martial law in the country. A meeting session related to the, “Struggle Day” under the APNEC and PFUJ organized at the press club Rawalpindi where representatives of local APNEC and PFUJ representatives who decided to take stance against the administration related to the confiscation of press, all the participants supported the newspapers employees of Rawalpindi, Lahore and Multan,²⁰ with the demands and rights of the press workers and discrimination act of administration against the press workers. When General Zia ul Haq took strict action against civilian people fifty eight journalists inhaled from Lahore, within nine related to NPT newspaper remaining were independent signed a memorandum against the action of Zia, under army rules it was illegal step and all the journalists include Punjab University’s teacher of Journalism department services were terminated. PU teacher has appealed to court under stay order and restored through court orders. Journalists of NPT and further restored during Benazir Bhutto first tenure after death of General Zia.²¹

The newspaper which was targeted was *Musawat* Lahore, the journalists who faced hardships were Ghazi Salah-ud-Din, Shafqat Tanveer Mirza and Aziz Siddique. The military dictatorship was thinking after the hard punishment the journalist would surrender but military dictatorship had to restore the publication of *Musawat* Lahore and released the entire arrested journalist.²² Mr. Abbas Athar president Lahore Press Club and former editor of “Musawat” newspaper was arrested under MLR 33 with other four workers under the charge to publish the petition of Z.A Bhutto at the level of Supreme Court against the decision of Lahore High Court of death sentence published in daily *Sorgaodha Payam-e-Quaid*. Abbas Athar was working as editor of daily *Sargodha* while other four people were Mr. Muzaffar, Mr. Ashiq and Mr. Maqbool; the press of the concerned newspaper was also sealed.²³ Being part of resistance movement as journalist my target was to manage five hundred copies of *Sorgaodha Payam-e-Quaid* from secrets publication spread in various parts with information of Bhutto and PPP resistance against dictatorial regime of General Zia ul Haq. There were also booklets which published secretly under title: “MLR19” and “Who is on Trial” (with pictures of Maulvi Mushtaq, Bhutto and Zia ul Haq) we managed to deliver booklets up to high profile persons inside the country and abroad as well which was source of information about the resistance movement. The publication was continued quite secretly but I was highlighted my journalist colleague inhaled from Multan and his affiliation was JI and on his report I was arrested from Lords

¹⁹*Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 17th February, 1978.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹Mehdi Hassan, Interview by researcher, 21st February 2020, Department of Mass Com, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

²²Hafaz-ur-Rehman, *Azad-e-Sahafat; Sub Say Bari Jung*, (Karachi: Riktab Publications, 2015), p25.

²³*Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 28th March, 1978.

Hotel and detained in Lahore Fort under charge of five hundred explosion case. I got punishment of ten year from special military court Lahore.²⁴

General Zia ul Haq expressed in a press conference while departed from Lahore to Rawalpindi that he wanted to shut down all newspapers for five years and if they organized put behind them bars. There would not be any kind of sympathy for the newspapers of such kind.²⁵ The desire of General Zia ul Haq was also to close down all newspapers he took the step of censor ship upon newspapers and weeklies were banned²⁶, there was hardship phase upon journalist during the dictatorial regime. Prior to censor ship Imroze was a progressive newspaper although it was trust newspaper yet published impartial news such kind of step was not acceptable to dictator. Imroze newspaper team was consisting of prominent names like Munno Bhai, Abdullah Malik and Hameed Akhtar (Member of Communist Party). There were some other journalists who were not acceptable for General Zia ul Haq among those I.A Rehman and A.D. Chaudhry (Pakistan Times). When dictatorial set up was not satisfied with concern of journalist they planned to implement MLR of censorship upon newspapers.²⁷

The MLRs related to the newspapers were further amended MLR 49 in sections 499 and 500²⁸ under Pakistan Penal Code as well as Pakistan Criminal Procedure Code. The aim was to silence all those newspapers which were reflecting the other side of the phase. The persons who were appointed in the Press Information Department used the powers under the amended MLRs mercilessly and without any framework. Sometimes was a very ridiculous situation during publishing news item. A news item cleared by the morning shift censor and again used the night shift censor related to publish²⁹ there was ambiguity with perspective of implementation of censorship. The newspaper started to leave newspaper blank as gesture of resistance against scrutiny of news prior to publish. PFUJ also criticized the step of dictatorial regime that a clerk of information department censors the news most senior and expert professional persons. The stance of journalist remained affective and it became obvious to people that military set up interrupting the matters of newspaper and military administration had to revise MLR of censorship.³⁰

On 13th May 1978, journalist who were trialed in the summary court and sentenced of whiplashes due to the violation of martial law regulations and they were Masudullah Khan, Iqbal Ahmad Jaffari, Khawar Naeem Hashmi and Nisar Zaidi,³¹

²⁴Khalid Chaudhry, interview by researcher, 16th March 2020, 18/2L St 160 DHA Phase I Lahore.

²⁵Zamir Niazi, *The Press in Chain*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1987), p190.

²⁶ Omar Noman, *The Political Economy of Pakistan 1947-85*, (London : KPI Limited,1988),p124

²⁷Mehdi Hassan, Interview by researcher, 21st February 2020, Department of Mass Com, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

²⁸ All kinds of liberties of reporting, distributing, objection and writing independently of press were confiscated.

²⁹Zamir Niazi, *The Press in Chain*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1987), p185.

³⁰Mehdi Hassan, Interview by researcher, 21st February 2020, Department of Mass Com, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

³¹ Zamir Niazi, *The Press in Chain*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1987), p178.

in spite of harsh punishment the journalist continued their struggle in the camp of hunger strike in the figure of journalists and arrested afterwards in the premises of *Musawat* four more journalist became the part of strike against the closeness of *Musawat* and after their arrest the figure reached up to eighty six about the journalists.³²

Summary Military Court (SMC) delivered verdict punishment to an active member of Lahore Press Club Abbas Athar as three thousand rupees with six months' imprisonment while Muhammad Yasin printer with five thousand rupees and six moth imprisonment under MLR33, they were trialed due to printing material against military administration. Further two more persons, Muhammad Nazir, and Muzaffar ul Hassan were also registered against them.³³ The implementation of the verdict of Lahore High Court under learned Judge Justice Dilwar Mahmood in the favour of *Musawat* could few mints and again was sealed immediate under MLR 49 publication and printing from Lahore and Faisalabad. The publication of *Musawat* Lahore was blamed to prejudice to maintain martial law order. In condition of violation there was RI for ten years, as well as fine and flog.³⁴ In a statement related to journalist General Zia ul Haq obvious his mind set that I would close down all newspaper for five years duration if anyone raised voice against administration and if anyone dared to take out procession or organize meeting their destination would be in jail.³⁵ The purpose of the step was to keep hold the newspaper which was the representation of anti-martial law after promulgation of third martial law in Pakistan. CMLA General Zia ul Haq removed pre censorship on newspapers but in spite CMLA took the step of pre censorship would be continued on political, semi political, non-literary weekly and monthly magazines.³⁶

Rashid Ahmad Khan Deputy Editor *Sada-e-Watten* was arrested without warrant on 8th November 1978. They were charged to publish advertisement against military and distributed them among the people. He was kept in investigation unit Lahore till 23rd November 1978 under serious torture. He was sentenced six months RI on the charge of objectionable material on 13th December 1978.³⁷ Imtiaz Alam famous journalist expressed the strict phase of Zia's Dictatorial Regime (1979-1985) and remained in jail the charge on me was indulging in democratic movement against the dictatorial. A group was formulated with friends and published newspaper secretly and posted to various people, after some time police began to trace the people where newspaper posted we changed the name of newspaper but in spite of we were followed by the police. The feature of our newspaper was favour of democracy and opposition of dictatorship the publication material was also consisting of the same pattern. This was the main factor which did not like by the military administration. When tightness measures were taken from the side of military administration, I had been remained underground for two

³²*Dawn* (Karachi), 15th May 1978.

³³*Dawn* (Karachi), 21st May 1979.

³⁴*Dawn* (Karachi), 13th December 1979.

³⁵Zamir Niazi, *Fettered Freedom*, Pakistan Perspectives on State and Society, Abbas Rashid, ed. (Lahore: Shirkat Printing Press, 2004), p249

³⁶*Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 12th January, 1982.

³⁷Sattar Tahir, *Martial Law Ka White Paper*, (Lahore: Classic Publishers, 1987), p50.

years but lastly, I was arrested I had been remaining in jail for five years duration³⁸ due to imposition of strict MLRs.

The Bureau Chief of Roznama *Hilal-e-Pakistan* Mr. Ehsan Ullah Khan was arrested at night round about nine thirty pm police which huge number raided at Dyal Singh Mention where the office of Mr. Ehsan Ullah Khan. The police not only captured the record of previous newspapers with Mr. Ehsan Ullah³⁹ as the activist figure against the dictatorship of General Zia ul Haq as strict action was taken against all those who were the symbol of resistance against the dictatorial regime. Idrees Butt Bureau Chief "Roznama Amon" was arrested by Lahore Police under the charge of pamphlet against dictatorial regime and he was sent to camp jail under judicial remand.⁴⁰ The purpose of all steps against journalist was to curb the move of resistance against dictatorial regime. The move of resistance from the side of journalists remained in action despite severe kind of punishments to journalists.

Women and Resistance Movement in Punjab:

The women in the Punjab from the side of PPP took step of resistance against the military administration when Z.A Bhutto was detained the women organized a procession which was consisting of fifty women who appeared on Shahr-e-Quaid-i-Azam and started to raise slogan against martial law and favour of Z.A Bhutto their main demand was the release of PPP leader. The women gathered at the Regal Chowk and continued their slogans when an army jeep passed through those women and jeep driver warned them about their procession three among the procession showed resentment afterwards a magistrate came then the procession of the female who desired to go further dispersed⁴¹ but this incident indicated the matter of resistance against the dictatorial regime from the side of the women in the sphere of Punjab capital. Mrs. Nargis Naeem Deputy Secretary Women Wing Lahore was also detained⁴² under MLR being actively participated in political mobilization. Fatima Soryia who was energetic political worker from the side of PPP inhaled Nankana Sahib decided to present herself arrest when various political presented themselves for arrest as the step of resistances against dictatorship brought garland under her shawl and she saw that a police party gather at road she wore garland and raised slogan "*Geyay Bhutto*". This was specific style of political worker during resistance against dictatorial regime in Punjab.⁴³

Mrs. Naseem Ashraf Malik (General Secretary of Democratic Women's Association she also the member of Working Committee of United Workers Federation) was arrested under MLRs 13,18 and 33 while Begum Tahira Mazhar who was the president of association was already under the custody⁴⁴ being the

³⁸Muzafar Muhammad Ali, *Pakistani Saysiat Kay Razdan Sehafi: Safdar Mir Say Hamid Mir Tak*, (urdu), (Lahore: Right Vision, 2011),p124.

³⁹*Jang* (Lahore), 14th July 1982.

⁴⁰*Jang* (Lahore), 30th October 1982.

⁴¹*Dawn* (Karachi), 27th December 1977.

⁴²*Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 4th January 1978.

⁴³Mrs. Nasira Shaukat, Interview by researcher, 23rd September 2019, 51 Canal Park Metropolitan Corporation Lahore.

⁴⁴*Dawn* (Karachi), 11th April 1979.

part of resistance against dictatorial regime. SMC extended remanded duration of Tahira Mazhar Ali Khan, Mrs. Nasim Shamim Ashraf Malik who was respectively President and General Secretary of Pakistan Democratic Women Association⁴⁵ who were actively part of resistance from the side of women against dictatorial regime. The dictatorial administration also extended the duration of Benazir Bhutto detention while she was detained at Sahila Jail.⁴⁶ Afterwards the detention period of Benazir Bhutto was extended again after the accomplishment of previous detained duration.⁴⁷ The purpose all the step was to weakened the move of resistance against dictatorial set up from the side of women in the Punjab. There were number of women inhaled from PPP also detained Lahore Fort under various charge to nip the move of resistance against dictatorial regime. There was also a movement during dictatorial regime from WAF for the rights of women but hardships like detained in Lahore Fort faced by PPP women. The women who were detained at Lahore Fort were Ms. Nasira Shaukat, Neelam Kausar Shah and Shahida Jabeen.⁴⁸

Begum Naheed Saeed was most active in the move was arrested and kept in Shahi Qila Cell No.5 and Begum Abida Malik was arrested from Lahore under the charge of resistance and kept in Shahi Qila Cell No.6 while Mai Allah Rakhai (Kirshan Nagar Lahore) was arrested under the charge of hiding weapons in soul but the charge could not be approved after investigation and she was to release from Shahi Qila Lahore.⁴⁹

Lahore the Provincial capital of the Punjab was also the center of the activities of WAF as like the other part of the country to continue the movement of resistance against the dictatorial regime of Zia ul Haq. This was a gradual process which continued off and on. The matter of *Hudood* Ordinance mostly affected the women in middle and lower middle class in rural area like punishment of arrest and whiplashing but the women in urban area and upper class took stance of resistance against the discriminatory law against the women. They rose against the matter of contradiction related to the right and respect of women which were granted to the women but despite insecure in dictatorial regime of Zia ul Haq.⁵⁰

In 1983 women moved a walk on the Mall Lahore under the motivation of PWLA (Punjab Women's Lawyers Association). There were 300 figures and objectives were to present a memorandum to the Chief Justice Lahore High Court against the discriminatory pattern of law during the military regime which was considered insecure the status of women in the Punjab. There were also the presences of constables of male and female when the women moved on the Mall and accessed to the Lahore High Court. During the procession the poet of resistance Habib Jalib was also with the procession. As the procession tried to access the destination the

⁴⁵ *Dawn* (Karachi), 15th April 1979.

⁴⁶ *Dawn* (Karachi), 17th April 1979.

⁴⁷ *Dawn* (Karachi), 1st May 1979.

⁴⁸ Farrukh Sohail Govindi, Interview by researcher, 4th March 2020, Jamhoori Publishers 2-Awan-e-Tajarat near Governor House Lahore.

⁴⁹ Agha Naveed, *Dosra Janum: General Zia Kay Amrana Aqubat Khanu Ke Rodad*, (Urdu), (Lahore: Jamhoori Publications, 2016), pp195-196.

⁵⁰ Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shah, *Women of Pakistan: Two Step Forward One Step Back*, (Lahore: Vanguard Book (Pvt), 1987), p75.

police detained the female procession and started strict action against the women procession. This was not appreciated in the society.⁵¹ Habib Jalib also contributed as poet among women rally and directed them to move on mall road when he motivated women for rally police tortured him and his condition was very miserable. Many prominent women were also part of the rally like wife of Aitzaz Ahsan, Bushra Aitzaz, wife of S.M Zafar, Shahida Jabeen, Sajida Meer, wife of Abid Hassan Manto.⁵² In 1983 protest Asma Janghir was also front line activist with perspective of women rights during dictatorial regime when a case under Haddood Ordinance was filed against Safia Babi inhaled Sahiwal. Asma Janghir who was main figure of organizing protest against dictatorial set up as the reaction military administration was threatened the move and as a result she was detained in her house and remained till the end of year.⁵³ Ms. Shalha Zia who was also women activist and participated in 1983 procession on the day when women were marched on Mall Lahore the same day was her birthday and her husband came from abroad to celebrate her birthday but she was arrested and remained in jail on the eve of her birthday.⁵⁴

Begum Najma Hameed expressed her views in Punjab Assembly that during PNA movement there was no need of any kind of permission from their forbidden to come on roads and women were struggling for their rights during dictatorial regime there was a need of permission to their forbidden from the critics. If during the movement of PNA in 1977 there was a principal of permission to march in the rallies from *Masajids* (Mosques) so that principal was applicable under the move of struggling for their rights⁵⁵ under dictatorial regime when there was not any kind of permission to march on roads by violating strictness under MLRs. The women movement was the part of resistance against third dictatorial regime.

Students and Resistance Movement in Punjab:

When Martial Law was imposed by General Zia ul Haq he was conscious about students because students played a vital role in dethroning General Ayub Khan. So, there was a need of such student organizations which were supporting dictatorship and IJT was most favorable with this perspective.⁵⁶ After the promulgation of Martial Law the important thing was the visit of General Zia ul Haq to the University of the Punjab at that time when there was not allowed any political leader to the university while the military support from JI student wing⁵⁷

⁵¹Taimurul Hassan, *The Performance of Press during the Women Movement in Pakistan*, (Journal of South Asian Studies, Punjab University, Vol. 25 No.2 July December 2010),p316.

⁵²Saeed Pervaiz, *Pakistani Adab Kay Maimar: Habib Jalib Shakhshiyat- aur- Fun*, (Urdu), (Islamabad: Pakistan Academy of Letters,2009),pp160-161.

⁵³Sheen Farkh, *Pakistan Ke Faal Khawateen: Faislun Kay Uhder*, (Urdu), (Lahore: Mashal,2001), p105.

⁵⁴Sheen Farkh,pp122-123.

⁵⁵*Punjab Assembly Debates*, vol.12 periodical,4(19th January 1988),p 480.

⁵⁶Azizuddin Ahmad, *Pakistan Mein Talba Tehreek*, (Urdu), (Lahore: Mashal Publishers, 2000), p159.

⁵⁷*Islami Jamiat Talba* was the wing of *Jamat-e-Islami* which founded on 23 December 1947 at Lahore provincial capital of Punjab Pakistan on the advice of Maulana Naeem

in September 1977 after taking the charge as CMLA and awarded honorary degree of doctorate.⁵⁸ General Zia ul Haq meeting with president of IJT was publicized. All the faculty members who were against degree awarding to General Zia ul Haq faced angriness as the result of their transfer, harassment and suspend their promotion. The students of progressive left wing more than one hundred who were against the step of university administration to award honorary degree to General Zia ul Haq were rusticated from Punjab University.⁵⁹

When military administration could not control the move of resistance against the regime planned to ban student unions because students were the central of motivation of resistance. The student union of Punjab University President Saeed Saleemi and Secretary Mehar Ishtiaq in collective statement pointed out that proposal to ban student unions, the step would be undemocratic to create hurdle in the way of students. They further explained that in such crucial period student was the only source to move against the regime, the purpose of this step was only to strengthen dictatorship in the country.⁶⁰

Students of Government College of Technology of Rawalpindi trialed by the Summary Military Court No.18 and gave punishment under MLR 10 the main charge of unlawful mobilization in the educational institutions awarding one-year RI each of the students. The name of the students who were detained and punish under MLR; Sohail Malik, Muzamal Mahboob Ali, Zia ud Din Farooqi, Mir Atta Ullah and Faisal Irfan.⁶¹

SMC Rawalpindi gave punishments of RI and flogs to thirty-three student of Government College of Technology Peshawar Road Rawalpindi violating MLRs. Military Court gave punishment of RI of one year to twenty two student, two student one year RI with ten flog each of them, three student two year RI with five flog every one of them while three student of three year RI with five flog every one of them.⁶² After imposing ban on student unions, the step of expulsion of university students were also started with college students, step was taken against student of Agricultural University Faisalabad nine students were expelled for one year, indulging in move of resistance against dictatorship the students were Muhammad Shafiq, Abdul Mateen, Azhar, Iqbal Hassan Muhammad, Khalid Farooq, Muhammad Fiaz, Anwar ulHaq, Mumtaz ul Haq and Ashraf Ali Attiq. The same action was taken against students of Govt. College Sumonduri, Govt. College Jaranwala, Govt. College Rawalpindi, and Govt. College Sheikhpura twenty one students were expelled from their colleges, step against students of Science College Wahdat Road Lahore and Islamia College Railway Road Lahore, cases were registered against fifty students on the charge of taking part in student unionism under reports of principals and Director Education Lahore. Three

Siddiqui. IJT following the Islamic pattern of politics. IJT was mainly followed by the works of the late Syed Abul Ala Madoodi.

⁵⁸ Mushid Hussain, *Pakistan,s Politics: The Zia Years*, (Lahore: Progressive Publishers,1990),pp21-22.

⁵⁹Saeed Shafqat, *Civil Military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulifkar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*,(Lahore: Pak Book Corporation,1997),p197.

⁶⁰*Jang* (Lahore), 25th October 1982.

⁶¹*Dawn* (Karachi), 16th June 1980.

⁶²*Jang* (Lahore), 22nd January 1983.

students of Sheikhpura College, Ghulam Hussain, Muhammad Zubair and Tanveer were also arrested. Asghar Mall College Rawalpindi was closed for unlimited duration. Processions were also organized at Arifwala, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Gujrat and Nankana Sahib,⁶³ after imposing ban on student unions under instruction of dictatorial regime. As the result of resistance against dictatorial regime in the premises of Rawalpindi which was near GHQ, the center of military administration of Pakistan which was monitored strictly through forces agencies especially students.⁶⁴ When step was taken against student the move of resistance was on move, in spite of strict reaction from administration, action was also taken against students of Govt. College Gujranwala, Islamia and Govt. College Faisalabad, Govt. College Nankana Sahib, Murray College Sialkot, Degree College Jaranwala, twenty four students were rusticated and majority had to pay fine of two hundred rupees.⁶⁵

General Zia ul Haq was calculated and he was fully aware that student existence had a challenge for him, so he always tried to engage students community under strictness most of time he kept educational institution closed so that he had not to face resistance from the side of students, he observed the regime of Ayub Khan that students were frontline in toppling him, so he always remained very serious with the matter of students.⁶⁶ On the matter of student activism, Governor Punjab took action against President of Academic Staff Association Prof. Khalid Alvi and his companions Prof. Mujahid Kamran and Dr. Muhammad Saleem under MLR51, all were terminated from their jobs.⁶⁷

It was clear gesture from the CMLA that he had strict attitude towards the unionism, and he considered the student union threat for himself therefore he had no relax to the polarization of student union. The matter of unionism was discouraged at the level of assembly on the question Rohail Asghar, Mr. Yasin Watto expressed that the strategy of military administration was to divert the worth of student in the form of subject societies, sports clubs and class representatives. The strength of approved student representatives was only thirteen.⁶⁸ General Zia ul Haq was conscious about the role of students and their bodies in predecessors dictatorial regime and movement on resistance pattern from the side of students continued till the end of dictatorial regime.

⁶³ Amir-ul-Azeem, Tulaba Haqooq; Bahali Ke Jadujad, [Talab Tahreekh: Jadujahd, Yaddasht, Tahkeek, (Vol.II) Saleem Mansoor Khalid], (Lahore: Albadar Publications, 1989), p359.

⁶⁴ Farrukh Sohail Govindi, Interview by researcher, 4th March 2020, Jamhoori Publishers 2-Awan-e-Tajarat near Governor House Lahore.

⁶⁵ Amir-ul-Azeem, Tulaba Haqooq; Bahali Ke Jadujad, p359.

⁶⁶ Farrukh Sohail Govindi, Interview by researcher, 4th March 2020, Jamhoori Publishers 2-Awan-e-Tajarat near Governor House Lahore.

⁶⁷ Amir-ul-Azeem, Tulaba Haqooq; Bahali Ke Jadujad, p375.

⁶⁸ *National Assembly Debates*, (10th August 1985), p109.

Conclusion:

Civil Society inhaled from Punjab remained permanent symbol of resistance against dictatorial regime of Zia ul Haq. The dictatorial regime tried its utmost efforts to curb the movement of resistance and when administration acted against one wing of the society it busted and got spread in other wings of society and instead of reducing influence it got momentum against dictatorial regime. All efforts from the side of dictatorial administration to create threat in form of severe punishments and imprisonment gave adverse result to administration in form of boldness from the civil society response in form of resistance.