

People's Movements in Pakistan



Aslam Khwaja

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Kitab Publishers Karachi
kitabpublishers@gmail.com

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Title

Ms. Zille Shah

**facing police atrocities during a
women rally February 1983 Lahore**

Photo by *Rahat Dar*

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I.I. Chundrigar Road, Karachi

To

Kalpana Datta

(27th July 1913 to 8th February 1995)

Nazir Abbassi

(10th April 1952 to 9th August 1980)

Aay Jee Chandio

(09th November 1964 to 28th May 2007)

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Aslam Khwaja

1-Balochistan, a sore point

According to Baloch intellectuals and academics, Balochistan or Baloch land is divided in three countries Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan and is spread on 355,200 Kilometers. The Balochistan under the Pakistani state is spread on 347,000 kilometers, bordering all other three provinces of the country and sharing international borders with Afghanistan and Iran.

The discovery of the ruins at Mehargarh in 1974 by an archaeological team, headed by French archaeologists Jean-Francois Jarrige and Catherine Jarrige, had traced down the Balochistan way back to 9000 B.C.

In 531 A.D. Iranian king Naushervan conquered some areas of Balochistan. Resisting the Naushervan army, Baloch left the Al-Barz mountain range and spread in two directions of Makran (now in Pakistan) and Sistan (now in Iran). Naushervan's son Khusro the First, lived for a year in Makran and developed the agriculture in the area.

The second Muslim caliph Omar sent a team to collect information about Makran. The team reported back to caliph that 'the territory is not of any worth and its plains are more difficult than the mountains.' In the last years of Omar's rule, Abdullah bin Abdullah attacked Makran and defeated local ruler after a substantial resistance. During

the era of fourth caliph Ali, Muslim army conquered Kalat where over twenty thousand Baloch soldiers, who defended their motherland were defeated by Arabs.

Long time after Islamic conquest, the Baloch continued to follow their traditional beliefs and the historians have never mentioned them as Muslims till the tenth century A. D.

During all these periods Makran was a busy port area as a trade junction for Tigris, Euphrates, Aden and the Eastern coast of Africa. Mahmood of Ghazni, the destroyer of Somnath, also took over Ghandava of Baloch territory.

In 1223, Chughtai Khan, the son of notorious conqueror Chingiz Khan occupied the complete Baloch region.

In the fifteenth century AD, people of Baloch land, especially of Makran area, embraced the new faith, known as Mahadvi, preached by Syed Mohammed Joanpuri. Born in 1443 in Joanpur, a town of North India, Syed Mohammed claimed himself to be the Mahdi (the promised one, according to a section of Muslims). His family had followed the Sufi traditions. At the age of 52, while performing the Hajj in Mecca, he announced that he was the Promised-One. After coming back to India, he stayed in Gujarat but on the resentment by the Muslim clerics, he left the area and passing through Jalwar, Nagor and Jaisalmer, reached Thatta, the then capital of Sindh. Although the ruler of the day Jam Nizam ud Din became his opponent, a few religious scholars including Qazi Qadan, the Chief Judge of Sindh, became his followers. After staying for a year in Thatta, he moved to Kandahar, Afghanistan and later to Farah, where he died in 1504. He and later his followers, formed the Circles at different places, where followers of the faith lived jointly by sharing the assets. The followers of this faith do not offer *Namaz*, the compulsory prayer for Muslims; instead of that they perform *zikk*, hence in Balochistan, the followers of this

faith are called *Zikri*. Although the Mahadvi references do not record that Syed Mohammed had visited the Makran area, nevertheless the local *Zikri* traditions point out that during his travel for Hajj, he passed through Makran and died in Kech area of Makran in 1650 A.D.

At the time when people of Makran embraced this new faith, the rulers of the Kalat state, who administered the Makran region, were tolerant or indifferent, but later when the religious fanatic Naseer Khan took over the Kalat state, the *Zikris* had to face atrocities and isolation.

Like other ancient lands, the History of Balochistan can be traced through the classical poetry. As the Baloch historically had been nomads, so the sorrows of separation and glorifying the courage in the battle-fields are the main features in the Balochi classical poetry.

One such example could be cited of Mir Shahdad of the sixteenth century, who composed poetry on the war between Mir Chakar Rind and the army of Sher Shah Suri.

Mir Shahdad Khan along with his chieftain Chakar Rind migrated from Sibi to Multan during the first decade of the sixteenth century, where Mughal emperor Humayun awarded the Satgarh area of Sahiwal Punjab to Mir Chakar. After the defeat of Humayun by Sher Shah Suri at Kanauj on 17th May 1540, the awarded land was snatched back from Mir Chakar, who returned back to Balochistan and settled in the Kohistan Marri.

Mir Chakar along with his forty thousand Baloch soldier joined Humayun, who with the support by Iranian Emperor attacked the army of Sher Shah Suri. In the battle between two armies held at *Sarhand* on 22nd June 1555, Mir Shadad took part along with his eighteen sons and after the victory of Humayun, he wrote an epic poem on the battle. He starts this poem, with the preparations of the Baloch soldiers and says, 'This time, the *Langhas*, who master the craft of operating double-handed sword...and the marry-

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making *Naharhs*...who had paste their swords with the poisonous herbs...had came out, wearing the velvet from *Herat* and mantie of *Balgam* to scarify their lives...and *Dodais* had also came to the battle ground by raising their swords....this time they will bet simultaneously , for their heads with long hair and their courageous sons...Humayun has three hundred thousand soldiers...the undaunted braves from every caste and creed...we the forty thousand Rind are also with him, with our own will....'

Early sixteenth century also witnessed the Portuguese presence in the coastal areas of Makran. According to some accounts, the Portuguese sailor Vasco-de-Gama led by his Arab guide Ahmed bin Majid Najadi anchored at the coastal city of Pasni in the Makran area. During the same period many areas of the India came under the Portuguese occupation and when in 1506, King Emanuel appointed Don Francesco de Alameda, the viceroy of India; he divided it in three parts. One among those was from the Cape Jacques to river Indus including the Guadel (Gawadar), Calara, Tibique, Calamate and Diul of the Makran coastal area.

This region had few attractions for the Portuguese army of repairing their boats and provision of the essential goods. As the portable water was in shortage in the coastal areas so they dug wells. The Ottoman caliphate was a rival to the Portuguese power in the warm waters, so the residents of the Makran coast got the Ottoman help to get rid of the foreign invaders, and the Ottoman caliph Salman Qanooni deputed Sidi Ali Reis to Makran to counter the European power. In 1553, both armies faced each others in the region. One of the local warriors Mir Hamal, who bravely fought the Portuguese invaders, became the classical legend of the Baloch folklore. Mir Hamal was a trader by profession and his trade boats were sailing through Zanzibar, Aden and Basra. After many confrontations, the Portuguese forces were successful in capturing Mir Hamal, who died in their custody.

Ameer Ahmed II (1629-1937) with the consent of tribal chiefs imposed a tax on his subjects, according to which

every married couple had to pay five rupees annually or its equivalent to the tribal chief. During his tenure, a dispute among the landowners and peasants erupted on the share of produce.

In the first half of eighteenth century Nadir Shah and later Ahmed Shah attacked Baloch area. In 1721, over 4000 Baloch attacked Bandar Abbass (now in Iran) and tried to enter the English factories but were forced to retreat. In 1736, the army of Nadir Shah under Pir Mohammed and Almas Khan entered Balochistan through Bandar Abbass and Makran Coast. Mir Mohabat Khan, the eldest son of Mir Abdullah, the Khan of Kalat tried to resist them but was defeated and retreated to Shal (now Quetta).

In 1740, Nadir Shah gave the areas of Kachi and Savi to Bibi Marium as blood money for her slain husband Abdullah Khan, murdered by Mian Noor Mohammed Kalhoru, a ruler of Sindh. For the first time the political and administrative arrangements of Kachi and Savi came under Balochistan. This was an agricultural area, irrigated by the flood water of Narhi mountain-flow, which changed the economic conditions of the region.

In 1613, Sir Robert Shirley wrote to the East India Company that a factory should be established at Gwadar as it was an autonomous area, with a potential Junction for the international trade.

The nineteenth century produced the greatest Balochi poet Mast Tawakali, who after quitting the army and hating war altogether fallen in love with a married woman and made her immoral through his poetry. Born in 1828, in the Marri tribe, Tawakali had five brothers, one of them Darya Khan was killed in the battle against Bugtis. Tawakali was also in the Marri army for that battle but his inner poet forced him to quit the army and return back to the herd of his cattle. About this battle he writes, 'War is a bad

thing...its narratives too are not good to talk...who would like to push his beloveds into tragedies’.

His mother had died in his childhood and father died when he was in his teens. Like all other nomad Baloch, Tawakali too raised cattle since his childhood. He composed poetry since his childhood.

After running away from battle ground, once he was travelling through Rustrani Mountain in the rainy season, when he was forced to take refuge in a tent of a fellow Baloch nomad. In the thundering light he saw Sammo, the beautiful wife of his host and lost to her beauty. Sketching the scene, he writes, ‘thunder broke the ropes of tent and wind blew her scarf...my sharp eyes saw her and became wide open in surprise...I composed my disturbed senses....her long hair looked like the black cobras...and her eyes! Like the earthen lamp....when she gazed with her wine-like eyes...I felt like was hit by the bullet of the emperor’s gun had penetrated my heart... her eyes bring the crazy lovers into senses...she is like a cup full of honey and milk...she is light in the darkness...when she talks it is like flute is being played...and when she gazes with her strange eyes, near-to-death get the cure’. Since that day, Tawakali forgotten everything and wandered in the love of his beloved and composed poetry. He was considered such a true lover that the traditionally conservative Baloch society, which otherwise had killed him in the name of honor killing, tolerated him and his poetry, full in praise of the beauty of and separation from Sammo, who died in 1880. After sadness of fifteen long years of separation from his beloved, Mast Tawakali died in 1895.

The English officials started studying Balochistan in 1810, and the East India Company sent Henry Pottinger for espionage in the court of Khan Mahmood Khan. In 1838, an English official Leach, visited the court of Mahrab Khan, seeking permission for the British army to pass through his territory on its way to Afghanistan; but the Baloch ruler

refused the plea. However the very next year, Alexander Burns was able to sign an agreement with Khan to use Kachi and Bolan Pass to attack Afghanistan. In return for this favor, the East India Company agreed to recognize Khan as the ruler of Kalat and annual payment of one and half hundred thousand rupees to Khan. Both parties violated the agreement as the Company conspired against the Khan and Baloch tribal bands often attacked the British soldiers passing through Kachi and Bolan Pass. Bijar Khan Domki was active in Kachi area and was responsible for these attacks. The Company sent an army to eliminate the enemy and after a long drawn battle, Baloch soldiers were defeated. After this victory, the British army cleaned up the Marri and Bugti areas. In the Bugti area, Mir Biuragh Bugti gave a substantial fight but was defeated by the powerful British army. He was captured and detained in Sindh, where he spent two years in exile.

In November 1839, the Company alleged that on the instigation by Khan of Kalat, the box containing the copy of agreement between the Company and Khan with two thousand rupees, had been robbed and attacked the Baloch area. Khan Mahrab

Khan asked all tribal chiefs for help to counter this attack but failed to mobilize enough support. He was killed on 13 November 1839 in the battlefield. After his death, his son Nasir Khan escaped and Britain officials made Shahnawaz the ruler, who was never accepted by Baloch. In an attack, Baloch rebels killed Shahnawaz and Nasir Khan became ruler of Kalat and ordered the execution of the British Resident Agent Lt. Lodi.

Later at the mountain range of Kambi, the Englishmen confronted the Khan's army and killed 300 of his soldiers. Afterward the Britain recognized Mir Nasir as the ruler but in 1841, signed another agreement through which the Company got the power to keep an army at different points in Balochistan, on the annual payment of fifty

thousand rupees to Nasir Khan. British Empire had two folded interest in Balochistan; on one hand it wanted to exploit the riches of the land and on the other hand it wanted to make it a garrison to protect its empire from Czar's Russia. To this end, it established cantonments in Quetta, Zhob, Mach and other places and laid railway tracks between these places.

After securing the friendship with Nasir Khan and establishment of cantonments, the Company officials started their favorite game of 'divide and rule' and the Marri tribe became their first target. On 17th December 1841, through Nasir Khan, they approached Dost Ali Marri and offered him bounty for his cooperation.

The resistance by Marri and Bugti tribes continued till 1845, when seven thousand British army attacked Bugti tribal area, after their defeat, Bugtis shifted to Khateran region. In 1847, under the command of William Meriwether, Bugti tribe was attacked. Same year Bugti chieftain Salam Khan accepted the supremacy of Britain and in return received land-award in Larkana Sindh.

Mir Nasir died in 1857, and his sixteen years old son Khuda Dad Khan was made Khan of Kalat. Although he was not openly anti-British, but two of his advisors Gul Mohammed Khan and Ganga Ram never hid their hatred for the British Empire. In 1857, when the entire India had been fighting its War of Independence, the Marri tribe attacked Rajanpur (now in Punjab) Cantonment and killed a pro-British tribal chief Bajar Khan Darishak, along with his son and other supporters.

On 22nd December 1857, a civil war between Khuda Dad Khan and other tribal chiefs erupted, which lasted for nearly twenty one years.

Ghulam Murtaza became chief of Bugti tribe after the death of his father Salam Khan and immediately after accession attacked Marri tribe, resulting in hundreds of

casualties on both sides. In 1858 and 1859, the British army attacked Baloch area, under H. T. Lambrik (the butcher of Hur freedom fighters in Sindh) to eliminate Marri armed groups and after crushing them with full force and destroying the Kahan castle, occupied the region.

On 26th January 1867, under the command of Ghulam Hussain Bugti, nearly twelve hundred Marri, Bugti and Khateran tribesmen, attacked the area near Rajanpur and took cattle of rivals in their possession. With the support of British resident, the locals followed them and in a counter attack killed over 250 Baloch and arrested 24 raiders. In these clashes seven British soldiers were also killed and another sixty injured.

After this attack, the British administration modified its policy and from 1867, recruited Marris into Levies Force. The British officials, particularly Sandman exploited the rift within the Baloch society and won over few tribal chiefs in favor of the Empire.

In 1869, the Iranians under the command of Ibrahim Khan attacked the border area of Kech Makran, which lay under the jurisdiction of Kalat state. They were resisted by the locals under the command of Fakir Mohammed Bizenjo and Daroga Atta Mohammed. In the conflict-resolution meeting held at Bampore, in the presence of British representative Goldsmith, the Iranians claimed the entire Baloch territory. The Bampore meeting failed but Goldsmith in a grand meeting of Baloch, got authority to negotiate with Iranian authorities. In the talks held between British and Iranian representatives at the British embassy in Tehran, from 16th August to 4th September 1871, a vast Baloch area was sanctioned to Iran. That is till now a province of Iran, known as the Iranian Balochistan. Later some Baloch areas were also annexed to Punjab and Sindh.

In 1876, British officials established a cantonment in Quetta to keep an eye on Kandhar and Kalat. In June 1862,

the Indian government signed its first agreement with Jam of Lasbela for the security of the telegraph lines between India and Europe.

Through an agreement between British officials, Khan of Kalat and tribal chiefs in 1862, during the cattle show in Sibi, the Jirga system was given a legal cover. Introduced by Sandmen, 'Jirga' gave tribal chiefs authority of the dispersion of justice. Earlier this system was based on the primitive democracy, where aggrieved parties had right to present and argue their case and if any fine had to be collected from the aggressor party, it was completely going to the victims. Later this system consolidated absolute power in the hands of tribal chiefs, who now were getting their share from the fine.

In September 1879, a 132 mile railway track from Sindh to Sibi was completed and on 14th January 1880, first train reached Sibi. Although the British officials had signed an agreement with Baloch tribes but on 10th August 1880, Marri tribe attacked a British military convoy near Kochali and robbed one hundred and twenty five thousands rupees. Just one week later, Sardar Maharullah Khan in a letter to Sir Robert Sandmen disclosed the names of those who were responsible for the attack and assured his continuous loyalty to the Empire.

In 1880s, the British officials started exploration of the natural resources from the Baloch areas. During the same period, the road connecting Punjab with Baloch areas was also constructed.

In the early years of twentieth century, Viceroy Lord Curzon evolved a new policy for the Baloch areas and accordingly it was divided in two parts. The Kalat state consisted of Kalat, Lasbella and Kharan where although Khan was the ruler; but the real power was in the hands of British appointed Prime Minister; the other part was called

British Balochistan. This was under direct control of the Governor General, with Quetta as its headquarters.

Although the British Empire had bought the loyalties of tribal chiefs and feudal lords but the common Baloch and nomads never gave a moment of relief to the imperialist forces.

The unsuccessful Russian revolution of 1905 had also left lasting impact on Indian sub-continent. The peasant rebellion of 1907 in West Punjab had direct impact on the Northern areas of Balochistan. In 1907 Baloch under the leadership of Mir Bahram Khan Baranzai rebelled in Iranian Balochistan and after pushing the Iranian army, ran the government for some years from Bampore. After a few years, Bahram was defeated and with some companions escaped to the mountain ranges.

In the initial years of First World War, Noor ud Din Mengal, born in 1889, became chief at the age of 24. He had studied for couple of years at Aligarh and had acquired arms from Iran to resist the colonial forces. He established his post at the Sulaiman Tank Pass for obstructing the British army movement to the Arab area. According to some accounts, he was supported by a Karachi base cleric Maulana Mohammed Sadique, who was influenced by the Deoband based anti-British religious scholars. Later Noor ud Din was arrested in Kharan and Sardar Habib Ullah got title of Nawab in the reward, for help in his arrest. Noor ud Din was sent to Andaman Islands and sometime before 1947 was shifted to Karachi and detained till the British rule came to an end.

The Marri tribe was not ready to join the British forces in the First World War and during one negotiation, the British messenger Nawab Khan Loni offered a 14-years tax exemption on Marri areas but one Marri Horan Soomrani attacked and seriously injured him. Later, Nawab succumbed to injuries.

On joining of the rebellion, the British Empire withdrew all titles and privileges given to Marris including their chief and imposed a collective fine of Rs.3, 67,000.

After the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, many Baloch youth of Eastern Balochistan reached Soviet Union to acquire help and guidance. From Western Balochistan under the command of Sardar Karim Khan, the Zarbandi tribe reached there and joined the Soviet forces against the counter revolutionaries in Turkmenistan, later they were settled near Marv, where Soviet government allotted them land. According to British spies, another Baluch, who helped the Soviet army was Safar Khan Baloch. Tara Chand, a Baloch young man of Quetta, also reached Soviet Union and joined the Communist movement.

A five member delegation of the Baloch representatives, under the leadership of Misri Khan Khateran, attended the 'Congress of Eastern Nations' held in Baku, Azerbaijan in September 1920. The congress decided to translate the Communist literature in Balochi language beside other Eastern Languages. After the Baku Congress, the Baloch delegates came to Kabul, where they became part of the formation of the first revolutionary party of India.

The Kalat state had been an independent and sovereign country before the colonial British occupied the South Asia. Lying between Hindustan in the east, Afghanistan in the north, Iran in the west and Arabian Sea in the south, the relations of Kalat (Balochistan) and Great Britain were governed by a series of treaties. The fast expanding British Indian Empire in the south and Russian imperial power in the north viewed each other with suspicion and apprehension. During this entire period Kalat remained in continuous confrontation with British Empire.

In 1839, after Mehrab Khan of Kalat was killed in an armed clash, the British succeeded in forcing the Baloch for the first time to acknowledge the former's supremacy and

concluded a treaty with the latter. More treaties followed with major ones in 1841, 1854, 1863 and 1876, beside a number of other minor agreements from time to time. The 1876 treaty allowed the British to establish its military presence in Kalat state.

The British never honored their treaties and many violations occurred between 1899 and 1903. Arbitrarily redrawing the map of Balochistan, the Baloch Governorates of Quetta, Naushki and Nasirabad were taken on 'lease' from Kalat. The districts of Loralai, Pishin, Chaman and Sibi, which were acquired from Afghanistan under the Treaty of Gandamak in 1879 and the Marri-Bugti tribal zones were annexed into what was called 'British Balochistan' and were administrated by the Political Agents posted at Sibi and Quetta. Dera Ghazi Khan was annexed with Punjab and Jacobabad (then known as Khangarh) to Sindh. The Khan's title of *Khan-e-Baloch* was changed into *Khan-e-Kalat*.

Prior to 1927-28, there was hardly any significant political activity in Balochistan but in every ten to twenty years, one or other Baloch tribe would rise in armed revolt and challenge the British. But by 1920, such uprisings had virtually come to an end because of the British Empire had managed to pacify the belligerent tribes by accommodating and rewarding the chieftains.

In 1928, few young officers of the Kalat state sat together and set up a clandestine group to give vent to their political views. As the political activities, especially by the government employees were prohibited in the state, they waited for the right moment which arrived in the appearance of Mir Yousif Ali Khan Magsi on the scene. Magsi had received his education in Lahore, where he had observed the freedom movement very closely. In his article *Faryad-e-Balochistan*, published in the Lahore based journal *Hamdard* on 17th November 1929, he described the grievances of his people, criticized the British

administration and called upon the Baloch to organize themselves for the unity and liberation of Balochistan. The Kalat state arrested him on his arrival in Sibi on 17th July 1930 and was tried by a Jirga. Pronounced guilty, he was sentenced to one year imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 20,000 and kept in Mastung Jail. Even after his release in 1931, he was kept under surveillance for a year.

Sometime after his release, Magsi along with Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd, Malik Faiz Mohammed, Mohammed Hussain Unqa, Nasim Talvi, Abdul Karim Shorish and Mir Mohammed Azam Shehwani converted the '*Young Baloch Organization*', formed way back in 1920, to safeguard the rights of the local employees, into *Anjuman-e-Itehad-e-Balochan*. This was the first organized political party of the Kalat state on secular and non-tribal basis. On 20th November 1931, this organization brought out a pamphlet titled *Shamsgardi*, which focused and highlighted the atrocities of the Kalat Prime Minister Sir Shams Shah. This pamphlet was written by Abdul Aziz Kurd, who was arrested and after trial by Shahi Jirga, sentenced to three years imprisonment. Simultaneously Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, who was active in the British Balochistan was arrested in Quetta and sentenced to three years imprisonment.

Same year Yousif Magsi became chief of his tribe and heavily invested his resources in the publications on Baloch nationalism from Karachi in Urdu language.

Mir Yousif Magsi was among the dead in devastating earthquake that hit Quetta on the night of 30-31st May 1935.

The *Anjuman* called an 'All India Baloch Conference' from 27th to 29th December 1937 in Jacobabad. One year later, another such conference was convened in Hyderabad, Sindh.

The promulgation of Government of India Act 1935 opened a space for limited political activities in India and the release of several political prisoners including Abdul Samad Achakzai and Abdul Aziz Kurd. Soon Achakzai formed *Anjuman-e-Watan* in British Balochistan and in a convention held in Sibi on 5th February 1937, Kurd and his comrades formed the *Kalat State National Party* (KSNP) with Kurd as President and Malik Faiz Mohammed as General Secretary. In its manifesto published on 1st April 1937, KSNP stated that all Baloch should unite by eliminating differences among them. The manifesto declared that 'we the Baloch are a people with a glorious past but deprived of our national rights' and demanded that the central government of Balochistan should be an elected one with Khan of Kalat as the 'Constitutional Head'. It said that Balochistan was not a slave of the British government rather the British had acquired facilities through friendly agreements, hence their national integrity should not be compromised and that Balochistan is as much a separate land as was Iran and Afghanistan.

Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, who had become Khan in 1931, was inclined towards the nationalist movement, especially the KSNP and supported it on many occasions but this honeymoon was not to last long.

In October 1937, Mohammed Hussain Unqa published the first Balochi nationalist song. Till that time, many Baluch-related periodicals including *Young Balochistan*, *Kalma-i-Haq*, *Aftab-e-Balochistan* and *Bolan* were being brought out from Karachi.

Before his death, Nawab Yousif Magsi had purchased a press which started working as '*Aziz Press*' from Quetta in 1937 and launched a Urdu weekly '*Istaqilal*' in 1938. Abdul Samad Achakzai and Mohammed Hassan Nizami were to become its editors for a while. This weekly ceased to publish in 1950.

During this period Qazi Dad Mohammed (born in 1895 in Qazikhail family of Karak, Sibi) formed *Balochistan Mazdoor Party* in the end of 1930s, which celebrated May Day in 1941. Accused of organizing the Labor Day, Qazi along with Mohammed Iqbal (Party General Secretary), Hotu Ram and Syed Mohammed Kasi were arrested and sentenced for one year imprisonment each. In 1942, party again celebrated the May Day, attended by over one thousand participants and addressed by Syed Mohammed Shafi Asadi, Comrade Abdul Karim Shorish, Sardar Gurbachan Singh, Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo and Sardar Jeet Singh. In a resolution, the meeting demanded the formation of a genuine national government in India to counter the Fascism. Qazi represented the Baloch working class in many meetings held in Karachi, Lahore, Bombay, Kolkata and Delhi. Till his death on 6th September 1948, Qazi Dad Mohammed played an active role in the working class politics. He was buried in the Kasi graveyard Quetta.

Balochistan participated in the Quit India Movement of 1942 and Abdul Samad Achakzai, Sher Mohammed Gulzai, Arbab Abdul Qadir Kasi, Malik Syed Mohammed Kasi, Seth Nargul and Sardar Ajeet Singh were arrested.

The Soviet role in the Second World War left a deep impression on the Baloch and they started moving to the Soviet Union. According to an intelligence report on Baloch residing on Iran and Afghanistan borders '....influenced by the Russian propaganda, they are shifting in groups to Marv and Ashkhabad and from there sending misleading messages to their relatives, instigating them to rebel by claiming that the Russia stands for breaking the chains of slavery of Baloch fastened by British imperialism'.

In an emergency meeting held at Sibi on 15th March 1939, the KSNP working committee demanded employing locals as departmental heads, ministers, and deputy ministers

and on all other posts including the Prime Minister. It also called for the abolition of *Bijjar* tax and demanded the end of discrimination in the blood money for different segments of the society.

The party organized a rally in support of its demands at Dhadhar in Kachhi district, attended by a large number of people. The government in response arrested office bearers and active members of KSNP.

Khan sensing the changed mood of the people himself took over the prime ministerial office and not only released the KSNP leaders but accommodated Abdul Aziz Kurd and other party activists in important administrative posts.

KSNP organized its annual conference in July 1939 in Mastung, where the British Political Agent had his headquarters. In this conference the *Baloch League*, a political platform of the Baloch, living in Karachi also participated.

During the conference proceedings, on the instigation of the tribal chiefs and with the tactical support of Kalat administration and Political Agent, armed persons attacked it. As the large number of conference participants were also armed, so they retaliated and an armed clash erupted. Afterward an official ban was declared on the conference.

KSNP leadership decided to send the Aligarh Muslim College Graduate Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo as its representative to Khan of Kalat to apprise him of the situation, but this mission of reconciliation failed.

On 20th July 1939, KSNP was declared illegal and orders of expulsion of all its prominent leaders from the state were issued. The first batch sent into exile included party President Abdul Rahim Khwajakhel, General Secretary Malik Mohammed Saeed, Maulana Arz Mohammed, Maulana Mohammed Omar, Abdul Karim Shorish and Mirza Faiz Ullah, then Secretary Education in the state

government. This period of exile ended in 1942. A few days later, Mir Fazil Khan, Minister for Education was also exiled. Malik Faiz Mohammed Yusufzai resigned in protest from his government job. Entry of newspapers in Kalat state was prohibited. *Dar-ul-Uloom* Mastung was closed by official orders.

After sometime of this upheaval, KSNP sent Bizenjo as its missionary to Makran to convince the party leaders including Aziz Kurd, who was the Deputy Minister in Makran, in government jobs to quit those like their other comrades but he failed to get favorable results. Later all those with known political background were fired from the government posts.

KSNP with the support of *Anjuman-e-Watan* continued its activities from Quetta, which was under the British Balochistan. The Indian National Congress had its counterpart in the princely states in the shape of *All India State Peoples' Conference* (AISPC) with Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru as president and Shaikh Abdullah as vice president. KSNP had got connected with it, thanks to its exiled leaders Khwajakhail and others. In mid-1945, it formally joined the AISPC and Mir Bizenjo was nominated by it to serve as the AISPC working committee member.

In the following months, Mir Ahmed Yar, the Khan of Kalat presented a memorandum to the British Cabinet Mission, visiting united India to formulate the partition/withdrawal plan for India in 1946. This memorandum pleaded that the government or governments succeeding the Raj should inherit only the treaty relationships of the colonial government in New Delhi, not those of Whitehall and Kalat should retain the independence it had enjoyed prior to 1876.

The Mission left the issue of princely states undecided so a controversy emerged at the time of partition when the

Khan was insisting on his right to full independence and Pakistan leaders demanding the accession. In the month following the announcement on 3rd June 1947 of Indian partition, the Kalat government had a series of meetings with the Viceroy and future governments of India and Pakistan. One such meeting took place on 4th August 1947 in Delhi, chaired over by Viceroy Lord Mountbatten, attended by his legal advisor Lord Ismay, Khan of Kalat, his Prime Minister Barrister Sultan Ahmed, Mohammed Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan representing Pakistan. The said meeting resulted in a three-point agreement signed by Liaquat and Sultan, which stated that; 1- The Government of Pakistan recognizes the independent and sovereign status of the Kalat state, which has treaty relations with the British government and whose status and position is different from other princely states of India, 2- Legal opinion will be obtained to decide whether Pakistan can be the successor to those treaties and to the ones on leased areas, and 3- After obtaining the legal opinion there will be further talks between the representatives of Pakistan and Kalat. In the interim period, there shall be a standstill agreement between Pakistan and Kalat in relation to the areas under lease to the British government.

This agreement was followed by another one, concluded in Delhi on 11th August, between the government of Kalat and incoming government of Pakistan. The very first clause of this agreement, broadcasted on All India Radio on behalf of Pakistan, declared; 'The Government of Pakistan agrees that Kalat is an independent state, being quite different in status from other states of India'.

On his return from Delhi, the Khan of Kalat made a formal proclamation on 12th August of the independence of Kalat state, effective from the 15th August 1947. Nawabzada Mohammed Asam Khan was appointed as the first Prime

Minister and an Englishman Mr. D. Y. Phil as the Foreign Minister.

Immediately thereafter, in pursuance of the 11th August agreement, the Khan sent Prime Minister and Foreign Minister to Karachi, the capital of new state of Pakistan. The Pakistan leadership summarily backed-off from the agreement and rejected the independence declaration, which opened a nine-month long diplomatic tug of war, culminated in the forcible annexation of Kalat into Pakistan.

Earlier, moving towards establishing some kind of a representative system of governance, the Khan had promulgated a constitution through a Government of Kalat State Act 1947. It came into force from 1st August 1947 and stated that;

'There shall be two houses of legislature in the state, called the *Darul Umara* and *Dar ul Awam*. The *Dar ul Umara* will represent the *Sardari*, *Inami tribal* areas of the state and such other interests as may be assigned to it by Highness the Khan. It would be comprised on thirty six hereditary chieftains representing their *sardari* or *inami* areas and tribes, and such other members, not exceeding ten in all, and ministers as may be nominated by the Khan. The *Dar ul Awam* will represent all the remaining areas and interests of the state, including areas paying land revenues, *non-sardari jagirs*, business and other interests. The *Dar ul Awam* shall be comprised of fifty five members, of whom fifty shall be elected in accordance with rules made under this act and the remaining shall be nominated by the Khan'.

It was followed by elections/nominations to both houses. The Khan wanted to block KSNP from entering the house, so the elections were held on non-party basis; however the majority elected to the *Dar ul Awam* happened to be the members of the party and its 39 out of 52 members won

their seats as the independent candidates. Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo was elected as the parliamentary leader of the *Dar ul Awam* in its first session held at Shahi Camp, Dhadar on 12th December 1947.

KSNP agreed to cooperate with the government and allowed some of its members including Malik Faiz Mohammed Khan Yousufzai, Mir Gul Khan Nasir (leading revolutionary Baloch poet) and Malik Abdul Rahim Khwajakhel to work as secretaries to the government.

Khan convened both houses to discuss the proposal by Jinnah regarding the accession of Kalat to Pakistan. The *Dar ul Awam* in its session from 12th to 15th December 1947 debated the proposal in a candid way. Bizenjo delivered speech as the leader of the house on 14th December, opposing the accession with Pakistan. The *Dar ul Awam* unanimously rejected the proposal of accession with Pakistan. The *Dar ul Umrah* met on 2nd, 3rd, and 4th January 1948, and endorsed the decision by the *Dar ul Awam*. On the pressure from Pakistan government, the Khan again sent the proposal to the houses, which on 25th February was rejected by the *Dar ul Awam* and two days later by the *Dar ul Umara*. Despite both houses rejected accession to Pakistan, according to Mir Bizenjo, the Khan informed the government of Pakistan that they were ready for accession which should happen in three months. Instead of that, the Pakistan government decided to annex Kharan and Makran, the two subordinate states of Kalat and one of its three chieftains, Bay Khan Gichki was made the ruler of Makran on 17th March 1948. Eventually Khan succumbed to the pressure and on 27th March 1948, affixed his signature on the agreement of accession with Pakistan.

The younger brother of Khan, Prince Abdul Karim, who was then Governor of the newly annexed Baloch Principality of Makran, gathered arms, ammunition and treasury under his control and declared a revolt against Pakistan on 15th April 1948. With his 700 supporters, he crossed into the

neighboring Afghanistan with Mohammed Hussain Unqa, Malik Mohammed Saeed, Abdul Wahid Kurd and Mohammed Khan Raisani. Qadir Bakhsh Nizamani, a Baloch of Sindhi origin, who had been a member of Sindh chapter of the Communist Party of India, also joined them. Prince issued a manifesto in the name of the Baloch National Liberation Committee disavowed the unconditional accession signed by the Khan, proclaimed the independence of Kalat and demanded fresh negotiation with Pakistan. According to Nizamani, this revolt had a tacit support of the Khan, while Mir Bizenjo, Gul Khan Naseera leading Baloch poet and intellectual and some other leading Baloch were against the armed confrontation with Pakistan. Abdul Karim was confident that as Afghanistan had opposed Pakistan even its entry into UN, so it will support the Baloch cause but Afghanistan refused to help the rebels. Abdul Karim came back and started his rebellious acts in the Jhalawan (lower) area in late May, while his brother the Khan of Kalat persuaded him for a truce with Pakistan authorities, who later signed a safe conduct agreement on Koran with Karim's representative in the Harboi mountain area but dishonored their commitment and on 12th July 1948 arrested Karim and his 102 companions on their way back to Kalat. After a trial by a special Jirga, they were sentenced to long prison terms of 10 years rigorous imprisonment and Rs.5,000 fine to prince Karim, 10 years imprisonment for Mohammed Hussain Unqa, while Abdul Wahid Kurd and Mohammed Khan Raisani were given seven years imprisonment each.

The Muslim league tried to take advantage of the political vacuum and in the mid 1950, its three senior leaders Qazi Mohammed Issa from Balochistan, Yousuf Khatak from Pakhtoonkhawa and Nurul Amin from Bengal were sent to Kalat to organize the party. The leadership of now banned KSNP met secretly and decided to penetrate its active members into Muslim League and won party offices in the Sarawan area.

After failing to capture ground in Kalat through Muslim League, the government of Pakistan decided to give concessions to the area. In this regard Balochistan States Union (BSU) comprised of Kalat, Makran, Kharan and Lasbella was formed in March 1952 with issuance of notification on 11th April. Immediately afterwards a meeting of rulers of the states was convened, which chose Khan of Kalat its President.

In 1950, few young Baloch quit their government jobs and started their work to organize a revolutionary movement. They opened a '*Filhal Stationary Shop*' in Quetta and launched a literary and political movement under the name of '*Lut Khano*'. Although in Balochistan of those days, the major issue was the allocation of government jobs to the Indian immigrants and Pathans from the Frontier but the *Lut Khano* people were also thinking beyond that. As they had witnessed the atrocities of tribal system during their jobs, so they were keen to its elimination. Their shop became a source to acquire the Marxist literature. They got introduced to the Communist leaders from Karachi and Lahore and whenever the Communist Party of Pakistan Secretary General, Comrade Sajjad Zaheer was brought to Quetta for the court appearance, this group would be there to meet him. In 1951-52, Progressive Writers' Association Quetta branch was established and in the same year of 1952, Mir Gul Khan Naseer brought out his first Balochi poetry collection and Azad Jamalini's prose booklet with Urdu translation also got published. During the same period, a small Marxist group under the leadership of Comrade Abdul Karim formed *Balochistan Aman (Peace) Committee*. This group had begun working much earlier than the *Lut Khano* group.

In 1952, the Commissioner Multan and Deputy Commissioner Dera Ghazi Khan influenced the Baloch tribal

chiefs to annex the *Koh-i-Sulaiman* mountain range with Punjab. This move was opposed by all Baloch organizations including *Baloch League*, *Baloch Students' Federation* and *Astaman Gul*, formed by Bizenjo and Prince Karim. The Baloch intellectuals raised the issue of autonomy in 1953. In the same year, Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd on the behalf of different tribes of Baloch areas issued a statement demanding the autonomy of Baloch areas and annexation of its Pashtoon areas with frontier province.

In 1955, by imposing One Unit, the central government annexed Balochistan with other areas into West Pakistan. Soon afterward, Azad Jamaldini launched monthly '*Balochi*' from Karachi and published original and as well as translations of international progressive literature.

After his release from jail in mid-1955, Prince Karim along with Mohammed Hussain Unqa visited Karachi. Bizenjo, Gul Khan Naseer and Qadir Bakhsh Nizamani were already there. They discussed about the formation of a new political party and agreed on forming the '*Ustoman Gal*' (Peoples' Party), which opposed the One Unit and demanded the formation of a unified Balochistan province. Prince Karim was elected as president and Unqa as secretary to the new party.

Soon after its formation, the party leadership announced that President and other office bearers will tour the Jhalawan area. Although the prime minister imposed ban to the visit but party decided to defy the orders and Gul Khan Naseer and Bizenjo were asked to march on foot to Kalat from the Khuzdar city. On the way hundreds of people joined them.

Sensing the gravity of the situation, the Kalat administration got in touch with the West Pakistan government in Lahore and the Chief Minister Dr. Khan Sahib (brother of great freedom fighter Bacha Khan)

himself came to Kalat and after negotiations for two days, lifted the ban on Karim's march to Mastung but asked him not to take other delegates with him, who had come from Sarawan and other places, which was agreed.

The leadership of the *Ustaman Gul* was part of the formation of the Pakistan National Party (PNP), launched on 2nd December 1956 in Lahore. Bizenjo was the central working committee member with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan 'Bacha Khan' as its first President. The demand of full provincial status of Balochistan was included in the manifesto of this new party. Later, with Maulana Bhashani faction of the Awami League's merger, PNP transformed into a new party named *National Awami Party* (NAP).

On the suggestion of President Iskandar Mirza, Khan of Kalat once again became active and called a tribal assembly, attended by forty four tribal chiefs. A delegation of tribal chiefs met with Iskandar Mirza with the demand of restoration of the previous status of Kalat.

The government of Pakistan got impression that a potential rebellion was in the offing, so on 5th October 1958 army moved into Kalat under the command of Brigadier Tikka Khan and after some minor resistance, Khan of Kalat was arrested. At first he was detained in his palace, later shifted to Lahore. The army also arrested fifty of his retainers and about 300 Baloch political activists from other areas. The central government arrested Prince Karim and after a trial under Martial Law, he was awarded 14 years' rigorous imprisonment as the government had alleged that Karim and one of his uncles were secretly negotiating Afghanistan for a full scale Baloch rebellion and for that had assembled a force of 80,000 tribesmen. The only significant evidence of the Afghan support could be ascertained from the fact that during that period, Khan's Afghan wife had gone to visit her family.

After the arrest of Prince Karim, Bizenjo was chosen as the president of NAP Balochistan. Although political activities were banned under Martial Law regulations but NAP Balochistan continued its activities against One Unit and military takeover. Soon NAP leadership, including Bizenjo was arrested and kept at the Quli Camp Quetta.

The arrest of Khan created a deep division among Baloch and Pakistan's central administration. Patrolling aggressively, the Pakistan army demanded Baloch to deposit their weapons at nearby police stations, which angered them as they considered carrying weapon as their right. This resulted in clashes at a few places. Mengal tribe refused to surrender the weapons and to assert their right; they attacked government offices at their stronghold of Wadh. In response to the attack, the army deployed its tanks and artillery everywhere and arrested scores of Mengals.

The Zehri tribe under its chief Nauroz Khan formed a hastily assembled guerilla force of about one thousand people. Ninety years old Nauroz Khan, whose property, including his personal house was bombed and confiscated. He however continued the hit and run actions for more than a year, thereafter an agreement was reached, once again on the Koran. The Pakistan administration once again violated its commitment and arrested Nauroz Khan, his son and five others. The death sentence to Nauroz Khan was converted into life imprisonment and he died in prison in 1964; but the other six including his son Mir Bhatte Khan, Mir Wali Mohammed Khan Zarakzai, Mir Bahawal Khan Musiani, Mir Musti Khan Musiani, Mir Sabzal Khan Zehri and Mir Ghulam Rasool Jathak were found guilty of high treason and were hanged in 1960 in the Hyderabad Jail.

A short while after the life sentence was pronounced on Nauroz Khan, Agha Sultan Ibrahim Khan Ahmedzai, in a show of bravado and intense provocation, left for

Afghanistan with the intention to launch a movement against the government. On the way his jeep collided with a lorry. He was badly injured in the accident and succumbed to his injuries. He was buried in the Afghan city of Kandhar. His son Agha Abdul Zahir, who returned from Kandhar following his father's death, was arrested. Under severe torture by the army, he revealed names of several people including Bizenjo, who was recently released from Machh Jail, implicating them as accomplices of his late father. All of them were arrested and put in the Quli Camp Quetta where all of them were kept under military custody for six months, where all sorts of tortures were meted out to them.

NAP leadership including Khair Bakhsh Marri (died on 10th June, 2014), Atta Ullah Mengal and Bizenjo decided to hold a public meeting in Quetta on 22nd August 1962, the eve of the expected arrival of Ayub Khan and Governor Nawab Kalabagh to attend the Baloch Darbar. Mir Rasool Bakhsh Talpur and Maulana Kanpuri from Hyderabad Sindh also attended this public meeting, which attracted a large number of people. In the follow up of this successful meeting, the Baloch leadership of NAP with the consent of NAP Karachi leadership, decided to hold similar meeting at Liyari, a Baloch dominated area of Karachi. The police seized the venue and arrested Nawab Akbar Bugti who had recently been stripped-off his status as Bugti tribe chief. The meeting was called-off but two days later it was organized again. As the fallout of this meeting, Mengal was arrested on the following day of the meeting.

Bizenjo was also arrested after his tour of East Bengal, and sentenced for two years' imprisonment under Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR) and sent first to Machh Jail and a few days later to Hyderabad jail.

The FCR was enacted by British Empire in 1867 to give the government additional powers to prosecute serious crimes such as murder. It was re-enacted in 1873 with minor

modifications, and again in 1877 as the "Ghazi Act" for its use in the frontier districts.

The regulation was found to be inadequate to contain Pashtun opposition to British and government rule, so new acts have to been added to it from time to time. The main body of the regulations was introduced through the Frontier Crimes Regulation of 1901.

In 1947, the new state of Pakistan added the clause through which the residents could be arrested without specifying the crime. The FCR permitted collective punishments of family or tribe members for the crime of an individual. It permitted punishment to be meted out by unelected tribal *jirgas* and denied the accused the right to trial by judiciary. Tribal chiefs could also be held responsible for handing over suspects charged by the federal government without specifying an offence. Failure to comply could make the tribal chiefs liable for punishment.

The removal of Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal from the Mengal chieftainship had infuriated the Mengal tribe. Same was the case with Marri, after the removal of Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri. The Mengals under the command of Mir Ali Mohammed Mohammedzai and Marri led by Sher Mohammed Marri rose against the military repressions. Bugtis under Mewa Khan Bugti follow the suit. To counter this situation, the government used the military force in Jhalawan, Marri and Bugti areas. This army aggression led to other tribes joining the resistance. In the meantime the enraged Mengal and Marri tribesmen killed Khan Bahadur Mir Karam Khan Mengal and Khan Sahib Mir Doda Khan Marri, whom the government had installed as chiefs of the two tribes in place of the 'sacked' ones. Atta Ullah and his brother Maher Ullah along with their father were charged with the murder of Mir Karam Khan and taken into custody. After completing his sentence of two years, Bizenjo tried his best to have reconciliation between the

government and the Baloch leadership but failed. This failure was mainly due to the arrogant and uncompromising attitude of military ruler General Ayub Khan.

For the 1964 indirect elections of the National Assembly, Bizenjo was the Combined Opposition Party (COP) candidate in the Kalat division constituency. The government used unfair means to prevent his entry into assembly by arresting his polling agents and barring his constituents to cast their votes in his favor. He lost to a government supported candidate Sardar Doda Khan.

For the 1965 presidential elections, the opposition nominated Fatima Jinnah (sister of Mohammed Ali Jinnah) to contest against General Ayub Khan. Bizenjo was given responsibilities of running her campaign in Balochistan. A few days before the elections, he was arrested. The same year witnessed the war between India and Pakistan and the NAP rank and file developed differences on the issue of war, whereas it's Punjab, Sindh and Pakhtoonkhawa chapters were divided but the Balochistan chapter unanimously opposed the war.

The 1965 war had weakened Ayub Khan and beside Bhutto, who exploited the mass frenzy against India, The Baloch leadership also took advantage of the rift within ruling clique. The federal minister Mahmood Haroon had vacated a national assembly seat, covering some parts of Karachi and a portion of Balochistan. Ayub Khan wanted his protégé, Khan Bahadur Habib Ullah Paracha to be elected from this seat, but the Governor Nawab Kalabagh and Haroon wanted to show their muscles to Ayub Khan and prepared Bizenjo to contest against Ayub Khan's nominee. With the support of capitalist Haroon family and Baloch nationalists and Leftist workers, Bizenjo defeated Paracha, one of the leading industrialists of the country.

In June 1966, the currency notes with stamped *One Unit tor do* (undo the One Unit) were circulating in the country. On charge of possession of such currency notes, Bizenjo was arrested and taken to Quetta Jail. After 15 days, his trial began in the jail and couple of hearing later he was sentenced to 14 years' rigorous imprisonment, taken to Sukkur (Sindh) by road and afterward to Montgomery (now Sahiwal Punjab) Jail by train. After some time he was shifted to Sargodha Jail.

Meanwhile the largest progressive party in the country NAP split in two pro-China and pro-Soviet factions. The Baloch cadre joined the pro-Soviet faction led by Khan Abdul Wali Khan.

General Ayub Khan succumbed to the mass movement across the country and on 25th March 1969 handed over power to the Army Chief General Yahya Khan, who soon after assuming the power dissolved the One Unit and restored provinces including Balochistan and announced the first adult franchised general elections in the country, that were held on 7th December 1970. In Balochistan, NAP and its ally Jamiat Ulama-i- Islam (JUI) won the majority of the provincial assembly seats and all the national assembly seats.

The military junta was not ready to accept the election results, especially in the Bengal, where Awami League under Sheikh Mujib had won an absolute majority. Sensing an inevitable use of force by the army, democratic leadership initiated their efforts to reach an agreement to defuse the situation. For this purpose Wali Khan and Bizenjo reached Dhaka on 13th March 1971 to hold talks with Mujib. During their meetings, Wali and Bizenjo persuaded Mujib to meet President Yahya Khan. Next day Yahya Khan reached Dhaka and met with Wali and Bizenjo. But those talks could not bear any result and on 24th March, Mujib told both Wali Khan and Bizenjo that they should leave Dhaka as the Pakistan Army had decided to launch a military operation within couple of days. General

Yahya convened a meeting of the National Assembly members from the West Pakistan, which Bizenjo avoided to attend and instead of that went to see Comrade Moni Singh of the Communist Party, who claimed that 'whole Bengali nation had taken decision of the national liberation which cannot be washed away'. General Yahya also advised Wali Khan to leave Dhaka, so next day the 25th March, both Wali Khan and Bizenjo flew back to Karachi.

The military junta refused to accept the peoples' verdict in favor of Awami League and by announcing the postponement of the National Assembly session; it started the military operation against the Bengalis. Thousands of Bengalis crossed the border into India. The Pakistan Army massacred and raped Bengalis, mostly the civilians. According to the Bengali nationalists and later by the Bangladesh government, over three million Bengalis, especially writers, intellectuals and political workers were murdered, while thirty thousand Bengali women were raped. *Mukti Bahni* started an armed struggle against the Pakistan Army, which surrendered to the Indian army on 16th December 1971 in the Dhaka.

Bangladesh came into being and Bhutto took over the power as President and the civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator. In his first address to the nation, he expressed his willingness to cooperate with NAP and lifted the ban imposed on it by General Yahya Khan. He initiated talks with Wali Khan and offered to induct Nawab Marri in his cabinet but appointed prominent Peoples' Party leaders in all four provinces as Governors. NAP with its ally JUI, had a clear majority in Balochistan and Frontier provinces so their nominees should have been appointed in both provinces. This denial of electoral mandate angered the NAP cadre. After long negotiation the power in both provinces was handed over to the NAP-JUI coalition. In Balochistan, Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo was appointed the Governor, who took oath of his office on 28th April 1972.

NAP nominated Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal as the Chief Minister of Balochistan, who took oath and assumed office on 1st May as the first elected Chief Minister of Balochistan. As it was the International Labor Day, so the public meeting jointly organized by NAP, BSO and other organizations honored Habib Jalib, the great resistance poet as chief guest, who electrified the audience with his poetry.

Bhutto was uncomfortable with NAP provincial government, while across the border, it was unacceptable to the neighboring Shah of Iran. As the US Imperialist tout, the Shah of Iran could not tolerate a government with Baloch nationalist and anti-imperialist elements.

A couple of weeks before NAP formed its government in Balochistan, there had been widespread anti-Iran protests throughout the province and in Baloch populated areas of Karachi to condemn the atrocities of Shah Regime in Iranian Balochistan. Portraits of Shah, displayed at the Iranian Cultural Centre and the restaurants owned by Iranians were torn and set on fire. Arrests on a large scale followed the protests and many among them were members of NAP or BSO.

In this hostile atmosphere and before the NAP government had settled down, Bhutto invited Princess Ashraf Pehlvi, sister of Shah Iran to visit Quetta. With reluctance NAP-JUI provincial coalition government decided to welcome the foreign guest. However Bhutto did not trust the Balochistan government and asked his supporters from other provinces to gather in Quetta during Princess' visit. Among them were forty armed persons brought from Frontier by Khan Abdul Qayum Khan.

On 19th May 1972, Princess Ashraf arrived in Quetta and on the night of 20th President Bhutto hosted a banquet in her honor at the Governor House. Just as the guests were seated for dinner, a group of people, consisting of Baloch

and Pashtoon youths, arrived at the main gate of the Governor House. They were carrying the dead body of a young man, allegedly killed in firing by Qayum Khan's men. It was an impromptu demonstration and protest. On the request of the Governor Bizenjo the crowd dispersed.

Soon after coming to the power, NAP government proceeded to introduce important reforms on various sectors. In this regard Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri, who was the Provincial NAP president, moved a resolution in the provincial assembly, recommending the abolition of *Sardari* system. Chief Minister Mengal seconded the resolution. Since the British Raj, the Sardari system was the central government's domain, so the provincial assembly sent this resolution, passed by two thirds majority, to the federal government. The provincial government made many proposals regarding land allocation to the nomads, abolition of land revenue on holdings of less than 12 acres of land, freedom of the press and declaration of Urdu as the official language of the province as the Balochi language was not developed as was the case of Sindhi.

The formation of Baloch nationalists led NAP government in Balochistan brought a sigh of relief to the leftist workers all over the country, many of them now were getting refuge, after escaping especially from the atrocities of Mumtaz Bhutto led PPP government in Sindh and Ghulam Mustafa Khar led provincial government in Punjab. Comrade Sobho Gianchandani, Jam Saqi, Ghulam Mohammed Laghari, Habib Jalib and many others spent most of their time in Balochistan during this period.

Pakistan Medical Association, under the leadership of progressive doctors and progressive writers also held their meetings and conferences during NAP government in Quetta. The appointment of progressive and liberal intellectual Professor Karar Hussain as the Vice Chancellor

of the Balochistan University was greeted with jubilation all over the country.

The issue of expulsion of non-Balochistani government employees from the provincial job services played a vital role in worsening centre-province relations. Bhutto exploited this in Punjab, which was the base of the army and his stronghold; the employees belonging to the Punjab were supposedly going to be the most affected by this decision.

When the One Unit was dismantled in 1970 and West Pakistan government ceased to exist, thousands of surplus government employees were sent to the Balochistan and were posted in various government departments. Although it was clearly written in the One Unit Dissolution Act that after a time period these employees will be sent to their respective provinces/departments but they were still working in Balochistan when NAP came to the power. The new provincial government wanted to provide employment to the youth of the province. This move, although later only partially implemented, created a bad impression of the provincial government, especially in Punjab, where it was seen as anti-Punjabi move.

The Lasbela episode of January 1973 was the last nail in the coffin of relations between Federal and Balochistan governments. The Jamot tribe and its chief Jam Ghulam Qadir had always been supporters of the central governments. At the time of the induction of NAP government, Jam Yousif (later chief minister Balochistan during General Musharaf government) son of the chieftain Jam Ghulam Qadir had arrest warrants against him and was living outside Balochistan. According to Baloch nationalists, on the instigation of the federal government officials he, accompanied by Balochistan PPP President Aman Ullah Gichki entered Balochistan and was taken into custody. This caused resentment among the Jamot tribesmen, who

resorted to lawlessness by cutting telephone and power transmission lines and threatened to break the jail. The provincial government deployed its force in Lasbela district. On the other hand, the Chief of Army Staff General Tikka Khan ordered the army to station in the district.

On 14th February 1973, Bizenjo met Bhutto in Rawalpindi Presidency. It happened to be their last meeting as the Governor and the President. During the meeting Bhutto's personal servant delivered the dismissal orders of Bizenjo as the provincial Governor. Same day he flew back to Quetta, where he was received by the provincial cabinet. From airport he went to the protest meeting against his dismissal. In his speech he pacified the charged crowd. When as the Chief Minister Balochistan, Atta Ullah Mengal was addressing the meeting, the news of the dismissal of the first ever elected nationalist Balochistan government and appointing Nawab Akbar Bugti as Governor came.

On 17th February, Bizenjo was on his way for Islamabad to attend the National Assembly session when his secretary B.M. Kutty, a progressive immigrant from Indian state of Kerala, was arrested at the Lahore Airport without providing any reasons of his detention. Few days later, he was implicated as the co-accused in an illegal arms recovery case and was handed over to the notorious Federal Security Force (FSF). After the dismissal of the Balochistan government, the Frontier government resigned in protest.

On 15th August 1973, the very next day of the adoption of the unanimously passed constitution, one of its signatory Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo was arrested from his MP hostel room in Islamabad. Same night Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri and Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal were also arrested from Quetta.

On 8th February 1975, PPP Leader Hayat Mohammed Khan Sherpao was killed in a bomb blast in Peshawar. The federal government accused NAP for this incident and banned it through a reference filed in the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Hearing for this lasted forty four days between June and September 1975. Meanwhile, the remaining NAP leadership including its Central President Wali Khan and revolutionary poet Habib Jalib and others were also arrested and eventually shifted to Hyderabad Jail in Sindh to be tried under the Hyderabad Conspiracy Case.

After the dismissal of the NAP provincial government in Balochistan and resignation in protest by the NAP provincial government of NWFP, the leadership of the NAP was accused of plotting a rebellion against the state with the support of foreign powers and was trailed under the 'Hyderabad Conspiracy Case'. The accused were included Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo, Ajmal Khattak, Sardar Khair Bakhsh Marri, Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal, Gul Khan Naseer, Mairaj Mohammed Khan, Mir Ali Bakhsh Talpur, Kaswar Gardezi, Habib Jalib, Najam Sethi and others. The trail continued for three years and ended after General Zia imposed Martial Law in the country.

The day, when Habib Jalib was arrested in this case, was the third day of mourning the death of his eldest son Tahir Abbass. Jalib wrote many poems in the memory of his son in the incarnation. Yahya Bakhtiyar advocate represented the state and Mian Mahmood Ali Kasuri, Abid Hassan Manto and Aziz Ullah Sheikh represented the accused in this case.

During the case proceedings when Jalib was asked to plead, he remained silent, on this the judge Justice Riaz said 'it was right of accused to plead his case or not but at least the poet should not deprive audience of his poetry'. On this Jalib recited his Ghazal '*Yeh Munsif Bhi to Qaidi Hain, Humain Insaaf Kiya Denge....Likha Hai Unke Chaheron*

Par Jo Hum Ko Faisla Denge...' (These Judges are also the prisoners what justice they would do with us.....the verdict for us is written on their faces).

The ban on NAP and the arrests of its leadership created a vacuum in the liberal and progressive politics. A section of second and third tier of NAP cadre, who had not been arrested, started political debate on the formation of a new political entity. As a result, on 15th November 1975, a new party to be called National Democratic Party (NDP) was formed at the Karachi residence of a Punjab based Baloch chieftain Sherbaz Khan Mazari, who became its first President. However most of the Balochistan cadre kept away from the new party.

According to B.M. Kutty, during the Hyderabad Conspiracy Case trial once Bhutto asked him to convey his wish to meet Bizenjo in one-to-one meeting. Kutty communicated this message to Bizenjo, who refused to meet Bhutto but nevertheless suggested that he should meet Wali Khan, who was the president of the defunct NAP. Bhutto was reluctant to have a meeting with Wali Khan so this initiative of reconciliation failed to bring out any result. After the announcement of the 1977 general elections, Bhutto announced to release Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal, Bizenjo's son Bizen and few other Baloch prisoners. Soon after his release, Mengal proceeded to London for medical treatment.

After the elections, the right wing opposition alliance Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) launched an agitation, first on the issue of the electoral rigging and later on the demand of enforcing Islamic system in the country. During the agitation Bizenjo sent a message to Bhutto through his confident Kutty to hold a serious dialogue with opposition alliance, otherwise he could be overthrown by the military.

During the opposition agitation serious differences emerged within the ranks of the defunct NAP, whose many members had joined the NDP, now a component of the PNA, which was hostile to Bhutto and so was not averse to bring Army in power to oust Bhutto. On the other hand, opponents of this policy led by Bizenjo were also opposing the policies of Bhutto but were not supportive of the military intervention. During the PNA movement General Zia, still COAS under an elected government, paid a couple of visits to Hyderabad Jail and met few Pashtoon leaders including Wali Khan. This happening played a major role in generating mistrust between Baloch and Pashtoon leaders.

After the imposition of Martial Law by General Zia, the administration offered to release prisoners on bail and after completing formalities pave way for the abolition of tribunal. Wali Khan and few other NAP leaders accepted the offer and were released on bail in December 1977 but Bizenjo and Khair Bakhsh Marri refused to accept this and demanded their unconditional release and withdrawal of the conspiracy case, ultimately they were released in January 1978. After their release Wali Khan and other Pashtoon leaders immediately joined the NDP but the Baloch leadership stayed away.

The Afghan Saur revolution, under Noor Mohammed Tarakai brought another spirit in the Baloch nationalist movement. With one of its early steps, the Afghan revolutionary government declared mother tongues including Balochi as the National Languages of the country. The Baloch political forces including BSO welcomed the move and supported the revolution from day one. To counter the secular and progressive tendencies among the Baloch population, the Afghan refugees were settled in major towns of Balochistan.

During April 1979, Bizenjo called a meeting of like-minded political workers in Karachi and formed Pakistan National Party (PNP) and called a Pakistan level convention of

political workers in Karachi on 1st June, which elected Bizenjo as the party's first President. The National Progressive Party, the political front of the Communist Party of Pakistan under Aizaz Nazir also merged into PNP in 1982, and got 80% of the central committee seats in the 1986 National Council meeting held in Multan, but in the same year they decided to join other forces without Bizenjo to form the Awami National Party under the leadership of Wali Khan. Later Afghan President Dr. Najibullah tried to unify the ANP-PNP, when Bizenjo and others visited Kabul in 1989 to attend Afghan revolution anniversary, but failed as leaders were not ready to leave their respective positions.

After the 1960 insurgency, on one hand Pakistan army established its garrisons in various areas of Balochistan and on the other the emerging Baloch militant leadership took the Marxism as ideology and international Socialist movement quite seriously. During that period a towering Baloch guerilla leader Sher Mohamed Marri emerged, whose father and an uncle had been in jail during the British period. Sher Mohamed Marri, himself spent almost fourteen years as prisoner, once before partition and twice in Pakistan

Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri and Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal had been elected to National Assembly came into being by the 1962 constitution of General Ayub Khan. Though limited political activities were allowed in the country but Balochistan was still under many restrictions.

Although the President of Pakistan Bhutto had alleged during early 1970s that Sher Mohammed Marri, popularly known as General Sherov because of his leftist thoughts had links with Soviet Union but the pro Moscow Communist Party of Pakistan never supported his efforts of organizing an armed struggle in Balochistan.

For more than two years, Sher Mohammed Marri and his initial nucleus of about twenty ideological comrades quietly laid their plan, seeking to get a network of base camps in place before taking on the army. They named their movement '*Parari*', a Balochi word to describe a person or group with grievances that cannot be resolved through negotiations. By July 1963, they had established twenty two base camps of various sizes spread over 45,000 square miles from the Mengal tribal area of Jhalawan in the south, where Ali Mohammed Mengal was Commander to the Marri and Bugti area in the north.

The *Pararis*, believing in Balochi folk saying that 'The mountains are Baloch's forts, The peaks are better than an army, The lofty heights are his comrades', took refuge in Mountains and generally avoiding large scale encounters with army and instead of that used classical guerilla style attacks by ambushing convoys, small bombings, snipping at soldiers and raiding military encampments. In retaliation army used force including air raids at some places, which served to solidify the support for the 'militants'. The army bulldozed 13,000 acres of almond trees owned by Sher Mohammed Marri and his relatives in one of the few fertile orchard land in the Marri area. This action provoked a major battle in December 1964, when 500 *Pararis* staged a raid on an army camp that resulted heavy casualties on both sides.

The *Pararis* claim that their most spectacular success came in series of clashes with army units in the Gharur area during December 1965. The Baloch commandos claim that over 200 Pakistani soldiers were killed in those battles. The fighting continued till 1969, when General Yahya Khan after taking power from Ayub Khan and imposing Martial Law, undid the One Unit.

Between engagements, the *Pararis* worked to expand the command force which according to some reports had

grown to nearly 900 by 1969, and continued to increase in numbers slowly during the cease-fire period.

Despite their acceptance of the cease-fire, Baloch were suspicious of Islamabad's attitude, so when after the cease-fire, Sher Mohammed Marri surfaced and came down from the hills, his deputy in Marri area, Mir Hazar Ramkhani, then thirty seven, went underground and continued clandestine organizational activities.

After dismissal of the provincial government, Bhutto did not confine himself to the charge that the provincial government had repeatedly exceeded its constitutional powers but also gave a broader international dimension for his action by saying that the Baloch leadership, with the support of Iraq and Soviet Union had a long term plot to dismember both Pakistan and Iran, and in that regard a cache of 300 Soviet submachine guns and 48,000 rounds of ammunition, allegedly for Baloch insurgency were uncovered in the Iraqi embassy in Islamabad.

Iraqi officials blamed the incident on anti-government plotters in the Iraqi intelligence agency who were seeking to embarrass the Saddam regime. The arms cache was allegedly discovered in the residence of Nasir Al-Saud, the Iraqi military attaché in Islamabad. He had disappeared from Pakistan three days earlier and was executed on 2nd July 1973, along with Iraqi intelligence chief Nazim Kazzar, in connection with a coup attempt against Saddam Hussain. The Baghdad government explained that the weapons were not destined for Pakistani Balochistan but rather for Iranian Balochistan, where Iraq was then openly supporting Baloch guerilla activities in retaliation against Shah's support of Kurdish rebels. Although Baloch leaders contended that Bhutto with the support of Baghdad dissident had contrived the 'conspiracy' to oust their government but on other hand there was a visible rift among them on the tactics in dealing with Islamabad. Bizenjo believed that it was possible to work within the

system and avoid a direct military confrontation but Sher Mohammed Marri was sure that a new military showdown was approaching so was desperate to have some logistic support.

According to some well informed observers, Marri during his visit of Baghdad in August 1972 had negotiated with Iraqi authorities for such logistic supplies to be shared with their Iranian counterparts. NAP rival Akbar Bugti tipped off Bhutto about this plan and thus got rid of his opponents Mengal and Bizenjo and became Balochistan Governor after the dismissal of the elected government.

In early April 1973, less than six weeks after the ouster of the provincial government, Baloch guerrillas began to ambush army convoys. Bhutto rushed to Tehran and after meeting with Shah, announced that Iran will provide \$200 million in emergency military and financial aid. In his challenge to Baloch uprising, he dispatched four army divisions to Balochistan after the arrest of Bizenjo, Mengal and Khair Bakhsh Marri.

Under the international Socialist solidarity, Mohammed Bhabha, a Karachi based young man and a son of a wealthy Karachi trader Hameed Bhabha, whose extended family was settled in South Africa and was, supporting the African National Congress (ANC), joined the Baloch nationalist movement mainly on intellectual grounds. Bhabha later committed suicide in Sweden.

At the same time an interesting situation for the Balochistan struggle was developing in United Kingdom, where some non-Baloch students known as the 'London Group' under the influence of international Marxist armed struggle, decided to join the Baloch liberation movement in 1971. All these students belonged to the elite classes of Pakistan and most of them were Punjabis. Among them were Asad and Rashid Rehman (later a leading journalist) sons of late Justice S. A. Rehman of the Lahore High Court

and head judge of Agartala Conspiracy Case Tribunal, against Sheikh Mujib ur Rehman during 1968-69, Najam Sethi (later media person and care taker Chief Minister of Punjab), Ahmed Rashid (later journalist and writer of best selling book 'Taliban') and Dilip Das a Karachi based Hindu.

When the word about their joining the Baloch Movement reached Karachi and Lahore, another twenty to twenty five young leftists followed them. Mir Mohammed Ali Talpur, son of Mir Ali Ahmed Talpur of Hyderabad Sindh had already joined the Baloch after getting the paramedic training. His father Mir Ali Ahmed Talpur, after joining many political parties including the Khaksar Tahreek and PPP, later became the Minister under General Zia.

Asad Rehman, who took an active part in 1968-69 uprising against Ayub government, had left for London to study architecture in 1969 but came back in 1971 to join the Baloch movement without completing his studies. In 1970, after the formation of Bangladesh, Asad and his friends had launched a monthly magazine *Pakistan Zindabad* from London, with most of articles on national question in Pakistan and military intervention in the civilian affairs. Through Mir Ali Bakhsh Talpur, a progressive Sindhi nationalist agriculturalist, this magazine reached Sher Mohammed Marri and Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri and they sent Mohammed Bhabha to London to make an offer to these young revolutionaries that if they really wanted to do some revolutionary work, then the Baloch leadership was ready to provide them space for that. During the debate on this offer, most of the group members decided not to join the movement. From the seven, who initially decided to join, two backed out at the last moment. In March 1971, Asad Rehman, the first and the youngest of the London group, reached Karachi and a Marri who could speak Urdu, received him and accompanied to Lehri, Balochistan where he met Mir Hazar Khan, who took him to Marri tribal area. First he was settled at Miandadtot

mountain area in Bhamboor and after two months they moved to Tadri.

Soon Rashid Rehman and Najam Sethi landed in Karachi, where they were responsible for collecting funds, ensuring medical treatment and public support, while Dilip and Ahmed Rashid went to Balochistan and joined Asad. About a year later Mohammed Ali Talpur joined the group as paramedic. He was politically influenced by Mohammad Bhabha.

Initially many of the Marri were not told that the newcomers were non-Baloch or Punjabis, instead of that they were told that they were Baloch, and had spent their life in Karachi and Sindh. Although the government got to know about this group in 1974 but the majority of Baloch came to know about it only in 1978.

This group especially Asad learnt the Baloch history, folklore, customs, traditions, social functioning of Baloch system from Gul Khan, the father of Mir Hazar Khan. Later Asad became fluent in speaking Balochi language till his early death in October 2012.

Ahmed Rashid was flatfooted, which was a hurdle in climbing the mountains, beside that he, Dillip Das and Mir Mohammed Ali wore spectacles. Asad took training of medical treatment from Mir Mohammed Ali and started a foot-doctor scheme.

Their apprehensions expressed by Sher Mohammed Marri, were to be proven correct when the federal government led by Bhutto dismissed the provincial government of National Awami Party led by Atta Ullah Mengal in 1973. The *Pararis* under the command of Baloch Peoples' Liberation Front were prepared for this eventuality and till that time the London group was totally integrated into the Marri tribe with their adopted Baloch names.

The security forces attacked few camel caravans of Baloch nomads coming from Sindh with food items as Balochistan was facing drought at that time. In retaliation on 17th May 1973, a Marri armed group of twenty, under the command of Asad (now with adopted name of Chakar Khan, a Baloch statesman who lived in 1468-1565) attacked the security forces near Tandori Railway Station and killed seven personnel of Dir Scout, a Para-Military force and captured their weapons.

Four days later, Pakistan army attacked Mawand and Kohlu with the support of helicopters provided by neighboring Shah of Iran, who was afraid of spreading this Baloch insurgency into Iranian Balochistan. Seeking to avenge, an ambush in which army suffered some casualties; an army unit stormed the village Mali. The soldiers started ransack huts one by one in search of concealed weapons. Men and women alike were roughly lined up in the village square. Shootouts occurred with those who resisted. Some of the older villagers were surrendering, when seventy two years old Mir Laung Khan, elder brother of Baloch poet, politician and former Minister Mir Gul Khan Naseer in the Mengal government came out of his hut and shouted that he would die before permitting troops to violate the Baloch honor by intruding on his female family members. He picked up his outdated gun and started firing towards the soldiers. Few other villagers also joined him. The soldiers were compelled to ask for reinforcement during four hours of resistance, which resulted in the killing of Laung Khan inside the village mosque. Baloch claim that thirty five of villagers including women and children were killed in the Mali attack. The security forces also reported little causality.

By July 1974, the guerrillas had been able to cut off the main roads linking Balochistan with neighboring provinces of Punjab and Sindh and to disrupt periodically the key

Sibi-Harnai rail link, thereby blocking coal shipments to Punjab. The former army commander in Balochistan Lt. General Arbab Jahanzeb (later Governor of Sindh, during the Zia Martial Law) recalled in an interview with the American scholar Selig Harrison that 'the hostilities were becoming quite bold as the year progressed. They thought that they had reached the stage of confrontation with the armed forces in which they would actually be able to drive us out of Balochistan. They were determined to stop oil exploration. We knew that we had to respond forcefully or we would be unable to bring the situation under control.'

Initially Pakistan employed relatively clumsy Chinook helicopters that they had received from the United State, fitting them with guns for the combat use. But in mid-1974 Iran sent thirty US supplied Huey Cobra helicopters, many of them manned by the Iranian pilots. Huey Cobra had been developed during the Vietnam War.

The turning point in the confrontation came with a brutal six-day battle at Chamlang in the Marri area. Every summer Marri nomads converge to the broad pasture lands of the Chamalang valley, one of the few rich grazing areas in whole Balochistan. In 1974, many of men stayed back on the hills to fight but the women, children and older men streamed down from the mountains with their flocks and set up their black tents in the fifty square mile area, believing that Chamalang would be a refuge from the ongoing war. The army however decided to take advantage of this concentration of Marri families as a means of luring the guerrillas down from the hills. The army calculated correctly that attack on the tent villages would compel the guerrillas to come out in open to defend their families. After an extensive planning the army launched its Chamalang operation on 3rd September 1974, with the combined air and artillery forces. After three days and nights of intensive fighting, the most important *Parari*

units and their commanders escaped when their ammunition ran out.

Army accounts claim that 125 militants were killed and 900 captured; some independent estimates suggest that 50,000 sheep and 350 camels were captured at Chamalang and later auctioned to non-Baloch. For the Baloch fighters that engagement was a serious blow and in coming days they were not able to muster enough strength to engage in a major combat anywhere.

The government statistics show that the most intensive hostilities in Balochistan occurred between the beginning of insurgency in 1973 and the end of 1975. Of the 178 recorded major army encounters with guerrillas during this period, 84 took place in the Marri area during 1974.

Asad Rehman claimed in an interview that 1500 of the security personals were killed in that overall war while another 3,500 were injured. He puts Baloch guerilla death number at only 70 but claims that over 15000 Baloch old men, women and children died or were injured in the discriminated action by security forces.

The 1973-77 insurgency was the first broad based Baloch resistance; Mehrullah Khan Mengal, brother of the deposed CM was leading a group in Mengal area, Aslam Gichki led a group in Lasbela, a neighboring district with Karachi and Mir Safar Khan Zarakzai was operating in Sarawan, while the London group under Asad Rehman operated from Pir Samalan to Marri tribal area in Marri and Bugti areas and in Punjab district Dera Ghazi Khan with Baloch majority. Mir Hazar Khan was an overall political commander. Sher Mohammed Marri was arrested in January 1973, while Khair Bakhsh Marri and Atta Ullah Mengal with other NAP leaders were arrested in August 1973.

In the winter of 1974 Baloch tribes, mostly non-combatant, women, children old-aged with their cattle, started to

migrate to Afghanistan. After a yearlong resistance Mehrullah and Aslam Gichki groups gave in and moved to Afghanistan disbanding their groups. After the killing of commander Safar Khan in 1975, the Pakistan army deployed its four divisions against the Marri.

In September 1975, Far Eastern Economic Review published a story on Balochistan, mainly briefed by Asad. It was the first major international breakthrough on the Baloch issue.

Due to the major engagement by the Pakistan armed forces, and heavy losses on the Baloch side, Mir Hazar Khan decided in late 1975 that there was no other way to sustain the movement except a retreat into neighboring Afghanistan. He, along with most of his men, their families and live stock crossed border into Southern Afghanistan where the Sardar Daud regime allotted them two camps. After moving to Afghanistan they drew a new program, broadened their membership base, changed their name to the *Baloch Peoples' Liberation Front* (BPLF) and launched a monthly magazine *Jabol* (mountain).

As a cover, Rashid Rehman was running an automobile workshop and Najam Sethi was with some architects and developers whom he was perusing to start some development projects in Marri area during Bhutto government. Few times he flew to Balochistan capital Quetta in military helicopters to inspect the sites. In 1975-76, few of the original London group was arrested in Karachi and they disclosed names of all the group members. After that disclosure, Najam Sethi was also taken into custody in 1976 and shifted to Hyderabad jail. Dilip Das was arrested near Baelpat on his way to Sindh, during the insurgency and was never seen again. It was believed that he was tortured to death at Mach and Quilli Camp, Quetta. His dead body was never found. In this regard Asad Rehman, while visiting Quetta with a HRCF delegation in 1990 discussed the issue with then Chief Minister of

Balochistan Nawab Akbar Bugti. But Bugti's inquiries from the corpscommander, ISI and other concerned authorities too drew a blank and failed to ascertain the circumstances of Dilip's disappearance.

After the imposition of Martial Law by General Zia In July 1977, this insurgency came to a halt but the general amnesty given by the government was not to be applied on Asad and Rashid Rehman, Ahmed Rashid, Mohammed Ali Talpur and Ajmal Khattak self exiled in Afghanistan at that time. Zia government released about 6,000 prisoners held in Kohlu and Loralai. The truce between the Federal Government and the Baloch resistance was not acceptable to a section of youth, who rejected the reconciliatory tone adopted by Bizenjo and some other moderate leaders. After two years of silence, in 1979, the government launched a smaller operation against BSO activists and during this a few of its leaders were arrested.

In January 1979, Mir Hazar Khan called Asad to Afghanistan, where over ten thousand Baloch families from Marri, Sarawan, Badani and Jamaldini clans were residing in refugee camps. Asad also moved his base to Afghanistan.

During the exile in Afghanistan, differences emerged between Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri and Mir Hazar Khan, mainly on the issues of political and ideological position of Nawab and the financial affairs. Initially, Sher Mohammed Marri tried to mediate between the two but Nawab portrayed this rift as the sub clan conflict between Gazaini versus Bijarani, so Sher Mohammed sided with Hazar Khan, since both were from the same sub clan of Bijarani.

After the general amnesty to Baluch dissidents by General Zia in the last days of 1977, many of them started moving back from Afghanistan. But on return they were often ambushed by the Afghan Mujahidin, who were fighting against the Soviet backed Afghan government. The Afghan

Mujahid even threatened to kill Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri, who after his release had gone into self-exile in London and afterward in Afghanistan. The first Nawaz Sharif government (1990-1993) sent a delegation, led by then Chief Minister Balochistan Taj Mohammed Jamali, which convinced Marri to return back to Balochistan by an official C-130 airplane along with other exiled leaders. The acceptance of this offer is still regarded as a 'compromise' by many Baloch.

In November 1979, both Khair Bakhsh Marri and Atta Ullah Mengal went to Europe for medical treatment and took self imposed exile.

Asad after staying for over a year in Afghanistan flew to London from Kabul in May 1980 and came to Pakistan in June.

The Baloch nationalist movement was radically transformed by this five years insurgency and in consequence the newly emerged cadre challenged the leadership of the tribal chiefs and traditional politicians like Khair Bakhsh Marri, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Atta Ullah Mengal.

At the time of the formation of an opposition alliance MRD against General Zia in 1981, PNP announced its outside support for alliance as it was not supporting the demand for provincial autonomy.

Zia Martial Law brought a halt to military operation and excessive use of force against the Baloch nationalist but it brutalized and fragmented the Baloch society. Every one of them now became armed, courtesy of the Afghan refugees.

After eleven long years rule of Zia, general elections were held after his sudden death in a plane crash. Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo lost both seats of the national assembly; he contested from his hometown Khuzdar and Turbat. The religious party Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam (JUI) emerged as the

largest party in the provincial assembly. Meanwhile the health of Mir Bizenjo worsened in 1989, so he flew to London for treatment, where doctors found his cancer at terminal stage. Sensing no hope for his survival, he decided to fly back home. Meanwhile, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi sent a letter to Bizenjo and offered all possible help for his treatment in Delhi. On 11th August 1989, he breathed last in a Karachi hospital and next day was buried in his hometown of Naal. After his death his elder son Bizen was elected the President of PNP, who along with his younger brother Hasil, neared to the power corridors through the support of Punjab based Muslim League leader Nawaz Sharif and after the 1990 general elections became coalition partner both in centre and in Balochistan but failed again to win in 1993 general elections.

Meanwhile, after the murder of his son Salal in June 1992, Akbar Bugti spent most of his time at his home town of Dera Bugti.

On 3rd January 2005, Dr. Shazia Khalid, a female employee of Pakistan Petroleum Limited (PPL), was awoken by somebody pulling her hair. She was strangled with a cord, threatened, blindfolded, pistol-wiped, and beat and repeatedly raped by a masked intruder, allegedly an army officer, at Sui, Dera Bugti, in the heavily guarded, government-owned natural gas plant. Her story was also covered in Terence McKenna's documentary about sexual violence in Pakistan, 'Land, Gold and Women'. Akbar Bugti considered this rape an offence on his integrity as the local tribal chief and protested against the incident by demanding the punishment for the accused. The military dictator General Musharraf defended his fellow uniformed official.

In January 2005, tanks rolled in Dera Bugti and other parts of Balochistan and in March, forces began to smash Bugti's house and Dera Bugti town, killing dozens and leaving Bugti besieged in few rooms.

Sometime later, Bugti moved to mountains, a Baloch traditional way to protest and express anger, where delegations of the parliamentarians and human rights activists held meetings with him but failed to pursue him or the military dictator to withdraw from their positions. On 26th August 2006, a contingent of military went to the cave in the mountains of the Kohlu area, where Bugti was staying with his grandson and other supporters, when all of sudden the cave collapsed because of the armament blasted. Baloch alleged that the military had deliberately blasted to kill 85 years old Baloch leader. Couple of days later, his dead body was recovered from the rubbles but was not handed over to his family and was buried by the officials with a wooden coffin closed by three heavy locks.

In this operation, the fossilized remains of the largest mammal that walked the earth, the '*Baluchitherium*', measuring 21 feet from nose to tail and 18 feet in height—weighing approximately the mass of four elephants, was also reportedly destroyed. The discovery of the first, almost-complete Skelton of the mammal was made by a team of French scientists in 1999. The mammal's fossils were first discovered in 1910 by English paleontologist Sir Clive Forster Cooper, who christened his finding the '*Baluchitherium*, or 'the beast of Balochistan'.

No further investigations, however, were carried out until the 1990s, when a French paleontologist, Jean-Loup Welcome, followed the Cooper's footsteps. Welcome's team included three more Frenchmen from the University of Montpellier, Dr. Pierre-Olivier Antoine, Dr. Laurent Marivaux and Dr. Gregoire Metais. After working for months in the heat of Dera Bugti, they not only found an almost-complete skeleton of the mammal, dating back to at least 30 million years, but also other extinct fauna corresponding to the same period. According to a BBC news item on 10th May, 1999, 'the team also found a nine-meter-long fossil trunk of a palm tree, along with fossils of

two different types of crocodile and what the scientists described as a very big pig'. These discoveries led them to conjecture that Bugti hills were a tropical region some 40 million years ago. After finding the bones in 1999, the French team sought permission from the government to take those to France to make replica for further study. According to the French experts, the late Nawab Akbar Bugti, who hosted the team for their entire stay in the region, was agreeable to the proposal of moving the bones out of his area but before the official permission was issued, the military operation in Dera Bugti began and the most memorable science discovery was destroyed under the rubbles of bombed residence of Bugti.

In December 1999, Musharraf came on an official visit of Balochistan and on 14th December, few missiles or rocket launchers were fired targeting his plane in Kohlu district. After this attack, forces started indiscriminate bombing on Dera Bugti. According to a report, this forced 160,000 people to flee their homes in Dera Bugti. In same month, Musharraf made an announcement that 'there are two or three tribal chiefs and feudal lords who are responsible for what is happening in Balochistan. The past governments had made deals with them and indulged them. My government is determined to establish its writ. It will be a fight to the finish.'

2-Civil Disobedience against Zia 1981-1988

Right-wing political parties and few left groups unconditionally supported General Zia for eliminating their common enemy Bhutto. Zia too, still in the process of consolidating his power, was in need of their support. The situation took a major turn in October 1979, when General Zia once again postponed the general elections and started exploring other options. In this regard, Zia's right hand man General Faiz Ali Chishti writes, 'In February 1980, PPP Sindh President Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi had agreed to become the Prime Minister in a transitory government and for that he held a secret meeting with General Zia, where General K M Arif and Governor of Sindh Lt. General S M Abbassi were also present.' Zia however changed his mind afterwards. General K M Arif writes in his book 'Working With Zia' that Jatoi held a secret meeting with his party colleague and former Governor Punjab, Ghulam Mustafa Khar in Dubai, whom General Zia disliked, so the understanding between Zia and Jatoi broke-down.

To counter such moves by the junta, Pir Pagaro group of Muslim League and Jamaat-i-Islami, since 1980, were keen to revive the right wing Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). On the other hand Begum Nusrat Bhutto, who was mostly in detention imposed by the junta, was keen to form a

Left-Liberal Unity Front with smaller progressive groups in the country. One such move had been initiated by the Marxist intellectual Dr. Feroz Ahmed, way back in 1978, when in a controversial verdict PPP Chairman Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was sentenced to death by the Lahore High Court on 18th March 1978. In this connection, with the blessings of the PPP leadership, he approached some progressive Sindhi and Pashtoon group but was ditched by a Sindhi group and with a broken heart heavy with the betrayal, he left the country.

Although Begum Bhutto wanted to get rid of Martial Law, she had no direct contact with leaders of other parties, majority of whom had been part of the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), the opposition alliance against her husband and former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Agitation of the PNA culminated in the Martial Law by General Zia, on 5th July 1977 and later the hanging of Bhutto on 4th April 1979, on a verdict by Lahore High Court for ordering the murder of a party colleague, whose father was killed in an attack way back in November 1974 in Lahore. PPP considered that verdict as the Judicial Murder of Bhutto. She was advised by some party leaders to get consensus of all parties on the restoration of 1973 constitution, made during the Bhutto government. One of her confidant and former Sindh Minister Pyar Ali Allana held informal meetings with second tier of different political parties and got positive response on possibility of working together for the restoration of democracy in the country. On the other hand Nusrat Bhutto sensed the governmental inroads within her party, as her party Sindh President Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, a big landlord, has recently been offered the post of premiership by General Zia. Later in 1990, he became caretaker PM after the dismissal of Benazir government.

In September 1980, Begum Nusrat Bhutto called PPP Central Committee meeting at her residence 70 Clifton,

Karachi, attended by 23 members. As she shared her mind with the participants there was an intense and noisy discussion in which the younger members with Benazir Bhutto in the lead were not ready to form an alliance with their former opponents whom they considered the collaborators of the Army and murderers of their founding party chairman Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. On the persuasion by Begum Nusrat Bhutto, members agreed to respond positively to their former opponents and a sub-committee comprising of Benazir Bhutto, Farooq Laghari, Yahya Bakhtiyar, Mairaj Khalid and Pyar Ali Allana was formed to prepare a basic draft on which negotiations could be broached. The committee came out with a six-paragraphed draft titled as 'declaration', which stated 'we the signatories of this declaration are of the unanimous view that the promulgation of Martial law on 5th July, 1977 was a flagrant violation of the 1973 constitution of Pakistan, which is Islamic, federal and democratic. The coup d'état staged by General Zia-ul-Haq was a conspiracy against the people of Pakistan aimed at nullifying the political accord reached between the elected government and the PNA leaders, through democratic process. This blatant usurpation of power by General Zia culminated in the tragic execution of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and brought untold tragedy and misery to the people of Pakistan.

Despite the divergence of our political complexion, we the parties comprising the entire political spectrum feel it our moral duty and national obligation to appraise the nation to the gravity of the situation endangering the very existence of the federation of Pakistan. This crisis of colossal magnitude can only be met with the united will and support of entire country mobilized by a popularly elected government.

Pakistan and Martial Law cannot co-exist. An earlier Martial Law, under General Yahya Khan, resulted in the

secession of East Pakistan. The Martial Law of General Zia today threatens once again the existence of the federation of Pakistan.

The continuation of military rule is seriously jeopardizing the defense capability of our armed forces which is detrimental to the national interest. The efficiency and effectiveness of the armed forces must be restored so that they should whole-heartedly concentrate on the defense of Pakistan. The duty of the armed forces is to defend the frontiers and not to topple governments. The entire Pakistani nation pledges not to tolerate any military coup d'état in the future and any such attempt on the part of any military adventurer will be resolutely resisted and flouted by the nation as a whole.

We note the dangerous confrontation between the people and the armed forces which has been created by General Zia with a view to perpetuating his own illegal dictatorship. The country is engulfed in a crisis of unprecedented magnitude. There is a dangerous political vacuum. People are denied their basic human rights, the press is muzzled, judiciary made subservient and ineffective, political parties are banned, political workers, journalists, students, trade union members and lawyers have been flagged, imprisoned and given harsh punishments by summary military courts without permitting legal aid, unbridled inflation has broken the back of the common man. The whole country is being run through Martial Law Regulations and Orders which is a total negation of the fundamental principles enshrined in the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. General Zia has persistently practiced every deceit to prolong his stay in power. He has broken every pledge solemnly made to the nation for holding general elections and handing over power to the elected representatives of the people.

We therefore demand;

That General Zia quit or be removed immediately and the parliament which was in existence on 4th July 1977 be revived which would meet only for the purpose of electing the President and would be dissolved immediately afterward. The Prime Minister shall constitute a Supreme Council in accordance with the spirit of the agreement of 2nd July, 1977 between the government and PNA, which will supervise the holding of fair, free and impartial general elections to the Parliament and Provincial assemblies, under the 1973 constitution within three months, and to oversee the general administration of the country'.

The PPP Central Committee approved the draft and authorized Begum Nusrat Bhutto to contact other politicians and amend the draft if the need arose. Through Allana, this draft was sent to Nawabzada Nasarullah Khan of Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP) in Multan. In coming days the same draft was shared with Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani (JUP), Khwaja Khairud Din (ML) and Pir Pagaro (ML). Pir Pagaro, a spiritual leader of a militant community of Hurs and whose father Pir Sabghat Ullah Rashdi was hanged for his armed struggle against the British Empire, wanted to have a one-on-one meeting with Begum Bhutto which could not materialize. All the leading politicians of the country informally discussed the PPP draft at the dinner hosted by Pir Pagaro at his Karachi residence. Although it could not bear any fruitful result but it paved a way forward in communication between the politicians. During these informal contacts, Nawabzada Nasarullah Khan (famously known as the 'father of opposition alliances') was the most ardent leader to form a united platform.

During the last weeks of 1980, Benazir Bhutto agreed to have a one-on-one meeting with Nawabzada. During this

three-hour meeting, held at the Allana's Karachi residence, she presented four points to have an agreement before any alliance. According to these points 1- her father was not responsible for the creation of Bangladesh as few people think, 2- before the 5th July 1977, an agreement was reached between the Bhutto government and opposition PNA, so there was no justification of imposing Martial Law in the country, 3- her father was wrongly punished, and 4- the allegations of poll rigging against Bhutto had no substance. Nawabzada agreed with Benazir on the first three points but had his reservations on the fourth as the PNA (with Nawabzada as Vice President) had launched its anti-government movement on the issue of the election rigging.

During these initial contacts, Maulana Mufti Mahmood of Jamiat-i-Ulama-i- Islam (JUI) died and his son Maulana Fazal Rehman became the chief of the religious-political party based on the Devband school of thought, Fazal was also on board in these talks.

Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari of NDP principally agreed with the draft but demanded more provincial autonomy than designated in 1973 constitution. Baloch leader Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo objected on a portion of the draft, which said 'the current General must go and the fresh elections should be conducted immediately'. Bizenjo got the impression that they (PPP) wanted another General to take power. Later Begum Bhutto agreed to omit that paragraph from the draft. Bizenjo also emphasized on inclusion of the issue of provincial autonomy in the proposed draft.

Few other parties were reluctant to add the provincial autonomy issue in the draft as they were for a strong centre. During those days of informal contacts, the PPP leadership also contacted the Jamaat-i-Islami leadership and got a positive response from Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed, a Jamaat leader in Karachi but the hardliners including Mian

Tufail Mohammed of Lahore and Qazi Hussain Ahmed of Peshawar were not ready to form any alliance with PPP. The Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Pakistan chief Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani also principally agreed to the draft, except first and last portion of it but as Zahoorul Hassan Bhopali, Ahad Yousif and Dost Mohammed Faizi of his party were in contact with the junta and in the situation of internal party rift, he was not able to take the step of joining the opposition alliance and went abroad on a preaching tour, authorizing his party General Secretary Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi to look after the negotiations.

The emerging political scenario had united political prisoners in Karachi Central Jail, much earlier than the outer world, where workers of all political forces jointly celebrated birthday of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on 5th January 1981.

During the negotiations for alliance, the government made few arrests and one of them was a Muslim League leader Malik Qasim, who was shifted to Karachi Central Jail on 21st January 1981. In his conversation with fellow political prisoners, Malik Qasim continuously emphasized that 'In March (month) *Mard* (man) will march'. By *Mard* he meant MRD. Most of the political prisoners were committed and trained workers and most of them were from left, especially affiliated with CPP. They posed many questions to Malik Qasim regarding planning and preparations of the movement, whether it would be for just the change of face or it had a long run program. Malik Qasim tried to pacify them by saying that few matters were still under consideration and soon a consensus will be reached.

After long deliberations, on 6th February 1981, leading politicians of the country including Nawabzada Nasurullah Khan, Sardar Abdul Qayum, Maulana Fazal Rehman, Mahmood Ali Kasuri, Khwaja Khairud Din, Abid Zubari, Mohammed Khan Junejo, Darya Khan Khoso, Pyar Ali Allana and Farooq Laghari gathered for a dinner reception

at the PDP leader Mushtaque Mirza's Karachi residence. After long speeches by the politicians, Laghari presented the draft, already signed by Begum Bhutto. Nawabzada became the first to sign it, and Sardar Qayum, Maulana Fazal Rehman and Khwaja Khairud Din followed him. Junejo pleaded that although he approved the draft but he should given half an hour time to bring his party chief Pir Pagaro to sign it. Sardar Qayum and Nawabzada also accompanied Junejo and Khoso to Pir Pagaro, who after a long discussion refused to sign the draft. One of his party leaders from Lahore, S. M. Zafar was also invited for the reception and after his late arrival, once again attempts were made to convince Pir Pagaro who addressing the PPP representatives said that 'their party was full of the sacrificing stuff but his was stocked with the power hungry people and if he joins any anti-government alliance all of them will quit the party'. In the consequence of MRD agitation of 1983, General Zia conducted non-party elections in February 1985 and appointed Mohammed Khan Junejo, the nominee of Pir Pagaro as the Prime Minister.

Next morning the first meeting of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was scheduled at 70 Clifton, the residence of Begum Bhutto, during which all the leaders were to offer condolences for the death of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to his widow in Islamic way. This was not accepted by Maulana Fazal as according to his sect, offering condolences to a woman was an un-Islamic act so he only expressed his verbal condolence. After a long silence in the meeting, Nawabzada took the lead and expressed condolences and said 'Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was one of the great leaders of the country. We were and are sad on his demise. That was a big loss not only for you but of whole Pakistani nation'. This situation brought tears in the eyes of Begum Bhutto.

Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Tahreek-i-Istaqlal (TI), Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam (JUI), Mazdoor Kissan Party (MKP), Muslim League (Khwaja Khair ud Dingroup), Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi (QMA), National Democratic Party (NDP) leaders attended the meeting. The meeting passed through many ups and downs, especially bitter arguments between the right wing and left wing leaders. At one stage, Mairaj Mohammed Khan of QMA walked out from the meeting but was brought back by Abid Zubari of NDP.

Next day the news of the formation of Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) and the signing of its charter was broadcast only by the BBC radio, which electrified the length and breath of Pakistan including the prisons all over the country, where political workers were languishing since day one of Martial Law.

Next day, the 7th February, Sardar Abdul Qayum was ordered by the government that his presence in Karachi was not acceptable, so he was immediately deported from the city; few days later he quit MRD. In later stage, Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed of Jamaat-Islami citing reasons of Jamaat's not joining the MRD, told that his party had reservations on some component parties of the alliance and the alliance had no mention of Islam in the basic charter.

On 8th February, addressing a joint press conference, the representatives of the nine-party alliance read out the two-paragraphed joint declaration, which stated; 'Despite the divergence of our political complexion, we the signatory parties to this declaration, feel it our moral duty and national obligation to apprise the nation to the gravity of the situation endangering the very existence of the federation of Pakistan. Pakistan and Martial Law cannot co-exist. An earlier Martial Law, under General Yahya Khan, resulted in the secession of the East Pakistan. The Martial Law of General Zia today threatens once again the existence of the federation of Pakistan. This crisis of colossal magnitude can only be met with the united will and support of the entire country, mobilized by a popularly elected government.'

We therefore demand that General Zia quit and Martial law be lifted immediately, failing which they will be removed by the irresistible will of the people, that free, fair and impartial elections to the National and Provincial assemblies be held within three months, in accordance with the unanimously adopted Constitution of 1973, and power to be transferred to the elected representatives of the people, and the interests of the four federating units be fully restored and protected’.

The signatories of the above declaration were: Mrs. Nusrat Bhutto of the Pakistan Peoples’ Party (PPP), Mahmood Ali Kasuri of the Tahreek-i-Istaqlal (TI), Nawabzada Nasurullah Khan of the Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Fatahyab Ali Khan of the Mazdoor Kissan Party (MKP), Sherbaz Khan Mazari of the National Democratic Party (NDP), Maulana Fazal Rehman of Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam (JUI), Sardar Mohammed Abdul Qayum of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference (AJKMC), Mairaj Mohammed Khan of the Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi (QMA) and Khwaja Khairuddin of the Muslim League (ML).

In the last portion of this declaration usage of term ‘federating units’ instead of the provinces makes a conscience move to satisfy those elements who were demanding more provincial autonomy.

On 19th February 1981, MRD Sindh leadership including Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi (PPP), Abid Zubari (NDP) and Shah Mohammed Amroti (JUI) addressed a news conference at the residence of Mushtaque Mirza. Replying to the questions by journalists, they were confident that the Baloch leader Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo will soon join the MRD and it had full support of Wali Khan. In this press conference, the MRD leaders informed that Nawabzada Nasr Ullah and Maulana Fazal Rehman were detained at the unknown place.

The MRD decided to rotate the alliance leadership among the component parties on one month tenure bases. This practice was also adopted in prisons, where MRD workers were kept because of their court arrest or taken into custody from the demonstrations.

On 26th and 27th February, a secret meeting of MRD was called in Lahore but the intelligence agencies got the buzz and quickly reacting, the government arrested many of its leaders on 21st February and many others including Benazir Bhutto were restricted from entering into or expelled from the Punjab province. Begum Nusrat Bhutto, travelling in a lower class of train, along with a 13 years old child of a party worker went to the meeting disguised as a grandmother wearing a veil. Before the start of the meeting, Allana was arrested from his hotel room and deported back to Karachi. The police raided the meeting place and arrested its participants, but before the raid, MRD had issued its ultimatum, for the end of Martial Law and for elections within three months, otherwise people will do it with their own power. The meeting also called for country-wide protest on 23rd March. Over two thousand workers of different parties gathered outside the meeting venue, who were baton charged for several times and about 600 of them were taken into custody by the police.

As Begum Nusrat Bhutto came out of meeting and addressed the gathered worker, she was also taken into custody and was threatened for a fake police encounter at a deserted place. Later she was moved to Kot Lakhpat Jail at eight in the evening and after one hour, police shifted her to Lahore Airport, from where she was deported to Karachi. Protesting against the arrest of leadership and disruption of MRD meeting, workers in Lahore set on fire two buses and a motor cycle of police department, while in Gujranwala, workers blocked Lahore-Gujranwala highway for over three hours.

On 27th February, doctors in Rawalpindi arranged a meeting to discuss the possibilities of joining MRD call for the restoration of democracy. Police raided the meeting and arrested twenty doctors.

The joining and support by the leftist elements had titled the MRD towards the issues of the general masses, which clearly reflected in the six-point interim charter of demands, announced in a press conference at the beginning of the month of March, by Fatahyab Ali Khan, the MRD convener for the period, which stated, 1- immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners in the country, 2- provision of alternative jobs to all those sacked by autonomous bodies, nationalized industries, educational institutions, newspaper industry, 3- rehabilitation of all those who have been dispossessed of their hutments and deprived of their daily earnings as a result of dismissals or removal of encroachments. 4- A 25% cut in the prices of essential commodities, diesel and petrol, as well as in railway and other public transport fares. 5- Immediate withdrawal of restrictions on the movement of citizens between any of the four provinces of Pakistan. 6- Non-interference in the academic affairs by the Administration and the police.

On the foreign policy, the main contention among the MRD component parties was Pakistan's policy regarding the neighboring Afghanistan. The PPP, NDP, MKP and QMA were for non-interference stance since day one of the Babrak Karmal government, while the right-wing parties of the alliance were for anti-Afghan revolution policy, promoted by the Pakistani state with the support of the USA.

The MRD set 23rd March, the Pakistan Day, as the targeted date for massive strike and demonstrations across the country. Some of the PPP municipal councilors, elected in the 1979 local elections agreed to resign.

As the political parties started preparations for their first joint protest against General Zia, some adventurists hijacked a PIA plane on 3rd March, later owned by till then unknown Al-Zulfiqar Organisation (AZO) led by Murtaza Bhutto, the exiled son of senior Bhutto. The hijacking came as the blessing in disguise for General Zia, who unleashed unprecedented mass arrests, torture and even killings in custody of his political opponents.

Soon after the hijacking, Sardar Qayum announced to undo the MRD; the statement was broadcasted from the state-run Radio Pakistan. MRD leader Nafis Siddiqui contacted BBC and gave the alliance point of view that Sardar was not the permanent chief of MRD and had the leading responsibilities for just one month and had no authority to undo the alliance.

Soon after the hijacking, Sardar Qayum of Muslim conference quit MRD and started efforts to form a right-wing alliance and in this regard he approached NDP, Muslim League and JUI Darkhawasti group. Although addressing a press conference in Lahore on 24th March, he denied that he had quit MRD on government instigation but the political circles were sure that the official backing was behind that act. In that press conference, he accused PPP high command especially Bhutto ladies, of supporting terrorist activities including the hijacking.

In the coming days, the junta unleashed indiscriminate torture and mass arrests throughout the country, including the energetic leaders and workers of the MRD component parties. Mairaj Mohammed Khan and Fatehyab Ali Khar were arrested on 22nd March and were kept in the solitary confinement in Karachi Central Jail.

The dawn of year 1982 witnessed a new wave of political wall chalking by different political parties and their wings on the wall of Larkana.

On 20th January, Sindh government imposed a three months ban on the entry of former federal minister Malik Mairaj Khalid in the province under Maintenance of Public Order 1960.

The pro-junta media unleashed its campaign against MRD and in this regard a pro-martial law Sindhi daily *Mehran* Hyderabad on 11th February 1982, wrote an editorial under the heading of MRD and accused that most of its component parties were yet to accept the ideology of Pakistan and were greedy to grab the power. The newspaper opined that the movement for the restoration of democracy was for harming the Pakistan rather than to restore democracy in the country.

In June 1982, at the time of the Israeli aggression in Lebanon and killing of Palestinians, MRD gave a call of public demonstrations. In every nook and corner of the country, people responded in big number to the call and came out in the solidarity with the Palestinians.

On 5th September, Punjab government imposed three months ban on the entry of Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani of JUP in the province, while two days later, Frontier government imposed same kind of ban on Malik Mohammed Qasim, the Secretary General of Muslim league and a central leader of MRD.

Central Action Committee of MRD held its meeting at the Karachi residence of Sherbaz Mazari, on 25th September and reaffirmed its demands of holding general elections within 90 days and allowing the political activities. Begum Nusrat Bhutto and TI leader Nafis Siddiqui also attended the meeting. On the occasion talking to journalists, Siddiqui announced that his party will not quit MRD, as his party's recently held Central Committee meeting had rejected the suggestion of quitting MRD with the majority of twenty against four members. Earlier, on 2nd September,

Nafis Siddiqui as the party information secretary had announced that his party had differences with other parties on the organizational formation of MRD, so in protest will not attend MRD meetings.

On 11th October, MRD Secretary General Khwaja Khairud Din and Joint Secretary Mairaj Mohammed Khan denied that MRD will join the national government under Martial Law regime.

On 21st October, MRD Karachi announced its organizational set up, with Maulana Ahitram ul Haque Thanvi of PPP as Secretary.

Fatehyab Ali khan, the convener of MRD for the month of November announced that the alliance will mark restoration of constitution day on 10th November. Addressing a press conference, he supported the lawyers' ongoing movement for the supremacy of civilian judiciary.

At the beginning of 1983, MRD was lacking the spirit and the working relationship to launch a movement against the mighty military junta. According to one of its leaders Anwer Abbass Naqvi 'the biggest issue for MRD was to prove that it was not a paper-alliance. Although leadership from Sindh was forcing the central leadership to start a decisive movement but the Punjab and Frontier leadership were full of excuses of lacking in preparations.' MRD Central Action Committee deputed Naqvi to visit Lahore, Rawalpindi and Peshawar to prepare the local leadership for a movement but he returned frustrated and judging the situation in Punjab and Frontier provinces, once again a decision was taken in Lahore meeting to postpone the proposed movement. This disheartened the cadres in Sindh and on their pressure; later the central MRD leadership reluctantly announced a decisive movement in August.

On 15th February, local NDP and MRD leader Abid Zubari had arranged a reception at his residence in Karachi in honor of his party chief Wali Khan, who was in the city from his detention in Charsada Frontier to record his statement as the defense witness in the Communist (Jam Saqi) Conspiracy Case. Although initially Wali Khan was allowed to stay for four days in Karachi but later on the completion of his statement, the Martial Law authorities asked him to leave the city two days earlier. The reception without its chief guest was converted into a protest meeting, which provided an opportunity to MRD to reactivate itself.

On the occasion of the Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), held in New Delhi, during March 1983, Khwaja Khairuddin, Secretary General of the MRD, sent a message to the participants of the Summit, urging them not to accept the credentials of Zia regime which was not only illegitimate but had flouted the elementary principles of non-alignment by turning Pakistan into a springboard for American strategic designs in the region. Begum Nusrat Bhutto, the chairperson of the PPP, who was in Europe for treatment and Afzal Bangash, the Central President of the MKP, who was in exile in United Kingdom, also sent similar messages to the NAM conference against the seating of the usurper General Zia.

In May 1983, Pakistan Democratic Forum, formed by Marxist intellectual Dr. Feroz Ahmed and other Pakistani exiles in USA, published a 12-page booklet in English, titled 'Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD)'. In this small but significant document, not only the basic charter and struggle of the MRD were supported, the group added its own objectives, including: 1. To mobilize support for the struggle waged inside Pakistan for the lifting of Martial Law, holding of elections under the 1973

constitution, and for the restoration of democracy, 2. To mobilize public opinion against the dangerously provocative foreign policy of the Zia regime, which has turned Pakistan into a so-called frontline state, and into a regional gendarme for the protection of imperialist interests, and to exert pressure for a peaceful political settlement with the Government of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and to work for a genuinely non-aligned foreign policy. 3. To disseminate authentic and relevant information about the struggle of the Pakistani people against the brutal military dictatorship of General Zia, and for democracy, social progress, and national independence, 4. To offer concrete support to the MRD and other organizations, struggling for the democratic rights of the people, 5. To provide a critical analysis of the State and society, from the perspective of the struggle of our people for freedom and economic well-being.

The PDF presented its 13-point demands, which stated, 1. Release all political prisoners and drop charges against all those implicated in political cases. 2. Disband military courts and the so-called Shariat courts and benches, 3. Dissolve the so-called Majlis-i-Shoora (rubber stamp Consultative Assembly, mainly consisted on religious and right-wing elements), 4. Remove the ban on political parties and activities, 5. Announce an early date for the holding of elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies under the constitution of 1973, 6. Remove the restrictions on press, including the ban on daily Masawat and other publications, 7. Withdraw the so-called Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) and all Martial Law ordinances and regulations, 8. Lift the Martial Law and hand over power to the Provisional Government to be nominated by the political parties for the purpose of holding the elections, 9. Remove restrictions on trade union activities, including right to strike and reinstate all the laid-off workers, 10. Stop interference in Afghanistan,

expel Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations from the soil of Pakistan and sign a treaty of peace and friendship with Afghanistan, facilitating the return of Afghan refugees and normalization of relations between the two countries, 11. Stop construction of basing/servicing facilities on the Makran Coast for the United States Central Command Rapid Deployment Forces in the Indian Ocean region, 12. Stop government interference in educational institutes, and reinstate all the teachers fired from services and all the students rusticated, 13. Stop denationalization of industries and educational institutes. Through clandestine channels, this booklet was brought into the country and was banned by the Sindh Government on 20th July.

In its representatives meeting on 3rd June 1983, attended by all parties except the Tahreek-i-Istaqlal, MRD adopted its 31 points basic charter, which says that the alliance stands for, 1. Safeguarding the solidarity, independence and sovereignty of the country and recognizing the unanimously passed constitution and unanimous amendments to it (including the Qadiani issue) and continued struggle to end the poverty, disease, hunger, illiteracy and exploitation, 2. The stability of defense ability, alongside military training for all healthy Pakistanis to get rid of military institution of adventurists and safeguarding the country from the imposition of Martial Law in future and for the defense of motherland and its constitution, 3. According to the Muslim way of governance, guarantee of the right to keep arms for all Pakistani citizens, 4. Participation of all geographical, historical, cultural and linguistic nationalities of the federation of Pakistan in the affairs of the state, along with guarantees for the promotion of their political, economic and cultural rights and guarantees of protection from exploitation and inequality, so that the unity and solidarity among the people of federating units could be

achieved, 5. Protection and promotion of fine arts, culture and linguistic heritage of all federate units, small cultural and linguistic groups, making sure of their full participation in national life, 6. stability of democratic institutes, supremacy of law in political order and in the light of 1973 constitution strict implementation of the separation of powers of the parliament, judiciary and administration, 7. Safeguarding and enhancing the independence of judiciary, 8. Safeguarding and enhancing the basic rights and civil liberties of the people and undoing all laws in conflict of the civil rights, 9. Complete freedom of press and undoing of Press and Publications Ordinance, 10. Restoration of workers' rights for the trade union activities, along with guarantee of the right to strike for the collective bargaining, 11. Ending the concerns of law and order situation by improving it, 12. Safeguarding and enhancing the interests and rights of religious minorities, 13. Providing equal opportunities and economic and social rights to women for their participation in every sector of national life, 14. Ending of corruption in all civil and military institutes along with all other sectors of life, beside that establishing a permanent system of accountability to cope with corruption in civil, military and other sectors, 15. lowering the burden of taxes, cut in expenses and simplicity in all sectors of life and reduction in non-productive administrative expenditures, 16. increase in wages and salaries of workers, employees and professionals according to price-hike, 17- compensation of inequality and social and economic injustice with industrial labor, workers, peasants and low-income generating people and providence of equal opportunities for all citizens through necessary actions and reforms, 18. Protection of peasants from forced labor and forced eviction, along with distribution of state land in local peasants and meaningful land reforms, 19. all basic

amenities for *kutchi abadis* and citizens on priority bases, 20. Enhancing the Pakistani economy on the basis of self confidence, beside that to get economic independence for Pakistan and to get rid of foreign debt and steps to protect it from the conspiracies of multi-nationals and monopoly capitalists, 21. enhancing agriculture for the possible growth in the agricultural production and efforts for attracting the financial institutes toward the agricultural sector, 22. Promotion of industrial and financial items through using the natural resources, local produce and manpower, 23. ban of import of such luxurious items, which can be produced domestically so the local industrialists can be encourage through the protection of the domestic market and their interests could be protected, 24. Provide job opportunities for the rural population and for their prosperity steps for the increase in the agro-industry, 25. Future guarantees for the economic development of Pakistan on the bases of clear division between public and private sector industries, such industries will be established in the public sector which will not be possible in the private sector and which be of defense nature, steps to protect public sector from corruption, mismanagement, losses and bureaucracy, 26. Economic and social system on the bases of wages according to work and ability will be established, along with the exploitation of individuals and regions will be ended in due process, 27. Withdrawal from all military agreements and assurance of non-aligned status of Pakistan by distancing from the conflict of the super powers, 28. friendly relations, according to the peaceful co-existence and five principals of Bandung conference with all countries especially with neighbors, third world and the Islamic countries, 29. Support for the right of self determination for all enslaved nations of the third world, 30. Complete compensation for those who bore atrocities

and torture by the Martial Law regime, 31. Complete accountability of Martial Law and its supporters.

Tahreek-i-Istaqlal (TI), objected to these points, through a letter of its acting President Munir Shah, that because of his party's opposition, these points should not have been approved. In response, the alliance Secretary General Khwaja Khairuddin clarified that all the attending parties had consensus on these points, so the objections by the TI were of no worth.

Talking to journalists, on 4th June, Mazari said that 'MRD does not want to impose its 31 points on any party but they wished that no party should harm the movement for the restoration of democracy on pretext of these points'.

Mazari offered that if TI had objection to any of the points, it could be sorted out on the negotiation table. Replying to that, TI leader Mushir Pesh Imam said that his party believed in the struggle and would accept the MRD decisions.

MRD Sindh convened its provincial convention on 10th June, hosted by JUI at a seminary '*Darul Uloom Rabania*' Karachi. JUI provincial chief Maulana Noor ul Huda chaired the convention. A day earlier, the police had approached the seminary administration; asked it not to allow its premises for any political activity. The seminary administration refused to oblige and the workers of different parties started mobilizing the public.

The convention was scheduled after the Friday prayer but the police cordoned off the area from early morning so the attendance was very thin. As the police had blocked the roads, tents and sound system for convention could not reach the venue and the proceedings were held under the warm sun from 2.30 in noon to 7 in the evening, during which leaders had to shout their speeches delivered without sound system. Although because of few slogans a

tension arose in the convention but the leadership managed to pacify the workers of different component parties of MRD.

Sherbaz Mazari, the MRD convener for the month of July, addressing a press conference on 2nd July, hinted that some allied parties were trying to quit MRD and requested these parties to reconsider their stance, as it would go in favor of the military junta. In the same press conference, he criticized Pakistan's foreign policy and asked the government to refrain from the conflict of the super powers and initiate direct talks with Afghan President Babrak Karmal to solve the Afghan issue.

On the same day, the Sindh Home Department announced an expenditure of about 30 million rupees to enhance the police check posts throughout the province and for the better residential facilities for the police officials. This development indicated that the government had firm believe that this time it would face a real battle instead of mere press statements and was preparing itself for the D-day.

In the early days of July 1983, recommendations by committees formed by the government regarding the new political system of the country, also surfaced. Observers were of the opinion that the government did not want to move forward and so it formed three different committees. These recommendations were varied from each other. It is interesting to note the recommendations were formulated by committees consisted of 30 members of Zia's hand-picked Majlis-i-Shoora. According to the recommendation the President should hold all emergency powers; although a woman could be the Prime Minister but she could not be head of the State. The committee under the Federal Minister Raja Sikandar Zaman recommended that the ban on the political parties should

continue and a balance of power between the President and the Prime Minister should be maintained.

The MRD called for a peaceful Black Day on 5th July, the day when six years ago General Zia imposed Martial Law. As the day approached, the government arrested Sherbaz Khan Mazari, the convener of MRD and shifted him to his village Rojhan in far flung Southern Punjab. According to the original schedule for that day, the MRD had planned a rally from Mazari's Karachi residence in the posh area of Defense Housing Society and after passing through different roads of Karachi it had to culminate at the Jacob Lane mosque, where the local leader of the PPP Maulana Ahitram ul Haque Thanvi was the chief cleric. The rally was to be addressed by the leaders of component parties. On that day, the supporters of MRD hoisted black flags on their rooftops and took out rallies in different cities.

In Karachi, police cordoned off the Mazari House but many MRD supporters including women, reached there after dodging and confronting the police. In the hide and seek, the police arrested many workers and leaders. The police also cordoned off the Jacob Lane mosque. The women were in big number with the rally brought out from the Mazari House. In Korangi and other parts of the city, the workers erected barricades on different roads. Karachi Bar Association and Karachi Press Club hoisted black flags on roof-tops. The people in Hyderabad, Larkana, Jacobabad, Badin, Radhan and other places observed the 'Black-Day'. In Lahore, workers blocked different busy roads and MRD Punjab Secretary General Rao Rashid court arrested. In Quetta, police arrested overall twelve political and students' leaders. In Dera Ismail Khan, police released Maulana Fazal Rehman after four-hour custody; he was scheduled to attend a meeting of local lawyers. In Hyderabad, a MRD public meeting was addressed by the local leaders

On the same day, a pro-Zia politician Pir Pagaro said in Lahore that his party was struggling for the restoration of democracy in the country and in that regard; it had initiated the campaign of prayer calls in the night, so that divine help could be evoked to achieve the goal.

During those days, the PPP Sindh leader Syed Qaim Ali Shah (later thrice Chief Minister Sindh) surfaced after two years of hiding. The Deputy Commissioner Sukkur imposed a ban for a month on taking out rallies under section 144, while the Martial Law authorities detained PPP Additional Secretary General (R) Tikka Khan and former Rawalpindi Mayor Raees Islam for two months in Rawalpindi Jail.

On 11th July, General Zia formed a fourteen members committee to finalize the future political course of the country.

On 11th July, Maulana Fazal Rehman announced four proposals to further activate MRD. He stated that although the component parties had already shown consensus, nevertheless these four points will be presented in next MRD meeting. He further stated that at the moment his party was 'on leave' from the MRD and the final decision about the future will be taken by the General Body of the party. His four points were, 1. All component parties of MRD should adopt the slogan of the Islam and no party should raise objection to it, 2. MRD should have a permanent organizational structure; without that it would not be able to mobilize the people. Rotation in leadership could not continue as the policy and bring organizational stability, 3. It should be put on record that MRD campaign was against the system instead of any individual. MRD should announce in clear terms that till the restoration of Islamic democracy, its struggle will continue, and 4. The spirit of the workers should be sustained at any cost and efforts should be taken to save them from frustration.

It was obvious from Maulana's outburst that like others, he was also afraid of the progressive elements within MRD and outside, which could divert the movement towards a real change in the society.

A thunderbolt struck on 19th July, when Retired General Faiz Ali Chishti addressing a news conference said that being a common citizen of the country, he was closely watching the situation and had opinion that people should be taken onboard regarding the function of the country. During last four years, the government in the name of Islamization had deprived the common citizens of their basic rights. It would be interesting to note that Chishti was considered as the main planner and executor of General Zia's Martial Law in 1977 and after having many important portfolios in the government, he retired in March 1980.

On the other hand, MRD also expanded its base and for the first time, the representative of a Sindh based pro-China group Awami Tahreek (AT) attended MRD Central Committee meeting held on 19th July. AT had a good support base in peasantry especially in Southern Sindh.

On 19th July, MRD Badin taluka Secretary General Ghulam Murtaza Memon was arrested and severely beaten by the police for inviting PPP Sindh acting President Makhdoom Khaliq Zaman.

The Martial Law authorities took strong notice of the rally brought out on 19th July, by Mairaj Mohammed Khan in Badin. In this regard Deputy Commissioner and Superintendent Police Badin were asked for explanation.

Yousif Masti Khan of PNP announced that his party will fully participate in the civil disobedience movement of MRD from 14th August. He was addressing a fast-breaking reception in Karachi. CPP was using the PNP as its open front and Communist sympathizers were fully participating

in this kind of the political gatherings, organized in the name of the religious ritualistic activity of breaking the fast in the Islamic month of fasting.

The Punjab Bar Council member Chaudhry Mohammed Ashraf accused the government of unleashing the planned propaganda against democracy; he demanded the release of all political prisoners.

Akbar Bugti, while speaking in Lahore, said although MRD has yet to take a clear stance on the issue of nationalities but once it would launch a movement, the Baloch will not sit in oblivion. He prophesied that there will be a new game of which all players will be new.

Once again PPP Steering Committee meeting on 17th July, decided to field its candidates for coming municipal elections, which was scheduled to be held in Sindh on 29th September. PPP seemed in a real dilemma, as on the one hand almost all component parties of MRD were in favor of the boycott of those elections but PPP's traditional leaders, especially from the rural elite, were keen to join the power structure, irrespective of the fact that it may accommodate them at the lowest tier.

Sherbaz Mazari, in an act of defiance, on his own launched the civil disobedience much earlier than the planned date of 14th August, when after violating the detention orders, he moved from his ancestral village Rojhan Mazari in Southern Punjab and after offering the condolence for a deceased party leader in Rahimyar Khan, reached Karachi. As a result, the Punjab Inspector General of Police was suspended from the service.

On 19th July, MRD convener Sherbaz Mazari was re-arrested from the residence of a local party leader. He was charged with breach of detention orders. After keeping him for sometime at a local police station he was shifted to Central Jail Multan on three months' detention orders.

On the same day, the MRD executive body failed to reach a consensus regarding the municipal elections and the acting MRD convener Ghuilam Ahmed Bilour announced that the decision will be taken in a couple of days. Finally, MRD took final decision in a meeting held in Karachi on 24th July, that its component parties will not participate in the coming elections and on 14th August, MRD will organize public gathering at Jinnah's mausoleum, Karachi, Minar-i-Pakistan, Lahore, Chowk Yadgar, Peshawar and other prominent places of different cities.

As the protest day of 14th August came close, some MRD component parties raised some issues just to run away from struggle. Like Tahreek-i-Istaqlal, Maulana Fazal Rehman of JUI on 11th July, raised some points in a statement issued from Lahore that his four suggestions for MRD, presented last month should be considered.

In its meeting, during the third week of July at the residence of PPP leader Maulana Ahitram ul Haque Thanvi in Karachi, MRD decided with consensus not to participate in the municipal elections and hold protest public meetings in the four provincial capitals on 14th August. Pakistan National Party (PNP) announced its support for MRD protests and Nawab Akbar Bugti while appreciating MRD, asked for a clearer policy regarding the provincial autonomy. To be a part of the coming movement, the lawyers' bodies convened their joint meeting in Lahore on 26th July. In the last week of July, Martial Law authorities claimed that during a raid on the house of Aftab Gul advocate in Lahore, three Sam Missiles were recovered. Later, he was declared a militant Al-Zulfiqar Organisation (AZO) member, led by Mir Murtaza Bhutto.

After fixing the date of the movement, MRD had to cross a few more hurdles. The most difficult among those was a practical policy regarding the municipal elections, which except PPP and Tahreek-i-Istaqlal, all other parties

intended to boycott. After much debate Tahreek-i-Istaqlal chief Air Vice Martial (R) Asghar Khan announced the boycott and the PPP followed suit, after the return of Jatoi from USA on 7th August. Hurrying his return, Jatoi reached on 5th August and talking to journalists at Karachi Airport, he announced that the movement from 14th August was the most important issue and he had not discussed the issue of the municipal elections with Begum Bhutto as it had no significant. He addressed the press two days later at the Karachi Press Club.

To prevent the movement against it, the government started arrests of active leaders and workers throughout the country since early August.

The MRD announced the peaceful court arrests by its sympathizers from the 14th August 1983, Pakistan Independence Day and the date when General Zia was supposed to announce the dates for general elections. Some PPP leaders showed initial hesitation in joining the movement. It was believed that the PPP leader Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi had few meetings with American officials and the army officers and had received their backing for agitation against General Zia; afterward Jatoi would come to the power in individual capacity.

The government started a disinformation campaign in media against MRD. In one such story, it was flashed that from her detention, Benazir Bhutto had applied for medical treatment abroad, after a long time her name had appeared in newspapers.

Benazir detained at her Karachi residence, sent messages through secret cells, established by her party workers in Karachi and her hometown Larkana, encouraging cadres to join the movement. As the movement started, the rural elite class of Sindh threw themselves into the movement and for initial days they provided vehicles to transport

people to the venue of court arrest, often the district courts buildings. The secret communication of Benazir and a press statement by her detained mother Nusrat Bhutto electrified the masses, especially in Sindh.

Meanwhile, the police arrested over 100 workers of different parties from various cities. Sensing the situation, many MRD leaders went into hiding.

Just two days before the launch of civil disobedience movement, on the evening of 12th August, General Zia addressed the nation and hinted that electoral process in the country will start very soon and will be completed till 23rd March 1985. In his address, he cited few references from Koran, which demanded subjects to obey their rulers.

On 11th August, the Karachi administration through an order banned any kind of political gathering in the vicinity of the mausoleum of Jinnah, the place for MRD protest meeting. In the last meeting of MRD before the launch of the movement, held at the Karachi residence of Jatoi, chairing the meeting, the NDP leader Abid Zubari told that changing the previous decision, his party chief Wali Khan and his wife Begum Nasim Wali now will reach Islamabad on 14th August. Wali Khan after getting medical treatment in London had extended his stay to complete his book. This information boosted political workers' spirits. After reviewing the planning of the civil disobedience movement, the meeting expressed its firm believe in the decision of launching the movement against the military junta.

In the last night, many of the active political workers in the country went into hiding but hundreds of others were arrested in pre-dawn raids at their places. On 13th August, Pir Abdul Khalique, the chief organizer of the *Zia Himayat* (support) *Tahreek* announced that his workers will face the MRD workers at Jinnah's mausoleum.

The Punjab and Frontier police arrested more than 100 active leaders and workers on 11th August to prevent them from taking part in the movement. The arrests were made in Sahiwal, Lahore, Gujarat, Rawalpindi of Punjab and Peshawar and Charsada of Frontier province.

With the masses itching for a civil disobedience movement, some leaders forwarded demand in advance. In this regard, two examples of Mumtaz Bhutto and Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo can be cited. Mumtaz, addressing the District Bar Association, Dadu on 11th August, talked about Confederation within the provinces, while Bizenjo suggested that the future political system should be based on the 1940 Pakistan Resolution, which talked about the more provincial rights in the country that came into being seven years later.

In connection with the mass mobilization for the civil disobedience movement, MRD organized a big public meeting at village Maqsoodo Rind of district Sanghar that was addressed by the central and local leaders, who asked people to unite under the alliance to get rid of the military rule. Release of all political, trade union and peasant workers, stop of forced evictions of peasants and investigation for the killing of Sindh university student Ahsan Memon were also demanded through resolutions.

In an address on 13th August, General Zia confessed that for last six years he was abused and treated to foul language by the people but expressed his unwillingness to surrender before the wishes of the people and vowed to continue his rule.

1st day... 14th August, 1983, started with two sets of celebrations, on one hand officially it was being celebrated as the 36th Independence Day and the state media was asking people to be thankful for it and on the other hand, were the forces who were aspiring to make sure that the

people get all those fruits the independence was supposed to offer.

Rallies and protest meetings were organized all over the country. In Karachi, about twenty thousand people gathered at the mausoleum of Jinnah, where big number of police was deployed and roads to venue of the meeting were closed by parking the fire brigade vehicles. The leadership of MRD, who had reached by the public transport instead of personal vehicles, to dodge the authorities, addressed the crowd. Pro-Zia organisation '*Zia HimayatTahreek*' workers tried to disturb the MRD meeting by attacking the participants with sticks. Clashes between both groups erupted, resulted injuries on both sides. The police arrested thirteen MRD workers for 'disturbing the peace'.

In Hyderabad, eight workers courted arrest, after they addressed the people gathered in large number to see them off. The police arrested 25 other workers, who were carrying their party flags and raised slogans in support of democracy and against the Martial Law. In Sukkur, clashes erupted between protesters and the police, resulted in injuries on both sides. The police arrested over a dozen leaders and workers. In Ranipur, a meeting of over fifteen thousand people was held and addressed by the local leaders; afterward they reached Khairpur in a rally and 24 pro-democracy activists court arrested.

In Matli, a protest rally was stopped by the police and arrests were made. In Badin, a protest rally was brought out in the afternoon. The protesters were carrying placards, with slogans in favor of general elections under 1973 constitution, release of political prisoners and lifting of Martial Law. The police resorted to baton charge on protesters and arrested few of them.

In Larkana, trade union organisation Watan-Dost Mazdoor Federation brought out a rally, which was baton charged

by the police and arrested four activists. Larkana witnessed many such rallies, which resulted in the clashes with police and complete shut-down in the city.

In Rawalpindi, 13 protesters including two women and General (R) Tikka Khan, court arrested. The police foiled their attempt to hold a protest meeting. In Lahore, 18 protesters were arrested from Minar-i-Pakistan. In Peshawar, eight including two former ministers arrested. Meanwhile, Bacha Khan, asked his followers to keep away themselves from the movement, as it would not serve any Pathan cause. In Quetta, twelve protesters were arrested.

The Day Two, 15th August: in Mirpur Mathelo, the Up and Down railway tracks were damaged, which disturbed the main artillery of Pakistan Railways for more than six hours. A group of protesters set fire to three military goods trucks and one government bus. In Karachi, some female workers of the PPP including Begum Shamim N.D. Khan, Noorjahan Soomro, Farida Khanam and Begum Surraya Patel were arrested.

In Hyderabad, thousands of MRD supporters gathered on the premises of the Session Courts, where a protest meeting was addressed by the MRD leaders. A rally was brought out after the meeting, which was stopped by the police and fifteen workers courted arrest. In Sukkur six, in Thatta eight, and in Shahdadpur nine workers courted arrest. In Badin, MRD workers brought out a rally, which the police baton charged to disperse but protesters moved forward and 35 workers were arrested. In Dadu, five workers courted arrest and were seen-off by a large number of people. In Sehwan, eight students volunteered arrest and in Larkana, thousands of the people joined an anti-Martial Law rally and three activists were arrested. In Moro, when a rally of about fifty thousand people, under the leadership of a local leader, reached at the police station, the policemen panicked and refused to arrest the

eager workers. In Dadu, police arrested a journalist for anti-Martial Law wall chalking. In Dadu, two hand grenades were thrown. In Larkana, police discovered a hand grenade before it exploded.

In Peshawar, more than 90 MRD workers were arrested from a rally. In Quetta, 33 workers were arrested for taking out a rally.

As the government enforced rigorous censorship on media, the masses evolved their own ways to inform each other about the updates of the movement. Walls in different cities were filled with the hand-written bulletins, briefings of rallies and protest schedules. Pro-democracy journalists evolved their own ways to inform the public about the happenings in the movement. To dodge the censorship authorities, on front pages they covered the news of the movement insignificantly but continued it on the inner pages in full detail.

Day Three, 16th August: the situation in Nawabshah went out of control, where prisoners in the District Jail protested and broke the inner gate of prison and searched for the Jail Superintendent who ran for his life. One of the police men opened firing on the prisoners, in which one prisoner was killed and many others wounded. The district police took control of the prison. Jatoi, who court arrested, was detained at his Karachi residence, while Mumtaz Bhutto after addressing a protest meeting in Kotri offered his arrest but the police refused to arrest him. In Thatta, workers took out a rally and attacked the district jail.

Outside the country, an exiled PPP leader Ghulam Mustafa Khar led a protest rally in the Hyde Park, London and marched to the High Commission of Pakistan; Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani of Jamiat-i-Ulama-i- Pakistan (JUP) alleged that the government had arrested his party

workers so now on his party will support the democratic movement.

Bacha Khan, in a statement stated that his Khudai Khidmatgar organisation has nothing to do with the on going movement but another Pathan leader from Balochistan Mahmood Khan Achakzai supported the movement and demanded equal rights for all nationalities within Pakistan.

In Lahore, women from different walks of life brought out a pro-democracy rally from the shrine of Data Ganj Bakhsh and peacefully dispersed after marching through the roads for an hour; they were carrying pro-democracy and anti-government placards.

To scare away people from participating in the movement, the Military Courts speeded up the disposal of the movement related cases and in Sanghar and Hyderabad announced sentences of imprisonment and lashes to over one dozen workers within a week.

In Mirpurkhas, the Tharparkar Bar Association formed a free legal aid committee for the arrested MRD workers.

In Hyderabad, MRD workers planned to volunteer arrest at 12 in the noon but the public started gather there since seven in the morning. At the specified time, protesters breached the police cordon from two sides and started marching towards the main commercial area of the city. After arresting 23 workers, police baton charged the protesters and injured six of them. According to one of the arrested workers, Syed Roshan Ali Shah, initially they were kept at two police stations and after their refusal to submit an apology six of them were shifted to Hyderabad Central Jail, while other nine workers were shifted to Nara Jail. After a month and half in the Hyderabad Central Jail, one day after midnight, they were asked to pack their belongings and were boarded on a police van which was

also carrying some other political prisoners languishing at the nearby Nara Jail. The truck dropped them at Sukkur Rest House. In the early hours of the second night, they were asked once again to board the police truck; this time they were joined by few other political prisoners languishing in the Sukkur Central Jail and were brought to Jacobabad and were handed over to the Balochistan Police. In the fast driven police truck, they were deposited next afternoon at Machh Jail. Due to the change in climate many among them had fallen sick. For simple medical treatment and routine meetings with relatives and friends they were required to take special permission from the provincial Martial Law chief, as they were prisoners from another province. On the prison visit of the provincial Martial Law Administrator Balochistan, these political prisoners refused to shake hands with him and because of that they were accused of breaching the prison code of conduct and were punished.

Khairpur police arrested five local leaders in late-night raids from their houses.

Protest rallies were brought out from Thari Mirwah, Faiz Ganj and Khairpur and reached the house of a local spiritual leader in Ranipur, and marched to the National Highway, which was blocked for two hours. The police resorted to baton charge to clear the road. In Khairpur, over a thousand people gathered for a rally, which culminated after three workers court arrested. The police resorted to baton charge, which antagonized the workers, who set fire to a municipal vehicle. In Badin, police arrested about thirty demonstrators. Two Badin workers, who had courted arrest the previous day, were thrown in desert by the police and reached the district headquarter after walking for over forty miles. Four workers each in Sukkur and Mirpurkhas courted arrest.

In Ghotki, authorities shut down the railway station after the railway tracks were damaged the day before.

Authorities decided to run pilot engine under police guard, before running the passenger and goods trains.

In Thatta, police humiliated three arrested workers, by shaving their heads and throwing them at a deserted place. In Shahdadpur four, in Nawabshah five including a former assembly member and in Larkana two workers courted arrest and the Larkana police arrested three local leaders in pre-dawn raids at their homes. In Jacobabad, five activists including a peasant worker court arrested. Earlier, police arrested three local students' leaders in pre-dawn raids.

In Dadu, situation went out of control, when the MRD workers and their supporters took out protest rallies. Clashes erupted, when people gathered at the Chowk to see-off seven workers, who courted arrest. The police fired tear-gas shells to the slogan raising mob. In a three hour long clash, three police officials, two protesters and a student were injured. The police also dispersed a rally by students of the local Girls High School and fired tear gas; in retaliation girls students threw stones on the police. This incident antagonized the people, who attacked the Session Court building and burnt down records and furniture; later they attacked local administration office, Information office, Pakistan National Center, office of the Sub-Registrar, Railway station and railway carriages. They also set on fire two government buses. The railway and road transport services to and from Dadu were suspended. The police arrested more than sixty protesters and registered a case for wall-chalking against a local journalist.

In Karachi, MRD workers took out a small rally and two workers court arrested. Addressing a big public rally in Kotri, PPP leader and former Sindh Chief Minister Mumtaz Bhutto said that for previous six years the poor of the country had suffered a lot and the time for their

emancipation had arrived. He along with his companions offered arrest but the police refused to arrest him.

Khairpur district administration imposed section 144 and banned the gathering of five or more persons, political rallies and carrying arms for 60 days.

Day Four: 17th August, police reacted sharply everywhere with tear gas shelling and baton charge. In Hyderabad, people in thousands gathered at the Session Court compound where MRD had planned a protest rally but the workers for court arrests were taken into custody before the meeting and shifted to jail. Nearby town Tando Mohammed Khan, observed a complete strike and a rally was taken out with a large number of women participants. It confronted the police on several spots and afterward few activists were court arrested.

In Kandiaro, over fifteen thousand people of nearby villages took out a rally under the local leaders and took-off the Pakistani flags hoisted by the administration on Independence Day and replaced them with MRD component parties' flags especially of PPP. Here about one dozen activists were arrested. Shahnawaz Khushk, one among the arrested was an elder of community. After the arrests, the angry mob set on fire a feeder railway track, connecting the small villages in the locality. The protesters attacked the Kandiaro Sub Jail and injured four police constables. The district police fired tear gas to disperse the protesters and made more arrests. Few of the protesters took refuge in a nearby mosque but here too police baton charged them and for many coming days the blood marks on the walls of mosque became a pilgrimage spot. In protest against this brutal police action, many municipal councilors of the area resigned from their elected offices. The police alleged that in that vicinity arms had been dumped and were being supplied to entire Sindh to create the law and order situation. To avoid arrests, during the

police raids, hundreds of villagers left their homes and for coming two years lived as nomads.

As a protest rally, marching towards Moro, reached Sonehri Farm, was attacked by the Punjabi settlers of village Monaro (also called village Jalandharian). Protesters alleged that the attack was led by a serving military official who was on vacation. In retaliation, protesters attacked the village and beat up the military official.

Mumtaz Bhutto along with his companions was arrested from Tando Allahyar after addressing the workers. In Matli, the police used tear gas to disperse a rally of local students and political workers amid a complete shut down. Some unknown people cut-off the telephone lines between Tando Bago and Talhar. The police in Badin district released few earlier arrested workers at a deserted place. Workers after walking a long distance on foot reached back to district headquarters. Some police officials informed that as the local police stations and jails were over crowded by the arrested political protesters, so they had no other option but to release those who were of lesser potential danger for the law and order situation. In Dadu, the protesters including high schools' students divided themselves into groups and attacked the government properties, after the para-military Frontier Constabulary baton charged and fired tear gas to disperse them. One such group broke the main gate of the district jail and over one hundred prisoners escaped including under trails for murder and robbery cases. The political prisoners refused to escape and later were shifted to Hyderabad Central Jail. Protesters burned the record and furniture of jail, district administration and information offices. They attacked Deputy Superintendent of Police and Sub Divisional Magistrate with sticks and injured them. Few protesters attempted to tear off the railway track. At one stage, the Frontier Constabulary soldiers (mostly

Pathan) opened fire on the Sindh Constabulary officials (mostly local Sindhis), killing one constable Ali Akbar Junejo and wounding others including high officials. Although higher authorities formed a committee to investigate the incident but the local Sindh Constabulary officials refused to perform their duties in the presence of the Frontier Constabulary, who had alleged that the Sindhi soldiers were siding with the protesters who were their own people. One group of protesters set on fire an oil tanker, four trolleys carrying pipes for natural gas lines and vehicles of power supplying authority WAPDA.

In Khairpur Nathan Shah, over 1500 protesters attacked the Returning Officers, deputed to receive the nomination papers for the coming municipal elections. They attempted to break the sub jail but police dispersed them. One group of protesters attempted to damage the Piyaro Goth Sugar Mills, (a public sector enterprise, where instead of recruiting the local people, most of the employees belonged to Punjab province. In this regard quoting one speech of Marxist intellectual Dr. Feroz Ahmed will be relevant, who while addressing a meeting had to say that 'in the Piyaro Goth Sugar Mill the mosque cleric too is imported from Punjab'), and railway tracks but police foiled the attempt and arrested few people. Near Phulji Railway Station, people damaged the local municipal office, telephone exchange, railway properties and post office. Police arrested nine persons. In Moro, when a rally of over 75,000 people, after covering the distance of fifteen kilometers in five hours, reached in the outskirts of Moro, the police attacked with tear gas shelling and aerial firing. The angry mob set on fire the judicial record the Court of Assistance Session Judge, the office of the Assistant Commissioner, three banks, one National Saving Center and few vehicles. The mob also attacked the Sub Jail Moro, where one person was killed and seven wounded in the police firing. In Larkana, four persons peacefully courted arrests but in nearby town Warah,

situation became violent after police baton charged, tear gassed and opened firing when the mob went out of control, resulting in killing two protesters and injuring six police officials. After a daylong confrontation, police conducted raids on the houses of protesters, which resulted in firing by the local residents in retaliation. One young protester and one police constable died and fourteen others including six women were injured. As the people overcame the police so it deserted the town and escaped to their district headquarters.

In Khairpur Mirs, the protesters attacked and damaged three banks. In Thatta, Sujawal, Thari Mirwah, Ranipur and other places the MRD workers courted arrest in relatively peaceful atmosphere. In Karachi, MRD workers courted arrest after a protest rally and eight workers were injured as the police baton charged the rally. In Karachi, following the spirit of the Civil Disobedience, political parties opened their offices closed down under the Martial Law orders of the ban on the political parties.

In Peshawar, the police arrested Begum Nasim Wali Khan along with many of her NDP workers but party leader Ghulam Ahmed Bilour escaped arrest and went into hiding.

Awami Tahreek, a pro China Sindhi group and a member of MRD in a statement criticized BBC Radio and labeled it an imperialist organ which had blacked-out the coverage of the party from its broadcast.

According to an official press note issued by district administration Sukkur, few unknown persons entered the Raiti railway station in the darkness of night and damaged the record and furniture and escaped.

Day Five: 18th August, In Naushehro Feroz, people became rowdy when a rally coming to the town for court arrest of a former minister and his companions was stopped by the police and made few arrests. The protesters set on fire two trucks of the military run transport company National

Logistic Cell, destroyed the telephone exchange, banks, and other government buildings. Police opened fire on the protesters and killed six and injured twenty others. In the coming night, police made several arrests in the area. In an official press note, the District Magistrate Nawabshah admitted killing of three protesters, injuries to another 18, including five police officials and arrest of 35.

In Tando Ghulam Ali, over ten thousand protesters after marching on the main roads in the town presented themselves for arrests and forcefully rode the police vehicles. After hours of effort, the police was able to get them down and arrested seven activists. Protest rallies were also taken out by MRD workers in Karachi, Hyderabad, Badin, Dadu, Radhan, Kakarh, Khanpur, Khairpur Nathan Shah, Kotri, Jacobabad, Thatta, Shahdadpur, Larkana, Khairpur Mirs and other town and villages. Although other towns went relatively peaceful on this day but Radhan, a small village in Dadu district witnessed the violence when after the arrests of activists; protesters stormed the railway track, telephone exchange and the local office of *Zia Himayat Tahreek*. The police baton charged the protesters who responded with counter attack and injured a Deputy Superintendent Police and a couple of constables.

Railway tracks at Raiti Railway Station, on the Sindh-Punjab border and between the Mirpur Mathelo and Kabhar Railway Stations were damaged and train carriages were set on fire. Incident of setting train carriages on fire was also reported between the Dadu and Phulji Railway Station, which disturbed the schedule of Pakistan Railways. A protest rally also attacked and damaged Shikarpur railway station. The police used force to disperse it and made three arrests.

Over three thousand workers of MRD brought out a rally in Bhan Saeedabad and threw stones and damaged three commercial banks, post office and railway stations.

In Khairpur, situation went out of control when a protest rally started from Ranipur of over thirty thousand people, riding on motor cycles, trucks, buses and vans reached district headquarter after covering a distance of over seventy kilometers and was addressed by the local leaders. Afterward the protesters pelted stones on government buildings including banks and telephone exchange. The police retaliated with tear gas and later firing, killing two and injuring four others. Deputy Superintendent of Police on duty was also injured in these clashes. City was handed over to the military for the maintenance of law and order. Rallies in few other towns of the district also became violent and damaged government properties.

The proceedings of Military Courts can be judged from the summary hearing of a case against political workers of Warah, district Larkana. On 17th August, four workers of the PPP and Sindhi Awami Tahreek were produced before the Military Court Larkana, headed by a serving Army Major Mohammed Khan, who asked workers to produce defense witnesses but political workers refused to do so and admitted that they had court arrested on their free will. On that they were sent to District Jail Larkana, to be produced next day. Next day, the proceeding went as under:

Head of Court: have you brought your defense witnesses?

First worker: we will produce them on next hearing.

Second worker: we had court arrested of our own free will, so you may proceed against us.

Head of Court: Are the flags and placards laying on table yours?

Worker: yes, they are. We carried these at the time of our arrest.

Head of Court: did you write the slogans on these placards?

Worker: yes, we have written the slogans. (One of the placard said 'General Zia! Stop defaming Islam')

Head of Court: how come we had defamed Islam? In previous government liquor was consumed openly, the immorality of women was common. We have stopped all that.

First worker: as I am not a member of the PPP, so will not argue in its defense. But your chief (General Zia) on oath had promised that he will hold elections within 90 days but seven years had passed but the promise is yet to be fulfilled.

On this the Head of Court got angry and shouted to get these workers out of "Court Room". After one hour, all four workers were sentenced to one year imprisonment, ten lashes and thirty thousand rupees fine each.

The special military court Hyderabad announced sentence of one year imprisonment and Rs.50, 000 fine each to two protesters, while another three were given one year imprisonment and Rs.20, 000 fines each. They were accused of taking out an illegal rally in Hyderabad on 14th August and displaying banners against the President of Pakistan and the government. A similar court in Jacobabad sentenced four protesters to one year imprisonment, ten lashes and Rs.20, 000 fines each. The Mirpurkhas military court sentenced three workers to one year imprisonment and ten lashes each. The Badin court announced sentences of imprisonment and lashes to four persons. Same thing happened in Karachi, where a Summary Military Court gave orders of one year imprisonment, ten lashes;a Thatta court sentenced four activists to one year imprisonment, ten lashes and fine. They were accused of treason.

In the central coordination committee meeting of the Shaheed Ahsan Memon Students' Action Committee, it was decided that the committee will fully participate in the ongoing MRD movement. DSF, SPSF, Progressive JSSF and JSSF (Organizing Committee) were the members of this action committee.

The district administration imposed section 144 in Jacobabad and banned gathering of five or more persons, taking out political rallies and carrying arms for two months.

In Rawalpindi, two workers courted arrest. On the occasion, workers gathered raised slogans against the government and pelted stones on the police. In Peshawar, the police detained Begum Nasim Wali Khan at a police rest house. Besides her, Bacha Khan, who was not a part of MRD, was also detained at his home. The police so far arrested fifty leaders and workers from Frontier province. Some activists were also arrested in Quetta.

Day Six: 19th August, Deedar, a young boy of 15, succumbed to his injuries in a Larkana hospital. He was injured by the tear gas shelling on previous day at Khairpur Nathan Shah.

In the previous night at about eleven, an armed group of unknown people damaged the railway track between Ghotki and Mahesar railway stations, in result a pilot engine crumbled. According to available accounts, this was an attempt to over-throw the passenger train, running to Lahore from Karachi. Firing between the armed gang and the police was also reported. It took nine hours to repair the damaged track and during that time all the trains for up-country were halted at Rohri Railway Station.

Another railway station was damaged in Shikarpur, where protesters after cutting the telephone lines, burned the record and tickets. They tried to burn down the railway station but police reached the spot and resorted to aerial

firing to disperse the mob, which later damaged a commercial bank and other properties. Here two MRD workers courted arrest. The police produced them in the military court, which promptly sentenced them to one year rigorous imprisonment, fifteen thousand rupees fine and ten lashes.

In Hyderabad, for the first time after the start of MRD movement, workers gathered in front of a main mosque and ten pro-democracy workers, including two journalists court arrested after addressing the rally. The police arrested two young-men for bringing garlands for the protesters. The young-men claimed that they were carrying the roses, brought from a local shrine.

The Hyderabad police arrested a local PPP leader Malik Lal Khan, in a raid on his brother's house. Two days earlier, the local MRD leadership had addressed a press conference at his house and afterward they had slipped away before the arrival of police. The police also arrested a former Sindh Assembly member. In Sukkur, thousands of people took out a rally and six workers court arrested. In Khairpur Nathan Shah, a students rally was dispersed by the tear gas shelling. Another rally was also attacked with tear gas shelling, which antagonized the people and clashes between protesters and police erupted. In Khanpur, demonstrators attacked and damaged the telephone exchange and a commercial bank, after police failed to control the situation, the town was handed over to army. Tando Ghulam Ali observed a complete strike and over 15 thousand people took out a rally. Two workers courted arrest and police arrested another three students and few political workers. In Talhar students, citizens and workers of the Khoski Sugar Mills took out a joint rally. In spite of baton charge and use of tear gas, the police failed to control the situation and the town was handed over to army. In clashes between protesters and the law enforcing

agencies, many officials including police men got injured. Police arrested more than a dozen activists. In Karachi, three workers courted arrest in heavy down-pour at the venue of protest during anti-British empire struggle, Ram Bagh (after partition renamed as Aram Bagh). In Sakrand, three local MRD leaders were arrested before reaching the venue for courting arrest. In Johi, two workers including a college student courted arrest. The injured youth Kalu Mirbahar succumbed to injuries. He was injured in police firing two days earlier. In Larkana, unknown protesters set on fire three vehicles of agricultural department, while four workers were arrested. Police resorted to baton charge and fired tear gas shells to disperse the large number of people, who had gathered to greet workers. In Warah, situation went out of control when a rally of over five thousand people attacked a commercial bank and burnt down its record and furniture. Afterward, they moved to the local Civil Court and attempted to set free the prisoners from the police lock-up. The police fired tear gas and resorted to aerial firing. On their way back, the mob burnt down the record and furniture of local post office. In Thatta, three workers courted arrest in front of the historical Shahjahan mosque in heavy down-pour. In Badin, the rally was attacked by the police, which resulted in clashes between them and protesters. Few arrests were made by the police. In Sanghar, regardless of the influence of Pir Pagaro, a pro-Zia politician and religious leader, a pro-democracy rally was organized, which was attacked with baton charge and aerial firing by police. In retaliation protesters threw stones and afterward four workers were arrested. In village Maqsoodo Rind, a rally was taken out and after addressing the public, three workers courted arrest. In Jhol, six workers courted arrest, whom the police released after taking them 40 miles away in a deserted area.

A rally initiated from village Tharari Mohabat reached Radhan, marching through three kilometers and set on fire the office of *Zia HimayatTahreek*. In Khairpur, two workers carrying anti-government placards were arrested. Police also arrested two leaders from their homes in pre-dawn raids.

In Qazi Ahmed, thousands of protesters brought out a rally amidst a complete strike in the city. They attacked and set on fire three commercial banks and telephone exchange. Exchange of firing was reported between security guards and protesters, resulting in the death of a bank guard. The protesters dispersed after baton charge and aerial firing by the police.

The Mehran University of Engineering and Technology, Jamshoro, postponed the examinations for indefinite period because of the worsening political situation. In Liaquat Medical College, students continued their academic boycott on the call of Shaheed Ahsan Memon Students' Action Committee. In Khairpur, students burnt the effigy of General Zia and the US flag. They demanded release of Benazir Bhutto, Comrade Jam Saqi, Rasool Bakhsh Palijo and other political prisoners.

In Moro, death toll of the police firing rose to five, as one boy succumbed to injuries and three dead-bodies were found from a nearby farm.

In Dadu, overall thirty MRD workers were arrested in first six days of the movement and all of them were charged under the Martial Law Regulations no. 3, 13 and 77. In Jacobabad, four and in Sukkur, ten workers were sentenced, fined and lashed by two separate military courts. In Lahore, a military court awarded sentence of one year imprisonment and twenty thousand rupees fine to two MRD workers. They were accused of violating Martial Law Regulations no. 13 and 33. The Sindh

Constabulary registered a murder case of one constable against the two constables of the Frontier Constabulary. This was the first sign of the rift among the state institutions on the basis of pro and anti-democracy.

In a strange move, a Sindhi daily Mehran, Hyderabad, owned by a pro-Zia politician and a spiritual leader Pir Pagaro, published a hard hitting anti-government editorial. The newspaper had recently hired Shamsherul Hyderi, a progressive writer as its editor. Here are the few portions of that editorial, 'at the time of writing these lines, five days have passed of the movement launched to end the Martial Law rule and the restoration of democracy in the country, which started from the mausoleum of Quaid in Karachi on the Independence Day and afterward turned violent.

Hundreds have been arrested by the government and hundreds have voluntarily courted arrest. First time in the history of the country, feudal lords, spiritual leaders and former ministers have been sent to prisons.

Rallies of five to seventy five thousand are going to prisons through the 'Fill the Prisons Movement'. At many places the prisons are over-crowded, so the police are leaving the arrested people in far off deserted areas, but they are joining the movement once again.

Angry protesters attacked banks, courts and administrative offices at many places and destroyed the official records. Damage to railway tracks and signals had jeopardized the lives and security of thousands of men and women passengers. The house detained leaders of elite classes are asking to be shifted to prisons.

At many places women have also come out on roads and organized protests. The National Highway and other important roads are being blocked for hours on a daily bases. The police are using batons, tear gas and live

bullets, which is resulting in deaths and injuries to the people.

On one hand the free people are courting arrests and on the other hand the prisoners are breaking the police stations and minor prisons to escape. Just in one single day, over one hundred prisoners have escaped from a single prison.

All these acts are for the end of Martial Law and for the restoration of democracy, launched by MRD and supported by few other political forces. The anarchy within the country had opened few other avenues and in this regard the example of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan of Khudai Khidmatgar can be cited, who has openly talked about the Bannu Resolution, which means a separate country for Pashtoon.

Because of the internal crisis situation of Pakistan, its neighbors India and Afghanistan had alerted their armies for any untoward situation.

We are not concerned about the success or failure of the MRD movement but are worried about the security and integrity of the country and want to know that who will be responsible for the harm done to it?

We will sincerely advice General Zia that he should invite the politicians to initiate talks with them on the schedule of the elections'.

Couple of days later, a strict censorship was imposed on daily *Mehran* and few days later its editor Shamsheerul Hyderi resigned from his post in protest.

In fear of protest, the government postponed a book launching ceremony, scheduled on 19th August in Islamabad; General Zia was chief guest of the program.

To restrain government employees from joining the anti-government movement, their salaries were being raised and it was announced that the order would be valid from previous month.

A newly born son of jailed peasant leader Fazil Rahu died but the authorities refused to release him on pay-role to attend the last rituals.

In Quetta, two MRD workers were arrested. Authorities issued two letters, addressed to imprisoned MRD leader Fatahyab Ali Khan; according to the first, he was detained for ninety days and through second order his entry in NWFP was banned for ninety days.

Meanwhile, authorities released Gul Mohammed Jakhrani, the Central President of Jeay Sindh Students Federation, after imprisonment of eight month. His separatist organisation was opposed to the ongoing MRD movement.

A military court in Rawalpindi sentenced nine MRD workers for one year imprisonment and ten lashes each. They were accused of taking out an anti-government rally and raising slogans against the government.

Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo, the President of Pakistan National Party (PNP), in a message glorified the people of Sindh and said that as the doctors will discharge him from the hospital, he will join the movement and will not care for his detention orders.

In an interview with BBC radio, central MRD leader Wali Khan, who was in London for his treatment, said that as all the leadership had been arrested so historically peaceful Sindhis were taking violent path for their democratic demands. He said that the rulers had instigated people to violence by saying that 'they were not ready to come out' and now they had only one choice, struggle for democracy or aligning with the military government.

The Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam Senior Vice President Syed Hamid Mian, in an interview said that linguistic, regional and sectarian movements were emerging in the country so the government should immediately hold elections and transfer the power to the elected representatives.

An exiled PPP leader Jam Sadiq Ali, addressing a press conference in London, asked the international community to put moral pressure on General Zia for the release of Benazir Bhutto and other political prisoners in Pakistan.

Addressing a Meet the Press program at Karachi Press Club, Tahreek-i-Istaqlal leader J. A. Rahim warned that the masses will reject those political parties who will not become part of the ongoing movement for the restoration of democracy.

The President of Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ), Minhaj Burna, criticized the restrictions of freedom of press through Press and Publications Ordinance and said that because of the censorship the dignity of the journalism had been lost.

On the other hand, a federal minister for health, Doctor Naseerud Din Jogazai claimed that the civil disobedience movement had completely failed as it was launched by the anti-state elements.

Day Seven: 20th August, after the arrest of MRD Sindh convener Yousif Jakhrani and acting convener Mohammed Hassan Brohi, the PPP leader Mohammed Bakhsh Damrah was appointed the acting convener MRD Sindh.

The former Sindh Assembly member Amir Bakhsh Junejo of district Dadu was scheduled to court arrest from Khairpur Nathan Shah. He came with over two thousand supporters and the police fired tear gas and baton charged to disperse the protesters. After arresting the leaders of the rally, police brought them at the local police station which was stormed by the protesters and by breaking the compound

wall they set on fire the official jeep of the Deputy Superintendent of Police parked inside the compound and set the prisoners free. Afterward, protesters marched to sub-jail and attempted to break it. In retaliation police opened fire on protesters and injured four of them, one of the injured Abdul Aziz Lakhair died on his way to hospital in Larkana. Afterward, the protesters attacked the Taluka civil office and attempted to break the local prison. The police arrested 28 protesters, who later were charged by the Military Court and were sentenced for one year imprisonment, ten lashes and rupees ten thousand fine. The police failed to control the situation, so army was called in to take-over the town.

In Dadu, one more worker was arrested after leading an anti-government rally. In Meharh, famous for excellent henna, over four thousand protesters took out a rally. As the participants intended to march towards the main market of the town to offer court arrests, police fired about 50 tear gas shells and resorted aerial firing to disperse them and arrested 35 workers, including those who intended to court arrest. In nearby SetaTown, police arrested two bus drivers along with the MRD workers and confiscated their buses. Later they were shifted to Khairpur Nathan Shah Police Station and were beaten. Knowing about the police treatment, hundreds of the people marched toward the police station and demanded the release of buses and drivers. In retaliation the police opened direct firing on the protesters and killed 8 of them and injured dozens. After these incidents the city of Khairpur Nathan Shah was handed over to the army and curfew was imposed for two days.

In Gambat, 17 pro-democracy workers were arrested after a rally led by a former assembly member and marched through the town. In Khairpur, police arrested two local leaders of Tahreek-i-Istaqlal, during raids on their houses. The rally taken out from the historical city of Kotdiji,

reached Khairpur and on their return, participants of the rally attacked the local office of *Zia Hidayat Tahreek* in village Bungalow and set on fire its furniture. Afterward the mob hoisted PPP flag on the office. In Sakrand, police arrested three local political leaders including a former assembly member. They were scheduled to volunteer for arrest.

In Tando Ghulam Ali, army was deployed to prevent political workers from protesting but nevertheless workers brought out a couple of rallies, which antagonized the forces and they unleashed torture on all and sundry.

In Chambarh, students of High School after boycotting the classes, brought out a rally, police arrested the leaders of the rally, who were students of the school and sent them to sub-jail, where they were asked to submit an apology, which students refused and preferred to be in jail.

In Tando Mohammed Khan, protesters offered a funeral prayer in absentia for the martyrs of the movement. Afterward five protesters courted arrest. A small town, Mulla Katiyar, just ten miles from here, observed a complete shut-down in solidarity with the ongoing movement. In the small village of Daie, people brought out a rally and a worker courted arrest.

In Karachi, hundreds of MRD workers brought out a rally; in an attempt to disperse them, police fired tear gas shells and baton charged. At least 15 workers were injured in clashes with police. Two workers including a former minister courted arrest. In Hyderabad, in presence of thousands of protesters at the Session Court building, eight workers courted arrest. One among them, Mola Bakhsh Chandio, who later became a federal minister, in Zardari cabinet, wrote a prison diary.

On the appeal of the spiritual leader Makhdoom Talib-ul-Moula, towns of Hala, Bhit Shah and others observed a complete strike, with all educational institutes, banks and

offices shutting down. About fifty thousand people took out a rally from the local High School in Hala, after rumors gripped the vicinity that Makhdoom himself will offer court arrest; after marching through the town and they reached at Sub-Divisional Magistrate (SDM) office and five workers court arrested. The students hoisted PPP flag on the office of SDM. Afterward rally held a sit-in on the National Highway for two hours. This rally was also joined by another rally, originating from the Dargah of Shah Latif at Bhit Shah. The joint rally paid its respect at the Sufi shrine of Makhdoom Nooh. In Larkana, three workers court arrested, the protesters threw stones on running businesses because of which the city was closed down for the third continuous day. In the evening Watan-Dost Mazdoor Federation brought out a big rally, which was baton charged by the police. The angry laborers pelted police with stones. Later, at Pakistan Chowk, police resorted to aerial firing on them and made several arrests. The military continued its intensified rounds in the city. In Warah and Nasirabad, thousands of protesters brought out a peaceful rally. In Badah, protesters set on fire the local municipal record and a commercial bank. One young boy was injured due to the bank guard's firing.

In Agricultural University, Tando Jam, over five hundred members of Pakhtoon Students' Federation, Sindh Peoples' Students' Federation and Sindhi Shagird Tahreek brought out a rally which was later joined by the High School students. The students set on fire an effigy of General Zia. This was the first academic day, after ten days' closure of university.

In Badin, police baton charged a rally and in retaliation protesters pelted stones on police. On the other hand, the Badin police arrested four local MRD leaders. In Nawabshah, two leaders, including the former Deputy

Speaker of the National Assembly court arrested. In Mirpurkhas, four workers court arrested.

One of the MRD leaders Murtaza Jatoi surfaced at Karachi Press Club to announce his resignation from the elected office of the Chairman District Council Nawabshah. He informed that so far in a week 15 persons had been martyred and over 30 thousand workers arrested in Sindh.

In another development, imprisoned leader Yousif Talpur in a statement asked the leaders under house-arrest to break their detention orders.

In many town and villages, people reopened the offices of the political parties, closed-down under the Martial Law regulations and reportedly functioned as the parallel government.

In Naushehro Feroz, five more dead bodies were recovered from a farm. The toll of the dead in recent violence rose to ten. It was being feared that the death toll could be much higher as the escaping protesters were fired upon with long-ranged automatic weapons and the dead-bodies were found from the far-distanced agricultural fields. In protest the whole area was completely shut-down. Thousands of common people attended the funeral prayers of the deceased and declared them 'Martyrs of Democracy'.

BBC Radio, in its broadcast confirmed the killings of protesters in Naushehro Feroz, and disclosed in its report that in Sindh, so far 22 protesters had been killed by the law enforcing agencies.

Three feet railway track was damaged between Lundo and Shahdadpur railway stations and Railway Police made few arrests in that connection. Same sort of incident happened near Mirpur Mathelo, where unknown persons set on fire the wooden blocks between the railway tracks. They also cut the telephone line of the Irrigation rest house.

In Karachi, two workers courted arrest after leading a rally of thousands. In Matli, students and the public brought out a joint rally and three workers courted arrest. All roads were blocked for hours because of the rally. Women of Matli brought out a separate rally and raised anti-government slogans in front of local police station. The Deputy Commissioner chaired a meeting of heads of educational institutes and warned them of strict action, if students of their institutes participated in ongoing agitation.

In Tando Bago police station, the political prisoners went on hunger strike, as their visitors were not allowed to meet them. Among these prisoners, one *biri*-making labor Ahmed Khan had a good voice, so he sang political and folk songs for the fellow workers.

The police force in whole Badin district started mass-torture and during that it arrested a folk poet Dhani Bakhsh Khaskhali alias Charyan (Crazy) and released him after severe torture.

In Kandiaro, seven workers courted arrest, while a day earlier nine workers volunteered their arrest. In Jhol, two workers court arrested, while police arrested a third worker for raising pro-democracy slogans.

In Hala, about thirty thousand people brought out a rally from the shrine of Sufi saint Makhdoom Nooh and reached SDM office, where five workers including two students volunteered arrests. Afterward, participants of the rally sat-on the National Highway and blocked traffic for one and half hour. Because of protest, banks and government offices remained closed. The educational institutes of Hala closed down for ten days. Here some elected municipal councilors also resigned from their offices.

In Badin, three workers court arrested Hyderabad Central Jail. After the arrests, pol.

baton charge and arrested two other protesters. Meanwhile, the military continued its flag-march on the roads.

In Gaji Khuhawarh, workers' rally attacked the branch of commercial bank and its record and furniture were set on fire. Later, they attacked the police check-post, where police resorted to aerial firing and dispersed the protesters.

Students of Liaquat Medical College, Jamshoro, after boycotting classes reached Civil Hospital Hyderabad, where MRD workers volunteered arrests. Nawabshah police arrested a former assembly member and another worker in raids on their houses. Tando Mohammed Khan police arrested a local leader for mobilizing the people.

In Larkana, office of the *Zia Himayat Tahreek* was attacked. Two injured in riots succumbed to injuries, which raised the death toll in Sindh to 22.

In Shikarpur, two workers courted arrest in heavy rain, afterward the protesters attempted to burn down the railway station. The police dispersed them by using the force. On the previous day, Shikarpur tasted its cup of violence, when a rally of ten thousand people reached Lakhi-Dar police station, where workers volunteered arrest. The police fired tear gas shells on the protesters, who pelted stones in retaliation. The mob set on fire a commercial bank branch and Municipal office. They also set on fire three fire-brigade vehicles and couple of government-owned tractors. Afterward, the protesters reached at the Session Court, which was set on fire along with official record.

In Shahdadpur, nine workers and two student leaders courted arrest, in Tando Ghulam Ali, one students' leader was arrested for organizing the ongoing agitation; in Jhol,

two workers volunteered arrest in front of the local police station, while police arrested one more worker from the protest. In Mirpurkhas, three workers court arrested, while in Mehrarh, police arrested five participants of the rally, among them one was intending to volunteer his arrest. Dadu police arrested three leaders including a former senator.

Over one hundred more elected municipal councilors resigned from their posts, many of them being arrested by the police.

Military Courts also continued sentencing the pro-democracy workers. The Military Court no.8 Dadu, under Martial Law Regulations no. 13 and 33, pronounced sentence of one year imprisonment, fine and ten lashes each to eight workers. Military Court no.14, Mirpurkhas, pronounced sentence of one year imprisonment to two workers and nine month imprisonment to three other workers.

In Badin, a Summary Military Court sentenced 12 workers for taking out rally, raising slogans against the government and pelting stones on police. A Military Court in Karachi sentenced eight workers on same charges.

On the other hand, the police started nominating active MRD members in suspended FIRs. In this connection, an 80-year old uncle and a cousin of Benazir Bhutto was charged for a murder of a person, way back on 2nd February, 1983.

agitation. In Mirpurkhas, eleven and in Sanghar, four persons courted arrest. In Badin, police arrested three workers after baton charging the rally.

Residents of small towns on link roads blocked the roads at various points, resulting in clashes between the police and the protesters.

On the call of Shaheed Ahsan Memon Students' Action Committee, the workers of Democratic Students Federation, Jeay Sindh Students Federation (Organizing Committee), Progressive Jeay Sindh Students Federation and Sindhi Shagird Tahreek brought out a rally from the Liaquat Medical College, Jamshoro and came to the Civil Hospital Hyderabad, where two workers volunteered arrest after addressing the protesters. As the students and the supporters of democracy tried to take out a rally, police blocked their way at the main gate of hospital, which resulted in clashes between police and protesters. The police arrested the DSF Sindh Vice Chairman Ali Hassan Chandio (later sentenced to one year imprisonment), in retaliation protesters pelted stones, which injured a constable of Pakistan Rangers. Protesters set on fire a commercial bank. To disperse the protesters police fired tear gas shells some of which fell inside the hospital wards causing breathlessness and unconsciousness of many patients. The hospital doctors and administration strongly protested at the behavior of the police for entering the wards and operation theatres to arrest the protesters. During the search in the hospital, police arrested nine more persons.

Over one hundred thousand protesters brought out a rally in Khairpur and a dozen MRD supporters courted arrest. After the arrests, protesters damaged government property and set on fire two banks, a Law College, Sindh Small Industries Corporation Office, the City Court, Excise Office, Post Office and Municipal Office. At the municipal office, protesters also set on fire over a dozen official motor cycles. Afterward, protesters attacked the Khairpur Central Jail, where police retaliated. On their return, the protesters clashed with police at Ranipur where, because of tear gas shelling and firing, ten protesters were injured and shifted to hospital in serious condition. Here

protesters set on fire two commercial banks and two vehicles.

At the Session Court Hyderabad, four student activists and a villager volunteered arrest, police resorted to baton charge to disperse the protesters and arrested two more workers. In Hala, a rally was brought out and as it reached the shrine of Makhdoom Nooh, police arrested five persons, including two student activists and three MRD workers. In another rally from High School Hala, students and citizens marched in the city and four more persons including two students and two MRD workers were arrested. In Moro, under the strict arrangements of security by police, three persons courted arrest. In Matli, about five thousand people including students, brought out a rally which was baton charged by the police. Five workers volunteered arrest.

Different foreign media journalists visited Dadu and inquired about the ongoing movement from local journalists and other concerned citizens. The ~~journalists~~ delegation comprised of the correspondents of Japanese News Agency, French News Agency, Radio Peking and Radio Tokyo.

Besides arrests, agitations, rallies and killings, the resignations from the elected Municipal posts continued. In a single day over 50 elected councilors quit their offices. Many elected Municipal Councilors including those from district Tharparkar, decided to resign from their posts in solidarity with ongoing movement. On the other hand sentences through Military Courts continued and in Sanghar, Thatta, Dadu, courts announced rigorous imprisonments, lashes and fines to fifteen arrested workers.

In Quetta, the police baton charged MRD rally and arrested two MRD leaders and a student, when they tried to take out a rally. The Multan police so far had arrested twelve

MRD activists and had detained them for two months. Two trade union workers in Peshawar and one worker in Rawalpindi were arrested. In Lahore one leader volunteered arrest, while police arrested three more workers.

Meanwhile, the detained Red Shirt leader Bacha Khan reviewed his previous stance and appealed to his followers that they should play their part in the ongoing movement. In Hyderabad, the Pakistan workers' Federation and Sindh Hari (peasants) Committee announced support for the movement.

The Karachi Chairman of *Zia Hidayat Tahreek*, Anwar Khan, in a statement called MRD an anti-people group, which, according to him, does not want to see the country progressing but the masses will foil the intentions of that group; meanwhile Hyderabad lawyers appealed Shah Ahmed Noorani, a Barelvi politico-religious leader to participate in the current MRD movement.

Sufi Hazoor Bakhsh, the General Secretary of Sindh Hari Committee, in a statement said that his organisation was fully participating in the MRD movement. He condemned the torture of the workers who intended peaceful court arrests.

Sindhi daily *Ibrat*, Hyderabad wrote an editorial under the caption 'sensitivity, instead of force needed' regarding the ongoing movement. Newspaper wrote, 'during a week of the movement, a large number of the workers of the component parties of MRD had volunteered their arrests, all over the country especially in Sindh. Rallies are being brought out and protest demonstrations are being organized. At few places protests had turned violent, which no peaceful citizen can appreciate. The MRD leaders themselves are trying their best to keep movement peaceful, which could be seen in Hala, where on one single

day over fifty thousand and next day about thirty thousand people gathered for peaceful rallies.

Parties, not in the MRD-fold are also raising same demands. On the other hand, the constitutional framework presented by General Zia on 12th August, and his announcement of holding elections within 18 months, were rejected by not only MRD but also by those parties which are not a part of it.

Such movements can flourish in the long absence of democracy and Pakistan had experienced it during the past.

Question is that what is the right way to avoid such situation? We think that every sensible person will suggest that the government should immediately gain the confidence of all political parties and should announce such measures which could help to normalize the situation.

Here, we want to draw the attention of the concerned authorities to the complaint of police torture on the arrested MRD workers. This kind of situation can be more harmful as they are not criminals'

Same day, another Sindhi daily *Mehran*, Hyderabad, wrote an editorial under caption, 'Civil disobedience and Peoples' disobedience'. The newspaper writes, 'when the people lose their sleep in their homes, they come out on the roads. When the police lose its calm in their police stations, they too come out on the roads. When both parties in the state of stress come out on same roads of same cities, they lose their sensibility and threaten and confront each other. One raises slogans of curse and down-fall, other punches and baton charges. For more interaction, one party throws stones and second one fires tear gas shells.

When both these parties of 'people and police' refuse to recognize each other, one begins agitation and destruction and second starts shooting. At this stage, both parties begin recognize each other, so people volunteer arrests and the police arrest. After the arrest, the people achieve calmness but the police become more agitated. They mark the people, who still do not fully recognize the police, and so they start torture them in the prisons. They try to overcome their defeat by thousands on roads by beating the few who are in their custody.

Police with their will and opportunity, continue the disappearance of the arrested, shifting to unknown places, hitting with kicks, punches and sticks, beating after reviving the fainted, abusing mothers and sisters, burning through lit cigarettes, pulling hair, pulling nails, naked on ice, throwing hot water, electric shocks; but the people still refuse to recognize them and say that they are the real power, not the police.

If the police had not been the salaried employees of the public, we would not have believed this claim of the people. At this time when the people are involved in 'Civil Disobedience', the police are conducting 'Peoples' Disobedience'. The history of peoples' refusal to bow is very long and its results are a part of history.

If one will be abused then he/she will respond in a similar manner. The people never put their credibility and status on stake for violence. In the peaceful days they consult courts for verdicts and in the days of anarchy, they take decisions on roads by themselves.

For the normalization of the situation, the one-sided acts of violence should be stopped. The police should be asked to refrain from abusing the people in meetings and rallies, so the acts of arson by the second party could be stopped'.

According to BBC Radio, over fifty thousand people participated in a rally brought out from Ranipur to Khairpur and it was the biggest so far. According to the

radio, British newspapers Guardian, Times and others had commented in detail on the ongoing civil disobedience movement in Sindh.

Day ten,,, 23rd August: a complete strike throughout Sindh was observed in protest against the killing of four protesters in Ranipur, a day before, where a complete strike was observed on the fourth continuous day and police arrested 300 participants of the rally. In Kandhkot, protesters clashed with the police resulting in the death of three protesters. The angry mob set on fire the government properties including the police station, fire brigade station, railway station and banks. In Qambar, the police resorted to baton charge to disperse a rally of over twenty thousand people. The angry mob burnt down the telephone exchange, post office, and four branches of banks, Taluka administration office and officers' club. The mob then attacked the local prison and set free 47 prisoners and snatched arms and ammunition from government stock. After a full day strike in Larkana, five workers courted arrest. Here doctors went on token strike in solidarity with the movement and its martyrs. In nearby village of Ratodero, participants of rally attacked and damaged the telephone exchange and commercial banks. In Garhi Khairu, the telephone exchange was completely destroyed by the protesters. In Chakiwara Karachi, two workers courted arrest; the police baton charged the protesters, injured five and arrested 15 protesters. Few workers of Awami Tahreek were arrested in the police raid in the outskirts of Karachi. In Hyderabad, protesters and students confronted the police for two hours who baton charged and fired tear gas. The police arrested six workers who breaching the barricades had reached the protest spot. After their arrests, the protesters spread in all directions and with the support of nearby Noor Mohammed High School students pitted stones on the police during street hide and seek with them. The police arrested three more protesters including two high school

students. The district administration closed down all school for two days. The whole city of Hyderabad, shut down on the rumor about a violent rally marching to city from nearby Jamshoro. In nearby town of Kotri, the protesters took out a rally and pelted stones on the government offices and few shops; a sweet mart owner threw the boiling oil on protesters and injured six workers; in Hala, leading a rally of over thirty thousand people, five workers courted arrest. In Tando Jam, High School students took out a rally; later they were joined by Agricultural University students. As they attempted to block the Hyderabad-Mirpurkhas highway, police fired tear gas and injured two students. In Matli, the participants of rally set on fire the post office, burnt down the bank record and snatched a rifle from bank guard, after the police had fired tear gas shells to disperse them. The protesters injured five police officials including a Sub-Inspector. Afterward the protesters damaged the railway track near Nazarpur village. The police arrested three protesters. In Badin, people brought out rallies in different parts, scores of them were arrested. For the whole day the military patrolled many areas of the district. In Sukkur, local leaders led a rally of thousands anti-government protesters. Here police arrested four local leaders, which antagonized the people, who set on fire the divisional branch of a commercial bank. Four elected Municipal representatives also resigned. In Hyderabad, ten elected Municipal councilors resigned from their posts. In Dadu, three councilors resigned and a few local cadres of the Zia Himayat Tahreek resigned and joined the MRD movement. In Sakrand, Shikarpur, Kandiaro, Jacobabad, Dadu, Meharh, Sehwan, Bhan Saeedabad, Boobak, Jhanghara, Mahrabpur, Khanwahan and Kotri Kabir towns a complete strike was observed. On National Highway, the road was blocked between Moro and Shahpur Jahaniyan. In Radhan, police arrested two persons including an elected councilor. In Nawabshah, police arrested MRD Sindh convener Qazi

Mohammed Bakhsh Damrah. In Shahdadpur, two arrested DSF workers were produced before the Military Court and were sent to Jail. In every town and village rallies were brought out by the common citizens and students. At many places candidates withdrew their nomination papers from the coming Municipal elections. In Talhar, a women's rally was brought out, which demanded the release of Benazir Bhutto and the lifting of Martial Law.

A complete strike was observed in Darya Khan Mari, where local residents protested against the atrocities by police and demanded the restoration of the civilian rule. After marching through the town, they offered prayers in absentia for the martyrs.

In Lahore, Dera Ghazi Khan and other parts of Punjab score of workers courted arrest.

In Hyderabad, the Summary Military Court no. 20 sentenced two local leaders for one year imprisonment and two hundred thousand rupees fine and one year imprisonment to other ten workers. In Dadu, military court, gave sentence of imprisonment and lashes to 26 workers. They were accused of taking out a rally on 20th August in Khairpur Nathan Shah; in Badin, the Military Court sentenced a student activist to one year imprisonment and ten lashes and one year imprisonment to a political worker. After the arrest of Fazil Rahu, the President of the Awami Tahreek, MRD appointed acting party President Hussain Bakhsh Narejo as its acting Secretary General for Sindh.

Day Eleven,,, 24th August: on fourth consecutive day, Ranipur, observed a complete strike to protest against the killing of workers and disappearance of many others. In Talhar and Matli, women took out rallies and threw bangles on the male spectators for not joining the rally. In Matli, the rally was organized by the Sheedi women, later

their houses were raided by the police, late in the night. In Talhar, rally of over three hundred women marched through the town and raised pro-democracy and anti-Martial Law slogans. Enthusiastic women stoned the local municipal office and damaged the motor car of the local municipal chief. The district Badin administration closed down all educational institutes in Matli Taluka for an indefinite period. In Hyderabad, the general public attempted to pass through police barricades to reach the Session Court Building to offer funeral prayers in absentia for the movement's martyrs on the call of the Bar Association. The police arrested eleven workers. Later, two other workers courted arrest in a busy market area. In Hala, students and general public brought out a rally and marched through the town and addressed the gathering; afterwards five workers court arrested. After the arrests, the protesters sat on the National Highway and blocked the busy road for an hour. In Larkana, lawyers took out a rally in support of MRD, which, after passing through different roads of the city culminated at the District Bar Association building. In Sukkur, the lawyers took out a peaceful protest rally; carrying placards they chanted pro-democracy and anti-Martial Law slogans while marching through the streets. In village Karampur, over five thousand people took out a rally and on reaching Kandhkot, it attacked and damaged the buildings of Civil Judge Court, three commercial banks branches, National Saving Center, Agricultural Workshop and Railway Storage. The protesters set on fire the Municipal Fire Brigade and attempted to break into the local jail. In the police firing one protester died on the spot and fifty others were arrested. In Kandiaro, seven workers courted arrest. Mehrarh police arrested two, Khairpur Nathan Shah police arrested two and Sanghar police arrested one worker in pre-dawn raids. In Tando Bago, Nindo and Kadhan, a complete strike was observed. In Larkana, six workers were arrested. For the first time; Badin Police refused to

arrest three workers, who voluntarily offered to be arrested. According to few accounts, tension between the Pakistan Army and Badin Police erupted, when an army soldier slapped a police constable, who failed to clear the road from the protesters for the military convoy.

Shahdad Kot observed a complete strike and the angry mob damaged the government property. Here six pro-democracy workers were arrested. In Qambar, people attacked the Sub Jail and 46 out of 49 prisoners escaped; the rest refused to escape. The protesters also snatched six rifles and 500 live bullets from the police. Here telephone exchange and two branches of commercial banks were also set on fire. The protesters set on fire two oil depots at the Sangi Railway Station, 12 kilometers from Sukkur. They had taken out a big rally and as the police tried to disperse them, the rowdy mob became violent. In Thatta, Karachi and Shahdadkot, 15 MRD workers court arrested. The number of elected Municipal councilors resigning from their posts became unprecedented. In a single day, overall 80 members resigned from the offices in different parts of Sindh.

In Shahpurchakar, after offering the prayer in absentia for martyrs, the local MRD leaders addressed the protesters. The police registered a case of treason against the speakers, who went into hiding to avoid the arrest.

The acting Convener of MRD Sindh, while talking to journalists in Hyderabad informed that till then the number of Martyrs in Sindh had reached 42 and out of which 19 were killed in Nawabshah district, nine in Dadu, five in Warah, four in Khairpur Nathan Shah and five in Qambar and Nasirabad. So far eleven women had courted arrest and in Dadu alone over 2300 people, including 785 students, 34 laborers and 571 political workers had been arrested. Convener, who was organizing the movement from hiding, said that so far 45,000 people had enrolled

themselves for voluntary arrest and 8995 among them had courted arrest.

The military courts continued sentencing the political workers. A Summary Military Court, established inside the Khairpur Jail, sentenced eight workers for one year imprisonment, 30 thousand rupees fine and 10 lashes each. They were accused of raising slogans against the Martial Law. Military court no. 11, Shikarpur, sentenced two workers for one year imprisonment, 50 thousand rupees fine and 15 lashes each. Military court Larkana sentenced two workers for one year imprisonment, 30 thousand rupees fine and 10 lashes each for raising slogans and carrying anti-government placards.

The emergency meeting of Hyderabad Union of Journalists, chaired by Abdul Ghani Dars, supported the movement for the restoration of democracy and demanded that the daily newspapers should not be stopped from publishing the reports of the democratic movement. Meeting condemned the police firing on demonstrations.

On the other hand, General Zia, after a day's visit of Karachi, told journalists that the current situation will not affect the electoral process, which will be conducted on schedule and the rowdy elements in the province will be eliminated.

Due to the worsening law and order situation, the Sindh government decided to deploy army in every major city of the province.

The railway authorities suspended train services on Larkana, Jacobabad, Qambar and Shahdadkot tracks for an indefinite period, as the protesters set on fire the Qambar and Shahdadkot railway stations.

According to All India Radio, the US government expressed its concern on the violent incidents in Pakistan and asked for the peaceful solution of the political issues.

Meanwhile, according to Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi, General Secretary JUP, his party rejected the proposal of joining the MRD.

Day Twelve...25th August, A group of protesters burnt-down the oil depot and damaged railway station, municipal office and a commercial bank in Sangi near Sukkur. The fire brigade vehicles were called from Sukkur to control the fire.

In Hyderabad, protesters set on fire a government bus. Police arrested a few people on suspicion. The authorities imposed section 144 for two months in Hyderabad, under which participation in riots or movement, display of political banners, photos or flags, carrying arms, ammunition, axes, knives or soda-water bottles with the intention of riots were banned.

Day Thirteen....26th August, Pakistan High Commission in London, lodged protest with BBC for broadcasting false and misleading news reports about Pakistan. According to the protest note, a day earlier, BBC reported that over one hundred thousand protesters brought out a rally in Khairpur, while in fact the town had a population of only thirty thousands.

The Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi issued a statement expressing her concern on the grim situation in Pakistan.

On 26th August, the editorial of Sindhi daily *Aftab* demanded a judicial enquiry under a High Court Judge, for the Naushehro Feroz incident, which resulted in the killing of 14 protesters.

All India Radio, quoting Reuter news agency, told that during the bloody clashes in last three days, 23 people had been killed, but the opposition sources put those figure to more than 60.

The Sindhi secessionist leader G. M. Syed in a press statement, appealed to the world community to make efforts for stopping the killing of innocent Sindhi population. He further said that the smaller provinces of the country had risen against the dominance of the Punjab.

The arrested leaders and workers of MRD, in a statement issued from the Khairpur Jail, while condemning the police and military atrocities in Sindh, asked the UN Secretary General to fulfill its responsibilities regarding the violation of human rights in Pakistan.

Day Twelve,,, 26th August: in MiroKhanVillage, clashes between police and protesters erupted when police tried to disperse the rally, first by baton charge and then firing, resulting in the death of two protesters. In reaction someone among the protesters also fired upon the police and killed a police constable and injured one sub-inspector and a police constable. The protesters also burnt down the police station and the sub-divisional office.

Two workers including a visually challenged person courted arrest in Hyderabad. The police also arrested the helper of the visually challenged worker. In Hala, two workers courted arrest after leading a rally. In Karhiyo Ghanwar, twenty workers offered to be arrested but the police refused to arrest them. In Meharh, the police arrested two workers earlier, who were scheduled to court arrest. Later MRD workers took out a rally and two more person courted arrest. In Sukkur, lawyers hoisted a black flag on the court building and took out a rally. In same city three MRD workers court arrested. The school students took out a separate rally in the city and damaged two government vehicles. Thousands rallied in Larkana and afterward four of them court arrested. The police used tear gas to disperse the rally. In Shikarpur, two workers court arrested. In Sehwan, in a rally of hundreds of protesters, two municipal councilors, who had resigned from their posts, were arrested along with four MRD

workers at the Dargah of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar. In Shahdadpur, four workers presented themselves for arrests. The students of Chandka Medical College Larkana, riding in three college buses, defying the college principal's orders took out a rally. First they reached Pilot High School and after boycott of classes, reached another high school, where they clashed with police, who after baton charge, arrested 45 students and brought them to a local police station, where everyone among them were beaten with the leather belt. Next day, they were produced before the local Martial Law Administrator Brigadier Razaque and were released. In Nawabshah and Khairpur, the houses of *Sindh Hari Committee* leaders, including its Central President Ghulam Rasool Sahito, were raided but as they were in hiding so escaped arrests. On the call of the Committee, a complete strike was observed in Dharki, Mirpur Mathelo, Khairpur, Thari Mirwah, Jacobabad, Ranipur, Mahrabpur and other parts of Sindh. The President of another peasants' organisation *Sindh Hari Tanzim* announced that the organisation members were fully participating in the MRD movement and so far 30 workers and leaders had been arrested.

Summary Military Court announced sentences of imprisonments lashes and fine to four MRD workers. A Military Court in Jacobabad sentenced nine workers to imprisonment, lashes and fine.

86 Municipal councilors in different parts of Sindh resigned from their elected offices.

The officially defunct Pakistan National Party (PNP) and Pashtoonkhawa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) decided to form 'Pakistan National Democratic Front' and to work with MRD for the restoration of the democracy in the country. Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo of PNP and Mahmood Khan Achakzai of PKMAP elected co-chairpersons of the front.

The five main leaders of MRD, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, Makhdoom Khalique-uz-Zaman, Khwaja Khair-ud-Din and Mairaj Mohammed Khan, who were either detained in their houses or in prisons, were shifted to a government rest house in Gharo, near Karachi.

On this move, newspapers speculated that there may be chance of negotiations between MRD and the government. One of the shifted leaders Makhdoom, who belonged to a head-family of a large spiritual community, sent a message from prison, which was read out at a rally in Hala. The letter appealed to his followers that their sacrifices will not be wasted and they should volunteer their arrests and fill the prisons where they (elders) were waiting to welcome them.

Another detained central MRD leader, Nawabzada Nasurullah Khan, in an issued statement, through his son, from his house declared as Sub-jail, said that the political framework, given by the government was an attempt to prolong their rule. He expressed satisfaction over the ongoing movement.

The senior politician of Punjab Mian Mumtaz Daultana warned the government that if the smaller provinces were not given their due share, it could be harmful for the country. Talking to journalists in Lahore, he said that the discriminatory attitude with smaller provinces by the big province had created dangers for the existence of the country. He said that Sindh played a major role in the creation of Pakistan and Punjab was the last one to join the new country.

BBC Radio broadcast a statement by Begum Nusrat Bhutto, in which she appealed to the people of Pakistan and all parties to join the ongoing MRD movement and said that the sacrifices by the people of Sindh will bear the fruit.

Self-exiled leader of PPP and former Punjab Governor Ghulam Mustafa Khar, in a statement hoped that 'other

provinces will also join the uprising of Sindh against the junta'. This statement indicates that in Sindh the movement for the restoration of democracy was growing day by day but was yet to get sufficient momentum in other provinces. Same kind of impression one could get from the statement of the Federal Defense Minister Mir Ali Ahmed Talpur, who said that 'the incidents of violence in the province (Sindh) were being conducted by a political party and the situation was under complete control'.

The international media had quoted different figures of death toll so far in Sindh. According to BBC Radio, it had touched 30, while Voice of America put it at 18. Radio Moscow and All India Radio, reported that so far 29 people had been killed in Sindh during the ongoing MRD movement.

Day thirteen,,, 26th August: After Friday prayer two workers courted arrest in Karachi and on that occasion confrontation between protesters and the police was witnessed. In Hyderabad, three workers presented themselves for arrest, as clashes between the police and protesters erupted. Protesters threw stones on police and in response the police fired tear gas and arrested four protesters. The police also arrested three university students in Hyderabad in connection with the setting on fire a government bus in the city; they were arrested on the report by an intelligence official. In Meharh, a rally of hundreds of MRD supporters was brought out which marched to the local police station to the beats of drums. Since day one of the MRD movement on 14th August, Meharh town, observed a shut down from ten to one in the noon. At the Dargah of Makhdoom Nooh in the Old Hala, over one hundred thousand people offered the funeral prayer in absentia for the martyrs of the movement and after the prayer, six workers were arrested. Kandiaro observed a complete strike and eleven MRD supporters volunteered arrests after leading a rally of over

twenty five thousand people. Here eight municipal councilors also resigned from their offices. Khairpur police detained a PPP leader and former assembly member at his residence. In Sukkur, as the police were shifting two arrested workers to the police station, they were stoned by the public, resulting in injuries to few police officials. In retaliation the police baton charged and fired tear gas. The agitating protesters damaged the couple of commercial bank branches. In Larkana, three workers were arrested.

Sindh Graduate Association condemned the killing of people in Sindh. An exile leader Ghulam Mustafa Khar, while addressing a press conference in London, claimed that the exiled leaders will soon return home and will court arrest. In a statement, the senior secessionist Sindhi leader G M Syed said that 'the events of last twelve days showed that the people of smaller provinces of Pakistan had risen against the injustice and the main characteristic of the ongoing movement is the vanguard role played by the rural people of Sindh. The Sindhis had awakened against the atrocities against them of last so many years'. He appealed to the conscience of the world people that they should take steps to stop the military government from the killing of the innocent people of Sindh. First time after the launch of the MRD movement, a direct FIR was registered against the local police in Ranipur, for the killing of civilians on 22nd August. Applicant Amir Bakhsh Shahani pleaded in the court that on that day they were returning from a MRD rally when a police inspector and other police officials stopped their bus and tried to arrest them; as the people resisted, they opened firing and killed two persons and wounded others. On the application, the judge issued notice to the police.

As many railway stations were being attacked in Sindh during the movement, so the Pakistan Railways closed down six railway stations Garhi Khairu, Ghotki, Sailra, Raiti,

Shahdadkot and Qambar in the Sukkur Division for indefinite period. Some official sources hinted that more army would be deployed in Sindh but the Ministry of Defense denied such reports. The Balochistan Shia Conference opposed the strike call by the provincial MRD. Few right-wing leaders in Pakistan asked the government that it should take notice of statements of Indian leadership, especially by its Foreign Minister Narsimha Rao, as these amounted to interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. On the other hand the Indian Prime Minister also expressed her concerns over the current situation in Pakistan and called these atrocities as inhuman. Addressing the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, she said that she had received letters from many friends of late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto expressing concern about the health of his detained daughter Benazir Bhutto. She further said that although her government had no intention of interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan but the situation in Pakistan could affect her country.

Day Fourteen: 27th August: Two workers each in Karachi and Dadu courted arrest. In Meharh, protesters clashed with the police, who fired 28 tear gas shells and 67 rounds of bullets in aerial firing. In clashes one Sub-Inspector, two constables and four citizens were injured. Here two workers were arrested and protesters damaged government property. In Sukkur, clashes erupted between protesters and the police, during which police resorted to tear gas and baton charged the protesters who retaliated with stone throwing. Five workers court arrested. In Sujawai, two workers were arrested while attempting to bring out a rally which was foiled by the police. In Badin, three, in Radhan two and in Bhit Shah seven workers, including two journalists were arrested. The protesters blocked the main National Highway for three hours in the presence of foreign journalists. In Khairpur, two and in Hyderabad three workers court arrested, after the police

baton charged and fired tear gas shells to disperse the protesters. In Larkana three, in Hala three, in Matli three, in Mahrabpur five, in Moro three, in Nawabshah six and in Thatta two workers courted arrest.

In Shahdadpur, people gathered at the local mosque to offer the prayer in absentia for the martyrs, which was followed by a public meeting addressed by the local leaders. (In Pakistan it had been a way to gather people for political activities in the name of religious rituals, used by right, left and center). Afterward, a section of protesters brought out a rally, which threw stones on government offices and commercial banks. The protesters set on fire the local office of Zia Himayat Tahreek, in retaliation, workers of Zia Himayat Tahreek attacked the local PPP office and set on fire two motorcycles. Police arrested 39 protesters after baton charge. In Ranipur, family members of the deceased in the police firing on 22nd August registered a murder case against the police in the court.

The Sindh Graduates Association convened a condolence reference for the martyrs of the movement. Students of Agriculture University Tando Jam, boycotted their classes, took out a rally and offered prayer in absentia for martyrs.

The Inspector General of Sindh Police cancelled the leaves of all police officials throughout the province and ordered all officials to resume duty.

In Lahore, in spite of heavy rain over two thousand protesters gathered to see-off the five workers who courted arrest. In Bahawalpur, two workers courted arrest. In Quetta, a complete strike was observed on the call of MRD. In Peshawar, MRD workers brought out a rally, which was baton charged by the police and few arrests were also made.

The Indian Foreign Minister Narsimha Rao, giving a statement in parliament session, said that the government

of Pakistan had sent more troops in Sindh and India had serious concerns over the events in Pakistan. The Defense Ministry Pakistan spokesperson condemned the statement, while a Muslim League leader Mumtaz Daultana considered the Indian concern interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan.

Day Fourteen,,, 27th August: in Larkana, seven MRD workers courted arrest after leading a protest rally. In Hyderabad, school students took out a rally and five workers courted arrest. To disperse the students, police fired tear gas shells; in retaliation students set ablaze a government bus. In Hala, thousands of MRD supporters and students brought out a rally and after address, three workers were arrested. In Bhit Shah, a MRD rally culminated at the Dargah of Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai, where a public meeting was addressed by the local activists; afterward, pro-democracy activists including one journalist volunteered arrests. Over four hundred students of Tando Jam Agricultural University took out a peaceful rally. In the rural areas of Hyderabad, rallies were brought out in Chambarh, Gulab Laghari, Sheikh Bhirkio and Chakhi. Students of the high school Chakhi brought out a rally and forced the business to shut down in Sheikh Bhirkio. Riding a bus, they reached Gulab Laghari where they attacked the police station and forced the police to run for their safety. Here too business was shut down. Hundreds of the common people also joined the students and riding five buses they reached Chambarh where a complete strike was observed. In Karachi, two MRD workers voluntarily offered to be arrested in the Shershah Colony area in the presence of the foreign media. The students of Sindh Medical College also brought out a rally and damaged three government buses. In Dadu and Khairpur Nathan Shah, four workers courted arrest after leading the rallies, joined by a large number of people. In Meharh, two workers were arrested while the police attempted to stop the rally and fired tear gas and resorted

to baton charge which resulted in confrontation and two workers and few police constables were injured. In Shahpurchakar, four workers courted arrest after offering prayers for martyrs. One of the arrested workers was booked under treason act two-days earlier. A rally of protesters burnt down the Kabhar Railway Station and damaged the Railway track, some 72 mile from Sukkur.

When the arrested workers from Bhit Shah reached Hyderabad Central Jail, they were welcomed by the reception committee of the prisoners under Qazi Mohammed Bakhsh Damrah and a tea-party was thrown in their honor. Welcoming the new prisoners, Qazi said that they were in prison for a great cause and the history shall never forget their contribution.

Qazi, a senior political worker, would give lectures and conduct a study circle in his cell daily in the afternoon. Under his patronage, political prisoners in Hyderabad Jail arranged two meetings, where besides political speeches poets, especially leading Sindhi poet *Sarvech Sujawali*, recited poems and a folk singer Zulqarnain Shah composed music for the poems and they were later sung in chorus.

In Lahore, four right-wing parties Jamaat-i-Islami, Muslim League (Pagaro Group), JUI (Darkhawasti Group) and Khaksar Tahreek (Ashraf Group) formed an alliance to emphasize Islamic democratic process in the country. The alliance demanded general elections by March 1984, lifting of Martial Law and lifting of the ban on political activities in the country.

In a special report on Pakistan situation, in its issue of 27th August, the Asian Post, considered the MRD movement the 'first serious challenge' faced by General Zia.

Day Fifteen,,, 28th August, from the previous night, the army conducted a flag- march on the roads of Larkana, as Mushtaque Ali Bhutto, the first cousin of Benazir Bhutto

had announced to offer his arrest next day. In the morning, the security forces cordon-off the Garhi Khuda Bakhsh, where the former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was buried and used tear gas to disperse the people, who were trying to gather for a protest rally. The police had already arrested fifteen people including Benazir's cousin. As the remaining workers of MRD, including a journalist came out of the Bhutto cemetery, the police once again fired tear gas shells and rubber bullets injuring a local student activist.

The world famous BBC correspondent Mark Tully, somehow reached the local police station, where police barred him from meeting the arrested workers and snatched his camera and microphone.

After the arrests by the police, the protesters attacked the telephone exchange, post office and irrigation rest house. The police made more arrests and after one week the prisoners were shifted to Larkana Jail. Later, on 26th December, 1983, all political prisoners, kept in Larkana Jail were shifted to Sukkur Central Jail.

The school children in Larkana took out a separate rally on the same day, which was tear-gas by the police. In a separate rally in the Larkana, seven activists, including a folk singer, offered arrests. In nearby town Nasirabad, the donkey-cart pullers took out a rally, which clashed with the police, who arrested 17 persons including the leader of the rally. In Shahdadkot, two municipal councilors were arrested.

In the Liaquatabad area of Karachi, the Vice President of Karachi Bar Association Fahim Haider and a PDP member courted arrest. Hyderabad saw two rallies in a single day, with five workers arrested, after clashes with the police that continued for hours.

About two thousand students of Sindh Agricultural University, Tando Jam took out a rally

and blocked the highway, connecting Mirpurkhas and Tharparkar districts with rest of the country. The police used tear gas and aerial firing to disperse students. In Chambarh (the area where Sindh Hari Committee had established Peasants' Courts in 1968-69), three thousand people took out a rally, which clashed with police, who baton charged the protesters and arrested about one dozen of them while in Tando Allahyar, the rally culminated in the arrest of four workers.

Two workers were arrested in Sujawal, where about six hundred people took out a rally and as police tried to stop them, they clashed with the police, who used tear gas and aerial firing. Later the Pakistan Army took control of the town. In Hala, protesters took out a rally for eighth consecutive day whereafter addressing it three workers offered arrest. In Moro, after addressing the rally, five workers courted arrests. In same town, students of girls and boys' primary and secondary schools took out a rally and marched through the town. It was the first occasion when the female students had taken out a rally in the town, during current MRD movement. In Dadu, six protesters courted arrest, in Sehwan police arrested two former councilors, who had recently resigned from their elected seats. In Meharh, two peasant workers offered voluntarily arrest, while police arrested six more active workers. The town observed a complete strike.

In Dilapota town of Naushehro Feroz, after addressing a rally of thousands of people, workers courted arrest. In the Naushehro Feroz city two persons, while in Kandiaro, seven workers were arrested. In Sukkur, two MRD leaders were arrested. In Badin, three workers offered themselves for arrest in front of the Deputy Commissioner Office. In Khairpur, police conducted a raid and arrested MRD district President, Yousif Jaffery Advocate. In Nawabshah, after leading a big rally two workers court arrested. In Khipro, four workers courted arrest. On the other hand,

four police constables were suspended from services for their inaction during the incident of setting on fire the Kabhar Railway Station, near Ghotki.

The District Bar Associations of Hyderabad and Tharparkar announced that as lawyers it was their duty to struggle for the supremacy of law and they were fully participating in the ongoing struggle for the restoration of democracy.

The Deputy Martial Law Administrator, General Mahmood Arshad during his visit of Hyderabad, threatened that the agitators will be dealt with iron hands.

In Gujranwala of Punjab, two PPP workers, while in Quetta, one JUI worker court arrested.

In Lahore, different women organizations formed the Democratic Committee. Addressing a press conference, on the behalf of the committee, Razia Begum, Begum Imtiaz Ali Shah and Begum Mansoor Malik demanded the release of female political workers including Begum Nasim Wali Khan, Benazir Bhutto, Amina Asghar Khan, Zarina Baloch, Mahnaz Rafi, Begum Abid Manto and others.

At this stage, the right-wing whispers in Punjab about the violent mood of movement in Sindh, took another dimension and the notion that this movement was for the secession of Sindh from Pakistan, beginning with few right-wing newspapers and followed by some liberal though inactive leftists. They emphasized on the government to give some concessions to the people of Sindh, and immediately initiate talks with the saner elements. In this regard, the meeting of Majlis-i-Muhban-i-Millat, formed by the old Muslim League leaders, demanded that the democratic institutions in the country be restored immediately and the general elections should be conducted. A former finance minister under Bhutto government and a pro-China Socialist Dr. Mubashar Hassan advised the rulers that as the progress of Punjab depended

on the natural gas from Balochistan, electricity from Kashmir and Frontier and on the goods supply from Karachi port, so for the continuation of this progress, it should deal with these areas with extra care.

The All Pakistan Newspapers' Employees Confederation (APNEC) Chairman Minhaj Burna condemned the government policy of imposing censorship and blocking of the newsprint quota of Urdu daily *Amn*, Karachi, to deter it from giving coverage to ongoing MRD movement.

The Sindh provincial committee of MRD, in a meeting, appealed the people of Sindh to observe a complete strike on 3rd September, to pay homage to the martyrs. The Committee also took notice of the rumors regarding secret negotiations between the MRD and government and dismissed them as merely an attempt to dishearten the people and creating a rift among the component parties. The Committee lamented on the government protest against the Indian Foreign Minister's recent statement and pitied the government on its silence over the US interference in the country. The meeting decided that all imprisoned MRD leaders and workers will initiate hunger strike from 7th September, in all prisons of Sindh. According to MRD, so far its 10155 leaders and workers had been arrested.

On the other hand, the number of resigned elected municipal councilors grew fast. In this single day in Karachi 5, in Mithiani 17, in Sukkur 14, in Tharparkar 29, in Hyderabad 8, in Shikarpur 24, in Moro 11, in Fatooh Bhalal 13, in Khipro 15, in Kandiaro 8 and in Daulatpur Safan 2 more councilors resigned from their seats in solidarity with the pro-democracy movement.

Meanwhile, the provincial Governor, General S. M. Abbassi reviewed the arrangements for municipal elections and law and order situation toured Sindh.

Day sixteen,,, 29th August: in Karachi, two MRD workers were arrested in the pro-Zia area of Liaquat-Abad. During it two incidents of violence occurred. As these workers reached to offer their arrests, few pro-Zia people attacked them, same people tried to attack the foreign media persons, who were there to cover the arrests. As the arrested workers were brought to the local police station, a bomb blast occurred nearby, and injured eight persons including three police men.

In Hyderabad, five workers were arrested. Police in an attempt to disperse the protesters fired tear gas and baton charged and arrested seven passersby, including two students. On the call of SST, BSO, SPSF and PKSF, more than two thousand students of Agricultural University Tando Jam, brought out a rally and blocked the Hyderabad-Mirpurkhas Highway for five hours. To disperse them police fired 117 tear gas shells and in response students pelted stones. On many occasions students foiled the police attempts to arrest their fellow students. In Sakrand, a rally of about three thousand people was brought out which was joined by students who after boycotting the classes of High School and hoisting the PPP flag on its building, reached at Sub-Divisional Magistrate's office, where police fired tear gas and baton charged to disperse the protesters. Four workers courted arrest. The participants of the rally severely thrashed a pro-Zia molvi. Later, five more people courted arrest in another rally. In Nawabshah, three workers were arrested; meanwhile police arrested another seven activists during raids.

In Dadu, lawyers formed a legal aid committee to assist the MRD workers and prisoners. In Khairpur Nathan Shah, three workers courted arrest after leading a rally. In Meharh, two peasants court arrested.

The Sub-Martial Law Administrator, Sehwan, advised the MRD workers that they should volunteer their arrests in

places other than Sehwan, because of it being a Sufi pilgrimage site.

In Khuhra, police arrested five workers in pre-dawn raids. In Thari Mirwah, political, labor and peasant organizations took out a joint rally, which culminated in the arrest of six workers. In Badin, six workers courted arrest and in Matli, a rally of thousands of participants was brought out where after a long battle with police, three workers courted arrest. In Khorwah, a pro-democracy rally was brought out, which dispersed after marching through the town. Later, police arrested eight workers for organizing the rally. In Gulab Laghari, two thousand people brought out a rally on motor cycles, motor cars and jeeps. The police arrested four persons for leading the rally. In Larkana, five workers including one trade union activist volunteered arrest. Protesters pelted stones on police, which used tear gas to disperse them. In Shahdadkot, four and in Nasirabad, two workers courted arrest. A complete strike was observed in Naudero, the home-town of Bhutto family, in protest against clashes between police and protesters and arrest of 18 protesters, here a rally by the school children was dispersed by police using tear gas and aerial firing.

In Sukkur, police arrested High Court Bar Association President Abdul Halim Pirzado, Mohammed Ismail Soomro Advocate and Abdul Hamid. In protest against these arrests, a meeting of lawyers, chaired by Illahi Bakhsh Sheikh, the President of the Sukkur Bar Association was convened, which decided to organize a lawyers' rally on 3rd September.

To prevent protests in coming days, Mirpur Bathoro police conducted a raid on the residence of Aijaz Khwaja and after arresting him shifted to the district headquarter Thatta. Aijaz later wrote his prison diary, which described the life in the Hyderabad Central Jail during those days of political turmoil. In Sujawal, two workers volunteered arrest after leading a rally. In Thatta, two rallies were brought out. Police arrested two workers, who were carrying anti-government placards. In Kandiaro, a rally was

brought out and at its culmination six workers court arrested after addressing the rally. The local MRD General Secretary in a press statement said that the police were immediately releasing many workers, who were offering their arrests as the prisons were over-crowded. He claimed that many arrested workers had refused to leave the prisons. In Moro, eight workers court arrested after leading a rally. Another rally from the nearby village New Jatoi also reached Moro and six of its participants volunteered their arrests. The same morning, a women's rally was brought out in New Jatoi, which marched through the town for over one hour and after reaching a local shrine, prayed for the martyrs of the movement. The Tando Adam police arrested five PPP leaders, include one student activist during the pre-dawn raids on their houses. On the other hand, the students of ShahAbdulLatifHigh School planned a rally and prayer in absentia for the martyrs but the Head-Master called the police and students became agitated and clashed with police, which resorted to tear gas shelling. In Sanjhoru four, in Khipro four and in Shahdadkot, four workers courted arrest after raising pro-democracy slogans in front of local Civil Court. The local police arrested 45 workers and common citizens for offering prayers in absentia of the martyrs of the movement. In Mangho Fakir Shar, the police baton charged the rally of Sindh Hari Committee and arrested 14 including three minor boys, in retaliation the protesters attacked police with sticks and stones and injured four police constables. In Larkana, four workers court arrested, after the protesters threw stones on police, which used tear gas shelling to disperse them.

The Larkana Police arrested 15 persons in different raids for attacking the Mohata Railway Station.

BBC Radio, in its report said that during a single day rallies were organized in 12 cities and towns of Sindh and of

these were dispersed by the use of tear gas and arrest of over 100 protesters. BBC also mentioned about the court arrests in Rawalpindi, Lahore, Gujranwala and other cities of Punjab.

The Washington Post, in a report by its correspondent stated that as the movement had not spread in other parts of the country except Sindh, so this was strengthening the claim by General Zia that his government will be able to tackle the situation. According to the newspaper, MRD had failed to launch its movement in other three provinces of the country and it had reasoned the economic deprivation of Sindh for the current uprising.

Another US newspaper, the New York Times, in a report by its correspondent said that if the current movement does not spread to other parts of the country, then the General Zia government would not face much difficulty in crushing it.

The military courts throughout Sindh continued to sentence the political workers. A Summary Military Court established inside the Hyderabad Central Jail sentenced five workers to one year imprisonment. They were accused of organizing an illegal rally and meeting on 16th August. A Summary Military Court no. 5 of Nawabshah sentenced 7 workers for nine months imprisonment, five thousand rupees fine and 10 lashes each. In case of the non-payment of fine, they will have to face further three month imprisonment.

Meanwhile, more elected municipal councilors resigned from their posts, including six in Sakrand, 14 in Khairpur Nathan Shah, one female member in Thatta, 14 in Moro and 11 in Tando Allahyar.

Talking to journalists before departure for his visit to Turkey, General Zia said that he shall teach the politicians how to do politics. He claimed that situation in

the country was normal, except disturbances in a few parts of Sindh in the name of MRD. He warned that the violence will not be tolerated and these acts, initiated on the instigation of the opportunist elements and foreign powers should stop otherwise they will be crushed by the state power. He denied that negotiations with politicians were being initiated. Before his departure, he met the leaders of right-wing Jamaat-i-Islami.

PPP leader Ghulam Murtaza Jatoi, who had a warrant against him met local and foreign journalists in Karachi and held the government responsible for the current wave of violence in Sindh. In a press statement issued from a Karachi hospital, Mir Bizenjo of PNP said that even if the government wanted to talk the masses will not allow holding talks except the transfer of power.

Meanwhile, PNP, PKMAP and Watan-Dost Inqalabi Party formed the Pakistan National Democratic Front. Bizenjo and Dr. Arbab Khuhawarh, representing the parties signed the united charter for Front.

Addressing a press conference in Hyderabad, the Defense Minister in Zia cabinet, Mir Ali Ahmed Talpur said that the PPP should be banned for ever and just five percent of the Sindh population was unpatriotic but the rest were ready to die for the solidarity of the country.

Day Seventeen,,, 30th August: the biggest rally of the day came out in Hala, where over fifty thousand people, including women and children marched from the shrine of Makhdoom Nooh. On the occasion, a written message of the most influential spiritual elder Makhdoom Talib-ul-Moula was read out, in which he had declared solidarity with the martyrs of the movement and that the Eid festivity should be celebrated with simplicity. He asked his followers to continue the democratic movement till

victory. After the voluntarily arrest by five workers, the rally marched towards the National Highway, where according to program it had observe a sit-in for one hour and then after returning back to the shrine disperse peacefully. As the rally reached at National Highway, an over-speeding military vehicle cut through the crowd and injured three protesters, which agitated the people, who attacked a police party walking behind the rally with stones and sticks. The police in retaliation fired tear-gas shells and resorted aerial firing. In this clash, three police officials and eight protesters were injured and many other fainted because of the tear gas shelling. The protesters stuck to the two hours sit-in on the Highway.

In Dadu, three workers courted arrest while four others were arrested by the police. In Khairpur Nathan Shah and Mehrarh, eight workers were arrested.

In Karachi two workers, including a female trade unionist Gulzari Begum volunteered their arrest. In Hyderabad, six MRD workers volunteered arrest, while police arrested two more workers. During the media coverage of the arrests, the police mishandled two press photographers.

In Mirpur Bathoro, a joint rally of fifteen thousand people, of PPP and Sindh Hari Committee marched through the city and at the end five leaders volunteered their arrests. As the participants of the rally were dispersing, the police fired tear gas shells on them, which resulted in clashes between police and protesters during which the district police chief with other officials was injured while a young boy and a laborer were injured by the police. Earlier six high school students also volunteered arrest in a separate rally. All arrested workers and students were detained under the Maintenance of Public Order and different Martial Law Orders and were asked to submit the apology but they refused to do so and spent following months in prison.

In Thattathree, in Sujawal two and in Chuharh Jamali, four workers volunteered arrest. Meanwhile the Deputy Commissioner imposed section 144 in the whole district, under which gathering of five or more persons and carrying any kind of weapons including sticks were banned.

In Sakrand, a complete strike was observed and three rallies were brought out by men, women and opponents of MRD. In Mahrabpur, hundreds of women brought out a rally, which after marching through the town, dispersed peacefully. The procession came to the main road of town while raising slogans and ended with five workers courting arrest. A small rally of Zia Himayat Tahreek raised slogans against the MRD. In Thari Mirwah, five workers were arrested, who were leading a rally, intended to march to the nearby town of Gambat, where they were scheduled to offer their arrests.

The President of Sukkur Bar Association and the President of Jewelers' Association were arrested for acts of sabotage and creating hatred against the military government. In Tando Adam, two rallies were brought out, first by the students of High School which was baton charged by the police and later in another rally five workers volunteered arrests. In Shahdadpur, two workers courted arrest. The Deputy Commissioner banned the rallies and public meetings under section 144.

In PanoAqil, the Sindh Hari Committee (SHC) and PPP brought out a big joint rally of over twenty thousand people, which paid tribute to martyrs and marching through the city moved to the National Highway, connecting Sindh with Punjab. The police and other law enforcing agencies resorted to baton charge and tear gas shelling, injuring seven workers and arrest of five protesters. Later, SHC leader Rasheed Indhar, addressing a

press conference said that so far three workers of the Committee had been martyred and 41 arrested.

The Karachi police arrested the famous television artist Faiz Ali Shah. It was his second arrest, as earlier he was arrested for setting on fire the railway track but was released after a few days. In Digri, four workers were arrested.

The students on the call of Pakistan Progressive Students' Alliance protested in Nazimabad area of Karachi and pelted stones on the passing by vehicles. Earlier they held their protest meeting in the Government College Nazimabad and offered prayer in absentia for the martyrs of MRD movement. The administration of Agricultural University Tando Jam shut down the campus for indefinite period after continuous pro-democracy demonstrations by students, who were informed by the police that if they did not vacate the university hostels they would be arrested.

The Liaquatabad Karachi police registered a case of bomb blast against two MRD leaders. The blast, at the time of court arrest by both on previous day had injured eight passersby.

To mobilize masses, especially the students of religious seminaries, JUI Sindh General Secretary and the Additional Secretary MRD Sindh, Syed Mohammed Shah Amroti reached Larkana and addressed meetings and hoped that the ongoing movement would achieve success very soon.

In his on the spot reporting for the ongoing movement, BBC correspondent Mark Tully reached Nawabshah and interviewed political workers and the family members of martyrs.

According to a Karachi based newspaper, in the first 17 days of the MRD movement, four thousand people had

been arrested in Sindh. According to jail authorities, twelve jails throughout Sindh can accommodate 6,830 prisoners, so according to the newspaper, authorities had decided to keep more and more prisoners in the police lockups and sub-jails.

The military courts continued to sentence political workers. In Sukkur, a lawyer Siddique Kharal was sentenced to one year imprisonment, ten lashes and one and half million rupees fine. In case of not paying the fine, his property was ordered to be auctioned. A Nawabshah Military Court sentenced 17 workers for nine months imprisonment, ten lashes and thirty thousand rupees fine each. A court in Kandiaro sentenced seven workers for nine months, ten lashes and two thousand rupees fine each.

On the other hand, resignations by elected municipal councilors continued. Haji Shafi Jamot resigned from the offices of Chairman Karachi District Council, member KDA Governing Body, member Central Censor Board and Chairman Hajj Committee, Karachi. Three more councilors in Karachi, 26 in Sanghar, 26 in Sanjhora and 12 councilors in Hala resigned.

Day 18....31st August: in Karachi, two pro-democracy workers voluntarily offered arrest, in presence of a big crowd. The Police conducted raids at various places in connection with the bomb blast in front of Liaquatabad Police Station the previous Monday.

In Hyderabad, two workers offered arrest. Hyderabad police arrested two student activists by conducting raids. The police conducted raids on various student hostels but no arrest was made. In Hala, thousands of protesters gathered at the main market chowk, where three workers offered arrest after addressing the rally. So far, sixty workers had offered their arrest in Hala. In New Saeedabad, about five thousand people and students brought out a rally, which culminated on the court-arrest

of three MRD workers. From village Ahmed Shah of Matli, thousands of villagers, workers and peasants took out a rally, which was forced by the police to stop and four workers volunteered arrest. All the villages and towns of Badin district observed protest and rallies were brought out. In Sakrand, four workers courted arrest. The Sakrand High School students boycotted their classes and brought out a rally, which was baton charged by the police. In Mahrabpur, women brought out a rally on the second day. In Nawabshah, two workers volunteered arrest. In Digri, three workers were arrested and in Larkana, five workers volunteered arrest. In Nasirabad, a big rally was brought out, which turned violent and burnt down the telephone exchange. To disperse the mob, police fired tear gas and arrested few protesters. In Naushehro Feroz, five workers courted arrest; on the other hand, a local lawyer had a murder case registered against police for killing of five protesters. In Daulatpur, four workers volunteered arrest in afternoon, while in the evening five more workers presented themselves for arrest. The students of Hingorja High School brought out a rally and blocked the National Highway for some time. In Kandiaro, five workers were arrested after leading a rally, which raised slogans against Martial Law and in support of democracy. In Shahdadpur, four workers volunteered arrest. The Shahpurchakar police arrested nine political workers for disturbing the law and order. In Tando Adam, three more workers courted arrest and in Shahdadpur, the situation turned violent when the pro-democracy crowd, who had gathered to offer prayer for the martyrs of the movement was attacked by the supporters of Zia Himayat Tahreek and Jamaat-i-Islami. The police arrested over 50 pro-democracy supporters. In Sujawal, two workers were arrested. In Mirpur Mathelo, some unknown persons, in the darkness of night set fire to the local branch of a commercial bank. The Sukkur police arrested senior writer and lawyer Raheed Bhatti in a late night raid on his home and shifted him to Sukkur Central Jail.

Political prisoners in District Jail Dadu protested against the prison administration and raised slogans daily seven to ten in the every evening. Later the district police chief held negotiations with them and they ended their protest on the assurance to address their complaints.

Mohammed Sadiq Shah Sabzwari, the caretaker of Qalandar Lal Shahbaz shrine at Sehwan, the biggest Sufi shrine in Sindh asked the government to stop the violent actions by police and other law enforcers against the peaceful protesters.

Baloch leader Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo, who left hospital against the advice of doctors, told BBC Radio that in violation of Martial Law Regulations, he will address a public meeting next day.

In Multan one worker was arrested.

The Military Courts in Punjab started sentencing the MRD workers. In this connection, a Summary Military Court Sargodha sentenced workers, including a former minister for one year imprisonment each and heavy fines for participating in the current civil disobedience movement. In Dera Ghazi Khan, three MRD workers sentenced for one year imprisonment each and heavy fines. Meanwhile, a Military Court in Rawalpindi sentenced three MRD workers for one year imprisonment and ten lashes each for raising slogans against the government at a busy thoroughfare of city.

Governor Sindh Lieutenant General S M Abbassi claimed that the MRD movement had failed in Sindh and 250 out of 1600 arrested workers had being released.

19th Day,,,,, 1st September: the senior Baloch leader and President of the Pakistan National Party, Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo was arrested from the Chakiwara Lyari of Karachi, where he had reached to address a protest rally. Earlier,

he slipped from hospital to take part in ongoing pro-democracy movement. As he reached the venue of the rally and meeting; the people gathered there raised slogans in favor of democracy and against the Martial Law. As Bizenjo started his speech, the police fired tear gas shells and arrested at least 13 people including Bizenjo; in retaliation protesters threw stones, while women threw boiling water on police. Few journalists were also injured in police shelling. In Hyderabad, seven workers were arrested at Haider Chowk. Another worker was arrested for forcing shopkeepers to shut down their business. In Hala, thousands of protesters took out a rally and three workers after addressing the protesters volunteered their arrest. After the rally, Hala police arrested three and Bhit Shah Police arrested two more workers for organizing the rally. In Kandiaro, 24 MRD workers started their hunger strike in police lock-up against the police behavior. MRD taluka Kandiaro leadership alleged that the five workers arrested on 27th August from Mahrabpur were missing and the police was not disclosing information about their whereabouts. They feared that they could be harmed in any extra-judicial act. In the vicinity of Kandiaro, a rally of over 50 thousand was brought out, which on reaching Kotri Kabir blocked the National Highway. During blockage protesters clashed with police. Afterwards the rally moved to Kandiaro, where seven workers volunteered their arrest. Later, rally moved to Halani, where rallies brought out from Halani and Mahrabpur also joined the main rally. Once again it moved to Kandiaro after breaking the blockage put by the police, where eight more workers were arrested. In Ranipur, a complete strike was observed and citizens held a protest meeting in the town hall and condemned the arrests of the political workers in late night raids. The police foiled an attempt of a bullock-cart rally in Khuhra, and arrested few workers. In Khairpur, police arrested brother and father of a peasant and a student leader when they failed to arrest wanted leaders, during pre-dawn raids on their houses. In Sakrand, three workers

courted arrest near railway station and in Shahdadpur, three MRD workers court arrested. In Dadu, about 2500 people brought out a rally which culminated in the court arrest of two workers; during this the town was shut down for four hours. In Khairpur Nathan Shah, two workers were arrested and the town was shut down for two hours because of the protest rally. The local police arrested one more journalist; so far six journalists had been arrested in Dadu district. In Seta Road town, a rally was brought out, which culminated in the arrest of two workers. In Meharh, two workers volunteered arrest. In Moro seven, while in Digri, two workers courted arrest. In Thatta two, in Badin two and in nearby village of Qazia Wah, two workers volunteered arrest. In Larkana, four workers courted arrest. In Mirpur Bathoro, about five hundred people brought out a rally, which was tear gas shelled and baton charged by police. Later seven workers of different anti-government parties and organizations volunteered arrest. The Bathoro police arrested two more workers in raids. In Sakrand, police arrested eight Molvies affiliated with MRD component JUI; they tried to bring out an anti-government rally.

Lahore based 25 writers, poets and journalists in a joint statement demanded that the solution of the current crisis should be explored within the aspiration of the people. They said that those responsible for inciting violence in the peaceful pro-democracy struggle were the same elements who were the enemy of the democracy. This statement was signed by Ustad Daman, Habib Jalib, Fakhar Zaman, Qateel Shifai, Akhlaque Ahmed Dehlvi, Anwer Sajjad, A. Masood, Safdar Mir, Munoo Bhai, I. A. Rehman, Shafqat Tanveer Mirza, Nazir Naji and others.

In Rawalpindi, one MRD worker at Murree Road shouted pro-democracy slogans and was whisked away by the police.

Former Punjab Governor, Ghulam Mustafa Khar, in a statement issued from London, welcomed the statement by the Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and said that the statement had left positive impact on the people of Pakistan, which was by no means interference in the affairs of neighboring country, where people were struggling for their basic right of democracy. He also appealed to other world leaders to support the just cause for the restoration of democracy launched by the people of Pakistan. Another exiled leader Jam Sadiq Ali, on the behalf of the people of Pakistan, especially of Sindh, also thanked Mrs. Gandhi.

Addressing a joint press conference, BSO and BSO Awami leaders announced their joining the ongoing pro-democracy movement. Meanwhile, Sindh Hari Committee in a press statement claimed that so far its 79 workers, including the Central Vice President and General Secretary had been arrested in current movement, three of its workers had been martyred and 21 others were injured.

The Military Courts continued to sentence the pro-democracy workers. In this regard, a court in Sujawal sentenced three workers for one year imprisonment and heavy fines; they were accused of taking out an anti-government rally on 29th August. A Dadu court sentenced a worker to three months and a court in Mirpur Bathoro sentenced five workers to one year imprisonment, ten lashes each and fine ranging from ten thousand rupees to three hundred thousand rupees. A Military Court, established inside the Khairpur Central Jail, sentenced ten workers for nine months imprisonment and 15 lashes each and heavy fine; they were accused of bringing out a rally and instigating violence. Military Court in Hyderabad sentenced seven workers to one year imprisonment each.

Meanwhile, responding to the appeal by Begum Nusrat Bhutto, two government officials resigned from their posts.

In a hard hitting editorial that appeared on 1st September, Sindhi daily *Aftab* Hyderabad, severely criticized the administration for the worsening law and order situation in Sindh. The paper considered the undue harsh reaction by the administration towards the peaceful movement the prime reason for the violence in which many innocent lives had been lost. The newspaper ended its editorial on raising the question '...Do these bureaucrats want to become "Niazi?" It may be recalled that General Niazi surrendered to the Indian Army after failing to crush the people of Bengal in 1971.

The official Ansari Commission recommended the government that the Islamic Consultative System should be enforced in the country and the head of state should be called as "*Amir ul Momnin*".

The Frontier Governor Lt. General Fazal ul Haque denied that the government had initiated secret talks with some political parties and said that such meetings could be a routine process. He rejected the idea to convene an all-parties round table conference for the solution of the current crisis.

On the other hand, Jamaat-i-Islami chief Mian Tufail Ahmed asked General Zia to restore the officially registered political parties.

Day 20...2nd September: In Hyderabad, eight workers court arrested on two different occasions, later, some unknown protesters pelted stones on a cinema house and a commercial bank. In Hala, three workers courted arrest after leading a rally, the participants raised slogans in favor of democracy and against the military rule. On the other hand, Hala police arrested three workers in late night raids for participating in anti-government rallies. In Thari Mirwah, police arrested four workers, who with flower garlands in their necks were coming for court

arrest. In Mangho Fakir Shar, Sindh Hari Committee brought out a rally, which culminated on burning effigies of General Zia and US President Regan and the US flag. As police baton charged the rally, protesters attacked the police by snatching their sticks, five police officials and two protesters injured in these clashes. In Khairpur, two workers court arrested. In Moro, eight MRD workers court arrested. On the appeal of DSF, Moro town was shut down in protest against the atrocities of the law enforcing agencies. In Khairpur Nathan Shah, about a thousand protesters brought out a rally, which culminated on the court arrest of nine MRD workers.

Police conducted late night raids on different villages in the vicinity of Sakrand and arrested few people for participating in anti-government rallies.

The police arrested three MRD workers in Khairpur Nathan Shah, where six elected councilors also resigned from their offices. In Meharh, police foiled the attempt to bring out a rally. Two workers were arrested in Shahdadpur, three in Tando Adam, and four in Larkana. The police used tear gas to disperse the rally. In Pano Aqil, over fifty thousand people brought out a rally and blocked the National Highway which stopped the flow of traffic to Punjab. The police resorted to baton charge and tear gas shelling to disperse the mob. The army was called in when police failed to control the situation in the city. 17 people were injured in firing by army while another twelve were arrested. The protesters pelted stones on both the police and military. In Kashmor, peasants and workers brought out a rally and stoned the government installations including telephone exchange, banks and the police station. To disperse the protesters police used baton charge and tear gas shelling; four protesters were injured, while another eight arrested.

In Ubavro, a rally was brought out and four of the participants offered their arrest but police refused to take them into custody. The rally reached on the National Highway and blocked the traffic flow. A written message by Sindh Hari Committee President, Comrade Ghulam Rasool Sahito, who had police warrants against him, was read out in the rally. In Sukkur, four workers courted arrest, while a fifth was arrested by the police for raising slogans against the government. Meanwhile, police arrested few lawyers after their announcement of bringing out a rally on September 3rd. In Kotri, a rally was organized, which culminated with the arrest of two workers.

In Karachi, two MRD workers courted arrest at historical Ram Bagh (renamed as Aram Bagh after partition), earlier both the workers were mishandled by the police and workers of Zia Himayat Tahreek. In Thatta, two workers courted arrest after leading a rally and addressing the public. In Sujawal, two workers courted arrest.

In Dadu, a uniformed police constable Mumtaz Ali, buckle number 1162, requested the fellow police officials to arrest him as he wanted to respond to the appeal by Begum Nusrat Bhutto to government employees to take part in the on going pro-democracy movement. Hyderabad police arrested three municipal councilors who had resigned; same police arrested a blind beggar, who raised slogans in favor of Bhutto.

In Hyderabad, an interesting situation emerged when police baton charged a funeral procession, thinking it was a MRD rally. The participants of funeral surrounded the local police station and protested.

The Kandiaro police severely tortured the eight MRD workers at the local police station, who had volunteered arrest a day earlier.

Sindhi Adabi Sangat condemned the arrest of Rasheed Bhatti, short story writer and former Secretary General of the Sangat and demanded his immediate release.

On the appeal of the World Federation of Trade Unions, a World Peace Day was commemorated by the Pakistan Trade Union Federation in Karachi, where leaders demanded 'the restoration of constitutional rule and democracy in the country. They rejected the notion of the rulers, labeling the movement in Sindh as secessionist and called it a movement of the working class.

Meanwhile, many arrested leaders of the MRD in their messages and statements from different prisons, appealed to the masses to intensify their movement for the restoration of democracy.

More elected municipal councilors resigned; from Hyderabad eight, Sanghar twelve, Tharparkar eleven, Moro thirty-two, Khairpur three, Tando Mohammed Khan one and in Shahdadpur six of them resigned.

In Lahore, the MRD president of neighboring district Kasur courted arrest in the presence of a big mob.

Addressing a press conference, the Lahore District Bar Association President Mansoor Malik announced that all Bar Associations in Punjab province will observe a token strike for three hours on September 3rd, in solidarity with the ongoing MRD struggle.

Meanwhile the Defense Minister in Zia cabinet, Mir Ali Ahmed Talpur while talking to journalists in Karachi, once again alleged that few Sindhi landlords were instigating common people for agitation but the government will take 'measures' to respond to this conspiracy.

Day 21,, 3rd September: although many cities of Sindh observed complete strike but the day proved to be a

bloody one for Moro. Since morning Moro observed a shut down on the appeal of MRD and different groups of male and female students came out on the roads and raised slogans against the Zia government.

A rally of over five thousand women started from village New Jatoi, the ancestor village of PPP leader Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, whose aged mother was leading the rally. The rally was stopped by the police at the railway crossing from entering the Moro town, which antagonized the people and clashes erupted. The police fired tear gas shells to disperse the mob. Later, the male participants retaliated with live firing which resulted in the death of eight and injuring of over a dozen police officials including the district police chief. The protesters snatched the official arms and ammunition from the police officials. The mob set on fire the police vehicles. In police firing many protesters were also killed. Next day newspapers put this number from nine to twenty, while over one hundred protesters, including women were injured, who were shifted to the Civil Hospital Nawabshah, where emergency was declared and wards were vacated. Because of clashes, the National Highway, connecting Sindh with the rest of country was blocked for many hours.

After these incidents, the police was withdrawn and Army was brought in Moro, which misbehaved with not only the common people but reportedly also with police officials, who in protest threatened to resign. The official handout admitted death of four police officials but did not mention the casualties of the protesters. The political circles and local journalists put the civilian death casualties to 21. The police registered a case with FIR no. 184 of 1983 under MLR 9,13, 14, MLO 77 and Pakistan Penal Code sections 302, 307, 353, 395, 397, 148, 149, 188 and 436 against Ghulam Murtaza Jatoi, Mohammed Bakhsh Jatoi, Dodo

Bhatti, Shamu Korai, Karim Bakhsh Jatoi, Biloo Khoso, Abdu Chandio, Malhar Chandio, Nabu alias Nawab Khoso, Rahim Bakhsh Siyai, Khalid Bakhsh Abro, Gui Mohammed, Usman Korai, Younus Korai, Essa Korai, Hussain Khoso, Faiz Mohammed Khoso, Essa Khoso, Imam Bakhsh Buriro, Sikander Korai, Ghulam Qadir Loond, Shafi Mohammed, Murad Bhayo, Sahib Khan Khoso, Usman, Dhani Bakhsh Makhani, Arbab Awal, Ahmed Piyaro Chandio, Hussain Dhani Bakhsh, Abdullah Majho, Abdul Sattar Majho, Ghulam Rasool Charhiyo, Ali Nawaz Khoso, Darya Khan Khoso, Nazar Khoso, Ghulam Raza Khoso and Raj Mohammed phul.

In Hyderabad, six MRD workers courted arrest. In Hala, three workers court arrested after leading and addressing a rally of thousands of protesters. Hala observed a complete strike, where the government offices also remained closed. In New Saeedabad, high school students brought a rally against the government and blocked the National Highway for sometime. Meanwhile, the Bhit Shah police twice raided the traditional poetry recitation session at the shrine of Shah Latif and arrested few disciples. In the 350 years long history of the shrine it was for the first time that a police raid was conducted here.

Sanghar observed a complete strike. In Khipro, four, in Nauabad town two and at the historical MakhiForest, five workers courted arrest. In Tando Adam, four workers were arrested. In Shahpurchakar, students of the high school brought out a rally and protested against the arrest of one of their teachers. Police baton charged the rally in front of local police station. Sakrand, observed a complete strike and a wheel jam. Police arrested two workers who in a rally were coming to volunteer their arrest. A powerful blast in early hours of the day was heard in Larkana, however no damage was reported. The students of Chandka Medical College Larkana boycotted their classes

and brought out a rally in support of MRD, police arrested 27 students who were trying to enforce a boycott in other educational institutes. Meanwhile, three MRD workers in the presence of a big crowd offered voluntary arrest in a busy area of Larkana. Khuhra observed a complete strike and a joint rally of political workers, laborers and students was brought out which culminated in the arrest of three workers. Complete strike was also observed in Dadu and to and fro public transport came to a standstill. In Khairpur Nathan Shah, where a complete strike was observed, over ten thousand people brought out a rally and offered prayers for the martyrs of the movement. The rally culminated with the arrest of five workers. In Mehrarh, over five thousand people brought out a rally and offered prayers for the martyrs; police arrested three persons including the molvi who led the prayer.

In Karachi, in the presence of large crowd, two MRD workers courted arrest. In Badin, a complete strike was observed, where trade centers, factories and other business were shut down. Although local administration tried forcing the people to open their daily businesses but they met with no success. In Tando Bago, a complete strike was observed and on the refusal to open the businesses by the owners, the local administration sealed few shops and restaurants. In Pano Aqil, a complete strike was observed and a big rally was brought out led by the local leaders of Sindh Hari Committee. In his message from hiding, read out at the rally, Committee President Ghulam Rasool Sahito demanded immediate elections and transfer of power to the peoples' representatives. The participants of the rally blocked National Highways and on the baton charge and tear gas shelling by the police, they snatched sticks from the police officials and hit them back, which forced the police to flee. As the situation went out of control of the police, the Para-military force Pakistan Rangers was called from the nearby city of Sukkur, which

used heavy tear gas shelling and injured nine protesters and arrested eleven participants of the rally.

In Obavro, a rally was brought out from Kummon Shaheed, the border point between Sindh and Punjab. After marching for thirteen miles, the rally reached Obavro town, where police refused to arrest the workers, who intended to join their comrades in prison. In Dharki and Mirpur Mathelo, Sindh Hari Committee leader Mandhal Shar led the rally, carrying the portraits of Benazir Bhutto and Jam Saqi and burnt the effigies of General Zia. The police resorted to baton charge and arrested four protesters.

In Thari Mirwah, SHC brought out a rally and raised slogans against the military rule amidst a complete strike; police dispersed the rally with the use of baton charge. A complete strike was also observed in Kandhkot, Karampur, Bakhshapur, Lakhi Ghulam Shah, Dhahrki, Shahdad kot, Garhi Khairu, Faiz Gunj, Kotri Kabir, Kashmor, Halani, Mohabat Dero, New Jatoi, Jhok Shareef, Naushehro Feroz, Darbelo, Sanghar and other small and big towns across Sindh.

In Kashmor, a rally was brought out which was baton charged and tear gas shelled by the police. In retaliation, protesters pelted stones on police, banks and the government offices. Mirpur Mathelo police arrested fifteen political and peasant workers. In strike hit city of Khairpur, a rally by students was brought out which culminated in the arrest of two students. Ranipur, observed a strike on the third continued day. The police in the presence of the Army forcefully pulled down flags of the PPP, hoisted on the roofs of houses and shops:

In Kandiaro, two workers were arrested after leading a rally; the previous night police conducted a raid to arrest a local MRD leader but failed in its mission. In Lakha Road, another six workers courted arrest after leading a rally. A

rally of over two thousand people was brought out from Pir Sadiq Station, which reached at Pad-Edan, where five workers court arrested. On the other hand, police conducted late night raids on the houses of different opposition leaders but all leaders who had so far not been arrested went into hiding to organize the movement. In Ghotki, police arrested two of a group of protesters, who were trying to damage government property. In Sukkur, police arrested a local PPP leader on the charges of disturbing the law and order situation and violating the Martial Laws regulations.

In a statement issued from the sub-jail Badin, MRD workers disclosed that at different places in the district, police had established torture cells where inhuman torture had been unleashed on the arrested workers to break down their spirit.

In Lahore, the Vice President of the National Party announced that he was courting arrest and after climbing the rooftop of a building, he raised slogans against the military rule. The police was able to arrest him after long efforts.

On the appeal of their representative bodies, lawyers all over the country boycotted the court proceedings and took out rallies. In Karachi, over one hundred lawyers brought out a rally, led by the Karachi Bar Association President Abdul Hafeez Lakho. The lawyers reached at Session Court after crossing the barricades erected by the police.

Hyderabad Bar Association convened a protest meeting, chaired by the Bar President and demanded acceptance of all the democratic demands of MRD. A black flag was hoisted on the Association office. The Association boycotted the court proceedings and in a protest meeting

demanded the restoration of the constitution, conducting general elections and release of all political prisoners.

In Sukkur, seven lawyers were arrested before the rally could be brought out. The police cordoned-off all roads and streets leading to the judicial complex. Khaipur Bar Association convened a protest meeting after boycott of the court proceedings.

Joint meeting of the Peshawar High Court Bar Association and Peshawar District Bar Association was addressed by the lawyer leaders and demanded the end of Martial Law and restoration of democracy. They announced that Sindh was not alone in the struggle and the whole country was standing with the people of Sindh.

In Lahore, over 1200 lawyers took out a rally, led by Mrs. Talat Yaqoob and boycotted the court proceedings.

On the other hand, the military courts continued pronounce-ment of sentences on political workers. In Hyderabad, Summary Military Court no. 20 sentenced seven workers for one year imprisonment each for taking out a rally on 17th August in Hyderabad. In Thatta, Summary Military Court pronounced sentences of one year imprisonment, 10 lashes and fifty thousand rupees fine to each of the five workers and one year imprisonment, 10 lashes and twenty thousand rupees fine each to two workers. They were accused of taking out a rally on 30 August in Mirpur Bathoro.

Military Court Sanghar, sentenced two workers for six months each, Military Court Dadu, sentenced a former Assembly member for one year imprisonment and fine of five hundred thousand rupees, same court pronounced sentences of imprisonment fine two seven workers.

Military Court Sukkur sentenced two workers for imprisonment and released four others.

On the appeal of MRD, the elected municipal councilors continued resigning and in this regard, in Hyderabad district 31 such resignations were submitted.

Issuance of the press statements by the leaders and workers from prisons continued, which showed the loosening grip of the administration.

On the other hand, General Zia, while departing for Jeddah from Istanbul, told journalists that a particular political party was responsible for law and order situation in very few areas of Sindh but the situation was firmly under control of the government. The Governor of Sindh, while addressing the hand-picked provincial consultative council members in Karachi told that so far 650 persons had courted arrest while other 1345 had being arrested for disturbing the law and order. He put the figure of killed protesters as 19 including three police officials and said that 126 including 31 police and law enforcing officials had been injured.

The international media took interest in the situation in Sindh and correspondents of British dailies Telegraph and London Observer and BBC Radio visited Dadu and met local journalists and political activists at local press club.

Day 22 4th September Army continued its march in Moro, where the previous day had witnessed bloodshed. The arrested people were badly tortured but the forces could not recover the official arms and ammunition including rifle and machine gun. The Inspector General of Sindh Police announced twenty thousand rupees each to the grieved families of the killed police officials including Inspector Malik Bashir Jatt, Constables Mohammed Ibrahim Lashari, Ali Nawaz, Roshan Ali, Aitbar and Ghulam Akbar. On the other hand, six more police officials of Moro Police Station refused to perform duty after the killing of

their colleagues. The MRD leadership while condemning this incident through press statements accused the police officials of using baton charge and tear gas shelling on a peaceful women rally, which antagonized the people.

In reaction to the previous day's police action against the peaceful women's rally, the residents of Mithiani and surrounding villages brought out a protest rally and marched towards Naushehro Feroz. The residents of the villages on the way also joined the rally, which clashed with the police and other law enforcers. After negotiations between officials and protesters, it was mutually decided that only those protesters would be arrested whose names were already declared for courting arrest and seven pro-democracy workers offered their arrests. Later, one of the arrested workers lost his young son while he was imprisoned.

In Karachi, two workers court arrested in the presence of hundreds of their supporters, which disturbed the traffic flow for sometime. In Hyderabad, five workers volunteered arrest, in Khairpur Nathan Shah four, in Meharh, two while in Seta Road two workers volunteered arrests.

In Kandiaro, separate rallies of men and women were brought out. The women rally burnt the effigy of General Zia and peacefully dispersed, while at the culmination of the male rally seven workers volunteered arrests. With these arrests, a total of 109 workers of taluka Kandiaro had been arrested so far.

Khairpur observed a complete strike and three workers court arrested in Khairpur Mirs, in Thari Mirwah eight workers volunteered arrests after leading a rally of over three thousand people. In Hala, three workers courted arrest after leading a big protest rally. In Sujawal, six workers courted arrest after leading a rally, which was dispersed by the police with the use of tear gas shelling.

In Ghotki, Sindh Hari Committee (SHC) and Jamiat-i-Ulama-Islam brought out a joint rally and marched through the city. SHC brought out another rally in Kashmore, which was attacked by police and Pakistan Rangers with baton charge and tear gas shelling but protesters broke the cordon and entered the town. The protesters threw stones on government offices and tried to set on fire the telephone exchange at Nazir Abbassi Chowk (Named during the rally, after the martyred Communist students' leader). Seven persons including two police officials were injured during clashes. The police arrested thirteen protesters.

In Pano Aqil, peasants and political activist brought out a rally and sat-in on National Highway for three hours, resulted in stoppage of traffic flow to the rest of country including Punjab. The police and rangers resorted to baton charge and tear gas shelling, in retaliation the protesters threw stones and attacked law enforcers with sticks injuring two police constables and a Rangers inspector. In clashes, over one hundred protesters were injured and thirteen were arrested. The protesters burnt effigies of General Zia and US President and the US flag. In Dharki, a rally of peasants and political workers turned into a public meeting, which was attacked by the police with batons and tear gas shelling, protesters retaliated with stones. Two workers volunteered their arrests.

In Larkana, two workers courted arrest. In Mithiani, amidst a complete shutdown, over five thousand people brought out a rally and raised slogans against the government and hoisted PPP flag on local police station.

In Naushehro Feroz, thousands of marchers brought out a rally and after addressing the rally, eight workers were arrested. In Thari Mirwah, police took into custody caretaker of a local Dargah on charges of instigating his followers for anti-government activities.

A Sindh based pro-China Socialist group Awami Tahreek announced that its 29 workers were being arrested in the first twenty-days of the civil disobedience movement. In Sehwan and Sujawal, few Zia Himayat Tahreek workers joined MRD movement after quitting their organisation.

On the other side submissions of resignations by the municipal posts continued. In Sanghar and Khipro fifty and in Kandhra two councilors on the appeal of MRD resigned from their elected offices.

In Muzafargarh of Southern Punjab, a former assembly member court arrested after addressing the public.

The military courts continued sentencing the political workers and in this regard, a Military Court in Dadu, sentenced ten workers of imprisonment, lashes and fine. They were accused of confronting the police on 30th August in Khairpur Nathan Shah, during which a protester was killed in the police firing. A Military Court in Khairpur sentenced nine workers to nine month imprisonment, ten lashes and fifteen thousand rupees fine each. After the announcement of sentences the workers raised slogans in support of democracy and against the Martial Law. Military Court Badin sentenced two workers for one year imprisonment, ten lashes and five thousand rupees fine each. A Military Court in Rawalpindi, pronounced sentenced of one year imprisonment each to three MRD workers.

Shah Mohammed Shah, the acting President of Pakistan National Party in a statement asked all working committee members of his party to lead and address the rallies and ready to be arrested, and warned that action would be taken against those who will not follow the party discipline. He referred to the last committee meeting on 25th and 26th August, which had issued instructions in this regard. The cadres of the banned Communist Party of

Pakistan were working through PNP and were reluctant to court arrest as per their underground party's decision.

Meanwhile, former Sindh University Vice Chancellor and educationist Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah in a statement criticized the Jamaat-Islami chief Mian Tufail's recent statement, in which he declared the ongoing pro-democracy movement as a tool to gain state power.

The *Khaksar Tahreek* leader and widow of its founder, Begum Saeeda Mashriqi addressing a gathering rejected the government propaganda regarding the movement and declared it as the pro-democracy movement.

The Baloch leader Nawab Akbar Bugti, before his deportation from Sindh, held a seven hours long meeting with Sindhi nationalist leader G. M. Syed at his ancestral village Sann and discussed the overall political situation. Bugti was forcefully boarded on plane to Quetta, where he told journalists that the situation in Sindh was worsening and Sindhi population would retaliate if violence against them was not stopped.

Meanwhile, the BBC correspondent Mark Tully, who received fame for his reporting of ongoing movement, told local journalists that intensified movement forced him to visit Pakistan and cover it. He was of the opinion that the movement could intensify in coming days.

The political workers of Thatta district were warmly welcomed with anti-government and pro-democracy slogans, when they were shifted to Hyderabad Central Jail.

23rd Day, 5th September more organizations announced their joining the ongoing MRD movement. In this connection, a Sindh based women group '*Sindhiani Tahreek*' declared that its members will be courting arrest from 7th September. Meanwhile, Jeay Sindh Students' Federation (Organizing Committee) also announced a public meeting and protest on same day in Hyderabad.

The Gambat police arrested Makhdoom Rafiq, the managing editor of daily *Nijat* Sukkur for publishing anti-government and pro-democracy reports.

In Hyderabad, two workers court arrested. In Musa Khatiyan, two high school students, who led a protest rally arrested. In Tando Jam, high school students brought out a rally, which dispersed peacefully after passing through the lanes and streets of the town. Villages near Tando Allahyar observed a complete strike. In Hala, four workers courted arrest after a protest meeting. In Sujawal, the protest rally was attacked with tear gas shelling and baton charge. The police arrested six protesters. In Sakrand, two workers courted arrest after leading a protest rally.

In Sanghar five workers were arrested and Shahdadpur police arrested two activists for previous day's riots, while four workers court arrested and an elected municipal councilor resigned from his office. In Tando Adam three, in Nauabad two and in Larkana three workers courted arrest. In Kandiaro, five workers leading an anti-government rally, which raised slogans against the military government while marching through the town were arrested. A separate women's rally was also brought out in Kandiaro, which burnt an effigy of General Zia. Police raided and arrested a local PPP leader, while two other local MRD leaders escaped arrest. In Meharh and Khairpur Nathan Shah, separate rallies were brought out and ten workers courted arrest. Both towns observed complete shutdown. In Khairpur Nathan Shah, the motorcar of Qazi Fazal Ullah, a member of General Zia's handpicked Majlis-i-Shoorah was surrounded by the protesters. He was reportedly slapped and let free after being forced to raise slogans against the government and in support of democracy.

In Naushehro Feroz, a rally was brought out, which reached at local police station where four workers courted arrest. In Thari Mirwah, two and in Nawabshah another two workers were arrested. In Sukkur, two workers court

arrested. Khairpur police, unable to arrest the MRD leaders in desperation arrested a few government teachers and some members of government-backed Muslim League.

Moro Police cordoned-off many nearby villages to arrest those named in the murder of the police officials killed a few days earlier which to the shortage of essential goods in the area. Moro and the surrounding area continued a shutdown in protest against the killings of civilians. The para-military forces cordon-off the village New Jatoi and deployed forces on the roads, river routes and forests connecting village to the outside world, intending a major military operation in the ancestral village of central PPP and MRD leader Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi.

Dadu police arrested three pro-MRD persons, who had planned to court arrest at the central thoroughfare of the city, where thousands of people had gathered to see them off. Immediately after their arrest, they were sent to Hyderabad Central Jail.

In two different incidents, railway tracks were damaged. In one incident, seven miles from Sukkur, the main railway track connecting Sindh with rest of the country, was damaged between Raiti and Kabhar railway stations. The railway traffic was suspended for nearly seven hours. In Hyderabad district, an attempt to damage the railway track near Udero Lal railway station was foiled by authorities. The police made several arrests.

The elected municipal councilors continued to resign from their offices; in Tando Allahyar 12, in Sanghar chairman and members, in Kotri one, in Pithoro three and in Hyderabad one more elected representative resigned. The political leadership continued to send messages from the prisons, aiming to involve more people in the struggle.

According to BBC Radio, seven exiled workers arrested at Islamabad Airport, as they reached from London to

participate in the ongoing MRD movement. One former minister and three former assembly members were among the arrested.

BBC radio created a sensation throughout the country, when in a report it claimed that the pro-Zia Muslim League of Pir Pagaro, in its recently held meeting had decided to support the ongoing movement for democracy, later report proved an incorrect one. On the other hand a high level police official of Sindh police told BBC that the recent disturbed situation had demoralized the rank and file of the police.

On 5th September, Sindhi daily *Aftab* Hyderabad wrote another editorial against the atrocities unleashed by the police, especially a two night before raid on the sufi shrine of Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai where two devotees who were attending the poetry recitation session had been arrested. After citing some more violent incidents, the newspaper asked the government to order the police and other forces to avoid the use of force against the people, especially the peaceful protesters. The paper specially mentioned the Moro incident and demanded action against those who were responsible for the bloodshed of the people.

24th & 25th Day, 6th & 7th September; in Karachi one, in Khairpur Nathan Shah fifteen, in Meharh three, in Larkana six, in Nawabshah two, in village 60-Miles two, in Tando Adam three, in Sakrand four, in Qazi Ahmed two, including a police constable, in Shahdadpur seven, in Thatta two, in Musa Khatiyani two, in Hala three, in Tando Jan Mohammed three, in Khipro nine, and in Lahore two workers court arrested.

For the first time during the ongoing movement, in Hyderabad two female MRD workers Ghulam Fatima Palijo and Um-i-Kulsoom Kirano courted arrest.

In a separate rally in Hyderabad, two government employees courted arrest; in the statement issued before their arrest, they declared that they felt that the country had become a police state and changing it had become the duty of every citizen. Afterwards police used tear gas shelling to disperse the protesters, because of which many students of a nearby school fainted. The clashes between protesters and the police continued for hours, during which all business activities and traffic flow was brought to a standstill. The protesters burnt the US flag and threw stones on the American Center. In another rally six more workers courted arrest.

MRD leadership alleged that one of its imprisoned workers Haji Yousif died of cardiac arrest as the Central Jail Karachi administration delayed in shifting him to the hospital.

The Chandka Medical College, Larkana closed for indefinite period after a rally and arrest of its students. In Larkana 16 more elected councilors resigned from their offices.

Some unknown protesters set on fire the wooden sleepers of railway track between Bhirya Road railway station and Lakha Road railway station in central Sindh. Unknown persons attempted to damage the railway track in Bhan Saeedabad of Dadu. According to the railway spokesperson, tracks had only minor damage and after the repair the railway traffic was restored.

On 25th day of the ongoing movement, the imprisoned workers started their hunger strike for the restoration of the democracy and the 1973 constitution. In this regard, political prisoners in District Jail Dadu and Kandiaro Sub Jail refused to take meals.

The elected municipal councilors continued resigning from their offices and in Talhi six, in Bhanot seven and Touralabad three of them submitted resignations.

Meanwhile, the police disconnected the electricity and water supply of village New Jatoi after failing to arrest Ghulam Murtaza Jatoi, who was booked for the killing of the police officials few days back in Moro.

The detained central MRD leader Sardar Sherbaz Mazari suffered a heart attack in a rest house near Multan, which was declared a sub-jail.

After the official announcement that General Zia will visit Sindh from 8th September, the mass arrests of the political workers intensified and in that connection 50 workers were arrested from Sukkur.

26th Day,,,,, 8th September, in Naushehro Feroz, five hundred women brought out a rally, which marched through different roads of the town; another women rally was brought out in Hyderabad, which after march through different roads and raising slogans culminated in the court arrest of two female workers; in a separate rally two male workers also courted arrest. In Musa Khatiyar, thousands of protesters brought out a rally and amidst anti-government slogans two workers courted arrest, one of whom had married the previous day. Just after these arrests, a women rally was also brought out.

In Sukkur, a rally of one hundred thousand people marched and set on fire the portraits of General Zia, amidst the pro-democracy and anti-Martial Law slogans. Here two workers courted arrest. In Shikarpur, four workers courted arrest.

The residents of Musa Khatiyar decided to shutdown their businesses for one hour daily in support of MRD. In Hala, thousands of protesters brought out a rally which culminated in a public meeting. After addressing the rally three workers courted arrest. In Tando Adam, two workers courted arrest, in Ranipur, two workers court arrested after leading a pro-democracy rally. About five thousand protesters brought out a rally in Naushehro Feroz, during which two workers court arrested. In Meharh, two workers court arrested after a rally, during the rally an audio recorded speech by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was played, which created emotional scenes. In Khairpur Nathan Shah, five workers court arrested. In Sakrand, two workers court arrested.

In Qazi Ahmed, students of high school brought out a rally which marched through different parts of the town. The police dispersed this rally by aerial firing. Seta Road was shut down for two hours, during which a rally was brought out; in Peron Mal, three pro-democracy workers courted arrest;

in Kandiaro, three workers courted arrest after leading a big rally; meanwhile the local police arrested two MRD activists in raids carried out the night before. In Khairpur, two workers courted arrest, while a third was arrested in pre-dawn raid. In village 60-Miles, a rally was brought out, which culminated in the court arrest of two workers. In Karachi, different progressive students' organizations held a pro-MRD meeting at Dow Medical College and afterward brought out a rally and in Tando Jan Mohammed High School students took out a rally, which dispersed after marching through the town.

Some unknown persons set on fire the wooden slippers on main railway track. On the timely intervention by railway employees, it was saved from major damage. The local police made several arrests in this connection.

One more police head constable succumbed to injuries in Nawabshah hospital. He was injured during the clashes between police and protesters in Moro on 3rd September.

The law enforcing agencies continued the siege of village New Jatoi and in protest all the businesses were shutdown in Moro. According to a statement by a local MRD leader, electricity of one hundred and twenty five thousand consumers was disconnected and they were not allowed to move for work and medical assistance.

Meanwhile, Badin district police released all protesters arrested recently during the protest rallies at different places. In a related development, the Khairpur Central Jail

administration refused to accommodate the 42 political prisoners brought from Kandiaro, as the prison had already reached its maximum capacity.

The Summary Military Court Thatta sentenced three workers to one year imprisonment and twenty thousand fines under Martial Law Order no. 5 and 13. They were accused of bringing out a rally in Sujawal on 28th August.

Resignations of the elected municipal councilors in Sindh continued and in Hyderabad three, one in Digri, seven in Tando Jan Mohammed, two in Pacca Chang, two in Ranipur, three in Sitapur and two in Nawabshah resigned from their offices.

General Zia reached Jacobabad, during his four-day visit of Sindh; addressing his supporters, he said that peaceful atmosphere was the basic condition for the development of the country and for the transfer of power to the elected representatives.

Day 27th, 9th September, In Hyderabad, a women rally was brought out by the *Sindhiani Tahreek*. Participants of the rally carrying placards marched through the vicinity and afterward two female workers courted their arrests. The police baton charged the women and their male supporters. In another rally two pro-democracy workers including a college student, court arrested. In Naushehro Feroz, a rally was brought out, which later was joined by another rally initiated from PhulTown; both rallies sat-in on the main National Highway and blocked traffic for one and half hour. Later, three workers courted arrest. In Musa Khatiyani, a token strike was observed and a rally was brought out, which culminated on the court arrest of two workers. In Tando Kaiser, one worker courted arrest after leading a rally, which also offered funeral prayers for martyrs. In Tando Mohammed Khan, two workers courted arrest after leading a rally. In Halà, a rally of thousands of participants was brought out, which condemned the

cordoning-off of the village New Jatoi. Three workers courted arrest. The local MRD leadership announced a complete strike in Hala on next Tuesday. In Mehrarh and Khairpur Nathan Shah, five workers courted arrest.

In Tando Adam, two workers courted arrest. On the appeal of MRD, the prayer-leaders in mosques all over Sindh, prayed for the martyrs in their Friday prayer sermons. In protest against the cordon-off of the village New Jatoi, a complete strike was observed in Moro and two workers courted arrest. In Shikarpur two, Sakrand two, Karachi two, Kandiaro one and in Larkana five workers, court arrested.

In a strange development, a police constable of Khairpur Police Lines Abdul Rehman Panhwar and two constables of Kotdiji police Station Imdad Maganhar and Ghulam Ali Lashari resigned from the service and announced joining the MRD movement. While arrested Excise Police Inspector Ashfaq Ahmed Siddiqui and High School teachers Salah Katiyar and Khadim Hussain Rind went on hunger strike in the City Police Lockup Hyderabad. The Primary Teachers Association condemned the arrest of teachers and warned that the organisation would not ignore the increasing incidents of violence against teachers.

In Tando Allahyar, four MRD workers released on bail, while the fifth worker refused to avail the bail, till the restoration of democracy. Two MRD Sanghar leaders were shifted to Hyderabad Central Jail, after a Summary Military Court sentenced them for six month imprisonment.

A demonstration held in front of Pakistan Mission in UN New York and condemned the killing of pro-demo people in Sindh and demanded early elections in Pak

The elected municipal councilors contin
resignation and in this regard in Digri 7, Sh

Thano Bhula Khan 9, Meharh 8, Seta Town 4, Kotri 7, Larkana 18 and few others quit their offices.

In Lahore, a public meeting was organized, addressed by MRD leaders and two MRD leaders courted arrest; afterwards the protesters pelted stones on commercial banks and the vehicles. After baton charge the police arrested eighteen protesters.

In Peshawar, three local MRD leaders courted arrest after holding a demonstration at the Martyrs Monument of historical Qissakhawani Bazaar and raised slogans in favor of democracy.

Day 28th, 10th September, for the whole day the law enforcers roamed Hyderabad, the second largest city of Sindh, as General Zia was scheduled to visit the city and his opponents had announced a protest against his visit. on that day, common citizens of Hyderabad first time saw the newly US made Armored Personnel Carriers (APC), about which the police and its touts propagated that those were the Army Tanks and would fire Mortar Shells. However, the political activists had faced these vehicles many times during the ongoing movement and knew for sure that these can fire only tear gas shells and live bullets. So in the afternoon, as the workers intended to court arrest, they reached the Civil Hospital roundabout, few among them burnt the effigy of General Zia and a US flag, while others threw stones at the APC. The police constables sitting inside the vehicle panicked and fired tear gas shells, which eliminated the fear of bystanders and encouraged them to join the protesters. The clashes between protesters and police continued till the evening when four workers courted arrests. During the daylong battles the police arrested dozens of the people, many among them simply passersby. Four of the arrested protesters were shifted to prison.

After Hyderabad, Zia went to Badin and along his way to Rest House from Helipad, common people of city set free strays donkeys, which blocked the convoy of the mighty dictator for quite a while and people watched the panicked higher officials who were trying to drive away the animals.

On same day, Zia reached Thatta, where Makli and Thatta were under virtual curfew and the road transport and train traffic to and from Sujawal, Chuharh Jamali, Shah Aqeeq, Ladhiyun, Jati, Mirpur Bathoro, Dourh, Jhok Sharif, Warr, Ghulam Ullah, Mirpur Sakro, Gharho, Ketu Bandar and Jungshahi was suspended for the whole day.

The lawyers at Hyderabad Bar Association office also brought out a rally and raised slogans in favor of democracy and against the military rule. Slogans raised by the prisoners in the Hyderabad Central Jail were also heard.

On General Zia's visit to Dadu, a complete strike was observed and over one hundred thousand people brought out a rally, which was joined by a rally of women. As this joint rally marched toward the district police office, it was tear gas shelled and baton charged. In retaliation, protesters blocked the main road connecting Dadu with the rest of the country. During the clashes, one police constable and three protesters were injured.

Badar Abro writes in his prison diary, dated 11th September that news about the peoples' reaction on General Zia's visit of Dadu and stoning of his convoy, made one of fellow prisoner Manuel Savidra, an anti-Pinochet sailor from Chile, happy.

Addressing Majlis-i-Shoora members, religious scholars and the elite in Dadu, General Zia compared the situation in Sindh with the Bengal during the 1971 civil war and declared that the PPP was a secular/infidel party and

strangely JUI was also hands in gloves with it in damaging state property including railway stations, which was in no way a service to national cause. He rejected any possibility of holding talks with detained politicians and announced that those who intended to be arrested will be kept in prisons.

In Khairpur Nathan shah, two workers courted arrest and in Seta Road town a complete strike was observed and four workers court arrested after leading a rally. In Musa Khatiyan, two workers courted arrest after a rally and the police arrested one more worker for organizing the rally. In Hala, thousands of protesters brought out a rally and after a public meeting, three workers courted arrest. In Tando Mohammed Khan, one worker courted arrest while three others were arrested by police in raids on their houses. In Sakrand, two workers court arrested. A rally brought out from village Lakhat culminated in the court arrest of nine pro-democracy protesters. In Ranipur, two workers courted arrest after the rally marched through the town. In Khipro four workers, in Digri two, in Sukkur two workers courted arrest, after effigy of General Zia and US flag were burnt. In Kandiaro, three and in Pacca Chang two workers courted arrest after leading a protest rally and in Karachi, two workers courted arrest, while police arrested another two on the charges of a bomb blast during a MRD rally in Liaquatabad area. While the five hunger-striking workers in prison called-off their hunger strike, in Lahore two, in Faisalabad three, in Peshawar two and in Quetta one worker courted arrest.

Sixteen intellectuals, writers, former judges, trade union leaders in a joint statement issued from Karachi, supported the struggle for the democratic rights and declared that Sindh was an equal partner in the federation, so any attempt to deprive the people of Sindh of their political, economic and social rights will be harmful for the sovereignty and stability of the country.

They emphasized that the government should learn a lesson from the past and should immediately hold the general elections under 1973 constitution. Justice (R) Fazal-i-Haque Ghani, Mahmood ul Haque Usmani, Justice (R) Fakhuruddin G Ibrahim, Professor Karar Hussain, Hajira Masroor, Justice (R) Aga Ali Hyder, S. P. Lodi, Nabi Ahmed, Shoukat Siddiqui, Ina'am Durrani, Khalil Ahmed Timrizi, Syed Mohammed Taqi, Bashir Ahmed Mirza, Ali Yawar, Kalim Durrani and Mohammed Jamil signed the statement.

On the other hand, Aizaz Nazir and Mir Thebo affiliated with underground CPP and using the platform of PNP, in their statement declared the ongoing movement as revolutionary and the people of Sindh were a catalyst to it.

The military courts continued sentencing the anti-Martial Law workers and Special Military Courts in Hyderabad, Thatta and Karachi sentenced 18 workers to imprisonment, lashes and fine.

On the other hand, elected municipal councilors continued their resignations and in Dadu 14, in Thatta one, in Hyderabad four and in Nawabshah 16 elected councilors resigned from their seats.

The Executive Committee of the Pakistan Medical Association, Karachi branch, declared the sentences of lashes as inhuman and against human dignity; it asked the government not to implement them against the pro-democracy workers.

In an official handout, it was announced that on the death anniversary of Jinnah on 11th September, the doors of his mausoleum will be closed for the public at one in afternoon. It may be recalled that on the launch of MRD movement on 14th August, a protest was organized at the mausoleum, where clashes had erupted between pro and anti-Zia elements; the administration feared that a similar situation could be created on the occasion.

Day Twenty-nine,,, 11th September and Day Thirty,,, 12th September,,, bloodiest incident happened in Khairpur Nathan Shah, where eight protesters were killed in firing by law enforcers. Before the MRD rally began, the law enforcers forcefully removed the party flags hoisted on the rooftops of the private houses, which antagonized the people. As the protesters of nearby villages, riding on two hired buses reached Khairpur Nathan Shah, the law enforcers arrested four persons, including two workers who intended to court arrest and two bus drivers, and tortured them in the police station. The local MRD leadership approached the police SHO for the release of drivers and was told that they were arrested on the orders of the Army so they contacted the Army camping in a government rest house near the police station, where after an exchange of few harsh words, the Army personnel opened fire on the protesters gathered in front of the rest house. According to a doctor, posted in a nearby government hospital, when the para-medical staff tried to rescue the injured, they were also fired upon. Had they been allowed to treat the injured, many human lives could have been saved. In this incident eight protesters Nizamud Din Naich, Habibullah Laghari, Allah Warayo Langah, Deedar Ali Khokhar, Abdul Ghani Abro, Shahnawaz Khoso, Ghulam Nabi Khoso and Zamir Jagirani were killed, while scores of others were injured.

The local Magistrate Ramesh Kumar was pressurized to document that it was on his orders that the Army opened firing. On his refusal he was mishandled by the Army officials. In the evening, the Commissioner Hyderabad issued an official press note, which stated that, 'In the morning time two buses of protesters reached Khairpur Nathan Shah, where they were stopped from violating the law and their buses were confiscated, on which protesters demanded that the buses be allowed to go. In the meantime six more buses of protesters reached and the

crowd advanced towards the law enforcers carrying stones, axes, sticks and arms. The law enforcers had to open fire in self-defense and a few protesters got injured who were immediately sent to the local hospital for medical treatment. According to compiled information till 16.30 p.m. five of the injured died. The measures had been taken to maintain the law and order in the area.

After coming to power in December 1988, Benazir Bhutto ordered a 'Martyr Monument' in memory of those who sacrificed their lives for the restoration of democracy.

In Seta Road, Ms. Mumtaz Bhariani led a women's rally, which was also joined by male supporters. After marching for four hours, the rally dispersed peacefully. In Hyderabad, a women's rally was brought out; the police arrested six women activists from the rally. In Ranipur, a joint rally of women and men was brought out, which blocked the National Highway for four hours; afterwards four workers courted arrest. In Seta Road three, in Khairpur Nathan Shah three, in Mehrarh eight, in Dadu two and in Karachi four workers courted arrest.

In protest against the cordoning-off of village New Jatoi, a complete strike was observed in Naushehro Feroz. When a rally initiated from the town was marching through, it was joined by another rally of over ten thousand people that had begun from Mithiani. The protesters set on fire two vehicles filled with charcoal on National Highway and after holding a public meeting, three workers courted arrest. Afterward, the rally marched to martyr Riaz Memon's grave and reaffirmed the commitment to continue the struggle. In Naushehro Feroz, participants of a rally set on fire two effigies of General Zia and US President; after addressing the protesters, four workers court arrested. In Kandiaro, four workers courted arrest after their rally marched through the town. Meanwhile, police dropped 24 workers, some 62 miles away in the Nara Desert; they had been arrested the previous day from Kandiaro and had

gone on hunger strike in police lockup. A public meeting organized in 60-Mile village was addressed by local MRD leaders and participants of the meeting set on fire the effigy of General Zia; later two workers courted arrest. On the appeal of MRD, 60-Mile village and Qazi Ahmed, observed complete strike. In Mahrabpur, a rally was brought out, which culminated in the arrest of workers. In Faiz Ganj, two workers courted arrest after holding a protest meeting; in Bhandhi, a complete strike was observed and three workers court arrested after leading a rally. In Khairpur, police in a late night raid arrested one worker. Unknown persons set on fire the documents, books and furniture of the District and Session Courts of Nawabshah. Police arrested its guard for negligence. Some unknown persons opened firing on a goods carriage train between Dourh and Buchery railway stations and injured two persons including the train driver; later an exchange of firing took place when a police party reached the spot but the attackers escaped in the darkness. The cordon-off of New Jatoti village lifted after ten days but law enforcer's check posts were erected in the area.

In Talhar, a rally was brought out amidst a complete strike; protesters blocked Hyderabad-Badin road by burning tires. Later, they moved to Agricultural Development Bank and set it on fire; they also set on fire the post office and Town Committee office. Afterwards, they marched to the railway station and burnt down the tickets and wooden sleepers. They threw stones on running trains and damaged two commercial banks. Police arrested several protesters.

In Tando Bago, a complete strike was observed and a rally was brought out. Police cordoned-off the town and all entry and exit points for town were sealed. In Hala seven, in Jati two, in Tando Adam four, in Musa Khatiyani three, including two high school students, in Tando Allahyar two, in Khairpur two, in Matli four and in Shahdadpur eight workers courted arrest. In Badin, a leader of children

organisation and in Karachi a PPP leader, were arrested by police. In Diplo, students of high school brought out a rally and the town was shut down. Rallies were brought out in Tajpur and Aabri which merged at Khaisano Mori and blocked Hyderabad-Mirpurkhas road for three hours. Three workers courted arrest, while police arrested nine other workers.

In Nauabad police baton charged the rally and arrested a local leader. As the protesters reached police station to force his release, the police resorted aerial firing; afterward the rally dispersed peacefully. In Tando Mohammed Khan, one worker courted arrest, while police arrested two more workers in raids on their houses. Unknown persons set on fire the Union Council Kirundi office. A joint rally from Kirundi, Akri and Kot Lalu was brought out which converted into a public meeting. After addressing the meeting two workers courted arrest. In Matli, an oil tanker was set on fire by high school students.

Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani of JUP reached Hala and held a 3-hour meeting with Makhdoom Talib-ul-Moula, the senior vice chairman of PPP. Talking to journalists after the meeting, Noorani declared that the ongoing movement was for the end of Martial Law but the government was propagating that it was for the separation of Sindh from Pakistan.

Resignations from elected municipal posts continued and in Hatri one, in Chambarh five, in Pacca Chang three, in Shahpur three, in Dadu two, in Bucheri eleven, in Mahrabpur four, in Ranipur three, in Shikarpur two, in Tando Allahyar two, in Meharh eight, including two from prison, in Kolachi three from prison, in Tharirhi Mohabat six, in Bhuleda seven including one from prison, in Shah Punjo one, in Bothro three, in Mirpurkhas one, in Lakha one, in Kotri one, in Naushehro Feroz eight, in Seri one and in Bulri Shah Karim six councilors resigned.

Fifty-five poets, writers, journalists and intellectuals from Lahore issued a signed statement and appealed to the people of the whole country to play their historical role in the restoration of democracy and the civil liberties. They condemned the attempts to destroy the democratic struggle and reaffirmed that the people of Sindh were as patriot and pro-democracy as the people of other parts of the country. They declared that the democratic struggle cannot be strangled by the state torture. Among others Ustad Daman, Habib Jalib, Munoo Bhai, Anwar Sajjad, Hussain Naqi, Abid Hassan Manto, Amin Mughal, Fakhar Zaman, Altaf Ahmed Qureshi, Hameed Akhter, Ghulam Rasool Chacha, I H Rashid, Syed Mumtaz Ahmed, Riaz Malik, Ahmed Bashir, Rakhshanda Hassan, Shafqat Tanveer Mirza and Rafiq Mir also signed the statement.

Day 31st , 13th September, in Hyderabad women tried to bring out a rally at Silawat neighborhood during afternoon, this attempt was foiled by the female and male police, who arrested six women and female students. At the same time, police tried to arrest few more women, who were waiting for passenger bus at nearby bus stop, which resulted in exchange of hard words between women and police. Two male MRD workers also court arrested in a separate rally in Hyderabad. The police also conducted raids on 73 houses of the active workers and arrested many of them. At few places relatives of the wanted workers were also being arrested, as the police failed to arrest them. In Hala, over forty thousand people gathered at the Dargah of Makhdoom Nooh and raised slogans for the restoration of democracy and 1973 constitution, lifting of Martial Law and release of political prisoners. after the speeches by the local leadership, six workers court arrested. afterward rally, passing by power grid station reached the National Highway, on the way back to Dargah, few of the participants tried to move to the railway station, were fired upon by the Frontier Constabulary,

deployed for the protection of station and killed two protesters and injured six others. In retaliation of firing protesters set on fire railway offices and wooden sleepers. They also set on fire the Agricultural Development Bank and a vehicle parked in the premises. The protesters also set on fire the construction bulldozers parked at National Highway, which was blocked for eight hours because of the disturbance.

In Karachi, two workers court arrested, in presence of a big number of supporters. A rally was brought out in Udero Lal, amidst a complete shut down, the protesters sat-in on the railway track. In Tando Kaiser, a rally was brought out which after passing through the town, culminated on the court arrest of two workers, including an engineering university student. In Tajpur, police fired tear gas shells on the rally, in retaliation protesters threw stone, here two workers court arrested, while police arrested seven more protesters. Tando Bago observed a complete strike. In Tando Adam, three workers court arrested. in Dadu one, in Mehrarh two, in Khairpur Nathan Shah six, in Seta three workers court arrested. in Seta, local residents climbed on a train and raised slogans against the Martial Law. The police cordon-off the train at nearby Phulji Railway Station and dispersed the protesters. In 'Piyaro Goth, local residents hoisted PPP flags on 300 feet high Micro View Station and trains running on Hyderabad and Sukkur tracks. In Moro, a rally was brought out. After addressing the rally, the local MRD leadership asked police to come forward for arresting the intended workers but as the police did not reached, so the rally went to the local police station and two workers court arrested.

Talhar observed a complete strike. In the morning about 400 young boys brought out a rally, which set on fire the old tires at main bus stop and blocked traffic for two hours. The protesters threw stones on a passing train. Later, the rally marched to local police station, where

police force instead of taking any action, retreated. Protesters damaged two commercial banks and set on fire the local municipal office. Afterward, they moved to railway station and set on fire the store room and wooden sleepers. In the afternoon, local police with the help of Martial Law authorities, re-took the control of town and arrested twenty protesters including labor, student and political activists and conducted raids to arrest others.

In Matli, amidst a complete strike, two rallies were brought out, as the most of the town police was deployed at the district headquarters, so the protesters of one rally roamed on the roads freely and four of them court arrested, the participants of other rally blocked Hyderabad-Badin Road and set on fire the military-owned oil tanker, a government bus and effigy of General Zia. Later, police arrested few protesters, who were produced before local Martial Law official Major Abdul Latif. In Digri, two workers court arrested. Gulab Laghari and Jhanghara observed a complete shut down. In Thari Mirwah, a rally was brought out and twelve workers court arrested. Khairpur observed a complete strike and all markets and road-side tea shops were shut down. Male and female students of Shah Latif Campus of Sindh University sat on National Highway and blocked it for one hour, with burning the old tires. Later, the students of Superior College also brought out a separate rally and blocked Highway for another hour.

In Sehwan, a complete strike was observed and a rally was brought out, which passing through different roads, reached Dargah of Qalandar Lal Shahbaz and hoisted a PPP flag on its golden gate. Later, four workers court arrested. In Mahrabpur, a rally was brought out and three workers court arrested. Pano Aqil observed a complete strike. Sukkur observed a complete strike where police and army

marched in convoys. In the evening three workers court arrested after addressing the public meeting. In Sukkur, walls of city were pasted with hand-written posters, demanding the lifting of Martial Law and restoration of democracy. Through some posters, the police was asked to disobey the orders to suppress the protesters. In Jacobabad, two workers court arrested. in Kandiaro, rally blocked the National Highway for several hours. In Kotri Kabir, participants of a rally attacked a commercial bank and damaged its furniture. In Bhan Saeedabad, a rally of over five thousand participants was brought out, which culminated on a public meeting addressed by the local leaders.

In Ghotki, a rally was brought out, as it reached in the commercial area, the shopkeepers closed down their businesses. As the rally reached near to the police station, the local police arrested 35 protesters. In Kandiaro, eight workers court arrested. in Halani, rally blocked the National Highway. In Bharya Road town, students of primary and high school brought out a rally amidst a complete shut down and set on fire the effigy of General Zia. In Badin two and in Piron Mal two workers court arrested. In Bozdar Wadha, a rally was brought out amidst a complete shut down. Five workers offered their arrest but as the police was not present at the spot so the rally moved to Thari Mirwah for court arrest. In Bungel Dero, a rally was brought out, which after passing through different roads reached at National Highway, where protesters set on fire the effigy of General Zia. As the rally dispersed peacefully, the army took over the town and on the pointing of local cadres of Zia Himayat Tahreek conducted raids on residences of many active workers and arrested nine of them. In Khipro, seven workers court arrested.

In Larkana, a shut down was observed amidst many cracker blasts. For the whole day, the law enforcers tried to open the businesses but the small groups of protesters forced the traders to shut down their businesses. A rally culminated on the court arrest of three workers. In Thatta, a demonstration was organized, afterward police arrested two workers. Jungshahi observed a complete strike.

Previous night, some unknown persons tried to set on fire the Session Court Building in Nawabshah, which resulted in burning of the court documents.

Karachi police arrested one more worker, for alleged bomb blast in Liaquatabad area. So far, police had arrested six workers in this connection. The District Magistrate Tharparkar imposed section 144 for two months and banned gathering of five or more persons and carrying arms in the district.

Meanwhile, elected councilors continued resignations from their municipal seats and in Tando Bago one, in Hingorja fifteen, in Kolachi eight, in Thari Mirwah one, in Tando Hyder thirteen, in Hyderabad two, in Jamshoro one, in Kirundi three, in Hatri one, in Shikarpur two, in Panhwar two, in Mirza Bagh one, in Udero Lal six, in Aamri, Jhangara, Khahi and Channa Union Councils twelve and in Sanghar ten elected representatives resigned in the solidarity with MRD.

Military Courts continued sentences to the political workers and the Summary Military Court no. 16 Sanghar sentenced two workers for six months imprisonment each, under MLR 5 and 13, Summary Military Court no. 16 sentenced 27 protesters for one year imprisonment and ten lashes each. They were accused of bringing out a rally on 27th August in Shahdadpur, while Summary Military Court Badin sentenced one worker for one year imprisonment. He was accused of distributing pamphlets on 24th August.

In its Central Committee meeting MRD, after reviewing the overall situation in the country, handed-over the convener ship of alliance to Maulana Shah, Mohammed Amroti of JUI for coming three months. The meeting condemned the allotment of C class to the leaders and workers in prisons and not providing required medical checkup to workers after administering lashes to them.

One of the MRD prisoners in Hyderabad Central Jail, Maulana Syed Qamar Hashmi suffered heart attack and shifted to Civil Hospital Hyderabad. Hashmi, court arrested in Hyderabad on 14th August and was sentenced by a Summary Military Court.

Meanwhile, three former Lahore High Court judges Dilawar Mahmood, Chaudhry Khalid Mahmood and Aamir Raza Khan, former advocate General West Pakistan Raja Syed Akbar Khan and former Advocate General Punjab Chaudhry Mohammed Arif in a joint statement demanded that in context of the current situation in the country, the violence should immediately be stopped, especially in Sindh, where people were demanding the restoration of 1973 constitution and delay in it could take a different course of the movement.

Day Thirty-Two,,, 14th September,,, In Shahdadpur two, in Shikarpur two, in Tando Allahyar two, in Larkana one worker court arrested. In Peshawar, an 80-years old worker and in Mardan two workers, court arrested.

Sindhi daily *Aftab* Hyderabad on 14th September wrote an editorial on the incident of Khairpur Nathan shah, in which at least five protesters were killed and eight others injured in the firing by law enforcing agency. The newspaper called for a judicial enquiry, so in future such incidents could be avoided.

Day Thirty-Three,,, 15th September,,, Military Courts in Hyderabad and Badin sentenced seven workers and fined

for organizing rallies. General (R) Faiz Ali Chishti, who was considered as planner of General Zia's coup detent, declared the on-going agitation against an institution, instead of an individual. Addressing the journalists at Lahore Press Club, former federal minister and chief of election cell under Zia, regretted that the respect among the masses for armed forces had vanished and opined that the only way out was the general elections under the 1973 constitution and trials of violators of constitution, including him. He admitted that the current situation was worse than July 1977, the time when Martial Law was imposed.

Day Thirty-Four,,,16th September,,, In Digri, two workers courted arrest, while eight elected municipal councilors resigned. MRD Dadu formed a fact finding committee to compile the names of the killed and injured persons during the ongoing movement.

Day irty-Five,,,17th September,,, Two factory workers, affiliated with the Communist Party of Pakistan, volunteered their arrest in Shahdad kot.

Day Thirty-Six,,, 18th September,,, Karachi police arrested a former Punjab Assembly member at Karachi Airport on his arrival from London. Two more CPP workers volunteered their arrest. ShahdadKot town in the Northern Sindh achieved a distinction for producing the youngest courted arrest worker, when Momin Khan Jamali, a member of the children organization of the CPP court arrested. Later, Jamali was awarded one year imprisonment by a Military Court and was kept in Sukkur Central Jail, where he got a status of being a celebrity among the fellow political workers. Khairpur police arrested three PPP workers, all real brothers, in a raid. In Shikarpur one, in Mirpurkhas two, in Ranipur two, in Khairpur four, in Nawabshah two, in Nusrat city two, in Shahdadpur three, in Lahore one and in Peshawar two workers court arrested. Lyari vicinity of

Karachi became the battle ground when a former assembly member led and addressed a rally before courting arrest. Police fired tear gas shells and baton charged to disperse the mob which pelted stones at them.

Summary Military Court no. 20 sentenced six workers to imprisonment, who were charged for bringing out a rally and raising anti-government slogans on 18th August in Hyderabad.

On the appeal of MRD, the festivity of sacrificing Eid on 18th September was celebrated with simplicity and throughout Sindh prayers were offered for the martyrs of movement. Newspapers reported such congregations were also organized in village Mangermori, Bahawal Zauer, Kauro Ujan, Shahpur Jahaniyan, Omarkot, and Meharh.

The festivity of Eid was celebrated with a lot of fun in the Hyderabad Central jail, where prison authorities allowed all 1600 political prisoners to meet each others. The most sought out prisoner on that day was the leading Sindhi poet Sarvech Sujawali, who had to recite his political and romantic poems many times. One of his poems 'O' General...O' Colonel' became an instant hit and was smuggled outside, where it was published clandestinely in thousands and was widely circulated.

Three days later, to discipline them many of the political prisoners of Hyderabad Jail were shifted to other prisons of the country on 21st September.

After performing Eid prayers in Karachi Central Jail, Qari Sher Afzal of JUI, grabbed the official loudspeaker and offered prayer for the martyrs from Palestine to Sindh. On this unexpected move, the prison authorities panicked and disconnected the wires of the sound system but the prisoners stood their ground till the end of the prayers.

After greeting each other for Eid, the political prisoners gathered at the lawn of Ward 23 for funeral prayers in

absentia for the martyrs of MRD movement. Afterwards an all-parties general meeting was convened that lasted for over three hours and was addressed by representatives of every organisation.

Health condition of a MRD worker Abdul Malik Advocate worsened on 18th September, so the general body of political prisoners in Karachi Jail decided to go on hunger strike until he was shifted to the hospital. Later in evening prison authorities ordered that he be shifted to the hospital and the call for hunger strike was called-off.

19th September, Naudero police faced a new situation, when the released four political workers threatened to begin a hunger strike if they were not registered as political prisoners. The workers of a Sindh-based Marxist group Watan-Dost Inqalabi Party courted arrest a week earlier but were released by the police after severe torture.

PPP Senior Vice Chairman Makhdoom Talib ul Moula in an interview supported the idea of holding talks with the government but said that such authority lay only with the detainee leaders of MRD.

20th September,,, In Qazi Ahmed, a rally with some armed protesters attacked the local police station, which was retaliated by police with firing so protesters dispersed. Station House officer Police Station injured in attack. In Tando Jam, three workers court arrested while police arrested further eleven protesters for participating in a rally. In Omarkot, two workers court arrested, police used tear gas shelling and baton charge to disperse the protesters.

During the Eid holidays, Shamsheerul Hyderi, the editor of Sindhi daily Mehran, Hyderabad was replaced by Sana Ullah Rajar. This replacement was direct consequence of editorial titled 'Denial by Quaid-i-Azam, written by

Shamsier in support of three workers removed from their services by the government-owned daily Mashriq, Lahore. He wrote in his last editorial, 'Three workers of official newspaper Mashriq Lahore are being fired from jobs, pre-censorship is being imposed on daily Amn, Karachi, Lahore based newspaper Subuh-Alkhair is being suspended, the suspension of advertisements for Hyderabad based Sindhi newspapers is no more a secret. The employees of Mashriq were unemployed because in these circumstances they were responding to the voice of their conciseness. Restrictions on Amn were imposed because it continued to write, it was writing earlier. Subuh-Alkhair was suspended because it intended to see a better morning. Advertisements of Sindhi newspapers were suspended because their readership had become the saboteurs.

Why should we say that how much those steps will be justified with the people, because we are one of the aggrieved parties, who are among the above mentioned newspapers and workers? Although the journalists' and newspapers' organizations of Sindh and Punjab had already protested on the issue but we know that when the government feels the wound of pen, it considers every medicine poisonous. 'The ink of the pen of learned is holier than the blood of martyr', says an authentic saying of prophet. Saying nothing in this regard, we produce here the opinion of the founder of the nation Quaid-i-Azam, on 'the state of journalism in India' expressed in the speech before the Imperial Legislative Council on 19th September 1918. 'for a single second I do not want any concession to the culprits of treason, disharmony or racial discrimination but at the same time I do say that save the innocents, save those journalists who are performing their duty, and who are serving both the government and the people by daring to criticize. Such of their step is a guidance of any government'.

We would like to divert the attention of government people so they could spare sometime to review that they might be discarding the guidance given by Quid-i-Azam'.

Shamsherul Hyderi had joined Hyderabad based Sindhi daily Mehran, owned by pro-Zia politician and spiritual leader Pir Pagaro on 2nd July 1983 and was tasked to enhance the readership of the paper, otherwise discarded by the people because of its pro-regime stance.

22nd September,,, A big rally of protesters marched towards the oil exploration field in Badin, 105 of them was arrested by the police. The Army was called to protect the oil field, where locals were deprived of jobs which had created resentment among them. Summary Military Courts in Thatta and Badin sentenced five workers of imprisonment and fine for bringing out rallies and damaging government properties. Meanwhile, 133 persons were released in Larkana district, who were arrested on different days from rallies.

24th September,,, In Thari Mirwah three, in Tando Allahyar two and in Omarkot two workers courted arrest, meanwhile police conducted raid on the Karachi residence of B M Kutty of PNP and detained him for 90 days in Karachi central jail.

26th September,,, In Tando Allahyar six, in Nasarpur two and in Dadu eleven workers courted arrest or were arrested in police raids. Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani announced his support for the pro-democracy movement initiated by the people of Sindh. Addressing a selected gathering of Karachi notables, he said that the current movement was in no way the Sindhudesh movement.

27th September,,, In Gambat two students courted arrest.

28th September,,, PNP officially announced joining MRD. Addressing a press conference in Karachi, Acting party

President Shah Mohammed Shah circulated a statement signed by the party President Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo.

To conduct peaceful municipal elections in Sindh, police started arresting the activists in different areas. In this connection, police arrested eight persons in Karachi, including three local football club captains, two students and a municipal councilor who had resigned earlier.

Wife of PPP and MRD Karachi leader Ahitram ul Haque Thanvi complained to Inspector General of Sindh Police about kidnapping/arrest of her husband by four unidentified persons. Although, initially police denied his arrest but two days later on 30th September, he was detained for sixty days.

Fifteen political prisoners shifted to Machh central Jail, Balochistan from Sukkur Central Jail. According to prison administration, the prison was over-crowded by the political prisoners so they were shifted to Khairpur, Karachi and Hyderabad Jails.

29th September,,,MRD had announced a wheel-jam strike to foil government in holding municipal election in few districts of Sindh. In response to this call, people of village Punhal Khan Chandio and other nearby villages of taluka Sakrand in central Sindh, took out a rally and recited Koran for martyrs by blocking the National Highways, connecting Sindh with the rest of Pakistan and raised slogans against the Martial Law government. Suddenly Army trucks arrived at sit-in spot which antagonized the people and their slogans became louder. In retaliation Army started firing with automatic guns and killed 16 persons on the spot and injured another 54. The Pakistan Army took all injured and unharmed protesters into custody and along with the martyr shifted them to the army camp Nawabshah, some 25 kilometers away from the scene. After completing the formalities, the arrested were shifted to jail and injured to the Nawabshah Civil Hospital, where the residents of the

whole city gathered and donated blood and supervised their treatment.

According to official press note by Deputy Commissioner Nawabshah, 'in afternoon 300-400 miscreants blocked the highway and when they were asked by authorities to disperse, few of them opened firing on the law enforcer, who retaliated. Casualties from both sides reported. Seven persons were arrested and further investigation underway'. Official press note did not mention figure to dead or injured from any side. Because of strict censorship on print media, no independent report was published in the newspapers of that time but later many writers and columnists gave details of this horrific incident. In this regard a Sindhi book '*Tareekh Ji Khuni Galiyan Maan*' (From the Bloody Lanes of History) by Asghar Tanha gave a detailed report and profiles of martyrs.

According to him, one of martyrs, Mohammed Hashim Khaskhali s/o Allah Bachayo aged 40 was a peasant and father of four sons and two daughters. Another martyr Mohammed Ramzan s/o Mohammed Bakhsh Khaskhali aged 35 was a shopkeeper and father of two sons and two daughters. Unmarried Janib s/o Malir was just sixteen while Ali Gul was nineteen and father of a son. 18 years old Meero was a peasant and unmarried. Seventeen years old student of tenth class Ali Sher Chandio and his fourteen years old nephew, a student of class seven Ghulam Mustafa were also martyred. Gulab s/o Lal Khan 24, Pir Bakhsh s/o Ghulam Mohammed Chandio 60, a peasant and father of three sons and a daughter, Mohammed Siddique Chandio 45, a peasant and father of three sons and two daughters, Tharu s/o Mohammed Omar Chandio 70, milk seller, Mohammed Urs 30, a tractor driver, Mahboob s/o Dhani Parto Solangi 26, a laborer, Hussain Bakhsh s/o Khan Mohammed Maganhar alias

Khato Fakir 60, was father of five sons and eleven daughters and was a traditional dhol player, were among the martyrs.

After this incident, the law enforcers, conducted a ruthless operation in the area and beside arresting scores of villagers, destroyed private and community property including a shop of Sarang Khaskhali, a restaurant of Yousif Khaskhali, one flour mill, 15 houses of peasants of local landowner and a PPP leader Punhal Chandio, local mosque and a community guest house.

Village Punhal Khan Chandio became a symbol of peoples' resistance and atrocities by state forces and was visited by many leaders including Benazir Bhutto, Begum Nusrat Bhutto, Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo, Jam Saqi and others. Many story writers and poets including Kirat Babani, Ustad Bukhari, Shamsheerul Hyderi, Badar Abro, Khaki Joyo and other composed poetry and wrote stories glorifying the sacrifices by the people of village Punhal Khan Chandio.

Imdad Mohammed Shah, a local politician and elder son of G. M. Syed, in an interview with daily *Hilal-i-Pakistan*, Karachi, on 29th September 2005, told that at the time of the incident, he was in Nawabshah and although he was an opponent of MRD but reached hospital to facilitate fellow Sindhi. According to him, one local resident Gulam Jam Jakhio received sixteen dead bodies of martyrs from law enforcers who were buried in their ancestral graveyards. Shah told that local PPP leader and elder of the area Punhal Khan Chandio was severely tortured by law enforcers at Sakrand Sub Jail, where he was fasten with a tree and beaten. Later, after becoming member of non-party Sindh Assembly during Zia government, Imdad Mohammed Shah, as an independent opposition member, raised question of the massacre in Sindh Assembly, which the government denied, at that Shah submitted many

documented proofs including foreign media reports and interviews by eye-witnesses.

Azizullah Marri was arrested during a demonstration in which he was shot in the leg by the police. He was denied medical care, and his injury, which had broken his knee-cap, did not heal properly. He was able to walk with the help of a crutch, but was denied one in jail. Consequently, he crawled on his hands and feet in order to move around.

In Thatta, eight workers were arrested from two separate rallies and raids, while whole district observed a complete transport strike. In Omarkot, 14 protesters were arrested and produced before magistrate for violating the section 144.

29th September,,,,, Karachi police arrested six political activists including females to prevent them from disturbing the municipal elections, which were boycotted by the political forces. Lahore police arrested one male and two female workers and detained them for 90 days in Kot Lakhpat Jail. In Quetta, one worker courted arrest.

30th September,,,,,, Violent protests were observed in Shikarpur, Pano Aqil and Khairpur, where protesters blocked roads, set on fire government vehicles and attacked a Pakistan television team. In Hyderabad three, in Khairpur one, in Matiari one workers courted arrest. Municipal polling booths were attacked in Badin; rally was brought out in Omarkot. Summary Military Court no. 2, Hyderabad sentenced four workers for imprisonment and lashes. They were accused of organizing rallies and stone-throwing on 22nd August and 14th September in Hyderabad, meanwhile for same charges, another Military Court no. 16 Sanghar, sentenced five workers for imprisonment, lashes and fine. Larkana, observed business and transport strike and two workers court arrested, two workers were arrested from Khairpur Nathan Shah and Meharh. In Dadu, Meharh and Khairpur Nathan Shah a complete strike was

observed and police arrested ten persons including four students of the degree college. In Lahore, four workers courted arrest.

According to official documents, in the first week of October, more than 1600 political prisoners were being kept in Hyderabad Central Jail.

1st October,,, the local activists, with the support of residents of the Sonehri Farm; near Moro, erected barricades to stop the transportation of polling staff deputed for municipal elections. As the staff convoy, under the protection of the Army neared the Farm, seeing the barricades, Army opened fire that lasted for many hours, in which two, including Sikandar Kalhoro were killed.

2nd October,,, In Hyderabad two workers, in Rawalpindi one, in Faisalabad one and in Peshawar two, workers courted arrest.

Some unknown persons damaged the railway tracks and set on fire the wooden sleepers near Moro, because of that passenger train running between Nawabshah and Tharushah was suspended. On the other hand, wooden railway sleepers on the tracks between Mirpur Mathelo and Dhahrki were set on fire, because of that a goods train had to be stopped. Meanwhile, railway authorities suspended four trains running on the feeder line-route of Tando Adam to Sakrand, Tharushah, Nawabshah, Padeiden and Mahrabpur.

3rd October,,, two women workers were arrested in Hyderabad. Protesting youth burnt tires, threw stones on passing vehicles and forced business to shutdown in Old Sukkur; police dispersed the mob by force. Tando Mohammed Khan observed a complete strike and police arrested eight protesters. In Dadu, a lawyer arrested, in Tando Allahyar, police dispersed rally by baton charge and made few arrests. In Hala, two workers courted arrest; in Kashmore, police baton charged and fired tear gas on a

rally and arrested 12 protesters. Sarhari police arrested four persons including a journalist. Shahdadpur police arrested three persons.

As the coal laden truck tried to break the barricade erected near Khanot, clashes erupted between locals and the staff of buses and trucks.

The District Magistrate Badin imposed section 144 in the district and banned carrying arms, delivering objectionable speeches, bringing out rallies and distribution of objectionable literature.

In Rawalpindi one, in Lahore one, in Faisalabad one and in Quetta one worker, courted arrest.

4th October, local residents blocked Tando Allahyar-Tando Adam, Gulab Laghari-Mirwah roads and the Lundo railway station.

In Quetta, protesters set on fire the effigy of General Zia.

Summary Military Court Hyderabad sentenced 20 persons to jail, lashes and fine for bringing out a rally and blocking Highway near Tando Allahyar. Military Court Badin sentenced ten protesters for same charges.

5th October In Hyderabad six persons arrested.

To protest against state-owned Pakistan Television's biased reporting on the ongoing movement, some unknown persons, opened fire on the television booster tower at Noorpur near Nawabshah.

6th October In Shahdadpur two, in Hyderabad four, in Khairpur Nathan Shah two, in Dadu one, in Lahore one couple of husband and wife, in Rawalpindi one worker courted arrest. Naushehro Feroz police arrested ten persons for blocking National Highway.

On the appeal of MRD, prayers for martyrs were offered in village Maldasi, Karam Khan Nizamani, Baqar Khan Nizamani.

To enhance the ongoing MRD movement in Punjab, JUI leader Maulana Mohammed Shah Amroti, conducted a secret visit of the province and met different leaders, although at the culmination of his visit and before return back to Sindh, he was confident that in coming days Punjab will actively participate in the movement; but like many other efforts to activate Punjab, this move also failed.

7th October,,, in Shahpurchakar two, in Hala three, in Shahdadpur two workers courted arrest.

9th October,,,, Military Court Thatta sentenced three workers to jail. They were accused of organizing a rally on 29th September.

10th October,,, in Thari Mirwah, 500 women brought out a rally, which marched through the roads and was addressed by three female students. In Hala two, in Khairpur one, in Dadu one, in Larkana two and in Rawalpindi one worker court arrested. Over a dozen political workers brought out a rally in Lahore, to court arrest of workers but as the police did not reach the spot, after raising pro-democracy slogans they dispersed peacefully.

11th October, clashes erupted between locals and bus and truck staff, who tried to break the barricades on the National Highway near village Noorpur. In exchange of fire, one truck driver and a seven year boy were killed. In Tando Allahyar five and in Khairpur two workers court arrested. Section 144 was imposed in Thatta and Jacobabad districts.

In an interview with daily Washington post, Pakistan Foreign Minister Sahibzada Yaqoob Khan claimed that the government had concrete proofs of involvement of a foreign hand in the disturbance in the country.

12th October, in Hala two, in Shahdadpur two, in Khairpur two, in Lahore three and in Gujranwala one worker

courted arrest after baton charge by police. MRD convener Maulana Mohammed Shah Amroti announced that the alliance will suspend its movement for two days on 9th and 10th Muharram, the days commemorated as the mourning of martyrdom of Husain, the grandson of Prophet.

14th October, in Shahdadpur two, in Shikarpur two, in Tando Allahyar two and in Larkana one workers court arrested. In Frontier province two workers in Mardan and one in Peshawar court arrested. In Jhelum one and in Faisalabad one MRD worker court arrested.

Lahore District Bar Association General Secretary and another lawyer were arrested for delivering pro-democracy speeches in the lawyers' convention.

16th October,,, About 3000 law-enforcers cordoned-off village Mirpur Bhutto of Larkana district as the residents of the area had planned to organize a protest rally for the next day. This was the ancestral village of Mumtaz Bhutto, a central PPP leader and a first cousin of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Right at the beginning of the raid, forces opened fire on the residents and killed a young boy. They searched every house of the village including the residence of Bhutto and the search lasted from 9.30 in the morning to 4.30 in the afternoon. Forces arrested 150 persons who were released after three months.

17th October,,, around 250 political prisoners were shifted from Hyderabad to Karachi Central Jail, where political prisoners, especially of the PPP were deeply divided on the future system of the government; whether it be federal or based on confederation.

Although few days before the start of the movement, Mumtaz Bhutto had suggested a confederation for the country but now as the ongoing MRD movement was receding and the cold response of Punjab in participation, the circulation of an audio message by Mumtaz in support

of a confederation once again opened the floodgates of debate inside and outside the prisons. As a consequence of the political divide among the prisoners and shifting of a large number from Hyderabad Jail, the authorities started showing their true colors and stopped the facility of buying food from outside for B class prisoners, so they had to form their own mess and prepare meals independently.

19th October,,, in the early morning, law enforcers, supported by helicopters, cordoned-off the village Lakhat, 10 kilometers from Qazi Ahmed, in Central Sindh. Although, in official press note it was claimed that the operation was carried out against dacoits and other criminals but local residents and political elements refuting it and stated that the village was targeted because of its role in ongoing MRD movement. Initially, helicopters dropped few petrol bombs on the village, which gutted the huts, and then the ground forces marched into village and killed a resident Ali Khan Jatoi, while four others were injured in direct firing. Law enforcers arrested about 250 persons and shifted them to Nawabshah. Official press note confirmed the arrest of 88 persons and recovering 33 rifles, shot guns and big quantity of rounds.

20th October,,, in Khairpur two students, in Kandiaro five, in Thari Mirwah 15, in Tando Jam three and in Digri two workers courted arrest.

The District Magistrate Nawabshah, through an official press note claimed that they had recovered unlicensed shot guns, revolvers, pistols and other arms and ammunitions from village Lakhat and Punhal Khan Chandio.

21st October,,, in Hyderabad two female workers, in Karachi two, in Khairpur two, in Dadu two lawyers, in Tando Mohammed Khan two, in Jacobabad Tahreek-i-Istaqlal provincial President Ahmed Mian Soomro (later Federal Minister under General Musharaf), in Larkana two workers

courted arrest. In Lahore four, in Faisalabad two and in Sialkot one worker court arrested. MRD convener Mohammed Shah Amroti, asked Amnesty International, World Islamic Mission and other pro-justice forums to monitor and observe the situation in Sindh and inform the world about the atrocities by the government on the province.

A nine-member delegation of Progressive People's Party, led by its chief Maulana Kausar Niazi, met General Zia in Islamabad. Once Central Information Minister, under Bhutto government, Niazi addressing a press conference after the meeting, told that to improve situation in Sindh, his party had proposed a committee comprised on higher government officials and leaders from Sindh. The proposed committee should formulate its recommendations, within one month, on the mismanagement in land allotment, the forgeries in issuance of domiciles and the injustice with Sindhi in job quota.

22nd October,,, protesters in Sukkur set on fire a furniture showroom and a motor cycle, damaged commercial banks, two petrol pumps, one cinema house, at different spots police resorted baton charge and fired tear gas shells to disperse them. Karachi Airport police arrested PPP leader Riaz Khan as he landed, from a London flight, where he was in political exile. He intended to court arrest.

24th October,,, in Hyderabad 13 workers of MRD and Shaheed Ahsan Memon Students' Action Committee courted arrest.

25th October,,, Summary Military Court no. 20, Hyderabad, sentenced three workers for one year imprisonment. They were accused of taking out a rally and delivering objectionable speeches on 21st August in Hyderabad. The case was conducted inside the Hyderabad Central Jail.

26th October,,, PNP President Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo was detained at his ancestral village Naal, district Khuzdar Balochistan.

27th October,,, Two workers were arrested in Hala, for disturbing law and order.

28th October,,, The spokesperson of Pakistan Embassy at London in a press conference denied that during the action at village Lakhat of Nawabshah ten thousand army personnel and helicopters were used. Clarifying the allegations leveled by PPP exiled leader Ghulam Mustafa Khar, he said that the police and para military forces took action for the arrest of dacoits in village Lakhat and the vicinity. He also denied that over ten thousand people were taken into custody and over 200 were being killed in the action.

31st October, Military Court*no. 2 Hyderabad sentenced four workers to imprisonment, lashes and fine for bringing out a rally and raising anti-government slogans on 22nd August and 14th September, while the Summary Military Court no. 16 Sanghar sentenced five workers of imprisonment, lashes and fine for bringing out a rally, raising anti-government slogans and throwing stones on police on 18th October at Shahpurchakar.

2nd November,,, District Administration imposed section 144 in Thatta district and banned gathering of five or more persons and all kind of meetings and rallies.

Clarifying the statement by Maulana Noorani of JUP, spokesperson of Sindh Home Department said that 54 persons were killed during the ongoing MRD movement not 500, as stated by Maulana Noorani. According to him, 220 others including 96 law enforcers were injured in the riots.

8th November,,, Summary Military Court no. 10 Thatta pronounced sentences of one year imprisonment each to

five workers for violating Martial Law Regulations 5, 18, 43; they were accused of organizing a rally and raising anti-state slogans in Mirpur Sakro town.

9th November,,, summary Military Court no. 20, sentenced for one year imprisonment to a political prisoner, for keeping anti-government objectionable literature in his possession. He was arrested sometime back from a residential hotel in Hyderabad.

10th November,,, A PNP worker court arrested in Karachi.

Addressing the Majlis-i-Shoora in Islamabad, federal Interior Minister Mahmood A Haroon, claimed that MRD movement had been failed as the masses had rejected the politics of violence. While submitting figures, he claimed the so far 61 persons were being killed during the movement, of which 20 percent were from law enforcing agencies. Out of 200 injured, 25 percent belonged to law enforcers. He declared that during the movement a total of 4691 persons were arrested, out of which 2121 were being released and 2570 were still in imprisoned. He further claimed that after a total failure in mobilizing the general masses against the government, now MRD was trying to exploit the lawyers, doctors, workers and students.

11th November,,, Dadan Bhund, of Dadu, one of the political prisoners in Hyderabad Central Jail, had a stomach pain in the mid-night. As his cell-fellows, cried for help the prison administration did not responded so his fellow comrades broke the inner walls of few cells and reached the a fellow political prisoner, who had first-aid medical kit box. As the political prisoners broke the inner walls, the prison administration blew the siren, which created a panic situation, not only within the prison but also in the vicinity of prison, with majority residents the MRD supporters. In the morning of next day, a case was

registered against thirteen prisoners for the breaching of prison discipline and damaging the prison property.

Two days later, on 13th November, the administration through an official press note by District Magistrate Hyderabad, claimed that at about 8.15 in the night, the prisoner complained of stomach pain and the prison medical officer was sent to him immediately but the fellow prisoners raised objectionable slogans and tried to come out of their barracks. Administration intervened and the situation was brought under control. The next morning, as the prison opened, the prisoners gathered in the ground of Circle no. 1 and threw stones on the duty staff. Once again the law enforcers intervened and brought situation under control.

But the real situation was far from as described by the administration. The sounds of tear gas shelling and the aerial firing alerted the common citizens and hundreds of them climbed on the roof-tops of surrounding and gathered on roads and lanes. The law enforcers faced two-tier fight against them as the people gathered outside the prison also pitched a tough battle with them. The international broadcasting services including BBC and All India Radio reported clashes between police and political prisoners and feared few casualties.

After the day long battles, the negotiations between administration and representatives of political prisoners started in the evening. The visitors of political prisoners were barred for three days from meeting their dear-ones.

In the follow-up of this disturbance in the prison, the Sub Divisional Magistrate Hyderabad City, imposed section 144 for one month and banned the gathering of five or more persons, delivering speeches or lectures, raising slogans, carrying anti-people banners, exhibiting placards or objectionable photos (read of political leadership).

12th November,,, Additional Session Judge Khairpur, ordered to release the MRD workers on bail for 25 thousand rupees each. All the accused, kept at Khairpur and Sukkur prisons, were charged for taking out a 40 kilometers long rally from Ranipur to Khairpur on 22nd August, during which few properties were damaged.

16th November,,, General Zia, once again declared that no talks will be initiated with MRD and the situation in Sindh was under control of the government. To discourage participation of rural elite in ongoing movement, he announced that laws regarding land reforms had been formulated and will be implemented very soon.

As the prisons throughout Sindh were over-flooded with political prisoners and because of their big number, the administration could not control them from different activities, previously unheard of within the prison walls.

One such activity was a friendly volley ball match between the two groups of political prisoners, held in Khairpur Central Jail on 21st November, the three set game was won by Parvez Ali Shah team in two straight-games against Abbassi team. Mairaj Mohammed Khan was the chief guest on the occasion, while Nafis Siddiqui distributed prizes among the players. Pir Haji Gul Shah Jilani and Syed Amir Ali Shah Jamot were referees. Pir Syed Ali Akbar Shah was declared the man of the match.

On one occasion Mushtaque Mirza of PDP arranged a Halim Party for his fellow prisoners in the Karachi Central Jail, as he used to host every year at his PECHS Karachi residence.

Summary Military Court no. 10 Badin sentenced ten workers for imprisonment, lashes and fine. They were accused of bringing out a rally and damaging a government bus near Badin.

The intensity of MRD movement created a sense of concern within a section of the intelligentsia and indicating the alienation of Sindh, some of them compared the situation with East Bengal, before it became independent state of Bangladesh. In this regard, an article appeared on the editorial pages of largest Urdu daily *Jang* Karachi, written by Brigadier (retired) Abdul Rehman Siddiqui, who was posted in Bengal during 1971 civil war, was an interesting reading. He writes, 'If all the four provinces of the country are the four organs of the body, then pain in one should be felt by others and if that is not happening, it will be a matter of serious concern. Any movement, no matter for how little time it sustains, if is confined in only one province, it was at least for him, a not-so-good omen in regard of the solidarity and security of the country'.

On 18th November 1983, the leaders of Sindh Unity Board visited Hyderabad to offer condolence for the people martyred during the movement. Addressing the District Bar Association on the occasion, Shah Farid ul Haque, Mahmood ul Haque Usmani and Ali Mukhtar Rizvi said that in the last few years the impression had dominated that a particular set of the people (Punjabis) were ruling the country and said that all the people living in Sindh are Sindhi.

The Secretary General of Central Action Committee MRD, Abid Zubari of NDP, in a letter from Hyderabad Central Jail, on 23rd November 1983, addressed to Malik Qasim and the other members. admitted the failure of the movement and opposed the re-initiating movement in near future. In his letter, NDP Information Secretary also disclosed that the US administration and different diplomats had ditched the MRD leadership. He emphasized that the MRD leadership should open dialogue with General Zia and the Committee should feel responsibility of over 4750 MRD prisoners and their families. He regretted that the Legal Aid Committee failed to perform.

24th November, Summary Military Court sentenced two workers to imprisonment for bringing out a rally and raising slogans against Martial Law.

The Martial Law authorities on 26th November, extended the detention period for further three months of five MRD workers in Khairpur district.

Military Court no. 16 Sanghar on 27th November, sentenced two workers to imprisonment under Martial Law Regulation no. 3, 5 and 18, they were accused of bringing out a rally, offering funeral prayer for martyrs and delivering objectionable speeches in Shahpurchakar on 24th August. Summary Military Court no. 20 Hyderabad sentenced 28 workers to imprisonment, lashes and fine for bringing out rallies on different days during the movement.

30th November,,, students of Shah Latif campus Khairpur of Sindh University, SuperiorScienceCollege and Government College of Technology Khairpur, brought out separate rallies and campus students blocked the National Highway by burning the tires and stoning passing buses. After a two-hour road blockage, police under a magistrate reached the spot and fired tear gas shells and aerial firing to disperse students. The TechnicalCollege students set ablaze government buses. SuperiorCollege students were dispersed by the use of tear gas. Khairpur observed a complete strike on the call of MRD. In Hyderabad two, in Hala two, in Mirpurkhas two workers courted arrest. The Karachi rally burnt US flag after leaders addressed the protesters.

About six hundred political prisoners in Sukkur Central Jail went on 24-hour hunger strike demanding medical treatment to political prisoners in Khairpur Jail, an end of atrocities on political prisoners and the implementation of the jail manual.

30th November,,,Summary Military Court in Karachi sentenced seven workers to imprisonment, lashes and fine. One among them Jamal Nasir Baloch of PNP was sentenced three months imprisonment, ten lashes and ten thousand rupees fine.

30th November,,, government declared Mahmood Khan Achakzai absconder, who went into hiding after the firing incident on 7th October in Quetta, which resulted in the killing of four protesters and injuring of seven more.

1st DecemberIn Hala two workers court arrested.

To punish and pressurize, Sindh government registered cases of violation of land reforms ordinance against 15 landlords.

The Punjab Governor Lt. General Ghulam Jilani announced that the remaining detained lawyers will be released soon. General Zia announced at Lahore airport that the general elections could not be held till March 1984 and the bitter pill of the general elections had to be swallowed but the power will be handed over to proper people at proper time. He said that although he had heard the name of Rasool Bakhsh Palijo but will not hold talks with him. He was replying about a report in newspapersthat one of his representatives had a meeting with Palijo, who was in Kot Lakhpat Jail Lahore.

Pir Pagaro of Muslim League, claimed on 2nd December that calls for prayer, proposed by him had punctured the ongoing MRD movement.

2nd December, in Hyderabad two workers court arrested.

Shams ul Islam, daily Dawn correspondent for Faisalabad and Mohammed Zaman Khan advocate were released on 3rd December from central jail Sahiwal. Zaman had courted arrest on 5th August in Lahore and was sentenced to one

year imprisonment and Rupees 40 thousand fines. They were released on the orders of Governor Punjab.

Rasool Bakhsh Palijo, chief of Sindh based Sindhi Awami Tahreek was shifted to the Mayo Hospital, Lahore, from Kot Lakhpat jail.

4th December,,, Special Military Court established inside the Kot Lakhpat Jail Lahore, pronounced death sentence to three PPP workers Idrees Baig, Usman Ghani and Idrees Toti for their alleged affiliation with AZO. They were accused of killing a policeman and a civilian in 1981.

5th December,,, Muslim League president Pir Pagaro reached Hala to hold a meeting with Makhdoom Talib ul Moula, a fellow spiritual leader and the Senior Vice Chairman of PPP. No details of this two-hour long meeting were disclosed. Meanwhile, Muslim League member S. M. Zafar said in Lahore that the current situation demanded the immediate restoration of democracy.

7th December,,, a rally was brought out in Larkana which burnt an effigy of Zia and the US flag. Students affiliated with PPSA brought out a separate rally after boycotting the classes. In Hyderabad, two MRD workers court arrested, after leading a rally, which threw stones at the police.

8th December,,, one worker court arrested in Hala, raising pro-democracy slogans.

Makhdoom Talib ul Moula, the Senior Vice Chairman of PPP on 9th December denied that he was approached by the government through Pir Pagaro, who recently met him, Makhdoom reaffirmed that he will follow the party discipline.

Government sources told that the Karachi Central Jail was over-flooded as it could accommodate maximum of one thousand prisoners and at the moment two thousands and three hundred prisoners were languishing in jail, out of

which over three hundred were political prisoners of MRD movement.

10th December... two workers courted arrest in Hala.

A delegation comprised of intellectuals, doctors and others led by Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah, concluded its visit of 50 villages in Sindh on 10th December. Addressing a press conference in Hyderabad, former VC Sindh University, Shah told journalists that the kind of recent atrocities meted out in Sindh had never been heard off. He appealed to General Zia that the military should be withdrawn from the remaining parts of Sindh, as the people were antagonistic to the behavior of armed forces. He requested Urdu daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* and English daily *Pakistan Times* to stop abusing the people of Sindh. While calling non-party elections a disastrous step, he demanded the restoration of the political process. Replying to a question, he said that establishing a commission would not offer any remedy in the present circumstances.

12 December,,, two workers court arrested in Hala, in Karachi one MRD leader courted arrest.

A group of right-wing and right-to-center intellectuals formed a new non-political organisation '*Pakistan Society*' in Lahore to unite people of different provinces. According to its declaration, it was the responsibility of Punjab as the bigger province to take initiative in this regard.

The Karachi Central Jail was also over-flooded by the political prisoners. The jail administration was reluctant to impose discipline on them and the political prisoners took full advantage of it. They organized study circles, mainly by leftist workers, staged plays and organized protest and remembering the past organized the death anniversary of Comrade Hassan Nasir on 13th November and International Human Rights Day on 10th December 1983.

15th December,,, detained PPP central leader Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi shocked everyone, when from detention he issued a statement of reconciliation and assurance of peaceful atmosphere till the coming general elections. In same statement he appealed to the Martial Law authorities to release those who had courted arrest during civil disobedience movement by MRD. Message, released on the occasion of the birth celebration of the Prophet, Mohammed expressed sympathy with the family members of martyrs, and demanded holding of general elections within 90 days. He pleaded government for a decent behavior.

BBC Radio, in its commentary, considered it more appealing than demanding.

There was a buzz in the political circles during the early period of the movement that Jatoi had been assured by a faction of the Pakistan Army that after the few weeks of agitation, the general elections will be announced for which he will be nominated as the caretaker Prime Minister; but as the movement turned violent in Sindh, Jatoi was ditched by the guarantors. (later, in August 1990 after the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto government Jatoi became caretaker PM) Now as the outcome of the agitation, he had lost the bargaining power so tried to reconcile with the military government. Surprisingly, the first point of MRD charter of lifting of the Martial Law had figured as the last point in the statement by Jatoi.

Military courts in Karachi sentenced four MRD workers for imprisonment and fine, while 32 MRD workers were released from different prisons of the province; they were arrested from Khairpur Nathan Shah on different occasions during the movement.

16th December,,, 43 workers including three students of Dadu district were released from different prisons.

17th December,,, district administration Jacobabad imposed section 144, under which raising slogans, delivering speeches and carrying weapons` were banned for 30 days.

53 protesters including 13 students were released on bail in Dadu district. They had been arrested from different rallies.

31st December,,, the military authorities. asked all jail authorities in Sindh to make preparations for the release of the MRD leaders. It was planned to release these prisoners in two phases; while the Provincial Home Department spokesperson clarified that those prisoners were arrested under different Martial Law regulations, so the department had no authority to take any decision about their fate. According to MRD, over four thousand pro-democracy workers had court arrested, until the high command officially announced the end of the movement last month.

Leading Sindhi intellectual and former VC of Sindh University Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah in a statement warned that after their sacrifices, the people of Sindh will not accept any formula or compromise. He said that statements by few Sindhi leaders during the last couple of weeks showed that they could become the instrument for any conspiracy. He alerted Sindhi leadership that the youth of Sindh was angry and had turned militant revolutionary, so it delve deep into their conscience and then take a studied stance.

Badar Abro writes in his prison dairy that during the month of December, there was a clear-cut division among the political prisoners in the Karachi Central Jail. One group that mostly comprised of workers was against any kind of compromise with the government and on the other hand was the rural elite, whom workers called 'Special Ward

group', who promoted and propagated the idea of negotiating with the government. The workers, who had in the past listened to these leaders and paid attention to their opinion, were avoiding them now and were reluctant to meet those who were frequently visited by the high military officials in the prison.

In that situation, Mumtaz Bhutto, a cousin of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and a founding member of PPP, once again floated the idea of Confederation, through an audio cassette, smuggled from Karachi Central Jail to reach the workers who had intensified their debate about the future course of struggle and role of Punjab in it.

According to Abro, after every few days one or other political or student organisation held a public meeting in the Karachi Central Jail, chaired by a presidium, representing every organisation. In those meetings, everyone was free to raise own slogans, like 'long Live Bhutto, Long Live Lala Asad, Long Live Nazir Abbassi, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was a rebel and all of us are rebels, Nazir Abbasi was a rebel and all of us are rebels, Lala Asad was a rebel and all of us are rebels, Long Live National Democratic Revolution, Down with USA, Long Live Workers of the Land, Long Live Independent Sindh'. After every meeting, joint rallies would be brought out, raising joint slogans. According to him the prison authorities were watchful but were reluctant to create any kind of hurdle in their way, as they knew that at the moment the political workers were in large number and any kind of provocation could be disastrous.

In the last week of December, as most of the MRD workers were being released and the season of holding meetings within prison walls was on the recede, the political prisoners, especially of CPP in Karachi Central Jail decided to stage a play. Badar Abro a short story writer penned the script, about a family, which did not consider politics a

good activity but during the movement, military suppression pushes this family into politics. Shabbir Shar, an accused of Communist Conspiracy Case and a television artist before his arrest in 1980, took the responsibilities of direction and other arrangements and played a double role in the play. For other characters Fakir Iqbal Hisbani, President of SPSF, who later was martyred in police firing on 24th May 1986, became Army Brigadier, while Faiz Soho became an Army Major, Imdad Chandio of DSF became a student leader, while Mohammed Khan Solangi became the police out. After rehearsal for many days and nights, the Sindhi play titled '*Bahiyun Baragiyan Joon*' (THE FLAMES OF STRUGGLE) was staged in the lawn of barrack no. 29 and was attended by political as well as non-political prisoners. At the end of play, the caste and crew got standing ovation.

The impact of this play was felt few days later, when the political workers of Thatta district were produced before a Summary Military Court. In that play, in a scene of the military court, the army major makes an offer to the political workers that if they admit their mistake of being political, a verdict of their release could be managed. At this, one character replies, 'O you major! What kind of verdict? The people of this country will give the final verdict'. Afterward, they were awarded one year imprisonment and fifteen lashes each. Incidentally, the real army major repeated the same words to the political workers of Thatta and got the same reply expressed in play. The political workers of real life also proudly shared the same fate of sentence like their counter-parts in the play.

The MRD movement left a multiple impact on Sindh, where on the one hand overall breakdown of law and order was witnessed and high number of kidnapping for ransom and robberies were being reported; so far so, former Governor

of Sindh, under Zia regime, General Jahan Dad Khan, wrote, 'There was no traffic on the roads at night except for convoys on the National Highway, which had to be escorted by the Army contingents'. On the other hand, it created an internal debate and later fractions within all political forces in Sindh. The worst effected were PPP and Jeay Sindh Tahreek, two extreme entities on the political spectrum. G. M. Syed, the founder of Jeay Sindh Tahreek had opposed the MRD movement, by saying that it was the *Pakistan Bachao* (save) Movement and not only received General Zia, at the cardiac ward of Liaquat Medical College Hospital, Hyderabad but declared him a decent person. This and nomination of a pro-Zia politician and intellectual, Hamida Khuhro, as the chairperson of Tahreek, further caused an internal rift in Jeay Sindh Tahreek and a faction of leading workers under Idrees Chandio broke away and formed an independent group, Sindh Dost Inqalabi Party.

As the MRD movement did not succeed to topple down General Zia, so to get the advantage from the political alienation in Sindh, PPP leaders Mumtaz Bhutto and Abdul Hafeez Pirzado, along with Baloch nationalist leader Atta Ullah Mengal and a Maoist Pathan leader Afzal Bangish, formed *Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front* (SBPF), during their self-exile in London and demanded Confederation as the future system of governance in the country. This Front was a direct consequence of Punjab's restrain from participating in the movement for democracy. In an interview, Mumtaz Bhutto himself admitted that, 'We were hopeful that Punjab would participate in the movement as it was a strong base for PPP and were assured by provincial leaders that Punjab was fully prepared for the movement but the claims of leaders of Punjab failed'. Later, both Mumtaz and Pirzado were expelled from PPP under Benazir Bhutto. After spending sometime in Sindhi nation:ist politics, Pirzado returned

back to his law practice, while Mumtaz after sometime dissolved SBPF and formed Sindh National Front, which later was merged with Muslim League of Nawaz Sharif.

The cool response in Punjab further alienated people of Sindh and they lost their faith in the federation. In the words of sociologist Tariq Rehman, 'The suppression of MRD was so violent in Sindh, where anti-Punjabi and anti-military feelings ran high, that it took on the nature of a civil war'.

General Jahan Dad Khan, a former Governor of Sindh under Zia writes in his book, that 'the Pakistan Army and Martial Law were considered to be synonymous with the Punjab. The majority of Sindhi felt that their interests were no longer safe in the hands of Martial Law and the Army dominated Punjab'

Ayesha Jalal writes in her book '*Demacracy and Autharitarianism in South Asia*' that 'the regime's policy of differential patronage and selective mobilization had won over substantial segments of Punjab's dominant socio-economic strata, landlord and industrialists and most importantly, the emerging commercial groups'.

Inspired by the Chinese revolution under Mao, a Sindh based group Awami Tahreek got prominence during this movement and according to the Party claim, over 1200 of its activists court arrested including 400 from ~~B~~adin, 200 from Thatta, 75 from Khairpur and 75 from Tharparkar, Dadu and Larkana.

On 1st January 1984, some political prisoners, including Rafiq Safi, Maulana Jawed Naumani and others were shifted to Hyderabad Jail from Karachi and were put in solitary confinement with chains. As the other political prisoners came to know about their arrival, initially the representatives of political prisoners held talks with prison authorities, who refused to oblige, so the political

prisoners began agitating and after rallies and shouting slogans for four days, their demand was accepted and their fellow comrades were shifted to the main wards. Few days later, Comrade Jam Saqi was also shifted from Sukkur Jail to be able to appear in his academic examinations. He was also kept in solitary confinement in the special ward, named after him by political prisoners, as he had spent so much of his time in that ward. Once again political prisoners, especially students were intending to show their muscles to the authorities. However this time after talks with senior political workers, the authorities immediately ended the solitary confinement of Comrade Jam. Both of these developments are a reflection of the mood of the political prisoners, who because of their large number were defying official discipline and were dictating their terms.

Comrade Jam Saqi immediately started political discussions with fellow prisoners and the major issues that emerged from these discussions were about the exploitation of Sindh. Many prisoners were holding Punjab responsible for this which had not responding well to the call of the civil disobedience movement. Comrade Jam was of the opinion that as the Communists they could not be loyal or disloyal to any state. This stance was not acceptable to some of the fellow prisoners, who considered it full of ambiguity.

Ideological debates between various organizations were frequently held. In one such debate on Maoism, the workers of DSF and Awami Tahreek debated for hours. The DSF team was led by Imdad Chandio and AT was represented by Munir Bhurgri.

Imdad Chandio had a good voice, so he was popular among his fellow prisoners for singing Sindhi and Urdu political as well as film songs.

Mohammed Musa Dal, an active worker of MRD and PPP of district Mirpurkhas was born in 1953. At the age of ten he contacted the Polio virus which heavily crippled him and the wheel-chair became his helping hand. He joined the PPP in 1977 and played an active role in organizing the anti-Zia movement, especially during the MRD movement in taluka Kot Ghulam Mohammed. He was arrested along with 25 other workers and during his fifteen days imprisonment; he refused to submit an apology as was demanded by the authorities. Later, after the dismissal of first Benazir Bhutto government in 1990, he was again arrested and sent to jail. Till his death, he was an active political worker.

On 5th January, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto birthday was celebrated in Hyderabad Central Jail. Addressing the public meeting, PPP leader Ashique Hussain Jatoi surprised everyone, when he announced that Benazir Bhutto had allowed the workers booked under civil cases, to get release on bail. This statement opened new wave of debate among the political prisoners, majority of whom considered it a compromise with military junta by the landlord class, led by Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi in the PPP.

13 January, five MRD leaders of Sanghar district were released.

On 14th January, MRD convener Maulana Mohammed Shah Amroti denied and clarified the news that appeared in different newspapers that the PPP was asked for clarification by the alliance about the departure of Benazir Bhutto to abroad for medical treatment.

In its editorial appearing on 14th January, daily *Aftab* Hyderabad demanded the immediate opening of different railway tracks in Sindh, shut-down because of the damage during the MRD movement. Newspaper opined that although during the agitation the closure could be justified

but now when the movement had almost fizzled out so the train service on all tracks should be restored after due repair work.

17th January,,, MRD convener Maulana Amroti reaffirmed that the question of calling-off the civil disobedience movement launched by MRD did not arise and new strategies to re-energize the movement were being formulated.

On 19th January, few workers of the Jatoi faction of PPP circulated a written statement in support of Jatoi's reconciliatory statement in the Hyderabad Central Jail for signatures by fellow political prisoners. This created a serious rift among the political prisoners, who after the release of many fellow comrades-in-struggle were passing through fatigue and desperation. Few of the prisoners, who still believed in struggle against the military rule and were not ready for any compromise, considered the act as submissive and conciliatory. They criticized the leadership that if it could not sustain the tempo of the movement, then there was no need to call the masses to the streets and getting hundreds of them martyred in the heroic struggle with the security forces.

The statement by Jatoi and later attempt to get support for it made a serious rift among the political workers, especially of the PPP, who accused each other for creating a dissident group within the party, of compromising with military junta and of political adventurism.

In his explanation to the media reports regarding the clashes between MRD prisoners and jail authorities, the Nara Jail Hyderabad Superintendent on 22nd January, said that those clashes erupted on the shifting of the MRD prisoners to other prisons.

23rd January, Syed Afzal Hyder, the President Lahore High Court Bar Association expressed his concern over the rift within the MRD and considered it a great political tragedy.

To boost the moral of the law enforcers in Sindh, on the instructions of the Martial Law authorities, the railway police gave cash awards and certificates to those officials who had faced the protesters during the MRD movement. In this regard, on 23rd January, the Inspector General of Pakistan Railway Police gave away the awards in Larkana region.

Rasool Bakhsh Palijo, the detained chief of Sindhi Awami Tahreek, who was recently shifted to Mayo Hospital Lahore from Kot Lakhpat jail, on 25th January refused to talk on the current political situation with visiting journalists, as he was afraid of being shifted back to prison by authorities. On 26th January, he was shifted to Karachi under police custody, where he was kept in Landhi Jail Karachi.

28th January, Martial Law authorities released 23 MRD workers from Hyderabad Central Jail, arrested from different areas of Sindh during the movement.

In his letter on 4th February, to MRD Nawabshah leader Bashir Ahmed Dhahraj, from Machh Jail Balochistan, Ghulam Mujtaba Jatoi appreciated the sacrifices tendered by the workers and leaders during MRD struggle, on the call given by his elder brother and central MRD leader Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi. In his letter, Jatoi mentioned that in Machh the cold was unbearable, especially for the prisoners from Sindh and wanted to know the names of those released and the ones still languishing in different prisons of Sindh.

7th February, Military Court no.12 Dadu sentenced workers to imprisonment for bringing out a addressing the crowd and damaging government p

in Bhan Saeedabad on 18th September 1983. A case under Martial Law Regulation 13 was registered against six of the accused for raising anti-government slogans in the military court after the pronouncement of sentence. Meanwhile the Military Court no. 18 Hyderabad sentenced two workers to imprisonment and lashes for bringing out a rally, addressing the crowd and damaging government property in Hala.

19 political prisoners of Thatta district were shifted to different prisons on 8th February, after being produced before Additional Sub Martial Law Administrator Thatta, who demanded an apology and guarantee of good behavior in future; which was political prisoners refused.

11th February, Summary Military court no. 18 Hyderabad, sentenced five workers of Hala to imprisonment and lashes. They were accused of bringing out a rally, raising anti-government slogans and damaging the railway and other property. Martial Law authorities extended the detention period of four MRD leaders for further ninety days. All those MRD Sindh leaders, arrested on 20th August 1983, were kept in Machh Jail Balochistan, while six other workers were released from Khairpur central jail.

The pro-struggle workers of the PPP organized a meeting in Hyderabad Central Jail on 12th February to commemorate a thanks giving day on the recovery of Benazir Bhutto from surgery in London and reassert confidence in her leadership. The rival group within PPP tried its best to get this meeting canceled but the majority of the active and vocal workers supported it. The main focus of thirteen speeches in that meeting was the future course of the political direction of the country, whether it should be federal or confederation? Few speakers criticized the right-wing leaders of MRD, who had announced that the MRD would not raise the issue of provincial autonomy in the coming general elections.

14th February, 20 more political detainees were released from Khairpur Central Jail.

The Martial Law authorities released Punhoon Khan Chandio on 17th February from District Jail Nawabshah; he was arrested after the massacre by the military forces in his village.

A central MRD and JUI leader Maulana Amroti claimed on 17th February that more political parties had requested for the membership of MRD and demanded that the national and provincial assemblies' elections should be conducted before the municipal elections.

Two-day Sindh provincial convention of JUI held in Sakrand on 17th and 18th February. Addressing the convention, MRD convener and JUI leader Maulana Amroti announced that MRD movement had not been withdrawn.

In the first interview after her recovery from surgery, Benazir Bhutto denied on 23rd February that any compromise for her travelling abroad was negotiated with the government.

27th February, detention orders of central MRD and NDP leader Sherbaz Mazari were withdrawn. He was arrested on 19th July from Karachi. Tahreek-i-Istaqlal leader Mian Mahmood Ali Kasuri met with Jamaat-i-Islami chief Mian Tufail Mohammed. Although they refused to disclose the details of the meeting but sources were confident about the possibility of cooperation between JI and MRD.

According to the official record of Hyderabad Central Jail, on 1st March, the number of political prisoners came down to 400, which was once 1600 at the peak of MRD movement. At that time, all parties concentrated on the political education of their workers. Except for a Sindh based pro-China group Awami Tahreek, every other party including the PPP, CPP and Jeay Sindh were accommodating other parties' cadres in their study circles. In this connection Maulana Jawed Naumani gave lectures

on Afghan and Iranian revolutions and on Organisation on 30th and 31st March, while on 1st April, Aijaz Khwaja gave a talk on Confederation. On the same day release orders for few workers of Thatta district reached at Hyderabad Central Jail, who first had to appear before the District Martial Law Administrator, who initially asked them to submit a written commitment that in future they will not participate in any anti-government agitation. On their refusal to do so, all of them, including the district's workers at Karachi Central Jail were released unconditionally.

4th March, The political prisoners in Sukkur Central Jail, commemorated Sindhi Students Day and organized a meeting chaired by Younis Khorkhani, while Comrade Jam Saqi was the chief guest. On the occasion Bakhsh Ali Jamali, Shabbir Solangi, Dr. Khalid Mahmood, Mahesh Kumar, Wali Mohammed Abbassi and Ashique Mansoor addressed the meeting.

On the same day, 13 political leaders belonging to Sindh were shifted to Landhi Jail Karachi from Machh Jail Balochistan. All of them were arrested from different parts of Sindh during the MRD movement. Meanwhile, 18 more political prisoners were released from Khairpur Central Jail.

Meanwhile, newspapers reported on 6th March that the leaders of major MRD component parties had contacted different parties for the restoration of democracy under the 1973 constitution, to achieve the purpose they showed willingness to form a united forum. Meanwhile, Military Court Hyderabad sentenced six workers to imprisonment, lashes and fine for blocking National Highway during MRD movement, while the Military Court Dadu sentenced 17 workers to imprisonment, lashes and fine, on the same charges.

MRD Hyderabad in its meeting held on 7th March decided to foil the conspiracy of holding non-party elections. Meeting condemned the remarks by US in favor of General Zia regime.

Political prisoners in Central Jail Sukkur initiated a token hunger strike for six-hours on 11th March to demand their rights as per the jail manual.

Authorities on 20th March extended the detention period of four MRD leaders of district Thatta for a further ninety days.

21st March, the token hunger strike of six-hour, by the political prisoners in Central Jail Sukkur continued for the 10th day.

28th March, five political prisoners in Central Jail Sukkur went on a 24-hour hunger strike to get their demand of shifting them to their home district jails accepted. Military Court Dadu sentenced 17 MRD workers to imprisonment, lashes and fine for organizing rally and damaging government property during the movement.

29th March, the Deputy Convener of MRD Iqbal Hyder arrested for violating the Martial Law regulations and detained for 90 days; a week earlier a MRD meeting had been held at his residence.

Martial Law authorities released 57 MRD workers from Hyderabad and Sukkur Jails; they were arrested from different parts of Dadu district during the movement.

30th March NDP leader Wali Khan claimed that since the inception of Pakistan every government including the current one had offered him the Presidency or the Premiership but he had not accepted either of those.

Restriction on the movements of Bizenjo was lifted on 30th March, a day earlier; he was confined to his ancestral village Naal.

In an interview with a newspaper on 31st March, PPP Senior Vice Chairman Makhdoom Talib ul Moula said that if the government was sincere in solving the current crisis then it should release all the arrested political workers and leaders. He said that the confederation was not his party program and claimed that his family had rejected the offer of a ministry extended to his son Amin Fahim.

Talking to an Islamabad based journalist on 8th April, Benazir Bhutto said that she had her lobby in Pakistan, not in the US and the people of Pakistan will be benefitted from their struggle within the country. After having her medical treatment in London, Benazir had visited US to apprise different sections about the situation at home. She called the atrocities of military regime in Sindh a great tragedy.

NDP leader Sherbaz Khan Mazari in a statement on 11th April condemned the Martial Law regime policies regarding continued imprisonment of political prisoners. He demanded judicial enquiry under Supreme Court Judge for the human losses during the movement in Sindh.

In the ongoing move to release political workers and leaders, the PPP Secretary General Tikka Khan was released from Rawalpindi Jail on 12th April.

On the other hand, detention was extended for a further three months, of seven political leaders of Sindh, currently in Karachi and Machh Jails.

18th April, recently released PPP leader Ashique Hussain Jatui reached Khairpur Nathan Shah for the condolence of the martyrs of the movement.

20th April, PPP leader and former Punjab Chief Minister Malik Mairaj Khalid announced that MRD will boycott the non-party elections and hoped that a broad based alliance of all political parties was possible in the near future. On

same day NDP President Sherbaz Mazari announced that no talks will be held with the present Military government.

In an interview with a right-wing Urdu weekly *Takbeer*, G. M. Syed called the MRD movement a failed movement for which, according to him some shroud-thieves had gathered to exploit some graves.

21st April, Military Court Nawabshah sentenced 48 persons on the charges of firing on law enforcers during the MRD movement.

JUI Chief Maulana Fazal Rehman while talking to journalists on 25th April in Sakrand said that the government in a planned way had subjected the people of Sindh to unaccountable suffering and the people should unite to defeat the authoritarian mentality. The people of Sindh must be assured that in future this sectarian attitude will not be repeated. Replying to a question, he said that the provincial autonomy issue will be sorted-out by the elected parliamentary government.

Abdul Ghafoor Bhurgri, a member of Zia's hand picked Majlis-i-Shoora said on 26th April that all the arson incidents in Sindh had been the handiwork of the anti-state elements and no PPP worker was involved in this mischief. He did not elaborate the 'anti-state elements'.

MRD leader Maulana Ahitram ul Haque Thanvi on 29th April visited different areas of Khairpur Nathan Shah, where many MRD workers were martyred during the movement. Addressing the people at different places, he promised that with the restoration of democracy, the judicial enquiry will be held for the atrocities committed during the movement and monuments will be erected at different places of strife and martyrdom.

During the peak of the movement controversial Sindhi nationalist leader G. M. Syed, gave a statement which antagonized the people of Sindh. Replying to a question

by a Lahore based journalist, quoted in Mushahid Hussain's book *'The Zia Years'*, he said 'We are staying out of this agitation. It is not a popular movement. It is only led by PPP feudal lords to satisfy their lust for power. Like a dog, the PPP is only seeking crumbs and bones. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi joined in when he got a pat on the back for it from some American Senators that he had met.'

Same sentiments were expressed by Baloch leader Akbar Bugti, who was of the opinion that 'Democracy means Punjabi hegemony, unless you concede parity. The MRD was directed from Punjab and it did not take Baloch leaders into confidence.'

The Mohajirs, settled in the urban centers of Sindh had a very old ethnic conflict with Sindhis. Although Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, the chief of Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Pakistan and the prime representatives of Mohajirs at that time, had said on many occasions that he supports the anti-military rule struggle by the people of Sindh but in reality the regime had broken ranks of his party by picking many of its leaders and placing them on different forums created by the Zia Martial Law. The Mohajirs were not ready to become part of such a movement where Sindhis were in vanguard position.

MRD Secretary General Khwaja Khairuddin, in an interview had said that since the alliance leadership was in contact with the people in Sindh, so they responded well on their call but unfortunately that could not happen in other provinces. The Punjab cadre and leadership were more interested in the municipal elections and on the ground level Punjab's all commitments regarding movement bore zero results in practice. Punjab was benefitting from eighty percent of the national resources, so its economic interests overshadowed the political interests. Same was the position of Frontier Province, where the drug money and share in the government kept people away from the movement. Clarifying the allegations of foreign support for

MRD, he told that few of the European and US diplomats in routine meetings had said to the MRD leaders that their claim for democracy was just a verbal one; how can one judge whether the masses were with the opposition alliance and not with the regime? He was of the opinion that if the alliance had received foreign support and sufficient finances, the results could have been different.

PPP leader Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, who convinced Sindhi rural elite to become part of the movement and on his assurances, the Sindhi feudal lords for the first time in the history opted for imprisonment in such large numbers. According to the dominant narrative, Jatoi had been assured by a section of the military and civil establishment that after a few weeks of intense movement, General Zia could be replaced by a transitional setup, which could pave a way for the premiership of Jatoi. But he was later ditched by the establishment as the movement, especially in Sindh turned violent. As a consequence of the MRD 1983 movement, Jatoi had to quit PPP, which he had joined in 1968-69 and formed his own party National People's Party, which was confined in just one district of Naushehro Feroz Sindh.

The intensity of movement in Sindh that continued to gather mass support for PPP was an issue of concern for not only the regime but also for the component parties of MRD. Many among these were now raising questions. On one hand, the member parties of MRD were asking for the guarantees from PPP in general elections, as it was clear that on their own they could not win the parliament seats, on the other hand, few among them started criticizing the MRD program and its leadership. NDP leader Abid Zubari, in an interview stated that the failure of the movement, in other parts of the country except Sindh was because it had only highlighted the issue of elections and the restoration of 1973 constitution. According to Zubari, masses should be mobilized on the issue of rights of the federating units.

In same interview he criticized the MRD Secretary General Khwaja Khairuddin, who after the making of Bangladesh, had opted for Pakistan, declaring him a puppet of military high command.

Under the pressure of US and to cool down the anarchy followed after the MRD agitation of 1983, Zia decided to hold elections by March 1985, but it was announced that first he would hold a national referendum on 20th December 1984, and the wording of the Islamic referendum, as it came to be called, asked people 'whether they endorse the process for bringing the laws of Pakistan into conformity with the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Koran and Sunnah.' A positive vote, Zia announced, would constitute his 'election' as President for next five years and campaigning for a 'No' vote would be a crime punishable by three years rigorous imprisonment and fine. The ballots would be counted by the Army in secret and the results could not be challenged in any civil court.

The MRD with a consensus announced boycott of the referendum. Similar was the opinion of Benazir, who was a team member of exiles in London, publishing an Urdu periodical '*Amal*'. The referendum shattered the taboo of Zia's support in the country and international press reported the deserted polling stations. Great poet of resistance Habib Jalib also wrote one of his famous poems on referendum. In his poem titled 'Referendum' Jalib says, '*Shahir main hoo ka alam tha,,, Jinn tha ya referendum tha,,, qaid the deewaron main log,,, bahar shour bohot kum tha,,, kuch baraish se chahere the,,, aur eman ka matum tha, marhoomeen shareek hui,,, sachai ka chehlum tha,,, din unees December ka,,, be maini be hangum tha,,, ya waada tha hakim ka, ya akhbari column tha.*' (The city was deserted,,, was it a jinni or was it a referendum?,,, People were locked in their homes,,, And there was deadly silence outside,,, A few bearded faces walked around as

the death of faith was mourned,,, the dead were also present in the funeral march of the truth,,, On the 19th December treachery was 'unchallenged,,, was it the administrator's decision?,,, Or a newspaper pronouncement?).

The failure of General Zia to bring out people in his support on the occasion of the referendum encouraged Benazir to cash-on the peoples' mood; her party gave a call to celebrate 5th January 1985 (her father's birthday) as the Day of Democracy.

Few days later, General Zia announced that the elections for National and Provincial Assemblies would be held in the end of February but the political parties will not be allowed to participate in these elections. The issue of whether to boycott these elections or not, was more problematic than the referendum had been for both MRD and PPP, where the rank and file was for a boycott but the leadership, especially rural elite was seeing an opportunity to knock on the doors of power. General Zia's announcement on 12th January came to the rescue, when he declared that the leading members of both the MRD and the PPP would be disqualified to contest the elections.

Central Council of MRD meeting held on 18th and 19th January declared that any elections held under Zia regime will not be acceptable to the alliance. The successful boycott of December 1984 referendum had left a joyous impact on MRD leadership, which announced the boycott of the coming non-party general elections.

Over seventy arrested leaders of PPP, on 1st February 1985 through a statement released from Karachi Central Jail, welcomed the statement by a central party leader Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi of reconciliation and called it the last ray of hope to overcome the current political crisis.

The general elections on 25th February, because of the boycott appeal by the MRD proved to be a failure in

political terms but in the absence of the political candidates, voters indifference of the boycott appeal, had something else on their mind and by casting a negative vote they defeated the right wing Jamaat-i-Islami (only political party allowed to participate in the elections with its leadership) and the first command of General Zia. Six of his nine Cabinet Ministers who contested for the National Assembly were defeated and only six out of sixty-one of Jamaat-i-Islami candidates managed to win their seats. In the first session of the national assembly, elected on non-party basis, with the backing of General Zia, a Pakistan Muslim League was formed and the new Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo announced permission to limited political activities in the country and lifting of the Martial law by 31st December.

On 20th April, while addressing the lawyers in Hyderabad, PDP chief Nawabzada Nasurullah Khan announced that his party and MRD would not accept the constitutional amendments made under the Zia Martial Law. Later he met with local MRD leaders and showered tribute on the martyrs of MRD in Sindh.

In its meeting on 4th and 5th April in Quetta, MRD approved the organizational structure, according to which the National Council became the highest forum and was authorized to formulate strategies and take decisions; MRD would have one President, four Vice Presidents (one from each province), one Secretary General, four Deputy Secretaries (one from every province), Information Secretary and treasurer.

21 April,, MRD once again recognized the mutually agreed upon provincial autonomy under 1973 constitution. This was a controversial issue and recognizing the need for more autonomy, it formed a committee which had to submit its report within two months regarding more autonomy and constitutional guarantees. The committee

comprised one member from each component party. Many MRD leaders agreed that the Center should hold only Foreign Affairs, Defense, Finance and Information and Communication. In recently held central MRD meeting, Bizenjo, Jatoi and Wali had supported autonomy in the light of 1940 and 1949 resolutions while Nawabzada Nasarullah, Malik Qasim and Asghar Khan had opposed it.

MRD convener and PNP chief Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo said on 23rd April that the MRD had no plans to initiate any new campaign for the restoration of democracy and the people should continue the struggle for their valid rights. He was briefing journalists after a four-day long MRD meeting. He told that no major decisions were taken in the meeting and committees shall be formed to formulate reports within two months. Meeting passed resolutions regarding restoration of 1973 constitution, provincial autonomy, Karachi riots and incidents at Wah Ordinance Factory.

24 April,,, MRD convener and PNP chief Bizenjo, while addressing the meet the press at Karachi Press Club criticized the foreign and defense policies of the government. To stop influx of other people in Sindh, he proposed industrial development in other regions of the country. He restrained from any direct comment on the settlement of 300 thousand Biharis in Balochistan.

PPP Central Committee approved the recent MRD decisions. Party Secretary General Tikka Khan chaired the two-day meeting held in Lahore. The *Sindhi, Baloch, Pashtoon Front*, recently formed in London, also came under discussion and was deferred due to differences within the Committee. During the meeting a group of workers raised slogans and demanded party elections and leadership for the workers who had made extreme sacrifices during last 8 years. Through a resolution, party announced that it did not recognize the February elections

and rejected constitutional amendments made by Zia in the month of March. Party reaffirmed that MRD will continue its struggle for the restoration of democracy and party's socialist program.

25 April,,,,, NDP President Wali Khan condemned US ambassador on his criticism of MRD. He was addressing the lawyers in Quetta and said that the 1973 constitution had vanished on the day when Martial Law had been imposed.

26 April MRD Convener Bizenjo also criticized US ambassador on his remarks about MRD and asked *Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front* leadership to present their program to the people by returning to the country.

26 April MRD and PDP leader Nawabzada Nasurullah Khan said that MRD will continue its policy of wait and see and will continue its struggle till the acceptance of its demands.

28 April, Jatoi talking to journalists in Bhirya, announced that PPP had full confidence in Benazir's leadership and that he was not after power. He also said that there was no question of talks with current government and if that did happen it will be done under a written agenda.

30 April, efforts being done to make Jatoi a permanent chief of MRD, on the other hand the PPP had serious reservations on this move as most of its cadre considered that Jatoi had a soft corner for the Martial Law regime.

2 May, demand for lifting the Martial Law echoed in non-party National Assembly, as Dilmurad Khan Jamali, a member from Nawabshah Sindh, demanded an early exit of military rule.

4 May, MRD Convener and TI chief Asghar Khan addressing party workers in Sahiwal said that after the consultation with MRD leaders, a tax-boycott campaign shall be

launched for the restoration of fundamental rights. He criticized the ban on politicians to visit different provinces.

The Political Prisoners Release Committee Convener Mir Mohammed Khan Baloch disclosed on 5th May that at the time, 729 political prisoners belonging to different parties were languishing in different prisons of the country. Giving details, he informed that 28 of them were in Central and Landhi Jails of Karachi, 18 in Hyderabad Central Jail, 8 in Khairpur Jail, two in Quetta District Jail, one in Larkana, 360 in Haripur Central Jail, 160 in Mianwali Central Jail, 50 in Kot Lakhpat Jail Lahore, 22 in Multan, 22 in Bahawalpur, 20 in Rawalpindi, three in Jhelum, two in Gujranwala and 28 in Peshawar Central Jail. Important among them were Rasool Bakhsh Palijo, Makhdoom Khalique Zaman, Jam Saqi, Mairaj Mohammed Khan, Jamal Naqvi, Fazil Rahu, Latif Afridi, Ayaz Samo and others.

9th May, MRD Convener and TI chief Asghar Khan declared that the only solution to the current crisis was the formation of a national government, which should form a constitutional and democratic government within 120 days.

13th May, according to TI Secretary General Asif Wardak more parties had applied for MRD membership.

18th May, Malik Qasim, the Convener of MRD committee on provincial autonomy in a press conference in Lahore said that committee with a consensus had recommended enhancing of provincial autonomy, enhancement of powers to Senate and usefulness of Council for Common Interests, guarantees of autonomy, no interference of the Center in provincial affairs, representation in armed forces according to population of federating units.

PPP and MRD women wing Sindh General Secretary Begum N. D. Khan, addressing a woman meeting in Shahdadpur

said that Zia was not sincere about lifting the Martial Law. She said that women had played a major role in struggle against military rule. PPP Sindh women wing President Ruqaya Soomro and others also addressed the meeting.

Asghar Khan told journalists in Attock that he was not in favor of taking Muslim League Pagaro group and Jamaat-i-Islami into MRD.

1st June, the Punjab Assembly in its unanimous resolution demanded immediate lifting of Martial Law from the country. Resolution was moved by the Provincial Law Minister Chaudhry Ghafoor and other members.

5th June, detention of Awami Tahreek President Fazil Rahu was extended for another three months; he was recently shifted from Civil Hospital Karachi to Sukkur Central Jail.

8th June, Ten Sindh Assembly members demanded release of Rasool Bakhsh Palijo, who was in custody since 1979.

15th June, Senator Javed Jabbar said that keeping few people in continuous detention because of differences of opinion with the government was not decent way to govern. He demanded that to commemorate the youth year 1985, the sentences of young prisoners should be shortened.

16th June The Sindh Chief Minister ordered immediate release of Mairaj Mohammed Khan on the occasion of Eid.

PPP Sindh Information Secretary Musarat Khwaja on 28th June claimed that the number of political prisoners in the country was over 700.

29 June, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi criticized the provincial minister Ahad Yusuf's statement that nothing had happened to village Lakhat of Nawabshah district during MRD movement. Jatoi said that the whole village had been burnt down.

On Martial Law anniversary on 5th July, PPP workers held a protest in front of Pakistan Embassy London and raised slogans against Martial Law. On the occasion Benazir Bhutto in a statement, broadcast by BBC said that because of Martial Law the unity and security of country was at stake. She mentioned the hanging of Ayaz Samo and other atrocities with the political workers.

Benazir Bhutto, the acting Chairperson of PPP announced on 8th July, that members of her party who took part in the referendum and elections conducted by General Zia will never be accepted back into the party.

13th July, Asghar Khan said in Moro that people of Sindh were patriotic and their sacrifices for democracy will be written in golden letters; while, Bizenjo hoped that MRD parties will jointly take part in election and will form a joint government to implement its program.

14th July, PPP Sindh Senior Vice President Makhdoom Khalique Zaman after paying his condolences for martyrs at village Punhoon Khan Chandio announced that monuments will be erected in the memory of the martyrs.

16th July, Asghar Khan after paying his condolences for the martyrs of village Punhoon Khan Chandio told journalists that only the civilian government and not the Martial Law regime can overcome the feeling of deprivation and other national issues. He attributed to the martyrs of democracy.

17th July, addressing a public gathering in Kandiaro, PPP Sindh Vice President Makhdoom Khalique said that they wanted a complete provincial autonomy and sacrifices in MRD movement will not go waste. He supported the recognition of Afghan government under Babrak Karmal.

MRD leader Shakil Pathan on 27th July rejected Federal Interior Minister's statement that there were only five political prisoners in the country. In his statement Pathan said that at the moment, Karachi Central Jail 33,

Hyderabad Central and Nara Jails 26, Khairpur Central Jail 37, Nawabshah 10, while the Landhi and Larkana Jails had one political prisoner each.

To take advantage of the situation, Benazir Bhutto decided to end her exile and return to Pakistan. On the other hand, MRD leadership also wanted to check the parameters of the space provided by the new government and convened its meeting on 21st October in Karachi. But many of its leaders were either expelled or barred from entering the city. On the eve of the meeting, several MRD leaders and workers were arrested.

In its meeting on 21st February 1986, MRD Multan, through resolutions demanded that: 1. Asif Butt, Mohammed Naeem Qureshi, Farhat Rana Advocate, Mohammed Younis Khokhar and Laiq Ahmed were kept shackled in solitary confinement in Sahiwal Central Jail. They should be released. 2. Jawed Iqbal and Sheikh Abdul Qayum in Sahiwal Central Jail were suffering from tooth infection, should be provided proper medical treatment, 3. Ghulam Rasool, Baba Mohammed Shareef and Munir Ahmed, who were in Sahiwal Central Jail, should be released.

MRD Punjab Convener Rao Suleman, addressing a press conference on 27th February, disclosed that Asif Butt Advocate, Rana Farhat, Naeem Qureshi, Rana Laiq and Mohammed Younis, the political prisoners in the Sahiwal Central Jail were being kept in solitary confinement in death cells, as all of them were on hunger strike since last four days.

Benazir Bhutto returned Pakistan on 10th April 1986 and was given huge welcome receptions, wherever she held her public meetings.

On the call of MRD, Prisoners for Democracy Day was commemorated on 23rd April. In this connection political workers and lawyers of Larkana held a public meeting,

addressed by different leaders. After the meeting a rally was brought out which passed through different roads of the city.

After the announcement of the 5th July, the day when General Zia imposed Martial Law, as Black Day by the PPP, the Muslim League of Prime Minister Junejo, announced a public meeting on 14th August in Lahore. In response, the PPP also announced a public meeting at the same place and on the same day. The opposition alliance MRD also declared its support and participation in the PPP public meeting. After Benazir Bhutto's return to the country, the MRD leadership was informally discussing the launch of the second phase of their movement against the regime.

On 1st August, a rally was brought out in Islam Kot of Thar desert, which raised slogans against Zia regime and its local influential supporters. In retaliation, police arrested overall 52 political activists from the different parts of Thar.

In its Central Action Committee meeting held on 3rd August, MRD agreed on conditional talks with the government if it will hold the general elections under 1973 constitution by 20th September. Decision on this was unanimous, except TI, which pleaded that it had to get approval from its Central Executive Committee. MRD also decided to celebrate 14th August as Independence Day with public meetings in Lahore and Karachi that would be addressed by central leaders. A high power committee, comprising of chiefs of component parties was also formed to meet on 10th August in Karachi to finalize the public meetings program in different cities.

On 8th August, PDP chief Nasarullah Khan, rejected government proposal to hold public meeting on 13th or 15th and announced that at any cost the meeting would be held at Mochi Gate Lahore, on 14th August. PPP Badin also decided to hold a public meeting on 14th August.

On 11th August, PM Mohammed Khan Junejo announced that on 14th August government will not hold any public meeting or rally anywhere in the country. He appealed to MRD to cancel its proposed meetings, which opposition alliance rejected. PPP, the largest party of the alliance was reluctant to join the protest meetings, but for the sake of continuation of the united front against the regime, it also agreed to the plan.

After a two-day meeting of chiefs of component parties in Karachi, MRD Secretary General Malik Qasim announced that the movement was ready with a plan of action if the government did not announce the elections by 20th September. He said that if any MRD leader was arrested, they will start movement from 18th August. The meeting decided that Benazir shall address the Lahore meeting while Bizenjo and Asghar Khan will address the Karachi and Kotri meetings.

On 10th August, meeting of the chiefs of the nine components parties was convened at 70 Clifton Karachi, the residence of the Bhutto. Maulana Fazal Rehman of JUI attended the meeting wearing the white cloth of Hajj. The regime had barred him at the airport from making the pilgrimage in Mecca.

The meeting decided to hold joint protest meetings in Karachi and Lahore on 14th August to persuade General Zia, who had left the country on 7th August, to announce the elections date by 20th September. In the meeting the MRD unanimously adopted that concrete steps be taken to implement the Declaration of the Federation Units, on the proposal initiated by Bizenjo of PNP.

On 13th August, Benazir Bhutto addressed a public meeting in Faisalabad and returned back to Karachi the same evening. Late in the evening, riots erupted in Lyari, the oldest settlement of Karachi and a strong power base for PPP as All India Radio broadcast the news of Benazir's

arrest. In last twenty-four hours before the MRD's planned protest, almost one thousand leaders and workers, except Benazir and Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo, of the component parties were arrested.

In the light of past experiences of confronting the regime and especially after the news of AIR, Benazir was prepared for another detention/ arrest and gave many media interviews to the national and international press.

Arrests were reported from Rawalpindi, Lahore, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Okara and Rahimyar Khan in Punjab, Karachi, Dadu, Larkana, Sanghar, Nawabshah, Khairpur, Badin Sukkur and Thatta districts in Sindh. MRD in its meeting chaired by Bizenjo in Karachi decided to violate the ban on holding meeting at Lyari. The government imposed section 144 at many places in Sindh under which gathering of people and holding political rallies were banned.

The next day protest meeting was planned in Lyari; so since early morning political workers started gathering outside Benazir's residence in the posh area of Clifton. At 9 in the morning of 14th August, the police got the orders to arrest Benazir but were reluctant to do so, as it could lead to a confrontation between political workers and the police in the Clifton area, which also hosted many foreign diplomats.

Instead of planned time of 2 in the noon, Benazir started her rally by her jeep one hour earlier. As the slogan chanting crowd reached first round-about from her house, the police fired the first tear gas shell of its total of 3,000 fired on that day. The political workers were prepared for the situation, so putting salt on their tongues and covering the faces with wet towels, they confronted the police to move forward. In the midst of the police attack, the vehicles of protesters split into two and rushed to the meeting points. Near to Lyari, a tear gas shell directly hit Benazir's jeep and one of its tires went flat. The crowd

pushed up the one side of the jeep as the driver changed the tire. As this convoy reached the Chakiwara Chowk, Lyari, a crowd of over ten thousands, mostly members and sympathizers of PPP and PNP, had gathered. From the public address system inbuilt within the jeep, Benazir uttered few words in Urdu, saying that on this day of the Independence, the people of Pakistan had given their verdict that Zia must go. As the police neared to arrest Benazir, a fresh fight erupted in the narrow lanes of the working class settlement of Lyari. The people removed the barricades erected by the police and the black smoke of burning tires and piles of litter dominated the skyline of the area. To dodge the police, Benazir got off from her jeep and quickly rode in a private motor car, thinking it a taxi but later the driver happened to be a Zia's opponent. On return back to home, she was intercepted at a couple of points but the driver accelerated the motor car through these checks. On arrival at her home, she addressed the press, during which she was taken into custody with thirty-day detention order. She was first moved to a local police station in a big convoy of vehicles of the police and political workers. Later, protesters set on fire the Wazir Mansion Circular Railway Station in Karachi. One government bus was also set on fire in Malir.

On the same day, at the rally in Lahore, six people were killed in police firing and at least 30 other wounded. Police opened fire on a crowd gathered in front of the Lahori Gate police station. Police also baton charged people in the surrounding area of Mochi Gate. However the death toll in Sindh was much higher, where sixteen people were killed and hundreds were injured in the police firing in different parts of the province.

In Thatta, a rally was brought out which was joined by the rallies from Jungshahi, Chilya, Soonda, Chatochand and other places. Police fired tear gas shells; protesters blocked National Highway from 11am. In the evening

protesters attacked Thatta Police Station and forcefully released 28 political prisoners, who were arrested in pre-dawn raids. Police resorted to tear gas shelling and aerial firing. They attacked Thatta Sub Jail and set free a few prisoners, snatched 3 rifles, one gun and 550 cartages. Later, protesters burnt down the official records of Magistrate, Excise, Sub Registrar, Barrage, and CIA Police offices. During the day long clashes, they damaged few government buses. In Mirpur Bathoro and Sujawal, clashes erupted between protesters and police, who fired tear gas shells, in retaliation of stone throwing by protesters. In Ghorhabarhi, protesters released four political prisoners by breaking into the Sub Jail. In Mirpur Sakro, rally attacked SHO's house and released political workers held there. Police check post Pir Patho was burnt down, police opened fire in retaliation and in return was fired upon by protesters. One protester and one police official were injured. Police arrested 50 protesters. In Ghara, military-owned five NLC tankers were damaged after blocking the National Highway.

In Badin, a rally was brought out and protesters threw stones on the police and burnt old tires. Police resorted to tear gas shelling and aerial firing; clashes continued for four hours during which the Magistrate Office, Post Office, PIA Booking Office and commercial banks were damaged. Protesters attacked railway station and burnt down its record. One official jeep was also set on fire. Police arrested protesters in a big number. PPP women wing also brought out a separate rally. In Bhan Saeedabad, a peaceful rally was brought out amidst total strike. Few arrests were made while. Sehwan shut down on the news of Benazir Bhutto's arrest. A protest rally was brought out, police made a few arrests. In Sanghar district, women brought out rallies in Maqsoodo Rind, Khipro, Sarhari and Shahpurchakar. Police made a few arrests. In Shahdadpur, police arrested 28 persons including press photographers.

In Tando Adam, police fired tear gas and baton charged the public meeting and injured 11 persons. A Sit-in was organized by the protesters in front of the police station. In Sarhari, police arrested six persons. Overall 100 workers arrested in Sanghar district. In Sakrand, a public meeting of thousands was held. In Golarchi, 30 workers were arrested, while protesters attacked Town Committee Office and a commercial bank. In Dadu, protesters attacked railway station and damaged its installations. Indus Highway was blocked by the protesters, who were baton charged by the police and a few arrests were made later on. PPP women wing brought out a rally. In Hyderabad, one oil tanker and one government bus was set on fire. In Sukkur, a rally was brought out, which was dispersed by police using tear gas shelling. Police arrested 200 workers in Rohri and Ghotki. In Tando Adam, a rally was dispersed with tear gas shelling and police arrested 18 workers. In Larkana, police dispersed rallies with tear gas shelling. In Thari Mirwah, a rally comprising of camel and ox carts and auto mobiles was brought out. Police arrested 13 workers.

In Balochistan, overall 32 leaders and workers were arrested.

MRD workers let loose starry donkeys after pasting names of local Zia-supporters, gathered to commemorate the official independence day program, which resulted in clashes between protesters and police, who resorted baton charge and aerial firing. The arrested workers, after keeping in Mithi Sub Jail for three days, were shifted to Mirpurkhas District Jail, further two days later; they were shifted to Hyderabad Central Jail, where four workers were detained for one month, while others were released after twenty days.

Addressing the public meeting of MRD in Lahore, central leader Nawabzada Nasurullah Khan said that the basic

issue was the unity of the country and the best way-out was to hold general election and transfer power to the elected representatives. The meeting was chaired by provincial MRD Convener Chaudhry Ashraf and was addressed by Malik Mohammed Qasim, Jahangir Badar, Syed Qaswar Gardezi, Mairaj Mohammed Khan, Sardar Shoukat Ali, Fatehyab Ali Khan and others.

Karachi Central Jail was overflowing with the large number of arrested political workers so Benazir Bhutto was shifted to Landhi Bristol Jail, a prison for juveniles on the outskirts of Karachi. Like the 1983 movement, Sindh once again protested with full force, where protesters burnt police stations, government offices and railway stations. In Lyari, the pro-democracy protesters battled the guns, tear gas and arrests by the police for a week. Within first couple of days of protest, the Army joined the police in Sindh and killed more than thirty demonstrators.

16th August, in different areas of Karachi protesters blocked traffic, set on fire old tires with the police resorting to tear gas shelling. In Baghdadi Lyari, protesters opened fire on police and injured four police officials. Protesters blocked Tando Adam-Tando Allahyar road by cutting trees, they also damaged a government vehicle. In Shahpur Jahaniyan, two buses were set on fire and banks damaged. In Jamshoro, one government bus was set on fire. In Sanghar, workers' rally was fired upon by the opponents, injuring a few of them after they had observed prayers for martyrs; the firing incident antagonized workers who set on fire two government buses and commercial banks. Railway Station Shahpurchakar was set on fire. In Pironmal, two journalists were arrested, in Sakrand, a government bus was damaged, 12 persons were injured in clashes with police; later the protesters set on fire two government buses. Police made a few arrests. Qazi Ahmed and Hala observed complete strike, the National Highway blocked at different places.

In consequence to the previous day's incidents, Badin was handed over to the Army. Five workers were arrested in Bhan Saeedabad; when the police tried to stop a rally, protesters threw stones and set on fire the Post Office; the town was shut down for two hours and police arrested eight workers. Protesters set on fire Bhaghan police check post. In Dhandhari village police arrested 41 protesters. In Khairpur, police arrested 50 workers of different parties. Thatta observed a complete shut down amidst the march by the Army. Police arrested ten workers. Police re-arrested 11 out of 20 prisoners who had escaped in the jail break on 14th August. In Kotri, few small rallies were brought out and threw stones on passing vehicles. In Dadu, police foiled an attempt to damage the railway track by protesters. In Meharh, protesters blocked Indus Highway. Police arrested 18 participants praying for martyrs. Protesters set on fire the furniture and record of Bhudapur Railway Station. In Thatta, police opened fire on a passenger bus near Dhandhari and injured six passengers believing them to be protesters. The injured were shifted to the Civil Hospital Thatta.

In Rawalpindi, workers offered prayers for martyrs in historical Liaquat Bagh, police resorted to baton charge and fired tear gas shells as the workers were returning back from prayers. This act antagonized the workers, who damaged a government bus. Police made few arrests.

As the Karachi Central Jail was overflowing with political prisoners, the administration started shifting many of them to different prisons of the province.

17th and 18th August, protesters set on fire tires and blocked roads in Tando Allahyar, police fired tear gas shells to disperse them. In Chambarh, one person Jummon Gichani died during clashes between police and protesters. In Sultanabad, the road was blocked by cutting road-side trees and railway track was damaged. In Nasarpur, a rally

was brought out and telephone lines were cut. Tando Allahyar and Chambarh police arrested scores of protesters.

But the most tragic incidents on 18th August happened at Khasano Mori, some 16 miles from Hyderabad, and its vicinity. As the speakers climbed on the roof of a roadside teashop to address the protesters, on the main Hyderabad-Mirpurkhas Highway, police and other law enforcing agencies started straight firing without any warning and killed two protesters on the spot and injured many others. After the firing, the law enforcers demolished the teashops and other business entities and burnt them to ashes.

After attacking the peaceful protesters, the enforcers, raided nearby villages, but only found women and children, as the men of the area had gone into hiding after the attack on rally. Women and children of villages were severely beaten as they refused to disclose the whereabouts of their male family members. The police took around one hundred women into custody and after threatening to shoot them released them after few days on a payment of 5000 rupees each as the bribe. At least three women suffered miscarriages because of the police brutalities.

Johi, observed a complete strike. Police used tear gas and baton charged to disperse a public meeting organized after a rally. This antagonized the protesters who damaged the Post Office and Civil Court. Police resorted to aerial firing and arrested many protesters. Workers' rally forced a shut down in Thari Mirwah where policebaton charged and fired tear gas shells followed by live bullets to disperse the protesters and injured two of them. Protesters set on fire a commercial bank, Town Committee, Irrigation, Highway Sub Division, Social Welfare and Vocational Training offices. Police arrested 25 protesters.

19th August, in Qazi Ahmed, some unknown armed persons attacked grid station and set on fire the power transformers. One group attacked railway station and set on fire the record and furniture. During clashes with police one protester died. In Ranipur, a rally was brought out which peacefully dispersed after offering prayer for the martyrs. Rasoolabad rally blocked the National Highway and Tando Adam rally turned violent and protesters set on fire few private properties owned by pro-Zia people, in exchange fire one person was killed. In Matli, police fired tear gas shells and live bullets to disperse the protesters, in result many of them including eight police officials were injured. Protesters damaged three commercial buses. In Tando Bago, police fired tear gas shells to disperse a rally, in retaliation protesters injured four police officials by throwing stones and set on fire a government vehicle. In Talhar, police fired tear gas shells and live bullets to disperse the protesters and injured six of them. Two of the injured were shifted to Hyderabad in serious condition. In Khanwahan, protesters set on fire Sindh Agriculture Supply Organization (SASO) office. In Kotri Kabir, protesters blocked National Highway. In Mahrabpur, protesters set on fire the Post Office and police arrested over a dozen protesters. In Karoondi and Syed Gunj, telephone exchanges were set on fire. Protesters damaged the railway track near Dourh and disturbed railway traffic on main line. In Khanot, two protesters injured in police firing, while 28 others were arrested. In Jamshoro, Irrigation department office was set on fire. In Kotri, one bank was set on fire while two other commercial banks, a Post Office and Highway Division vehicles and two taluka hospital ambulances were damaged. Down-yard cabin of railway station and Irrigation Workshop were also set on fire. Police arrested eight protesters after tear gas shelling. In Tando Adam, police fired tear gas shells to stop a rally, which antagonized the participants and forced them to retaliate. Exchange of fire between protesters and police

killed two MRD workers and two police officials and injured eight law enforcers including the local Magistrate. Protesters set on fire a high school, few offices of power supply authority WAPDA, one government vehicle and two commercial banks. Police arrested ten persons for blocking the Tando Allahyar road by cutting the trees. In Nawabshah, a rally was brought out. Protesters set on fire the Post Office and damaged six commercial banks and blocked the National Highway. Police resorted to aerial firing. In 60-Miles town, protesters set on fire town office and a commercial bank. In Darya Khan Marri, town committee office was set on fire. Protesters set on fire the railway stations of Dourh and Bucheri. Police opened fire and killed one protester.

ANP Sindh formed Struggle Committee, meanwhile its central President Wali Khan departed to Moscow on a 10-day visit. Talking to journalists in Karachi, he said that the real movement would start from 21st September. He condemned the arrest of political workers and leaders.

The Divisional Superintendent announced that the railway traffic from and to Sindh was resumed and so far four railway stations had been damaged during the ongoing movement.

20th August, a women rally of over 500 was brought out from the house of martyr Nasir Baloch, in the area of Malir Karachi. Rally was led by widow and mother of Nasir Baluch, who was hanged by the Zia regime. They sat on National Highway and blocked it for two hours.

Unknown persons set on fire the District Agricultural Office in Dadu and a jeep and a motor cycle were gutted. In Larkana, 43 and in Sanghar, one worker was arrested.

In Sujawal, police and villagers clashed when police conducted raid to arrest a local youth leader. Over a dozen people including police constables were injured. Over two

thousand protesters blocked the Nabisar railway crossing in Tharparkar district. As police tried to disperse them, they retaliated and clashes erupted. Two protesters injured in police firing, one among them later succumbed to injuries in hospital, while two police officials were also injured. Police arrested 32 protesters. Thatta police arrested 23 workers and sent them to Hyderabad Central Jail. In Sukkur, three rallies were brought out. In clashes, police resorted to tear gas shelling and aerial firing and injured many protesters. In Khairpur, MRD rally was baton charged by police in which few protesters were injured. Police arrested a student leader. A group of protesters set on fire the railway cabin; police arrested two of them. In Ranipur, a big rally was brought out which held a public meeting and blocked National Highway. Police in raids in the vicinity of Matiari arrested over two hundred villagers. Tando Adam observed a complete strike, Qazi Ahmed and Sakrand also observed complete strike.

MRD brought out a rally in Lahore. A meeting was convened after offering prayers for the martyrs. In Faisalabad, participants of a rally set on fire a government bus. In Sialkot, two workers courted arrest, while a third was arrested by the police. In Koh-Muree, police arrested five workers including a female worker.

Exiled Pakistanis in England organized a protest meeting in Bradford addressed by different leaders that condemned the arrests and atrocities by law enforcers.

The separatist movement Jeay Sindh Tahreek fractioned on the issue of ongoing MRD movement, on 20th August, Jeay Sindh Mahaz Chairman Abdul Wahid Aarisar supporting the movement, appealed to UN and International Court of Justice that Sindhis be saved from systematic massacre by the security forces; on the other hand, Bashir Qureshi, the

Central President of JSSF, the student wing of Tahreek, called MRD movement against the interests of Sindh.

21st August, protesters set on fire two commercial banks in Hyderabad. In Tando Kaiser, a rally was brought out, later police arrested 8-year old son of a local leader. In Chambarh, police arrested three workers in a raid. In Mahrabpur, participants of a rally set on fire the wooden sleepers of railway track and disrupted the railway traffic. On distance of a few miles, protesters cut the telephone lines. In 68-Miles town, protesters set on fire a commercial bus. In Shikarpur, a peaceful rally was brought out. A rally in Karachi was tear gas shelled by police; in retaliation protesters damaged three government buses and police arrested over a dozen workers. In Garhi Khairu, police arrested two local leaders. In Bhaghan, police arrested eight workers. In Chuharh Jamali, police arrested seven workers. In Jati, police arrested four workers. In Sakrand, police fired tear gas shells, resorted to baton charge to disperse a rally and arrested 29 workers. During the protest the town was shut down. Qazi Ahmed observed a shut down for the eighth day in continuity. In Sakro, four workers were arrested.

The arrested and detained leaders of PPP Sindh, dispatched bangles and head scarf for the PPP leadership in Punjab, who according to general perception in Sindh, had once again failed to motivate masses in Punjab for the movement of the restoration of democracy. This was stated in a press statement released by PPP.

In Dera Murad Jamali, Balochistan, police arrested 69 PPP workers for organizing a rally and holding a meeting.

In Bahawalpur, four and in Ahmedpur East, two workers were arrested.

In Faisalabad, two courted arrest, in Lahore, police foiled an attempt to organize a women's rally.

Asghar Khan, the chief of TI said that his party will not be in a hurry to quit MRD but it was not participating in the current movement.

22nd August, Pakistan Army arrived riding military trucks and jeeps and cordoned-off Tayab Thahim village in taluka Tando Adam of Sanghar district at about three in the afternoon and started indiscriminate firing on the house of Abdul Salam Thahim, a local PPP leader. The forces justified their attack by saying that the residents of the village were supporters of the ongoing MRD movement and were blocking the main road two miles away from the village on a daily basis. Army personnel looted gold and cash and arrested two relatives of Thahim and threatened to shoot them. Both of them were booked for murder charges and were released after two and half months.

After attacking the house of Thahim, they moved to huts and kutcha houses of other villagers continuing indiscriminate firing, injuring an eight years old girl, whose father was arrested by the raiding party. They ignored all requests by the father for his release, so he could arrange some medical treatment of his injured daughter. Later, the girl died of her injuries. The forces looted all the gold, cash and confiscated the licensed arms and ammunition and arrested 45 persons.

23rd August, four PPP workers of Dadu announced their wish to self immolate themselves on 25th August, in protest against the arrest of Benazir Bhutto.

MRD sent memorandums of three pages to foreign embassies and consulate generals regarding its program and goals.

In Larkana, protesters tried to set on fire banks and petrol pumps. Police arrested ten persons. In Khanpur Punjab, one PPP leader was arrested. District and Session Judge

Karachi rejected bail applications of 22 persons arrested during ongoing movement.

24th August, a young girl and two villagers killed by army at village Tayab Thahim, buried at their ancestral village. The dead bodies of eight years old Noor Khatoon, Ismail and Sajan Thahim were handed over by police to the relatives. According to medical report, Noor Khatoon was hit by two bullets in her stomach. 50 villagers arrested were kept at local police lockup. Meanwhile, a media team from Hyderabad visited the effected village, where no male was present. The women of the village told journalists that their men-folk were sitting in their homes, when the law enforcers attacked their houses and not only damaged their belongings but robbed them of gold and other expensive accessories.

Some unknown persons set fire to six shops and road-side restaurants at Chaudaghi. The said properties were owned by PPP supporters, who were active in the ongoing movement.

PPP Kashmir wing announced to bring out a rally from Muzaffarabad to Rawalpindi in support of ongoing MRD movement. Police arrested former Lahore High Court judge and PPP leader Malik Saeed Hassan.

Village Brahmani near Radhan of Dadu district, active in ongoing MRD movement like 1983, came under Army and other law enforcing agencies attack under pretext of operation against the dacoits. Four locals were killed, while 25 others arrested in the operation, in which helicopters were also used. Meanwhile, Deputy Commissioner Dadu announced that the damaged properties, including houses of the effected villagers will be built by the government.

In Karachi, police arrested six workers from a rally. In Ketī Bandar, four workers and in Mirpur Bathoro, police arrested two workers. Meanwhile, Thatta police re-arrested 18 prisoners who were forcefully released from Thatta Sub Jail by the protesters on 14th August. In

Larkana, a rally was brought out while the Resident Magistrate rejected the bail plea of 33 protesters in Larkana, and in Karachi 12 such pleas were also rejected.

A treason case was registered against Benazir Bhutto and nine other leaders for instigating the masses against the government. According to the case registered at the Liaquatabad police station, Karachi, the PPP leadership reached the area with a procession and addressed the meeting on 31st July. Tando Mohammed Khan police arrested three local leaders while raids to arrest others were also conducted.

MRD rally was brought out in Quetta, which peacefully dispersed after the speeches by leaders. In Lahore, a rally was brought out which dispersed after speeches of leaders.

25th August, PM Mohammed Khan Junejo declared that the MRD movement instead of a political movement was a sabotage movement. He was addressing the federal and provincial ministers and the national assembly and senate members from Punjab at the Governor House Lahore.

International disapproval of the regime's brutal crackdown on political opponents quickly followed from England and Germany, while in the United States, Senators Kennedy and others expressed their concern, as did Congressman Stephen Solarz.

Larkana observed a complete strike; police arrested 30 protesters from different places. Since the attacks on different railway tracks and other installations, the Raja Train, plying between Nawabshah and Mirpurkhas closed down since the last one week, the closure deprived the people of Sanjhor, Jhol, Nauabad, Khadhiro, Shahpurchakar and other town of transport and postal services. A rally was brought out in Lahore in which the participants sit-on. 61 arrested political workers of Thatta district were shifted to Central Jail Hyderabad. Karachi

police conducted raids on the houses of three women leaders of PPP but failed to arrest them as they had gone into hiding to organize the movement.

The Asia Week, Hong Kong reported in its latest issue that Benazir Bhutto was being kept in a cell measuring 14 by 3 meters and without any window in Central Jail Karachi.

Some unknown protesters fired bullets on the Awam Express train to Lahore near Raiti railway station and injured four passengers. Police arrested 12 villagers in nearby villages while conducting raids. Police fired tear gas shells and baton charged a rally in Kashmore and arrested 18 protesters. A rally was brought out in Hala, where token strike of two hours was also observed. In Rawalpindi one worker courted arrest.

Sindh Committee for Political Prisoners and Human Rights alleged that many of its leaders and workers had been arrested since the beginning of movement. According to the committee so far 9891 persons, including 45 women workers had been arrested in Sindh alone, while 31 had been killed by law enforcers. Political prisoners in the Khairpur Central Jail in a statement appealed to the fellow political workers all over the country, that they should refuse their release till the release of the central leadership and the acceptance of the demands.

26th August, Police arrested three workers in Bulri Shah Karim. Police re-arrested two more workers who were forced to release in Thatta, while 17 more arrested workers of district were shifted to Hyderabad Central Jail. Women workers of MRD component parties held a demonstration in Lahore, carrying placards in solidarity with Sindhi women, 'Down with Imperialism', 'Red Salute to Martyrs of Democracy'. Later they dispersed peacefully. In Ranipur, two workers were arrested. Rallies were brought out in Islamabad, Lahore and Faisalabad in which women also participated. Later police arrested PPP

Faisalabad President. Punjab Government withdrew detention orders of 21 MRD leaders, while different courts in the province released 155 workers on bail.

27th August, A women rally was brought out in Karachi, which later was joined by their male comrades; after marching for over ten kilometers the rally dispersed. Two workers court arrested in Bahawalpur, while one courted arrest in Rawalpindi. 105 workers were released on personal bonds in Punjab by courts. A court in Thatta accepted bail of seven arrested workers.

The State Minister for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani disclosed in a telephonic interview with National Public Radio Washington, that Benazir Bhutto had intended an armed fight with the government.

28th August, rallies were brought out in Karachi and Lahore.

Police arrested one journalist in Sanghar, who was admitted in hospital for his gallbladder operation; he had been released a few days before. Ghara police arrested two visitors of political prisoners.

18 political prisoners were shifted to Nara Jail Hyderabad from Mehrarh Sub Jail.

General Zia in an interview with New York Times disclosed that Benazir Bhutto had received assurance of help from Soviet Union and India to topple his government but he had no substance proof regarding the charge.

29th August, After the damages and arson incidents at different railway stations in Sindh, eleven such railway stations had been shut down. The trucks carrying goods from Karachi port to Punjab had to pass through highways in Sindh under the protection of Pakistan Army. According to Larkana Union of Journalists, after the launch of the MRD movement, so far ten journalists had been arrested from different areas of Sindh. Mirpur Sakro police arrested

three workers. Thatta police arrested one local leader. In Karachi, a rally was brought out, which offered prayer for the martyrs, in Kotri, rally offered prayer and the police arrested four workers. In Tando

Adam, Khipro and Shikarpur prayers in absentia were offered. In Quetta, a big public meeting was organized which was addressed by the central and provincial MRD leaders, in Lahore, a rally was brought out, while two workers in Shaikhupura and one worker courted arrested in Kasur respectively.

30th August, DSF leader Asad Shah Abdi was arrested and detained for one month at Khairpur Central Jail and in Sujawal, police fired tear gas shells on protesters to disperse them. Moro police arrested six workers. Gambat observed a complete strike and prayers for martyrs were observed at many places. People's Lawyers Forum Khairpur, admitted a petition in Sindh High Court, challenging the detention orders of four local leaders.

According to officially compiled figures, 65 branches of commercial banks had so far been set on fire in Sindh.

In its emergency Central Committee meeting the Sindh Hari Committee, decided to take part in the ongoing MRD movement.

Punjab Government extended the detention of eight leaders for further 15 days. In Rawalpindi one worker courted arrest.

31st August, Nasirabad telephone exchange was set on fire by protesters. Sakro police arrested five workers. In Kotri, three workers courted arrest. Police arrested eight persons from village Sireval for blocking the highway. Lawyers petitioned the Sindh High Court for the release of 36 MRD workers from Larkana.

Session court Sanghar released 23 workers on bail, who were accused of bringing out a rally on 14th August in

Shahdadpur. Additional Deputy Commissioner Kotri rejected bail plea of 16 MRD workers.

In Sargodha five workers courted arrest and in Lahore, a rally was brought out which dispersed peacefully after marching through different roads. In Islamabad, a corner meeting was organized by the local MRD. Addressing it, leaders demanded the release of political prisoners. In Naushehra, of Frontier province, over 300 workers went on a 24-hour hunger strike at different spots, which were decorated banners of MRD demands. MRD organized a public meeting, addressed by local leaders who demanded the release of political prisoners.

Deputy Opposition Leader in the National Assembly, addressing the session, demanded the imposition of governor-rule in Sindh, as he declared the ongoing movement an anti-democracy, during which the railway tracks and the highways were also not safe.

1st September, In Khairpur, the MRD rally was baton charged and tear gas shelled, police arrested five workers. In Johi, so far at least 15 workers of different parties had been arrested. Two local leaders of Thatta were arrested from different places. Benazir Bhutto challenged her detention in the Sindh High Court and the hearing was fixed for 10th September but one day before her case was to be discussed in the court, she was released from the jail.

MRD workers brought out a rally in Lahore and police arrested 12 workers. PPP women's wing also brought out a separate rally and a sit-in for two hours in front of a mosque on Mall Road. Protesting students set on fire a bus in Peshawar.

2nd September, Punjab government released 16 workers of different parties. In Thatta, local court released 84 workers

on bail; in Faiz Ganj, protesters set on fire a bus when it ran over their rally. In district jail Jhelum, over 50 PPP workers started hunger strike for the release of Benazir Bhutto and improvement of food quality. Four women workers of PPP were arrested in Lahore while they sat on hunger strike in solidarity with MRD.

Bahawalpur police so far had arrested 67 workers of different MRD parties.

Political Prisoners Release Committee Sindh Chief Rafiq Safi alleged that the whereabouts of six women arrested from Tando Jam were unknown. In Khahi five PPP workers were released on bail. A rally was brought out in Lahore, which dispersed peacefully after marching through different areas. Later, police arrested some workers. So far 180 MRD workers were arrested in Sukkur district. Acting president PPP Sindh Syed Parvez Ali Shah, who was in hiding advised his party workers that they should avoid courting arrest and instead of that organize public meetings all over the province.

3rd September, In Halani, police arrested seven workers in a raid. In Peshawar, women brought out a rally which dispersed after throwing stones on passing vehicles. In Sanghar, so far 5 journalists and 16 political workers had been arrested.

Political Prisoners and Human Rights Committee Sindh convener Rafiq Safi informed that five missing PPP women workers had been located at Bhit Shah Rest House under the Army security. They were arrested from Khaisano Mori along with other 33 women.

4th September, Deputy Commissioner Badin released 17 workers, who were detained under MPO. A rally in Mehrar was baton charged and tear gas shelled. Protesters threw stones in retaliation. Eleven including four police officials

injured, while six protesters were arrested. Civil Judge Kotri released 23 MRD workers on bail.

5th September, MRD central leader Nawabzada Nasarullah Khan was released. Two days earlier another central leader Fatahyab Ali Khan was also released.

6th and 7th September, in Badin, on 6th September, four workers court arrested and on 7th September, a rally was brought out that converted into a public meeting where leaders demanded the release of political prisoners. Afterward 8 workers courted arrest; in Tando Adam, on 6th September, a rally was brought out. Tando Allahyar police arrested five workers on 6th September, who brought out a rally and addressed a crowd. On 6th Dadu, observed a complete strike. Thatta police conducted raids to arrest political workers. Shahdadpur police re-arrested a local PPP leader who was released two-day earlier on bail.

In Kandiaro, over ten thousand protesters brought out a rally which was addressed by local leaders. Mahrabpur police arrested a local JUI leader. Bhan Saeedabad observed a complete strike. Larkana police arrested 83 protesters and 49 others under MPO during the last one month. Khipro police arrested one local PPP leader while conducted raids for the arrest of others. Police resorted to aerial firing, tear gas shelling to disperse a rally in Johi. In Lahore, a rally was brought out, attended by central MRD leaders, rally converted into public meeting at Mochi Gate and was addressed by leaders. On 6th a rally was brought out in Pano Aqil, which culminated into a public meeting and was addressed by the local leaders, they demanded shelving the construction of military cantonment in Pano Aqil. In Ghotki, thousands of protesters marched on roads for two hours, later they held a public meeting.

8th September, Benazir Bhutto was released on the orders of Deputy Commissioner Karachi South, from Landhi jail Karachi and was dropped at her Clifton residence in a

private motor car. In Badin, a rally was brought out, which culminated in the court arrest of four workers. In Shahdadt, four workers courted arrest. In Gharho a rally was brought out.

Additional District Magistrate Jacobabad sentenced eight MRD workers for two months each for violating section 144, while in Shahdadpur 17 workers arrested for the violating section 144 were released on bail. Punjab government withdrew detention orders of ten MRD workers.

9th September, 133 workers and leaders released from Hyderabad Central Jail. They were arrested from different areas during the ongoing MRD movement. In Kandhkot, a public meeting was organized. In Thari Mirwah, a public meeting was organized; the sit-in by the participants on Nawabshah-Khairpur road was baton charged and dispersed by the Police.

10th September, 210 political prisoners were released from Sukkur Central Jail. Two PPP Thatta leaders were released from Hyderabad Central Jail.

12th September, A rally was brought out in Larkana, which was baton charged and tear gas shelled by police. Protesters damaged three government buses, police arrested ten of them. A case was registered against Ghulam Hussain Korai, the SHO Tando Ghulam Ali; he was accused of instigating the people to bring out a rally on *15th August*.

All PPP Chakwal office bearers were released after 26 days detention.

13th September, Additional Session Judge Sanghar released 17 workers on bail and three workers of Thatta were released from Hyderabad Central Jail. Additional Session Judge Badin accepted bail before arrest of three local

leaders; they were accused of damaging properties and bringing out a rally.

14th September, Maulana Fazal Rehman, chaired a MRD component parties chiefs meeting held in Karachi, which decided to continue the movement with a new plan.

14th September, in Tarai six, in Badin 45 and in Sanghar 9 workers were released.

17th September, Karachi police arrested a PPP leader Masroor Ahsan for setting on fire a passenger bus in 1979. Ahsan, who recently returned back to Pakistan, was one of the 54 prisoners, sent to exile on the demand of PIA hijackers in 1981. Mirpur Sakro police arrested nine workers.

18th September, Sindh Hari Committee delegation under its president Ghulam Rasool Sahito met Benazir Bhutto in Karachi and apprised her about the political situation in Sindh, issues of peasants, construction of military cantonments at Pano Aqil and other places and the land reforms done during the Bhutto government.

19th September, Session Court Thatta rejected bail plea of 73 workers of Dandhari and Bhaghan areas. They decided to approach Sindh High Court.

21st September, Qazi Ahmed town, observed a complete strike for second day against the police atrocities. Citizens brought out a protest rally which culminated at the local PPP office and was addressed by the local leaders. Unknown persons set on fire the local Cooperative Society office in Tando Allahyar.

PPP chairperson Benazir Bhutto asked for reports by the Punjab party leaders Sheikh Rafiq Ahmed, Rana Shoukat and Jahangir Badar for not providing the required results in the MRD movement.

22nd September, in Khairpur, five and in Dadu nine workers released.

23rd September, in Bulri Shah Karim ten workers released.

24th September, in Johi ten workers released, while four PPP workers of Chambharh released from Hyderabad Central Jail.

26th September, in Dandhari six more workers released.

28th September, 32 workers arrested in Sakro, Ghorha Barhi and Keti Bunder talukas of Thatta district.

At about four in the early morning of 24th November, about three thousand soldiers of Pakistan Army cordoned-off village Jam Kot, where people were observing the third day of mourning the death of the wife of village elder. The indiscriminate firing by soldiers killed five villagers on the spot, afterward they arrested sixty persons sleeping in the community guest house of the village. Blind folded and lied face down, they were beaten with sticks. Raiding houses, soldiers slapped women and took control of all their possessions. The soldiers also set on fire about 16,000 kilograms of rice, the only source for village nutrition.

In the daytime, police on the instructions of the Army, came to village and took control of the dead-bodies and tied up persons, who were released after four days. The residents of Jam Kot were very much active in the MRD movement and participated in many rallies organized in their vicinity.

On 29th May 1988, General Zia dismissed the Junejo government and the National Assembly. Most of the analysts were in consensus about the two reasons for that. One of those was the Junejo government's move to curtail few of the privileges acquired by the military high command and the second one was the civilian report

regarding the mysterious blasts in the Ojhari Ordnance Depot Rawalpindi, which resulted in a big number of casualties of civilians as well the military personals.

General Zia's death in a mysterious plane crash on 17th August 1988 brought a sigh of relief for whole country and it created a crisis situation for MRD, which was visibly divided on post-Zia policies. After the death of General Zia, Ghulam Ishaque Khan, the Chairman Senate, took power as the acting President with the blessing of the military high command.

Some MRD leaders were of the opinion that to check the military from imposing another Martial Law in the country, a call for a general strike should be given; but Benazir Bhutto thought otherwise as she was confident of assurances given to her by some sections of the military establishment.

Wali Khan, the Convener of MRD and chief of ANP, in his first statement said that the MRD would not ask the caretaker government under Ishaque Khan to hold elections before 16th November, as scheduled by General Zia, while the Vice President of ANP, Hakim Ali Zardari hoped that President's political approach would be in line with the nation's demand for a multi-party democracy based on public referendum.

The PPP Central Executive Committee, in its emergency meeting said that the Party was ready to cooperate for a constitutional response to the vacuum and hoped that as a seasoned and experienced person, the Acting President would not only remain neutral but will respond to the aspiration of the people. Through a resolution, party made a four point demand; namely (1) the holding of party based elections on 16th November, 1988, (2) ensuring conducive political atmosphere with an even-handed treatment to all political parties, (3) induction of a

caretaker cabinet composed of Senators or other individuals, not contesting elections and thereby, not having a vested interest in its results, and (4) appointment of non-controversial judicial officers as caretaker Chief Ministers.

Just two weeks after the elimination of Zia, a full bench of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, under Chief Justice on 2nd August, in its verdict declared that every political party was eligible to participate in the general elections and General Zia's Representatives of the People's (Amendment) Ordinance of 1985, under which the non-party elections were conducted, was a violation of fundamental rights, enshrined in the 1973 constitution.

The court verdict brought another dilemma for MRD, whether it should contest elections as a united front or the component parties were free to contest on their own. As many of the alliance component parties had no support base in the masses, so they eagerly wanted the support of PPP. However this was not available, so this alliance finally came to an end during the election campaign of 1988.

Just one month before the elections, on 15th October, eight right-wing parties, including Muslim League of Nawaz Sharif and Jamaat-i-Islami formed an alliance *Islami Jamhoori Itihad (IJI)*, with the blessings of the security and intelligence agencies. The only goal of the alliance was anyhow stopping Benazir Bhutto from getting comfortable majority in the elections. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi was made the chief of the alliance, while Ghafoor Ahmed of Jamaat-i-Islami was made Secretary General.

Although Punjab had the majority seats in the National Assembly but the results from Sindh were most sought out, where after hanging of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and continuous suppression and massacres by military junta,

people had to give their verdict and they spoke out quite loudly.

The results of the elections, held on 16th November, showed many heads of the component parties including Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo (contested from two seats of Balochistan), Asghar Khan, Sherbaz Khan Mazari, Fatahyab Ali Khan and Rasool Bakhsh Palijo lost their seats.

Larkana, home district of Bhutto, created history, when it elected women from its all three constituencies, including Benazir Bhutto, who contested from three seats of Lahore, Lyari and Larkana and won all three, her mother Nusrat Bhutto and Begum Ashraf Abbassi, later Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly. Benazir got 96.71% of the total casted votes, which became world record and got mention in Guinness Book of Records. Khairpur showed an unthinkable result, in which Pir Pagaro, one of the most influential spiritual leaders and staunch supporter of General Zia was defeated by young PPP candidate Parvez Ali Shah by the margin of 54,000 votes. IJI chief Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi contested two of his home constituencies in Sindh but lost both of those to PPP candidates with big margins of 40,000 and 15,000 votes. One of those constituencies he had won in every election since 1956. Mohammed Khan Junejo, the former PM under General Zia, lost his seat by the margin of 19,000 votes from Sanghar. The caretaker Information Minister Illahi Bakhsh Soomro was defeated by PPP candidate Agha Tariq from Shikarpur by the big margin of over 20,000 votes. In Karachi, all Jamaat-i-Islami candidates including IJI Secretary General Ghafoor Ahmed lost to newly emerged Mohajir (later Mutahida) Qaumi Movement.

The elections results were also disastrous for many confidants of General Zia in Punjab. One among them a federal minister in Zia cabinet Ghulam Dastagir Khan lost to Aman Ullah of PPP in Gujranwala. Another Zia cabinet

minister Raja Zafar ul Haque lost from Rawalpindi. In Multan Yousif Raza Gilani of PPP defeated Nawaz Sharif by over 17000 votes. Sharif had also won his national and provincial seats from Lahore and later became the Chief Minister Punjab. NDP President and a central MRD leader Sherbaz Mazari was defeated by PPP candidate Ashique Mazari.

Lt. General (Retd.) Fazle Haq, the Frontier Chief Minister and Senator, who after remaining Provincial Martial Law Administrator and Governor for seven years, tried his luck in the party-based elections from four provincial seats and lost all the contested seats.

Overall 17 women candidates contested for the National Assembly seats and four among them Benazir, Nusrat Bhutto, Begum Ashraf Abbasi and Abida Hussain won against their male opponents.

After much reluctance, Benazir Bhutto, as the chief of the largest parliamentary party was handed over conditional power and took oath as PM on 2nd December 1988. Her eighteen months tenure as PM was full of dreams and conspiracies.

In her first address to the nation, after taking oath as Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto announced many steps. She restored trade unions and students unions, promised to dissolve the National Press Trust, lauded the role of women in struggle and committed to undertake reforms to improve the status and rights of women; she put a stop to the press advice system, finding ways for the honorable acquittal of the political prisoners and the protection of religious minorities.

3- Trade Union Movement---- an Overview

The Arab historians narrate that in the tenth century, Sindh had many sugar, carpet and textile factories, with every factory employing labor not more than one dozen.

In Punjab, Lahore, Multan and Sialkot were situated the main centers for the production of textile, carpets, ornaments and weapons. During the reign of Allaudin Khilji (1290-1320) there were factories hiring 150-200 workers.

After the occupation of Sindh by Akbar and its annexure into Mughal Empire, the production of hand-work in Sindh and Punjab grew rapidly during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. During the Akbar era (1556-1605) major portion of sugar and carpets for king's court was supplied from Sindh. To enhance the production, Akbar replaced the barter system with cash wages. Akbar also established a ship making factory in Thatta, where more than one hundred workers were employed.

During this period, economy of Punjab got a boost when Akbar shifted his capital to Lahore and began the construction of forts, gardens and other buildings; the artisans were invited from all places, who trained the local population, resulting in rapid growth of factories and other mechanized entities throughout Punjab.

According to the European travelers of Sindh during seventeenth century, Thatta was an advanced trade centre at that time and had over 30 thousand fabric making units. According to British sailor A. Hamilton, in context of social, economic and cultural development, Thatta could match with any European city and everything required for the human society and necessary for its functioning was being produced here. In the eighteenth century, 30 percent population of Sindh resided in cities, which was higher than the average of European countries. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan of the Multan province also emerged as handicraft centers. At these places, factories were yet to be established, but the artisans, individually or in the group were producing artifacts. Locally such places were called 'Humkari'.

The growth in trade and industry and the transaction in cash rather than barter system directly influenced the social structure of rural regions. Since cultivation of cotton was highly advanced in both Sindh and Punjab, the rural population, in the free time, now for the first time became engaged in cotton picking, spinning thread and operating oil presses. In the sugar-cane areas, sugar was produced for the commercial purposes. The Baloch, Brohi and Pashtoon tribes were engaged in the making of carpets and leather items.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the socio-structural characteristic of rural Sindh was that every village had its own blacksmith, carpenter, shoemaker and barber. As the artisans were from the lowest social level, so because of the social discrimination and limited sources of income, they started shifting to the urban centers. By the end of the seventeenth century, the production of fabric, shoes, carpet and iron goods almost came to an end in the rural areas and had moved to the city markets,

which not only strengthened the migration from rural to urban areas and cash-intensive trade but also paved way of the making of new cities/towns. In the first half of the seventeenth century, cities of Shikarpur (1617), Khairpur (1638), Khanpur (1638) and Jampur (1643) emerged. While, after sometime Karachi (1729), as a port-trade centre and Hyderabad (1768) as an industrial and trade centre emerged.

In the early eighteenth century, as the Mughal Empire crumbled, the economy went into recession and most of the factories shutdown or went into the private property of landholding classes, which resulted in heavy unemployment of the skilled workers. Taking advantage of this golden opportunity, the rich class, especially the urban traders established their factories by acquiring the cheap labor, so that during this period many new factories were established in Thatta, Shikarpur and Khairpur.

Although the civil war between Kalhora rulers of Sindh and Talpurs, resulted in a huge loss to the economy of Sindh but the handicraft work and trade continued to grow in Karachi, Hyderabad and Shikarpur.

Ubaidullah Aseer, a visitor to Sindh, during this period, writes that Sindh had import-export business with Kabul, Kandahar, Herat and Bukhara.

Till the beginning of the nineteenth century, the trade activities of Sindhi Hindus had grown and during 1809-36, they established 300 factories of fabric, leather, iron and other items. Most of the trade in Sindh was in hands of Hindus as Muslims considered it a low economic activity. This could be judged from the fact that in Shikarpur, 923 out of 1276 shops were owned by Hindus.

In 1840, the population of the urban centers in Sindh reached to two hundred and sixty thousands, out of which fifty thousand were from the artisan class.

Since ancient times, the trade and economic life of Punjab was linked with the caravans coming from Afghanistan and as in 1666 the relations between the Mughal Empire and Iran were disturbed; so Aurangzeb prohibited the trade through Afghanistan, which caused an economic crisis for Punjab and most of the silk and cotton fabrics, shawls, ornaments and carpet factories were forced to close down.

During this period as the central government weakened, the conflicts between the landed aristocracy of Punjab sharpened and taking advantage of it, Ahmed Shah Durrani occupied Punjab, which further damaged its economy. It was not until Ranjit Singh unified Punjab that once again uplifted its economy in the early nineteenth century.

The European interest in Sindh had roots long before the British occupation of the Sub-Continent, as the first delegation of the East India Company visited Thatta in 1613 to judge the resources of Sindh and possibilities of trade relations with it. They established their first factory here in 1635, the main purpose of this factory was to acquire items by the Sindhi and Punjabi artisans and export these to the England and other countries. The exploitative attitude of the foreigners forced the local population to boycott this factory, which was eventually closed down in 1662 and the trade relations between Sindh and England were severed and remained so till early eighteenth century.

Later, in early eighteenth century, with the help of the British government, East India Company got a permission to open a factory here but once again, on the resentment by the local population, the Sindh government imposed heavy taxes on the Company forcing it to close down. As Talpurs came to the power in 1783, the trade relations were restored. The Sindhi rulers were forced into an agreement that the French will not be allowed to enter Sindh. During the first fifteen years of the independent

trade between 1813-1828, the import of textile items from England rose to three-fold higher and with that the demand of local textile demand reduced every year. The British ships were carrying sugar, cotton and leather on their return voyage.

Some English experts suggested to their government that an agreement regarding usage of River Indus for trade purposes could boost the British economy, so between 1832 and 1843 British officials did six agreements with the rulers of Sindh and by that Sindh lost its economic and political sovereignty. The British items were tax exempted from Ferozpur to sea-ports, which antagonized the artisans and small traders, who launched an anti-British campaign in Hyderabad, Karachi, Rohri and Sukkur during November-December 1838. In response the British authorities unleashed ruthless aggression and occupied the above mentioned cities.

Soon after the end of the War of Independence of 1857, the project of laying the railway track between Karachi and Kotri, near Hyderabad was launched. The manual labor in construction work was paid eight to ten rupees a month. This wage was considered low by the local workers, who started slowing the work which resulted in the import of workers from other regions, on that often Sindhi locals were reacting by attacks on British officials.

After completion of railway network system in Sindh and Punjab, the need of coal aroused, which, beside iron, copper and other mineral was available in abundance in Balochistan. To be able to initiate mining work freely, the British occupied the Baloch areas.

In the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, in areas that now-days constitute Pakistan, there were more than 300 small factories of fabric making, carpets, iron, leather and tobacco, where average more than twenty persons were working. However all of these were without machinery of modern technology. By the end of the eighth

decade, in Punjab, factories with modern machinery emerged and these were fulfilling the requirement of the capitalist mode of production. Most of these factories were owned by the black-marketers of the cotton or the big traders. During the ninth decade of the nineteenth century, the textile-related factory workers in Waziristan and Dera Ismail Khan and sugar-related workers in Peshawar, Mardan and Bannu were facing the extreme form of exploitation.

During 1877, Rai Bahadur Mela Ram established first textile mill in Lahore. Sometime later, the cotton ginning factories were established in Multan, Hyderabad, Okara and Lyallpur with steam and diesel engines. By the end of nineteenth century, the British factory owners were also investing in the local industry. In this regard, the cotton production in Punjab got primary attention and the number of cotton-related factories reached to 114 by 1904, while the number of industrial labor reached to twenty five thousands by 1908.

The main reason behind the establishment of the industrial units was the skilled labor of Sindh and Punjab, who had lost their original work due to discriminated policies of the Empire and they gave birth to the industrial proletariats.

Usually the factory workers were selected by the Jobbers, who charged a monthly fees from the workers but the real exploiters were the factory owners.

In greed of profit and competition with the European items, the factory owners were forcing the workers to extend their work-hours to sixteen hours a day. In 1881, first factory law was applied in India, while in 1892 all workers were entitled to a weekly-off.

In comparison of Punjab, the speed of establishing factories in Sindh was slow and in the first forty years of British rule, only 13 smaller factories were established but during the First World War this number grew and reached

94 in 1918. In Shikarpur, Sukkur, Khairpur and Karachi workers from Pakhtoon and Baloch areas were getting the work. Because of the high ratio of migration to Sindh, wages were low in comparison to Punjab.

In the early period of twentieth century, industrial units were established in Balochistan also but here only few specific sectors like production of agro-items, minerals, construction of railway and irrigation systems were promoted. Regarding Baloch proletariat, one should keep in mind that because of the under-developed capitalist relations, the land-less peasants and the unemployed skilled workers from here were migrating to the developed areas of Punjab, Sindh and Bombay.

When in 1891, the factory owners in Sindh and Punjab slashed the workers' wages by 25-30%, spontaneous strikes were observed in Lahore, Rawalpindi and Karachi.

On 9th May 1891, railway workshop workers in Lahore went on strike, which was the first organized strike in this region and according to the Times of India; it culminated with victory of the workers.

During 1892-96, railway workers in Rohri, Sibi, Jacobabad and Karachi went on brief strikes, mostly for equal wages for workers in different regions and reduction in working hours. Since 1897, workers of comparatively bigger textile factories, cotton ginning and river-transport also took part in the strikes for a raise in wages.

Some radical elements began anti-British propaganda in the industrial and transport workers, which spread to the peasantry, soldiers and urban middle classes. Ignoring the strict restrictions by the administration during 1896, with the participation of railway, port and textile workers, a big public meeting was organized in Karachi.

In November 1899, the campaign for the boycott of British items was initiated and the workers at Karachi Port joined

in and refused to unload the foreign goods. To counter the workers' participation in anti-British movement, an employers' association of 200 factories was formed in Punjab with the backing of British capitalists, so that a joint action against the workers could be taken.

On 20th January 1906, Garriwallas of Hyderabad went on strike against a directive by the local police. Not a single hackney carriage came on the roads for three days.

In May 1906, the strike based struggle of railway, port and textile workers intensified and they started demanding the end to British rule beside a raise in their wages. In Sukkur, railway workers confronted with the police.

On 13th December 1906, in solidarity with the Sindhi peasantry, the textile workers in Karachi observed three-day strike and on 27th December, attacked the residential colony of British officials.

Two months after the formation of All India Muslim League in Dhaka, on 6th December 1906, a number of meetings in Karachi, Hyderabad, Multan and Peshawar were organized during February 1907 and the same year witnessed first Hindu-Muslim clash between the Hindu traders and Muslim workers in Shikarpur, which became a tool for propaganda for the British officials to create communal tension.

In 1907, the people of Rawalpindi rose against the British Empire and attacked the government offices. To suppress the rebellion, army was called-in but the railway workers refused to transport the soldiers to the disturbed areas, while the workers in the Ordinance factory refuse to prepare the ammunition. These strikes by the workers, contributed in the unified struggles by the workers and peasants. After some time, 95 active participants of the Rawalpindi rebellion were arrested and exiled to Burma.

Scared of 1907 uprisings of workers and peasants, the local bourgeois and feudal lords aligned with British officials. On this issue a rift occurred between the liberal and democratic elements in the Congress meeting of 1907.

The radical elements of Punjab travelled to the far areas of Chitral, Dir and Swat to reach the wider population and the records of secret police mention that the movement against the British rule was not restricted only in Bengal and Punjab but was taking roots in Northern areas as well. As a result of this politicization, the workers in Chitral and Dir began protesting against the forced labor on the construction sites of military cantonments; stopped work and attacked British officials. Decision of sending more military troops in these areas was taken and many workers of Punjab, who protested against the operation, were arrested. On this action, citizens of Lahore demonstrated on the roads of Lahore for more than four hours.

In 1908, the North-Western Railway workers, along with their comrades in Bombay, participated in a strike against the arrest of Tilak, the editor of the progressive magazine Kesari, who was sentenced for six years after the enforcement of Press Act.

On 10th June 1909, the Garriwallas and hackney carriage proprietors of Karachi went on strike against the atrocities of the police. In their petition submitted to the District Magistrate of Karachi, they said that their old grievances as detailed in their petition of the 19th October 1908 had yet not been redressed.

After a gap of few years, in 1912, once again labor movement surfaced to protest against the new factory laws, which had replaced the 1891 laws.

As England got involved in the First World War in 1914 and declared India, its colony, a party to it, the conditions of the working classes worsened. During the war, the Empire

recruited a large number of soldiers from Punjab and NWFP and collected more grain and food items from the agricultural areas of the region. Out of 1.3 million Indian soldiers, who were recruited for the war, many were sent to the ordinance factories in England. Five hundred thousand of those soldier-laborers were from Punjab, who under the duress of price-hike and low wages turned to trade unions.

During the workers' strike at Karachi Port, the arrest of leaders added the political demands to it and separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency became major demand by them.

On 1st April 1913, the butchers of Karachi went on strike to protest against the directives of the Health Officer, which disallowed carrying of meat by the butchers in their own carts from the slaughter-houses to the markets.

During the WW1, a rapid industrial growth was observed in the North-Western parts of India, which naturally produced a large number of proletariat, who organized themselves in early unions. The October 1917 revolution in Russia brought another dimension in the working class movement and now the main characteristic of the movement was, instead of organizing strikes in individual factories, joint strikes in each sector were being organized.

After the end of War, England backed-out from its commitment of Dominion status of India and to protest against this, the strike-committees were formed in Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi and other cities, which created a new unity among the workers. In protest against the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh, protest rally and strikes were organized by the workers in every city of Sindh, Balochistan, Punjab and NWFP. To suppress protests in Gujranwala, fighter planes were sent, as a result of which many of the protesters were killed and property damages because of the bombardment. During this revolutionary

uprising that continued for three months, 8 major strikes, 37 public meetings and demonstrations were organized in the region.

During 1919 and 1921, the workers associations were formed by the Postal and Telegraph workers in different areas of Bombay Presidency including Sindh and the railway workers acted in same manner in Karachi and Sukkur. These associations were formed on the regional bases.

During the 1919 general strike by the railway workers in Punjab, a trade union was formed with three thousand members. On the refusal of recognition by the administration, the strike was intensified and forcing the administration to bow-down to the demands of the workers and give them a wage-rise of 40-100%. This victory by railway workers inspired the workers of other sectors, who also started forming their organizations and during 1920-27, many industrial units and the port workers formed their organizations. However as in the early period, total number of workers, excluding railways, which in 1925 had one hundred thousand employees, others had very few organized members. In 1925 80% of the railway employees were union members. While 28% workers of the industrial units in Punjab and 36% of industrial labor was organized in the trade union organizations.

As industrial growth was slow in the Pashtoon areas, many of the uprooted peasants migrated to major industrial centers throughout India and many of them became part of trade union and Communist movement.

In October 1920, the first congress of All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), formed on the suggestion of Indian National Congress in June 1920, was attended by 107 trade unions from the different parts of India. The unions from Sindh and Punjab were taken into its central committee.

Because of the price-hike in 1921, the living standard of the workers was badly affected, to formulate a position on it, provincial trade union organizations persuaded for the congress of AITUC, which met in November 1921 and with the economic betterment, it also demanded the independence of India.

The political activities by the workers forced officials to compile record of their protests and demands, so since May 1921, the facts and figures about the industrial issues were being recorded. Labor department considered a closure of factory for more than 24 hours and involvement of ten persons as an industrial dispute but no difference was maintained between lock-out and strike.

Most of the strikes in Sindh were based on political issues. The rapid increase of the political activities of the working class was directly connected with the spread of Socialist thought, formation of early Communist groups and the struggle against the colonization. The first Communist group, formed by the Indian exiles in Tashkent during 1920 had some members from Sindh, Balochistan and Punjab. After arming themselves with the ideology, these revolutionaries returned home. Many among them were arrested but they and their comrades who escaped arrests started political work with different segments of the society, especially in the working classes.

On 10th October 1921, a meeting of the workers representatives was convened in Lahore, which considered the question of the formation of the working class' political party and launched its magazine 'Inqalab' in 1922, under the editorship of Ghulam Hussain. This magazine propagated revolutionary thoughts. In the same year, the first ever Communist group, under the leadership of Ghulam Hussain was formed in the region, which had strong contacts with Communist groups in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. This Communist group, in the

training of the workers in Punjab, actively circulated the weekly 'Socialist' launched by S. K. Dange in 1922.

In a rally to commemorate the Labor Day on 1st May 1925, the tonga drivers of Lahore for the first time carried the red flag and marched through the main roads of the city.

The impact of the above mentioned Communist group and the trade unions could be seen in the strikes during 1924-25, as all of these strikes took place on the call of trade unions and were thoroughly discussed by the workers before initiating the protest. In this regard, the railway workers' strike of March 1924 is significant, this strike continued till June, but after the recruitment of new workers by the administration it fizzled-out.

In 1924, with the efforts of Comrade Jamal Din Bukhari, the Sea-men Union was formed in Karachi. Later, to organize the union, Bukhari joined Hansaline Shipping Company and one year later he became the Karachi divisional secretary of the North Western Railways Workers' Union and was the guiding light in the formation of the Dockyard and Karachi Tramway Workers' Union.

In 1926, with the help of Communists in Punjab, two groups of workers and peasants were formed; Lahore group was uniting the textile workers and municipal workers. In 1928, both these groups merged in Punjab Mazdoor Kissan Party (PMKP) and launched two magazines 'Mazdoor-Kissan' and 'Kirti'. In the early days of 1929, PMKP led a strike by railway workers to victory.

In the light of decisions taken at the second congress of the Communist Party of India, held in May 1927 at Bombay, new unions were formed in Sindh and Punjab, including the Sindh Workers Association and Karachi Port Workers' Union.

In 1928, the union was formed in the salt mines at Khewra, Punjab.

The international economic crisis of 1929-33, had its impact on this region and according to available figures, only Karachi had 25 thousand unemployed people. To get rid of the agitation mood of these workers, the colonizing rulers adopted policy of exporting labor to foreign lands and thousand of jobless workers of Sindh, Punjab and Balochistan moved to Middle East and Africa.

By the end of 1927, the leadership of labor movement in Sindh and Punjab tilted in the hands of reformist elements but in the later half of 1920s, the Communists gained significant ground and in February 1928, on the arrival of Simon Commission in India, the workers observed strikes in Lahore, Rawalpindi, Sukkur, Quetta, Sibi, Karachi, Hyderabad, Peshawar and Multan.

In solidarity with their Kolkata comrades, the workers of Lahore came out in the streets. In one of these rallies, the workers raising anti-imperialism slogans and carrying the red-flag were attacked by the police and were fired upon; this intensified the agitation and forced the government to form an enquiry committee.

The year 1928 witnessed a long-duration strike by the Karachi Port workers.

On the pressure of the trade union workers, the Indian National Congress session held in Lahore in December 1929, demanded complete independence. However the workers unity had been shattered one month earlier, when in the 10th congress of the AITUC, held in Nagpur in November, differences between the Communists and the reformist elements reached the point of no return. The Communists demanded the boycott of Ottelli Commission, release of the Meerut Conspiracy Case accused and the joining of the anti-imperialist front. The reformist leaders opposed these demands and later quit AITUC, with thirty trade unions including of Karachi Port, Commercial Float of

Sindh Union and union of cotton ginning factories in Punjab. The remaining 50 unions, including of the railway, textile workers in Lahore and Sindh and few from NWFP continued with AITUC.

After the political turmoil and uprising during 1930-32, the Communists in the AITUC were forced to leave the organisation and they decided to form the Red Congress of Trade Unions, which was also joined by some trade unions of Sindh and Punjab.

On 30th March 1931, third conference of the All India Workers' and Peasants Parties was held in Karachi and presided by Dasuanda Singh. Delegates from Bombay and Bengal also attended the conference.

Under the influence of the Communists, the workers of Sindh and Punjab in 1934 demanded the nationalization of factories owned by the foreign powers. On the verdict of the capital punishment to Communist leader Muzaffar Ahmed and sentences to other party activists, demonstrations for their release were organized in many cities of Sindh and Punjab.

On the call of Anti-Imperialist Front, led by Communists, in the three-month long strike during 1934, 210 active workers were arrested from Lahore alone.

On 19th November 1935, taxi drivers of Karachi formed their union 'Taxi Drivers' Union, which later was banned under the orders of Mayor of Karachi. In protest against this act, the taxi drivers went on strike.

In 1938, three thousand workers of Satluj Cotton Mills Okara went on a successful one week long strike, after the untiring work by the Communist labor leader Comrade Fazal Illahi Qurban, who was later arrested and union activities were suppressed with the help of police, which were re-activated in 1941.

Qazi Dad Mohammed (born in 1895 in Qazikhail family of Karak, Sibi), formed Balochistan Mazdoor Party, in the end of 1930s, which celebrated May Day in 1941. Accused of organizing the Labor Day, Qazi along with Mohammed Iqbal (party General Secretary), Hotu Ram and Syed Mohammed Kasi were arrested and were sentenced for one year imprisonment each. In 1942, Party again celebrated the May Day, attended by over one thousand participants and addressed by Syed Mohammed Shafi Asadi, Comrade Abdul Karim Shorish, Sardar Gurbachan Singh, Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo and Sardar Jeet Singh. In a resolution, the meeting demanded the formation of a genuine national government in India to counter Fascism. Qazi represented the Baloch working class in many meetings held in Karachi, Lahore, Bombay, Kolkata and Delhi. Till his death on 6th September 1948, Qazi Dad Mohammed played an active role in the working class politics. He was buried in the Kasi graveyard Quetta.

The overall political mobilization had an impact on the sweeper community of Peshawar, who as the most discriminated section of the society were facing the worst kind of economic and social exploitation. In this regard, they prepared a charter of demands and met with different political, social and religious leaders of the area. They got most encouraging response from a Muslim religious scholar Abdul Rahim Popalzai, who not only endorsed their demands but decide to hold a Sweepers' conference under his leadership.

According to official secret reports, in a meeting held on 21st December 1937, a reception committee for the conference was formed and on 13th may 1938, a rally in support of sweepers' demands was brought out in Peshawar and a public meeting on the same night was convened, chaired by Popalzai. In his speech, he advised

the community to take the constitutional path for the acceptance of their demands. Another local leader Mohammed Younis Qureshi also addressed the meeting.

After these encouraging responses, the sweeper community launched a peaceful movement throughout the NWFP and went on strike for the acceptance of their demands. During the strike, three of their leaders were arrested in Bannu, who were released on 18th July. This brought a day-long celebration in the sweepers colonies.

Poopalzai sent Sohan Lal and Qureshi to Bannu for the guidance during the movement. Sohan Lal was also arrested by the authorities and was released on 19th July, which was also celebrated with dance and rallies. In the evening of 19th July, sweeper community of Bannu organized a public meeting which was addressed by Qureshi, Sohan Lal and Hakim Lal of Rawalpindi. Speakers asked the community to intensify their struggle against the social discrimination and capitalism, which they declared was the root-cause to all socio-political evils.

The local municipal administration once again resumed its anti-workers and anti-sweepers attitude and instead of implementing the accepted demands, it reduced their wages. To consider their line of action, sweepers called their meeting in Bannu on 9th August, attended by over two hundred sweepers. Sohan Lal and Younis Qureshi also addressed the meeting.

Another meeting was convened on the very next day, which was also addressed by Dawarka Nath of Peshawar. During this period, contacts were made with sweepers all over the NWFP, resulting in the formation of a sweepers' union in Kalachi. The union presented its demands to the administration, with a warning that if their demands are not being accepted till 15th August, they would announce further action.

On 16th August, the sweeper community in Bannu brought out a rally, which marched through the city areas. Addressing the rally, Qureshi deplored the war preparations by the British Empire. On 21st August, a public meeting for the rights of sweepers was convened in Peshawar. Addressing it, Qureshi and Sohan Lal emphasized on the unity among the community.

In the night of 23rd August, another meeting was organized in Peshawar, attended by 60 sweepers and addressed by Sohan Lal, who advised them that to get better facilities in the government jobs, they will need a unified struggle. Later addressing another meeting on 31st August, in Katra Resham Garan, he criticized the Congress government for the baton charge on the poor.

On 24th August, another meeting of sweepers was organized in Peshawar. Addressing it Sohan Lal, once again criticized the Congress Ministry and said that it had kept step-motherly attitude towards the Socialists. He suggested to the sweeper community that if they will not strengthen their union, their children will continue to starve and their women will be abused by the money-people.

Scared of this emerging struggle by the most discriminated segment of the society, the Congress government arrested Popalzai. Strangely enough, during his earlier arrests, the British government had allotted him the B class every time but this time the nationalist ministry of Congress kept him in C class. On 21st September, both Qureshi and Sohan Lal were issued warnings by the Deputy Commissioner for taking part in the struggle for sweepers.

On 21st December, in Peshawar the workers meeting for the selection of the reception committee of the proposed sweepers' conference was convened. Meeting reviewed the arrangements for the conference to be held on 26-28 April next year in Peshawar. To solicit outside help, the

meeting decided to send a delegation to Rawalpindi in the last week of December, comprised of Maulana Abdul Rahim Popalzai, Abdul Ghafoor Aatish, Mohammed Younis Qureshi, Malik Dilawar Khan, Mirza Allah Ditta, Fakir Chand Kapur, Taj Mohammed Aata Farosh and Abdul Rehman Raya.

Mobilization campaign for the conference started soon after the meeting and besides holding corner meetings in different parts of the province, activists started collecting donations for the conference expenditures. In this regard, on 1st and 7th February 1939, Sohan Lal, Ram Saran Nagina, G. N. Chatterjee and Fakir Chand Kapoor collected donations from the shopkeepers in city and sadder areas.

On 4th February, in the Chowk Bazar of Peshawar cantonment, a public meeting regarding the awareness on sweepers' rights was convened and was chaired by recently released Popalzai. Younis Qureshi, Giani Tara Singh of Lahore, Ms. Budha of sweepers' community who highlighted the social and religious discrimination, Rangi Ram sweeper and Maulana Popalzai addressed the meeting, who said that not only the sweepers' community but country needed to be liberated. The meeting, in its resolution, welcomed the election of Subash Chander Bose as Congress President and hoped that he will take youth instead of right-wingers in his cabinet.

For the proposed conference invitations were sent to these luminaries, Malik Fakira Khan, MLA for chair, Subash Chander Bose the President All India Congress Committee, Munshi Ahmed Din, Malik Khuda Bakhsh Khan the Speaker NWFP Assembly, Comrade Teka Ram Sukhan, Comrade Fazal Illahi Qurban trade union leaders, Pir Kamran MLA, Comrade Teek Chand Dhainger MLA, Lala Hukumchand MLA, Master Abdul Rasheed MLA, Dr. Ghosh MLA, Malik Ameer Alam Awan Editor Tarjuman-i-Sarhad, Comrade Mani Ram of Amritsar, Koto Ram advocate, Harnam Das

Gandhi, Barrister Mohammed Jan Khan, Chaman Lal tailor, Sirjan Das Kumar advocate, Ram Singh, Katoor Khan Baghi, Dr. Daulat Ram, Salim Khan, Haji Mohammed Aslam Khan, Vishwa Mantar Donichand and Master Keval Ram of Bannu.

During the same period, to organize the sweepers, a Frontier Sweepers' Organizing Board was formed and Sohan Lal Obrai was appointed Propaganda Secretary of it. After its formation, the Board issued pamphlets and advertisements. One of these advertisements originally displayed in Urdu, is being reproduced here:

• 'Declaration by the Frontier Sweepers' Organizing Board

Everything is for rich people in the world but nothing for poor. The current worst society has no remedies for the miseries of poor; neither the current form of government intends to end the sorrows of the oppressed classes. Since long oppressed sweepers of our province are facing the suppression by the capitalists. Few months earlier these oppressed sweepers started organizing themselves to get rid of their problems but all municipal committees in the province smelled rebellion in their organisation, so they started abusing them more eagerly and with their suppressive policies tried to bow-down the sweepers' community. But due to our timely intervention, all these attacks were foiled and the sweeper community got their demands fulfilled in Bannu, Kohat and Dera Ismail Khan. There is no doubt that they faced abuses of capitalists in their small fights.

To end the miseries of these oppressed sweepers and achieving their just rights from the municipal committees, Sweepers' Organizing Board has decided to hold a Frontier Sweepers' Conference in early March, at the provincial capital Peshawar.

Appeal to the people of Frontier

The residents of the Frontier are requested to come forward in help to make this conference successful

(Sohan Lal Obrai, Propaganda Secretary, Frontier Sweepers Organizing Board)

At least three such advertisements/declarations were released and in the last one the detail program and the list of guests and speakers was also published.

According to this advertise, titled as 'First Frontier Provincial Sweepers Conference Program' at 4.30 in the evening a rally of the sweepers will be brought out from the Peshawar Cantonment, which will culminate at Polo Ground after passing through main markets. At 5.30, Mohammed Younis Qureshi will hoist the flag and Sadhu Singh and Ram Saran Nagina will recite anthem. Malik Fakira Khan MLA, will chair the conference. Messages of solidarity will be read out and Dawarka Nath will recite a poem. Afterward, Maulana Abdul Rahim Populzai will give the welcome address, which will be followed by the Presidential address. Afterward, few resolutions will be presented and different comrades will share their opinion on those. At 6 in the evening of 27th March, the open session will be held. Mohammed Saeed Farig and Sohan Lal will recite poems about the workers, afterward, resolutions will be moved and following persons will address, Pir Kamran MLA, Comrade Teekchand Dheegar MLA, Lala Hukumchand MLA, Dr. Abdul Rasheed MLA, Dr. Ghosh MLA, Comrade Manniram of Amritsar and others. Meanwhile Malik Khuda Bakhsh Khan, the Speaker of Frontier Assembly had committed to participate and hopefully he will also address. The participation of Munshi Ahmed Din, Comrade Teeka Ram Sukhan and Comrade Fazal Illahi Qurban is also anticipated. If the proceeding is not being completed, it will be continued on 28th March 1939.

Issued by:

General Secretary of Reception Committee

Imperial Electric Press Peshawar Saddar, phone no. 73'.

On 8th March, a meeting of untouchables was convened at the Balmik Temple, Peshawar, attended by large number of Balmikies and Bahashties. Younis Qureshi attended the meeting as the representative of Maulana Popalzai and briefed about the proposed conference. He invited Balmikies to send their three representatives to the conference, so their situation and demands could be highlighted.

On 13th March, Sohan Lal chaired a gathering of sweepers, organized at the Kalan Chowk, Bannu, where Dawarka Nath Baghi recited his poetry and Younis briefed about the coming conference and demanded sweepers' representation in the assembly, two seats in municipality and law for providing free uniform and residence as had happened in Bombay. He announced that the fight for rights of the poor will not be fought by the rich and moneyed people; the poor had to fight it on their own.

Although earlier, dates of 15 and 16th March were fixed but as the arrival of Bose was not confirmed so the conference dates were extended.

The conference preparations started few days before the date. Ram Saran Nagina and Kirshan Lal were leading the teams for the collection of donations. Many children joined in setting the venue and pasted chits on posters regarding change of conference date as 15th to 26th March. A special electricity meter was installed for the light arrangements at the venue.

On 26th March 1939, a historic rally in solidarity of the sweeper community was taken out in Peshawar. Maulana Abdul Rahim Popalzai led the rally, which started from Bairun Kohati Gate and passed through Bairun Ganj, Lahori

Gate, Gadhi Khata, Shadi Pir, Karim Pura, Chowk Yadgar, Qisa Khawani Bazar, afterward moved towards cantonment and reached Polo Ground, where the conference was convened. Just before the start of the conference, heavy rain poured but the participants held their grounds with full enthusiasm.

Mohammed Younis Qureshi hoisted the conference flag and Dawarka Nath Baghi recited his poem in tribute to the flag. Malik Fakira Khan MLA was supposed to chair the conference but as he was unable to attend, Sohan Lal proposed name of Boota Masih to chair, which was endorsed by Rorha Ram Balmiki.

In his address Qureshi said that the red flag hoisted by him had the symbols of Basket and broom on it and for the first time in any conference, a flag is being hoisted. He explained that the red color was a joint color of all slaves and the flag of workers, all over the world is marked with hammer and sickle. So many friends would suggest that the same symbols should be adopted here also; but this particular flag was prepared in particular circumstances. He further said that at present the basic issue was the independence of the country and at the time of our struggle against the British Empire, the flag of sweepers will absorb in the tri-colored flag, which was the symbol of all nations living in India. But right now the sixty million strong sweeper community all-over India had renounced the abuses and discrimination against them. He thanked the sweeper community who gave him honor to hoist the flag.

Messages of Punjab Assembly members Sohan Singh Josh, Dr. Gopi Chand, Dr. Satya Pal, NWFP Assembly member R. B. Chaman Lal and Sarjan Das advocate of Bannu, who were unable to attend the conference, were read out. Afterwards, Maulana Popalzai delivered his written presidential speech, in which he said that the

independence could be achieved through the unity among the working classes. Sohan Lal alias Boot polish recited his poem.

Afterward, Abdul Ghafoor Aatish presented a resolution regarding the allotment of two seats in municipal bodies, which was seconded by Ghayur Mohammed Shah of Dera Ismail Khan. The house unanimously adopted the resolution. The proceeding of the first day ended at ten in the night. Because of the rain, the proceedings of second day of conference were deferred till 28th March. On that day, meeting of delegates from Mardan, Naushehra, Haveliyan, Qila Shakar Garh, Charsada, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, Kalachi, Peshawar cantonment and other places were held. In this session Mohammed Shah of Dera Ismail Khan moved a resolution, with following salient points, 1- representation of sweepers in municipal boards, 2-recognition of provincial sweepers' union, 3- recognition of residential rights for sweeper community in the province, 4- making of law regarding lay-off the loans against the sweeper community, 5- demands regarding salaries, holidays, pensions and uniform of the community.

Later, Sohan Lal presented a three-point resolution on, 1- condemnation of Bannu municipality for throwing out sweepers from the residential quarters, 2- reduction of working hours of sweepers in Bannu, and 3- warning of further action if demands were not accepted in three months.

Hira Nand of Lahore referred to the Communal Award and declared it a tool to create more problems for different communities of India.

At the end of the conference, a provincial sweepers' union was formed and Mohammed Younis Qureshi was elected its President.

The formation of the provincial union provided a platform to the most deprived section of the society, which created panic in the power corridors and it started manipulation to breach the unity of the community. In this regard, on 1st April, a poster issued by Sundar Das of Kohat, was pasted on the walls of Kohat, which criticized few of the office-bearers.

In response, 21 members of Working Committee issued their own poster, which alleged that Sundar Das, on the instigation of the administration had tried to create a rift within the community.

After the formation of the union, the mobilization and the organizational work was initiated and a meeting of over 100 participants was convened at the Balmik Temple Bannu, chaired by Essar Das. In this meeting Rorha Ram of Peshawar recited poetry and Sohan Lal, Sundar Das and Veer Chand of Kohat, Deena Lal and Gul Hyder of Bannu, Hayat Saqa, Rahim Sher, Bannu union President Vanjara and others addressed the audience. After this a series of meetings were held to organize the sweeper community under their newly formed organisation and many posters, filled with organizational program and demands were released.

With the efforts of Sohan Lal alias Boot Polish, an exclusive Sweepers' grocery store run by Gour Bakhsh Singh, was opened near Hawya Gate Bannu, where sweepers could shop without any social discrimination.

In a meeting held on 19th June, in Naushehra cantonment, chaired by Mahasha Lal Chand, an ultimatum was issued in case of non-acceptance of demands by 21st June.

On 14th July, a rally was brought out in Mardan to highlight the issues of Balmikis and untouchables, with the help of Boys' Scouts. After passing through different roads of the city, it culminated at the Arya Samaj Centre, where

a meeting was organized and addressed by Khizan Singh alias Lion of Punjab and Marari Lal. For next two days, a Balmik conference was organized.

On 23rd July, a meeting of over 100 participants was convened at Mian Feroz Shah Sarai, Naushehra and reviewed the attitude of municipal authorities. On 24th and 26th July, sweepers of Naushehra took out a rally in persuasion of their demands.

The sweepers earned another victory, when on 4th August; three of their demands were accepted after demonstration in front of Cantonment Board offices. Younis Qureshi, Dr. Lajpat Roy and Kirshan Mahasha the President of Shopkeepers Association Sadder Bazar led the demonstration. Because of the protest, monthly salaries of female sweeper workers were raised by two rupees per month.

On 19th November, Balmikis of Kohat brought out a rally, followed by a two-day conference, attended by over one hundred participants and addressed by Punjab Balmik Sabha President Chuni Lal and Balmokand Balmiki, Hukum Chand, Chamba Lal, Ali Gohar Bahashti and others.

On 5th December, a meeting of Balmiki community was held, which elected Chaudhry Ghaniya Lal as President, Sundar Lal as Vice President, Bairu Ram as General Secretary, along with, a 28-person Sewak Committee was also formed.

The sweepers of Amritsar decided to get help from the Frontier Sweepers Union, when their Municipality began to lay-off sweepers. A delegation comprising of Khwaja Khair ud Din, Chaudhry Qaiser Das and others left for NWFP to invite sweepers to attend a conference in Amritsar. On 9th March 1940, this delegation reached Mardan, with posters and invited the sweeper community to the conference, who contributed three rupees to the expenditures of it.

This visit by Amritsar activists, created a panic in CID of both Punjab and NWFP, who in their exchange of notes, disclosed that in the same month, few people from Punjab had come to Ghala Dhair, which was a centre of the peasant movement under Maulana Popalzai.

On 18th March, a delegation of Mardan sweepers visited Peshawar to gain support of the political leadership in their struggle for rights.

The struggle by the sweepers of Frontier, had impact on other parts of the country and they also united. In this regard, the sweepers of Amritsar convened their two-day conference on 30-31st March.

Now the main stream Indian National Congress started taking sweepers community more seriously and convened a meeting at the residence of Seth Shambho Nath, to review the petition presented by the union.

On 16th April, the sweeper community crossed another landmark in history, when in Peshawar; they elected a widow Ms. Budhan as the Vice President for year 1940.

On 17th April, about 60 sweepers of the Mardan Municipality gathered in the Committee Park and decided that if their demands are not accepted within 12 hours, they will go on strike and sent their representatives to other cities to convince the workers not to work as their replacement. On the next day, 88 sweepers went on the strike and in the afternoon, with the assurance of Deputy Commissioner, they ended their strike.

In a general meeting of sweepers on 28th April, at Bairun Kohati Gate, Peshawar, Younis Qureshi in his address, demanded the voting rights for the community. On 4th May afternoon, about 120 sweepers brought out a rally, led by Younis Qureshi, who warned the municipal committee of dire consequences, if the demands of sweepers are not met. Again on 10th May, sweepers

brought out another rally, this time from their residential quarters, led again by Younis Qureshi and Fakir Chand Kapoor. This rally of about 250 participants was also joined by 50 Bahashtis. One of the banners, carried by the participants, had the inscription of a male and female sweeper. Qureshi warned authorities that if their demands are not being met by midnight, they will draw further plan of action. The administration did not commit to fulfilling the demands, so early next day, about 25 female sweepers and four male, led by Ms. Doulati, started their rally from Kohati Gate and as they arrived at Namak Mandi, police stopped the male participants but females continued their march. When the rally reached at Bajorhi Gate, they were told that their demands had been accepted, so they dispersed.

To suppress the sweepers' movement, few leaders were arrested and few others were terminated from the service. Arrest warrants were issued against Younis Qureshi and raids were conducted for his arrest but he went underground to continue the organizational work.

Taking clue of success from the unity and organisation in Peshawar and other places, the sweeper community of Dera Ismail Khan held their secret meeting on 24th August and reached seven consensus demands, to be presented to the authorities and decided that in case of non-acceptance of demands they will bring-out a rally.

Same situation happened in Kohat, where sweepers presented their charter of demand, which was not accepted by the authorities so they stopped work on 26th November and next day brought out a rally. On the other hand, the citizens were also disturbed, because of the filth around and came out in sympathy of the sweeper community. On this growing pressure, after the strike for couple of days by the sweepers, authorities had to bow-down and accept the demands. The leading figures behind the Kohat strike were Boti Ram and Roshan Lal.

In 1941, many trade union leaders from Sindh, Punjab, Balochistan and NWFP, joined Indian Federation of Labor, which had elected M. N. Roy, as its first Secretary General.

In early 1940s, especially after the lifting of ban on the Communist Party of India, leftist trade union activists, concentrated on the workers of informal sector. In this regard, Comrade Ramesh was most significant, who formed many such unions in Lahore and among those the Tonga Union was the biggest.

In 1941-42, renowned poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz joined the Tonga union in Lahore, run by Ramesh Chander Charlie, who later joined Indian Television. In 1953, when Faiz was in the Hyderabad Central Jail, in connection of Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case, in one of her letters, Elis Faiz mentioned something about Charlie, which caused excitement to Faiz and he wrote in his letter dated 18th March 1953, 'from where this our buddy came out. His reference was joyful. Laughter is bit natural with hearing his name. One can not imagine his face without his smiling face. Had he married? If so, you should ask him to must send photo of his wife to me. The girl who had chosen him as the husband must be decorated with Victoria Cross'.

During the WWII, The Shops & Establishment Act was passed but it was not being implemented, especially tailoring shops, with one among those, Essar Dass and Sons, on Elephantine Street (later Zaibunnisa Street) in Karachi, A. K. Hangal (later renowned Bollywood artist) was working as Chief Cutter. The workers of the shop had no weekly off with pay, no medical leave, and no 'earned leave' of 15 days in a year. This was practice in all tailoring shops of the city, the owners used to give plea that those workers were 'contracted' workers and not the regular employees, so were not eligible for benefits. Hangal reported the matter to Communist Party of India's Karachi

branch and got advice of forming a union and fight for right. Party leadership assured its young cadre Hangal that it will offer the practical guidance. On the advice of the Party, workers started their efforts to form union and conducted the area meetings, mostly chaired by Hangal. In one such meeting, they decided that all tailoring shops in Karachi would go on a one-day strike. On that day, processions were taken out from different commercial areas of the city and converged at the venue of public meeting. There were red flags, with the hammer and sickle logo fluttering everywhere. At the public meeting, formation of 'Karachi Tailoring Workers' Union' and A. K. Hangal as its first President was announced. A charter to be sent to the Employees Association was drafted. It raised three basic demands; 1- Recognize the union, 2- Implement the Shops & Establishment Act, and 3- Recognize 'piece' workers also as employees.

The employers were in a rage. They never had faced this kind of collective confrontation, so they bargained for time, saying that they would reply to demands in writing. Few days later, on one morning as A. K. Hangal walked into the shop, he was handed over a letter that stated that his services were no longer required by the firm, and the letter should be treated as one month notice, such letters were issued to many of his fellow union comrades. In protest against the victimization against the union members, all tailoring workers of the city held a protest in front of Essar Dass & Sons, and raised slogans like, 'Notice Wapas Lo', 'Sunday with Pay', 'Karachi Tailoring Workers' Union Zindabad'.

The next line of action was a sit-in strike during which union leadership including A. K. Hangal arrested under Trespass Act. On the day, Hangal was migrating to India, the court gave its verdict in favor of Tailoring Union that

piece-workers would be treated as 'employees', thus became one of the earliest victory for workers in the newly established country.

In 1943, Comrade Jamal Din Bukhari of Larkana Sindh, a member of the CPI Sindh branch, attended a workers' conference held in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, where he met his future life partner Comrade Shanta Devi. Both decided to marry in March 1943, but soon after the conference Comrade Bukhari was arrested, so they married in 1945. After their marriage both worked for CPI and its trade union front in Karachi.

After her arrival in Karachi, Comrade Shanta Bukhari, formed 'Khidmatgar Union of the domestic female workers' and 'Municipal Women Sweeper Union' and became Secretary of both unions. Along with this, she was the President of Birth Attendants', Female Bangle-Makers and Female Fabric Workers' associations.

On the instructions of CPI, during 1942-43, Mirza Ibrahim, Comrade Sandhi Khan and Comrade Abdul Salam started their work with the workers at Mughalpura Lahore Railway Workshops. Later, Salam, a party whole-timer was sent to work with the workers of the Satluj Cotton Mills Okara, to replace Comrade Ram Lal, who after working there since 1940, wanted to spend sometime with his family in Amritsar.

In 1945, Satluj Cotton Mills Okara workers went on strike against the two rupees reduction in their price-hike allowance. The mill administration got about 70 active workers arrested but the strike continued and culminated with the acceptance of workers' demands.

Mirza Mohammed Ibrahim was elected Chairman of the Central Strike Committee, for the country-wide strike in the Indian Railways at the end of 1945. Comrade Ghulam Mohammed was made a member of Loco Shop Committee in Lahore. On the call of token strike, Loco Shop Lahore

was shutdown for four hours, which resulted in the arrest of many workers including Comrade Ghulam Mohammed.

Karachi was the epicenter of the Royal Indian Naval rebellion of February 1946 and a Sindhi sailor Ali Ahmed Brohi, member of the Strike Committee, later sentenced for capital punishment which was converted into life imprisonment. On 21st February, several Communist trade union workers namely Avatar Kishan Hungal, popularly known as A. K. Hangal, later President of IPTA, Sobho Gianchandani, Ainshi Vidyarthi, Gulab Bhaghwani, Poho Mal and reached the trade union office in Karachi after their routine visit of factories. They were informed by the trade union workers of Kiamari area that the Royal Navy Sailors had rebelled and exchange of firing was going on between the British army and the rebels at the docks of Karachi. The trade union workers immediately assigned different responsibilities and after consultation with different active people, called an open meeting in the evening at the Eidgah ground and send messages to every workers' union. According to Sobho Gianchandani, the CPI sympathizer I. K. Gujral considered it an opportunity to enhance the Communist politics in Sindh, while Sobho himself was of the opinion that after the proposed meeting, in either case, of their arrests or not, a call for general strike should be given. During their pre-meeting preparation, they came to know that CPI Secretary General Dange had given a general strike call for whole India.

In the evening, with the presence of about 400 people, the meeting started. By this time both Gandhi and Jinnah, had declared their displeasure for this rebellion but the masses stood with the rebels and were in search of the new leadership, which would have the courage to stand by the rebellion. The meeting started by an anthem sung by Comrade Rala Ram Mala Ram, a former militant, who later became a Communist and a poem by Sheikh Ayaz 'sing Revolution...sing Revolution'. During the meeting, many

workers, after finishing their factory work, joined the gathering. Sobho, Professor Karvani, Hangal, Qazi Mujtaba and others addressed the meeting and appealed people to observe a general strike next day, which was complete in Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Multan, Quetta and other cities.

Early next morning, in police raids Sobho, Hangal and Karvani were arrested and were locked-up at Sadder Police station.

At ten in the morning, workers of the West Wharf, Karachi Dockyard, tramway, buses and factories brought out a rally. Gulab Baghvani led this procession. The police and military tried to stop the rally but retreated because of the large number of its participants. Later they brought local Congress leaders Swami Kirshna (MLA) and Dr. Tara Chand and Muslim League leader Mahmood Haroon, who appealed to the demonstrators to disperse but people refused and stood their ground. It was first time that the protesters even refused to oblige Jamshed Nasarwanji, the former Mayor and regarded as the maker of modern Karachi. As the police tried to arrest Gobind Malhi, Aynshi and Gulab and remove the hoisted flags, the protesters pelted stones on them. In retaliation the police initially fired tear gas shells and then opened direct firing. The protesters confronted forces till the evening with bravery and about one dozen of them sacrificed their lives.

In May-June 1946, North Western Railway Workers' Union was formed with Mirza Ibrahim its first President and Jagdish Chand Dang, a goods clerk at the Lahore Railway Station as Secretary. Baba Amar Singh was the President and Comrade Ghulam Mohammed Secretary to its Lahore branch.

On the appeal of Communist trade union leader Mirza Ibrahim, whole Punjab province observed one day

complete strike against the communal riots. The workers of this region were active participants of the Railway, Postal and Teiegraph workers' strikes during the later half of 1946.

Comrade Ghulam Mohammed Laghari along with Comrade Mir Mohammed Talpur and Comrade Chajo Ram of Sindh Hari Committee made this strike successful in Sindh.

At the time of the partition only 1079 (7.3%) factories out of total 14677 overall in India came under the territories within Pakistan. Most of these factories were smaller and seasonal and the machinery used in those was unable to fulfill the modern requirements. Only 26 factories were accommodating more than 500 workers. In 1947, the total number of industrial workers of Pakistan was four hundred and eighty thousands, which was just 1.5 percent of overall population of thirty three millions.

The first involvement of Communists in any industrial dispute, after Pakistan came into being, is reported way back in September 1947, when the workers of a newly built cement pipe making factory near Malir Karachi, approached Sobho Gianchandani at the trade union office of the Communist Party, who deputed young party cadre Sharaf Ali to hold negotiation on behalf of workers. Twenty two years old Sharaf Ali was the younger brother of a Kanpur based Communist writer Ashraf Ali and had recently migrated to Pakistan. The factory owner, a young lady, was impressed by the energetic Sharaf Ali and accepted demands.

In October 1947, a special law regarding industrial relations was adopted, through which the rights to strike, demonstrations and meetings were curtailed. In transport and communication sectors, strikes without prior notice to the officials were banned. For rest of the sectors, a two-week advance notice for strike was required and without

notice strike was eligible for one month sentence and fifty rupees fine.

In the early days of Pakistan, the general characteristic of labor unrest was mainly economic depression, for a rise in wages, price-hike allowances and against the lock-outs.

At the time of partition, the majority of the unions located in the provinces which became West Pakistan were affiliated with Indian Federation of Labor, formed by M.N. Roy in 1942. its associated labor leaders formed Pakistan Federation of labor, within few months of partition.

In November-December 1947, the lower staff, especially waiters of the Hotel Metro Pole, Karachi, went on strike. At that time the hotel was a central social place for the local elite and the diplomats and this strike became talk of the town. To break the strike government detained few Communist workers, including Comrade Jamal Din Bukhari for one year, who was instrumental force for this strike.

The Pakistani workers had no representation in the ILO Asian Regional Conference held in New Delhi in October-November 1947.

During December 1947, over 15 thousand workers of Railway Workshop held demonstration for their economic demands. Same year, in Lahore, Rawalpindi and Mughalpura workers of Post and Telegraph, public transport drivers and textile workers in Karachi demonstrated against the price-hike.

In the early months after partition, no major organized workers' movement was visible. One of the reasons of that could be the migration of most of the AITUC leadership from Sindh, Punjab and NWFP, where it had many affiliated unions.

Soon after Pakistan came into being, the progressive forces strove to revive the trade union movement and in

January 1948, on the suggestion of the progressive workers, a meeting of 50 trade union organizations from Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Lyallpur was convened and Pakistan Trade Union Federation (PTUF), with Lahore as the headquarter, was formed. Mirza Ibrahim was elected as President, Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Fazal Illahi Qurban (expelled from Communist Party in May/June 1948) as Vice Presidents and Dr. Abdul Malik was elected as its General Secretary, while Sardar Shoukat Ali was elected Deputy Secretary. C.R. Aslam, Mohammed Afzal, Dada Ameer Haider, Lal Khan, Siraj ul Haque Gulchen, Mumtaz, Mustafa Din of Attock Oil Company, Comrade Abdul Salam of Okara, Tufail a whole-timer from Lyallpur, Nawab Din of Sialkot, Sandhi Khan, Khurshid Alam, Dr. Bagh Ali, Ghulam Mohammed of Railway Workers' Union Garhi Shaho Lahore and Nazir Secretary Press Workers Union Lahore were taken on the executive committee. The posts of Vice Presidents and Deputy Secretaries for Bengal and Sindh were kept vacant.

By declaring trade union as an independent organisation, its membership became open without any discrimination on the basis of political thoughts, nationality, religion and gender. One could join it on the basis of profession and where it was not possible, organisation on the basis of region could be formed. Federation launched its Urdu newsletter 'Labor movement in Pakistan'. Mostly unions of the textile industry and railways joined the PTUF and it organized many strikes, demonstrations and meetings on different labor related issues. Many reformist unions, earlier affiliated with Indian Labor Federation did not Join the PTUF.

The first ten unions affiliated with PTUF were Lower Grade Postman and Telegraph Union Punjab and Frontier, Press Workers' Union Lahore, Tonga Drivers' Union Lahore, North Western Railway Workers' Union, MES Union

Rawalpindi, Okara Textile Mills Union, Lyallpur Textile Mills Union, Tonga Drivers Union Sialkot and Attock Oil Morgah Union.

On 31st January and 1st February 1948, demands' day was observed and workers in Lahore and Karachi held demonstrations. In retaliation the government arrested many PTUF leaders.

Mirza Mohammed Ibrahim was born into a poor family at village Kala Goorjan in district Jhelum, Punjab in 1905. He did not get the chance to attend the formal school but had an early exposure to politics when, at the age of 16, he got radicalized as the Khilafat Movement spread all over the united India. He was arrested during this movement because of his active participation in it. In 1924, he moved to Rawalpindi and worked as a brick kiln worker. In 1926, he found work at the railway workshops in Jhelum. It was this job at the railways that became his lifetime identity. His metamorphosis, however, occurred when he was posted in Lahore in 1930, where he came in contact with the trade union movement and leftwing activists. He joined the Communist Party of India, became active in trade union movement and was consequently elected as vice president of the Railways Federation. At that time, the federation president was V V Giri, who later became the Indian President.

The year 1946, was a revolutionary year in the freedom movement of India. At the end of World War, the government wanted to fire railway workers. In protest over this decision, on 1st May, the railway workers went on strike under the leadership of Mirza Ibrahim, who was the president of the North-Western Railway Workers Union. The government had to give into the striking workers and they not only saved their jobs but won a twenty-rupees rise in their salaries.

In 1950, Mirza Ibrahim contested the Punjab Assembly election from a Lahore constituency and his supporters filled ballot boxes with currency notes along with the ballot papers but in the results, the official candidate of Muslim League was declared victorious.

In 1951, after the so-called Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case was unearthed, he was also arrested and was tortured in the notorious Lahore Fort.

He contested the 1970 elections but this time his legend did not attract the voters amid the Bhutto's popularity. Few progressive workers had lobbied with the PPP to nominate him as a party candidate and some of the PPP leaders had agreed to it but Mirza Ibrahim refused to contest the election on PPP platform and lost to its candidate.

In 1994, with his support and the backing of other senior comrades, a nine federations' umbrella organisation Pakistan Trade Union Confederation was formed. As his health worsened, he moved to his native village and on 11th August, 1999, he passed away.

In April 1948, Railway workers in Lahore came out on the roads in protest against the price hike of flour and over twenty thousand workers marched from Railway Workshop to Anarkali. Twenty nine workers including their leaders Mirza Ibrahim, Aslam Awan, Sharif Nakodri, Ibrahim Chota, Laeeq Ahmed, Nisar Ahmed, Lala Asghar, Comrade Ghulam Mohammed and Lal Khan were arrested and booked under section 307 for attempt to murder and were sentenced six months imprisonment by a lower court. When their sentence was challenged in the High Court, they were set free but Comrade Ghulam Mohammed and Lal Khan were terminated from their services in the Pakistan Railways. Later, Lal Khan and Aslam Awan became CPP whole timers; while Ghulam Mohammed continued his activities with the railway union, so in 1949, he and Aslam Awan were barred

from entering in the railway area and later were arrested for violating this order. They were released after the court intervention.

The first time celebration of 1st May in Pakistan was the result of unity among the progressive writers and workers. The PWA Lahore branch took the initiative and organized a public meeting at YMCA Hall. The Britons police and district administration officials were continuing their duties till that time and allowed the holding of the meeting on the condition that it would not disturb the law and order situation. The hall was decorated with red flags, with hammer and sickle. Faiz Ahmed Faiz chaired the meeting as the acting President of PTUF, in place of Mirza Ibrahim, who was under detention during those days.

A right-wing daily Ahsan, started propaganda campaign and wrote just after 1st May celebrations that in the program Islam was defamed and Lenin was projected as bigger leader than Jinnah. Soon, the molvies joined the campaign and under the command of the Wazir Khan Mosque molvi, speeches against the progressive forces were delivered from forty mosques of Lahore. To counter this onslaught, the Railway Union, with the support of Postal Union organized a public meeting at the Mochi Gate, chaired by Mirza Ibrahim and was attended by about twenty five thousand workers.

In June-July 1948, when the 31st meeting of ILO was convened in the San Francisco USA, Faiz Ahmed Faiz participated in the meeting as the representative of PTUF along with Aftab Ali of Eastern Pakistan Trade Union Federation, four government officials and two employers.

According to French intellectual and trade union leader George Fisher in that meeting, Faiz supported the plea of representation to the workers in this UN body. George Fisher and other delegates also supported the move but was strike-down, as the organizational rules did not allow

that. Because of lobby by the progressive participants of the meeting, UN once again emphasized on the participant countries to implement the labor policies in their respective countries and include the workers' representatives in all international forums.

The textile workers were the major force in strikes, during 1948 and they formed 78% of the total strike-workers. During those years, the major success of labor movement was the participation of clerks, intellectuals and students in those strikes.

On the proposal of the International Labor Organization (ILO), a tri-party conference was convened on 8th and 9th February 1949, which was attended by the trade union leaders, employers and the government representatives. The government could not ignore the PTUF for this conference so asked it to send its delegation. In January 1949, the CPP Secretary General Comrade Sajjad Zaheer, while informing about this invitation to Karachi District Committee Organizer Hassan Nasir, writes; 'A conference of government, workers and industrialists will be held next month (February) in Karachi. The government has invited the West Pakistan Trade Union Federation to it. We had selected Faiz Ahmed Faiz (Vice and Acting President PTUF), Comrade Ghafoor (Railway Union) and Abdul Salam (Okara Textile Labor Union) to attend it. Beside that Comrade Afzal will accompany them to Karachi for consultation. This conference could be a fruitless exercise but we should raise the issue of our under-custody Comrades. This is a good omen that the government has recognized the Federation. You should meet these friends and extend every possible help. You should talk to them on the situation of trade union movement in Karachi, our position and the organizational status of PTUF'. Letter further instructed that the lodging and boarding arrangements of

all three visitors should be done by Karachi comrades and their stay should be arranged at the Party office, Commune or some other place.

About thirty representatives of Central and provincial governments, ten representatives of employers and eleven representatives of workers attended the conference. On behalf of PTUF, Faiz appreciated organizing the conference.

In 1949, the Punjab police once again made arrests of progressive trade union workers and from Lahore, Aslam Awan, Abdullah and Dr. Bagh Ali were arrested and sent to notorious torture camp in the Lahore Fort for three months.

A ten-member delegation, led by East Pakistan minister and labor leader M. A. Malik attended the 32nd meeting of ILO held in Geneva during June-July 1949. Faiz Ahmed Faiz and N. M. Bismil, the Vice President Pakistan Federation of Labor were also part of the delegation.

In this meeting the government officials and employers dominated the proceedings and Faiz after failed efforts to protect the workers' rights, decided not to attend any such meeting in future. In this meeting, the American delegation tried its best to form an Asian Trade Union Federation, to weaken the International Federation of Trade Union and fragment it in the continent bases. According to Faiz, 'although they foiled American attempt to form Asian Trade Union Federation but afterward as the USA dominated and achieved its goal'.

Writing an editorial in the Pakistan Times on 22nd July 1949, under the caption 'Asian Labor', Faiz declared this organisation as fake.

In 1950, women formed just 1.5% of total permanent workers. Female workers were 33% and child workers 11%

of factory workers, yet they had no basic facilities. Almost all factories were without proper healthcare facilities. The number of the industrial accidents had grown almost 167% during the period of 1947-51.

A good number of PTUF workers attended the provincial representatives' meeting from 28th February-6th March 1948, CPI second congress in Kolkata, which formed the Communist Party of Pakistan, with Sajjad Zaheer as its first Secretary General.

In the last days of 1948 and early days of 1949, the workers of Karachi Port Trust and Karachi Tramway Service went on strike and many of its leaders were arrested.

On 16th and 17th April 1949, a delegate-meeting of PTUF was convened and attended by the representatives of North Western Railway Union, Okara Textile Union, Attock Oil Company Union, MES Mint, Jind Ubtan Factory and few other unions. Faiz Ahmed Faiz chaired the meeting, which re-elected Mirza Ibrahim as President and Mohammed Afzal as General Secretary.

Faiz Ahmed Faiz was main spirit behind the formation of Postman and Telegraph Union, Punjab and Frontier and was elected its President, while Siraj ul Haque Gulchen became Secretary. Faiz also played a major role in the formation of the Workers' Union at Pakistan Mint, where official coins were made. He had warm intimacy with Mint workers and wrote editorials in their support on 4th September 1949 and 20th October 1950, in daily Pakistan Times. All those unions were affiliated with PTUF. Faiz was nominated to the Punjab Labor Advisory Committee, which he continued till his arrest in March 1951, in connection of Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case.

One of the major activities during 1949 was the meeting of Punjab Mazdoor Committee, held in Lahore and chaired by Faiz Ahmed Faiz. The representatives of North Western

Railway Union, Okara Textile Union, Lyallpur Textile Union, Attock Oil Company Union and few other unions attended the meeting as delegates. During the meeting, workers organized a public meeting at Mochi Gate, attended by over three thousand people and addressed by five speakers, all of them were labor leaders. This was first time after the partition, when the Red flags were hoisted outside of any working class settlement in Lahore.

In April 1950, over one hundred delegates from all over the country attended a PTUF conference in Lahore, which elected office-bearers. Mirza Ibrahim and Faiz Ahmed were re-elected as President and Senior Vice President, while other office bearers were Comrade Sandhi Khan, Dr. Bagh Ali, Sobho Gianchandani, Comrade Abdul Salam and Ali Hyder Shah as Junior Vice Presidents, Comrade Mohammed Afzal as General Secretary, Shamim Ashraf Malik as Senior Assistant Secretary, Comrade Ali Imam and Comrade Shoukat Ali as Assistant Secretaries and Comrade Ghulam Mohammed as Treasurer. Twenty five delegates were elected as the members of the executive committee.

Beside others, the conference was also attended by an Australian E. Thornton, who represented the World Federation of Trade Union. Thornton had recently visited Moscow and being a citizen of a Common Wealth country, did not needed a visa for Pakistan. He addressed the public meeting in English, which was translated into Urdu by Faiz.

In the August 1950, a meeting of PTUF criticized the foreign policy of Pakistan and asked all affiliated organizations to protest against the price-hike. It also demanded the nationalization of big industries, formation of the democratic government and the release of all political prisoners. Till the end of 1950, the number of PTUF affiliated unions had grown to 67, with a total membership of eighty thousand and overall about three hundred thousand workers were under its cover. Many PLF affiliated unions had also joined PTUF.

The progressive forces had objective as well as their own subjective issues to deal with; they could not overcome the tendencies of right-wing reformism and the leftist extremism within their ranks. While working with the workers of smaller industries, importance to their work was not given and in many cases they failed to judge the sensitivities and the prevalence of religious feelings in the masses. In the leadership of the progressive forces, the number of experienced trade union workers was very little, so they faced difficulties while working among the workers. Although they tried their best to overcome these weaknesses and in many cases were successful but overcoming the objective difficulties was beyond their strength, including the small number of industrial labors, continuous state suppression of the progressive elements, arrests of the leadership and ban on their publications. The active trade union workers were being fired from their services, including 200 workers in Railway Workshop Lahore. In 1950, the laborers belonging to the Railways, Post and Telegraph, Irrigation and government departments were barred from participating in the trade union or labor movement.

In 1951, the Muslim League government ratified the Convention no. 87 of ILO, which recognized the workers right of association. In the same year, political conflict in Pakistan sharpened. This directly affected the trade union movement, which became more active.

Although on 11th August 1947, at the occasion of his election as the head of state, Jinnah had announced in the Constituent Assembly that exploitation of every kind will be eliminated in Pakistan but there was a big gap between the claims and actions by the Muslim League government, which could be observed in the Pakistan's first Labor Policy of January 1950, adopted after few amendments and additions in the labor laws of 1934, according to which the

working hours were limited to 54 hours a week but it was not applied to the seasonal factories.

In 1950, the reformist trade union leaders, with the help of World Confederation of Free Trade Unions (WCFTU), started activities to create rift in the PTUF and a WCFTU delegation visited Karachi to strengthen the reformist unions so the Asiatic Regional Conference of Trade Unions could be disturbed. With the efforts of this delegation, the labor federations of East and West Pakistan united in a single platform of All Pakistan Confederation of Labor (APCOL). The formation of this new organisation was largely achieved through the efforts of Dr. A. M. Malik, who had been president of the East Pakistan organisation and an important labor leader in undivided India. Dr. Malik was appointed Labor Minister in the Central Government in 1950, with the primary purpose of bringing the labor movement into a centralized body under government influence. (In late 1960s, he became a principle minister under General Yahya Khan, and then Governor of East Pakistan during the military operation).

In his inaugural speech after the formation of APCOL, Dr. Malik adhered to government policy by warning workers against demanding wage increase which would be against 'the greatest interest of the nation'.

Although main task of this organisation was to harm the revolutionary trade union movement of Pakistan; but to penetrate the labor force and confine the trade union movement within the few economic slogans, it also presented few economic demands and for achieving those it used strike beside the negotiation.

As the trade union movement till that time was influenced by the progressive cadre, so their influence could also be seen in the APCOL, which had a leftist section, ready to cooperate with the progressive organizations.

In 1950, to cover the defense expenditures, the food items were taxed so the prices rose. To protest against that, the textile workers in Karachi and the railway workers in Lahore and Rawalpindi went on strikes and demanded the reduction in the defense expenditures and stressed on quitting the Common Wealth.

In 1950, the Communist workers, especially Malik Ghulam Hussain, Comrade Lal Khan and Comrade Saeed Dar formed Beco Workers' Union, which was second biggest workshop of industrial labor in Lahore, after the railway workshop. This company was a part of Batala Engineering Company. At union's formation time, the administration had initiated lay-off of workers but because of the protest hunger strike by Dar, this process was stopped. Later, in 1952, once again the administration fired many workers from services and again Dar and his comrades sat on hunger strike but this time their services were also terminated. For many times Dar was reinstated on the orders of the court. The hunger strike by workers in 1956 got country-wide publicity, as the female family members of the workers also joined the hunger strike.

Before the accession of Balochistan with Pakistan, the Railways Workers' Union and United Mines Workers' Union were operative in Balochistan. At that time, the Saint Johnson Flour Mills, Ganguly Pencil Factory, fruit processing plant and a liquor factory were operating. In the early 1950, the sanitary workers' union continued a three days protest for their demands in Quetta.

Because of the partition and to avail the political and economic opportunities created in new state, many non-industrial trade union workers especially from South India had migrated to Pakistan and most of them settled in Karachi. One among them, Comrade Karim, a Biri worker and originally from Kerala, along with Comrade Zubair was sent to Sukkur in 1950-51 to organize the workers. After

sometime, Comrade Zubair went back to Karachi, but Comrade Karim continued his stay in Sukkur, although sick with tuberculosis. In Sukkur, he was given an accommodation by a peasant leader Shams ud Din Shah. Eventually he went back to Kerala, where he died.

Shabbir ul Hassan alias Paikar Naqvi, who had migrated from Bihar and had settled in Khairpur Mirs, Sindh tried to form a union in a textile factory and was arrested. Later, he moved to Karachi and became one of the leading workers' leaders in Pakistan.

Because of bad crops in 1951, prices went further up, which further frustrated the working classes, who regularly came out in protest all over the country. Half of the strikes in 1951 were organized by the railway and textile workers.

On 10th May 1951, the Punjab government arrested many trade union leaders along with other progressive leaders under the Punjab Public Safety Act. Among those arrested, Comrade Ghulam Mohammed was kept first in Gujrat Special Jail and then in Lahore Central Jail.

On the other hand, the PTUF based its strength on the workshop employees of the North-Western Railways and by 1954 the total membership of the registered trade unions affiliated with PTUF was 410,755.

As the PTUF was most active in the Punjab, a Punjab Labor League was backed by the government in 1949, with the purpose to distract workers away from Communist-led unions. However, when the Punjab Labor League proved to be ineffective, it was dissolved in 1954. By that time, the government had devised other methods to neutralize the PTUF. Its president, Mirza Ibrahim, was arrested in 1948 for instigating strikes which had been declared 'illegal', was released in 1951 but again arrested in 1954. Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Vice President of PTUF from 1948-51 was arrested in 1951 in connection of the Rawalpindi

Conspiracy Case. The Secretary General of the Federation, Mohammed Afzal, was also in jail during 1954-55.

The PTUF, considered as the labor arm of the Communist Party of Pakistan, was also banned in 1954, with its mother party. Its offices were sealed, and its official records and publications were seized by the police. The internal differences had also played a role in the downfall of PTUF. One of its leaders, Fazal Elahi Qurban, was expelled from the organisation as a 'revisionist'. In 1953, Khwaja Mohammed Hussain and Sidhi Khan left the PTUF and founded Pakistan Mazdoor Federation.

After the ban imposed on the Communist Party of Pakistan in 1954 and expulsion of CPP sympathizer workers from the formal sector, many former trade union workers decided to do job somewhere and organize workers in the informal sectors. In this connection, Comrade Ghulam Mohammed and Comrade Hameed (both fired from jobs in railways) established their cigarettes shop near Lahore Railway Station, which they continued till 1969, when on the orders of Highways Authorities these semi-built shops were demolished. During the demolition operation, Lahore Khuwancha Khokha (vendors') Federation protested and its leadership including Comrade Ghulam Mohammed (General Secretary of Federation) and Rozi Khan of Anarkali (President of Federation) was arrested under sections 332, 347 and 353 and were released after two years and four months. Comrade Ghulam Mohammed died on 27th December 1999.

Soon after Pakistan came into being the Central Finance Minister Chaudhry Ghulam Mohammed allocated twenty million rupees to Mir Laiq Ali of the ruling circle of the former Hyderabad Deccan state to establish industrial units in the Landhi-Korangi area of Karachi. Mir, an engineer by profession, established a match factory and to promote the production, in initial days match boxes were

distributed free of cost. To support this new venture, the government banned the use of wooden match box in the West Pakistan.

One of the elite groups of Hyderabad Deccan, opponent to the match factory, through their contacts in workers, got registered the 'Hyderabad Trust Match Factory Employees Union' and gave a strike notice for the acceptance of forty-five demands. Labor leaders of Karachi, especially Ameer Hussain Shirazi and Mukhtar Azad extended their support to the strike.

The government standby Mir Laiq, who supported the formation of a pocket union named 'Association of the Workers of Hyderabad Trust Match Factory'. Workers organized hunger strikes and rallies but the movement failed and the services of over one hundred workers, including union activists Abdul Razzaque Maikash, Ibrahim Shariq, Iqbal Siddiqui, Haji Adeel and Habib ud Din Baghdadi were terminated.

After a lot of hue and cry, the trust management deputed an official to investigate the reasons behind the strike. On his recommendation, the striking workers were reinstated on their jobs.

Inspired by this strike, the Communist Party of Pakistan assigned Aizaz Nazir, (full name Aizaz ud Din Ahmed), who had migrated from the Deccan, to establish the trade unions in the newly established industrial area of Landhi. He joined the match factory as a supervisor and with his efforts the Labor Union was registered. The same model of union registration was adopted for Adamjee Cotton Mills, Hussain Textile Mills and Nagariya Textile Mills.

After the official ban on the Communist Party of Pakistan and its mass fronts, arrest warrants of Aizaz Nazir were also issued, so he left Karachi and moved to Sukkur, in the Northern Sindh. After his shifting, the Party assigned

Comrade Mohammed Zubair to organize trade union activities in the Landhi and Sindh Industrial and Trade Estate (SITE) areas. He made Abdul Razaque Maikash's house his headquarter and started consultation with APCOL and other organizations, beside direct contacts with industrial workers. With the help of Karashak Saramak Party workers, the Textile Workers committees were formed in Landhi and SITE areas and Badar Din and Barrister Salah ud Din were chosen as the President and General Secretary of both committees. Unions were registered for the Bawani woolen Textile Mills, Haroon Mills and Hafiz Textile Mills and through strikes and negotiations, workers' demands were forced to being accepted. The industrialists, because of the workers' pressure started following the laws. In this success, the support of older unions like Airways Employees Union PIA branch, Pakistan Security Press Employees Union, Burma shell Union, Pakistan Ordinance Factory Union always stood with the fellow workers. Burma Shell Union leader Ismail Yousif and Ordinance Factory Union's Kaleem Ullah Khan had worked wholeheartedly in Landhi area. Babu Yaqoob, S. P. Lodhi, Mohammed Ghayur, Zafar Rizvi, Ghaffar Master, Sheikh Naimat Ullah, Chacha Jan and others played an active role in SITE area, while Comrade Zubair became the Gandhi (because of his organizing and mobilizing abilities) of the textile workers.

After the registration of the Dawood Cotton Mills Landhi Union, a demand notice was issued and a union delegation comprised of Inayat Ullah, Yousufzai and Ismail Yousuf met the Director but the Mills owner refused to accept the demands and expressed his anger over union registration. Workers went on strike and established a camp at the Mills gate, which was uprooted by the police after the imposition of section 144. Workers shifted their camp to

Malir No. 15 and afterward 89 Bus Stop. The influential mill owner and Labor Director Mirza Salah ud Din Mahmood refused to refer case to the Industrial Tribunal.

The police arrested the active workers and Ghayas Ullah Khan, Yousufzai, Mohammed Zubair, Ismail Yusuf and Kaleem Ullah were taken into custody from the strike camp. Abdul Razaque Maikash announced an 8-hour token strike for next day. A joint meeting of all Karachi based federations and trade unions were called at the strike camp. The student leader Mahboob Ali was appointed in charge of the strike camp.

Next day, the protest rally by workers was baton charged and Razaque Maikash, Khasta Gul, Syed Karim Kachkol, Shireen Zaman, Wajid Khan, Yousufzai and other workers were arrested. In the follow-up of the arrests, a joint meeting was convened, which was attended by Mohammed Arab Khateeb, General Secretary of the Karachi Port Trust Labor Union, Mohammed Sharif, General Secretary of the National Federation of the Trade Unions, Tufail Abbass, President of the Airways Employees Union PIA branch and issued an ultimatum to Dawood Mills administration, Labor Minister and Pakistan Labor Welfare Directorate that the strike-breaking workers of Dawood Cotton Mills should be terminated, the striking workers should be reinstated on work with legal guarantees, all arrested workers should be released unconditionally, the supporter workers of the Dawood Cotton Mills also be reinstated, the demand notice should be accepted otherwise the workers of Karachi Port Trust, PIA and other industrial units would also go to strike and no one else but the administration will be responsible for that.

Twelve hours after the issuance of this notice, all concern parties were called at the Labor Department and an agreement was reached. According to that, all strike

breakers were terminated, the striking workers unconditionally taken back to their original jobs, the strike period was considered as leave without pay, those employees who could be contacted through telephone, telegraph, postal service within fifteen days will also be considered as willing to work, the arrested workers will be released and cases against them will be considered with sympathy, and the cases of the solidarity strike workers would be settled through the Labor Department.

The agreement was propagated through radio and newspapers. Over eight thousand striking workers were reinstated. The arrested workers and leaders were released. Because of their unbroken unity, the workers had achieved, what was once considered as unthinkable.

Nevertheless of the success, the Textile Workers' Committee could not survive from the fractionalization, as the mills administration got registration of a pocked union Chacha Choli Union and through it submitted a charter of demand. On the pressure of Union and administration, Colonel Inayat Hussain resigned, Ismail Yousif disassociated himself from the committee because of the preoccupation at Burma Shell Union, Kalim Ullah Khan and Khasta Gul quit the Committee after they developed differences with Inayat Ullah Khan Yousufzai and the Hussain Textile Mills Union isolated itself from the committee.

although the under ground Communist Party workers tried their best to activate the committee but as a consequence of this fractionalization many trade union activists became prone to the opportunism.

During General Ayub Martial Law, a convention of the Landhi Textile Workers' Federation was convened, which elected Barrister Raza Kazim as Convener, Sharaf Ali as General Secretary and Abdul Razaque Maikash as the Office Secretary. On the night of their election, all three

were arrested. Raza Kazim, on his own choice, agreed to be expelled from Karachi for two years, Sharaf Ali was sentenced for two years rigorous imprisonment, while Maikash was released. Maikash started working as an Oil Man but on a complaint by the CID, he was warned by the Martial Law authorities that he would be arrested if ever seen in the industrial area.

Sometime later, Zubair was expelled from Karachi by CID and was forcefully boarded on the Khyber Mail train for Peshawar. After spending two years in the house of another Karachi expelled Inayat Ullah Khan Yousufzai at village Topi, taluka Sawabi, he came back to Karachi in 1963 but by this time, the Textile Workers' Committee had vanished from the scene. Through Yousufzai he got a job as an electrician at the Slaughter House Landhi and continued it till his death in the first week of September 1979 at the age of 79 and was buried at the Future Colony graveyard.

In 1955, Rahmatullah Khan Durrani formed All Pakistan Federation of Labor and headquartered it in Peshawar. It has most of the influence in Frontier province and had 380,000 members in late 1980s and had about 600 unions affiliated with it when it was a member of the World Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Taking advantage of the situation, the reformist elements within the mainstream opposition political parties, became active in trade union movement and the labor movement took a new direction. PTUF leadership fractionalized on the issue of alliance with these newly emerged elements in the trade union movement. One group within PTUF was not ready to form an alliance with those labor federations who were member of international reformist organisations but another group was supporting alliance for the sake of unity, which resulted in the division in PTUF and the Socialist Party affiliated workers formed Pakistan Workers Federation (PWF), with Khwaja Mohammed Hussain as

President and Malik Qurban as General Secretary. Many textile and railway workers' unions joined this federation. In 1957, ten percent of the total Pakistani organized workers were part of this federation.

The Communists and their supporters had formed United Trade Union Federation of Pakistan (UTUFP), with Karachi as its headquarters. With total membership of fifteen thousand workers, 17 unions of industrial factories and transport sector in Karachi and few trade unions of Punjab had joined this federation.

So, the main trade union front of the left could not survive on the issue of enhancing the unity and PTUF lost its membership in the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). Until 1958, neither PWF nor UTUFP were able to get recognition at any international forum. Because of the division in the trade union movement, the class consciousness of the workers suffered and their struggle confined only to the economic demands.

The labor activities and strikes were mainly due to the general political situation of the country, where now the politics was mainly focused on the foreign policy of Pakistan as after the visits by Liaquat Ali Khan of USA and Canada, the country's dependence on the West was growing day by day. The workers opposed Pakistan's joining of different military and political blocks.

In November 1951, the textile workers of Lyallpur organized a big demonstration against USA. Afraid of advancing political activities of workers, the government used the force and arrested over 200 active trade union workers and terminated services of many others, which acted as grease in the class struggle and many industrial areas witnessed solidarity strikes.

In 1952, workers for the first time, commemorated the 1st May, without any advance permission from the

authorities. In the same year, in Karachi 80% workers demonstrations supported the option of strike.

In 1953, the workers of newspapers, publishing houses and cinema houses, teachers and doctors also successfully used the tool of strike for the acceptance of, their demands. In April 1953, a joint notice of strike by all Karachi based unions forced authorities to accept the demands of the tram workers.

Railway workers convened a conference in 1953. This Lahore conference was chaired over by Mirza Ibrahim and the conference, elected him as President and Shamim Ashraf Malik as General Secretary. This railway union had the membership of ten thousands, but overall trade union was under the control of the reformists and the left influence on it was on decline. Many independent trade union centers also emerged, like Post and Telegraph's All Pakistan Union with six member unions, Petroleum Workers Federation with twelve unions and Water-Transport Workers Union, with overall thirty thousand members.

In 1954, two hundred and forty two thousand workers were members of the trade union organizations, which was double from 1948. In NWFP, number of trade union organizations grew 4.5 times and membership increased three folds. The trade unions were strongest in Punjab, as the 87% of the Pakistan's labor force was in that province. The transport workers were the most organized force. Although the number of organized workers in textile industry was less but they were the most active force, because in the textile industry most of the mills were on smaller scale. Since 1954, the labor movement penetrated in more industries and joint strikes were observed in the factories of same company, which can be seen in the workers strike of the powerhouses and electric goods

manufacturing mills in Karachi, resulting in two-day darkness in Karachi.

In the same year, workers strongly protested against the defense agreements between Pakistan and Turkey and in Karachi thousands of workers participated in a demonstration by the labor organizations and raised slogans against imperialism. Because of these emerging anti-imperialist sentiments, government banned many democratic organizations including the Communist Party of Pakistan and disallowed the publications of the opposition. But these steps by the government, failed to curtail the velocity of the movement and in July, the mines workers in Balochistan, textile workers in Multan and teachers in Sindh went on strikes. In Okara, Punjab workers demonstrated against the taxes and defense expenditures. A new wave of strike and demonstrations emerged as Pakistan joined SEATO in September 1954, the protests continued till November.

According to official figures, number of strikes was doubled in 1954, with participation of workers multiplied five times. The fifty percent strikes in that year had the political demands, including democratic constitution, the dismissal of unconstitutional constituent assembly, holding of general elections, formation of cabinet with the participants of all political parties and quitting the military agreements.

The reformist organizations also joined the forces of opposition because of the democratic movement and secondly, in the industrial disputes, the Muslim League government was openly supporting the employers. In the autumn of 1954, the government imposed the emergency, so the number of strikes in 1955 declined.

During 1955-58, the workers of smaller factories actively joined the labor movement. During this period the

enforcement of a democratic labor policy was a main demand by the workers.

In Sindh, Balochistan and NWFP, the national question was an important factor in the working class movement as the Muslim League government had undone four provinces by enforcing the One-Unit. In this act, the interests of the smaller nationalities were ignored. In this situation, the demand for provincial autonomy became main demand in the gatherings of workers in Nawabshah and Hyderabad. On the other hand, in NWFP during the period of 1947-54, only thirteen strikes could be organized but in 1955 as the mobilization on the national question intensified, seven major strikes were organized by Pakistan Workers Federation.

In 1956, many employers violating the 8-hour working day right, started getting work for 10-12 hours a day and tried to exploit workers for their losses in the price-hike of industrial raw material and machineries, which resulted in many strikes. In February 1956, bank employees in Punjab went on the strike and on 1st May, the Bata workers in their meeting, besides raising their economic demands, asked for an alliance of the labor organizations. Many labor leaders were arrested in the follow-up of this meeting, so on the next day, not a single worker of the shoe factories went to work. In Karachi, decision to form a central trade union organisation was taken in the 1st May gathering. In June 1956, the workers of public and private sector banks, publishing houses, printing presses, newspapers and magazines went on strike, in protest against the non-issuance of permission to form a central union of all banks and all printing houses.

The Pakistani workers expressed their support for the national liberation movements in Asia and Africa. In June 1956, the workers of the Karachi Port Trust strongly protested against the French policies in Algeria and refused to work for French vessels.

In Balochistan and NWFP workers were active in protests against the arrests of Pashtoon nationalist leaders Ghaffar Khan alias Bacha Khan and Abdul Samad Achakzai. The issue of the provincial autonomy was part of the strike by mines workers in Balochistan.

Number of strikes in 1956 grew up to double, in comparison of the previous year and half of those strikes culminated in the victory of workers.

In 1957, the wheat crop was damaged; leading to intense black-marketing and a price-hike was witnessed in the food items. On the other hand, the Suharwardi government increased the defense expenditures. In this year, for the first time, workers of Iron industry went on the strike and the revolutionary tendencies penetrated the teachers, clerks and lawyers because of growing unemployment among them. In February-March 1957, thirty thousand teachers demonstrated against low wages. In the March-April, the employees of Post and Telegraph also went on strike but the most significant strike of the year was by the railway workers in Rawalpindi, during which six workers were killed by the police firing. In protest against the killing of their comrades, workers at all major railway centers went on strike. The workers of Karachi Port and railway workers in Hyderabad and Multan demanded the quitting from the Common Wealth and reduction in the defense expenditures.

In October 1957, President Iskander Mirza imposed ban on strikes in government departments. In December, the textile workers in Karachi, Hyderabad and Lahore and workers of Attock Oil Mills went on strike.

The working class influenced the democratic struggle in such a way that it became an independent political force but it should be kept in mind that the labor laws implemented in Pakistan, were based on the British laws and were hurdle in the growth of the autonomous alliance

of the working class, as the trade unions had to be recognized by the employers and it had to be registered with the official Labor Department. For the registration of any new union, it was requirement to provide the number of its members, their work-place and residential addresses and the brief profiles of the office-bearers. Many unions did not registered, because these wanted to work independently. Many employers began mentioning in the employment contracts that the employees would not involve themselves in the union activities; otherwise their services would be terminated. Just 2/3 of the total industrial workers were organized in the trade union and most of these unions were in the control of the reformists. In spreading the scope of the reformist organizations, American advisors and the WCFTU experts contributed a lot and to stop the influence of Communism, an educational centre for the trade union members was launched in Karachi; where during 1955-64 over two thousand persons were 'educated'. In spite of all these hurdles, the advancement of the working class movement in Pakistan continued.

In 1958, disorganized workers, especially the seasonal workers, agricultural laborers and daily wagers also started participation in demonstrations and strikes. One of the bigger strikes of 1958 was the strike by the workers of the multi-national oil companies. Sixty-five trade unions of Karachi, International Federation of Oil Workers, trade unions of oil sector from Ceylon and India helped strike-workers in every aspect. This strike was considered as the biggest strike in Pakistan.

The workers of Oil Refinery in Rawalpindi, railway workers in Sukkur and Lahore, textile workers in Okara and KarachiPort workers demanded the nationalization of foreign investment/capital and quitting the military pacts. The mine workers of Quetta, citizens of Peshawar and students from Karachi and Lahore universities also

participated in the anti-imperialist movement. However the working class was unable to become the vanguard of the democratic movement and continued to be influenced by the nationalist, petit-bourgeois parties, because of disorganization at the central level and many other subjective and objective reasons.

In these circumstances, General Ayub Khan imposed Martial Law in October 1958 and besides arresting the democratic and labor leaders, imposed a ban on strikes and demonstrations. During 1958-62, when country was under the Emergency, no major demonstrations or protests were organized. Although during this period, smaller strikes, which could not be sustained for a longer period, were observed in Karachi Shipyard and Valika Textile Mills Karachi as also by the railway workers in Lahore and Sukkur. In these strikes, the political demands were also included.

In 1958, the workers of the Rohri Cement Factory, under the 'Sindh Cement Workers' Union' went on strike. This continued for 17 days and ended on the acceptance of their demands, which included the permanent employment of the temporary and contract workers. Rukun ud Din Qasmi was the President and Fatah Ullah Usmani was the General Secretary of the union, which was considered as the most committed and strong union under the influence of Communist Party. This stronghold of the left lasted till General Zia imposed the Martial Law rule during 1980s.

In 1961, ban on trade union activities continued but the efforts for the formation of a central trade union organisation initiated and a coordination committee was formed. In 1962, the emergency was lifted and except for the Communist Party of Pakistan, ban on all political parties was also lifted. In 1963, all progressive trade union

organisation of Pakistan united under the leadership of Mirza Ibrahim in P^TUF.

47 textile mills and a Tobacco Company in Karachi went on strikes in 1963.

Tobacco workers' movement of 1963

Immediately after Pakistan came into being, the Imperial Tobacco Company of England launched its cigarette making business in the country with a small investment after acquiring a warehouse in the WestWharf area of Karachi. Within no time, the company established five factories in Karachi, Chittagong, Jhelum, Akora Khattak and Dhaka. The company did not bother to share its profit with the workers and with Britons appointed on key administrative positions, they formed a pocket union [establishment supported union] to help it in denying the workers their legitimate rights.

The workers announced the formation of their 'Pak Cigarettes Labor Union' with Nayab Naqvi as its first President. Initially, the Registrar of Trade Unions was reluctant to register the union. However, it was registered when the workers threatened to approach the court of law to uphold their right. The administration and the puppet union initially ignored the new union but when elections were held through secret ballot under the Factory Rules for the canteen committee and works council, the candidates of the Labor Union won by securing 80 percent of the votes. One of the successful candidates was a sweeper, Inayat Masih, who shared the same table in every meeting of the works council with the Personnel Manager and other officers, although in the canteen the sweepers had to sit in a separate corner. On the demands and protests by the committee, some improvement took shape at least in the canteen.

To counter the demands and peaceful protest, the company administration accused workers of laziness and low output in production. Many active union members were charge-sheeted and others were denied leave. The administration had bribed the government's Labor Department officials, so they readily conducted inquiries against the union on its complaints but ignored the workers' rightful demands. Whenever the administration failed to get favorable results through the Labor Department, it sought the help of police who summoned the union's office-bearers to the police station and threatened them.

In these circumstances, the union evolved its own way of protest. During the meal breaks the workers silently sat in front of the Factory Manager's office or staged sits-in for an hour after finishing their shifts. They foiled attempts of the administration to provoke them and held their weekly general body meetings in front of the factory's main gate. On the morning of 3rd January, 1962, the company suspended all 28 machine operators of the packing department on the charge of working slowly, which according to them was resulting in less production. The administration was confident that this extraordinary act would scare the workers and they would distance themselves from the union. With the regular machine operators pushed out of the factory gate, the administration ordered their helpers to run the machines. The majority of the union members in the packing department comprised those operators who had been thrown out of the factory, so its office-bearers too were in a dilemma, but the helpers, without caring for the consequences, refused to work without their seniors. On their refusal, the company ordered five mechanics to operate the machines. These mechanics were called 'Section Men' and their social, economic and service status

was different from the helpers. They had better salaries because of skill, had a longer service period and had spent most of their employment period with the tobacco company, thus exploring new avenues was not an easy task for them. But in solidarity with their co-workers they too refused to operate the machines, so they were also expelled from the factory.

Due to the expulsion of the operators and section men from the company, the packing machines were dead so the whole cigarette making process had come to a standstill. In this situation, the company deputed its officers to operate the machines but they were used to sitting in their luxurious offices and issuing orders rather than taking on such a practical challenge and the cigarettes production dropped from 14 million to a few hundred thousand a day.

The Pakistan Tobacco Company violating the Martial Law regulations and the Industrial Disputes Ordinance 1959 on 16 January announced layoff of the factory but workers refused to leave the premises. On pressure from the factory administration, police intervention and a government assurance that workers gathering outside the gate would not be disturbed, they left the factory at one in the night. From the very next day, the workers camped outside the factory gate with round-the-clock speeches and slogans. They visited their homes turn by turn and held the protest camp continuously for three weeks. From the morning following the layoff, the union leaders of nearby factories started visiting the protest camp and expressing solidarity with the workers.

The first meeting was attended by representatives of 39 unions and the number grew in later meetings. Nabi Ahmed, Senior Vice President of the General Motors Employees Union was the first labor leader who visited them. The illegal layoff of over 1,400 workers of Pakistan Tobacco Company and their resistance mobilized the

laborers of the whole country, especially in Karachi, and their representatives addressed the daily meetings. The Pakistan Petroleum Workers Federation, National and Grindlays Bank Employees Federation, Burma Shell Employees Union, United Textile Workers Union, Airways Employees Union PIA branch, Pakistan Security Printing Corporation Employees Union, Karachi Salt Workers Union, Hashmi Cane Company Employees Union, Karachi Electric Supply Corporation Employees Union, Brook Bond Employees Union and Siemens' Engineering Employees Union were in the forefront of the solidarity movement.

Labor leaders of the Pakistan Tobacco Company in Jhelum and Akora Khattak also came to Karachi and participated in the protest meetings.

In consultation with the trade union comrades, the Pak Cigarettes Labor Union convened a meeting of Karachi-based unions on 27th January at the Welfare Center in Sher Shah Colony to evolve a joint strategy of struggle. In this historic meeting the Caltex Employees Union, Burma Oil Employees Union, Karachi Gas Employees Union, Chartered Bank Employees Union, National Bank of Pakistan Staff Union, Bank of India Limited Staff Union, General Motors Employees Union, Domex Limited Workers Union, Pakistan Insurance Employees Federation, Dadabhoy Silk Mills Workers Union, Bawani Textile Mills Workers Union, KTX Workers Union, Karachi Bus Workers Union, Karachi Bus Drivers Union, Karachi Motor-Rickshaw Drivers' Union, Racket and Coleman Pakistan Workers Union, Premier Tobacco Company Employees Union, Hayee Sons Steel Workers Union, KRTC Employees Union, Johnson and Phillips Workers Union, Karachi Shipyard Mills Employees Union, United Textile Workers' Union, Karachi Paint and Chemicals Workers Union, Organization of Karachi Biri Workers' Union, Jubilee Spinning and Weaving Mills Employees Union, Haroon Textile Mills Workers Union, Shamsi Cloth Mills Workers Union, Steel Corporation of

Pakistan Limited Workers Union, Qadri Silk Mills Workers Union and Shalimar Silk Mills Workers Union also participated in addition to those already active in the movement.

An Action Committee was formed to boost the struggle, with Mohammed Shareef, President of the Pakistan Petroleum Workers Federation, as its convener and a representative of each participating union as its member.

To present the workers' stance before the government and the management, a six-member delegation was formed. It comprised Mohammed Shareef, Afzal Siddiqui (President, National and Grindlays Bank Employees Federation), Iqbal Hussain Kazmi (General Secretary, Pakistan Petroleum Workers Federation), Nabi Ahmed (Vice-President, General Motors Employees Union), Altaf Hussain (General Secretary, Airways Employees Union, PIA branch) and S.P. Lodhi (President, United Mills Workers Union).

The meeting adopted a resolution against the illegal layoffs, condemned the anti-worker attitude of the company administration and demanded immediate acceptance of their demands, including reopening of the factory, reinstating the workers, recognition of the Pak Cigarettes Labor Union, guarantee of no further revengeful acts against the workers in future and payment to the workers for the layoff period.

The workers' delegation immediately wrote a letter to the company administration, emphasized the need for a quick and honorable solution of the dispute and expressed its willingness to have a meeting with the managers. But the company did not bother to reply to the letter.

On 29th January, an Action Committee meeting at 406, Qamar House, was scheduled which, among other issues, considered an invitation letter sent by the Karachi administration to Nayab Naqvi, the President of the Pak

Cigarettes Labor Union, for attending a joint meeting, same day with the company's officials.

After a thorough discussion, the committee approved participation in the meeting that was chaired over by the Deputy Commissioner of Karachi and attended by all the company officials.

The Deputy Commissioner explained the government policies and emphasized the need for resolving the disputes. It was for the first time since the layoffs, when the representatives of the company and the union sat on the same table.

After six-hour-long negotiations assisted by the Deputy Commissioner, the major points of reconciliation were agreed upon at about midnight.

However, at the last moment, the company's officials disclosed that they had to get a final approval from their London head office.

The Deputy Commissioner gave them time to get the approval and announced that both sides would sign an agreement in his presence at 11 in the morning of 30th January. The workers' representatives thought that the approval from London would only be a formality and the issue was going to be resolved.

However, when they reached the Deputy Commissioner's office the next morning, they found a changed situation.

The Central Labor Commissioner, Khwaja Salahuddin, had assumed the role of arbitrator and the company's representatives refused to sign the agreement.

Instead of asking the management to sign the accord which had been agreed upon in principal, Khwaja Salahuddin restarted the negotiations and presented his

own formula for resolving the dispute that was completely one-sided and anti-workers. So the agreement was doomed.

The city administration was not in favor of the workers but was worried of criticism by the general public over the shortage of cigarettes, especially those of the superior brands. At the time of the layoffs, the Company Secretary, J. Steal Bard, had proudly announced that there was sufficient stock of cigarettes available in the country. This statement negated the management's allegation that the workers were deliberately going slow in their work. Newspaper editorials on the issue also raised many questions in this regard.

The citizens were justified in inquiring how the layoff of over 1,400 workers was being tolerated in the presence of the Martial Law Regulations which banned strikes as well as layoffs.

After the failure of the negotiations, the center of attention shifted to the Industrial Court where both the union and company had registered their cases.

The union had approached the court long before the layoffs about the daily hardships being faced by the workers. Soon after suspending the 28 machine operators, the company had filed an application in the court, seeking permission to dismiss them from service. The union had also filed an application against the layoffs.

The court dismissed the union's application and on 2nd February allowed the company to dismiss the operators.

The anticipation of a favorable court decision was the real reason behind the company's refusal to sign the agreement with the workers despite the accord on the formula to resolve the standoff and it ended the layoff after the announcement of the verdict.

The company had thought that the layoff for 20 days and the court verdict would have disheartened the workers and the rest of the task would be fulfilled by the police.

So, as the company pasted the notice on the factory's gate about ending the layoff, police dispersed the workers gathered there and imposed the Martial Law Regulations and Section 144 in the vicinity. All the area from the factory to the Sher Shah Colony was taken over by police.

On the other hand, the workers were taking the historical decision of *harkat* on strike from 5th February. On 3rd February, the company got published notices of ending the layoff in almost all major newspapers. The announcement was targeted mainly at the general public and not the workers of the company.

The two intervening days were crucial for both parties. The motor vehicles of the company's officers were running day and night in different labor settlements to woo the workers with promises. Besides that, rumors were spread in a bid to break the unity of the laborers in some areas that a group of Pathan workers was ready to resume the work. Somewhere else, it was said that Punjabis were ready or the Mohajirs had agreed to work on the strike day. Some were told that the former workers from Saharanpur had nothing to do with the strike. Besides trying to instigate ethnic polarization among the workers, many of them were promised promotions and extra benefits if they helped foil the strike.

To share the truth and counter the rumors, the union's leadership and active members were frequently visiting the workers' residential areas. The need to keep in touch with the workers had increased manifold.

As organizing large meetings had become impossible because of hindrances created by the police, group meetings were held at active workers' houses.

A few among them took the responsibility to follow and keep an eye on the officers' and their vehicles' movement. On the day of the strike, the company plied hired buses on various routes in the city to facilitate the workers. On the instructions of the union, no bus was stopped or damaged.

Within one hour, the situation became crystal clear. Less than one percent of the workers had joined their work, which was a pleasant surprise for the union itself.

The successful action inspired the workers of the whole Karachi who had pooled Rs 6, 500 for their striking brothers, although the entire amount was spent on challenging the Industrial Court verdict through an appeal in the Supreme Court. This appeal was rejected. On 6th February, a tri-party labor conference was held at the Sindh Assembly building, presided over by the Labor Minister, Lieutenant General Wajid Ali Burki.

Meanwhile, the tobacco workers held a demonstration in front of the building. In the evening, as a meeting of the Action Committee was in progress at the Pakistan Petroleum Federation office, Central Labor Commissioner Khwaja Salahuddin arrived there along with a trade union leader, M.A. Khateeb. They called the leaders of the Pak Cigarettes Labor Union and other committee members outside the meeting room and told them that the Labor Minister had assigned the responsibility of resolving the tobacco factory dispute to the Commissioner of Karachi, G.A. Madni, who had called the union leaders immediately to his office and both of them had come to take them there. They said the company's officers had already reached the commissioner's office.

In this new situation, with the consensus of the Action Committee, the union's president, treasurer and two workers went to the commissioner's office. G.A. Madni read out General Burki's order to the company and union

representatives and told them that those who would not obey the order would be arrested.

The six-point order stated:

- 1- The strike should be called off and the workers should resume their work from 6th February;
- 2- The workers will be paid 66 percent of their wages for the layoff and strike period;
- 3- The 28 operators and 5 section men will be taken back into the service but they will have to submit an apology duly ratified by the union;
- 4- The union will be recognized,
- 5- The union will withdraw its case regarding demands filed in the Industrial Court; and
- 6- The workers will commit to not working slow.

The company's Principal Advisor Robert Grant signed the order's copy but the union's representatives refused to do so.

As the union's president tried to speak, Mr Madni left the room while shouting at the Central Labor Commissioner to get the union representatives' signatures.

Everything was happening very quickly. The issue of signing the order became a point of contention among the union's representatives. After remaining reluctant, the union's President Nayab Naqvi signed the order on an assurance that General Burki's order was not an agreement, so withdrawal of the case from the Industrial Court would be on the discretion of the union.

At eleven on the same night, a meeting was held in Sher Shah Colony where the Labor Minister's order was communicated to the workers, who considered it to be in

their favor and decided to resume work from 7th February.

On 20th February 1963, a general meeting of the textile workers was convened at the Zaib-Tan Textile Mills ground, which went very well. For the next day, another meeting was planned, for which workers had published and pasted notices and posters on the walls all over the city. Till the morning of 21st February, there were no restrictions of the workers' gathering but as the workers started reaching the meeting venue in the afternoon, the area magistrate told them, initially in polite tone and later aggressively that section 144 was imposed in the city and the assembly of four or more persons was prohibited. After the consultations of the leaders, the meeting was cancelled and workers peacefully started returning back but at few places they were baton charged by the police, who also arrested many workers and sent them to prison. From next day, the workers organized their meetings in workers' colonies for seven continuous days. During this mobilization, workers' leadership announced a general strike on 1st March.

On the announced day, workers started to come out in groups. The police had cordon-off the area between the Valika Textile Mills and Pak Colony. As the workers started their march from Pathan Colony, they were attacked near Valika Mills by the police. In the police firing six of the protesting workers were killed while 23 others injured. This massacre resulted in a wave of protest in Lahore, Karachi, Hyderabad, Lyallpur and other cities. To protest against this massacre, strikes were observed at different places.

During the same year, strikes were observed in the multi-national factories and nationalization of these factories was demanded. The longest strike was observed by the workers of the Oil Companies, which resulted in acute oil

shortage occurred in cities like Karachi, where transport came to a standstill. The workers of the power stations in Karachi also issued a warning of a strike in solidarity with their comrades. This strike ended in the victory of workers and their demands were accepted. In September 1963, the workers of textile mills went on strike in support of journalists.

The characteristic of the strikes during 1963 was organisation and planning. All these strikes were organized by the trade unions and as the experience had shown that the most decisive factor in the success of strike was the solidarity. With the growing influence of the labor movement, the need of unity among the labor organizations was felt. In order to unify and coordinate activities, a coordination committee was formed.

All Pakistan Federation of Trade Unions (APFTU) was formed in 1963. Slowly, it penetrated into textile, oil, pharmacy, machine building, food processing and mines sectors and till 1989 it had branches in Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Lyallpur, Multan and Karachi, with maximum 600,000 members. It was one of the very few federations in the country, with separate women and youth wings. It had no formal affiliation with any political party of the country and had membership of World Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

In August 1965, in almost all major cities, demonstrations were organized against the American bombardment on Vietnam.

During the war with India in 1965, the government took over the Rohri Cement factory and faced another wave of protest by workers, who agreed to work after the acceptance of their demands.

The war with India caused a shooting up the defense expenditures which resulted in the decline of the standard

of life for the common people. At the war time, once again the emergency was imposed and it directly affected the labor movement, which became more or less dormant. This retreating into a shell by the labor movement continued till February 1969.

In between, the strike of railway workers of Lahore in 1966 demanded the nationalization of all big industrial units and multi-national factories. During this strike, one railway worker Shah Mohammed was killed, when a railway engine ran over the workers, who were protesting in a 'sit-in' on the railway track at the Rohri Loco shed.

The trade union workers who were affiliated with the Communist Party of Pakistan and were not happy with the pro-government reformist policies of the traditional leadership, held their meeting in April 1966 at Hyderabad to formulate the future line of action and formed the West Pakistan Workers' Federation, with Shamim Wasti as President, Nabi Ahmed as General Secretary and Aizaz Nazeer as Organizing Secretary. After the reversal undoing of One-Unit, the word 'West' was removed from its name.

A review of the strikes during 1967 indicates that 70% of these strikes were for economic demands, because of the price-hike after bad crops and reduction in gross income. During this period, the textile workers demanded a raise of 40% in wages, which was rejected, so the textile workers of Karachi, Hyderabad and Lyallpur went on strike, which ended in their partial victory. In the same month, railway workers, Post and Telegraph workers in Lahore and the workers of Karachi Port went on strike. Because of the workers' strike, the function of railway was badly affected. The administration refused to accept the demands and arrested 300 leaders and active workers. The port strike continued for 42 days and in result authorities were forced to release 150 arrested workers.

During 1967, the workers of power houses in Karachi, Lyallpur Municipal employees, two thousand drivers of cleaning machines in Karachi, drivers of buses and trucks in Lahore, Peshawar, Lyallpur and Gujrat and bank employees in Lyallpur and Sialkot also went on strike.

In April 1967, the workers of cement industry formed a central organisation. In May 1967, All Pakistan Trade Union Council was formed in Karachi, which demanded a new labor policy and condemned the American aggression in Vietnam. In the same year, the workers of the smaller towns including cement factory and natural gas workers of Hazara, postal workers in Gujranwala, workers of different sectors in Sialkot, Wazirabad, Sargodha and Naushehra went on strike.

The Pakistan Railways workers went on strike in October 1967. Later, some mainstream unions, especially CBA United Union led by Omar Din called-off the strike but workers continued it. It was an open rebellion against the Ayub Martial Law and during this strike for first time in the history; the workers of Railways Marshalling Yard also participated. In Karachi, the workers sat on the railway tracks outside the Cantonment Railways Station and all trains were stopped. Sulaiman, a member of the Communist Party of Pakistan and a leader of the West Pakistan Railways Workers Union played a leading role in making the strike successful within Karachi range.

On the third day of the strike, as the fatigue was visible in the workers, a local union leader saw a literary-minded young boy Manzoor Razi, son of a railway employee, among the gathered people and asked him to deliver a speech. The teen-aged Razi offered to recite a poem instead of speech and after much applause; he recited his poem about American attack on Vietnam. He had yet to complete his poem, when the army along with railway police attacked the protesters and made arrests including Razi. It was his first arrest during a long career of political

and social activism. Razi tried to explain that he was not even a common member of the union but as he was on the stage so was considered as one of the leaders. Thirteen persons including six sanitary workers were arrested from the Cantonment Railways station and were moved to the Artillery Police Station. Young Razi was scared but then he saw the Communist worker Sulaiman in deep sleep. In fear and panic, Razi awoke Sulaiman, who told him that the police had fourteen days remand against them, so till that time they would have to stay in police custody. Later, they were shifted to the Karachi Central Jail, filled with both the political activists as well as the criminals. After the expiration of 14-days remand, it was extended for further 14 days and all workers were released after its expiration. On 17th March 1969, the workers of Pakistan Railways once again went on strike.

With the break-up of the country and the installation of the Bhutto government, a new phase of political mobilization emerged in the country and the railways workers were no exception. In Karachi, a new union, named Railways Labor Union, with Manzoor Razi an active member, was formed. In Lahore, an underground pro-China Marxist group formed the Railways Inqalabi (Revolutionary) Union, while Malik Qayum of Rawalpindi formed the Peoples' Labor Union.

The new emerging union leadership was of the opinion that as the employer of hundreds of thousand workers in so many diverse sections, the Pakistan Railways should not have a single union. This initiative had some tactical support by few ruling party leaders. Later, on the second thought, in December 1975, the separate unions were merged in a single union. In 1975, for the first time the Railways Workshop workers achieved the right to vote in the referendum, where Mirza Ibrahim had a significant influence, which he lacked in the open line. In 1974, as the Bhutto government turned against the trade unions, active

trade union workers were arrested, including the union leadership of Railways. This included Manzoor Razi, who was kept at Karachi, Hyderabad, Khairpur and Sukkur prisons, under the Defense of Pakistan Rules (DPR). All the active trade union workers including Razi were immediately terminated from the services. Although they approached Bhutto through Railways Union General Secretary and the Leftist Labor Minister Khurshid Hassan Mir but Bhutto considered them friends of the Communists and kept them in jail. Later, on a writ petition, they were ordered to be release by Justice Noor ul Arifeen of Sindh High Court but re-arrested at the prison gates. As the Tri-party Labor conference was approaching, Bhutto ordered their release and they went directly to Rawalpindi to attend the conference. After attending the conference, the recently released trade union leaders reached Karachi by a train and were accorded a very warm welcome by the fellow workers.

In 1968-69 industrial protests the technique of Gherao (Encirclement) was preferred by the workers. In retaliation, the General Yahya government in Karachi alone retrenched 45,000 workers. Trials of many labor leaders were held in the military courts.

But most of the strikes after 1967 failed, so the working class concluded that many of their issues could be resolved through the democratic system of government, direct elections and more trade union rights. So during the 1968-69 strikes, these demands were highlighted. In 1968, as the election dates neared and the political forces activated, the social and class contradictions also sharpened, which had emerged during the ten years of military dictatorship. The monopoly on wealth and resources by few, pushed not only the working class but the middle classes, students, lawyers, teachers, other oppressed classes and the oppressed nation into struggle.

During the working class struggle in 1968-69, the practical administration of cities, especially with industrial base was in the hands of local Socialist leadership. During this time, the Deputy Commissioner of Lyallpur had to obtain permission from local labor leader Mukhtar Rana for the trucks carrying goods into and from the city.

In 1968-69, Chowdri Khushi Mohammed, a dissident of Mirza Ibrahim's union, formed an independent organisation 'Railways Guards Association'. He himself became its Secretary General, while a Socialist C. R. Aslam was made its President. This organisation exclusively worked for and organized railway guards.

In January 1969, eight opposition parties formed the Democratic Action Committee (DAC) and on the appeal of PTUF, fifty thousand workers held a demonstration in solidarity with DAC. In February 1969, clashes erupted between workers and police during the anti-government protests in Karachi and on the orders of General Ayub Khan Army was called in Karachi. The arrest of 200 labor and political leaders could not stop the protests.

In February 1969, twenty thousand workers of railway, demonstrated under the leadership of Mirza Ibrahim and Ms. Kaneez Fatima; carrying red flags in their hands, they raised slogans in the favor of Socialism and against the capitalism and imperialism.

In March 1969, Ayub Khan withdrew the decision to contest the presidential election and agreed for the parliamentary form of government. In the same month, twelve thousand postal workers went on strike in northern areas, whereas the mine workers in Quetta, Chitral and Abbotabad and cement factory workers also went on strike. Workers in Balochistan and NWFP included the issue of provincial autonomy in their demands.

By March, almost all sectors were having strikes and everywhere the Joint Action Labor Committees were formed, which were joined by all trade unions of local industries.

The formation of these committees was a new step in the history of the Pakistani working classes. Organizations with diverse ideologies were now coming together and taking joint action through these committees. Due to the formation of one such committee in Karachi, 450 factories in the city went on strike at the same time and more than one hundred and twenty thousand workers for five days foiled every attempt to break the strike. In case of non-acceptance of demands, the workers would cordon-off the factories; the most significant examples of this action are the taking over control of Steam-roller flour Mills and India Flour Mills. The port workers and employees of National Bank did not allow the officials to leave their offices till the acceptance of their demands. In Lahore, for over six months, the control of seven major workshops was in the hands of workers.

In the same month of March, all trade unions of the Landhi industrial area decided to take-over all factories/mills in the vicinity and strike was announced. On 19th March, the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industries requested the government to provide military protection to the factory owners.

A general strike on 17th March, 1969, paralyzed the docks. Just after one week of this strike, on 26th March, 1969, General Yahya Khan took over from General Ayub and imposed another Martial Law in the country. Significantly, certain sections of the Karachi working class continued their strikes despite the steep penalty for striking, which under Martial Law ranged from 25 years' imprisonment to death.

According to official figures, the losses due to strikes in 1969 were assessed as three billion rupees. The workers of Ordinance factories, employees at airports in Punjab and NWFP, workers of power houses were on frequent strikes.

To gain support of the working classes, the political parties included their demands in the party manifestoes. Fearing their defeat in the coming elections, the right-wing parties resorted to acts of violence and sabotages in the country to defame the workers movement and their revolutionary victories. To counter the reactionary forces, the workers adopted the sit-in strike method. The 73-days long protest by the workers of the printing presses in Karachi was the biggest in this regard, where the family members of the workers also participated in the protest.

Because of the political crisis, in 1969, the number of strikes was three fold higher than previous year.

The struggle and mobilization of workers against the Ayub's dictatorial regime forced political parties especially PPP, to attract the workers' vote for coming general elections, celebrated 1st May celebrations throughout the country in 1970 and in rallies and meetings it promised labor reforms and job guarantees once party comes to the power.

The main characteristic of the 1970 economic-demands-based strikes was their transformation into the political demonstrations. During this year, the fisher-folk community, employees of the government departments, libraries and museum workers, drivers of private buses and artisans also participated in strikes. The workers of Crescent textile Mills, Lyallpur and a radio and television parts manufacturing factory in Kot Lakhpat, Lahore continued their demonstrations for 70 days. The Security

Printing Press workers in Karachi continued their strike for four months.

After the break-up of Pakistan and with Bangladesh coming into existence, on 20th December 1971, General Yahya Khan handed over power to Bhutto, who had majority National Assembly seats in the remaining Pakistan.

At the time of the formation of the new government, Pakistan was in serious economic crisis because of the loss of the big market of Bengal and shortage of foreign exchange, loss of material resources because of the war with India and damages due to floods. On the other hand, the international crisis of capitalism had also affected the economy of the country. Because of the price-hike and growing unemployment, the living standard of the working classes was on decline. In 1971, 2.8 million people were jobless, and that number was growing at the rate of six hundred thousand annually.

To overcome this acute unemployment, government started training programs in skills needed by the Middle-East countries and opened twenty such training centers throughout the country. During 1972-77, the number of workers' migrating through the official sources, to the Middle-East went up from two thousand per annum to thirty thousand. However, this big number of migration could not solve the issue of unemployment, since high birth rate, which had reached three percent in the seventies; the use of machinery in agriculture sector and the slow-pace of industry were contributing to it. Organizing the industrial proletariat was a reason for the growing labor movement, beside the unemployment and economic depression.

The PPP government, soon after coming to power, in January and March 1972 and in January 1974, nationalized big private companies of the ten important sections of the economy, including 43 insurance companies, 26 dairy products factories, 13 private banks, 5 shipping and two petroleum companies, which was an old demand of workers. In February 1972, new labor policy was announced, according to which workers had right to form their organizations in any factory or institute. Right to strike, demonstration and public meeting in private sector was guaranteed. Furthermore, trade union federations of different industries could form a central federation on the national level. The registration process for new trade union was simplified and the trade unions were allotted right to form such committees in those factories where more than fifty workers were employed, where workers' representatives should have the right of opinion in the decisions made by the factory administration and the workers' representation in such committees was sanctioned to twenty percent. The percentage of annual bonus was enhanced from 2.5 to 6 percent. Earlier the employers were resolving the disputes but now the workers' representatives were also included in disputes resolving committees. The trade union organizations were made bound to get workers' decision regarding strike, through secret ballot. 1st May got official recognition as the Labor day. Overall this new law was a major victory for the labor movement, though few things were objectionable, which included not declaring the factory closure by employers as illegal and denial of right to strike for the state-sector employees.

The big capitalists, especially the owners of the textile mills strongly protested against the new labor policy and rejecting the new laws and locked-off their mills for long

period but after the enforcement of this new law, the process of joining the trade union by the workers was also paced-up.

Let us see this process, year by year:

Year	Number of trade unions	Total membership
1971	2649	527740
1972	3407	993477
1973	4452	1017953
1974	5701	1319848
1975	6289	1508741
1976	6473	1543195
1977	8017	1596438

With the growing number of the primary trade unions, the process of unity in the federations also quickened. In 1970, there were 23 national, provincial or industrial sector federations; by 1977 this number grew to 36. By 1973, PTUF, under the leadership of Mirza Ibrahim had become most influential and broad based federation in the country, with overall membership of over two hundred thousands.

In 1972, the Pakistan Workers Federation (PWF), with the branches in Hyderabad, Lahore, Rohri, Peshawar and Quetta, under the leadership of Aizaz Nazir also became active. It played a major role in trade unions alliance, end of private ownership on means of production, strengthening the unity between workers and peasants and connecting the Pakistani workers movement with the international workers' movement. In 1972, the Labor Organizing Committee, an alliance of 61 trade unions in Karachi's Landhi and Korangi also joined PWF in practical struggle.

On 10th February 1972, Pakistan's nominated President and the civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, while addressing the nation announced few concessions for the labor but in the same address he warned them of illegal activities and said 'they should avoid the politics of agitation, otherwise the clash between them and the state power is inevitable.'

During March 1972, workers rallies in Karachi, Hyderabad and Lahore were dealt with tear gas. On 18th March, emergency was imposed in the major cities of Sindh and 13 active labor leaders of textile and public transport sectors were arrested in Hyderabad and Khairpur. In reaction workers in the whole of Sindh province went on strike.

On 28th March, two hundred thousand workers of the SITE area Karachi went on strike in protest against the closure of Zaib-tan Textile Mills. The police retaliated with aerial firing and arrested six labor leaders.

In April 1972, in solidarity with Karachi workers, the employees and workers of communication, transport, banks and sugar mills went on strike and demanded the lifting of emergency and raise in wages.

On 20th April, emergency was lifted and the provisional constitution was adopted. For the first time the 1st May was officially celebrated.

Soon Bhutto government showed its true colors and on 7th June 1972, to disperse a labor demonstration in the industrial area of Landhi, Karachi, the police opened firing and killed few workers. Next day, the police again opened fire on the funeral of a martyr worker and according to the workers ten people including a woman and a child were killed in that single day.

Many people think that it was the starting point of crushing the long historical working class movement,

started in the late 1960s against the military dictatorship of Ayub Khan.

As a result of the mass movement against Ayub government, another military government under the Yahya Khan had been imposed on the people of Pakistan; fearing the uprising against it, thus new government had assured social justice and political reforms. In response to the pressure of the industrial labor this new government had enforced the Industrial Relations Ordinance (IRO) 1969, which was comparatively democratic in its essence. According to it, there should be dialogue between the industrialists and workers. It simplified the union registration process and where more than one union existed, choosing the Collective Bargaining Agent (CBA) through referendum was recognized. Nevertheless to achieve the targeted production, the government continued the policy of discouraging the labor strikes and dismissing the dissident labor leaders and activists. According to some estimates over thirty-five thousand workers were dismissed or received notice from their jobs during 1969-1971.

The said ordinance, after a long oppressive period had given a new life to the trade union movement and taking advantage of concessions through it, many trade unions reemerged and took part and won the CBA referendum in several industrial units. The supporters of the Communists and the Socialists ideology also mobilized and organized themselves. In this process the students' organizations became the allies of the trade unions. Very soon the old trade union leadership was replaced by the active and young cadres.

The ethnic composition of Karachi based workers, Baloch and Afro-Baloch of pre-partition period and Mohajirs in the post-partition period, had significantly changed in

1960s. Now the Punjabis and Pathans had replaced them and with their clan/tribal support had established new illegal residential settlements like Pathan Colony and Frontier Colony. As the newcomers in the industrial workforce, their majority had joined the pocket unions formed with the blessings of the industry owners. The revolutionary elements of the left tried to organize these workers during 1968-69. The move initiated by the young left revolutionaries resulted in the ethnic tension which besides the right wing, was also fueled by the older generation union leaders, who besides running unions at workplaces had become the community leaders in the labor colonies.

After Bhutto took power, a ray of hope among workers emerged as during his three years career Bhutto as the opposition leader had talked about the class exploitation and had promised to eliminate it once he was in the power. During the early days of the new government, workers had launched their struggles with more eagerness and energy, so the first half of 1972, saw many strikes and take-over of factories in Karachi. The workers were demanding that their comrades dismissed from services during the Martial Law period should be reinstated, the factories which had been closed by the owners without any prior notice or compensation should be re-opened, bonus should be paid and they should be given the funds which had been deducted from their wages. That was the period of the workers' solidarity and mobilization. The complete strike of 28th March 1972 is a prime example in this regard, when in solidarity with Zaib-tan Textile Mills; over two hundred thousand workers of the industrial areas of Karachi observed a complete strike. Zaib-tan Mills was shut down by the owner, two months earlier resulting in the unemployment of over two thousand workers.

As the workers were showing their power, the provincial and federal governments also started taking tough

measures against the workers. The government initiated a propaganda campaign against the workers through newspapers that these strikes and law and order situations are instigated by those industrialists who were not happy with Bhutto's policy of nationalization and some foreign forces were also behind these acts. Then Sindh Governor Mumtaz Bhutto repeated similar threats of firm action against strikes and agitation. The leftist elements within the PPP like Mir Rasool Bakhsh Talpur, who later became Governor of the Sindh province, Mairaj Mohammed Khan, the Presidential Advisor and the provincial Labor minister Abdul Sattar Gabol tried their best to get employers and trade union representatives on the negotiation table but because of the militant mood of workers and factionalism within the ruling party, they failed in their efforts.

To counter the government's efforts, a Sindh Workers Convention was convened in the industrial area of Karachi, which all major labor federations in the province attended. The Muthahida Mazdoor Federation was the most militant labor federation of the Karachi at that time, as many of the leftist workers and former student activists had joined its ranks.

On the 7th June 1972, when the wages of the Feroz Sultan Textile Mills were supposed to be given to workers, a situation of clash emerged. For the last two months, the administration had refused the wages and other benefits and had closed the mill. Like other industrial units, here too workers were protesting and that day the angry workers cordon off the mill and the officers were made hostage in their offices. The mill administration called the police, which dispersed the workers with the tear gas shelling and arrested fourteen active union workers. The protesting workers came out on the road, where they were joined by their supporters residing in nearby labor colonies. In the late afternoon, a crowd of over five thousand people gathered in front of the main gate of the

mill and demanded release of the arrested workers. Few among them threw stone to the police, which in response opened fire on the protesters and killed three workers on the spot. The police men were among the many injured persons. The police got hold of two dead bodies, while the workers were able to take third one with them.

Next day, the funeral of deceased worker was taken out from the Banaras Chowk area in the western part of the city. The police force, deployed in the area stopped the funeral, on which the workers raised slogans against the police and government. When the police fired tear gas to disperse the workers, they responded with stone throwing. Police retreated and again came with more force and opened direct firing on the protesters, killing ten of them while over a dozen workers were injured. According to some eyewitnesses the police continued firing for half an hour.

In reaction to the police action, a complete strike for twelve consecutive days was observed in over nine hundred units of two major industrial areas of Karachi namely SITE and Landhi, Korangi. Strike was also observed in Hyderabad and other cities of Sindh province and the trade unions in Punjab took out the protest marches and hoisted black flags on almost all industrial units.

Subsequently eight labor federations for a joint protest against the state violence formed a Joint Action Committee and accused the police officials and Deputy Commissioner responsible for the killings and demanded their suspension. The government was not ready to hold talks on that point and labor representatives accused the government of prolong the talks. The Joint Action Committee representatives initially held meeting with provincial labor minister Abdul Sattar Gabol, then met with Governor Sindh Mir Rasool Bakhsh Talpur and lastly met Sindh Chief Minister Mumtaz Ali Bhutto. All three

submitted their reports to Prime Minister Bhutto, who was on a foreign tour. The government partially accepted workers' demands of releasing the arrested workers and withdrawal of cases. Government promised to provide better civic facilities in the workers' colonies. After two-days of break, on the 15th June, government unilaterally announced an enquiry committee under the High Court Judge.

This government move caused rift among the ranks of the workers and their Joint Action Committee. Few of its leaders were of the opinion that the prolonging of the movement would not serve the interests of the workers and would worsen the situation as the government knows that the workers cannot sustain the movement for long, so it was using the delaying tactics. After prolong debate, the Action Committee accepted the government's offer but before that they decided to go to the protesting workers and called a public meeting on the 16th June, at the Banaras Chowk, where the workers were martyred.

The leadership of the Action Committee tried to convince the workers to end the strike and protest but the militant cadre refused to follow them and instigated the workers, who raised slogans against the leadership and accused them of selling the blood of the workers at the price of water. At this point a serious rift emerged between the pro-Moscow Mutahida Mazdoor Federation under the leadership of Usman Baloch, which was the biggest and strongest organization in the Sindh Industrial & Trade Estate (SITE) area workers and the pro-China Labor Organizing Committee, which mainly represented the workers of Landhi Korangi industrial area. The latter accused the former of not providing the revolutionary leadership to the protesting workers during the strike. It also challenged the Joint Action Committee leadership demanding to know the basis on which it was negotiating

government on the behalf of the workers. Subsequently this rift was also observed in other parts of Sindh.

On 17th June, the industrial workers and their supporters took out a big rally and gathered for a public meeting at the Jahangir Park Sadder in the city center. Once again the labor leaders tried to pacify the workers, who were in an aggressive mood and continued shouting for revenge. After a long debate a local labor leader Yawar Khan himself a Pathan, took over the microphone and addressed the protesters full of with Pashto anecdotes. He used the everyday diction in his speech and swearing his own children, announced that he will not ditch the workers and for leaders, he said that they were not the Pakistan Army Generals who ditched their ranks in the Dhaka. On his persuasion workers agreed to resume the work.

Although in this strike workers' solidarity was observed but as the majority of workers was of Pathan background and not politically trained, so they emphasized on personal revenge, a centuries old Pashtoon tradition. Another aspect of that movement was the emergence of rift within different leftist groups. Many of the strike leaders and workers in late 1960s had been part of the struggle against the Ayub Khan's military regime under PPP, which was now the ruling party and having internal factionalism. One of its leftist leaders Mairaj Mohammed Khan, who was now a Presidential Advisor, on 13th June 1972, said in a press statement that the Deputy Commissioner, who was not able to see the coffins of workers, soon will see the big industrialists wearing the white shroud.

On one hand, the leftist groups had very little organizational network in the Mohajir community, while on the other hand during the strike time they (Mohajir) became party to ethnic riots, as the Sindh provincial government enforced Sindhi as the compulsory second language in the educational institutions and through a law

bound the government officials to learn Sindhi language, which was not acceptable to the Mohajirs of Karachi.

The leftist groups also did not bother to transform this protest into a class struggle. The press statement of pro-China Mazdoor Kissan Party is the prime example in this regard, which declared the killing of the industrial workers as the bloodshed of Pashtoon in Karachi. Another pro-China leftist group National Awami Party although paid tribute to the workers and their sacrifices but considered it an adventure as it had no roots with the peasantry, which formed the majority of the population.

During the workers' protest, government labelled them anti-state elements and agents of the India and Soviet Union but the militant leadership for this struggle, provided by the Mutahida Mazdoor Mahaz, had no connection with the major progressive front National Awami Party (NAP), the ruling party in two of the four provinces of the country.

Addressing a press conference, Prime Minister Bhutto himself tried to make a connection between Mutahida Mazdoor Mahaz and the NAP and instead of meeting himself with the protesting workers, deputed his cousin and Sindh Governor/Chief Minister, Mumtaz Bhutto to settle the issue, who instead of meeting the trade union leaders, met with few Pathan elders of Karachi to show that it was just a Pashtoon issue and not an industrial dispute.

Beside giving it an ethnic color, government tried to contest the trade union claim that it was the representative of the workers. It repeatedly referred to those laws that it had enforced for the betterment of workers but at the same time it demanded a peaceful industrial atmosphere to enhance the industrial production.

Meanwhile the traditional trade union leadership was afraid of the militant mood of the workers, who after long suppression and struggle and victory against the Ayub Khan's military government were confident of their force. The leadership, especially the leftist cadre miserably failed to train the workers on the political and class base.

According to the Pakistan trade union historian and anthropologist Kamran Asdar Ali, regardless of the high claims of revolution, the trade union leadership never wanted to go beyond the mere demands of free association, freedom of dissent and better standards of living as they were of the opinion that the workers were yet to be fully organized and armed with the class consciousness. They had spirit and emotions but no awareness, so the end of the capitalism and a revolution was yet a far dream.

Yawar Khan was arrested and tortured by the police few days after he convinced the workers of the SITE area to end their protest and strike, although he was released soon but because of the economic constraints, he left the country and became a sailor on a foreign ship and never dared to get involved in any kind of politics. The federal minister and the PPP leader Mairaj Mohammed Khan quit the ministry and surrendered his basic party membership. Later, he formed his own party *Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi* and was arrested on charges of instigating the nationalists of Balochistan.

The 1972 labor movement happened at a time when Pakistan was passing through the most crucial phase of its existence. The recent past had witnessed the overthrow of the military ruler Ayub Khan and subsequently first ever adult franchised elections in the country. These elections resulted in the victory of the progressive elements all over the country, and the making of Bangladesh. These events had brought unmatched political mobilization. Few people still think that for the first time, through the 1972

struggles, workers clashed with the state power for a higher and deeper cause and not just for economic interests.

Although the crisis of the SITE area ended in an uncertainty but in the comparatively new industrial area of Landhi Korangi, struggle became more intense. Here about eighty thousand workers were employed in over three hundred industrial units and many among these were without proper unions. After the enforcement of the Industrial Relations Ordinance (IRO) 1969, when unions got the right of the collective bargaining agent (CBA), those young workers who had come from small workshops and few among them, who were influenced by the underground Communist groups of the Indian state of Bihar, formed their unions and at many places defeated the older federations and the pocket unions.

At the early stages of their struggle, in 1970, they had formed Landhi Korangi Labor Organizing Committee. Although they had same kind of demands like of the SITE area workers but here the militant workers took over the industrial units instead of protesting as their comrades had done in the SITE area and in several cases took the officials as hostage.

In September 1972, few union activists of a government administrated factory were terminated from their services and were arrested. The Labor Organizing Committee demanded their release and reinstated and announced a two-hour daily strike, till the acceptance of demands. The workers followed the decision for total sixty hour by leaving the work daily on the sound of the siren. Now they added the demand of wages for strike hours. This situation continued till early October, when some activists decided to take over Gul Ahmed Textile Mills and Dawood Cotton Mills. In response, the city administration sent police and other law enforcing agencies, on which the workers threatened to explode a boiler of the mill. Simultaneously,

the occupants of the mill initiated a dialogue with some leftist leaders of the PPP and other union leaders.

On 18th October, the police disconnected the electricity and gas supplies to the mills and at the dawn using bulldozers and other heavy machinery demolished the boundary walls and entered the occupied mills. According to official reports, four persons lost their lives and more than fifty injured in the action but some eyewitnesses contest this figure. The leadership escaped and from next day, camped on a mountain near the industrial area. Few days later, the police opened fire on the mountain and killed three more workers. To control the situation, the army was called-in and under the military escort workers were forced to work. After the arrests of the active workers and advanced political cadre, this struggle fizzled out.

The extreme action of the government was a response to the extreme step by the workers. In contrast to the SITE area, in Landhi Korangi area, every union was politically nearer to the Labor Organizing Committee with dominating leadership of a pro-China Communist group. This group had an internal rift and one of its public figures, Mairaj Mohammed Khan was now a minister in the PPP government and wanted reconciliation between the government and the workers. But other leaders of the group like Zain Ud Din Khan Lodhi and Dr. Rasheed Hassan Khan were taking militant stand on the issue of the strike. Mairaj and Rasheed both were popular in the students and youth.

Dr. Rasheed group coordinated with another leftist group Mazdoor Kissan Party and had a firm believe that after the making of Bangladesh, Pakistan state had become so weak that if the industrial labor was to be mobilized, a revolution like Russian one of 1917 was inevitable. They believed that if the government unleashed violence against

the workers, all progressive forces will rise in their favor and the state will collapse.

One thing is significant in the comparative study of both these struggles, in the SITE area, the workers were angry on the attitude of the industrialists but the immediate cause of the strike was the killings on 7th and 8th June. On the other hand, in Landhi Korangi area, the political workers created the situation where clash with the state was inevitable. Till today many leftist groups are still debating whether the workers' stance of not negotiating with the government was a correct one or not. Some of them consider it as an adventure of the ultra-left workers and think that the workers did not know how forward they had to advance. No one includes the workers' stance in this regard. This question is yet to be answered that what and how the workers, whose lives were directly on stake, themselves wanted. But one thing is obvious that there was a long gap between the leftist ideologues and the workers on the ground.

From 19th-21st October, the workers in Karachi, Lahore, Lyallpur, Multan and other cities went on the solidarity strikes.

According to the official figures, during 1972, total 779 strikes were held. This was five-fold number of those held in the year 1971. During this period, besides their economic demands, workers demanded the handing-over factories to the workers and nationalization of all big factories and lands of the feudal lords. Now the struggle of workers was not confined to individual industrialists but it had been transformed into struggle against the over-all capitalist class.

In the struggle for the betterment of workers' lives, Trade Union Federation of Pakistan (Bashir Bakhtiyar), Workers' Federation of Pakistan (Shamim Wasti), Pakistan United Federation (Mohammed Fareedon), Pakistan Labor

Federation (Malik Qurban) and National Federation of Progressive Workers (Salah Mohammed Niazi) also played major role. In the struggle of the Pakistani working classes, the autonomous, provincial and sector based trade unions also contributed in a big way.

In 1973, the numbers of such organizations was twenty and most important were Sindh Trade Union Federation (Essa Khan), Swat Labor Federation (Mohammed Khalid), NWFP Labor Federation (Atta Ullah Khan) and Pakistan Road Transport Workers' Federation (Malik Mohammed Siddique). During this period, the Pakistani trade unions were in coordination with 40 international labor organizations.

The trade union organizations strongly protested on the continuation of the emergency, imposed along with the Martial Law by Yahya Khan in 1969.

In the strikes by the textile workers of Karachi, Lahore and Lyallpur and the Karachi Port Trust workers, the issue of the cancellation of IRO 1969 dominated. This was practically not allowing workers to strike.

As far as the PPP was concerned, it had done reforms in the labor laws because of the pressure by the labor movement; it was not keen to bring any change in the social system, so as it consolidated its power, it started showing muscle to the workers and once again violence against workers was unleashed.

In February 1973, under the pressure of the workers' movement, Bhutto government was forced to bring some amendments in labor laws and the formation of an enquiry committee regarding police firing on workers. The committee recommended a raise in annual bonus from earlier 4% to 5%. Without prior permission of the Industrial Disputes Committee, lay-off of workers was prohibited and the whole responsibility of medical treatment was transferred to the employers.

After the acceptance of few demands, the number of strikes in coming three years declined, now the legal battle was dominating for the persuasion of demand-acceptance, which once again strengthened the reformism in the trade union movement. Refusing to accept the amendments in labor laws, capitalists on a large scale resorted to lay-off. In protest, trade union organizations called for strikes, most important among those were Sultan textile Mills (42 days), Coca-Cola Factory Lahore (31 days) and by the construction workers at Tarbela Dam, who reduced pace of work for two weeks.

In the demonstrations of 1st May 1973, overall three hundred thousand workers participated. On the appeal of UNO, the workers in the whole country commemorated a solidarity week with the freedom fighters of South Africa and Guinea Bissau on 25th May. In the month of June, workers of 104 silk factories in Swat went on strike.

The adoption of the new constitution in 1973 was considered a victory for the democratic forces, which gave equal status to all citizens and banned the forced labor and work till the age of 16. Constitution declared the responsibility of state to end every kind of exploitation and in the process upheld the right of 'work for everyone 'according to ability and wage according to work'.

Because of the nationalization by the PPP government, the political and economic role of big capitalists was reduced and their grip on capital and hence on working class loosened. But this resulted in the one sided effect that came in the form of non-investment by the capitalists. On the other hand, the reformist tendencies influenced the workers as they had now become the profit-shareholders in the factories; their economic conditions had improved, which weakened the position of the revolutionary unions. However the conscious workers knew that the labor laws could not be implemented just by the formalities and the class struggle will be required to eliminate class

discrimination. So during 1974-77, the workers defended their social, economic and political rights as well as the new labor laws. The analysis of the strikes in 1974-77, shows that with their continuous struggle, the working class forced the employers to follow the labor laws.

In January 1974, railway workers and the textile workers in Hyderabad, Shikarpur and Multan went on strike. The biggest strike happened in the Silk Mills in Swat, which continued for a week. In February, thirteen thousand construction workers at the Terbala Dam went on strike and raised anti-imperialism slogans. In October, during the strike by the Ghous Textile Mills workers, police opened fire and arrested forty active workers.

Pakistan was also affected by the record rise in the international oil prices in 1974, which increased the prices of consumer items in local market, resulting in a new wave in protests and strikes.

In these circumstances, different reformist trade unions, with the strong backing of the government, tried to fraction the workers' unity to form their supportive unions in big factories. As a result, many unions in Multan and other cities quit PTUF. In 1974, more than fifteen thousand PTUF supporters were dismissed from the services and many labor leaders were arrested.

In response to these actions, 13 federations of Sindh and Punjab convened a conference in the end of 1974 and formed the United Workers' Council and the attempts to weaken the PTUF were foiled. During this time, some unions of NWFP became members of WFTU.

Because of the closure of few textile mills and termination of workers in 1975, the textile workers of Sindh and Punjab were active and in April, the strike-wave again emerged because of the price-hike of flour, cooking oil and sugar. Because of tear gas shelling and arrest of the labor leaders in Lahore, the situation went out of control and

more than 50 thousand people demonstrated in Lahore. Two days later, railway workers also went on strike.

In April 1975, thirty-six thousand teachers of primary schools went on strike for two weeks, which culminated in their victory.

More than 50% budget for 1974-75 was allocated for defense expenditures, resulted in price-hike, which was opposed by the working classes and the doctors, senior school teachers, students and bank employees also joined the protest against it. In the same month, the devastating floods hit the country, affecting five hundred thousand people and the government came under severe criticism that instead of concentrating on the welfare of the people, it was spending more on the defense.

In February 1976, the trade unions were given more rights in the administrative affairs of the industrial units. In the tri-party labor conference held in October 1976, four hundred trade union representatives, one hundred government officials and several employers participated.

In the end of 1976, preparations were made to form a trade union entity at the national level and 300 representatives of 216 trade union organizations participated in a meeting held in Karachi during January 1977, which formed the United Workers Federation of Pakistan and elected Paikar Naqvi as President and Nabi Ahmed as its General Secretary. 16 out of 19 major federations joined this new entity but PTUF and PWF refrained from joining it.

In the second half of the February, clashes between the government supporters and opposition erupted. During these clashes few trade unions, especially Postal and Telegraph Union supported the right-wing Pakistan National Alliance.

In mid-1970, a Marxist faction broke-away from the Sindhi nationalist party, *Jeay Sindh Mahaz* and formed Larkana Labor Federation. As this group was considering that Sindh/Pakistan had a capitalist mode of production, so it started organizing labor in the rural and semi-rural areas. After partition, this was the first group which organized the tailor masters, tea-shops waiters, donkey-cart pullers and small vendors. In later stage, when other like-minded groups and individuals joined this group, it was renamed as Watan Dost Mazdoor Federation.

The Martial Law imposed by General Zia on 5th July 1977, was not enthusiastically welcomed by the workers as they had experiences of the previous Martial Laws imposed by General Ayub and General Yahya. Nevertheless, there was no immediate opposition from workers as they were not happy with the Bhutto government. Many of them had in individual capacity or through their organizations had taken part in anti Bhutto movements. Soon, the Zia Martial Law showed its true colors and on 9th July, just four days after the imposition of the Martial Law, the Martial Law Administrator Punjab, through order no. 5, banned all trade union activities including the strikes, his Sindh counter-part was soon to follow the suit. Over 90 percent labor force of the country was living in those two provinces. These orders were to be explained and implemented by the local officials. Few of them declared that the trade unions were disbanded, while others were of the opinion that these were only being restricted. The capitalists with the backing of government officials took full advantage of this confusing situation and curtailed the previously acceded concession and privileges. Those who protested, were blackmailed and threatened of being reported to the Martial Law authorities. In fact many of them were expelled from jobs and after being arrested were sentenced by the military courts.

In these circumstances, in the Korangi Industrial Area Karachi, on the false excuse of the rainy river, the Yousif Textile Mills lay-off 750 workers, Mir Textile Mills 750 and Ali Asghar Textile Mills 1500 workers, while the Hussain Textile Mills terminated 250 workers without any proper reason. Not only in private sector, but in public sector as well, government terminated services of workers, especially in strong union organizations. In Sindh Regional Transport Corporation (SRTC), over one thousand workers became jobless, while in Pakistan Cotton Trading Corporation about ten thousand direct and indirect employees were fired from their jobs.

On 26th December 1977, the Martial Law government convened its first tri-party labor conference, during which Chief Martial Law Administrator General Zia announced many steps and said that by protecting workers' rights, his government will provide lawyers to workers laid-off by employers. The conference passed a resolution regarding amendments in the existing labor laws. The government's commitment to this announcement was exposed within one week, when the workers of the Colony Textile Mills Multan were massacred by the state apparatus.

On 16th February 1978, the workers of television stations in Rawalpindi-Islamabad, Peshawar, Lahore and Quetta dislodged their superiors and occupied four TV stations to press for the acceptance of their demands; the move was led by General Secretary of the Rawalpindi-Islamabad TV Station Employees' union Zaheer Javed, who assumed the responsibilities as spokesperson of the striking workers. The programs of these stations were however shown without any interruption and viewers did not feel any change. The demands were dearness allowance be merge with their basic salaries and arrears be paid with effect from January 1976, compensation be paid also from same date and one extra salary for each year since then with provision for the coming years. On 17th February 28, office

bearers of PTV Workers Union, who were holding a convention inside Lahore Station were arrested, among them were two from Peshawar, one each from Karachi and Quetta stations. Lahore office bearers, who escaped arrest, announced their hunger strike from next day till acceptance of demands. Jailed workers refused to enlarge on bail. On 18th February, arrested workers remanded for one week in Camp Jail Lahore. Two more persons arrested, one among them was brother-in-law of Union President, as he could not be arrested at the time of police raid. On 19th February, seven of arrested workers tried under MLR 10 by a Summary Military Court and sentenced for one year rigorous imprisonment and 10 to 15 lashes. Inayat Hussain, Shahid Mahmood Nadeem, Agha Shahid, Asif Sheikh, Shoukat Hayat, Habib Gul and Mohammed Alam among those who were sentenced. On 20th February, General Zia appointed a committee to probe TV affairs. On 22nd February, Military Court in Peshawar sentenced seven more PTV workers for imprisonment and lashes. In coming weeks, many more PTV employees, including producers were fired from services and many were rewarded for not being part of the take-over. Later, the regime alleged that it was not a strike for the demands, rather was an attempt by political elements to takeover the installations of Pakistan Television.

Colony textile mills, Multan

In the initial days of Zia Martial Law, another incident showing the class character of the military junta occurred in January 1978, when the dozens of workers of the Colony Textile Mills, Multan were murdered in cold blood.

Over thirteen thousand workers were working in this most profitable mill of the country and like other workers, in every November or December were getting their annual bonuses equivalent to three months salary. This bonus was a direct achievement of the workers' movements of 1969 and 1972.

The workers were sure that since the production in year 1977 was comparatively higher than previous years, so they would be getting an enhanced bonus. But because of the overthrow of the elected government and imposition of the Martial Law on 5th July 1977, the mill owners had decided to snatch the workers' right through the state suppression.

The workers were demanding a three months bonus along with one month's recreational allowance. On the morning of 29th December, first shift of workers reached the mill but refused to resume work while the workers of night shift refused to leave the premises. By not operating machines and refusal to work, the strike was initiated which was observed completely without any violence. The mill administration through police and their cronies tried to scare workers but they refused to bow. They refused to end their strike which continued for three days, although some trade union leaders had also appealed to end the strike.

On 2nd January 1978, the wedding of mills owner Mughees Sheikh's daughter was scheduled and because of the friendship with mill owner, General Zia specially reached Multan from Rawalpindi to attend the wedding. Meanwhile the information reached to workers that the dowry for bride was ten times more than the total amount due for the bonus.

According to now defunct Urdu daily *Imroze* of the 3rd January, on the previous day the CBA Peoples' Labor Union succeeded in negotiations with the mills administration in the presence of representatives of the Labor department, Martial Law authorities and local administration for the bonus of two and quarter months to be paid in the end of January.

The point of contention was the wage payments of the strike days, which the administration was refusing as it considered the strike as an illegal act.

The anxiety among workers was growing, as they had waited for this extra money for the whole year and the whispers of protest were in the air because of the reluctance by administration.

During the afternoon shift change, the union asked workers to gather at the main gate of the mill for an informational meeting, so workers of both shifts who were inside the mill gathered. Some of them stood near a mosque, which happened to be at a walking distance from the mill owner's residence. The police assumed that the mill owner might come under attack, so asked workers to end their illegal gathering. The mill administrator Sheikh Rasheed also asked workers to do so but they refused to disperse.

Meanwhile, the administration of the mill whispered in the ears of General Zia that the mill workers were intended to attack him in the wedding, so in anger and hatred, he ordered to teach them a lesson. The police baton charged to disperse the workers, who in retaliation threw stones on the police. Then the police and other law enforcing agencies opened direct firing on the workers killing five of them on spot.

Some of the surviving workers later alleged that Sheikh Rasheed himself fired on workers and killed at least four of them. According to one worker, Talib Hussain's father was a close friend of Sheikh Rasheed; when he was about to open fire, Talib shouted "*Chacha!* I am son of your friend, so spare me". But Sheikh did not care and opened fire without any hesitation. Before dying, Talib soaked his fingers in his own blood and wrote his killer's name on a nearby wall. The mill administration later tried to remove the name from wall but failed to do so. When workers

came to know of this massacre, they got furious and beat Sheikh in revenge, he saved himself by escaping from the scene.

Another innocent and young victim was Karamat Ali (an apprentice), who was not inside the premises but was passing nearby and people told him about the happenings in the mill, so reached there to see it for himself. He was hit by a bullet on the main gate of mill, as all roads to the city were blocked, so he could not be sent to the nearest hospital in Muzafargarh. He was denied any first aid so died because of over bleeding.

Daily *Imroze* reporter identified one Subedar Khan, who was part of the killing of workers. As many of workers resided in the workers' colony inside the mill premises, so their relatives and friends, including women, came out of their houses and tried to enter the battle area but were prevented by law enforcers. Many of the workers were crushed in the stampeded as panic spread and workers tried to run away.

The firing continued for three hours and at six in the evening, the law enforcers entered in the mill premises like conquerors. After entering the mill, officials stopped the shifting of injured workers to hospital and arrested the defying workers and their supporters. Many of the workers had died on spot during three hours' firing but many others succumbed to their injuries because of delay in medical assistance. In the darkness of the night, the state forces started dumping the dead and injured in the trucks. Many of them were put in the sewerage lines within the mill and the rest without shroud and rituals, were buried in collective graves in a nearby village Baga Sher. In face of the state terror and violence, many workers and common citizens rescued and admitted some injured workers in nearby hospitals.

There are different figures of casualties in the incident. There were eighty bicycles parked in the parking lot of the mill, whose owners did not turn up to collect their bicycles. Media outlets under the Martial Law censorship, reported 18 dead and 25 injured. On the other hand few workers feared over two hundred dead. According to the Mazdoor Action Committee emerged during the struggle for bonus, 133 workers were killed and over 400 injured in the incident.

After the massacre, the mill owner announced a compensation package of Rupees 10,000 to the heirs of each worker killed.

The efforts of filing case against the mill owner were foiled with the help of local Martial Law administration and a counter case was registered against the action committee leaders and active workers. Many of them including Ameer Ali, Noor Din, Mukhtiyar Shah, Mohammed Yousif, Mohammed Sharif and Mohammed Ramzan were arrested.

The workers' protest continued and surrendering to the protest, the administration released many of the arrested workers. On 4th January 1978, the Martial Law Administrator Multan ordered an inquiry to be conducted from the local military headquarters, which the labor leaders rejected and demanded that the enquiry should be conducted at the main gate of the mill as the incident had happened there and the judges and lawyers nominated by the workers should be included in the enquiry committee. Afterward the police SHO Raja Khizer Hayat and police constable Hakim Ali were made scapegoats and suspended from the services and a year later arrested and tried in a local military court no.4, on the charges of exceeding their authority and indiscriminate firing on workers. But the proceedings or verdict of the case was never made public.

The different trade union organizations gave a call to observe Black day on 9th and 10th January 1978, which

was supported by all anti-Zia political parties and organizations. Many politicians including Begum Nusrat Bhutto, Wali Khan, Nawabzada Nasurullah Khan and others visited bereaved families. Begum Nusrat Bhutto was the only politician who gave some financial support to the grieved families.

Nasir Zaidi, who was then the Multan correspondent of weekly *Al-Fateh* Karachi and whose father and two brothers had died of tuberculosis while working in the Colony Textile Mill Multan, while reporting the incident, compared it with the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. This incurred in the wrath of military authorities and Nasir Zaidi was sent to prison after a summary military trial.

Mohammed Amin Bhatti, the President PECO Workers Union Lahore, was arrested thrice and was lashed twice. First time he was arrested in March 1978, protesting against Lahore High Court's verdict against Bhutto and was sentenced to one year imprisonment and 15 lashes. In April 1979, he was arrested and was lashed. Third time, he was arrested on 6th June 1980, for publishing objectionable literature. He was declared Prisoner of Conscience by Amnesty International, which accused the Zia government of torturing him in the notorious Lahore Fort.

On 28-29th December 1978, the Pakistan Trade Union Federation, now an affiliate of the World Federation of Trade Union (WFTU), managed to hold a national conference in Karachi with the largest number of delegates in attendance, since it came under a government ban in 1954. In the conference the representatives of 252 trade unions passed a series of resolutions, urging progressive amendments to the Industrial Relations Ordinance, disbandment of the NIRC, restoration of workers' right to collective bargaining and withdrawal of the Essential Services Act. Significantly, the conference also called for the *Mazdoor Kissan Raj* (the Workers and Peasant Rule).

On 16th June 1979, Pakistan Labor Front (PLF) and Koh-i-Noor Mills Workers' Union organized a Joint meeting in the workers' settlement of Nasirabad Colony, near Koh-i-Noor Mills, Rawalpindi and was addressed by Retired General Tikka Khan, the Additional Secretary General of PPP, PLF chief Syed Riaz ud Din Jilani, GTS Workers' Union General Secretary Raja Mohammed Hanif, Qaumi Mazdoor Mahaz (QMM) President Chaudhry Atta ul Haque, PLF district Attock General Secretary Mohammed Dawood, PLF Deputy Secretary Noor Illahi Mughal, QMM women wing organizer Begum Nusrat Rasheed, students' leader Riaz Khan, Mujtaba Hyder Shirazi, Mohammed Ajmal, PPP district Rawalpindi General Secretary Qazi Sultan Mahmood and other labor leaders. Although this meeting was organized to tribute the PPP's Chairman Bhutto, who was hanged sometime earlier, but it was an attempt from both the PPP and labor organizations to mobilize and involve workers in the pro-democracy movement.

The industrialists and the office bearers of Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Sukkur, pressurized General Zia, during his visit to city in 1979, that they should be saved from the militant and ever-protesting workers of the Rohri Cement Factory and on the orders of General Zia, local Martial Law authorities booked over one hundred trade union workers, 59 among them were sentenced from six months to three years imprisonment and 10 to 45 lashes by the Summary Military Courts.

The Rohri Cement Factory was considered as a strong base for the outlawed Communist Party since 1960s and its union leader Moula Bakhsh Khaskhali, being a central leader of CPP was the spirit behind it.

Over six thousand workers of Karachi Shipyard went for a complete strike in 1979, which continued for almost two and half months. The CBA union of Shipyard was affiliated with Pakistan Trade Union Federation and had many Socialist members. The Martial Law authorities terminated

about two hundred workers from services and dozens others were issued notices. The CBA union was banned for three years but once the ban was lifted, it once again won the referendum by defeating government and Jamaat-i-Islami backed unions.

The Municipal Workers Union Rawalpindi went on strike on 12th August 1980, which continued till 27th August. They were demanding a raise in salaries and the provision of gas masks as five cleaning-workers had died of suffocation on 5th June, during the cleaning of the under ground sewerage lines. By declaring the strike illegal, the administration arrested 18 union leaders, including union General Secretary Inayat Masih, who died in jail custody on 6th September. He was arrested from his house and was subjected to torture, which worsened his existing kidney problem. He was admitted in the hospital, where he died. His wife was also an employee in the municipality but her services were terminated, because of her husband's activism. Inayat Masih had five children, between the age of two and sixteen. In a telegram to General Zia, on 10th October, Amnesty International expressed its concern over the custodial death and demanded enquiry to it. On 2nd October, a military court sentenced twelve workers, including Khalid Masood, Mohammed Salim and Mohammed Azam for one year imprisonment and ten lashes each.

Through a Martial Law order, all trade union organizations of Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) were banned on 16th August 1981 and 150 active workers were arrested. Although the administration announced that by banning the unions it wanted to curb the mismanagement in the institution but no case was registered against any union activist. The PIA Chairman Retired Major General Rahim Khan on 19th August, through a statement claimed that the arrested workers were professional agitators and were involved in political activities.

Shamim Wasti, the Secretary General of the Pakistan Workers Federation, the labor front of CPP was picked by military on 17th October 1981, without any arrest warrants. For coming six months, his lawyers and relatives had no information about his whereabouts.

On the initiative of the Pakistan Trade Union Federation, eleven labor federations formed 'Labor Alliance' in Karachi and announced its support for the democratic struggle against the Martial Law Regime.

On 26th October 1983, over ten thousand railway and factory workers took out a procession in Lahore and shouted anti-Martial Law slogans. Police intervened and used force to disperse the workers, who in retaliation set on fire the portraits of General Zia, government buses and petrol pump.

To commemorate the International Labor Day, a *Jalsa* was organized in Multan Central Jail on 1st May 1985 and the prison wards of political workers were decorated with the wall posters and red flags. Mahboob Shah chaired the meeting and was addressed by Javed Akhter, Mahar Atta Mohammed, Asif Butt and Mian Jahangir, while Dr. Ishfaq, Zaman Butt and Ustad Sabir Hussain recited poetry.

Over twenty-five thousand workers of Wah Ordinance Factory went for strike in 1985.

On 24th August 1986, over four hundred engineers and officers of Karachi Electric Supply Corporation, demonstrated in front of Corporation Head Offices against the delay in implementation of the acceptance of increase in salary and other allowances. Omar Khushk, the President of Officers Association told that, six months

earlier, the administration had agreed to their demands but those yet to be implemented.

On the call of Labor Bureau Sindh, about 300 workers demonstrated in front of National Bank of Pakistan Head Offices in Karachi on 25th August 1986; they were carrying placards for the release of Benazir Bhutto and an end of contract system in factories. Formed by banking sector trade unions, Labor Bureau Sindh, had announced to initiate a campaign for the release of political prisoners including Benazir Bhutto, lifting of section 144 from Sindh, calling back of law enforcing agencies. Couple of days ago, Abdul Aziz Memon, Wali Mohammed Lassi, Khuda Bakhsh Lassi, Usman Ghani and others had addressed a press conference in Karachi in this regard.

Within few months of the restoration of democracy and installation of Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister in December 1988, in early 1989, All Pakistan Trade Union Organization was formed, which covered 123 trade unions representing workers and employees of the road-construction and machine-making industries as well as banking and financial sectors. It had most of its influence in Sindh and unlike many labor organizations, was not shy of raising political issues and demanding the consolidation of democracy.

In a meeting of 23 different labor organisations in Badin, held on 12 September 1986, the labor leaders through a resolution expressed concern on the political situation in the country, especially in Sindh and demanded party-based elections, freedom of holding peaceful public meetings, rallies and demonstrations in Sindh like other provinces. They demanded release of Badin based labor leaders and condemned the termination from services of 65 workers of Pak Saudi fertilizers Mirpur Mathelo, for using the right of union.

On 12th September 1986, different trade union organizations demanded the restoration of the right of trade union in PIA, Radio Pakistan, Pakistan Television and other organizations, according to the ILO declaration. Addressing a two-day labor convention held in Labor Hall Lahore, Mirza Mohammed Ibrahim, Nabi Ahmed, Khurshid Ahmed, Mohammed Sharif, S. P. Lodhi, Malik Mehran Chaudhry, Bashir Ahmed and others demanded increase in wages. Convention decided to form a united forum and trade union action committees at the provincial level.

In March 2005, an Action Committee was formed in the state-owned Pakistan Telecommunication (PTCL), which was about to be privatized by the government. After countrywide protests, the Committee held a massive meeting at the PTCL headquarters in Islamabad on 25th May, 2005. The militant and uncompromising mood of workers forced the union leaders to call a strike. After reaching a deal with the union, the government arrested the active workers under the anti-terrorism laws. In response workers of all those public sector institutes, supposed to be privatized, formed a broad based Anti-Privatization Alliance.

In May 2010, the sit-in strike by the workers of Pearl Continental Hotel in Karachi started.

In June 2010, a stand-off erupted between the Gadani Ship-Breaking Democratic Workers Union and the Owners Association.

In June 2010, gunmen entered the office of the Labor Qaumi Movement Faisalabad and killed one of its leaders, Mustansar Randhawa and his brother. In response more than 100,000 workers came out in protest.

In November 2012, a brick kiln workers convention was organized in Lahore attended by over 200 workers.

Table of strikes by number of participants and days-lost

Year	Strikes	Participants	Days-lost
1947	14	9585	11105
1948	30	21642	78679
1949	19	12437	22919
1950	11	8605	52830
1951	41	11182	41679
1952	42	61684	76247
1953	34	9468	24606
1954	70	49795	213909
1955	50	25882	83372
1956	94	41908	195064
1957	78	72176	227283
1958	42	14566	169420
1959	22	10005	15500
1960	30	19663	60818
1961	45	4901	73480
1962	87	49855	268386
1963	153	103142	902288
1964	107	79889	405255
1965	81	59027	332485
1966	98	63873	253671
1967	104	138159	226778
1968	107	60037	324804
1969	285	184982	1220377
1970	304	193807	2743159
1971	141	107962	815211
1972	779	361149	2018308
1973	536	233568	863583
1974	370	301753	1433553
1975	358	274908	1087459
1976	387	329134	1577035
1977	416	527246	1638142

4- Peasant Movements

Sindh

Shah Inayat Shaheed, popularly known as Shah Shaheed, founded an agrarian commune in Mirnapur (popularly known as Jhok Sharif) of Thatta in early eighteenth century. Formation of this commune was the staging of a rebellion against the landowning system with the slogan '*Jo kheray so khai*' (those who sow should eat).

Ideologically Shah Inayat was connected with the most unorthodox Sufi traditions of South Asia and was a follower of Sarmad. A Persian-Jewish merchant; Sarmad had traveled to Thatta during the early seventeenth century as a trader. In Thatta, he fell in love with a beautiful Hindu boy, Abhay Chand. In the coming days, Dara Shikoh was inspired and guided by Sarmad. Although Shah Inayat was just seven years old, when Sarmad was executed, nevertheless during his visit to Delhi, twenty years later, he visited Sarmad's grave and met his disciples.

History records his movement much before the French Revolution and one of the finest and most respected Marxist intellectual of South Asia, Syed Sibte Hassan called him 'First Socialist Sufi of Sindh'.

Educated in religious theology from Deccan, Delhi, Burhanpur and Baijapur, Shah Inayat was given a sword on his graduation by his teacher, Syed Abdul Mulk, who said 'you are one of my best student and seeing your concern for the poor and deprived people, I cannot see a gift for you as befitting as a sword'. Syed Abdul Mulk then asked 'Tell me, how you will repay for this gift?' Shah Inayat went down on his knees, bowed and swung his hand on his neck and thumped it to symbolize a beheading, saying 'like this'.

After graduating, he moved back to Sindh along with about 500 fakirs including Nimano Shah Dehlvi and Sulaiman Hindi. On the way, hundreds of destitute and poor including the Kolhi of the Dalit background joined them. They settled at Miranpur in lower Sindh and started a collective farm under the slogan of "those who sow should eat". For arrangements and approaching more like-minded people, an elected council under Shah Inayat was formed.

As he invited peasants to cultivate his land for free, the neighboring Syeds, afraid of losing their disciples, who were bound to forced labor on the land owned by the religious elite, appealed to the Mughal Governor of Thatta for help. The Mughal army, with the help of the local big landlords attacked the commune, which was well defended by the peasants and fakir supporters of Shah Inayat, in result many of them were killed. When Shah Inayat complained to the Delhi Court about this attack and killings, the heirs of the killed peasants were compensated with land, so the commune grew further and more and more peasants arrived at Jhok, to breakaway from their landowning masters.

This emerging social revolution disturbed the local elite, who approached their traditional ally, the religious oligarchy to counter this wave. In this regard, Makhdoom Hashim Thattvi, a religious court judge, became vocal and

in a letter to the new Mughal Governor of Thatta, he wrote 'Sindh will have no rest as long as the enemy sits in Jhok, as he was instigating people for a rebellion to occupy the land and was accepting non-Muslims, especially low caste Kolhi and Bhils.'

Afterward, the notables of the Southern Sindh in a group met with the Governor Nawab Zizam Khan in 1716 and convinced him that the fakirs of Jhok would overrun the Mughal Empire. So the governor took their concerns seriously and alerted the governors of Bukkur, Sehwan and Multan for the possibility of Sindh-wide rebellion, and wrote to Delhi, asking for troops. An army was assembled.

The soldiers besieged the Jhok commune in October 1718, for nearly two months. The notables wrote letters to each other in excitable Persian boasting of how 'with cannonballs and gunpowder the stones of the citadel of the evildoer will fly through the air like the cotton-flakes of the cotton-carder and the lightning sword will put fire into the harvest of his life'. But to the army's surprise, fakirs were resilient, and so, finding it difficult to apprise Shah Inayat out of his stronghold, the army finally tendered peace and invited him to talk terms in the last week of December. His safety was guaranteed by a local lord, Yar Mohammed Kalhoro, on the Koran. But it was a trick. Shah Inayat was seized on 1st January, produced before the Governor, tried and executed on 7th January 1718. His head was sent to Delhi. After conquering the commune, the Mughal army burnt down and destroyed the records of commune.

According to Sufi Huzoor Bakhsh, a peasant activist and a research scholar who wrote a comprehensive book on the life and struggle of Shah Inayat, the siege lasted for six months and during that 25,000 fakirs and peasants lost their lives.

The immediate effect of the execution of Shah Inayat translated into the rise of the local Kalhora family, who had shown their strength in quashing the peasant rebel and now had the backing of the Mughal Empire. The Kalhoras, after coming to the power rewarded the loyalty of the religious leaders and Syeds by granting them lands, which resulted in the consolidation of the feudal system. This evil of feudalism continues in Sindh till date and so for so, the current caretaker of Shah Inayat Shaheed shrine himself holds a large tract of land and behaves like any other feudal lord of Sindh.

At the time when the British conquered Sindh, Talpur clan was in the power, supported by the big landlords and religious elite, while the common people were unhappy because of the over taxations. After the conquest of Sindh, appeasing the landowning classes continued in British period and on 28th March 1861, the British Government allotted 1.9 million acres land to their 2000 loyalist and obedient feudal lords.

To review the post-Sukkur Barrage situation of land and especially of the people connected to it, a meeting/conference of concerned citizens of Sindh was convened in Mirpurkhas on 12th July 1930. G. M. Syed was Chairman of the reception committee and Jamshed Mehta chaired the conference. This conference decided to form '*Sindh Hari (Peasant) Association*' and elected the following office-bearers; a qualified engineer and the Maratha Principal Gokhle of NED Engineering College Karachi, as President and G. M. Syed, Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi and Jethmal Parsram as Secretaries.

On the second day of the proceedings, the conference adopted six resolutions 1- All the government land under the Sukkur Barrage should be allotted on easy installments to the local peasants, 2- to secure the rights of peasants working on the lands owned by the landlords, a Tenancy

Act should be passed, 3- the land-less peasants should be given the right of vote, 4- the government should arrange the free and compulsory education in the rural areas and adult literacy should be started, 5- the Co-operative Act and its rules and regulations should be amended, so the peasants could get loans from the co-operative societies, and 6- a mortgage bank should be opened in Sindh.

Fakir Mohammed Mangrio, Molvi Abdullah Khan Laghari, Haji Khamiso Khaskhali and few others emerged as the pioneering activists of the Association and after formulating its manifesto; they propagated it throughout Sindh. Most of the founding members and activists were from the classes other than peasantry and initially they concentrated on the issue of the forced expulsion of peasants and were able to get some remedies for peasants.

But soon this organisation became inactive. Citing reasons, Qadir Bakhsh Nizamani writes that though about three thousand peasants became members, who had pooled about fifteen thousand rupees as donation but the association had most of its influence in the Thar region. The main object of the association was to get the barrage lands for peasants on better conditions but few of the cultivators and small landlords entered the organisation and by leading the campaign, got land allotments for them.

With the construction of Sukkur Barrage, new 7.5 million acres land became cultivable and within ten years 1.5 million acres of this newly retrieved land was sold to the big landlords of Sindh and the cultivators from Punjab. Although about 93 thousand acres of this new land was reserved for the peasants but for the hard and fast regulations, a very small portion of it came to the peasants. Many of them lost their acquired land due to non-payment of the installments and their paid amount was also confiscated. When the Sukkur Barrage lands were

allotted to the big landlords, some leaders of the Sindh Hari Association, especially Qadir Bakhsh Nizamani and Noor Mohammed Palijo vigorously opposed the move, and reacting to it, G. M. Syed and his supporters resigned from the Association.

To reorganize the Association on the original objectives, Jethmal Parsram and Comrade Ghulam Qadir convened another meeting/conference in the later part of 1936, this time in Tando Jam near Hyderabad. In this conference, by changing name to Sindh Hari Committee (SHC) ten demands were presented by the peasants, out of those seven were reformist, two about abolishing anti-peasants laws as well as the feudalism. The last one was for the release of all political prisoners. In the same year of 1936, SHC established its organizational headquarter in Hyderabad.

The struggle of Sindh Hari Committee got impetus by the enactment of Bombay Tenancy Act in 1940. The Sindh government referred the Act to Sindh collectors to see the feasibility of preparing an Act on similar lines. In March, 1942, an expert committee was formed to prepare its draft in the light of Bombay Tenancy Act.

In 1943, a peasant rally was organized by the Sindh Hari Committee, followed by a procession of about 3,000 peasants in Hyderabad.

Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi the Deputy Collector in the government Service resigned from his official position in 1945 and sometime later joined the Sindh Hari Committee.

Comrade Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi was born on 7th October 1901, in Bukho Dero Larkana. After getting early education in Larkana and Karachi, in 1931, he joined the governmental service, mostly in Revenue department, where he observed the apathy of both government and landlords towards peasantry.

In 1944, he was appointed as a judge for a special tribunal conducting cases against the Hur rebels, who had started armed struggle against the British Empire. According to few accounts, he refused to sanction death penalty to some Hur prisoners.

At the prime of his career, he resigned from the government job, when as Deputy Collector he was the highest ranked officer of the district. Soon he joined Sindh Hari Committee (SHC). After joining SHC he never looked back and was arrested several times and was kept in almost all prisons of Pakistan for standing-up for the poor. Soon after joining the SHC he was elected its Secretary General and later in 1947, was made its President, which he continued till his death on 21st May 1970, due to incurable liver cancer.

He was a good orator, political writer and a poet. Many of his books of political writings and poetry were banned by different governments. He launched a peasants' weekly '*Hari Haqdar*' and a march towards and a sit-in in front of the assembly building Karachi, which resulted in the passing of Tenancy Act in 1951.

He contested a bye-election in 1951, against a pro-government candidate. Sensing their defeat, his opponents registered false cases against him and his supporters were attacked by hunting dogs.

Although the Muslim landlord class was divided on many political and social issues but on the issue of the peasants' rights, they were all united for their class interests. So, in 1943, when the Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayat Ullah ministry moved a bill regarding the revision of an agro-tax in the Karachi region, a motion by Mir Banda Ali Talpur was passed by the feudal members of the assembly unanimously. The same feudal members passed a resolution to form a committee to undo the amendments

in the laws regarding land ownership, done during the previous progressive government of Allah Bakhsh Soomro.

In the end of 1945, elections were called for Sindh Assembly and Sindh Hari Committee decided to take part and nominated few candidates. Their election campaign went very well but none of its candidate could manage to win against the feudal lords of Muslim League and the rich people of Congress.

As the whole subcontinent was moving towards the collective madness in the name of religion, Sindh produced a real female peasant hero Mai Bakhtawar, who on 22nd June 1947, was martyred by the landlords and their cronies for safeguarding the produce of her and her family's labor.

Born in 1880, in Taluka Tando Bago of Badin, Bakhtawar was the eldest daughter of her father Murad Khan Lashari. Bakhtawar started grazing the cattle and helping her parents since her childhood. Working in fields gave her confidence and unlike her fellow children, she was not afraid of snakes and used to catch them alive in childhood, which earned her title of '*Jogan*' (female snake charmer).

In 1898, she was married to her cousin Wali Mohammed Lashari and after eight years gave birth to Mohammed Khan, first of her three sons. Wali Mohammed had a good number of goats and the responsibility of their care lied with Bakhtawar, who also learnt the skills of traditional birth attendant and earned an official appreciation certificate for saving many mothers during childbirth.

Wali Mohammed, with his son Lal Mohammed was peasant at the number 10 watercourse of Dannysur estate in taluka Omarkot, owned by the Ahmedi community with a brutal Punjabi manager. The influence of half share in produce campaign had also reached to this estate, where Bakhtawar's son Lal Mohammed was most active and

vocal. During the *Khareef* season of 1946, a dispute emerged on the distribution of the produce and Gul Mohammed Lashari, on behalf of the peasants registered a case in the court of revenue officer Ornarkot. Comrade Ghulam Mohammed Laghari and Ghulam Mohammed Chaudhry, the arbitrators nominated by the official, equally distributed the cotton produced on the estate. After the solution of dispute Gul Mohammed Lashari started working at the lands of Seth Rewa Chand, while other peasants continued their work at the estate land.

During that period, the workers of Sindh Hari Committee started organizational work and organized small meetings in the area, which resulted in pressure by peasants on landowners for better working conditions and fair deal in wages. Once Chaudhry Khalid abused Comrade Ghulam Mohammed Laghari and accused him of instigating the peasants. A peasant Moti Bhil intervened and warned Chaudhry that if Comrade will be harmed they will have to face the consequences.

In 1946, when the government passed the bill of Half Share in produce, the Ahmedi estate was getting two and half kilograms for every forty kilograms of wheat or sixteen rupees for one acre of cultivated land as *Rakab*, so the peasants announced that in future they will not contribute any part of produce from their share. The bill was passed during the *Rabi* season and the wheat was ready.

On 22nd June 1947, Comrade Hyder Bakhsh Jatui, Comrade Ghulam Mohammed Laghari, Jan Mohammed Pali, Lutf Ullah Hasamani, Comrade Mir Mohammed Talpur and other leaders of SHC came to Jhudo to attend a peasant meeting. Ahmedi estate peasants, led by Lal Mohammed Lashari also went to attend the meeting. In their absence, estate managers Khalid and Saad Ullah with a convoy of over thirty vehicles rushed to the wheat produce. Mai Bakhtawar and Wali Mohammed sent their son Siddique to

Gul Mohammed and Gulsher for help. They both along with local landlords Pir Bakhsh Shah, Loung Khan Gurgaich and Khan Mohammed Halepoto reached Bakhtawar's village by sun-set. They requested estate people that they should wait for the other people who were away for the meeting but both Saad Ullah and Khalid refused to pay any attention on their plea and tried to take wheat forcefully.

Their attitude antagonized the mediators and as they started moving back, Mai Bakhtawar stood in front of wheat and warned that 'in their lifetime no one can take their produce'. On that Khalid hit Bakhtawar with the butt of his gun he was carrying. Bakhtawar fell down but hit him back with a stick. On Mai Bakhtawar's retaliation, Khalid dropped the gun, which was picked by her son Mohammed Siddique. One of Khalid's cronies Pir Mohammed hit Siddique with a stick and the gun went again in the possession of Khalid.

Meanwhile, Gul Mohammed and Gul Sher also used the sticks and the fight intensified and five or six estate cronies were hit. Seeing this Khalid and Saad opened fire, resulted in the killing of Mai Bakhtawar on spot and injury of Khaskhaili Fakir and Sabhagi, sister of Bakhtawar. After the killing and injuries, estate people captured the stock of wheat and returned back.

The peasants registered a complain at the police station and nominated eleven culprits including Saad Ullah, Khalid, Ghulam Mohammed, Mohammed Ali, Muzaffar Ali, Pir Mohammed, Allah Dino and others. While Ahmedi estate also registered a counter complain, in which arbitrators Pir Bakhsh, Loung Khan Gurgaich, Khan Mohammed Halepoto, Khaskhali Fakir and peasants Gul Mohammed, Gul Sher, Wali Mohammed and Siddique were nominated. Few of the accused, nominated by peasants were arrested from Mirpurkhas hospital, while Saad Ullah was arrested from Punjab. For five months this case was heard by the court of Assistant Commissioner.

After one month, the peasants and their supporters were released on bail, while the arrested people of other party continued in prison. Later this case was transferred to the Session Court, which cancelled the bail of peasants and they were rearrested. Mirza Sikandar Baig was the prosecutor in this case, while the peasants were represented by Comrade Pana Ram advocate of Sukkur and the Ahmedi estate was represented by Dhial Mal and a lawyer from Lahore.

Saad Ullah was a close relative to Pakistan's first Foreign Minister Sir Zafar Ullah Khan, who with his influence created many hurdles in the proceedings in the Session Court, because the Session Judge Divan Shankar Singh was competent and honest. After keeping the case pending for ten months, when it was resumed, the Ahmedi estate submitted the illness certificate for Khalid and got him admitted in the hospital, so till the retirement of Judge Shankar Singh the proceedings could be suspended. But judge ordered that he be produced before the court on next hearing.

After the statement of the prosecution, Ahmedi estate lawyer Dhial Mal cross-examined the complainant Gul Mohammed for one hour, afterward his brother was grilled for one and half hour. During the cross-examination lawyer Dhial Mal fall on the ground because of cardiac trouble and Dr. Aamrani and Civil Surgeon gave him an injection. The case proceedings were once again delayed.

One day, as Pana Ram advocate was taking a walk on the platform of Mirpurkhas Railway Station along with Mai Bakhtawar's son Lal Bakhsh, he was approached the Ahmedi estate's lawyer and an Ahmedi elder who inquired about the amount of his fees being paid by the peasants. As Pana Ram told them that it was yet to be decided but for the running expenditures he was getting one hundred rupees a month. On that they offered him fees of his own

choice but Pana Ram considered it against his principals and rejected the offer.

That was the time, when migration started as the consequence of the partition. Pana Ram advocate with his family also intended migration to India. On the request of SHC President Comrade Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi to delay it, he promised to come back soon. As the hearing of case resumed, Pana Ram came back from India and contested the case. At the end of this historical case, he returned back to India, where the judgment of the case was sent him through postal service.

Through the court verdict, all peasants were released, while Saad Ullah was sentenced for 25 years, Khalid for 20 years and the rest of the accused were sentenced for three years each. In a letter to Lal Bakhsh, the defense lawyer Comrade Pana Ram commented on the judgment that as the accused Saad Ullah had confessed for the crime so he should have been awarded the capital punishment.

Till today, Mai Bakhtawar is a symbol of resistance for the peasants and rights seeking people. To commemorate her martyrdom, people named their daughters as 'Bakhtawar', so for so, themselves the symbols of resistance Benazir Bhutto and Comrade Jam Saqi named their eldest daughters 'Bakhtawar'.

Comrade Ghulam Mohammed Laghari was born in 1917, in the Mirpurkhas district. He was named after the two leading lights of Sindh. Belonging to a big feudal family, Ghulam Mohammed Bhurgri was a major political figure in Sindh, who against his traditional class character always opposed the British Empire and the second one was Ghulam Mohammed Talpur, who opened a school in Tando Bago with his own money, which again was a strange act by a big landlord.

Laghari was sent to a religious seminary for studies. One day, the future President of Sindh Hari Committee,

Comrade Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi, who as a government official, visited the seminary and distributed food prepared for him among the students. This simple act impressed young Laghari so much that when Jatoi joined Hari Committee, Laghari also followed him.

He was instrumental along with Comrade Mir Mohammed Talpur and Comrade Chajo Ram in making the railway strike of 1946 successful in Sindh. He launched peasants weekly '*Hari Haqdar*' from Mirpurkhas, which later became the official organ of the Committee.

When the partition was seen as inevitable, like other progress organizations, Sindh Hari Committee also decided to enter few of its cadres in Muslim League and Comrade Jatoi and Qazi Faiz Mohammed joined it. Soon Jatoi left Muslim League but Qazi continued with it.

After spending some time with Kashmir 'Jihad', Qazi came back to Nawabshah and became active in protecting Hindus, who after the partition were being targeted. He was summoned by Pir Illahi Bakhsh, then minister in Sindh cabinet and Ross Masood Collector of Nawabshah who warned him to restrain himself from protecting the Hindu community, whose majority had decided to migrate to India.

After partition, when agricultural land owned by the Hindu community was being allotted to migrated people and was also being occupied by the Sindhi landlords, the peasants in the central parts of Sindh launched a campaign for the allotment of this land to the landless peasants. Soon their leader Qazi Faiz Mohammed was arrested.

In the 7th peasants' conference, held on 4th and 5th March 1947, at Sarhari, district, Nawabshah, the slogan of *Adho Adhu Batai* (equal share in produce) was adopted.

In Nawabshah, where Masood Khadarposh was the Collector, the peasants started retaining their fifty percent

share in pursuance of Sarhari Conference decision. With the efforts of Mr. Tomkins, the Collector of district Sanghar, a joint conference of landlords and peasants was convened at Shahdadpur on 1st June, 1947, presided by Ghulam Mustafa Qazi, the Deputy Collector, Shahdadpur. After a prolonged debate, the principal of fifty percent share in produce was agreed and with the witness signature by Tomkins, both parties signed an agreement. This movement also gained momentum in Tharparkar district, where a joint conference was called on 16th June, 1947 in Mirpurkhas and endorsed the principal of fifty percent share in produce.

This campaign became a mass movement, which helped Sindh Hari Committee to influence the peasants in other districts of the province. Consequently, the Sindh Assembly appointed the official Peasant Enquiry Committee on 3rd March 1947, with Sir Roger Thomas, as Chairman and Masood Khadarposh, the Collector Nawabshah and Noorud Din M. Siddiqui, the Manager, Encumbered Estates and Court of Wards in Sindh, as members. Agha Shahi ICS (later Pakistan Foreign Minister) and afterward Gopi Chand Banwari was appointed as the Secretary to the Committee. After partition, in October 1947, Ghulam Rasool Kehar, a big landlord from district Larkana was appointed as the fourth member to the committee. Its terms of reference were as under: 1- to examine alleged grievances of peasants, 2- to recommend such measures which could help in improving the living standards of peasants, 3- if some rights of peasants were proposed which encroach the interests of landlords, such measures be suggested to safeguard the interests of landlords.

The enquiry committee continued its deliberations till January 1948, and its majority report was published in late 1948, while the note of dissent by Masood Khadarposh was published in 1949.

The Sindh Hari Committee prepared a draft of law regarding the tenancy rights and mobilized the public opinion for it. On SHC appeal, a Day against Feudalism and Zamindari was commemorated on 15th January 1950.

Sindh Hari Committee held its three-day ninth annual conference from 3rd to 5th March 1950, in Dadu, which was inaugurated by progressive peasant activist from Punjab, Feroz Din Mansoor. The conference was inaugurated with the anthem, '*Yeh Jang Hai Jang-i-Azadi, Azadi Ke Parcham Tale*' (This is the war of the independence, under the flag of the independence) by Makhdoom Mohi ud Din and Molvi Shahdadtoti's '*Song of Peasants*'. On first day a reception committee under its Chairman Ali Ahmed Qureshi and Taj Sahrai, Noor Mohammed Ansari, Mohammed Musa and Mohammed Bakhsh as members was formed. To elect office bearers an election commission under G. M. Syed was formed. On the second day of the conference all office bearers were elected unanimously as, Comrade Hyder Bakhsh Jatoti (President), Abdul Qadir (General Secretary), Molvi Nazir Hussain Jatoti and Shams ud Din Shah (Vice Presidents), Ghulam Mohammed Laghari and Abdul Khaliq Azad (Joint Secretaries), Molvi Mohammed Maaz (Treasurer). The working committee comprised two members from each district of the province. Students' delegation from Karachi, led by Noor Din Sarki also attended the conference and distributed and sold Socialist literature. On the last day a public meeting was organized at the Municipal Park Ground.

The conference passed many resolutions, including, 1- Zamindari and feudalism should be abolished, as since long rulers of Pakistan and Sindh had been raising claims and slogans of abolishing the feudalism but nothing had been done in reality, so SHC demanded its abolition without any

compensation. 2- SHC, the representative of three million peasants of Sindh, condemned the arrest of its leaders Molvi Nazir Hussain and Abdul Wahid Soomro under the black law of Sindh Safety Act. It demanded immediate release or trial in open court of arrested leaders. 3- Conference demanded a new democratic constitution, which should guarantee the provincial autonomy and adult franchised vote, under which peasants and general masses of Sindh could elect their representatives, who had no confidence on the current elected leadership. 4- The resolution on international political situation, declared USA and its allies as the international imperialist forces, who for the continuation of their exploitation were creating atmosphere for the Third World War, while in their opposition, the freed and peace-loving people of the world under the leadership of Soviet Union and PR China were struggling for a better world. 5- the conference demanded the cancellation of all black laws like Sindh Safety Act and Pakistan Safety Act and asked all progressive political parties and organizations of working classes to form the 'Civil Liberty Organizations'. 6- Committee condemned the majority attitude of Sindh Assembly's Select Committee on the proposed Tenancy Act and demanded that all peasants should be allotted unconditional permanent rights, 7- Conference condemned the forced displacement, registration of false cases and other acts against the peasants all over Sindh, 8- Sindh Hari Committee sent a brotherly message to the peasants, workers, clerks and writers of Punjab, Frontier, East Bengal and Karachi, who in their respective areas were facing the suppression and violence unleashed by the feudal lords and the government and demanded release of all leaders and workers especially Sobho Gianchandani, Sharaf Ali and Ibrahim Jalees, 9- Committee demanded the lift of ban on Progressive Writers Association, 10- The conference sent a message of tribute to the working people of India, especially of Telangana, peasants of Bengal, workers and

political detainees, who had initiated their revolutionary struggle for land, jobs and Socialism and against the fascist government of Nehru and Patel's bullets and arrests. The peasants of Sindh were sad on the capital punishment to over 100 peoples' leaders of Telangana and killing of many workers and demanded the cancellation of their sentences, 11- SHC asked Government of Pakistan to immediately recognize the Vietnamese peoples' government under Ho Chi Minh, 12- Committee strongly condemned the Pakistan government for giving aid of rupees seventy million to the reactionary government of Burma to suppress the freedom movement and to allow the British government to recruit the police from Punjab, 13- the conference demanded a raise in the salaries of junior government officials and reduction in salaries of higher officials, 14- conference considered that as the Muslim League had also principally agreed to abolish feudalism, so the government land should not be sold to any landlord and it should be allotted to the peasants and refugee farmers, 15- the conference regretted that a letter by Comrade Hyder Bakhsh Jatui, addressed to Settlement Minister was yet to be responded and demanded that the land left by Hindus should be distributed on the equal basis among the real peasants and the refugee farmers and occupation by the landlords should be vacated, in other resolutions conference announced to establish an organizational fund and formation of a sub-committee to prepare a new constitution.

The available record shows that the working committee meeting of SHC held in Hyderabad on 11th June 1950, had a heated debate on the complaints by a central leader Molvi Nazir Hussain, who was bitter with the Committee for not pursuing case after his arrest. He boycotted the evening session of the meeting, during which Committee once again declared that it had no connection with the Communist Party and all those who agree with the aims and objectives of the Committee can become its members.

Molvi Nazir Hussain 'Jalali' Jatoi was born in July 1903 in a religious family and was sent to a religious seminary for education. During his teenage, he participated in the *Khilafat movement* and later joined Indian National Congress. He was part of Sindh peasants' delegation, which held talks with Subash Chandra Bose at Larkana in 1938. He played a major role in the movement for half share, initiated on 5th January 1947 and was arrested. In prison, he started writing poetry with the pen name of *Jalali*. His poetry became anthems for the peasants and political workers of Sindh. This Socialist worker died on 23rd May 1974 at the age of 71.

Sindh Hari Committee working committee meeting held in Sann on 20th August, also faced an issue under debate that whether it was a political party or not? By a majority decision it was declared that it can take part in the politics of Sindh and although it believes in the revolutionary methods to change the current economic system but considering the current situation, to present its case and counter the reactionary classes, it can participate in the coming elections of Sindh Assembly and decided to form its parliamentary board and an election fund committee. The meeting also decided to form a publications committee to prepare eight booklets on different peasantry related issues. In a resolution, it condemned the American intervention in the Korean civil war and asked the government of Pakistan to play a neutral role in the conflict.

For the Sindh Assembly elections held in September 1950, Sindh Hari Committee nominated its Central President Comrade Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi for a seat lying in the Dadu district. He was pitched against the ruling Muslim League candidate. For the election campaign, peasant workers from all over Sindh, including Molvi Nazir Hussain Jatoi, Aziz Ullah Jarwar and Comrade Ghulam Mohammed

Laghari reached Dadu, where the central office was established in the law office of Ali Ahmed Qureshi advocate, a member of the Committee. The official candidate was the brother-in-law of the sitting Chief Minister Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, so he sent Sindhi nationalist and opposition leader G. M. Syed to pursue the withdrawal of the Committee candidate but failed to do so. On the eve of the submission of the nomination papers, Comrade Jatoi was picked-up by the police and his papers were rejected by the Returning Officer, so the official candidate was declared elected un-opposed.

Soon after elections, a meeting of 30 active members from all over the Sindh was convened on 15th October, which also witnessed heated debate and few of the participants accused some leaders for taking more interest in becoming assembly members rather than working for the betterment of peasants. The traditional weaknesses within the leftist movements of fractionalization, lesser sense of responsibility in the leadership and issuance of press statement against each other were also attributed to the leadership in this meeting.

Same thing happened next year, when in the 1951 bye-election of the Qambar-Shahdadkot constituency, government-supported candidate and a local feudal lord was declared victorious against Comrade Jatoi, although the victorious candidate was under age at the time of polling. The feudal lords attacked peasant workers with hunting dogs during this campaign.

In 1951-52, annual peasants' conference was convened in Sakrand and with the efforts of G. M. Syed, many peasant workers including Molvi Nazir Hussain, Shams ud Din Shah, Ali Ahmed Qureshi, Molvi Aziz Ullah, Comrade Abdul Qadir, Raees Brohi and others gathered for the conference.

As Comrade Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi was in prison, so G. M. Syed wanted Comrade Abdul Qadir to be elected as

president, which was opposed by many senior members of Sindh Hari Committee and the SHC split in two factions. Sometime later, with the efforts by Mian Iftikhar ud Din, once again SHC became united and a peasant conference was convened in Tando Jam near Hyderabad, which elected Comrade Jatoi as president and Ghulam Hussain Soomro as General Secretary.

During the same time, the Governor Sindh Deen Mohammed, who was in the full administrative control, met a delegation of SHC and promised to formulate a peasant friendly Tenancy Act. According to few historians, that was due to the internal rift within the ruling classes of the Pakistan and one group exploited peasants of Sindh for agitation against the other group.

On 7th August 1955, a meeting to form a united front against the One-Unit was convened; Sindh Hari Committee leadership also attended the meeting. This was the first alliance, joined by the Committee, which had not included any peasantry demand. The imposition of the One-Unit changed the orientation of Sindh Hari Committee from a class based organisation to a 'nationalist' one.

The agricultural lands under the Sindh barrages were placed in the hands of army and civilian officers (with a vast majority of Punjabi background) and regular colonization officers were appointed in every district of Sindh.

To resist this economic and administrative onslaught, SHC organized a public meeting in Lundo near Nawabshah, chaired by Maulana Bhashani and also attended by many assembly members from Bengal.

Few days later, Qazi Faiz Mohammed started fast-to-death in Nawabshah, which was broken after a week, when senior peasant leadership decided to formulate some other strategies.

On the suggestion of Qazi, a civil disobedience movement was announced, endorsed by NAP and G. M. Syed's Sindh nationalist group and senior Comrades including Sobo Gianchandani, Jamal ud Din Bukhari and others. Few days later, differences emerged as the SHC decided not to take part in the movement.

Nevertheless, the 'civil disobedience' movement was launched through the Chevrolet motorcar of Qazi, which became famous as 'peasants' motorcar'. During this time, the allotment orders of one of a female peasant in Mahrabpur near Nawabshah were cancelled and she was ordered to be forcefully evicted with the support of local administration. The disobedient workers decided to establish their first camp on her land. The district administration took action against the protesting peasants and arrested 111 peasants; most of them were owners of the allotted land, locally called '*allottee peasants*'. Beside different sentences, these arrested peasants were fined by the courts and as they had decided not to pay the fine, so possibility of the auction of their cattle emerged. To stop this eventuality, workers decided to intensify their struggle and announced to hold a demonstration of one thousand peasants. On the specified day, over three hundred peasants gathered, this number frustrated the peasant workers, who called back their civil disobedience campaign and got release of arrested peasants through applications to the Deputy Commissioner.

In its working committee meeting, on 14th November 1955, held in Hyderabad, Sindh Hari Committee reviewed the situation of Sindh and its peasants and regretted that while the lands had been reserved for the military officials and the private corporations, nothing had been done for the peasants.

In the annual conference of the Sindh Hari Committee, held in Hyderabad in December 1955, in a resolution it was stated that, 'protection of tenancy rights should be

guaranteed to all peasants, *Batai* (sharing of crops) system should be replaced by a fair cash rental system and till it is being abolished, the peasants' share should be enhanced to 60 percent of the gross produce, all forms of free or forced labor taken from the peasants by the landlords must be stopped and an effective Tenancy Law must be passed immediately'.

In 1958, the peasants decided to re-initiate their struggle on the issue of the allotment of land. After an active campaign through small meetings in villages, posters, newspaper advertisements, press statements and press conferences, thousands of peasants marched from Nawabshah to Karachi, where a camp for each district was erected and a public meeting was organized in Jahangir Park. One of the leaders of this peasant rally was a female activist Mai Hasil of village Saeed Khan Laghari, who was riding an auto rickshaw pulled by the peasants.

A peasants' group, led by Ramzan Sheikh presented the peasant anthems. The public meeting was chaired by Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi and addressed by many political, trade union and peasant leaders. Next day, a peasants' delegation, comprised on Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi, Mahmood ul Haque Usmani, Comrade Abdul Qadir and Qazi Faiz Mohammed met with the then President of Pakistan, Iskandar Mirza, who told the delegation that he was in support for the Tenancy Laws but the landlord Sindhi assembly members were opposed to those. He advised the peasant leadership that they would have to shed their blood for the achievement of their rights. In a follow up of this, another meeting held between peasants' delegation and Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon and Rehabilitation minister. The atmosphere of this meeting boiled up when Noon showed his displeasure on peasants' meeting with President and ridiculed them by saying that when the Hindu were owners of the agricultural land, they did not protested but now they were protesting against

the Muslim landlords. This antagonized the peasant leaders. Soon General Ayub Khan imposed Martial Law in the country and peasants' movement subsided for the time being.

In the first week of 1965, a two-day divisional conference was organized in village Madihi, district Sukkur, by the Sindh Hari Committee chaired by Molvi Nazeer Hussain. This conference was attended by the left workers from whole country including Major Ishaque, Comrade Ghulam Mohammed Laghari, Alamzeb Zafar, Qazi Faiz Mohammed, Syed Baqar Shah, Comrade Azizullah, Barkat Ali Azad and others.

Chambarh town of Hyderabad district and its vicinity was in lead of this new phase of peasant awakening, where after opening the unit of SHC, local activist Comrade Usman Laghari organized a public meeting, addressed by Comrade Ghulam Mohammed Laghari and SHC central president Comrade Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi. In this public meeting, a young illiterate boy Ahmed Khan Laghari sang a peasant anthem, which was liked by Comrade Jatoi and on his advice different comrades not only gave him formal education but taught him political ideology especially Marxism. In coming years, Comrade Ahmed Laghari not only became the central office bearer of SHC but he was considered one of the most learned Marxist in whole country. The village flour mill owned by Usman Laghari became the center of the peasant activities in the area.

The village Mohammed Khan Zaur became center of the Chambarh peasant movement, where in the confrontation between peasants and landlords, the local administration sided with the landlords.

In 1967, local SHC leaders came to the conclusion that till the peasants are not fully awakened of their rights under Sindh Tenancy Act, the landlords would continue their

exploitation. To achieve this goal, they not only conducted meetings but started a theatre group in village Dad Jarwar, where peasants performed theatre based on their issues. A school teacher Ghulam Qadir played an important role in the formation of this immature theatre group. Consequently, villagers of three villages submitted an application against a local landlord under the Act and twice delegation of over 200 peasants met with Deputy Commissioner. Sometime later, tension erupted as a local landlord after a dispute on financial matter, without consulting his peasants, as required by law, leased his land to a fellow landlord, who on taking possession of land evicted the older peasants, who were working on this land since long. The peasants refused to leave the fields, on this armed goons of the landlord took some peasants and their cattle into captivity. Peasants registered a case against the said landlord but the local police took no action. On that hundreds of peasants carrying their sticks and other things cordon-off the landlord's place. On the intervention of senior peasant leaders, talks were carried out and after prolong negotiations the captivated peasants were set free. Few days after this settlement, the landlord registered a case against peasants for rowdiness and attack on his property. The peasants filed counter case and met with local Magistrate. After many hearings, both parties withdrew their cases.

Second incident occurred in village Mohammed Khan Zaur, where police decided to take action against the active peasant leaders and cordoned-off the village. As this information reached to local residents, they closed-down the whole area, including restaurants and shops. To deprive police and administration of the facilities, they also emptied water-pots. Ultimately, police backed-off after arresting just one worker.

Third major incident happened in Chambharh town, where a local landlord registered a case against his peasants. To

review the situation, a meeting of Sindh Hari Committee was convened. During the meeting, peasants got information that the concern landlord was in town, so they rushed and brought him to police station, where the House Station Office (SHO) who was supporting the landlord, escaped by jumping over the wall. The rest of the police staff surrendered themselves to the peasants, who fastened the landlord by a rope to an outer wall of police station, so everyone could see him. The local peasant leaders asked the available police official to confess to the atrocities they carried out against peasants. The official climbed on a table and apologized for the behavior against peasants.

The local cell of the Communist Party decided to move one step forward and punish the officials and landlords. The recent successes had given confidence to the peasants and they established a 'Peasant Court' in the Municipal Town Committee office and the peasant activists became judges, with Comrade Ahmed Khan Laghari, head of the panel of judges. On receiving application from peasants against landlords, notices for appearance were issued to them through government revenue official, served by the police.

This movement became stronger day by day as in those days the whole country was mobilized against General Ayub Khan's dictatorship. After the installation of the new government of General Yahya, police renewed its traditional behavior and after registering cases against the active peasant workers, clashed with them at many places. During these clashes Sindh Hari Committee member Comrade Gaichani was martyred and eighteen others were injured.

During the General Yahya's Martial Law, cases were registered against active peasant workers and after many raids, twenty two of them were arrested and produced before a Military Court, where landlords, police and revenue officials witnessed against them. All of these

activists were sentenced to one year imprisonment and ten lashes each. They were kept at Hyderabad Central Jail, where sentence of lashes was carried out. They were released after the dismissal of Yahya government in 1972. The peasant leaders were brought from Hyderabad in a big rally and everywhere they were given a warm reception.

During 1968, a Punjab based leftist group led by C. R. Aslam, once again tried to organize the *West Pakistan Kissan Committee* in the peasants of Sindh and formed its provincial body, which carried out tours of different districts but all those efforts were fruitless, as on one hand SHC had its solid grounds in Sindh and on the other hand the Kissan Committee under the influence of its Punjab based leadership, was not ready to take stand on Sindh based issues, which it considered as narrow Sindhi nationalism.

In early 1970, as the date for the dissolution of One-Unit and the establishment of Sindh province approached nearer, the administration started disposing state lands in Sindh, through auctions or grants to retired military officers and others. The local peasants were dislodged from these lands which were allotted mostly to the people of Punjab and NWFP. An Action Committee to stop auctions and postponement of recoveries was formed under a pro-China Socialist Fazil Rahu. Peasants and their sympathizer students started hunger strike on 14th March, 1970, and in three days 19 persons, including female activists were arrested in Hyderabad. One of the female activists of this movement, Akhter Baloch wrote her prison diary in Sindhi, later translated into many languages.

After the reversal of One-Unit, Sindh Hari Committee once again diverted its energies towards the peasants' issues and decided to convene a peasant conference in late May 1970 but due to the death of its President Comrade Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi on 21st May, 1970, the conference was postponed. After the untimely death of Jatoi, Committee

came under the control of Kazi Faiz Mohammed and some other Sindhi nationalist workers. The Communists, who had formed the *Mozdoor, Kisson Awami Rabito Committee*, wanted to induct Jam Saqi, till then a students' leader, in place of Jatoi. A Sindh Hari Action Committee was formed and a conference was convened on 22nd June, at Sakrand district Nawabshah. This historical conference chaired by freedom fighter against the British Empire Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi.

For this conference workers of National Awami Party, Karachi started their journey on foot from Karachi and passing through Thatta, Sujawal, Hyderabad, Matiari, Hala and Saeedabad, reached Sakrand after covering 234 kilometers. All the way, peasants in large number joined this solidarity march.

At the conference, as the Communists attempted to form an Organizing Committee, Ghulam Hussain Soomro, the General Secretary of Sindh Hari Committee demanded setting of an action committee instead of organizing committee. This led to a pandemonium at the conference and the proceeding remained disturbed for sometime. Finally, Comrade Ghulam Mohammed Laghari, President of NAP Sindh and a senior peasant worker intervened and announced an action committee consisting of himself, Ghulam Hussain Soomro, Jam Saqi, Syed Rasheed Ahmed and Barkat Ali Azad.

In his presidential speech Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi stated that 'this representative conference of all peasants is not merely opposed to any one government or the ruler but it was against the brutal policies and control of landlords.'

The issue in dispute during the conference was to get hold over the Sindh Hari Committee by the Communist Party. By the time, the Committee had been functioning as an undeclared united platform of progressive, nationalists and Communists and Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi had acted as a

symbol of unification among those factions but after his death, the Communists failed to keep the alliance intact and tried to capture the Committee, which was opposed by G. M. Syed, up to extent that he held a public meeting in Moro, not far away from Sakrand on the same day. The nationalist section of intelligentsia believes that the show was conducted on 'the dictates of Mohajir intellectuals, sitting in Karachi who did not know anything of the peasant problems'.

Ghulam Hussain Soomro, the General Secretary of Sindh Hari Committee, criticized the *Rabita Committee* for its scheme to exploit the name of peasants to earn the goodwill and sympathy of the people. He announced disassociation of Hari Committee from the Rabita Committee 'as it had worked against the interests of peasants of Sindh and denied the reports of appointing Jam Saqi as General Secretary of the Hari Committee, who was 'not even a *four anna* member'.

The Sakrand conference adopted different resolutions on equitable distribution of land among peasants, elimination of forced labor, allocation of due share of peasants on river water and land reforms.

The conference appealed to observe the peasants' demands day on 1st August 1970. The conference could not fill the gap created by the passing away of Comrade Jatoi, instead it bifurcated the peasant organisation which had already suffered a set-back through the rhetorical Socialist slogans of the Bhutto-led PPP. Renowned Sindhi poet Sheikh Ayaz criticized the Sakrand conference for not raising slogan of *Jeay Sindh* and conducting most of its proceedings in Urdu.

Comrade Barkat Ali Azad was a progressive writer, poet, translator, journalist and a brave worker of the working classes. He was born in Amritsar but later his family moved to Sindh and settled in Jacobabad, where he matriculated in 1930. Initially he was attracted to the Gandhian way of politics and in 1935 was arrested and was kept in Hyderabad Central Jail. Later he joined the left politics and became active on the peasant front. In 1941, he translated

Russian writer Kropotkin's book on youth into Sindhi, which has run into many editions till date.

He was among the few daring political workers, who welcomed Comrade Sajjad Zaheer on his release from the Rawalpindi Conspiracy case in 1955. According to some accounts, under his leadership, Comrade Zaheer was given a warm welcome at Jacobabad Railway Station, on his way back to India from Lahore. He died on 7th March 1998.

During the military operation in East Bengal, Comrade Jam Saqi, who had recently joined Sindh Hari Committee, issued a statement condemning the operation and led a protest rally in Hyderabad. His arrest warrants were issued and a Summary Military Court sentenced him for one year in his absentia. After the PPP government was installed, Comrade Jam surfaced and was arrested. The sentence by the Military Court could not be challenged in any civilian court and only President and Governor had authority to pardon the sentence, as Jam refused to appeal to the President or Governor, so he completed his sentence in Multan Jail, where he learnt Punjabi language from his fellow prisoners.

As Bangladesh came into being after a civil war in the eastern part of the country, Socialist Bhutto, whose party had many big landlords in its fold, took over the power in the rest of country. Because of his Socialist slogans, peasants had positive feeling about him and a rift surfaced in the Sindh Hari Committee, which had recently lost its larger than life leader Comrade Hyder Bakhsh Jatui. Few of the SHC members had joined PPP of Bhutto and few more joined a recently formed Sindh based pro-China leftist group *Sindhi Awami Tahreek*, while a few die-hard workers remained in SHC.

On 18th October 1974, a new peasant organisation '*Sindhi Hari Tahreek*' (Sindhi Peasant Movement) was formed by

this pro-China Socialist group and on 9th January 1977, its first convention held. Later, in the days of General Zia's Martial Law, it organized a peasant conference on 9th October, 1979, in Rahooki of district Badin, also attended by few observers from Karachi and Punjab as well.

On 16th June 1984, SHC district Thatta president Allah Rakhiyo Jalalani was administrated ten lashes in Hyderabad central Jail, after completing his imprisonment. He was given a warm welcome on reaching his ancestral village Jhok.

On 22nd June 2006, few former activists of Sindh Hari Committee formed *Sindh Hari Porhiyat* (Peasant & Workers) *Council* and elected Comrade *Foto Rustamani* as its Convener. The first convention of the organisation was convened at Hyderabad Press Club on 23rd March 2007.

Struggle of bonded labor

In Pakistan, according to few estimates over a million agricultural and brick kiln workers along with their families are in forced captivity, called as 'bonded labor'. In Sindh province, five districts in the Southern part including Badin, Tando Allahyar, Mirpurkhas, Omarkot and Sanghar are the worst. While most of the brick kiln bonded labor are found in Punjab, although few cases of brick kiln bonded labor had been unearthed in the surrounding of Hyderabad and Mirpurkhas districts of Sindh. Most of the victims in the agricultural bonded labor are Kolhi, Bhil and Aodh of the Dalit background.

The issue hit the media attention when an agricultural farm of a landlord Ghulam Hussain Khokhar was raided in Tando Allahyar in 1986. The main spirit behind this raid was a small Sindhi nationalist group, although later this group distanced itself from the issue but it opened the floodgates for others, especially human rights activists.

Soon, a Lahore based NGO, *Bonded Labor Liberation Front*, (BLLF) under Ahsan Ullah Khan, with the help of the local administration and police conducted few raids in Sanghar and Mirpurkhas districts. BLLF was also active against the child labor in sport accessories manufacturing industry in Sialkot and other places in Punjab. Ahsan Ullah Khan left the country for Europe; after few fabricated cases were registered against him. After his removal from the scene, Sindh Task Force of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), under its convener Late Shakil Pathan, took up the cause. With the involvement of HRCP not only more raids were conducted but the issue got an international exposure through media and rights-based organizations. As most of the captive peasants escaped on getting an opportunity or were recovered through police raids, many of them were without basic citizenship certification or record, so few civil society organizations and concerned citizens helped them in getting the National Identity Cards and got them enrolled in the voters' lists. Few Hyderabad based individuals made small houses for these freed bonded labors.

On 11th April 1990, through a press conference addressed by Comrade Jam Saqi, Sindh Hari Committee demanded the implementation of land reforms introduced by Bhutto government in 1970s be implemented in letter and spirit.

During the military operation in Sindh, under the civilian Nawaz government, on 5th June 1992, a group of Pakistan Army, under the command of Captain Arshad Jamil killed nine rural workers and injured one. Later it was claimed that they were Indian trained terrorists, who were being killed in an encounter and a big quantity of arms and ammunition was recovered from their possession. Few hours earlier, army and civilian law enforcers had raided village Tando Bahawal, near Hyderabad and had picked ten villagers, including Manthar Chandio, aged 22, Haji Akram Chandio, aged 45, Bahadur Chandio, aged 30, Kando

Khaskhaili, aged 38, Javed Khaskhali, aged 22, Ghulam Mustafa Brohi, aged 17, Shafi Mohammed Bhurgri, aged 28, Hamio Kolhi, aged 38 and Dhani Bakhsh Babar, aged 40 years.

According to the official handout, they were Indian-trained terrorists and were killed in an encounter with law enforcers in the area of Jamshoro and 36 hand grenades, 36 detonators, 4 AK rifles with 12 magazines, 36 kilogram explosive material and a shot gun were recovered from their possession. Captain Arshad was immediately promoted to the rank of Major and PM Nawaz Sharif, who was touring Sindh at that time, glorified the army for this act.

On the other hand, Sindhi media and BBC Radio, through their investigative reporting, expressed doubts on the validity of the whole episode. According to gathered information by media and right-based organizations, three cousins namely Fateh Khan, Haji Madad Ali and Jahan Khan, who owned a large property, in the shape of agricultural land and the urban estate, died childless. Mohiuddin Pathan, whose family had shifted from Afghanistan, was a care-taker of the property, and after the death of owners, he started selling out the property. Later the Supreme Court of Pakistan, in a verdict had recognized two female relatives of the deceased and ordered Pathan to hand-over possession to them. During the property dispute and court proceedings, the peasants had supported the female owners, that got antagonized Pathan and to teach them lesson. Mohiuddin Pathan, conspired with a serving Pakistan Army Captain Arshad, who was stationed at Hyderabad Cantonment and got killed ten peasants.

75 hours after the firing incident, a FIR was registered at the Hoosri Police Station, by the villagers, claiming that all the deceased villagers were innocent, instead of terrorists

as was claimed. The registration of FIR opened flood-gates of protests, all over the Sindh and people started reaching Tando Bahawal for condolence, including then opposition leader Benazir Bhutto, who on 15th June, told grieved families that she well knew the pain of killing of brothers and fathers and she will try her best to get justice for the victims.

The public protest and exposure by the media, forced military high command to withdraw their previous stance and on 24th June, the Chief of Army Staff (COAS) General Asif Nawaz Janjua, decided to court-martial the accused military personals including Major Arshad, Hawaldar Mohammed Iqbal, Hawaldar Mohammed Akram, Hawaldar Ghulam Mohammed, Nike Rehman Deen, launce Nike Parvez Akhter, Launce Nike Gul Mohammed, Nike Mohammed Razaque, Launce Nike Khizar Hayat, Launce Nike Falak Sher, Launce Nike Nasarullah Khan, Launce Nike Sher Samad Khan, Launce Nike Mohammed Younis and Launce Nike Khalid Hussain. They were accused of possessing the illegal foreign weapons, kidnapping and murdering the villagers and others. The injured villager Usman Khaskhali, identified Major Arshad and described him as a person, used to visit Mohiuddin Pathan in their vicinity. On 30th July 1992, the case proceedings completed and Major Arshad was sentenced death penalty, while 13 other military personals were sanctioned life imprisonment and 14th one was set free. On 12th November 1992, the Senate passed a law to designate right to appeal in the higher judiciary, against any verdict given by the Field General Court. During this, one of the civilian accused Mohiuddin Pathan died of cardiac arrest, while in custody and second accused and his brother-in-law Ghulam Nabi had escaped to Afghanistan. Meanwhile, Ghulam Nabi son of Mohiuddin Pathan and Mushtaque Awan were sentenced for life imprisonment by the Session Court Hyderabad in 1995 and after completing the sentence released in 2009.

On 14th September 1993, COAS rejected Major Arshad's mercy petition and on 31st July 1995, the President of Pakistan Farooq Laghari also rejected his mercy petition and his death warrants were issued, for to be hanged on 7th August.

During that time, on one hand Major Arshad's family extorted pressure on peasants and on the other, his brother filed a petition in Sindh High Court under the new amendments in the Army Act. In between, President Laghari twice in August and September 1995 suspended the implementation on the hanging. During every hearing of the case in Sindh High Court, the family members of peasants and their supporters held demonstrations. On 26th September, Sindh High Court in its verdict announced that High Court had no jurisdiction to interfere in such matters.

On 27th September, peasant families and their supporters demonstrated in front of Presidency at Islamabad, where officials assured them of justice.

On 4th October, Supreme Court of Pakistan issued a Stay Order on the petition of Major Arshad's brothers, alongside the peasant families were pressurized through the feudal lords and caretakers of different shrines in Sindh but they refused to any compromise.

The wait for four years to get justice made frustrated the peasant families and few of them announced to set ablaze themselves on 14th August 1996, which was differed due to assurances by the administration. But on 11th September, in front of Anti-Terrorist Court, Hyderabad they pour petrol on themselves and set ablaze in which Mai Jindo Chandio and her two daughters Hakimzadi and Zaibunnisa got third degree burns. Few days later, on 20th and 21st September, both Hakimzadi and Zabunnisa succumbed to their injuries and died in a Karachi hospital, while Mai Jindo was saved.

On the very day, when first sister succumbed to injuries, one of their campaigners Ms. Fahmida Qureshi was arrested and few days later, the office of her organisation *Qaumi Sath Welfare Center* was bulldozed and administration started arresting those who were active in this campaign, including 250 peasants and 13 members of Fahmida's organisation.

After one year of stay order, the Supreme Court of Pakistan maintained the verdict of Field General Court Martial against Major Arshad, who on 28th October 1996, was hanged in Hyderabad Central Jail in front of few relatives of victims.

This was the first time in the history of Pakistan, when because of the people's continuous struggle a serving army official was punished for the atrocities against the civilians.

Few among the freed bonded labor joined the rights-based organizations and became part of the movement for the freedom of remaining captives and different India-Pakistan peace initiatives. One of the freed bonded labors Mrs. Veeru Kolhi contested the general elections 2013 for a Sindh provincial seat number 50 Hyderabad rural area and got more than 500 votes. Although she could not win but her election campaign provided an opportunity to highlight the condition of the community through national and international media.

Earlier, children of this community were part of the India-Pakistan Telephone Conferences between children of both countries. The international organisation Action Aid chapters, both in India and Pakistan, organized a tour of children of the freed bonded labor from Sindh to India. These children played friendly cricket matches in different cities of India.

Manoo Bhil-----a life of courage

The most publicized case of a freed bonded labor is of Manoo Bhil. Originally, hailed from the desert area of Tharparkar, Manoo moved to the irrigated area of Sindh during 1980s, when the desert was hit by a drought. Initially he worked with a landlord Hayat Rind in the Naukot area of district Mithi as a wage worker. After some time, Rind claimed that Manoo had taken a cash advance so he refused to pay him the wages and sold Manoo, his three brothers and two other relatives by marriage, with their families to another landlord Abdul Rehman Marri of Sanghar district.

At Marri's farm, the captive peasants started planning their escape and secretly arranged the escape of Kirshan Kolhi, who after his escape met many political, social and human rights activists and persuaded them to work for the freedom of his fellow bonded laborers in the captivity of different landowners, mostly in the Southern parts of Sindh. On the pressure and mobilization of these organizations and individuals, the local administration, in the presence of human rights activists from Pakistan and United Kingdom raided the Marri farm. At the time of raid Manoo was working at another farm of the same landlord, so except him 71 peasants, including his family were rescued. As the lone captive, he was tortured for his alleged involvement in the raid. Sometime later, Manoo also escaped from the captivity.

On 2nd April 1998, landlord Rehman Marri with the help of a fellow landlord raided the transit residence of Manoo and kidnapped nine of his family members including wife, sons and daughters. Manoo Bhil started his token hunger strike in front of Hyderabad Press Club on 19th January 2003. The Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Pakistan also took notice of Manoo's ordeal and police arrested the

landlord Rehman Marri, who later died while in the custody due to Hepatitis, but his family was not traced.

Ms. Meeran Kolhi was in the captivity of landlord Lal Mangrio of *taluka* Dharonaro, district Omarkot, where she spent more than 15 years in captivity along with her family, including her father, four brothers and four sisters. She was rescued during a raid by the police.

During captivity, when her family decided to marry her within their community, the son of landlord Ibrahim Mangrio along with his henchmen sexually assaulted her and in result she gave birth to two children. The landlord wanted the custody of the girl child and on Meeran's refusal; he poisoned the seven months old baby Meerzadi. The landlord wanted the custody of her son Hanif and on her refusal he offered her cash money of rupees one hundred thousand in 2007, which she rejected. Since then she had been on the run and often changed her living places because of the fear of kidnapping by the landlord.

Mrs. Lachoo Lalio Kolhi, along with her family, was declared indebt of rupees fifty thousands by a landlord in Omarkot area and held captive in chains. One night, the family escaped from the captivity, but was re-captured by the armed-men of the landlord. Lachoo's husband Lalio was badly beaten and separated from the rest of family. Many times she was told that he was working on fields at some other place. After sometime, the Omarkot Police raided the area and many peasants, including Lachoo were recovered but her husband was not found among them. Since then she is searching her husband.

Nanji Mal, originally from the Thar Desert, migrated to the irrigated area of Sindh during the drought in 1980s. Initially, he worked with landlord Ghulam Qadir Marri, who after sometime refused to pay the wages and claimed that Nanji had taken money in advance, so he owed him money.

Later he sold Nanji and two other families to another landlord Dhani Parto Ghaho. After working two years at Ghaho's farm, one night Nanji escaped and met a lawyer in Hyderabad, with the help of human rights activists. A petition was filed in the Sindh High Court and on its orders the police under the supervision of the local administration raided the farm and recovered 14 peasants from the captivity of landlord.

The Advisor to Chief Minister Sindh and former Communist leader Jam Saqi announced on 2nd June 1996, that the government had decided to establish the vigilance or monitoring committees at district level to check and eliminate the bonded labor in Sindh. The committees will be consisted on representatives of landlords, farmers, government officials, local police, journalists and NGOs.

Punjab

In the first *Hind Kissan Sabha* of 1936, Sohan Singh Josh and Munshi Ahmed Din participated as the representatives of the Punjab peasants. In his speech, Josh emphasized on the need for a strong peasant movement, which according to him, would not only eliminate the *Zamindari* system but will also intensify the national movement for independence.

As the membership of the Kissan Sabha grew, the right-wing leadership of the Congress panicked. Z. A. Ahmed writes in his autobiography that sometime in 1937, Nehru received a letter from the Punjab and Frontier Congress Committees that few people carrying red flags were attending the Congress meetings, in the name of Kissan Sabha. Should they be allowed to attend these meeting? Acharya Kripalani took a stand against the peasants, as he opined that the Congress had its own tri-color flag not the red one, so they should not be allowed to attend Congress

meetings with their flags. Pundit Nehru after consulting Kanwar Mohammed Ashraf and Z. A. Ahmed, allowed Kissan Sabha members to attend Congress meetings with their flags.

In 1943, the British government raised the *MalGuzari* tax, regarding the land revenue payment which was not accepted by the peasants and they launched an agitation against it. During this agitation, they announced an open meeting in front of Badela Hall, Lahore. As peasants, in groups arrived to participate in the meeting, the police arrested them. Z. A. Ahmed, a Communist leader happened to be in Lahore during this period, went to observe the meeting and was arrested. As he introduced himself as the secretary in the office of All India Congress Committee in Allahabad, he was immediately shifted to the Lahore Fort, ran as a torture camp to get information on the connection between the Punjab agitating peasants and the Congress. After eleven days of incarceration, he was released and his entry in Punjab was banned till the peasants' agitation lasted.

With the partition, the active Sikh and Hindu peasant workers migrated to India. To reorganize and reinstate the peasant movement, in December 1947, a meeting of the active peasant workers from Sindh, Punjab and Frontier was convened, which decided to reorganize the peasant organisation under Dada Feroz ud Din Mansoor. In the light of above decision, in March 1948, first peasant conference was organized in Toba Tek Singh of district Lyallpur. The main agenda included, 1- Feudalism must be abolished, 2- extra fines and taxes must be stopped, 3- crops should be distributed on equal share among peasant and landlord, 4- eviction of tenants should be stopped.

In the follow-up of this conference, in 1952, re-structure of the peasant organisation under the name of '*Kissan Committees of Punjab*' occurred. This movement very quickly spread. Fearing the class based peasants'

organisation, the landlords forcefully evicted peasants in many areas, which was responded by peasants and their organisation with meetings, rallies and at many places physical resistance. Arrest warrants of many peasant and Communist workers were issued and many of them were arrested but that could not bar the peasants from continuing the struggle. Surrendering to peasants' agitation, the government on 2nd May 1950, issued an ordinance, regarding the Tenancy Act, which addressed the stoppage of the forced evictions, and bound the landlords to prove in the court of law, that peasant had refused to give due share of produce or had refused to cultivate the land as per wishes of the landlord or had not cultivated the land as per traditions of the area or had damaged the land or produce or had taken part in the refusal of taxes movement. Because of this ordinance the peasants were encouraged and soon they were organized in the districts of Multan, Muzafargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, Lyallpur, Gujranwala, Sahiwal and in the rural areas of Mianwali. To counter the rights and remedies, peasants were getting under their organisation, the Daultana Ministry, in serving the interests of landed elite, formed a *Kissan Committee* under the Muslim League and launched its newspaper. This organization could not survive and with Muslim League's internal differences it vanished from the scene.

To review the situation emerging from the land reforms by Daultana Ministry and the scheme of the settlements of the refugees and enhancing the peasant organisation, a meeting of the active workers was convened on 14-15th July 1952, in Lahore, which decided to organize a Punjab Kissan Conference on 4-5th September in Gujranwala and presenting the proposed program and constitution, prepared in the meeting for approval.

In Gujranwala Conference, a program of struggle on the issues of implementation on land reforms, stoppage of forced evictions, ban on the eviction of the refugee

peasants without alternate land and abolition of feudalism was formulated. The delegates from Sindh and Frontier also participated in the conference, which suggested the formation of a country level peasant organisation.

In June 1954, with the ban on the Communist Party of Pakistan, the activities of the Kissan Committees were also banned and its offices were sealed. Many workers were arrested, who after their release, restarted work but without any central organisation.

With the announcement of holding the general elections in 1958, all mainstream political parties started election campaigns, which created an opportunity for peasant workers to mobilize the peasants on the issues of abolition of feudalism, a fixed maximum limit of land-holding, stoppage of forced eviction and ownership rights of the governmental allotted land. The peasant workers were successful in mobilizing the public opinion and in response to these demands; many mainstream political parties committed to bring out some sort of land reforms.

These elections could not take place and General Ayub Khan imposed the first Martial Law in the country. To bargain and control the traditional politicians, mostly from the landed elite, the Martial Law regime in its early days ordered some reforms in agriculture sector, which were no doubt beneficial to the peasants.

The leaders arrested on the imposition of Martial Law, were released in 1959 and they renewed their contacts with cadres. After the general elections of 1962, a Kissan Convention was held in front of the assembly building Lahore, where peasants stage a huge demonstration and hunger strike in favor of the allotment of available lands. This time peasants were successful as few of their demands were accepted.

C. R. Aslam, a former member of CPP, who later developed differences with the Party and formed his own Marxist group, convened West Pakistan Kissan Committee convention on 27-28th April 1963, in Khanewal, district Multan. The convention adopted the transitory constitution and program. Maulana Abdul Hameed Bhashani attended the open session as the President of the *East Pakistan Kissan Sammity*.

As the follow-up of the convention, this leftist group initiated its campaign for the acceptance of demands like abolition of the feudalism without any compensation, stoppage of the auction of the state land, free distribution of land among the landless peasants, small farmers and the waged peasants, cancellation of professional taxes on peasants. This leftist group formed the provincial peasants' organizing committees and announced to hold organizational elections at district level. The group convened a Punjab Delegates Peasants' Conference on 1-2nd July 1966, in Multan, which reviewed the agricultural issues of Punjab and approved a program, later printed and distributed as a pamphlet. The conference seconded the program approved in the previous year conference and decided to hold meetings in the rural areas of Punjab to win-over new cadres.

On 8th September 1967, a delegates' meeting of the West Pakistan Kissan Committee held in Lahore. As this group had very small presence in provinces other than Punjab, so majority of participants comprised of delegates from Punjab, who decided to hold organizational elections in near future.

In 1967, the masses, especially peasants of Vihari, held demonstrations against the holding of grain in official warehouses, as the shortage was badly affecting the common people. The police registered a case of robbery

against Mirza Aijaz Baig, who had led the demonstration. On the petition by Mahmood Ali Kasuri in Lahore High Court, he was released but later was detained for three months.

After a gap of few years, a meeting of the Punjab Kissan Council was convened on 8th February 1970, which decided to organize a peasant conference in Toba Tek Singh.

For the success of the conference, a series of meetings, rallies, handbills, posters and media campaigns was formulated. After meticulous preparations, the conference was held on 23rd March and was chaired by Maulana Bhashani. Many liberal political parties, including PPP, NAP, JUI, Labor Party, Islam League and others supported and attended the conference to attract the peasant and progressive voters for coming general elections.

In his presidential address, Maulana Bhashani announced that 'the red flags flying high in the conference will eliminate all exploiters'. Beside others, this historical conference was addressed by Begum Mian Iftikhar Hussain, Kaniz Fatima, Mian Arif Iftikhar, Bashir and Tariq Aziz.

For the conference, many participants reached the venue by especial compartments attached to trains running through Toba Tek Singh. The Multan delegation was comprised on Ms. S. Naz, the president of the Woolen Mills Union, Ayub Ali Zaidi, Jamal Boota, Atta Ullah Malik, Qaswar and Vilayat Gardezi, Abdul Rehman, Habib Pasalvi and others.

The *East Pakistan Krishik Sammity* was represented by Haji Danish and Masih ur Rehman. Besides the *Sindh Hori committee* and *Frontier Kissan Jirga* delegations, renowned poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz also attended the conference and recited his poetry in the open session. According to some

political observers, this conference played a vital role in popularizing the Socialist slogans in the country.

Next conference was organized in Khanewal on 23rd March 1971. This conference brought out the internal rift among the various leftist groups, who were instrumental in making the previous conference a success. As this conference was held during the political turmoil in the country, so it lacked the colorful activities and the galaxy of various leaders, who had been the shining feature of the earlier conference.

In September 1999, peasants under the leadership of Mirza Aijaz Baig, in Vihari demonstrated for an increase in the rates of cotton, which soon spread all over Southern Punjab. Next month, after the coup d'état by General Musharraf on 12th October, this movement was suppressed.

Ownership or Death

The Punjab government owns nearly 60,000 acres of agricultural land in ten districts of the province, mostly in the South. During British period, agricultural military farms were established in some districts of Punjab, including Multan, Khanewal, Sargodha, Okara and Lahore in 1913, under the Colony Act, 1912, on the land being cultivated by the farmers through generations and had full tenancy rights since 1874. In Okara district alone, located some 100 kilometers down the Lahore-Multan Road, over 17,000 acres of land is under these farms. In 1913, the Indian Defense Ministry acquired the land from the Government of Punjab on a 20-years lease. Although it never paid the dues beyond the first installment, the provincial government chose not to reclaim the land. Though the lease expired in 1933 and it was never renewed but the Indian Army continued to possess it till 1947, and afterward the Pakistan army took over its possession. The illegality by previous colonial masters was never corrected.

The Punjab Board of Revenue pointed out this irregularity in 1999 during an inquiry after some tenants of the Okara Military Farms had asked then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to grant them ownership of the houses built on the farmland under his small homes scheme. In this regard a delegation of farmers had called on Sharif on 23rd May 1999, in Lahore and requested that they should be granted property rights as he had promised in 1989-90, as the Punjab Chief Minister. He asked Board of Revenue to submit a report on the issue.

For the last nine decades, the tenants of these military farms had been ruled by the Punjab Tenancy Act 1887. On the reports of financial irregularities in the Army Welfare Trust (the managing authority to run the military farms) and the attractions of incentives of the commercial market, the military decided to alter the tilling system. Cash rent was introduced in place of share crop system. This decision panicked the tenants, who saw it as the first step to their ultimate eviction, which resulted in the tension between the tenants and the military. The military farms management established the village offices and the tenants were asked to inform about their guests prior to their arrival.

While the older generation made compromises to these new conditions and restrictions but the younger lot was less tolerant and started looking for other possibilities. Ultimately they formed their organisation '*Anjuman Mazareen Punjab*' (AMP).

After 1999 military take-over by General Parvaiz Musharaf, the Defense Ministry dispatched two letters to the then Punjab Governor Lt. General Mohammed Safdar and Board of Revenue, stating 'land measuring 17,013 acres of Military Farms Okara, 2315 acres of Military Farm Lahore and 4,344 acres of Military Farm Bengali (total 23,699 acres) was under possession of army for almost 86 years.

The land, owned by the Punjab government, is being used for production of fodder for the military farm animals that supply milk and milk products to the armed forces. Dual control over the farmlands by the civil and military authorities is a cause of sub-optimal output. The land being the property of the Punjab government provides occasion for undue interference by the Revenue authorities and litigation by the defaulting tenants.

'Resultantly, these two flaws associated with the present status of land badly retard productive efficiency of farms and foil attempts at improvement. In view of foregoing, I shall be highly grateful if necessary instructions are issued to the Board of Revenue for permanent transfer of land free of cost and necessary mutation of land measuring 23,699 acres in favor of the Ministry of Defense'.

The Board in reply stated that it could not entertain this request as according to the policy, the land is always transferred at the market rates.

The Pakistan Rangers, a Para Military force, lodged more than 650 FIRs against the tenants, and some 7,000 farmers were charged with anti-state activities and booked under the anti-terrorism laws.

In June 2000, when the military farms management decided to modify the rental system, the tenants swore on the Koran and Bible (as the population comprises on both, the 60 percent Muslims and the 40 percent Christians) that they would fight till ownership or death (*Maliki ya Maut*), a war cry slogan, beside *Jairha wahay ohhi khaway* (those who till, should eat) by the protesting peasants. By all accounts, so far they had stuck to their vows.

In July 2000, the Pakistan Rangers were deployed in the area, when two deaths had already occurred due to firing and civilian law enforcing agencies including police were perceived to be either unwilling or unable to control the

situation. The Rangers, started siege of the entire area and guarded all entry and exit points of 18 villages.

The first instance of physical resistance by the tenants of the Okara Military Farms was reported on 9th October 2000, when workers hired by farm management arrived at village 10/4-L to collect some wood. The villagers opposed this and a brick-battle ensued. According to the FIR, lodged by the Deputy Commissioner on same day, the unruly mob damaged a police vehicle, one tractor trolley and two motor cycles.

On 10th September 2001, the Army Welfare Trust workers and police clashed with tenants in village 15/4-L. two tenants Nadeem and Bashir, sustained bullet injuries. Two military farms management workers and six police constables were held hostage by the people but were later released on the intervention of the AMP leadership.

On 7th December 2001, Punjab Governor Lt. General (retired) Khalid Maqbool visited Okara to persuade the tenants to accept the new lease deed but failed.

On 7th January 2002, another clash took place at village 21/10-RB in which many tenants including six women were injured. Tenants Bashir Ahmed, Abdul Hameed and Ijaz were hit by bullets fired by the law enforcers. On 9th January, Bashir Ahmed succumbed to his injuries at the District Hospital, Okara and became the first martyr of the movement.

On 20th May 2002, tenant Mohammed Tufail Cheema was killed at Dilbain Gunj. Six women and another male tenant were injured. The male tenant had a leg injury and was crippled after his leg was amputated.

On 22nd June 2002, the local police called-in reserve force from other districts of Punjab and established pickets around every village in the area. In the same month, police

called 27 leaders of AMP for a dialogue at district offices Okara and arrested all of them, when the talks failed. These arrests prompted the mobilization of thousands of women, men and children who surrounded the police station and blocked the access to the main highway. The administration was forced to release all arrested leaders.

This single step brought the women in the forefront of the struggle. Initially, they were mostly relatives of the AMP leaders, who after their arrests were protesting, but later the women of the extended community got involved. Women were not only participated in the agitations but later several women became the office bearers of AMP.

One of the active woman Munawar Bibi, explaining her involvement in the movement, told an interviewer that 'when I saw the police entered in our village and asked for Younis Iqbal (AMP leader), I thought here is this man who is fighting for us, so we should help him. I got women of village and we stopped police from arresting him'.

As the raids on villages and arrests of the active male members became routine, the women armed themselves with '*Thapa*' (thick stick being used for washing cloths, allover the South Asian households) and blocked the police entrance at the time of raids. Soon this women group was known as '*Thapa Force*'. First major confrontation between women and police and Rangers occurred on 9th October 2000, in the village 10/4-L, when the Deputy Director of the military farm called for police assistance to disperse the peasants, who were not allowed to pick the firewood, they had collected. In the evening as the police force arrived, women and children formed the 'frontline' to successfully restrain its entry into village.

The coming days saw the emergence of women leadership in the AMP, like Rubina Albert, a school teacher and poet became Deputy General Secretary, and later Vice

Chairperson, while Aqeela Anjum became the Joint Secretary.

On 9th November 2001, women brought along their children, bedrolls and cooking utensils to the main highway and camped there. That day Rangers fired at the protesters. At the time of sieges women blocked all entrances to their villages. In this situation one of the police inspectors had to say to the tenants of the military farms that 'you (peasants) are harvesting wheat only because of the *Thapa force*'.

In July 2002, Pakistan Rangers arrived to control the situation and set up check posts at all entry and exit points.

On 17th August 2002, seven Punjab police constables were held hostage at village 4/4-L after a failed attempt to arrest two office bearers of AMP. They were eventually released after the negotiation with area DSP and SSP.

On 24th August 2002, the police and rangers clashed with tenants at the railway crossing near village 3/4-L. Clashes also took place at villages 12/4-L and 13/4-L, where tenants were tear gassed and baton charged. At six in the evening another clash occurred at village 4/4-L where Sulaiman Masih was killed and several others injured in the firing by the Rangers.

Subsequently, on 21st September 2002, the Rangers forced AMP Chairman Younis Iqbal to advise the tenants to sign a lease deed, which according to the tenants was done under the pointed guns by the Rangers, and forced to sign the new lease deeds. However it was Younis Iqbal's mother who opposed it, as the wheat crop ripened for the season, they refused to pay the rental dues as these were decided under duress. The Punjab government adopted the role of a silent spectator in whole situation.

On 2nd April 2003, the AMP leadership was arrested from Lahore and was taken to Okara. Initially, the police denied

the arrests but a habeas corpus petition in the Lahore High Court brought out the truth.

On 11th May 2003, a farmer Amir Hussain was killed by a bullet fired by the Pakistan Rangers to scare the tenants.

In 2008, Khanewal-based women of AMP formed a women's organisation the '*Peasant Women Society*', and by 2011, its units spread in the seven districts of Punjab.

On 6th April, 2009, armed men of an agricultural land contractor's opened fire on the tenants and killed three of them in Kulyana Estate. Next day thousands of tenants, with their families gathered at the Village 28/A-2R of Kulyana Estate to attend the funeral of the deceased.

The emergence and persistence of such movement in the heart of Punjab became a sore point, especially for the Pakistan Army, as Punjab has been the traditional army recruiting centre and the support base of military operations elsewhere; but now in reality it had become a trouble point from within. It became an international highlighted issue after the Hong Kong based Human Rights Watch launched its report about the atrocities done by military and its supporters. For the Pakistani military establishment, control of land became essential for maintaining its position within the Pakistani political structure as the struggle of the military farms tenants was challenging the supremacy of the army.

On 20th July 2010, AMP brought out another rally in front of Deputy Commissioner Office, Okara, participated by hundreds of women, children and men. They were carrying clubs, banners and red flags.

On 3rd July 2014, Pakistan Army killed two peasants Noor and Hassan and after sit-in for 48-hours handed over their bodies to relatives. The Army wanted to crush the protest

by peasants, who were resisting the unilaterally increase in the contract amount of land. On the 3rd July, a heavy consignment of army entered the village 15/4/L and after searching all houses, arrested 59 peasants and on resistance opened fire. After killing two peasants, army took their bodies and forced police to register a case against 28 leaders of AMP, including Maher Abdul Sattar the General Secretary, Vice President Nadeem Ashraf and others. As the dead bodies were not handed over to the aggrieved families, so on 5th July, over 8000 peasants sat-in and forced the administration to hand over the bodies and release the arrested peasants.

The most significant achievement of the struggle was the unity among Christian and Muslim residents of the military farms. Beside that, nowhere in Pakistan, any other peasant struggle had witnessed the participation of women in such big number as it is visible in this struggle.

This struggle had also produced many peasant poets like Ulfat Deedar and Robina Albert.

Pakhtoonkhawa

The peasants under the '*Ghala Dhair Kissan Tahreek*' rebelled against the new system of Nawab Ghulam Turo. The main office of this movement was opened in a house in the area of Ghala Dhair, where freedom fighter Hari Kishan was born.

During the Congress Ministry of Dr. Khan, peasants formed *Kissan Jirga* and organized its branches at district level, but it was most organized in the districts of Peshawar and Mardan, where peasants refused the forced/unpaid labor. They demanded equal share in the produce. The government stood by the landowners and many peasant workers were arrested but this could not stop them from

the struggle and few of their demands were accepted by the government.

Ubaidullah Khan, son of Dr. Khan Sahib organized peasants in Muftiabad and initiated a movement against the local landlords. During his arrest, his brother Barrister Jan Mohammed died but the government did not allow him to attend the funeral.

Hazara Peasant Conference was organized in Mansehra. Many peasants participated in the conference by walking on foot from Kaghan Pass and other tribal areas. Conference was chaired by Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar and attended and addressed by Malik Ameer Alam Awan, Maulana Abdul Hayee, Maulana Abdul Qayum, Maulana Abdul Rauf, Mohammed Farooq and Maulana Abdul Rahim Populzai.

Due to the partition, many non-Muslim peasant workers migrated to India, so the movement was lost into oblivion. In 1948, landlords started expulsion of peasants from the land so the peasants organized themselves in different districts but this time their struggle could not get the necessary legislation on the crop sharing and the stoppage of the forced expulsion. 'Land to tiller' and 'total abolition of landlordism' have been basic slogans of these groups since its inception.

In April, 1968, workers committed with a Punjab based leftist group under the leadership of C. R. Aslam convened a *Kissan Jirga* (conference) in the village Shahabad, district Peshawar, which in a resolution condemned the occupation of land by the *Khans* (local term for landlords) and the eviction of peasants. It decided to initiate a movement for the abolition of feudalism without any compensation, stoppage of the auction of the state land and distribution of land to the peasants. The conference elected the provincial body and approved the program and constitution.

In 1968, the peasant movement entered in new phase with the formation of the *Mazdoor Kissan Party* (MKP), as it preferred to work at the grassroots rural level.

During this time, the *Hashtnagar Movement* also gained support from the masses all over the province. They set their 8-points agenda: 1- organize rural peasants and create rural bases of peasant power to eliminate the political, social and economic slavery of peasants, 2- fundamental rights to the peasants, quarrels between them to be settled through the *Peoples' Courts* instead of state run institutions, 3- eviction and fines to be eliminated, 4- rent increase to be halted, 5- wage increase for rural workers to improve their living standards, 6- self-cultivated lands to be distributed among the rural workers, 7- enlisting the small owners to the movement and to eliminate the contradictions in a friendly manner between the small owners and tenants, 8- to end violence by Khans. Implementation on this agenda bore many fruitful results.

At that time, the class composition of the area was as mentioned here; owner 5 percent, with owning more than 200 acres of land, among them 25 percent were the middle level landlords, owning land between 50 to 200 acres, and the small landowners of one to fifty acres were 45 percent. While the non-owner class comprised on prosperous peasant 10 percent, middle level peasant 40 percent and landless peasant 50 percent.

At the time of the intervention by MKP in the movement, the land owners were taking forced labor without any wages. At the time of wedding or other social occasion in the peasant families, they were charged of two hundred rupees; otherwise they could not get time off. On the other hand, on the occasions of weddings or other social gatherings within the landlord families, the peasants were supposed to provide poultry, ghee, rice and fuel wood. Forceful evictions were rampant and in case of refusal, the crops were destroyed and the landlords were running the

parallel judicial system. As a result of political work by MKP, the peasants as an organized force took path of struggle and at many places armed clashes between peasants and landowners and security forces occurred, resulting in casualties on both side. In coming days, the movement was brutally crushed by the nexus of state forces and landowner class, but the influence of the armed rebellion by peasants continued in far future and in early 2002 the Pakistan army was mobilized to crush the peasants, who for the acceptance of their demands had launched an agitation in the area.

The movement, initiated in the small area of Hashtnagar extended to the Peshawar, Malakand, Mardan, Dir, Swat, Bannu and Kohat districts. In Dir, Chitral, Swat and Malakand many clashes erupted between peasants and landlords.

On 23rd March, 1974, the Kissan Committee organized a peasant conference in Peshawar with the active support of Mazdoor Kissan Party.

Balochistan

Just before the partition, in the Marri area, a peasant movement under the banner of *Mazloom Party* started. Its main intention was against the agricultural and other taxes imposed by tribal chiefs. The officials imposed ban of this organization and ordered banishing its members out of the area, so all of its office bearers were expelled from the Marri area and many of its supporters were arrested from different areas of Balochistan.

In January 1969, Punjab based Kissan Committee leaders visited Balochistan to form an organizational set-up but were unable to get any significant success as that time the entire Baloch area was struggling for their rights and considered Punjab as main culprit to their miseries. After extensive tours and debates, this group found just few

supporters and although with their support formed their own peasants group but it was mainly comprised on people who were ideological supporters of the Pakistan Socialist Party, under whose discipline this peasant group worked.

Pat Feeder peasant movement

The irrigation system in district Nasirabad, Balochistan, which cultivates the agricultural land, is locally called Pat (flat land in Sindhi language) Feeder, and the river Indus right bank canal which starts from Guddu Barrage in Sindh, is officially called Desert Pat Feeder.

The Pat Feeder canal was completed in 1967, during the Martial Law regime of Ayub Khan and most of the newly acquired land was allotted to the Punjabi settlers. Rest of the land, including the community owned land was occupied by the local feudal lords, especially of the Jamali tribe.

The Anti-One Unit movement in Sindh, Balochistan and Pukhtunkhawa (NWFP) was mainly based on restoration of the rights of lands, natural resources, languages and cultures from the central government. In the first adult franchised elections held in 1970, the National Awami Party (NAP), with a clear program of the provincial autonomy, emerged as the single largest party of the Balochistan.

As the NAP formed its provincial government, the 1972 witnessed armed clashes between Punjabi settlers and the local Baloch population, who were demanding ownership rights to be transferred to the locals. A decisive clash in the area of Pat Feeder took place at Baidar, where the armed Marri, Bugti and Mengal tribes also came in support of the local peasants. After the killing of Taj Mohammed Punjabi, the settler Punjabis moved from the area.

The Bhutto government, under the criticism for not protecting the Punjabi settlers in Balochistan, decided to settle these uprooted Punjabis in the Cholistan desert of Punjab. Till that the struggle in the Pat Feeder area had a regional color of Punjabi versus Baloch, jointly done by feudal lords and peasants alike. But as the settlers left the area, the feudal lords started occupying the fertile land, which was not acceptable to the peasants, thus started a new phase of movement on pure class bases.

After the creation of Bangladesh in December 1971, Bhutto had taken power as the President and Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator.

To implement its electoral program, on 25th April 1972, under the Martial Law regulation no. 115, he announced 'Land Reforms (limits on individual holdings) order 1972, which says,

'The maximum area of land permitted to be possessed or owned by one person, at any time, in any capacity, under paragraph 8 of the regulation, shall not exceed one hundred and fifty acres of irrigated land, or three hundred acres of unirrigated land...'

As the PPP government under Bhutto consolidated its power and the progressive and nationalist provincial government of NAP under Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal was removed by the federal government, many of the Pat Feeder area landlords including Jamalis, joined the PPP.

Under the land reforms of 1972, a part of the agricultural land owned by the Jamali feudal lords of the Pat Feeder area of district Nasirabad, Balochistan was transferred to the local peasants.

Immediately after the enforcement of said regulations, Umrani, Khosa and Jamali landlords of the area started different acts of violence against the local peasants and

got registered false cases against peasants of weaker tribes and communities. At many places through artificial breaches in canals their houses and other properties were destroyed, while at few places armed attacks were also carried out.

Few peasants took the legal path and especially with efforts of Peer Bakhsh Samat, they formed *Peoples' Kissan Committee* and through that they got the legal ownership certificates.

The local feudal lords, following their tradition had joined the ruling PPP but nevertheless land was allotted to peasants. During that time, a land owning certificates distribution ceremony was organized in Temple Dera (renamed as Dera Murad Jamali) which was attended by the then Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Strangely enough, the arrangements of that program were done by Zafar Ullah Jamali's family, who later become Prime Minister during General Parvaiz Musharaf military rule.

Peasants had harvested just one produce from that transferred land and were consolidating their claim on the land, when on 5th July 1977, General Zia overthrew the elected government of Bhutto and imposed Martial Law in the country.

To get the support for his dictatorial regime, General Zia approached the religious elements, feudal lords and capitalists all over the country, who in return were given a free hand to suppress the workers and peasants who had been enjoying comparatively more rights during the previous government.

With the General Zia government's installation, the Jamali landlords, who had a claim on the land taken over through the land reforms started supporting General Zia and Mir Mohammed Murad Jamali installed himself as the Balochistan provincial President of the Muslim League.

After the imposition of the Martial Law, efforts to snatch land from peasants started. Many peasants of Pat Feeder area started handing over half produce to the Jamali, Khoso and Umrani landlords. On the other hand some peasants by surrendering land allotted to them, moved to other places but few peasant families refused to leave the land and resisted the landlords.

Residents of village Noor Mohammed Jamali at the Jhat-Pat Canal, along with the residents of nearby village Murad Ali Zahri, because of their better legal position, took the legal path instead of giving half produce to landlord or leaving the possession of the land.

Now a legal and judicial war started. If the local landlords were submitting an application about their ownership right with Assistant Commissioner Temple Dera and on the issuance of decree in their favor, the peasants were moving an application with the Deputy Commissioner and failing to get relief, were approaching the Balochistan High Court. Justice Abdul Qadir was one such judge who gave many verdicts in favor of peasants. Landlords instead of accepting the court verdict, with the support of the local administration got many peasants arrested and unleashed threats and instigation charges on the rest of them.

Jamali tribe also changed its strategy. *Ajirga* (a group of local elders, who run parallel justice system in the tribal society of Balochistan, Pakhtoonkhawa and parts of Sindh and Punjab), under Zafar Ullah Jamali with a local spiritual leader approached Mir Gul Mosiyani to persuade him not to support peasants. The *Jirga* put forward an offer that if the peasants left the area, they would be compensated with land in some other area and will be helped in construction of houses. Mir Gul and others did not accept the offer, so they were threatened of dire consequences.

The spiritual leader had opinion that with the grace of God, the questioned land since their ancestors was owned by landlord Taj Mohammed Jamali's family and on the other hand Bhutto who gave ownership rights to peasants was languished in the prison. During the negotiations both parties got infuriated and pointed gunsto each other and Jamali, his armed guards and spiritual leader were surrounded by peasants. As both parties started shooting each other, the Deputy Commissioner arrived on the spot and by unfurling the white flag rescued and escorted landlord party to a safer place.

Few days later, to harass peasants Jamali landlords attacked different villages. Over two hundred armed goons riding tractor trolleys and other vehicles attacked village Atta Mohammed Jamali but because of the resistance by the residents, they failed to take the produce.

Some 15 days after this incident, on 20th December 1977, under the command of Zafar Ullah Jamali, some 300 to 400 armed persons gathered by Jamali landlords through a tribal *Jirga*, cordoned off the village of Mir Gul Mosiyani and with a cover of water-course started firing towards the village. That was the 9th day of *Muharram*, the mourning month of Husain the grand son of Mohammed, who along with his family members and companions, was killed in a battle with the ruler of the day, some 14 centuries ago. As the elder of the village was away to the nearby town of Shahdadkot Sindh, so the rest of the residents of village themselves took a decision to erect barricades to protect themselves and resisted the attack.

As the information of attack reached Mosiyani, he telegraphed and phoned from General Zia to local administration officials but in vein.

On 21st December, Mosiyani and others secretly visited vicinity and briefed the local residents about the situation

and its possible consequences. People of different villages, who till that time considered it an internal tribal feud and were impartial to the conflict, came out in support of encircled peasants by carrying their weapons and moved towards the under siege village and opened fire on the Jamali armed personals.

On the morning of 22nd December, the landlord party got sense that they were being attacked not only from the inside the village but also from the outer circle of supporters of the peasants. Through binoculars, they saw a peasant group coming out of their cover. They started shooting them and as some peasants finished their stock of cartages, they raised their arms and hands in air, sign of willingness to ceasefire; but the armed guards of feudal lords continued firing, in result Rahmat Ullah Lahri, Abdul Haque Lahri and his nephew Razzaque Jan were killed on the spot. Abdullah Lahri died before reaching the highway to be shifted for medical cover; meanwhile the locals were able to take Abdul Kareem Rakhshani on a cot to the Jacobabad-Quetta high way but because of the loss of excessive blood and non availability of transport, he also died. The armed attackers injured Khair Mohammed, Khuda Bakhsh and Raham Dil by hitting with the butts of their guns.

After the martyrdom of peasants, when their supporters came out from nearby villages, the district officials with the help of Balochistan Reserve Police collected the dead bodies and handed over to their relatives and the injured were moved to hospital.

Many peasants and their supporters were arrested and by declaring the ready crop of mustard disputed, the Levies Force was deployed. According to media reports Zafar Ullah Jamali and few of his companions were also taken into custody but locals called it just a formality. According to some information, few among the Jamali attackers were also killed or injured but that was not made public.

After the martyrdom of peasants, to save that peasants' rights movement from being converted into a tribal feud and converting it into a part of the national level peasant movement, the Communist party of Pakistan and its front *Mazdoor, Tulba, Kissan Awami Raabta Committee* initiated efforts. This committee comprised of *Pakistan Workers Federation, Sindh Hari committee, Sindh National Students' Federation, National Progressive Party, Anjuman Jamhuriat Pasand Khawateen, Sathi Naunihal Sangat, Baloch Students' Organisation* and *Balochistan Labor Federation*.

The committee decided to send a delegation to the Pat Feeder area, which was led by Javed Shakoor, reached there in the second week of January 1978, via Jacobabad. This delegation observed that the people of Lahri tribe were preparing to leave the area, which according to tribal traditions meant that instead of granting pardon to the murderers, they were for taking revenge from Jamali tribe. After the assurance given by the delegation from Karachi that a country wide movement could be launch on the issue, the Lahri tribe postponed their migration.

The peasants had three demands 1- the Jamali feudal lords, who killed the peasants should be arrested and punished according to law, 2- all the arrested peasants should be released immediately, and 3- the Levies Force deployed on the crop should be removed and peasants should be allowed to take the crop.

It was decided between Karachi based delegation and peasants that in the initial stage of struggle a group of peasants will visit Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur. In the last week of January, this group led by Sher Mohammed Mengal reached Karachi and on 28th January, in a reception they briefed Karachi based activists about the situation. They met with different organizations and gave few interviews to media.

The *Rabita Committee* decided to launch a hunger strike in Pat Feeder area and till the acceptance of peasants' demands continue the struggle. The peasants' delegation later visited Hyderabad, Sukkur and Rohri.

Ghulam Akbar, Mohammed Ramzan Memon and Omar Din were part of first group to sit for hunger strike in Pat Feeder. It was decided in a joint meeting of the delegation and PPP, Peoples' Students Federation, Baloch Students' Organisation and local social and political activists that the hunger strike will be initiated on 16th February, the day when the journalist community was also starting its protest against the government restrictions on daily *Musawat* and other periodicals.

On 15th February, local administration released all arrested peasants. As the meeting started on the floor of a tea-shop owned by a peasants' sympathizer, Levi forces under a *taluka* official raided the place and after baton charge arrested eight participants including three from Karachi and five locals.

On 16 February, hunger strike started in the police lockup of TempleDera, meanwhile local residents demonstrated in the town. Levies started aerial firing to disperse the protesters. On their refusal, the Deputy Commissioner promised the protesters on Koran that if they end their protest, within two or three days he will approach the military Governor of province and will try his best to get the killers arrested and will get crop for peasants.

Meanwhile in the evening, the state-owned Radio Pakistan and Pakistan Television reported that miscreant elements tried to instigate the peasants in TempleDera but their attempts for agitation were foiled by the administration. On the other hand, BBC broadcasted a detailed report on issue and protest. On the same day protesters blocked the main highway connecting Sindh and Punjab with Quetta for over five hours.

In the night of 16th and 17th, handcuffed arrested protesters were shifted to Sibi Jail and next day they were produced before a military court situated inside the Sibi Cantonment. On the next hearing, three workers from Karachi and a local Pir Bakhsh Samat were sentenced to one year imprisonment each, Hazar Khan Bangulzai, Ghulam Qadir Mengal and Malguzar Domki were sentenced to six months each and Doctor Ahmed Hussain Pandrani sentenced for three months imprisonment. Later, except Pandrani and Bangulzai, the rest of the convicts were shifted to the notorious Mach jail.

The second batch for hunger strike comprised of Hameeda Ghanghro, who had recently married the students' leader Nazir Abbassi (later to be killed in a military torture camp at Karachion 9th August 1980), Karachi based female students' leader Asifa Rizvi, Sindh Hari Committee worker Pir Shuhab and trade union workers Altaf Rehman and Mohammed Salem Baig. They were also shifted to the Machh Jail. Cases against these five protesters was registered in the Session court, Temple Dera, district Nasirabad, instead of the military court.

These political prisoners celebrated International Labor Day in Machh jail, Hameeda Ghanghro, being youngest of all chaired the meeting, attended by all prisoners.

When an application challenging the judgment of military court was submitted in Balochistan High Court, the administration released Doctor Ahmed Hussain, Ghulam Qadir, Malguzar and Hazar Khan Bangulzai.

Meanwhile on 22nd July, Mir Mohammed Murad Jamali, an elder of Jamali tribe and the president of the Muslim League Balochistan was attacked and killed while going for Friday prayers. Few days' later, local media reported that the people of Lahri tribe were involved in the attack and the obvious reason of that murder was the killing of the peasants. One can say that when the General Zia government failed to provide justice to peasants and was reluctant to arrest the culprits, the Lahris revenged

according to their tribal customs and quit the political way initiated by the Communist Party of Pakistan.

On 30th July, General Zia riding on a helicopter reached Rojhan Jamai, the ancestor village of Murad Jamali for the condolence. This was an example of the government's support for the feudal class. On the next day of General Zia's visit, some relatives of the martyr peasants were arrested in connection of the murder of Jamali. Same day newspapers reported that General Zia as the Chief Martial Law administrator had suspended the implementation of land reforms of 1972 for six months and renamed Temple Dera as the Dera Murad Jamali.

All the three workers of Karachi and Pir Bakhsh were released in the last week of October on completing their sentence.

On the other hand, with the blessings of General Zia, a tribal *jirga* was convened from 17th to 22nd November, in Quetta to settle the issues of lands in Pat Feeder area and murders of Lahri and Jamali tribes. Baloch chieftains of Sindh and Punjab beside Balochistan, including Khan of Kalat Mohammed Dawood Baloch, Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri, Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal, Sardar Sherbaz Mazari, Sardar Mohammed Usman Jogezi, Sardar Chakar Khan Domki and Mir Rasool Bakhsh Talpur were the arbitrators. During the *jirga*, Jamali tribe granted pardon for the murder of Mir Murad Jamali and in response Lahris pardoned the murder of four of their tribe. When the family members of Abdul Karim Rakhshani refused to pardon his murder, Sardar Doda Khan paid twenty thousand rupees as blood money from his own pocket.

This peasant movement in the initial days of General Zia failed, mainly because of two reasons, firstly, there was no political, especially class based organizational work among the local people, secondly the feudal class of whole country with the active support of the military government, united against the peasantry in undoing the land reforms.

5- Art, Culture and Literature

Soon after partition, prominent Sindhi author and journalist Mirat Babani, who since the young age of 25 was an active member of the Communist Party of India in Karachi, was detained at Karachi Central Jail along with his other Comrades Sobho Gianchandani, Ainshi Vidyarthi, Comrade Pohumal, Gulab and A. K. Hangal. Pakistan Government offered deporting them to India, under Indo-Pak agreement on the transfer of prisoners, but initially he along with his comrades decided not to migrate. They were jailed for 11 months. Later, five among them including A.K. Hangal shifted to Hyderabad Central Jail, where they were in the good company of Ghani Khan, Pashto poet and writer and the eldest son of Bacha Khan.

Sometime later, all political prisoners except Sobho and A.K. Hangal were released. As Sobho had studied law, so they decided to defend their own case and sent a *habeas corpus* petition to the Chief Justice of Sindh High Court, Mr. Tayabji. On the first hearing, an interesting situation emerged. The prosecutor pleaded that the detainees were arrested by the Sindh Government from Karachi, but later the city came under Central government, so the case papers were missing due to transfer of administration. After a few hearings, leading Sindhi poet Sheikh Ayaz defended both of them but the prosecutor persisted that 'the government is satisfied that the presence of these

prisoners outside prison is prejudicial to the maintenance of law and order'. So they were sent back to prison. During those days, immature theatre artist and singer, A. K. Hangal, decided to migrate to India. Once he communicated his decision to the authorities, a few days later, he was produced in person before Hashim Raza, the Administrator of Karachi, who gave him just twelve hours to leave the city.

Later, in 1949, Babani, thought he should visit his family, which had migrated to India, and then return back to Sindh. When he boarded the ship at the Keamari Port, Karachi, government officials searched his belongings roughly, and then served him a legal notice of exile from Pakistan.

Scholar and historian Kanwar Mohammed Ashraf was arrested in Karachi, where he came to prevent the Meo community from leaving India. As he landed in the city, newspapers made hue and cry and labeled him a Communist, who was there to conquer the promised Islamic country. In Karachi Central Jail, he joined by the fellow Sindhi Communists with whom he had lively and detailed debates. Soon, Government of Pakistan ordered him to leave the country and he proceeded to England for his medical treatment.

Just three months after partition, euphoria of a separate homeland was disrupted by the language controversy. It started from the Pakistan Educational Conference called by the Minister of Education; a Bengali named Fazlur Rehman in Karachi in November 1947, to reform the educational system on the lines of 'Islamic Ideology'. The representatives of East Bengal opposed Urdu as the only national language.

In February 1948, a Bengali member of the Constituent Assembly moved an amendment in assembly rules to allow Bengali to be used in the House along with Urdu. Liaquat

Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister opposed the motion on the ground that 'Pakistan has been created on the demand of a hundred million Muslims in this subcontinent and language of a hundred million Muslims is Urdu...it is necessary for a nation to have one language and that language can only be Urdu and no other language.'

The Central Government imposed Urdu as the official state language, which was rejected by Sindhis and Pathans as well but the reaction of Bengal was very strong and sharp. The activists in East Bengal demanded their language to be declared as the national language or should be at least given the same status as Urdu.

The response of the state, to the demand can be observed from the speech delivered in English by Mohammed Ali Jinnah on 21st March, 1948, in Dhaka, to the students of Dhaka University in which he said '...let me make it very clear to you that the state language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Any one who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one state language, no nation can remain tied up solidly together and function. Look at the history of other countries. Therefore, so far as the state language is concerned, Pakistan's language shall be Urdu'.

This resulted in a prolonged struggle by Bengali population, culminating in police firing on a demonstration, killing many protesters including students, on 21 February, 1952. Later this day was declared as the International Mother Language Day in the General Conference of UNESCO in 1999.

Sometime after the massacre of 21st February, the Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, asserted that Bengali could not be the state language of Pakistan because 'it was 'mainly based on Sanskrit, the language of the Vedas' which rendered it unthinkable as the language of 'a state brought into being for the establishment of Islamic values'.

The West Pakistan intellectuals, especially the leftists failed to register their protest against the attitude of the state towards Bengali language and people, except a small booklet 'The Issue of National Languages in Pakistan' by veteran Communist Ferozudin Mansoor.

Since early days of Pakistan, Rabindranath Tagore was officially banned in the government-owned media, including the Radio Pakistan, in East Bengal. Then in the coming decade it was the turn of *Bindi* (the vermillion mark on the forehead) that was a part of almost every Bengali woman's accessory. Women appearing on the state-owned television were banned from wearing the *Bindi* on their forehead.

Soon after Pakistan came into being, Karachi was separated from Sindh and was made as the capital of new country, which now was dominated by people who had migrated from India, especially from riots-hit Northern India. The Sindhi medium schools were converted into Urdu medium. To find a short term cure for the emerging dangers to the Sindhi language and culture, a delegation of Sindh Muslim League, headed by its President Syed Ali Akbar Shah called-on the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, who after listening to their grievances, replied "the education and culture of Sindhis is raising donkeys and camels, so how could these been safeguarded."

Before the formation of Progressive Writers Association (PWA) in Pakistan, the writers worked through newspapers and literary magazines, especially *Savera*, *Naqush*, *Sang-i-Meel* and *Adab-i-Latif*. The outspoken and radical progressive writers like Syed Sibte Hassan, Hajra Masroor, Khadija Mastoor, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, Abdullah Malik, Arif Abdul Mateen, Zaheer Kashmiri, Mumtaz Hussain, were known as *savera* group.

In 1948, three progressive magazines---*Naqush*, *Savera* and *Adab-i-Latif* were banned under the Public Safety Act for

six months. *Naqush* was proscribed for publishing Manto's short story *Khol Do*, while other two were not even formally charged.

The first serious criticism on progressive writers by a right-wing intellectual came through an article by Mohammed Hassan Askari in 1948, titled '*Adeeb aur riyasat se vafadari ka masala: Taraqi-pasando pe kari tanqeed*' (Writers and the issue of loyalty with state: a strong criticism on progressives). In this article, beside other things, he considered the support of progressive elements for Bengali language as a conspiracy for the very existence of Pakistan.

The first major blow from within the ranks for progressive literary circles came when M.D. Taseer, one of the earliest members of PWA, broke away with progressives and started campaigning against them through his writings. Samad Shaheen, Mumtaz Shireen and Akhtar Hussain Raipuri were soon to follow.

In Lahore, PWA initially held its weekly meetings at the local YMCA. One day, YMCA administration told them that they were under strict orders from the police not to allow PWA to use its space, so PWA moved to the Dayal Singh College Library but that space was also snatched away from PWA when after 18 month long battle with Punjab government and police, the college administration had to bow down against the pressure.

When the PWA branches in Karachi and Lahore announced celebration May Day in 1949, the right-wing press, especially weeklies *Chatan* and *Maghribi Pakistan* opened flood-gates of attacks on progressive elements.

In the 27th June 1949 issue of a right-wing weekly *Chatan*, edited by Shorish Kashmiri, published an open letter by Taseer, who declared that his problem with those who drag Communism into literature was that they tried to bury the writer's personality and the 'Art for the sake of

the Party' was even more dangerous principle for literature than 'Art for the sake of Art'. In this letter, he pleaded Pakistani writers to avoid being distracted by the Communists slogan mongering.

Like Askari, Taseer in one of his article, written in 1949, also criticized the progressive stance regarding the status of mother tongue as the medium of instruction instead of Urdu.

Two years after partition, on 11-13th November 1949, first All Pakistan Progressive Writers' Conference was convened in Lahore and was attended by the writers from Karachi, Peshawar, Lahore, Multan and other cities of the country. In this conference All Pakistan Progressive writers' Association (APPWA) was formed and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi was elected its General Secretary. In its first manifesto, the APPWA declared that 'We wish to remove the contradictions that exist between our social system and the needs of ordinary people because these contradictions are responsible for the fact that our society and along with it our art and culture have stopped developing in a progressive direction...Life can be purified of misfortunes and difficulties, and more beautiful and healthy. Then we can truly be free and this is only possible if we break down the existing capitalist and feudal system and establish a peoples' democratic system based on a socialist economy.

'On one side are the writers and artists who raise their voice against the oppression and tyranny of Pakistan's ruling clique...who support those who are struggling for true freedom, peace, democracy and socialism, who carry forward the democratic traditions of old literature...on the other side are those writers who serve to translate the designs of ruling class; hide its oppression and tyranny, oppose democratic thoughts and democratic movements

and prevent the democratic traditions of the old literature from surfacing, and are spreading discouragement, apathy and mental confusion through their writings.'

In this declaration, APPWA criticized the arrests of political workers and intellectuals and resorted to continue the struggle. The declaration also deplored the right-wing writers, who in the disguise of 'art for art sake', 'Pakistani Literature' and 'Islamic Literature' were serving the cause of the ruling clique. The declaration also announced a no-compromise stand to 'the paid propagandists of capitalists and feudal lords'.

The detailed conference report was written by Abdullah Hussain and it was published with the preface by the APPWA General Secretary Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, under the title '*Mustaqbil Humara Hai*' (Future is Ours).

Five years later, when APPWA was banned along with CPP, Qasmi immediately resigned from his post.

The Lahore Conference faced many hurdles. The provincial government tried to block the access to the conference venue in Lawrence Garden; when this move was foiled by the participants, the police stooges gate crashed in the conference, but as the peasants and workers including trade union leader Aslam Awan, with their traditional sticks were also attending the conference, so the gate crashers got a 'proper' response.

In the first year of its inception, a branch of PWA was formed in Balochistan, with Anjum Qazilbash as provincial secretary. The earliest members, based in Quetta were Kamil ul Qadri, Rafiq Raz, Abid Shah, Mir Gul Khan Naseer and Azad Jamaldini.

Leftist worker Ahmed Bashir along with Tufail Ahmed Khan was the editor of weekly *Qandil* of Nawa-i-Waqt group. In 1949, the Punjab government promulgated the Punjab Safety Act. Fiction writer and columnist Ibrahim Jalees

wrote a satire on it, under the heading of 'Public Safety Razor'. Ahmed Bashir the in-charge of the literary section of *Qandil* published it prominently. Next day, Hameed Nizami, the chief editor of all Nawa-i-Waqt publications, summoned both the editors and told them that the said article was against the policy of the group, so they should publish an apology in the next issue, which they refused. Next day as they reached office, both were handed-over the termination from service orders. The next issue of the journal carried an apology in the name of Nizami.

Due to some organizational issues, the PWA Balochistan broke and two separate entities '*Pushto Toli*' and '*Balochi Zaban Wa Adaba Divan*' came into being in 1950. Gul Khan Naseer was elected as the first President of the later. Abdullah Jamaladini became the first General Secretary of the organisation.

Ustad Bade Ghulam Ali Khan, originally from Kasur near Lahore, migrated from Bombay soon after the partition but was not treated according to his stature and according to few accounts, he was disheartened by the Radio Pakistan Director General Z. A. Bukhari and went back to India, where he was given the respect he deserved and was rewarded with many official awards. In 1958, he was accorded the Indian citizenship.

The NWFP Legislative Assembly, dominated by Khan Abdul Qayum Khan's Muslim League, proved its Pakistani credentials by declaring Urdu or Pashto, as the language of courts in 1950 replacing English. It was later reported that Urdu was used only in the lower courts and the higher courts continued functioning in English.

In 1951, the government declared APPWA a political organisation, and the private employers were asked not to hire 'Communists', which was understood to include all those associated with the organization. Many of the

members stopped attending meetings for the fear of their names being reported to authorities.

In 1951-52, the railway workers, led by Chaudhry Khushi Mohammed, a railway guard, formed a cultural front, the Art Circle and staged many social and political plays written by a worker-writer Comrade Ali Ahmed in Lahore and Shaikhupura. Stage plays '*Gardish*' and '*Subuh Hona Tak*' were major productions of this group, which were labeled as Communist by the administration and banned.

The second conference of APPWA was convened in Karachi on 12th and 13th July 1952. This conference is counted important and direction-setter on many accounts. The proceeding of this particular conference shows that after long pro-people and anti-establishment internal conflicts, the APPWA was tilting towards a pure literary organisation of well established writers, who had secure good sources of income and wanted to avoid any confrontation with powers to be. The organizers selected Molvi Abdul Haque, the President of *Anjuman Taraqee Urdu* (Pakistan) (the Association for the development/promotion of Urdu) to chair the opening session of the first day. Molvi and his association were fully supporting the state policy of imposing Urdu as only official language, so for the pro-Urdu right-wingers, he was *Baba-i-Urdu* (Father of Urdu) and for the intelligentsia of other languages, enemy of their native languages.

Through a resolution, conference amended its 1949 manifesto and wiped out the resolution of boycott of enemy classes and thoughts, passed in last conference. Regarding the withdrawn manifesto, the resolution stated that because of a few defects, it was unacceptable. Through another resolution, it was pleaded to the government that political label on the Association should be removed; as it was a pure literary organisation and it had no affiliation with any political party.

The second day session on the responsibilities of writers was chaired by Maulana Abdul Majeed Salik, and Syed Mujtaba Hussain, Salim Ahmed, Hassan Manzar, Hassan Tahir, Mumtaz Hussain and Hameed Akhter participated in the debate. In the third session poets recited their poetry.

In 1952, the Qayum Ministry acted against a Pashtoliterary journal *Aslam*, edited by Sanobar Hussain Mehmmand. Its editor was arrested under the Safety Act and was kept in prison for fifteen months. In his absence, the journal failed to appear and on his release, he was told that the declaration of his journal stood cancelled. Mehmmand had started his weekly *Sailab* during the British period but after only three issues, his arrest warrants were issued. To avoid arrest, he moved to the tribal areas and joined the freedom fighters led by Haji Tarang Zai. After independence, he came back to NWFP and started *Aslam*.

The monthly *Javaid*, Lahore, edited by Arif Abdul Matin and owned by Nasir Anwar, published Sadat Hussain Manto's story '*Thanda Gosht*', and after a month of its publication, the Punjab Press Branch galvanized into action, raided the office of the monthly and all unsold copies were confiscated. The matter was brought before the Press Advisory Committee, which met at the offices of the Pakistan Times. Beside the convener Faiz Ahmed Faiz, (Pakistan Times), Hameed Nizami (Nawa-i-Waqt), Waqar Ambalvi (Safina), F. W. Bustin (Civil & Military Gazette), Aminuddin Sehrai (Jadeed Nizam), Maulana Akhter Ali Khan (Zamindar) and officials of Press Branch (Police) attended the meeting. According to Manto, except for Faiz, the rest testified against Manto, who along with Matin and Anwar was sentenced to three months in prison and fine but later were released on bail. On appeal in the Session Court, all the three were acquitted by the judge Inayat Ullah Khan.

After a lull of six years and recovery from cultural shock due to partition, few Sindhi writers in 1953, started

literary sessions in Karachi but failed to connect themselves with other such initiatives elsewhere in Sindh. Efforts to form a united Sindhi literary organisation bore results in 1956, when Sindhi Adabi Sangat, Sindh (SAS) was formed and Ayaz Qadri was elected its first Secretary General, who however resigned after six months. Afterwards Shamsheer ul Hyderi was elected as Secretary General and held this post for coming eleven years. SAS played a leading role in the intellectual making of coming Sindhi generations, not only in the field of literature but also in culture and politics.

In 1953, Karachi University decided to disallow Sindhi as a medium of answering examination papers but due to opposition from Sindh government, Sindh Provincial Muslim League and Sindhi intelligentsia, the decision was not implemented. However after the imposition of One-Unit in 1955, the University administration announced that it would come into force from the examinations for the academic year 1957-58.

In first part of 1950s, a group of young Baloch government officials resigned from their jobs and established a book shop in Quetta by the name of '*Filhal Stationary Mart*'. As the name suggests, this was a temporary arrangement, till the group could decide and finalize their future plan. Since 1952-3, the first Secretary General of PWA and the Secretary General of the Communist Party of Pakistan, Comrade Sajjad Zaheer was being produced before the civil courts in Quetta and on every hearing in the court, these young enthusiastic former government officials used to meet him and consequently PWA re-emerged in Quetta, which continued its function till the government of Pakistan banned it in 1954, along with CPP and other progressive organizations like PTUF and Civil Liberties Committee.

In 1955, Sindhi Adabi Sangat, (SAS) Karachi, through a resolution urged upon the Constituent Assembly that if it

was not possible to accept the Sindhi as an official language of Pakistan, at least it should be recognized as one of the official languages of West Pakistan. On the call of Sangat, its branches all over Sindh adopted the resolutions for the recognition of Sindhi language and in 1956 a signature campaign was launched in support of the demand and thousands of signatures were collected.

In the 18th Sindhi Literary Conference, held in Larkana during April 1956, an organizing committee was formed to plan more activities by SAS. This Committee in its meeting held in Hyderabad on 15th July, decided to hold an All Sindh Convention in Karachi, which was held on 17th October at *Sindh Madressa tul Islam* building. This convention, attended by progressive and Sindhi nationalist writers and intellectuals, through resolutions condemned the closure of Sindhi primary schools in Karachi and demanded constitutional status of Sindhi language, restoration of original status of Sindhi language in Karachi University, improvement of Sindhi programs from Radio Pakistan, Hyderabad and writing the names of railway stations in Sindhi throughout Sindh.

To promote Balochi literature and culture, Akbar Barakzai, Murad Sahir and Juma Khan Baloch founded the Baloch Academy in Karachi in 1958 which published few collections of poetry and anthologies of Baloch poets and organized cultural events.

After the imposition of Martial Law by General Ayub Khan in October 1958, his primary advisors, Altaf Gauhar (reportedly ghost writer for Ayub Khan's autobiography 'Friends not Masters') and Manzur Qadir, formulated the regime's cultural policy. Qudrat Ullah Shahab was the main force in articulating the support of writers and intellectuals for the military regime.

Shahab was also the architect of the 'Writers Guild', a literary organization formed with the support of the

government to present the ideological support to the nation-state. In January 1959, founding meeting of the 'Writers' Guild of Pakistan' was convened at the Frère Hall Karachi, where military dictator General Ayub Khan was the chief guest. When the photograph of Quratulain Hyder receiving Ayub Khan published in periodicals, Comrade Sajjad Zaheer expressed his anger in a letter to her from Delhi. Qudrat Ullah Shahab gave the welcome speech, while Jamil ud Din Aali was elected first Secretary General of the Guild.

Later, on Shahab's initiative, the National Press Trust was financed by 24 industrialists to erase and wipe out any traces of independent thought. Shahab was the person who wrote the first editorial for both the daily *Pakistan Times* and daily *Imroze*, after the regime took over the Progressive Papers Ltd. (PPL), in its move to clean the country from the 'Dirty Communists'. Soon after the take-over, Mazhar Ali Khan, the editor of *Pakistan Times* stepped down in protest, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, the leading Urdu poet and editor of *Imroze* followed suit, while Syed Sibti-i-Hassan was asked to leave.

On 25th May 1959, a feature film '*Jago Hua Sawera*' was released. This was the first experiment by the progressives in cinema-world. Faiz Ahmed Faiz wrote songs and screenplay for the film, which was directed by A. J. Kardar. This film depicted the life of poverty ridden Bengali fishermen and their struggle to survive. Attaur Rehan Khan, popularly known as Khan Atta played a memorable lead role in the film, which although could not be screened for more than three days in Karachi but won the Gold Medal in Moscow Film Festival.

In 1961, history as a subject was discontinued in Pakistan and was incorporated into the textbooks of social studies. The state bureaucracy and government appointed historians colluded to write a history, presented as 'Pakistan Studies' from an Islamic stance and negated all

other influences on people and their culture. This act stopped the development of debates and discussion among different schools of thoughts in history.

In this onslaught, Habib Jalib, the most vocal literary voice to contest almost every ruler, emerged with a big bang. Jalib came into prominence with his poem '*Dastoor*' (constitution), a poem written in protest against the 1962 constitution, imposed by the Martial Law Administrator General Ayub Khan. This poem became the war-cry for the people, who requested him everywhere to recite this poem, which left a double-impact on the listener, that of the poem and of the agitating laborer Jalib's thundering voice. Jalib himself told an interviewer that in one *mushaira*, held at the hill station of Koh-Murree, where many ministers of General Ayub cabinet were invited, Jalib began to recite his poem *Dastoor*, on which one of the organizer whispered in his ear that 'it was not an opportune time and place for that poem', replying on microphone Jalib thundered 'I am not an opportunist' and the audience broke into slogans and that whole night Jalib recited his anti-Ayub and pro-people poetry. After that session, Jalib was barred from entering Murree area for entire Ayub government period. Another poem '*Musheer*' (Advisor), he wrote for fellow-poet Hafeez Jalandhari, who had been appointed the Advisor to Ayub Khan. This kind of poetry earned Habib Jalib, who was the biggest crowd puller in the presidential election campaign of Fatima Jinnah against Ayub Khan, the title of '*Awami Shair*' (Peoples' Poet). It was Ayub government, during which Jalib was arrested for the first time out of over a dozen that would follow.

During the Ayub regime, attacks by the right-wing on the progressive forces continued. These were both physical as well as intellectual. This period saw the emergence of many right-wing publications, mainly funded or otherwise supported by *Jamaat-i-Islami*. A pro-Jamaat Urdu literary

critic, Waheed Qureshi wrote a series of articles in weekly *Zindagi* under the titled '*Taraqee-Pasand Tahreek Apne Aaine Main*' (the progressive movement in its own mirror) 'exposing' the seditious nature of Progressive Writers Association, in the context of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case.

One fine morning Ayub Khan asked Z. A. Bukhari, the then Director-General of Radio Pakistan, to change the names and lyrics of the ragas to Islamize the classical music. The poor fellow started carrying out the task. He virtually started telling vocalists and instrumentalists to use the new words and lyrics as coined by him. Thus *Chandarkaus* became *Chandkaus*, and so on. The music producers were instructed that the names of those ragas that were not yet changed should go on air without naming them by announcing that '...Ustad Nazakat Ali and Salamat Ali Khan would sing '*waqt ka raga*'. This awful exercise continued for many years to come.

The Sindhi literary circles, under the Sindhi Adabi Sangat, continued their opposition to the One-Unit and prepared a memorandum written in Sindhi and English, for General Ayub Khan. SAS decided to distribute it in Bhit Shah on the annual gathering at the shrine of Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai. The official ceremony was scheduled to be opened by the West Pakistan Governor Nawab of Kala-Bagh. For this occasion a big contingent of journalists, including from Bengal was invited. The secret police came to know the intention of Sindhi writers, so they followed the leading writers and activists of SAS, who were able to deliver their memorandum to the Bengali journalists through a child, who was also supposed to deliver it to the Governor. However, prior to its delivery, he was taken into custody by the police.

On 6th and 7th February 1960, SAS Hyderabad branch convened a two-day conference at Anne Besant Hall (named after renowned Theosophist), which was

inaugurated by the then Sindh University Vice Chancellor Dr. Razi ud din Siddiqui, who announced that the University will establish a 'Latif Academy'. Expectedly, no progress was appointed to it, so SAS members started campaigning through the newspapers for it. This LatifAcademy was later transformed into Institute of Sindhology and became an internationally recognized the best resource center on Indus Civilization and Sindh.

The weekly *Jamhuriyat*, Peshawar, faced arm twisting by state because on 8th April 1960, it published a poem with a title of 'Rehman Baba and Pashto', as the establishment considered promoting the languages other than Urdu an anti-state act.

To protest against the government-formed Sharif Commission's decision of not recognizing the Sindhi language, the Sindhi Adabi Sangat commemorated the Sindhi Language Day on 9th November 1963, to condemn the decision. Politicians, poets, writers and intellectuals issued a joint statement, 'Since last 250 years Sindhi language is medium of instruction in primary education, while in the last ninety years it had academic and examination status. The commission's decision is unfair with the Sindhi language, so we demand immediate withdrawal of the decision'. Among the signatories of the statement were Makhdoom Talib-ul-Moula, Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi, Hashim Gazdar, Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri, Masihur Rehman and others.

In 1964, classical dancer Ghansham Das founded RhythmicArtAcademy in Karachi and taught many students. In the coming years, when General Zia imposed his Islamic rule on the people, he had to leave the country in 1983.

The declaration of literary monthly *Afkar*, Karachi, edited by Sehba Lucknavi was cancelled in June 1965, under the Press and Publications Ordinance 1963. The reason given

for the action was that the periodical failed to appear consecutively for few months but according to its editor, a special issue on Faiz Ahmed Faiz was published comprising three issues of April, May and June 1965, which was the actual reason behind the closure of this prime Urdu literary magazine. With the efforts of Shahid Ahmed Dehlvi, the editor of another literary magazine *Saqi*, declaration of *Afkar* was restored two months later.

The September 1965 war with India became a testing point of patriotism for the intelligentsia, when supporting the Pakistan Army became the demand of the day. On one hand, many poets and writers were granted rewards and awards for promoting jingoism, very few writers like Sheikh Ayaz dared to challenge it. Ayaz was put behind the bars for writing an anti-war poem, 'He is Sangram, That is Narain Shiyam (renowned Indian Sindhi poet), his and mine, language and narrative are same, how can I shoot him'.

Dr. Ayub Mirza, writes in '*Hum Ke Thahra Ajnabi*', a biography of Faiz Ahmed Faiz, recognized by poet himself, that during the 1965 war with India, Faiz served the government on the publicity front, as he had experience of it for working with the British Army during WWII. Faiz, in a conversation with Mirza told that he accepted the government offer as a national duty and did not draw salary for it but accepted the official residence that came with it.

In 1966, few Brahui writers, most of them teachers at a government collage in Quetta, founded the *BrahuiAcademy* to promote their mother-tongue and literature created in it. Mohammed Khan Raisani was elected its first President, while Mahmud Aziz Kurd as Vice President.

In 1967, Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Dr. Mohammed Rukunudin Has'an (known as M R Has'an) formed Awami Adabi

Anjuman in Karachi and its manifesto was signed by the writers of all major languages of Pakistan, including Ajmal Khattak, Gul Khan Naseer, Sheikh Ayaz, Ibrahim Joyo and Hassan Hameedi.

The manifesto, translated into Sindhi, Punjabi, Balochi, Pashto and Bengali stated that 'We think that the progress of the nationalities is interlinked with the democratic freedom. We want that in Pakistan, which is the country of different nationalities, such conditions should be created that all nationalities' languages and cultures progress equally without the influence and domination of any one nationality. Therefore, we the writers, believe that' all nationalities should have right of self-determination, education in their respective languages, which should have the right to be an official languages...English should be replaced in the offices and education institutions and Urdu should be used as the link/coordination language between all the regions'.

During Ayub Khan Government, the Shah of Iran paid an official visit to Lahore and for his reception, Governor Nawab Kalabagh asked film star Neelo to perform a dance in front of the foreign dignitary. The struggling artist at that time, Neelo thought that her dance in the function would not be liked by her newly found beloved Riaz Shahid, himself a short story writer and emerging film director. On refusal, the goons sent by Nawab Kalabagh misbehaved with Neelo and reportedly slapped her. In utter frustration, Neelo consumed a large number of tranquilizers and in a very serious condition was admitted in a local hospital. Habib Jalib, accompanying Riaz Shahid went to see her in hospital and on return composed a poem praising Neelo's refusal, '*Tu Kay Nawaqif-i-Adab-i-Shahinshahi Thi, Raqs Zanjeer Pahan Kar Bhi Kiya Jata Hai...*' (You were unaware of the norms of the court of

emperor, dance could be done with fasten chains...), Later on the basis of this poem, Riaz Shahid made a feature film on a Palestinian girl, titled *Zarqa* and married Neelo.

As Sindhi, Baloch, Pathan and especially Bengali intelligentsia started celebrations of the undoing of One-Unit in 1969, an intellectual onslaught from a section of Punjabi academia was launched against them. In this regard, Niaz Mohammed Khan took the lead and published his two-part article under the headline 'Let Punjab also speaks' in daily *Pakistan Times* on 28th January and 6th February 1970. In these articles, he stated that during the One-Unit, the Punjab had no special advantage and no proper voice, so it was portrayed as the exploiter.

In another article, he strongly reacted against the demand of the Bahawalpur province and advised fellow Punjabis that they should not become apologetic towards Bengali narrative that they were being exploited by Punjab. Later, Niaz founded a literary organization, *Punjabi Literary League*, with the financial support of the big industrial Sehgal family and published the Punjabi translation of Koran and a Punjabi novel by Nanak Singh. In justification of these publications, he argued that they were supporters of greater Punjab with Islam as the religion. League also launched a Punjabi monthly '*Punjabi Zaban*' with Dr. Rasheed Anwar as its editor, who had written a gender-biased, anti-woman anthem during the 1965 war with India, which said that 'The war is the game of swords and it is not a play for women'.

In these circumstances, the Punjabi intellectuals under Najam Hussain Syed and others faced and tried to answer the question of the Punjabi identity and a national hero and launched Punjabi magazine '*Rut-Lekha*' and re-discovered the Punjabi poet Shah Hussain, who in the love for his young Hindubeloved boy Madho Lal, became Madhu Lal Hussain and the peasant rebel Dulla Bhatti.

Under this newly founded love for national identity, the Punjabi writers on 26th March 1971, gathered in front of Pak Tea House on the Mall Road Lahore to join the annual celebrations of Shah Hussain. Although every year Punjabi writers had to enter the shrine of Shah Hussain dancing Bhangra, the traditional Punjabi dance, but this year few among them, especially Ahmed Salim, who just few days ago had written a poem on the massacre of Bengalis on 3rd. March, requested fellow writers to postpone the Bhangra celebrations and instead of that, pass a resolution condemning the killings of Bengalis. But majority of writers did not agreed with Ahmed Salim. Few days later, Ahmed Salim wrote another poem against the military operation in Bengal, which was published by Dr. Has'an, in the fortnightly *Awami Awaz*, Karachi, both the poet and editor were arrested and awarded one year sentence each by a military court. In his poem Ahmed Salim had addressed Punjabi Sufi poet Shah Hussain,

'Lal Hussain! O Lalon's kin,
Rise Up! In Bengal your Madhos are being massacred
They shot at the songs of Lalon time and again
In 48, in 52 and later on too...
And today they are ablaze with the songs of Tagore and Nazrul
Rise up Lal Hussain, Madho is lonely, embrace him.
Combat with your songs the bullet whistling towards him
Get up Lal Hussain,
Dulla Bhattis of Bengal are filing up
Get up poet, where have you left your gun?
My poet, the night grows long without Madho'.

Habib Jalib also raised his voice against this inhuman operation and said, 'Mohabat goliyon se bo rahe ho/watan ka chahra khoon se dho rahe ho/ guman tum ko ke rasta kat raha hai/ yaqeen mujh ko kemandzil kho rahe ho' (you are sowing love with bullets/ washing the face of country

with blood/ you are presuming it is a way forward/ I am sure you are losing the destination).

According to senior leftist worker and later journalist Babar Ayaz, as the military operation in Bengal started in March 1971, he along with Communist poet Hassan Hameedi and trade union leader Aizaz Nazir met the leading Sindhi poet Sheikh Ayaz to invite him for a protest meeting in Sukkur. He turned them away, saying that the military will not tolerate any such meeting challenging its operation in East Pakistan and that they were crazy to take a stand against military might.

Sindhi poet Anwar Pirzado, a pilot with Pakistan Air Force was sentenced by field court martial and was disqualified for life from acquiring any government job, after he wrote a letter to some of his family members, resenting the military operation in Bengal. After completing his court martial sentence, he joined the Communist Party of Pakistan and his ancestral village Bhalraji, on the bank of River Indus and near to Mohenjo-Daro was nicknamed as 'Little Moscow' by friends and foes alike.

Before joining journalism, Anwar worked with Soviet Cultural/Information Center and translated into Sindhi, the famous court statement, 'The History Will Absolve Me' by Fidel Castro. He also translated the poetry of Pablo Neruda into Sindhi and became the most learned intellectual on Mohenjo-Daro, River Indus and the poetry of Shah Latif.

During the month of August, the left workers distributed a pamphlet condemning the military operation, predicting that the country would break if it is not stopped immediately. In the follow-up of the distribution of this pamphlet, the political workers as well the literary figures were being rounded up all over Sindh. Sheikh Ayaz and leading Sindhi story writer and translator Rasheed Bhatti were among those arrested from Sukkur. In the Sukkur

Central Jail, Sheikh Ayaz wrote a prison diary, besides composing poetry. In his diary, he writes that when in an attempt to save their lives Bengalis were crossing the border to India, and many more including writers and intellectuals were being killed, Faiz Ahmed Faiz chaired a live program on the Radio Pakistan, under the subject line '*Ghalib Ki Darbar-i-Aam*' (The mango court of Mirza Ghalib). Although this alleged act of Faiz, could not be verified, but on 10th December 1971, the government backed Writers' Guild convened its a meeting in Karachi and according to Urdu daily *Jang* of 12th December, addressing the meeting, the Lenin Peace Prize awarded, Faiz Ahmed Faiz condemned the Soviet Union and India for interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan, by encouraging and supporting rebellion in the East Bengal. Two other 'progressive' writers and intellectuals Syed Mohammed Taqi and Ibrahim Jalees also addressed the meeting and supported the military operation in the Bengal.

On 12th December, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Committee convened a meeting to condemn the foreign intervention in the East Bengal. Addressing the meeting, Faiz Ahmed Faiz said that the movement for the so-called Bangladesh was an intervention in the internal affairs of the Pakistan. In his speech, he thanked China for supporting Pakistan and condemned Soviet Union, who according to him had ignored the true spirit of Socialism and right of self determination, and was supporting the Indian aggression in East Bengal. Interestingly, all other speakers of this meeting were staunch Muslim League supporters, who had always opposed Faiz and his philosophy.

On the morning of 26th March 1971, a group of Bengali radio personal stopped the broadcasting of Chittagong radio station, which was relaying Martial Law orders from Dhaka. They set up *Sadhini Bangla Biplobi Kendra* or Free

Bengal Revolutionary Radio at Kalughat, where the Radio Chittagong transmitter was located, and started broadcasting directly from there, rallying people to defy the Pakistan Army. Two declarations of the independence of Bangladesh were made from this rebel radio.

To pour salt on the injuries, the military officials invited Urdu poets from the West Pakistan and under heavy military guard; few poetry recitation sessions were held in Dhaka Cantonment, where Syed Zamir Jaffery, Sehba Akhter, Dilawar Figar and others recited their 'patriotic' poetry. During one such session, a sudden bang created panic among the poets and when they came to know that it was a bomb blast, few of them forgot their own poetry. During military operation, as 14th August (celebrated as Pakistan's Independence Day) came, a poetry recitation session was organized in the studio of Radio Pakistan Dhaka Station, chaired by General Niazi, where every poet was thoroughly searched by soldiers before entering the studio.

During the military operation in East Bengal, Pakistan Army and its supported armed civilian volunteers killed hundreds of Bengali writers, journalists, artists, engineers and doctors. Shaheedullah Kaiser, a novelist and the President of the East Pakistan Union of Journalists was one of them. Drake Rewound, the special correspondent of news agency IPI was in Dhaka till December 1971, when along with others he was also forced out of country, in one of his reports, described the disappearance of Kaiser on 15th December at 6.30 in the evening. He writes, 'The city was under curfew and five un-uniformed armed volunteers entered the house of Shaheedullah Kaiser.' His brother Zakariya Habib, a local trader, asked them who they were looking for. He was asked to put his hands-up, and by pointing the gun everybody was asked to line-up. Afterwards they stormed into the room of Kaiser and asked him his identity. After the confirmation of his identity, they asked him to accompany them. He inquired

where he was being taken but got no response. After getting Kaiser, they left Zakariya, who one hour after their departure, telephoned many Pakistan Army officials and was consoled by a brigadier and a local commander that he had nothing to worry about. Few professors and journalists were also being taken into custody and they will be taken care-off.

Shaheedullah Kaiser was never seen again'.

Born in 1923, in a village of Nawakhali district, Abu Nayeem Mohammed Shaheedullah was attracted to Marxism from his early age, while he was a student at Kolkata Presidency College and later joined Communist Party of East Pakistan. After Pakistan came into being, because of his political stance, he was arrested many times. He played a major role in the Language Movement of 1952 and was arrested on 3rd June 1952 and spent three and a half years in prison. Then in 1955, he was again arrested, on 14th October 1958, just one week after General Ayub Khan imposed Martial Law, he was arrested for third time for four years and was released in September 1962. During this time, he wrote two books from prison, a novel and a prison diary. His third book was about the rural and political life of Bengal during 1930-40. In total he had ten published books to his credit. In 1970, he became the Joint Editor of Bengali daily *Sangbad* and was elected President of the East Pakistan Union of Journalists for two years. He played a major role in the three-week strike by journalist community in 1970. One of his brothers, Zahir Raihan, a novelist and film director was also killed during the civil war of 1971.

Mohammed Zahirullah (better known as Zahir Raihan), was born on 19th August 1935, lived only to be 37, but left his mark with his work. After coming back from Kolkata, following the partition of 1947, Zahir obtained a post-graduate degree in Bengali Literature and began working

as journalist. After initially writing short stories (inspired by his brother Shaheedullah), he ventured into films as an assistant in 1959 and made his directorial debut in 1960. Four years later in 1964, he made Pakistan's first color movie and completed his first cinemascope movie the following year.

It was the subject matter of his work however that separated him from his contemporaries, Raihan had strong nationalist beliefs, and it reflected sharply in his work. He was one of the first few to back the move of violating curfew on the fateful day of 21st February 1952, and wrote a striking novel on the movement, while in jail on being arrested for participation in the movement.

At the time of civil war in 1971, he was the General Secretary of Bangladesh Liberation Council of Intelligentsia, and was making his first English film, a project which he abandoned to make his most notable work, the documentary *Stop Genocide*, depicting the atrocities by the armed forces.

After returning from Mujibnagar, (Headquarters of exiled Bengal government) Raihan, in search for his brother Shaheedullah, formed an investigation committee, with Enayatullah, Moudud Ahmed, Syed Hassan Imam, Amirul Islam and others as members. On 30th January 1972, he went to Mirpur, a strong base of Biharis and hiding Pakistani soldiers. He was seen looking for his brother's body at the Mirpur Mass Grave, where many intellectuals were killed and buried. No one saw him alive after that.

Dhaka University Professor Anwar Pasha wrote a novel 'Rifle, Bread, Women' during the nine-month civil war period in 1971. He escaped death, when his house, situated in the University campus was raided by the army during the military operation. Later, he was not so lucky during December and was killed by the collaborators of Pakistan Army.

The army attacked Dhaka University campus and systematically killed the Bengali intelligentsia. Professor Fajilur Rehman and his two relatives were killed at Building 23, situated at Nilkhet. His wife escaped death as she was out of the country. Professor Rashidul Hassan initially saved his life by hiding, when his house was raided by the army but later he too was killed by the pro-Pakistan elements.

Abdul Muktadir, Professor of Geology was killed by the army; his body was found at Iqbal Hall. He was buried at Paltan by his relatives. Professors A R Khan Khadim and Sharafat Ali of the Mathematics department were killed in Dhaka Hall.

When Jagannath Hall, a student dormitory for Hindu students was attacked, nearby University Staff Quarters were also attacked. Here Ex-Provost and Philosophy Professor Dr. Gobindra Chandra Dev, with his adopted Muslim daughter's husband were killed. Dr. A. N. M. Manirujjaman, Professor of Statistics, along with his son and two relatives was killed; Professor Jyotirmoy Guhathakurta, the provost of Jagannath Hall was severely injured in army attack and died in hospital. According to few eyewitnesses, the doctors at Dhaka Medical College Hospital recognized Dr. Guhathakurta and buried him under a tree near Dhaka Medical University. Assistant house tutor Anudoipayon Bhattacharya was also killed at this dormitory. Sympathies with national liberation movement led to arrest warrants being issued against Dr. Abul Khayer, Dr. Rafiqul Islam, Dr. K. A. M. Salahuddin, Ahsanul Haque, Giasuddin Ahmed, Jawaharul Haque and M. Shahidullah and in a few cases they were also carried out. Professor Abdur Razzak (political scientist) was sentenced for 14 years for supporting the movement.

After March 1971, Dhaka University was without any Vice Chancellor, as in early March, the Vice Chancellor Justice

Abu Sayed Chowdhary was at Geneva attending UN Humanitarian Conference. In the mid of March, he read news about the death of his two students and immediately sent his resignation to concern authorities and fled to London, where he worked for the liberation. After Bangladesh came into being, he became country's second President.

After Bangladesh came into being, the establishment, especially Pakistan Army started efforts to remove all signs of Bengal from the collective memories of the people. In this connection, an example can be cited of 10th January 1972, when the screening of a five-minute film on Pakistan Television of the Pakistan Army surrender in Dhaka, created a furor all over the country by the right wing. Two days later, debunking the criticism on the exhibition of the film, Federal Information Minister Abdul Hafeez Pirzado said that the people must know the truth and shun the 'ostrich-like' attitude. But regardless of all these tall talks, the film was never screened again, as the Armed Forces were not ready to be exposed in the eyes of people.

Soon, the official narrative for the Bengal crisis surfaced, accusing the foreign forces, especially India for the liberation of Bangladesh and never admitted the historical struggle by Bengalis. The right-wing writers and retired military and bureaucracy officials started writing books and article on Bengal situation, in tow of the official stance.

At this critical juncture of country's history, the majority of progressive and liberal intellectuals and writers followed and propagated the official narrative or kept silence on Bengal situation.

The most celebrated voice of progressives in Pakistan, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, who had been translated into Bengali especially by Ranesh Das Gupta and Bashir Al-Helal, was part of the first official Pakistani delegation, under President Bhutto, visiting Dhaka after Bangladesh came into being. During his stay in Dhaka, his old friend and

celebrated Bengali short story writer Showket Usman refused to meet him, as in his opinion, Faiz had not protested against the military operation and killing of Bengalis. On his return from Dhaka, Faiz wrote one of his famous Ghazals, '*Hum Ke Tahre Ajnabi...*' (We remained strangers), in one of its stanza, Faiz asking 'They (West Pakistanis) are being considered strangers after so many hospitable treats,,,'. Now, how one can tolerate such 'hospitable treats' by civilian and military rulers alike towards Bengali population for 24-years?

Faiz clarified to his biographer Dr. Ayub Mirza that he was under no pressure in issuing statements against India and Russia in their stance during the Bengal civil war as he considered the security of his country a supreme goal.

The most disgusting and painful book by any non-right-wing writer had been '*Zinda Bahar Lane*' by Fahmida Riaz. Initially written in Urdu as '*Zinda Bahar*' published in literary journal *Aaj*, Karachi, in 1990 and later translated into English, this montage of travelogue, reportage and subjective monologue is about the Urdu female-poet's first ever visit to Dhaka in December 1989. Nowhere in this 158-page book, she utters even a single word about the killing of not only the common Bengalis but the writers and poets during the nine-month long civil war. In this book, she is pleading and arguing the case of Biharis, never considering the feelings of her temporary and permanent hosts Bengalis and Sindhis, who consider them murderers of their people, and who were/are not ready to assimilate in Bengal or in Sindh, who according to her, hang 'three times larger than life size picture of General Zia', on the wall of their community office in the Mohammed-Pur Camp. In promoting official anti-Hindu/India stance and conspiracy beyond the liberation of Bangladesh, she out of context describes the details of anti-Sikh riots in Delhi during 1984, which becomes difficult for her reader to connect with the book on Dhaka-journey. To pour salt on

the wounds given by the superior mentality of West Pakistanis, she dedicates this book to some unknown Indian Bihari researcher 'Papaiya' who had done some research work on Bihari camps in Bangladesh.

In his autobiography '*Leaving The Left Behind*' Syed Jamaluddin Naqvi claims that he was assigned the work of the liaison person with their counter parts in East Pakistan Communist Party during 1960s and in that period, till the Eastern part broke away from Pakistan, he made more than 40 trips to Dhaka, but in this 262-page book, he shies away from giving details of the communist/progressive movements in then East Pakistan. Instead of that he describes the situation of the region in no more detail or depth than any mainstream pro-Pakistan bourgeoisie newspaper's editorial pages.

Zamir Niazi, did an excellent archival work, by recording the history of suppression of freedom of expression by state and non-state forces but unfortunately his books *The Press in Chains*, *The Press Under Siege* and *The Web of Censorship*, mention East Pakistan as a passing reference in just couple of paragraphs with nothing about the killing of Bengali journalists and media persons during the civil war.

The vast majority of the progressive elements, including the Marxists of all shades, kept silence on the issue of the massacre in Bengal, few among those who rose to the occasion and raised their voice against the military action were full of advices to the military junta that if the military operation was not stopped immediately, the country would break-up but none among them raised the issue of right to self determination, as they had been demanding for other Asian, African and Latin American nations.

Less than a year of Bangladesh coming into being, the literary circles were surprised, rather shocked at the launch of the Urdu translation of a Bengali novel '*The Wife of Captain*', by Shaheedullah Kaiser, who had been killed

during the military operation. The Urdu translation was done by the progressive Urdu poet and story-writer Saeeda Gazdar and published by Kutub Publishers Limited, Karachi, under the title '*Mallah Ki Biwi*', which mentions Shaheedullah as a martyr. The leading journalist Mahboob Jamal Zahidi wrote an emotional introduction to the novel and the writer.

The second book which highlights the atrocities against the Bengali nation is a translated compilation in Sindhi of international media reports, published by Pakistan Forum, Canada '*Jaiki Bengal Saan Thiyo*' (All That Happened with Bengal). According to some accounts, it was translated by the Marxist intellectual Dr. Feroz Ahmed, though the book itself does not carry the name. The book comprises of the reports by Simon Dring, Michael Laurent, Malcolm Brown and Anthony Mascarenhas. All of them had published their eye witness accounts of the initial days of the military operation, before all of them, except Anthony were expelled from Pakistan.

The issue regarding the status of Sindhi language within Sindh province had been a point of rift among the Sindhis and Muslims of minority provinces of United India, who migrated to Sindh after the partition of 1947.

After coming to power, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto talked about the due status of Sindhi language but Sindhi leadership, including that of the PPP wanted Sindhi as an official provincial language as it was before the imposition of One-Unit.

On the other hand the Mohajir leadership wanted Sindh to be a bi-lingual province. On the third day of the protest by *Tehrik Tahafuz-i-Urdu*, troops were called, following the clashes between the supporters of Urdu and Sindhi languages, during which several people were injured in Jacobabad, Larkana, Khairpur, Sukkur and Nawabshah.

The Communists, once again tried to become the bridge between both communities by forwarding the formula that Sindhi should be made official language of Sindh with Urdu as secondary language but this compromising formula was not acceptable to either community and Communists became target of severe criticism of not only the right-wing Urdu speaking community but nationalist and progressive elements within Sindhis.

In this regard, representing Sindhi intellectuals, Sheikh Ayaz's statement released to newspapers on 20th February, 1971, is significant. He stated that 'Urdu Speaking 'pseudo-Marxists' masquerading as integrators of the people of Sindh, are the greatest enemies of their language and culture'.

The agitation took a violent turn, when the *Qaumi Mutahida Tulba Mahaz* Karachi, advised vehicle owners to change their number plates into Urdu and mobs of students forcibly removed number plates and sign boards written in languages other than Urdu. In retaliation Sindhi students did the same with Urdu.

The most outrageous incident to occur in this course of the controversy was an attempt to set on fire the Sindhology Department of the Sindh University on 31st January, 1971, in Hyderabad. This act of vandalism caused the loss of a large number of rare books and manuscripts in Sindhi, Arabic and Persian. According to the police, some mischief mongers threw combustible material including petrol soaked cloths, through a ventilator.

This act brought immediate reaction in protest by Sindhis but the loss it cost in the long-run was much higher. Soon Institute of Sindhology was shifted to Jamshoro, in the vicinity of University of Sindh, which virtually isolated the Urdu-speaking youth and intellectuals from this remarkable treasure of Indus civilization, since the

apprehension of violence against them by Sindhi students they avoided visiting and consulting the Institute.

As the Sindh provincial government moved a bill in the Sindh Assembly to prescribe measures for instruction, promotion and the use of Sindhi language, the *Mohajir Mahaz* responded by launching a movement for the recognition of Urdu as an official language of Sindh along with Sindhi. The mohajir elite were aware that because of the composition of the Sindh Assembly they would not be able to stop the bill, so they decided to take the issue to the streets.

On 7th July 1972, mass demonstrations took place in Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur to protest against the proposed language bill. The Urdu daily *Jang* Karachi, came out with black borders with a Raees Amrohi's provocative poem '*Urdu ka Janaza hai....zara dhoom se nikle*' (it is the coffin of Urdu....carry it with a pomp). That further aggravated ethnic polarization resulting in the eruption of violent clashes. Within days, 22 persons lost their lives and over 200 were injured in Karachi and Hyderabad. The Sindh government called in the army to assist the civil administration and imposed curfew in both cities.

Although progressive National Awami Party (NAP), in its manifesto and resolutions had always supported the local languages as the official languages but when it came to power in NWFP, in coalition with *Jamiat-i- Ulama-i-Islam* for a short span between April 1972 to February 1973, after taking oath in Pashto language, it turned away from adopting Pashto as the official language and instead of that adopted Urdu, which created some rifts within NAP and many party legislators gave emotional speeches during the debate on language issue.

Tariq Ashraf, a Sindhi short story writer and editor of Sindhi literary magazine '*Sohni*' Hyderabad, was arrested on 10th April 1974, under the Defense of Pakistan Act. He spent 22 months in jail and wrote Jail Dairies, '*Jail Main 22*

Maheena' (22 months in prison, in two volumes) and '*Jail Gharium Jin Seen*' (companions of prison, profiles of fellow prisoners).

During mid-1970s efforts to revive the Progressive Writers' Association were initiated by CPP but who should write its new manifesto, became the point of contention within CPP. Party assigned Sibte Hassan to write the document, on the other hand Dr. M. R. Hassa'n was keen to write the proposed manifesto, and wrote an article in this regard. As the Party stood by its decision, so the differences could not be sorted-out and Dr. Hassa'n broke away from the Party and formed his own Marxist group.

General Zia overthrew the elected government on 5th July 1977 and imposed the worst military rule on the country. To get political support, he had to rely on the right-wing *Jamaat-i-Islami*. On pressure from *Jamaat*, the Pakistan Television, the only electronic channel in the country, issued Special Code of Conduct of Islamic Decency. Through this Code, the female artists, newscasters and anchors were asked to cover their head properly. Mahtab Channa, an anchor for Sindhi programs refused to cover her head with a *Dupata*, so the doors of Pakistan Television were closed on her.

During Zia government, dance artists such as Nahid Siddiqui, Sheema Kirmani and Tahmina Mitha could not perform in public.

Born in 1949, Nahid started her classical dance training at the age of 15 from Maharaj Ghulam Hussain Kathak of Lahore. After graduating from the Lahore College of Home Economics, she was invited to join The Pakistan International Airlines' music academy, known as the National Ensemble of Music and Dance. During the early days of Zia Martial Law, a television series, '*Payal*' was initiated in 1978, in which she danced variations of classical Kathak. Although originally planned for thirty

episodes, but just after five episodes it antagonized the conservative right-wing and she was forced to leave the country in 1979 to settle in London. She was accused of being an Indian agent, who was ruining the younger generation of an Islamic country.

The Pakistan International Airlines' music academy that produced and promoted fine arts to a great extent was virtually closed down.

Few political and culturally conscious women including Sheema Kirmani, Parveen Kazmi, Sarwat Sultana, Nayyar Jamil, Kishwer Baqi and Mehnaz Rehman founded *Tahreek-i-Niswan*, a women's group under the leadership of Sheema in 1979 in Karachi and started theatre performances on social, gender and political issues, including '*Chadar Aur CharDeevari*' on the violence against women and the high handedness of state forces. The group staged a few of its performances at public places, markets and busy thoroughfares of the city. In 1980, this group held its first conference in Karachi. Later the group organized many classical dance events with Sheema in the lead. This was the first group in Pakistan, which performed classical dance on the poetry of Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Sheikh Ayaz and other progressive poets. The most memorable performance of this group has been 'Song of Mohen Jo Daro'.

In 1979, Mushtaque Gazdar made a short documentary film '*They are killing the Horse*', which brought Pakistani cinema into the limelight at the international level. Gazdar's progressive and pro-people films were country's first indigenous efforts and were neither supported nor sponsored by anyone. '*They are killing the Horse*' won the Grand Prize at the International Film Festival in Tampere, Finland. Written by Saeeda Gazdar, the film had Tahzeeb Jaffar in the main role as Noori, which depicted the suppression of women by religious superstitions in

Pakistan. The international award also brought invitations for the film maker to present his work at institutes, universities, and festivals in England, Sweden, Germany, France, USA, Norway, India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. Nonetheless, this internationally successful film never got an official recognition in the home-country, as it was out of orbit of official policy that propagated that the cure of every problem can be found in religion.

On the other hand, in the same year taking clue from the state policy of religious hatred and intolerance, director Hyder made a feature film, *Ghazi Illmdin Shaheed* with a very poor production value but one that got a very good response at box offices because of its emotional and religious appeal. It was based on a true story about the killing of a man in Lahore, who wrote a book on the life of Prophet Mohammed during the British period that resulted in hue and cry by the religious elements. *Ilmdin*, an illiterate and ordinary man, was carried away by the outrage and decided to kill the writer and afterward surrendered to the police. After the trial, he was hanged and the arrangements for his last rituals were done by M. D. Taseer, as the leading Muslim dignitary of Lahore. M.D. Taseer's own son Salman Taseer, was killed on 4th July 2011, by his own official body guard Mumtaz Qadri, a religious fanatic, because as the Governor of Punjab, Salman visited a Christian women in prison, charged for blasphemy. What followed this brutal murder was a real shock that shows that how the religious fanaticism had penetrated the Pakistani society. As the accused in the murder Qadri, who killed Taseer in broad-day light, was showered with rose petals by the lawyers, when he was produced before a Rawalpindi court and a former Chief Justice Lahore High Court, Khwaja Mohammed Sharif proudly offered his services to defend the accused in the court.

The growing violence in the society was reflected in Punjabi feature film *Maula Jat* released on 11th February 1979, which portrayed an individual superhero, who would eliminate all kind of suppression and oppression by individual acts of violence.

Just one week after the hanging of first elected Prime Minister of the country, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, writers and intellectuals from all over the country gathered in Islamabad on 11th April 1979, for a 'Writers' Conference' convened by Academy of Letters Pakistan and inaugurated by General Zia. On the occasion, General Zia conferred the medals of Honor to Professor Ahmed Ali, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, Ahsan Danish, Hafeez Jhallendri, Dr. Nabi Bakhsh Baloch and others. Many writers, including Sheikh Ayaz, Raees Amrohi, Professor Ahmed Ali, Sharif Kanjahi, Dr. Wazir Agha and others read papers on different subjects like 'Role of Writer in an Ideological State', 'Literature and National Consciousness'.

Soon after the hanging of Bhutto, the fortnightly *Kafila* published a book '*Murda Bhutto Zinda Bhutto*' (The Dead Bhutto the Living Bhutto) by Sattar Tahir, which sold like hotcakes and immediately got translated in English and Arabic. After a while a serving Brigadier visited *Kafila* office and threateningly saying 'Now the time has come to cut the hedges'.

Some time later, *Kafila* published a novel '*Sooraj Bakaf Shab Guzida*' also by Sattar Tahir on the last hours of Bhutto's life in death cell. As the stock of printed copies of book reached office, the police conducted a raid without any proper search warrant and picked all 1800 copies of book. Fortunately few copies had reached bookstands directly from the press and were sold within a few hours. Later, this book was officially banned and Sattar was arrested and tortured for ten days. He was blacklisted from Pakistan Television and Radio Pakistan and the Information Ministry asked all magazines and periodicals

not to hire him for any kind of job, otherwise they would lose the government advertisements and will face the same fate as Sattar.

The year 1979, had another significant twist for Pakistan, Professor Abdul Salam became first Pakistani to win the Nobel Prize for his extra ordinary achievements in the field of physics but was never recognized by his country and by the majority country-men, as he belonged to the Ahmedi sect, which was declared as non-Muslim through 1973 constitution. He spent most of his life in West and died in 1996 and was buried in Rabwah, the Ahmedi sect headquarter in Punjab. Sometime later, his grave was defaced allegedly by fanatic Muslims. Later, the word Muslim on his grave was removed on the orders of a local magistrate.

A fresh film policy was formulated and the Motion Pictures Ordinance 1979 was promulgated. The new code for censorship of films was an important document in the study of the psyche of the policy-makers of the regime, who tried to control the medium of cinema in the name of safeguarding religious ethics, national security and public morals. In few of its clauses it says;

A film shall be regarded as unsuitable for public exhibition if, directly or indirectly, it:

- 1- is contemptuous towards Pakistan or its people or tends to undermine its integrity or solidarity as an independent state,
- 2- violates any provisions of constitution or any law for the time being in force, (it will be interesting to note that two years earlier, the Martial Law government, under General Zia had suspended the constitution, which clearly states in its Article 6 that '1- any person who abrogates or subverts or suspends or hold in abeyance, or attempts or conspires to abrogate or subvert or suspend or

hold in abeyance, the constitution by use of force or show of force or by any other unconstitutional means shall be guilty of high treason. 2- any person aiding or abetting (or collaborating) the acts mentioned in clause (1) shall likewise be guilty of high treason. 2-A- an act of high treason mentioned in clause (1) or clause (2) shall not be validated by any court including the Supreme Court and a High Court.)

- 3- Promotes or supports sedition, anarchy or violence in the country,
- 4- Bring into contempt the Armed Forces, Police Force or any other force as an institution,
- 5- Portrays the Armed Forces or Police Force in derogatory uniforms or such uniforms as are not in accordance with the approved pattern,
- 6- Undermines Islam,
- 7- Bring into contempt any aspect of national ideology or objective.

Due to the above mentioned and many more conditions, the making of social and family-oriented films, especially in Urdu language declined and instead of going to cinema-houses people explored other options.

Initially, people of Punjab started watching programs and films on Indian *Doordarshan* TV from Amritsar and afterward, with the development of video technology, thousands of video shops opened all over the country, providing rental video cassettes of Indian and English movies. As cinema-houses became deserted, the owners started selling them to commercial builders, who with official backing, constructed shopping and residential plazas. It should be mentioned that the previous Bhutto government had not allowed any cinema-house to be

demolished as it considered them as places of public utility.

The Zia government aspired to implement the moral and religious values of Saudi Arabia, the only state in the world without a formal cinema-house, facilitated this process.

On 10th November, Islamabad police arrested 12 persons and recovered a cyclostyle machine from their possession. These arrests were made after the arrest of two lecturers of the Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, for publishing and distributing the illegal magazine '*Jamhoori Pakistan*'. The magazine was published by a group, comprised of university and college teachers and students, working with a faction of Mazdoor Kissan Party.

On 28th July 1980, TV artist Shabbir Shar was arrested in Karachi; he was later implicated in Communist Conspiracy Case and was sentenced for seven year imprisonment.

On 4th November, Sindhi short story writer, sculptor and painter Badar Abro was arrested from his office in Karachi; later he was implicated in the Communist Conspiracy Case.

On 25th November 1980, the Pakistan Academy of Letters was able to rope in over four hundred men and women of letters, writers, poets and critics for a two-day carnival in Islamabad. They included some prominent so-called progressives. The CMLA-President General Zia once again graced the occasion as the Chief Guest. No one in that big crowd of 400 uttered a single word of protest on atrocities against writers and writings. On the second day through a resolution, it lauded the government's process of Islamization and assured full support for it. General Zia gave a dinner to the participants at the Presidency.

Dr. Salah ud Din Hyder, holding PHD degree on Faiz Ahmed Faiz, was arrested on 10th March 1981 from his home in Multan and after keeping sometime at Harum Gate Police

Station, moved to Central Jail Multan. After one and half month, he was shifted to worst torture camp in Lahore Fort and was kept in solitary confinement for 75 days.

In late 1981, the release of Oscar-winning film Gandhi, posed a challenge for General Zia government to counter it with a film on Jinnah, depicting the Pakistani version. The all powerful Information Secretary General Mujib was given a free hand to complete the project including script and production team. An advertising company that had won an award for a film on brain surgery and had never heard about Jinnah was selected for the job, with emphasis on three main points, that the script should be such that it, 1- would not be in conflict with the policies of the Martial Law regime, 2- would portray Jinnah as a greater leader than Gandhi and show that the creation of Pakistan was the outcome of his supreme command over the Muslim League and his followers, and 3- would emphasize that Jinnah's main motivation for founding Pakistan was to form an Islamic State as has been established by General Zia' regime.

The film opens with a shot of Arab warriors, riding on horses and led by a young man, all carrying swords in their hands, appearing from the Arabian Sea. The commentary informs the viewers that it was the young Arab General Mohammed Bin Qasim in 711 A.D. who conquered Sindh and that was the genesis of Pakistan. This film project remained unfinished during General Zia era and after his death in a plane crash, was dropped forever.

On 16th June 1982, Sindhi Adabi Sangat, Karachi Central Jail branch was formed. Badar Abro and Dr. Moula Bakhsh read their short stories. Shah Murad Baig, Parvez Ali Shah, Amar Lal, Sifat Rind, Jabbar Khattak, Salim, Arif Baig and Maqbool Khushik attended this first meeting held in the cell of Agha Ashfaque and chaired by Professor Jamal Naqvi.

Hasan Abbas Raza, poet-editor of the literary magazine *Khayaban*, Rawalpindi, was granted bail on 6th October 1982. He was arrested on 26th September, for publishing objectionable poems and other material.

In early August 1983, Tariq Ashraf, the editor and publisher of literary Sindhi monthly '*Sohni*' arrested on the charges of printing anti-state material and was released on bail of Rs.10,000 on 11th August.

In one of the issues of Urdu weekly '*Akhbar-e-Khawateen*' a *Naat* (a poetic praise to Prophet Mohammed) included words Zulfiqar-e-Ali (literally meaning the sword of Ali, son-in-law of Mohammed and fourth caliph), which was not acceptable to censor authorities as it was the first name of General Zia's enemy number one, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. So the censor officials asked for a replacement of the words. Since it was not possible to replace it at the last moment without the consent of the writer, the whole stanza was removed from the poem.

On 5th September 1983, government banned Air Martial (retired) Asghar Khan's book '*Generals in Politics*' published by the Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi.

On 14th October 1983, Sindhi Adabi Sangat, demanded release of writers and poets including Anwer Pirzado, Rasheed Bhatti and Badar Abro.

In 1983, a small group of cultural activists in Lahore formed *Ajokat* theatre group under Madiha Gauhar, facing many difficulties, including official restrictions and attacks by right-wing religious elements, the group has survived so far against heavy odds.

Sindhi writer and publisher Tariq Ashraf was produced before the Summary Military Court no. 18 Hyderabad, on 11th January 1984. He was arrested under Martial Law Regulation numbers 5, 14 and 18 and was accused of publishing a book '*Subuh Theendo*' (The Dawn Will Break) by a Sindhi politician intellectual Rasool Bakhsh Palijo.

Later in June, he was asked to submit fifty thousand rupees in cash as surety bond, which he, not being a rich man failed to produce.

Sindhi poet and journalist Mujrim Laghari was released on 12th January, after serving his sentence of one year imprisonment and five lashes. He, with a fellow comrade Ali Hassan Chandio was arrested for delivering a speech at a *Jashan-Latif* to commemorate the classical Sufi poet Shah Abdul Latif.

Renowned stage artist Rasheed Charan was rearrested on 2nd March and was sent to District Jail Dadu. He was on bail after his arrest during the MRD movement.

On 20th April 1984, Sindhi Adabi Sangat, in its Central Executive meeting held in Hyderabad demanded immediate release of all writers and poets, including Badar Abro.

In September 1984, Dr. Zafar Arif, Associate Professor in Department of Philosophy and the President of Teachers' Union Karachi University was issued a show-cause notice by the Martial Law Administrator Sindh. In this notice, he was accused of involvement in political activities and instigating students to quit the Islamic way of life. Instead of replying to the notice, Dr. Arif issued a public statement, lamenting the Martial Law Authorities. Within no time, he was arrested and detained for three months in Karachi Central Jail. His detention was extended till April 1986, when finally he was released; during his detention, he was removed from the University job and his family was forcefully evicted from the campus residence. After his release, Dr. Zafar Arif wrote many primary books on the political education for the political workers.

Sathi Barira Sangat, a Sindh-based children organisation convened an International Save Mohenjo-Daro Conference on 18th October 1984, at the ruins of the ancient Indus Civilization. As the organisation started preparation, the *Tanzeem-i-Fikr-o-Nazar*, a Sindh-based intellectual forum

of Jamaat-i-Islami and run by Mohammed Musa Bhutto, started campaigning against the proposed conference, by saying that it was a Communist and Hindu conspiracy against the Islam. Couple of days before the conference, it was declared illegal through a Martial Law order.

A coup against General Zia was attempted by a group of lower cadre army officers, supported by former Punjab Governor and PPP leader Ghulam Mustafa Khar. Leading lawyer Raza Kazim was also framed as a main plotter of that conspiracy, who was financing them for the political awareness campaign for over a year. An old-time leftist activist Kazim, who joined the CPP in 1948 and quit in 1951, had served jail time in 1981, due to writing a pamphlet '*Munafiqat ka iqtidar khatam karo*' (End the reign of hypocrisy). According to Kazim, he did not ask about the ranks of the army official, whom he gave financial support, on the recommendation of Khar and had not met them since January 1983, one year before his arrest. He alleged in an interview that the army officials did not spend the money on pamphleteering, as was promised. The main motivator of the army officials was Major Aftab who was posted at the Attock Garrison. After the arrest, Kazim was in ISI custody for nine months and was kept in a 4 feet by 6 feet cell with a high ceiling. Later he was moved to historical Attock fort, which had been converted into a military garrison.

Three months after his arrest, Kazim was labeled by General Zia as a 'smuggler of Indian arms', while talking to journalists. Although arms cache was displayed before the media but all the accused refuted the charges.

On 13th May 1985, Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah, the former VC Sindh University and the President of the Servants of Sindh Society emphasized on the intellectuals and people of Punjab to come forward and play their role in the well-being and development of the country. He declared that

the Pakistan Resolution of 1940 was the only guarantee for the federation of the country.

On 2nd October 1985, leading Sindhi fiction writer and the Secretary Sindh Assembly Jamal Abro was barred from entering the assembly premises as the Speaker Sindh Assembly cancelled his employment contract without showing any reason. It may be mentioned that his son Badar Abro was one of the accused in the Communist Conspiracy Case.

In the mid 1980s, Mansoor Saeed, a senior member of the Communist Party of Pakistan, with the assistance of Aslam Azhar, formed the *Dastak* Group of theatre in Karachi. Aslam Azhar had been chief of Pakistan Television Corporation and was sacked by the General Zia government. Many of the Communist Party affiliated workers joined *Dastak*. The most memorable play produced by this group was the Urdu adaptation of the German play '*The Life of Galileo*' by Bertolt Brecht. Aslam Azhar directed the play, with most of the artists having no prior exposure of acting. The play was performed for three nights in jam-packed hall of now demolished Rio Auditorium and the audience related it with the growing religious fanaticism in the country. *Dastak* Group adopted another play of Brecht, on the life and struggle of Joan of Arc. This play was performed during the week-long celebrations in Karachi, marking the 100th anniversary of May Day, in 1986, for which a huge stage was erected on a main road in the industrial area for the purpose with the support of the trade unions.

Sometime later, Communist Party sympathizers Badil Masroor and Shahid Bhutto formed the *Vaices Group*, which sang revolutionary songs, especially of Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Sheikh Ayaz. Later, the Voices Group released an audio cassette of these revolutionary songs. The *Vaices* Group led the massive torch-lit procession in Karachi, where thousands of trade union workers, students and

activists marched to culminate, the week-long festivities on the eve of 1st May 1986.

As people of Sindh continued the struggle for their political and cultural rights, the right-wing intelligentsia continued its old method of using Islam as the factor of the unification. However often they failed in their pleas with the people of Sindh and in utter frustration they reacted in public. Regarding the situation, Dr. Asrar Ahmed, the chief of *Tanzeem-i-Islami*, on 7th May 1986, told Urdu daily *Nawa-i-Waqt*, after his six-day tour of Sindh that "Talking about Islam in Sindh has become a life threatening risk."

The Zia Martial Law failed to silence the thundering voice of Habib Jalib, whose poem '*sar sar ko saba bunde ko khuda kiya likhna*' became the war-cry in anti-Zia meetings. For writing such poetry, he was arrested several times and was expelled from Sindh province.

Another strong poetic voice of those days was Ahmed Faraz, who wrote an anti-military poem '*pesha-war qatilon tum sipahi nahin*' and after reciting it in a public gathering, was arrested. After his release, he went into self-exile to Europe and disowned the said poem but by then, many political workers had learnt this poem by heart and later it was circulated in the shape of pamphlets.

Artist Iqbal Hussain was not allowed to exhibit his paintings at the state-run Alhamra Art Gallery Lahore, because he had painted the men and women of the Red Light area, where he was born and raised. In protest, he exhibited his paintings on the roadside near the gallery. The daily Star, Karachi, published photos of these paintings, in its detailed front page report.

Artist A. R. Nagori depicted the multi-dimensional aspects of life under the dictatorial military regime of General Zia under the title of A-Z series. There was a huge turnout at this overtly political art exhibition at local art gallery in

Karachi and the visitors experienced a sense of participation in sharing Nagori's statement of defiance. In later days, Nagori painted the anti-nuclear series; missiles in desolate landscapes dominated the canvases as the artist drew attention to the havoc created by the spread of nuclear weapons.

In 1984, Pashto language was introduced as a medium of instruction at the primary school level, when the country was under Martial Law and many Afghan militants with their base camps in NWFP were fighting against the Soviet army in the neighboring Afghanistan, with the support of Pakistan state. By that time, the demand of Pakhtunistan (a separate country for Pathans) had subsided and the Pashtoon elite had been accepted as the junior partner in the power corridors.

On his death on 20th November 1984, Faiz Ahmed Faiz got a very casual coverage in the official media including the Pakistan Television, Radio Pakistan and Pakistan Times, where he worked as first editor. In a memorial meeting organized at the Karachi Press Club, Prof. Karar Hussain, Hajira Masroor and Saeeda Gazdar lamented the negligent attitude of the government towards Faiz.

Home Department Punjab, issued a notice on 11th February 1985, to weekly *Awami Jamhooriyat* for publishing a poem '*Hum Mehnatkash Jab Jag Walon Se...*' by Faiz Ahmed Faiz, in its issue of 24th April 1984. Notice stated that the contents of the said poem were likely to 'create feelings of enmity, ill-will and hatred among different classes'. Issued after ten months, the notice required the weekly's publisher, Mohammed Rafi, to appear before the Punjab Home Secretary within one week to show cause as to why he should not be required to deposit rupees 2,000 as security.

In 1985, the Academy of Letters, to gather support for General Zia, arranged a lavish conference for writers and

intellectuals in Islamabad and arranged their stay at the luxurious Islamabad Hotel. General Zia invited the delegation at the Presidency for a reception. After this reception, Ms. Dur-i-Shahwar Ibrahim, a lecturer in the Urdu Department of the Peshawar University fell sick. On complaint to the hotel staff, one of the hotel employees spontaneously replied that it was not the quality of the hotel food rather it was the face they saw for whole evening that had caused the sickness.

On the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the PWA in 1986, the progressive writers from all over the country joined hands to make the three-day event in Karachi a success. But the issue that should those people who joined the military dictator General Zia, be invited as the main speakers at PWA conference or they should be discarded, came under hot discussion in the organizing committee meeting, as well in the working sessions. Habib Jalib was the only recognized writer who opposed such people, leading a progressive event. He was ridiculed by some senior writers who said that he was ignorant of the management of the worldly affairs. Jalib walked-out from the conference.

The young participants, many of them had spent the prime time of their lives in torture camps and prisons, got agitated and raised slogans against the military junta and its supporters, few of them sitting on the stage, the Presidium. Syed Sibte Hassan, who commanded a genuine respect by the young political activists because of his writings, intervened timely and on his request the resentment subsided.

Another controversy which overshadowed the Conference was about the status of Siraiki language. The Punjabi and Siraiki speaking delegates and participants of the conference could not agree upon that the Siraiki language was an independent one or a just regional dialect of Punjabi.

On 5th September, Sindhi Adabi Sangat central office bearers in their joint policy statement deplored the suppressive acts of the law enforcing agencies and called it damaging for sensitive people. The statement condemned the mass arrests especially of women in the name of operation against dacoits and said that it was alienating the common people from the state. They demanded a judicial enquiry by high court judges for the incidents of violence by state forces.

On 22nd April 1987, World Pashto Conference held in Peshawar, with the blessings of Bacha Khan and Wali Khan, and attended by the representatives of democratic and liberal political parties and literary and cultural organizations.

On 25th June 1988, noted Sindhi fiction writer and freelance journalist Aftab Nizamani was gunned down in Hyderabad, during a break in the curfew imposed after the ethnic riots engulfed in the city.

For the government-controlled media, a list of over fifty writers, poets and journalists was prepared, who were barred from the PTV, PBC and state-run newspapers. Among them were Josh Malihabadi, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Ustad Daman, Habib Jalib, Prof. Karar Hussain, Shoukat Siddiqui, I. A. Rehman and others. On 7th February 1989, during Benazir's short-lived government, for the first time the names of the blacklisted writers were disclosed on the floor of the National Assembly.

On 13th August 1989, Baloch progressive writers and intellectuals formed a body named as '*Lozchezagh*' (the Word Collector/ Tower of Words), with eleven point program, which stated 1- compilation of oral folk literature, 2- research on Balochi language and literature, 3- translations into Balochi language from other languages, 4- compilation of a concise Balochi dictionary, 5- organizing seminars, literary sittings, poetry sessions,

workshops and study circles, 6- developing contacts with national and international literary and research organizations 7- developing the reading habits among Baloch population, 8- publishing newspaper, magazines and journals, 9- compilation and publication of the complete history of Balochi language and literature, 10- efforts for establishing a research center for Balochi language, literature and culture, and 11- developing this organisation into 'Academy of Social Sciences'. Sultan Naeem Qaisrani became its first President, Saba Dashtiyari Vice President and Shah Mohammed Marri General Secretary of the organisation.

The killing of dissident by the state was followed by the sectarian and other outfits began penetration in the domain of art and culture. This trend popularized the violence especially through the medium of films. In this regard, the case of 1990 Urdu film '*International guerille*' is an interesting one. The film was made on the fictionalized version of the Salman Rushdie affair, with an ending in which Rushdie is being killed by flying Qurans. The film by all its treatment depicts the 'national' psychic nurtured by the state, according to which everyone in the world, especially the Jews were out to conspire against the Muslims, especially those who belong to Pakistan.

Popular band, *Juno*, was banned from the state media during the period when Mian Nawaz Sharif was Prime Minister in 1997, apparently for its overtly political lyrics. Earlier, in 1996, the group had earned the ire of the PPP government under Benazir Bhutto, with its song *Ehtesab* (Accountability).

Year 2005, was marked as the 125th anniversary of the Sindhi Stage Theatre. To mark the occasion, a series of street theatres, under the Indus Valley Theatre Group, were staged in every part of Sindh. The year culminated on a week-long celebrations held in Hyderabad. Indus Valley Theatre became dysfunctional after the untimely death of

its Chairman and Director Aay Jee Chandio in May, 2007. This group staged many street plays, depicting the political and social issues like water shortage, honor killing of women and war mongering. The best production of the group was a shadow play on an anti-war poem by Sahir Ludhianvi and a musical CD to promote the awareness against the honor killing and other violence against women.

On 1st June 2011, Baloch writer and a Professor at University of Balochistan, Saba Dashtyari was gunned down by unknown assassins in Quetta. Born in 1953, in Lyari, a Baloch locality of Karachi, he authored more than 24 books on Balochi literature, history, poetry and translation. To serve the community especially the youth, he established Syed Zahoor Shah Reference Library in a working class locality of Malir, Karachi, with his own resources and efforts. After the launch of military operation in Balochistan during General Musharaf government, the bitterness in Saba was a visible feature and he openly spoke about the atrocities by state and non-state forces against the Baloch. For his outspoken bursts, he was bullied many times and in one such incident at Karachi Press Club, where he was addressing a human rights meeting, a female journalist came near the dais and shouted at him accusing him for being a traitor of the country. Saba not only criticized the forced annexation of Balochistan with Pakistan in 1947, he also lamented the role of Pakistan's media on the Balochistan issue, especially of the Baloch missing persons. Threatened to be killed for many times, he was ambushed near the University Campus in Quetta. At the time of his murder, he was working on the compilation of an encyclopedia on Balochi language and literature.

The weak ideological foundations and for some extent the usage of religious diction and symbols in literature and the growing religious influence in Pakistan had changed the

meaning of progressive literature to such an extent that during programsto commemorate the 100th birthday celebration of Faiz Ahmed Faiz in 2011, at an evening organized by a private elite club in Karachi, girls of a government school presented a tableau on Faiz's anthem '*Hum Dakhain Gai*'. For the line '*Jab arz-i-Khuda kay ka'abay sa/sub boot uthwai jain ge'*', a flag with Islamic icons removed the girls who played 'idols'. And when Faiz says '*Uthay ga Anul-haq ka na'ara'*', the tableau showed children dressed as Arab warriors with swords in their hands chanting '*Allah-o-Akbar*'.

The most memorable event of the year, to commemorate Faiz's 100th anniversary was at the Presidency in Islamabad, chaired by the President Zardari, attended by Faiz's family, friends and admirers.

In year 2012, Ms. Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy became the first Pakistani to win an Academy Award for her documentary '*Saving Face*', a saga about women attacked by acid, having scars on their soul as well as their body, especially on faces. The announcement of this award created another controversy in the country, where on one hand liberal, progressive and humanist elements welcomed this achievement, which highlighted a social ill of the society, on the other hand the conservative and reactionary forces created a hue and cry about the international conspiracy against the 'lone nuclear Islamic state'. The government of the day, under Asif Ali Zardari, stood by Sharmeen and conferred the Hilal-i-Imtiaz, one of the highest civilian awards to her, for bringing honor to Pakistan as a filmmaker.

Books from behind the bars

Since early days of Pakistan, political workers, writers, intellectuals and journalists had been kept behind the bars because of dissent and many of them had written valuable accounts of their confinement and on subjects of their

specializations. Some of those books are being discussed here.

- 1- ***Kal Kothri*** is an Urdu prison dairy, written by progressive writer and political worker Hamēed Akhter, written after his arrest under Safety Act on 9th May 1951. This is the first prison dairy of any political prisoner written and published in Pakistan. The first edition of this over 200 page-dairy was published in 1953 and is dedicated to Habib Pasalvi. The book is divided into three parts and to some extent it expresses the frustrations and sense of loss by the prisoners.
- 2- ***Dairy of a Political Prisoner*** by Shaheedullah Kaiser, who later was killed by the pro-Pakistan armed volunteers, backed by *Jamaat-Islami* during the military operation of 1971. covers the period of 1958 to 1962, when the writer was kept in prison by General Ayub's Martial Law.
- 3- ***Sarang Boya*** (Wife of Fisherman) also by Shaheedullah Kaiser, This Bengali novel written during 1958-61, when the writer was arrested by the military government of General Ayub Khan. According to his fellow prison-mate Mahboob Jamal Zahidi, Kaiser completed this novel in October 1961. This 1962 published novel won Adamjee Award by Pakistan Writer's Guild. The novel portrays the daily life, full of miseries of the fishing community of the East Bengal. Although this novel was translated in many languages but in September 1972, less than a year after Bangladesh came into being, its beautiful Urdu translation done by Saeeda Gazdar was published by *Kutub Printers and Publishers Limited*, Karachi.
- 4- ***Qaidiani Ji Dairy*** (Dairy of a female prisoner) by Akhtar Baloch, this daily dairy in Sindhi, covers the second time imprisonment of the writer from 25th July

1970 to 19th December 1970. But she had also recalled and narrated the period of her first arrest. Daughter of Sindhi folk singer Zarina Baijoch, she was attracted to politics by her step-father and a pro-Mao Sindhi intellectual and politician Rasool Bakhsh Palijo. After partition Akhtar Baloch became the first female Sindhi political worker, who was arrested as she sat on a hunger strike in November 1969 for demanding the voter lists to be published in Sindhi language.

The dairy gives an insight of the female prisoners, which in itself, is a rare thing and a detailed account of hunger strike in prison by writer and her comrades.

This prison dairy was first published in 1972 and afterward ran into many editions. This dairy has a distinction of translation to many languages including Urdu and English.

5- ***Roshnai*** by Sajjad Zaheer, the first Secretary General of Communist Party of Pakistan, arrested on 27th April 1951, under the charges of conspiring to overthrow the government with the support of few serving military officers and civilians. The case against them was conducted in-camera in the Hyderabad Central Jail came to be known as Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case. After the completion of trial and pronouncement of sentences, all the accused were transferred to different prisons of Pakistan. Comrade Sajjad Zaheer was sent to the most notorious prison of the country, the Machh Jail, Balochistan. Here with no access to reference material, he wrote two books in Urdu. One titled as *Roshnai* was a history of Progressive Writers Association (PWA), of which he was the founding Secretary General. Through this book, one can find the glimpses of literary activities and debates during the last decade of freedom movement.

Maktaba-i-Danyal, Karachi, published it first time in October 1976. So far this book had run through many editions. For the first time this book was published by a publisher in Lahore, without the permission by the writer or his family. *Maktaba-i-Danyal*, Karachi published it with the writer's permission and his hand-written letter had

been included in second edition. In the end of book, writer in his 'Last words' mentions place and date of completion of book as 'Central Jail Machh, Balochistan, and 17th January 1954'. The book of over 400 pages has 16 chapters in numerical form and the Marxist intellectual Syed Sibti-Hassan has written the preface to it.

This book had been translated in many languages including English.

Comrade Sajjad Zaheer, during his prison days also wrote *Zikar-i-Hafiz*, a study of classical Persian poet Hafiz Shirazi. This is a progressive defense of the great Persian poet Hafiz and all classical literature through him.

6- ***Saleebain Mera Dareecha Main*** by Faiz Ahmed Faiz is a collection of 135 letters written during his time in prisons in connection of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case. Published by *Maktaba-i-Danyal*, Karachi, this collection of 236 pages was first published in 1976, some 25 years after the first of those letters was written from Hyderabad Central Jail on 7th June 1951, and comprises letters written from Hyderabad, Karachi and Montgomery prisons, where he was kept during the time. The title of the collection is illustrated by Sadiqeen and dedicated to Cheemi (Faiz's elder daughter Salima Sultana, afterward Salima Hashmi) and Meezo (Faiz's younger daughter Muneeza Gul, later Muneeza Hashmi). These letters were originally written in English and are translated into Urdu by Faiz himself, mostly narrated to Mirza Zafar ul Hassan. According to the introduction of the book, written by author himself, his friend Mirza Zafar ul Hassan was the main motivation behind the publication of the book, which contained letters mostly on the personal and domestic issues but gives the insight of the feelings of the prison life and issues faced by the families of political prisoners

- 7- ***Zindagi Zidan dili ka naam hai***, by Zafar Ullah Poshni, a serving Captain in Pakistan Army arrested for conspiring to over-throw the government with few other military officers and progressive leaders Comrade Sajjad Zaheer and Faiz Ahmed Faiz. Although the draft of the book was written in the first half of 1950s but the first edition of the book got published in 1976 by writer himself from Karachi. This book of 424 pages is dedicated to Mir Rasool Bakhsh Talpur of Hyderabad Sindh, who had been always there to help the political workers, especially prisoners till his death in 1982. The book gives an inside account of the political situation of that time, circumstances in which the case was registered and heard against the accused and the behavior of all accused during their period of their arrest.
- 8- ***Aadh Mulaqat***, by Tariq Ashraf is a collection of letters written and received by writer while he was imprisoned during the Bhutto government of 1970s. Published by New Fields publication, Hyderabad in 1977, this collection comprises letters by Tariq Ashraf, his mother, son and his girl friend, although he has not mentioned her name but has dedicated the book to her. The book reflects the feelings, issues and concern of the urban Sindhi middle class families, whose loved one is languished in prison because of his conscience.
- 9- ***Jail Gharium Jin Seen*** (Companions of the prison), by Tariq Ashraf, published in December 1977, by New Fields publishers, Hyderabad, is the collection of profiles of fellow prisoners in Hyderabad Central Jail during 1970s. In this book we get glimpses of prison life of Baloch and Pathan leaders of NAP, arrested in connection of Hyderabad Conspiracy Case and Communist student leader Vazir Abbassi, who later was tortured to martyrdom during Zia Martial Law.

He also wrote *Jail Main 22 Mahina* (22 months in prison), a detailed prison diary in two volumes.

- 10-10- *From My Death Cell*, by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, written in Kot Lakhpat Jail, Lahore, banned in Pakistan, smuggled to England and published in India. This is considered the last political testament, in which he tried to present his case politically as he had sensed that the military junta would not spare his life, so had quit the legal battle. This 248 pages book, published in 1980, by the Vision Books, New Delhi, gives details of Bhutto's relations with world leaders, especially with US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who reportedly threatened him to make a 'horrible example'.

He also wrote *To my dearest daughter* letter written to his daughter Benazir Bhutto on her 25th birthday 21st June from District Jail Rawalpindi.

Another book he wrote from prison was *If I am assassinated*, written on the small pieces of paper from the death cell of District Jail Rawalpindi and was smuggled from prison and country and published in India.

- 11- *Pakistan—The Gathering Storm*, by Benazir Bhutto, written during her detention period in Zia Martial Law and this book of 116 pages was published by Vikas Publishing House New Delhi, in 1983. The manuscript of the book was somehow smuggled from Pakistan and got published with her own preface, in which she declares that '... But this long night of oppression--- now well into its sixth year---cannot continue indefinitely...They will revolt some day and before very long...The price of freedom may be heavy but the people of Pakistan will pay it...Come what may, we shall overcome.' The book is divided in eight chapters on political, economic and diplomatic situation of the country.

- 12- ***Turam Yatra***, by Abdul Wahid Aarisar is a prison dairy in Sindhi, covers days writer spent in prison as a Sindhi nationalist leader during Bhutto government. First published in 1985, by *Bhambhor Isha'at Ghar* Hyderabad, this 145 pages book is dedicated to G. M. Syed.
- 13- ***Sahiwal Jail Jee Dairy*** (Dairy of the Sahiwal Prison), by Sheikh Ayaz, published by New Fields Publications, Hyderabad in May 1986 and covers the period of 1968, when the leading Sindhi poet was arrested and kept in Sahiwal Jail Punjab. In this book Sheikh Ayaz describes the political situation during the last days of General Ayub's rule.
- 14- ***Njar Muhinjo Neehu*** (Chains, My Beloved), a prison dairy written by PPP worker Aijaz Khwaja and published by *Sachai Ishaat Ghar*, Daro in 1988. This book covers his four arrests in 1971, 1979, 1983 and 1986. Politically trained in Mirpur Bathoro, district Thatta, a centre of the progressive and Sindhi nationalist politics; Khwaja started his political career in 1967. This dairy of over 150 pages is dedicated to Ashok Kumar, an engineering lecturer, who was picked up by the security forces in early 1970s and was never seen again. This is the only prison dairy which under one cover gives insight of two military dictators Ayub and Zia. The book also covers an interesting twist in Pakistani politics, when after the massacre in Sindh during the MRD movement of 1983; the idea of Confederation was floated by a PPP leader Mumtaz Bhutto, while languished in Karachi Jail, which generated a heated debate within political circles in the prisons as well the mainstream society.
- 15- ***Tanqeed Nigari-Irtiqai Jaizo*** (Criticism-evolutionary review) by Badar Abro, published by Sindhi Adabi Sangat Karachi branch in 1985. Renowned Sindhi intellectual Mohammed Ibrahim Joyo wrote a preface for the book, which was awarded the best book by Sindhi Adabi Sangat. Later, this book was

recommended for the literature students of Karachi, Sindh and ShahLatifUniversities.

- 16-**Hathain Hath Karhol** (Arms in Chains) by Tariq Ashraf, published in 1985, by Ms. Nazir Naz of *Nari Publications*Hyderabad. This book is dedicated to Sindhi intellectual Mohammed Ibrahim Joyo and writer's nephew Aurangzeb Mughal.
- 17-**Puhinje Pachar**, (Own Narrative) by Gul Mohammed Chang, an autobiography of a political worker, written during his arrest in Zia Martial Law. In this book writer describes atrocities committed by Zia regime, including public punishment of lashes to him, which was observed by about ten thousand people. This book of 134 pages was first published by *Sindhi Adabi Publication Agency* in 1989 and renowned Sindhi intellectual Mohammed Ibrahim Joyo has written a preface for it.
- 18-**Jail Ji Dairy** (Prison Dairy), by Badar Abro, an accused in Jam Saqi/Communist Conspiracy Case during Zia Martial Law. This dairy, mostly in fragmented subjective style covers the period from 20th November 1980, when the writer was arrested to 16th January 1985, when he was acquitted by the Special Military Court. This dairy of 288 pages has the detailed prefaces by Sheikh Ayaz and Jam Saqi and is dedicated to 'all those who struggled and remained unknown'. First published in 1990, and later in 2014 as well, this dairy gives us a very brief insight of the prison life but is a master-piece of Badar Abro's creativity, who is a fiction writer as well as a painter and sculptor. Deprived of instruments for other creative works, he expresses his feelings through the pages of the dairy. This book was awarded as the best creative literature by Academy of Letters, Pakistan.
- 19-**Ghaliyon Kot Karhan Joon** (Talks of the prison and chains), is another dairy in Sindhi by Aijaz Khwaja

covers periods between 29th August 1983 to 4th February 1984 and 5th November 1986 to September 1987. For first period, the writer a senior PPP worker 'was arrested during the '*Jail-Bhāro Tahreek*' of MRD and for the second period as a member of the dissident group of the PPP, which was demanding a Confederation between the four provinces in the country. Published by the '*Sāchai Isha'at Ghar*, Hyderabad, dairy, in its first section, gives a detailed insight of the days and nights in the Hyderabad Central Jail, when it was over-flooded by political workers of all shades and parties. The writer had dedicated this book, first published in 1995 containing 200 pages, to his late wife Shirin Bano. Remembering her, writes 'during her lifetime the years spent in prison passed like a thunder moment, after her demise, the 15-days of confinement in a police lockup were difficult to bear.'

- 20- ***Asan Jeean Jeay ko*** (Someone live like us), by Abdul Wahid Aarisar, is a narrative of five months and four days, the writer was kept in torture camps. The writer had been the Chairman of a faction of *Jeay Sindh Mahaz*, a secessionist Sindh-based party. As the writer is inspired by Maulana Azad, so this book of his ordeal reflects the writing style of Maulana Azad. The first edition of the book was published by *Bhittai Communication* Tando Adam in October 1998.
- 21- ***Pulsarat***, by Dodo Maheri, is a prison dairy of 1992, when writer, a Sindhi nationalist worker was in military custody. Sardar Shah has written a preface to this 104 page book, published by New Fields publications, Hyderabad.
- 22- ***Dewarun Jee Dunya Poyan*** (Behind the World of Walls) by Ayub Khoso, is a prison dairy written by leading young Sindhi poet and prose-writer, who was accused of blasphemy for writing a column in a Sindhi daily *Alakh*, which was also banned. This 237-page dairy, published in 2003, by *Kanwal Publication*, Qambar, describes the daily life in the Hyderabad Central Jail.
- 23- ***Haan! Main Bhaghi Hoon*** (Yes I am a Rebel), by Javaid Hashmi, written during his time in prison, under

General Parvaiz Musharaf, when the writer, a leader of the Muslim League, led by Nawaz Sharif was sentenced in a high treason case. This book of 413 printed pages and few other with photographs describes the political career of the writer, is dedicated to the deprived people and classes of the society. The book is published by the *Sagar Publishers*, Lahore in 2005. This book gives a good account of the ups and downs of the Pakistani politics, as the writer had been active in it since mid 1960s.

- 24- ***Chah-i-Yousif Se Sada*** by Yousif Raza Gilani, later Prime Minister of the country, was written during his imprisonment during General Parvaiz Musharaf. Published by Nigarishat Lahore in 2006, the book covers the family history and the political career of the writer, who is also the caretaker of a shrine in Multan. This 275 pages book, with some photos, is dedicated to 'the Silent Majority, without whose speaking up the life will continue to be hit by crimes and will be full of sorrows'.
- 25- ***Jail Ja Dheehan, Jail Joon Raatiyon*** (Days and nights of prison), by Ismail Rahu, is a prison diary in Sindhi, which covers period of 18th June 2001 to 31st December 2001. Son of a slain peasant leader Fazil Rahu, the writer later joined the Nawaz Sharif faction of Muslim League. In this diary he has discussed in detail his father's political life, especially during Zia's Martial Law. Another characteristic of this book is the Sindhi Vocabulary, used in prisons. This 360-page book was first published in 2008 by *Sindhi ca Academy* Karachi.
- 26- ***Aseen Lochiyoan Loha Main*** (we grow in chains) by Rasheed Bhatti, published in 2014 by *My publication*, Sukkur. Spread on 492 Pages, this is perhaps the only diary written by one of the very few non-Bengali opponents to the military operation in East Bengal during 1971. A committed leftist, fiction writer and translator, Rasheed Bhatti gives us insight from the Sukkur Jail, of the state of that period, especially of the intelligentsia, who in majority chose to keep silence on the massacre on fellow human being and fellow country-men in Bengal.

6- Women: Struggle for Equality and Rights

Ram Saran Nagina, in his memoirs '*Attock Par Ke Yadain*' (Memoirs of across the Attock), published during 2009, from Lahore, had mentioned the name of a Pathan woman Shayama from Charsada, who was responsible for the movement of clandestine literature and arrangements for the underground Comrades. She was married to Denna Nath.

Sindh added a gem in its armory of dedicated workers, when in 1945, Comrade Shanta, after wedding Comrade Jamal Din Bukhari, the Secretary of CPI Sindh branch, moved to Karachi. Born in village Kota Bondi, Jhalawarh, Rajasthan, in April 1924 to the family of Kastoori Bai and Peera ji, mother of Comrade Shanta was a school teacher and father a tailor. She was just five years old, when her mother died at the early age of 28, so her maternal aunt Sundra took over the responsibility of bringing her up. This aunt was a female activist of a Communist group in Ahmadabad, Gujarat and later married to a Pathan Comrade Jagan Khan in 1942. At the age of eleven, Shanta started work in a local textile mill and got involved in the union activities.

In 1943, she attended a Communist workers' conference in Ahmadabad, where she met her future life partner Comrade Jamal Din Bukhari of Larkana Sindh. Initially, their marriage was supposed to be held in March 1943 but soon after their first meeting, Comrade Bukhari was arrested, so it took place in 1945. As she had decided to live in the Muslim majority province of Sindh, so before marriage she formally converted to Islam and took the name Zaibunnisa. After moving to Karachi, she took over the management of the Commune, run at the Party office near the Light House Cinema on Bandar Road. Because of her presence, the female workers also started coming to the Commune.

When in 1946 Comrade Bukhari was arrested for mobilizing the masses in support of Naval Rebels, Shanta managed the party press and office till 1949. During the Hindu-Muslim riots of January 1948 in Karachi, many people advised her to move to some safer place with her two children but she refused and continued her political struggle and campaign for the release of her husband. She was demanding that both she and her children be allowed to live with Comrade Bukhari in prison or the government should bear her family expenditures.

In those days of turmoil, the Communist workers like Comrade Sobho Gianchandani, Keerat Babani, Vishnu Bharti and others, submitted their daily reports to Comrade Shanti, who with other tasks, was cooking meals for the political cadres.

After her arrival in Karachi, she formed 'Khidmatgar Union' of the domestic female workers and 'Municipal Women Sweepers' Union' and became Secretary of both unions. Along with this, she was the President of Birth Attendants', Female Bangle-Makers and Female Fabric Workers' associations.

In early 1940s, Communist women group, led by Perin Barocha started work among the women of Lahore, with

the support of Hajra Begum, wife of famous Communist Leader Dr. Z. A. Ahmed. The most active of this group was a young girl Latoo. These Communist women demanded that women should also be given equal opportunities of work, as they can also work like men. These women also raised issue of Muslim Women's right of divorce to secure their married lives. Comrade P. C. Joshi, the CPI Secretary General, appointed Hajra Begum as the Secretary of the *Punjab Khawateen Sabha*, with the assignment to lead and train women of the province. It was a daring and courageous work in the Muslim majority province of Punjab, where usually Muslim women, isolated from the political and social life, were living behind veil and within the four walls of the family.

This group acted boldly, so far that in a gathering; they greeted the male and female guests from Russia, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia by embracing them. This antagonized their families, as this kind of behavior is considered contrary to their culture. Hajra Begum had to pacify the angry parents.

Later, Comrade Perin Barocha married Comrade Romesh Chander and became the international figure in the women movement.

Achieving rights for women never had been an easy task in Pakistan, where they had to confront on two fronts. On the one hand, the traditional feudal mentality and patriarchy was not ready to give even an inch of breathing space to them, on the other hand the Pakistani women had to face a special species of the Molvies or religious elements, who were hands in glove with the rural elite and the ruling clique, and were denying women rights in the name of Islam. However, the women of those early days never gave up their desire to come forward.

The first legislature of Pakistan had only two women members, Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz and Begum Shaista Ikramullah.

During the budget session of 1948, a report on the Shariat Bill by a select committee was supposed to present in the House but at the last minute it was removed from the agenda, which infuriated the women and they, led by Jahanara, raising slogans, marched to the Assembly Chambers. The Prime Minister took cognizance of this and the Muslim Personal Law of Shariat (1948) became effective. This law recognized women's right to inherit property, including agricultural property.

In the Zakat Committee of the first constituent assembly, set up by the finance minister, the Molvies refused to sit with women members, arguing that only veiled women, above the age of fifty should be allowed to sit in the Assembly.

Tahira Mazhar Ali Khan, Hajra Masood, Khadija Omar, Amatul Rehman, Alys Faiz and other women formed *Anjuman Jamhooriyat Pasand Khawateen* or the Democratic Women Association (DWA), an affiliated body of the Communist Party of Pakistan, in 1948 in Lahore. In early period most of its members were from the intelligentsia section and of the elite classes of the society.

Tahira, a daughter of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, one of the biggest aristocrats of Punjab, had been drawn to the working classes under the influence of her husband Mazhar Ali Khan, who himself from feudal background, had involved himself against the anti-imperialist struggle and was the editor of Pakistan Times.

DWA became the first women group to celebrate the International Women's Day on 8th March 1948. The next year, government officials refused to give permission to acquire hall for celebrations, so they celebrated it on the streets of Lahore. This sent out a clear message to the government that they would continue to fight for the emancipation of women, come what may.

In its first year of inception, DWA came into limelight when its members circled the huts of railway workers in Lahore by holding each other's hands to prevent officials from demolishing the huts for getting space to construct the residential blocks for railway officers.

Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan, the wife of first Prime Minister of Pakistan and a trained nurse, along with few other women, started Women Voluntary Service (WVS) in 1948, which was the first attempt to organize women outside the Muslim League. Later, on her initiative, the Pakistan Women National Guard (PWNG) and the Pakistan Women Naval Reserve (PWNRR) were formed in 1949. Both these organizations were disbanded soon after she was appointed Pakistan's ambassador to Netherlands.

In 1948, Allah Rakha Jamali launched a periodical '*Rahbaer-i-Niswan*' from Balochistan for the rights of women.

On 22nd February, 1949, Begum Ra'ana Liaquat convened a women conference in Karachi, which was attended by over 100 active women from all over the country. The conference ended with the formation of All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) with Ra'ana as its founding President. Later, she was made its life President. APWA was conceived as a voluntary, non-political organisation, open to all women of Pakistan above 16 years of age. Its main objectives were the welfare of Pakistan's women and creating opportunities for their participation in all sectors of the society. APWA mostly attracted the urban middle and upper class women, who usually became active during natural or man-made calamities, helping poor and needy in neighborhood and for social galas. APWA opened many girls' schools in different parts of the country.

Since it has been founded by the wife of Prime Minister, so APWA got full government support and Governor of every

province became its provincial patron and the wife of district magistrate was the first choice for district chief.

Anwara Khatun, joined Awami Muslim League at its inception and became a close associate of Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, Maulana Bhashani and Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. She actively participated in the Bengali Language Movement from 1947-1952 and held many consultative meetings in her home at 23 Green Road, Dhanmandi, Dhaka during the Language Movement and played a vital role in organizing women activists and making the student strike on 11th March 1948 a success.

She was also one of the members along with Maulana Tarkabagish, who famously staged a walkout as a protest against Chief Minister Nurul Amin's inaction during the movement. The following day, on 22nd February 1952, Anwara Khatun moved a resolution in the East Bengal Legislative Assembly, demanding the unconditional release of all people arrested during the protest, compensation to the victims, and punishment of the officials who were responsible for the murders and atrocities. In a fiery speech, she protested the killing of innocent people during those two fatal days and lamented the government. In 1966, she led the Awami League, after its male leadership was imprisoned during the Six-point Movement.

It was women, most of them only schoolgirls at the time, who first defied the curfew under section 144, tore off the police barricades and assembled under the mango tree in the Dhaka University campus premises to join the movement for a just status of the Bengali language in February 1948-52.

There were a number of women including Dr. Halima Khatun, Rawshan Ara Bachchu, Sufia Ibrahim, Fazilatunnessa, Rani Battachariya, Pratiba Mutsuddi, Sofia Khan, Zulekha, Nuri, Sara Taifur, Safia Ahmed and others. Eight schoolgirls including Sufia Ibrahim and Rawshan Ara

Bachchu were injured in the police baton charge, while many of them were arrested. Rawshan Ara Bachchu joined *Gonotantrik Pragotishil Chhatra Front* (Democratic Progressive Student Front) in 1950 to protest stifling education policy of then Pakistan government and a hike in students' fees in the University. She was elected member of Women Students' Residence Hall and Salimullah Muslim Hall elections. Participated in the meeting held in Amtola, Dhaka University on 30th January 1952 to protest Khawaja Nazimuddin's declaration to make Urdu the sole language of Pakistan on 27th January. Dr. Halima Khatun was assigned the responsibility to mobilize the female students from Muslim Girls' School and Bengla Bazar Girls' School and bring them in the Dhaka University campus to break the section 144 during the Language Movement. She, along with fellow female students survived the tear gas shelling and baton charge by police and reached the spot of protest.

Rani Bhattachariya had joined *Barisal Jagdish Saraswat Girls' School* as assistant teacher in 1951 and became active in the Language Movement in same year. She participated in female demonstration in Barisal along with other teachers of the school on 21st February. Sufia Ahmed was a daughter of a progressive minded judge Justice Ibrahim Ahmed, who inspired her to love and respect the mother tongue and support the Language Movement. She participated in demonstrations as the student of her Barisal Brojamohan College during 1948, when Jinnah declared Urdu as the sole language of Pakistan. She joined Dhaka University in 1950 and was one of those female forerunners to break section 144 and violate curfew in Dhaka University on 21st February 1952. In November 1952, she travelled to Turkey as one of the 10-member cultural delegation and sang songs in Bengali defying opposition of the West Pakistani members of the team. Pratibha Mutsuddi, became active member of Students' Federation during her student life, while studying at Mahamuni Anglo

Pali Institution. After passing intermediate from Chittagong College, she was admitted in Dhaka University in 1954. During the Language Movement, she played an active role in Chittagong, protesting the firing on students in Dhaka. Later, in 1955, she organized a female protest meeting consisting of students from Women's Hall (later Rokeya Hall) of Dhaka University. Subsequently arrested and sent to Lalbagh Police Station and later to the Dhaka Central Jail and was released after two weeks.

Sofia Khan got admission in the department of Bengali Literature of Dhaka University during 1948, where she joined the Students' Federation and was involved in mobilizing female students of Muslim Girl's School, Quamrunnissa School, Banglabazar Girl's School and Eden College during the Language Movement. She was one of those women who broke police curfew on 21st February 1952.

Outraged by the killings on 21st and 22nd February 1952, *Mamtaj Begum*, the then headmistress of *Narayanganj Morgan Girl's School*, organized one of the largest women demonstrations on 29th February. She was immediately arrested. However, the ordinary people in Narayanganj, most of whom had no capacity to educate their children at *Narayanganj Morgan Girl's School* protested her arrest and created road barricades by cutting hundreds of trees over few miles to obstruct the police van from taking her away from Chshara station to Dhaka. Later the government proposed that she should sign a 'mercy petition' admitting her mistake in exchange for her freedom. However, the fiery female teacher showed her resilience and fighting spirit by refusing to do so. As a result she was jailed, condemned and dubbed as a Communist. She spent over a year in jail and when finally she was freed, she lost her job; her husband divorced her and did not allow their daughter to live with her.

Away from family, friends and the loved ones, she died all alone in Amanitola, Dhaka in 1967, after many days of hardship, starvation, abandonment and social exclusion as a 'bad woman who had dared to go even to prison and been forsaken by her husband'. She was only 37 at the time of her death. She was just erased from the political and state memory of both Pakistan and Bangladesh, till July 2009, where after 57 years of her heroic role, her first portrait was handed over to *Narayanganj Morgan Girl's School* and in August 2010, a road in Narayanganj was named after her by the city mayor Dr. Selina Hayat Ivy in presence of her only daughter Shahana Islam.

In 1953, APWA demanded the reservation of ten women seats in the National and Provincial Assemblies and was instrumental in pushing the government towards the Family Law Commission, which finally prepared the draft of the Family Laws Ordinance of 1961.

It will be fair to say that APWA was never liked by the Molviés and Begum Ra'ana Liaquat and other APWA women, who never wore the veil, were labeled as 'prostitutes' by a right-wing Majlis-i-Ahḥar.

Maulana Maududi, the founder of Jamaat-i-Islami, in early 1950s declared that voting rights should be extended to all adult males and only to educated females. He expounded that women should not be allowed to take any public office, where they are likely to come in contact with men. Important public offices including that of head of state could only be held by pious and learned males. He recommended a separate assembly of women to advise legislatures on issues related to women.

In 1954, the Karachi Business and Professional Women Club (BPW) was formed and interestingly, once again Begum Ra'ana Liaquat was the motivation force behind this organisation. Later BPW clubs were opened in Lahore, Peshawar and Rawalpindi.

In September 1954, at the final session of the Constituent Assembly, a bill of the Charter of Women's Rights, prepared by Begum Jahanara was discussed.

Equality of status, equality of opportunity, equal pay for equal work and guarantees of rights for Muslim women under the Islamic Personal Law of Sharia, were the main points of that charter. After the initial opposition by Sir Zafar Ullah Khan, who was presiding the session, the bill was passed unanimously.

1955 saw the formation of the first women organisation addressing women rights. Formed by women political activists, the United Front for Women's Rights, under the leadership of Jahanara Shahnawaz and Begum Nasim Jahan, concentrated on pushing for the pro-women legislation. After the Family Laws Ordinance 1961, it became inactive and after the finalization of 1973 constitution, this organisation disappeared from the horizon.

By this time, women had become so confident that they initiated a campaign against the Prime Minister Mohammed Ali Bogra for marrying second time, without divorcing his first wife.

The pressure created by UFWR and APWA forced government to appoint a Commission headed by the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Justice Rashid. The terms of references of the Commission included examining the existing laws of marriage, divorce, maintenance and custody of children. Commission finalized its report in 1956, with a note of dissent by the religious member of the Commission, Maulana Ahatsham ul Haque Thanvi.

In 1956, the workers of Bata Shoe Company in Lahore went on strike for the acceptance of their demands. To break the spirit of the workers, officials had banned the entry of out-side supporters in the factory area. The members of

DWA, under Tahira Mazhar Ali, wearing veils reached the premises to show solidarity with the workers.

In the same year, the Federation of University Women was formed and its membership was open for the students of bachelor and advanced degrees. One of the earliest tasks of this organisation was to set-up a degree college for those women in Karachi, who were keen to continue their studies but were unable to get admissions in government-run colleges.

The same period witnessed emergence of many more women organizations including Family Planning Association of Pakistan, Pakistan Child Welfare Council, Pakistan Nurses' Federation, the Housewives Association, Girls' Guide Association and International Women's Club.

The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), founded way-back in 1899, also started its Pakistan branch in the same period. It not only provided a hostel for the working women but also started training courses in secretarial work and office administration. In early days of Pakistan, the Christian women were in majority as far as the working women in urban areas were concerned.

On the invitation of DWA, Perin Borochoa along with other women, who were resisting the US occupation of Vietnam, visited Pakistan and addressed gatherings in many cities.

In 1962, All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) campaigned for the family laws, which later was introduced by the Ayub government as the Family Laws Ordinance 1962.

For the presidential elections of 1965, the Combined Opposition Parties (COP) put Fatima Jinnah, sister of Jinnah as its joint candidate against General Ayub Khan. Many of Ayub's crony religious scholars issued edicts that a woman could not hold the office of the head of state. Almost all independent analysts are in consensus that Fatima Jinnah had won these indirect elections and was

defeated by rigging and not by the popular vote. Interesting aspect of Fatima Jinnah's candidature was her support by the right wing elements, including Jamaat-i-Islami, who justified a diversion in their earlier stance regarding women as the head of state, for 'an extraordinary circumstances'.

In January 1967, Lahore branch of the Soroptomist International Association, which had a consultative status with UNESCO, was opened. Its main activity was an annual seminar, where papers on issues related to women were presented.

In 1967, a welfare organisation, Behbood Association was formed, mainly focused on creating a spirit of self-reliance and self-respect among the under privileged women by helping them to earn a living.

In those years, women could work in different organisation at same time. As one can see Marium Habib, a painter and fine arts teacher, who later became one of the pioneer women journalist in Pakistan, was a founder member of the Business and Professional Women's Club in Lahore, at one time was president of the Soroptomist Club and also on the executive committee of APWA, Punjab.

In 1967, a mass movement against Ayub government started, which according to many analysts brought Pakistan at the threshold of the revolution. Karachi, being an industrial city was at the forefront of this movement and witnessed uprising of all segments of society including women. To capitalize the momentum among women, who were mobilized during the movement, a Karachi branch of DWA was formed in 1969. It concentrated on the political work among female factory and fisheries workers, and the female family members of workers and students.

The arrest of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, during the agitation against the Ayub government, brought his wife Begum Nusrat Bhutto in the forefront of the movement; later she

was to play a heroic role during the worst military rule of General Zia.

In 1968, the DWA became member of the Women's International Democratic Organization.

On 19th November, 1969, Ms. Akhtar Baloch and Ms. Anees Memon started their hunger strike in Hyderabad for printing of voter lists in Sindhi. They were arrested. Akhter Baluch wrote her prison dairy '*Qaidiyani ji dairy*' (Dairy of a female prison) in Sindhi, which later was translated in many languages.

During the agitation against Ayub's dictatorship and afterward for the election campaign for party candidates, female PPP workers had gone door-to-door, briefing women about their equal right and promising an exploitation-free society. These ideals gave a new ray of hope to women, especially of the working classes, who enthusiastically participated in 1971 elections and voted for PPP.

After the elections, many of these women became part of PPP and with the help of leftist elements within the party, they became active members. The PPP established its women wing, under the leadership of Begum Nusrat Bhutto, who after the execution of her husband, became the Party chief.

After the creation of Bangladesh, Bhutto came into power and formed a Constitution Committee to draft the new constitution for the country. This committee had two women members, Nasim Jehan and Dr. Ashraf Abbassi, who later became the first Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly.

Born in a liberal-minded landowner family of the conservative region of Larkana, Ashraf Abbassi got her early education at her ancestors' village Waleed, where the first primary school was opened way back in 1894. Her

step brother Comrade Ali Mohammed opened a school for girls. Ashraf was encouraged in her education by Lady Khurshid Shah Nawaz Bhutto, whose grand daughter Benazir Bhutto was to become Prime Minister. After passing her matriculate examination, she got admission in DJ Mal Science College Karachi (founded by philanthropist Sindhi Hindus in late nineteenth century) and during this period stayed at YWCA hostel.

After passing Intermediate, she intended to become doctor and in early 1940s got admission in the Lady Harding Medical College for Women Delhi, where she studied just for one year and during her first annual vacations, was married to her first cousin Khan Mohammed.

One of her two sons, fell sick of measles and during his cure, she asked her husband's permission to complete her medical studies. After handing over her children to her sister, she applied for admission in the Dow Medical College Karachi, where the principal initially discouraged this married woman to continue her education. However, she was enrolled in the college on the basis of her merit. In college, she joined the liberal and progressive students and was elected Clinic Secretary of students' union during 1952-53. she played an active role in the students' agitation of January 1953 during which many students were killed in police firing.

After passing her final MBBS examination, the government appointed her as medical officer in Larkana. In her private practice, she charged fees from the rich but treated the poor without any charges. During this, she observed the miseries and poverty of the people and started social work in the area.

She was elected as Khairpur Divisional member and later in 1962, won a provincial seat from a woman reserved seat. During this election her husband died in a road accident.

After Bhutto took over the power, he nominated Ashraf for a woman reserved seat in national assembly and later she as a woman member, was taken into the constitution making committee. After the adoption of the constitution on 14th August 1973, Begum Ashraf Abbassi was elected as the Deputy Speaker of the national assembly, after that she quit her regular medical practice.

After the imposition of Martial Law by General Zia, she was detained first at Sukkur Central Jail and later at her residence. During that, a disqualification reference was brought against her but Sindh High Court issued the verdict in her favor. During 'Jail Bhara Tahreek' of 1983, her arrest warrants were issued and after dodging the police for some time, she court arrested in Larkana, where after her emotional speech, the anti-Zia workers confronted the police.

In the post-General Zia 1988 general elections, she defeated one of the biggest feudal lords of Sindh in a Larkana constituency, with a big margin and once again was elected as the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, during the short-lived elected government of PPP.

The 1973 constitution gave women more rights than any other constitution of Pakistan. The 1973 constitution guaranteed the equal status of both men and women. During the Bhutto government (1972-1977), women got relatively more importance in state functioning. Through the administrative reforms of 1972, women could enter the Foreign Services and district management group, from which they had been barred earlier.

For the first time in the history of Pakistan, a woman Begum Ra'na Liaquat Ali Khan was appointed the Governor of Sindh in 1972. A year later, Dr. Kaniz Fatima, became first woman to be the Vice Chancellor, when she was

appointed for the post for Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

The year 1975, was officially declared as 'women year', and Pakistan was represented by Begum Nusrat Bhutto at the International Women Conference in Mexico and a semi-autonomous Pakistan Women's Institute was set up in Lahore to commemorate the year.

A group of female students of the University of Punjab Lahore formed the Women's Front in 1974-75. This was a small but aggressive leftist group, which based its program on the struggle to change the society under the vanguard leadership of the working class. It represented the extreme left tendency of that time and while criticizing the Bhutto government for its feudal orientation, it also declared International Women Year a fraud by the United Nation in service of the Imperialism. Most of its members belonged to the lower middle class and were opposed to the use of adornments and cosmetic, which they saw as the symbols of the slavery for women. On 8th March 1975, the International women day, their rally was baton charged by the police in Rawalpindi, where they also organized a May Day meeting.

The Front contested elections in Punjab University and won both the women seats. Within a year, it opened its branches in Sargodha and Multan. After couple of years of its existence, this Front vanished as its earlier cadre failed to penetrate the masses.

In November 1975, few young women, recently returned from Western educational institutes and with exposure to the current women movements, met in Islamabad and established *Shirkat Gah-Women's Resource Centre*, which later developed into a major NGO for women in Pakistan. It opened a hostel in Islamabad for single women in August 1976. In 1979, it began working in Karachi.

In January 1976, a 13-member Women Rights Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Yahya Bakhtiyar, the Attorney General of Pakistan. It had nine women members. Though it presented its report in July 1976, but because of the early elections and consequently imposition of Martial Law by General Zia, its recommendations were never been implemented.

During that brief period of democracy, many exclusive women groups or with mixed gender emerged to work towards changing the society for a better future. The women's wing of Nationalist Students' Organization in Punjab was one such example, whose female members not only maintained their separate units in the campuses but also worked on political and class base with the working class women and with those who were living in the under-privileged localities.

During its 1977 election campaign, the religious Jamaat-i-Islami opposed the Family Law Ordinance (1961) that restrained polygamy and regulated divorce, and avowed the banning of extramarital sex, and promised to put an end to birth control, which it saw as being un-Islamic.

In 1976-77, left-oriented university teachers, students and other working women in Islamabad started another organisation called *Aurat*. This organization began work in a low-income area near Islamabad, focused on the problems of women in that locality and organized them. It also launched a newsletter '*Aurat*', in August 1978, which highlighted the issues of women especially those of the lower classes. It managed to bring out six issues of the newsletter and the joint issue of January-February-March 1981, happened to be the last one.

On 17th September 1978, as Bhutto was facing murder charges in the Supreme Court, pro-PPP women brought out a rally in Rawalpindi. After baton charge, police arrested five women Begum Abida Malik, Inayat Begum, Zakia Kaniz, Khurshid Alam and Begum Malik, along with

five male workers. They were mistreated and abused in the police lockup and next day were produced before a Military Court, which sentenced male workers for one year imprisonment and 15 lashes and released women workers.

The Martial Law Government of General Zia, once again brought the dark days, especially for women. As it was considered a victory over the liberal regime by the right-wing, attacks on women mobility began. Initially these incidents were isolated cases, like in the last quarter of 1978; a woman in a bakery, situated in an upper class locality of Lahore was slapped by a stranger male, because she was not covering her head. Later the Zia administration ordered women in government service to wear *chadars*.

In 1979, the notorious Hudood Ordinance was promulgated, as the General Zia's first step towards *Islamization*. The Ordinance covered adultery, fornication, rape and prostitution, false testimony, theft and consumption of alcohol. It contained a section relating to the manner in which punishments were to be executed.

Zarina Baloch, a leading Sindhi folk singer was arrested for her political activities in 1979 and was kept in Sukkur and Karachi Jails.

N1981 collected over seven thousand signatures.

In the autumn of 1981, to propagate Islam through state-run television, a weekly lecture program *Al-Huda* was started. Speaker for that program was Dr. Israr Ahmed, member of Islamic Ideology Council, as well Zia's hand-picked *Majlis-i-Shoora* (the Advisory Council). He had quit the Jamaat-i-Islami on the issue of Fatima Jinnah's presidential candidature, way back in 1962. Although it was well-known that Israr had forbidden the presence of women in the recording studio during his program but women had not reacted to it.

An interview to Urdu daily Jang on 18th March 1982, in which he had described his version of an Islamic state, opened the flood-gates of protests against him. On the same day, a group of women led by Begum Asghari Rahim, staged a demonstration in front of the television station in Karachi and demanded that Dr. Israr should be removed from the television program. According to some accounts, Yasmeen Abbassi, the wife of then military Governor of Sindh, was among the demonstrators. From the demonstration few women were taken into custody, while others were taken to the Commissioner Office. Next day, although the government spokesperson denied the presence of Yasmeen in the demonstration but the daily Jang published a statement by her on 19th March that women would continue to come out and protest until the rights of women and children were safeguarded.

On 18th March, 18 women organizations, including APWA and WAF, held a joint meeting and Begum Ra'ana Liaquat presented resolution, passed by the meeting, saying that, 'His (Israr's) views are not balanced or based on a proper understanding of Islam. To work in any profession is the basic right of women in Islam as it gives complete freedom and independence to women to engage in economic activities within or outside of home'.

The resolution also demanded the removal of Israr from television immediately. Pakistan Medical Association, dominated by the leftist activists, also passed a resolution against Israr.

On the other hand, the minority Shia community, who was antagonized by Israr Ahmed for arranging his daughter's marriage on the 8th *Muharam*, the month of mourning for them, took opportunity and organized demonstrations against him all over the country.

On 20th March, the *Al-Huda* program was taken off the air and replaced by *Fahm-i-Koran*, which did not feature Israr Ahmed. The television authorities maintained that this

change was pre-scheduled and it had nothing to do with women's protest. Although, Israr Ahmed continued as a member of *Majlis-i-Shoora*, but his removal from television screen was seen by anti-religious fundamentalism groups, especially, women's organizations as their hard earned victory.

Israr did not stop there, in a later interview, he announced that no one could be punished for assaulting or raping a woman until the Islamic state is not being established. Verbal arguments between women organizations and Israr continued for a while and afterward in the second week of May 1982, he resigned from the *Majlis-i-shoora*, claiming that his resignation had nothing to do with the protest of a handful Westernized women.

In November 1981, the government took another step forward in the segregation of women by floating the idea of a separate university for women. It must be mentioned here that it was an old demand of *Jamaat-i-Islami* and it had taken up the issue during the 1970 elections campaign. Now *Jamaat* was dictating the fulfillment of its demand for joining the General Zia government. Women organizations, especially WAF launched efforts to counter the move and besides initiating a signature campaign, the columns of Letters to Editor were filled with letters of protest throughout November and December.

In November 1980, a number of women were selected to attend an international sports event, scheduled in Sri Lanka in early 1981. The selected athletes spent one and half month training in Lahore but just five days before their departure, the trip was cancelled and they were sent back to their homes. Same thing happened again in the summer of 1981, when after three months training sessions for the First Asian Games, scheduled on 17th August 1981, in Tokyo, they were asked on 14th August to disband the camp. In both cases there were no written directives for the actions. On both occasion, Molvies, especially in Islamabad and in the garrison city of

Rawalpindi had campaigned against women's participation in the sports events. Bowing to pressure of religious elements, the Federal Minister for Sports and Culture, Arbab Niaz, said that although the government was keen to promote women's sports, but these should be organized in a manner not against the Islamic injunction. Same thing happened again in 1982, when women were barred from participating in ASIAD games, due to start on 19th November in New Delhi. This time, women held a demonstration at Lahore Airport on 13th November, when the all-male Pakistani team departed for the event. On the occasion, Neva Chanan, a prominent female athlete, addressed a press conference and deplored the government attitude. Few male sport-persons including captain of hockey team Sami Ullah, tennis team captain Saeed Mir and wrestler Salahuddin spoke in favor of women's participation in sports. At the airport a member of the boxing team, a serving army officer Major Arif opposed women's participation in sports.

Despite of its decision to exclude sportswomen from Pakistani contingent to New Delhi, the government had included the president of Pakistan Women's Hockey Association, Begum Parveen Atif, wife of a serving Pakistan Army Brigadier, to attend the event.

When the officials met to elect office-bearers of Asian hockey Federation, Begum Atif was nominated for the post of vice-president, which was objected to by many delegates on the ground that no such delegate should be eligible for any post whose country had barred women from participating in the sports events. On Parveen's election, five female delegates staged a walk-out from the meeting. This protest forced Parveen to resign from the post.

In January 1982, the WAF Karachi chapter organized a two day symposium on 'Human rights and Pakistani women'. It

also started to reach out the religious minorities and working class women.

In order to form a mass organisation for the struggle of their rights, WAF encouraged other women groups and individuals who were in agreement with its charter to join and form chapters, which had to have the approval of two earliest chapters' i.e. Karachi and Lahore.

In these early days, some women member of the bourgeois political parties specially affiliated with Tahreek-i-Istaqlal, (TI) under Air Martial (retired) Asghar Khan, which had attracted the elite class, also became active in WAF. Soon, these TI affiliated women tried to capture WAF, especially in Lahore, where few elitist women had joined the party. After a rift within WAF Lahore, these political women formed a separate group WAF (Democratic). Meanwhile the leftist women in Lahore formed *Tahreek-i-Khawateen* and organized many activities with the collaboration of WAF. So after the formation of *Tahreek-i-Khawateen*, the urban based women rights group WAF, got the enforcement of working class women and female students, who forced WAF to take the issues, affecting other than the elite and middle class women.

On 15th March 1982, the government issued a new directive for the female educational institutions under the Federal Government, which said, 'The Federal Government had decided that in all institutions under its control, girls from class IX upward will henceforth wear a proper *dupatta* as head cover, rather than the thin strip of cloth which is generally in use at present. It has further been decided that all female staff in schools and colleges will be modestly dressed and will wear a *chador* over their dresses.'

The directive regarding '*Chador and Chardevari*' opened a hot debate in Pakistan, as women organizations issued

statements and held few demonstrations and women writers, like Kishwar Naheed and Saeeda Gazdar wrote boldly on the issue.

In April 1982, the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) proposed a new Law of Evidence to replace the Evidence Act of 1872, to bring it into conformity with Islam. This draft prescribed that in all cases other than the Hudood Ordinance and any other 'special law', two male witnesses, and in absent of two male witnesses, one male and two females, would be required to prove a crime. In May 1982, the government launched a campaign against obscenity and pornography. WAF and other women activists saw it as another attempt to restrict women mobility and participation in larger society.

On 27th November 1982, a political women organisation '*Sindhiani Tahreek*' (Sindhi Women Movement) was formed by a Sindh based pro-China Socialist group.

In January 1983, Zia issued an executive order barring single woman foreign services officers from serving abroad. For the year of 1982-83, women stopped being recruited in banks and those already in service were not promoted.

On 12th February 1983, to present a memorandum against the Law of Evidence, to the Lahore High Court Chief Justice Dr. Javed Iqbal, over two hundred women, including Tahira Mazhar Ali, Asma Jahangir, Shahtaj Qazalbash, Bushra Aitzaz, Tehreema Mitha and others brought out a rally, which was stopped by the police at nearby Hall Road. The rally was jointly called by the Punjab Women Lawyers Association and WAF. In protest against the stoppage by the police, women protesters gave a sat-in at the road. Asma Jahangir, a lawyer by profession, came to High Court to get support, at that time ever-ready to protest against dictatorship, Habib Jalib was sitting there with Abid Hassan Manto, Syed Afzal Hyder and Aitzaz Ahsan. Asma proposed

that if Jalib would recite few poems in front of protesting women, then they could disperse peacefully, so Jalib Along with few others went to the protest and after a brief address, recited his anti-Zia poems, which re-energized the women. Taking advantage of charged atmosphere, Jalib thundered 'O! Police force, open the way. Ladies! Let us march'. And they started marching towards High Court by the Mall Road. The police once again stopped the women and started baton-charge, as Jalib protested on it, he too was grabbed by the police and was severely beaten. On that, Wasim Chaudhry, an office bearer of High Court Bar Association confronted the police and Jalib was rescued from the police and was guided to nearby Lahore Press Club by Nisar Usmani, daily Dawn Lahore bureau chief and a media trade union leader. The police arrested and jailed many women for violating the ban on political activities. At least twenty participants were injured in the clash with police, and another thirty were arrested. Despite this demonstration or because of it, women got much needed support from other sections of the society, mostly comprised of men. The proposed changes were nevertheless forced through by General Zia's hand-picked *Majlis-i-Shoora* less than a month later. This demonstration and especially women activists' resistance and confrontation with police, suddenly forced every political force in the country to take women and their issues more seriously.

On the very next day, Urdu daily Jang published separate statements by Sahabzada Khursheed Gillani and Barakullah Khan, in which Gillani demanded a strict action against those women who brought out the rally, while Barakullah asked women to seek God's pardon for taking out the rally. Another Urdu daily Nawa-i-Waqt also adopted the editorial policy against the protesting women.

On 10th July 1983, General Zia appointed the Ansari Commission to examine the recommendations made by

Majlis Shoora Committee and CII. The main task of the 19-member commission, under Mohammed Zafar Ahmed Ansari was to make proposals within three weeks regarding the future of state in conformity with Koran and Sunnah. It submitted its report to Zia on 4th August.

The women organizations' strongest reservation came about the provision whereby the office of *Amir-i-Mumlikat* (head of state) was closed for women. The second objection was raised about the women membership of *Majlis-i-Shoora*, which conditioned women to be over fifty of age to be eligible for entering to this elitist club. The commission also suggested a separate university for women, which too was not acceptable to women.

In July 1983, *Safia Bibi*, a virtually blind girl of 18 years was sentenced for three years imprisonment, one thousand rupees fine and fifteen lashes by a lower court in Sahiwal, Punjab, on the charges of adultery. She, a daughter of a poor peasant family, was employed by a local landlord as domestic help. According to her statement, she was raped first by landlord's son and subsequently by the landlord himself; as a result she gave birth to a child who later died. Her father registered a case of rape after the death of child. The Session Judge acquitted both father and son, as there was no sufficient evidence under *Hudood* Ordinance to prove the rape. *Safia's* self-confessed pregnancy was used as evidence of adultery by the judge, who in his opinion gave a light sentence to her, because of her young age and near blindness.

On the reporting of this verdict, WAF Lahore called an emergency meeting of women organizations to review the situation and sent a fact-finding mission to Sahiwal. As WAF initiated legal consultation with PWLA and raised the issue within the country and abroad, the Federal *Shariat* court, using its *suomoto* powers for the first time, asked for the case to be transferred to it for a review. Later the

Federal *Shariat* court acquitted Safia on the grounds of benefit of doubt.

On 30th September 1983, Lal Mai became the first woman to be publically lashed at Liaquatpur of Bahawalpur district. She was convicted under the *Zina* Ordinance and given 15 lashes, executed by a man, with about 5000 people watching. In protest, displaying placards, women held demonstration in front of Governor House, Lahore. Later, her case was taken by Amnesty International as a gross violation of human rights.

On 10th October, two women activists Sharifa Samo and Naimat Rahu were arrested from the Session Courts Hyderabad for raising pro-democracy and anti-Martial Law slogans.

In December 1983, Karachi based women organizations APWA, Shirkat Gah, Tahreek-i-Niswan, All Pakistan Women Lawyers' Association, DWA and WAF filed a writ petition in the Federal *Shariat* Court, challenging the Hudood Ordinance. The women were represented by Rashida Patel, the president of PWLA and Khalid Ishaque. Although the petition was admitted for hearing in 1983 but was not taken up until 1985, when the passage of the Eighth Amendment in the constitution rendered the petition null and void.

On 8th April 1984, Military Court Multan sentenced 23 accused of imprisonment from one year to three years, fine of rupees fifteen thousands to 500 thousand rupees and fifteen lashes to nine of the accused, properties of ten accused were also confiscated. They were charged for forcing women to march naked in the public place and killing an opponent.

In the winter of 1984, the Law of Evidence was put into effect. During the same time women groups including WAF, launched campaign to pressurize the regime to

prevent floggings of women and to send women athletes to international sports events but failed on both accounts. But at the same time women power had many smaller victories.

The repression during the General Zia Martial Law produced many women writers especially poets, who were writing and afterward reciting their poetry in different anti-regime meetings, which had been declared as illegal by Martial Law authorities. In the initial days of General Zia, through her magazine *Awaz*, Fahmida Riaz dominated the scene but soon she went into self-exile in India, but her poem '*Chadar aur Chardivari*' became an anthem in many anti-Zia gatherings. Saeeda Gazdar was another Urdu poet and story-writer, who wrote literature of resistance. Saeeda, had been editor of the magazine *Pakistani Adab*, launched by Syed Sibte-Hassan. Being a sister of Dr. Sarwar, leader of the students' movement during early 1950s and wife of political documentary maker Mushtaque Gazdar, Saeeda was a supporter of the Communist Party. Her story '*Aadhi Gawahi*' (Half Evidence), written in the background of anti-women Law of Evidence, and her poem on the hanging of Bhutto are most significant.

Besides fighting for their gender rights, many political activist women suffered for their resistance to the military government. Benazir Bhutto and Begum Nusrat Bhutto led the overall movement, when many of the front ranking male leaders had just run away because of the repression by the Martial Law government. Begum Nusrat Bhutto played the most important role in the formation of opposition parties' alliance Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD).

Realizing the imminent travesty of justice in the trial of Bhutto, Farkhunda Bukhari, a housewife and married to leading Urdu poet Shohrat Bukhari, became active in

politics. In her activism, she met Begum Nusrat Bhutto and accompanied her to the Gaddafi Stadium Lahore, where Nusrat along with her daughter Benazir and other party workers was baton charged by the police. After the Lahore High Court verdict, few PPP leaders believed that to save party chief's life, emissaries should be sent to foreign countries and in that connection Farkhanda visited Turkey and then Libya, on reaching back she was arrested under Libya Conspiracy Case and was tortured in notorious Lahore Fort. During her imprisonment, PIA plane was hijacked and she along with other political prisoners, sent to Damascus, on the demand of hijackers. After staying sometime in Syria, she moved to England and on reaching Heathrow Airport London, after her long incarceration and torture, she was immediately given the political asylum as the interviewing officials saw burn marks of cigarettes on her whole body. She came back to Pakistan, during Benazir Bhutto government of 1988-90 but found no place for her in party or government, which disheartened her and in result she quit active politics. She wrote her autobiographical account '*Yeh Bazi Ishq Ki Baazi Hai*'.

Shahida Jabeen, a worker of the PPP and sister of Usman Ghani, who was hanged during Zia Martial Law, was arrested first time in 1978 from a rally in Rawalpindi after being beaten by the male police officials. At the time of arrest, her little daughter was with her, who was separated from her. She was taken to CIA centre, where she was beaten with baton and verbally abused by the male officials. She was asked to confess that the protesters including her, were sent for the sabotage acts, which she refused. Later, she was produced before a military court and its presiding officer Major Tariq pronounced one year rigorous imprisonment and she was sent to Jhelum Prison, where the Jail Superintendent refused to accommodate her, so she was shifted to Gujarat Jail for a night stay. Next day she, with a fellow female prisoner was shifted to Multan jail by a train. From the next day she, along with

other sentenced prisoners was forced to wear the prisoners' uniform and was subjected to hard labor. Few days later, on the abusive attitude of prison authorities, she protested and was sent to solitary confinement with her daughter and as punishment, the fan in her cell was disconnected. It must be remembered that Multan is one of the hottest cities in the whole of South Asia. On the recommendation of doctor, though she was shifted to the prison hospital but was kept in the ward full of mentally retarded prisoners.

After the PIA plane hijacking in 1981, Shahida Jabeen went into hiding, so her house was raided by the police and her husband was arrested and tortured to reveal the whereabouts of Shahida. In April, she was arrested from Allaudin Road, Lahore. After keeping awake for the whole night, she was shifted to the notorious torture cell in Lahore Fort. Here during interrogation, she was asked to disclose the names of her companions and whereabouts of arms and ammunition. When she was asked by the interrogators to help in the arrest of six political activists, she responded that she had four children, one husband and one mother, so by arresting them, they could complete their required number. For five consecutive nights, she was denied sleep and was forced to stand. After long period of physical and mental torture, she was shifted to the Kot Lakhpat Jail Lahore and was kept in solitary confinement. Her brother Usman Ghani was in same prison but she was not allowed to meet him. Usman Ghani was the lone brother of eight sisters.

During General Zia Martial Law, leftist female worker Hamida Ghanghro, life partner of one of the Communist martyr Nazir Abbassi, earned respect and name for her political role. She was arrested twice. Born in a small town of Mahrabpur, in the central Sindh, Hamida was daughter of Comrade Hashim Ghanghro, a religious school graduate and one of the most active peasant workers, who suffered great financial losses in his business due to his political activism.

Although his community had a social boycott of him for educating daughters but Comrade Hashim got Hamida admitted in the boys' high school as there was no girls' high school in the vicinity. Comrade Hashim used to bring out rallies in Mahrabpur, with his children carrying placards. Because of her early political and literary training, Hameeda was failed by her teacher in the annual examination of sixth grade as she had quoted Sheikh Ayaz's poetry in her answer copy.

Her political career started when she attended the Sindh National Students' Federation annual session held in Nawabshah. In this session, her future life partner Nazir Abbassi was elected Central President and her sister Khurshid as treasurer. She got her first political training from Comrade Jam Saqi, who was living at her house in the disguise of a molvi.

As the civilian government of Bhutto came to power, people of Mahrabpur like everywhere else, thought of the basic facilities in their area. Demands of a girls' high school and an intermediate college in the town were made, and a local movement was initiated around these demands. The meeting of protesting residents with the Chief Minister Sindh could not bear any result, so the locals announced the commemoration of the PPP government anniversary day on 20th December as a Black Day. In a total shutdown, a rally was brought out, attended by Hamida and her sister, which baton charged by the police. Later, in the evening Hamida along with her sister was arrested in a police raid on their house. This was her first arrest and happened during the International Women Year, celebrated during 1975 throughout the world including Pakistan. After some hours in lock-up at the local police station, both sisters were shifted to nearby sub-jail in Kandiaro. Later, she was shifted to Nara Central Jail near Hyderabad, where other female prisoners arranged a folk music program, to celebrate her first night in prison.

During her initial days in prison, Hamida could not adjust herself with the food being provided by the jail authorities and to break her spirit, she was offered release on submitting an apology. This she refused to do. Few days later, both sisters were released on bail, with government promise to establish a college in nearby town of Kandiaro. She was given a warm welcome first at Nawabshah and then at her hometown.

Both sisters were expelled from the school, so were first admitted in nearby town Kotri Kabir High School but because of the transport problem, on the recommendation of Comrade Jam Saqi, Sindh University Vice Chancellor Sheikh Ayaz gave admission to both sisters in Model School Hyderabad.

The arrest of high school students became hot topic to be discussed all over the country; so much so that addressing a gathering in Karachi, Begum Nasim Wali Khan said that the foundations of Pakistan are so weak, that two high school girls' students can shake it.

After her release from the prison, Nazir Abbassi, the Central President of SNSF and the youngest central committee member of CPP Central Committee, fell in love with her and Comrade Jam Saqi was given responsibility to convince Hamida's father to allow them to marry. Like all other tasks, Comrade Jam was successful in this task.

The marriage was set for 4th February 1978. Nazir Abbassi had arrest warrants against him, so he secretly reached the bride's hometown, where political workers from all over the country had gathered. After the formal wedding rituals, the leading poets recited their political poetry. A fresh case against Nazir and other guests of the marriage was registered. Soon after their marriage, they settled in Hyderabad, where Nazir was visiting his wife secretly.

On 4th March, Hamida was told that according to the Party's decision, she with other comrades had to take part

in the peasants' struggle at Pat Feeder area of Balochistan, where feudal lords had killed peasants in December 1977. After reaching TempieDera, she along with other Comrades including another female Comrade Asifa Rizvi sat on hunger strike and after the baton charge by police on locals and protesters, was arrested. Thus she along with Asifa became the first female political prisoner in Balochistan. After the arrest, she along with other protesters was sent to the notorious Machh Jail, where before her, Comrade Sajjad Zaheer, Comrade Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi, Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo had spent their imprisonments.

Hamida Ghanghro, being the youngest of all political prisoners, chaired the First May celebrations in the Machh Jail, organized by the political prisoners. Sometime later, she was released on bail, but before it, Nazir Abbassi was arrested and was shifted to the notorious torture camp, Quli Camp Quetta, where he was warned by the military officials that he would not be tolerated if he continues his political activities. On the writ petition by Hamida, in the Sindh High Court he was released.

Nazir was fond of watching movies in cinema houses and with his full grown beard and Hamida wearing a veil to dodge the secret police officials, were regular cinema-goers.

Meanwhile, a central leader of CPP Comrade Jam Saqi was arrested in March 1978 and was tortured in the notorious Lahore Fort. On the instructions of the party, Hamida with four months pregnancy, took part in demonstration against his arrest in Karachi and was arrested. After a night at the local police station, she was first shifted to Karachi Central Jail and then to Nara Jail Hyderabad. It was her second time in this prison, where old prisoner-fellows celebrated her marriage with singing the folk and wedding songs. Although soon she was released on bail but was

barred from entering Karachi for three months. She moved to Sukkur, where one of her sisters lived.

Ignoring the medical advice because of her pregnancy complications, she continued her activities and organized many women meetings in Hyderabad, Badin, Tando Mohammed Khan, Matli, Sanghar, Kandiaro and other places. During this period, she gave birth to her daughter, and on the suggestion of Nazir, named her after a Palestinian activist Zarqa. Because of the both parents of new born baby were underground and had to hide their identities, so Zarqa was being called as Motiya. She might be the youngest person in the world history, who had a change of name, because of political considerations.

On the party instructions, Hamida moved to Karachi and secretly kept in contact with her husband, who had arrest warrants against him. On 31st July 1980, a day fixed for meeting, when Nazir, otherwise punctual of time could not reach, Hamida feared his arrest, so contacted a senior party comrade, who after enquiries told her that on the previous day Nazir along with Professor Jamal Naqvi and few other comrades was arrested. Eleven day after the arrest, his brother-in-law Wali Mohammed Shah, was asked to identify a tortured dead-body in the mortuary of Civil Hospital Karachi. After the formal recognition and identification of Nazir, he was buried in Sakhi Hassan Graveyard, Nazimabad Karachi, by social worker Abdul Sattar Edhi, without the presence of his family members except one.

As Hamida came to know about the death of her life-comrade, she refused to sit in confinement for forty days of mourning as per required to Muslim women and rushed to Sukkur, where in a meeting, comrades decided to approach the Sindh High Court through Barrister Wadood, a party sympathizer for the enquiry of Nazir's death. Dodging the secret police officials at Barrister's office, Hamida posted her writ petition to the Chief Justice of

Sindh High Court. For the first time in Pakistan, the officials of security agencies were nominated in the murder charges of a political opponent. Although High Court accepted the plea of the security agency regarding the cause of death as the cardiac arrest but in 1994, during Benazir Bhutto's second tenure as PM, on the plea of Zarqa, the case was reinvestigated but the culprits are yet to be punished.

Fractions in the Communist Party of Pakistan forced Hamida to become inactive for few years like many other comrades but later joined a Trotskyite group 'Class Struggle'. Hamida married second time with a former leftist worker Mir Thebho but this marriage could not survive, after the birth of a son. Her daughter Zarqa married with Dr. Amir Abbass Soomro, who is a family member of Allah Bakhsh Soomro, former Chief Minister of Sindh, who was martyred by religious fanatics during British period.

Hamida Ghanghro penned her autobiography '*Peerha jo Safar*' (Journey of Sorrows) in Sindhi.

Sindhiani Tahreek organized its congress on 10th July, 1987, at Shahpurchakar of district Sanghar. The leading Sindhi poet Sheikh Ayaz was the chief guest on the occasion. Main emphasis of the convention was opposition of the proposed Kalabagh Dam.

In August 1990, President Ghulam Ishaque Khan dismissed the civilian government of Benazir and installed a PPP dissident Jam Sadiq Ali, as Chief Minister of Sindh and once again arrests and torture of political workers and journalists began. During this period, the arrest of two PPP female workers Rahila Tiwana and Shehla Raza, hit the headlines at home and abroad, who after their arrests were tortured and sexually assaulted at notorious CID torture cell in Karachi. Soon after her release, Rahila quit PPP and joined its opponent party, which elected her the

Deputy Speaker of Sindh Assembly. Shehla remained in the party and after coming into power in 2008, it elected her Deputy Speaker of the Sindh Assembly, which she continued for second time after the 2013 general elections.

Sindhiani Tahreek organized its central convention on 28th February, 1991, in Hyderabad. It organized hunger strike on 27th November, against robberies and overall law and order situation in Sindh. In coming years, this organisation vanished from the scene as its mother-party Awami Tahreek developed internal differences on the allegations of misbehavior with female workers by some of its leaders.

In 1991, Veena Hayat, a close friend of then opposition leader Benazir Bhutto and daughter of veteran politician Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan was gang-raped by goons hired by Irfan Ullah Khan Marwat, Provincial Home Minister and the son-in-law of President Ghulam Ishaque Khan. Instead of hiding the crime against her, she came in public accusing the culprits of the incident.

On 6th April, 1999, Samia Sarwar, a 29-year-old mother of two was murder in her lawyer Asma Jahangir's office in Lahore. She had been married for ten years to her maternal cousin, a doctor, who was physically abusive. Initially after leaving her husband's house, she moved to her parents' but was forced to reconcile with her husband, so, one day on getting opportunity, she escaped to Lahore and got refuge at *Dastak*, a women's shelter run by Asma Jahangir. She was interested in seeking divorce to remarry and had refused to meet her parents, whom she accused of threatening. But for the day she agreed to meet her mother, who came to Asma's office with a young man, pretended to help her in walking. As Samia came the 'assistant' pulled out a gun and shot Samia in the head, killing her instantly.

During the debate on the incident in the Senate, although few Senators condemned the crime but many members of that elitist club denounced Asma Jahangir and her work

and accused her of corrupting young women as part of the 'western agenda'.

During the debate, a real shock came, when the renowned poet and self-claimed Bacha Khan's follower, Senator Ajmal Khattak defended the murder in the name of *Pukhtoonwali* (the Pukhtoon traditions).

June 2002, witnessed another unthinkable and bold stand by a woman, when a rural woman Mukhtaran Mai courageously accused persons of an influential community of gang rape. A resident of a far village Meerwala of district Muzafargarh, in Southern Punjab, Mukhtaran was gang raped on the orders of a tribal council as her brother was accused of kidnapping and marrying a girl of the rival community. Due to Mukhtaran's disclosure of her ordeal, widely reported by local and international media, the anti-terrorism court sentenced death penalty to six men, including four rapists on 1st September 2002. On the challenge of this sentence, the Lahore High Court citing 'insufficient evidence' acquitted five of the six convicted and commuted sentence of sixth to the life imprisonment. Mukhtaran and the prosecutor challenged this acquittal in the Supreme Court, which suspended High Court verdict. On 21st April 2011, the Supreme Court upheld the verdict of the Lahore High Court. During the legal battle for her honor, Mukhtaran amidst the threats by rivals formed 'Mukhtaran Mai Women's Welfare Organization' with special emphasis on the girls' education in her area.

Sometime in year 2005, President General Musharraf wrote on his personal web blog that 'women, who intended to move to the West, cry about their rape' On 10th June, shortly before she was scheduled to fly to London on the invitation of Amnesty International, her name was put on Exit Control List; besides that, her movement within the country were also restricted. Justifying his government move, General Musharraf,

visiting Australia and New Zealand at that time, told his audience that he did not 'want to project a bad image of Pakistan', so those steps were being taken. Mukhtaran Mai was virtually under house arrest and her passport was forcefully taken by the officials to stop her from visiting US.

But with the support of other enlightened and progressive forces, her fight against anti-women customs continued. For her extra-ordinary courage, she was awarded with Women of the Year by Glamour Magazine in 2005, North-South Prize by Council of Europe in April 2007.

On 12th January 2006, her memoirs with the collaboration of Marie-Therese Coney in French were published under the title *Déshonoree*. Simultaneously, these were published in German. Later, in October, these memoirs were published in English as 'In the Name of Honor: A Memoir'. On 2nd May 2006 she spoke at the UN headquarters in New York.

In 2008, her story was included in the documentary film *Land, Gold and Women* by Catherine Ulmer Lopez, on the subject of the aftermath of the rape. In October 2010, Laurentian University of Canada awarded her honorary doctorate degree.

On 27th December, 2007, Benazir Bhutto, the finest daughter, ever produced by the Indus Civilization was killed in Rawalpindi. Born on 21st June, 1953, she was the eldest of four siblings. Her father Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, a Sindhi aristocrat and mother Nusrat of Iranian background, came from the urban industrialist class. Like other girls of rural aristocracy, Benazir was forced to veil by her mother in the first year of her adolescent, while travelling from Karachi to her ancestral town of Larkana by train. When her mother told about it to her husband, senior Bhutto after a long pause said, 'she doesn't need to wear it', thus Benazir became the first adult Bhutto girl, who was freed from the captivity of veil. Later, she became the first

female of her extended family to get education in abroad, including Oxford University, where she was elected as its first female Student Union President in 1976.

Intended to join Foreign Service during her academic career, Benazir got extra ordinary media and general public attention in Simla, during India-Pakistan talks in 1972, after Bangladesh came into being.

She was forced by circumstances to join the politics, after her father's government was overthrow by General Zia in July 1977, and gave her first public speech in the last week of September 1977, for which she was house arrested on 29th September. This was her first of total eight arrests and detentions.

Her father's latter, written on her 25th birthday, is being considered as his political will, in which he handed over the hand of his dearest daughter, nicknamed Pinky, in the hands of the people, the bond, she never forgot and sacrificed life among her beloved people.

Since her initial days in practical politics, she had to face the Islamic-fascist rule of General Zia, compounded with patriarchy, infused by religious right wing. She was considered enemy number one by military junta, led by its chief General Zia, once regretted for she not being killed at the time of the coup détente. Very next month of coup, she was barred from travel by train. During the trail of her father on the charges of murdering a political opponent's father, she tried her best to mobilize the masses against the regime but most of her male party leaders preferred to keep silence in the face of atrocities lashed by the regime. During this initial depressing period, her voice became the lone roar of a lioness in the jungle of fear, individual sacrifices and repression. Although for couple of her earlier arrests, she was house-detained, mostly at her Karachi residence but after the PIA hijacking of March 1981, first she was kept in solitary confinement at Karachi Central Jail and later shifted to notorious Sukkur Central

Jail, where trying her for high treason was planned, under which the death penalty was inevitable. To cure suspected ovary cancer, she was shifted again to Karachi Jail.

None of the former Chief Justice of Lahore High Court, Khwaja Shareef announced that he would be honored in defending Qadri in the court.

The women, especially girls of Hindu faith had been victims of atrocities since long, but the incidents of their kidnapping and forced conversion had rapidly grown in near-past. The most publicized such case was the kidnapping of 19-year Rinkul Kumari in the Northern city Ghotki of Sindh on 24th February 2012, by the goons with the blessing of a local religious leader and a parliament member Mian Mitho. After much of hue and cry by the mainstream society and the intelligentsia of Sindh, the PPP who had awarded him Assembly ticket for the general elections of 2008, expelled him from the party but the government, superior judiciary and foreign pressure could not recover the abducted girl.

On the morning of Tuesday, 9th October 2012, a fifteen years old high school student Malala Yousafzai was ambushed by a gunman, in her hometown Mingora of Swat valley in Northern Pakistan. She survived the attack. Later, Tahreek-i-Taliban Pakistan claimed responsibility of the attack with declaration that she was a US and Jew agent and was promoting education for girls. They went on to announce to kill her whenever and wherever possible.

Born on 12th July 1997, Malala emerged as right to education activist at time when Taliban banned education especially of the girls. During the 2009 occupation of Swat valley by Taliban, she wrote the Urdu blog under a pseudonym of Gul Makai (a folk character of the region) for the BBC detailing her life under Taliban rule, their attempts to take control of the valley and her views on promoting girls education.

The following summer, a New York Times documentary by journalist Adam B. Ellick was filmed about her life as the Pakistani security forces launched an operation in the region. During this time she rose in prominence and with her revealed identity gave interviews to print and electronic media and addressed the gathering including a Summer Marxist School, openly sharing her views about the Islamic Jihad and its impacts on the lives of the people.

On the attack day, she along with her school-mates, was riding the school van, a gunman asked for Malala by name, then pointed a Colt 45 at her and fired three shots. One bullet hit the left side of her forehead, travelled under her skin and face and then into shoulder. While she was under treatment, first in Mingora and then in Rawalpindi, people all over the country rose to protest against the attack, and the reaction from the international community, including of the Security Council of UN poured in. Few days later, for further treatment and intensive rehabilitation, she was shifted to the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Birmingham, England.

Her daring act to challenge the anti-education Taliban, forced the world to re-intensify its efforts for the education especially of girls for under privileged regions and classes. In this regard, United Nations Special Envoy for Global Education, Gordon Brown launched a UN petition in her name, using the slogan 'I am Malala' and demanding that all children worldwide be in school by the end of 2015.

In 29th April 2013 issue of Time magazine, Malala was featured on the front cover. She won the first National Youth Peace Prize of Pakistan in 2013 and was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize the same year, although for that year the Nobel Prize was awarded to the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons but she became the youngest person who has ever been nominated for the

award. Very next year, in 2014 she won this most prestigious award. In 2013, she won the Sakharov Prize of European Union and was conferred the Honorary Canadian citizenship.

Parveen Rehman, a media-shy social worker, who devoted her life to the development of the impoverished people across the country, was gunned down in Karachi on 13th March, 2013. she had earned many enemies, because of her work and the latest addition to it were Islamic fanatics, who were not happy with her work of empowering women and administering the Polio drops to children, which fanatics thought contained the medicine of impotency to reduce the Muslim population. Another big threat to her life was by the ever growing land mafia in Karachi, involved in grabbing precious land on the fringes of the city.

Born in 1957 in Dhaka and moved to Karachi after Bangladesh came into being, after receiving a bachelor's of engineering in architecture from Karachi's Dawood College of Engineering and Technology in 1981, she joined Orangi Pilot Program (OPP), initiated by Akhter Hameed Khan and after his death, she became Director of OPP. After taking over the OPP, she spread work of her organisation across the country, which was earlier considered an organisation limited just to the Orangi Town of Karachi, where majority of residents were Biharis, who migrated here after Bangladesh came into being.

Parveen was an ardent compiler of record of precious land, in shape of villages but were speedily vanishing into city's vastness because of ever-increasing demand of thousands of families who were shifting to Karachi every year from across the country and neighboring countries.

Deru alias Veeru Kolhi, a Dalit and a former bonded labor, created history, when she contested for a Sindh Assembly

seat in the general elections held on 11th May, 2013, from PS 50 Hyderabad Rural and secured 503 votes.

Originally from the desert area of Thar and migrated to the irrigated area of Sindh due to drought, she like thousands others, was trapped in debt and forced to work on the farms of her landlord till in mid-1990, when she escaped from the captivity and after walking barefoot, came in contact with human rights activists to seek help for the rescue of her husband and other family members. Her own captivity guided her to initiate an unending struggle for the release of captivated bonded labor in the southern part of Sindh.

7- Movements for the Freedom of Press and Expression

P.D Tandon, representative of about 20 English and vernacular papers during British occupation of India, jailed for 16 months during the Quit India movement of 1942, writes 'Indian newsmen wielded the pen as crusaders for freedom and not as literary artists. No wonder, for he wrote on politics as a political being...and thought and felt that life and politics were synonymous.'

Nwas to be born, Majid Malik, the then Principal PRO sent an advice to newspapers on 11th August 1947, to modify the speech of Mohammed Ali Jinnah made in the inaugural session of the First Constituent Assembly as the bureaucracy considered it against the spirit of the Two-nation theory. Mohammad Ali Jinnah had spoken as the founder of the country, the President of Muslim League and the President of the House. Some newspaper editors were more than obliged to follow the advice but when Altaf Hussain, the Editor of daily Dawn came to know about it, he threatened that if the advice was not withdrawn he himself will tell Jinnah about it. Later the advice was withdrawn and Jinnah's speech was published in next day newspapers but in coming years when the civilian and military bureaucracy and right-wing religious lobby dominated the functioning of the state, this portion

of his speech was altogether omitted from the official archival records.

During the Karachi riots of January 1948, K. Punniiah, the editor of Sindh Observer, Karachi, wrote some hard hitting editorials accusing the authorities of taking side with the majority Muslim community. There was a sharp reaction among the officials on these remarks and the only last minute intervention by Jinnah in the matter saved the editor from being arrested.

Dr. Abdus Salam Khurshid writes about a media tycoon Majeed Nizami of the *Nawa-i-Waqt* group of newspapers, 'on the eve of the independence, *Zamindar* was the largest circulated newspaper in Punjab but *Nawa-i-Waqt* was politically more powerful than the former. No one can deny that Nizami did not believe in the freedom of the press. On the contrary he welcomed curbs on certain contemporaries.'

The Sindh Government under Pir Illahi Bakhsh in May 1949 forbade the circulation of daily *Dawn* within the province because of its criticism of the ministry.

In a joint editorial on 6th May 1949, a number of dailies demanded 'penal action' against the *Civil & Military Gazette* on publication of a news item regarding the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. This joint editorial was published in the following papers. Names of editors are mentioned in bracket, Karachi dailies: 1-Dawn-English (Altaf Hussain), 2-Dawn-Gujrati (Noor Mohammed Jamal Noor Memon), 3-Dawn-Urdu (Fazal Ahmed Siddiqui), 4-Jang (Mir Khalil ur Rehman), 5-Sindh Observer (Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi), 6- Anjam (Omer Farooqi) 7-Al-Waheed-Sindhi (Abdul Ghafoor Seetai), and Lahore dailies were: 8-Pakistan Times (Faiz Ahmed Faiz), 9-Nawa-i-Waqt (Majeed Nizami) 10-Imroze (Chirag Hussain Hasrat) 11-Zamindar (Akhtar Ali Khan) 12- Safina (Waqar Ambalvi) 13-Inqilab (Ghulam Rasool Maher and Abdul Majid Salik) 14-

Ghalib (Mir Noor Mohammed) 15- Maghribi Pakistan (Khalil Ahmed) and 16- Jadid Nizam (Amin ud Din Sahrai). The authorities took a swift action and paper was closed for six months.

In 1949, the Chief Minister NWFP, Khan Abdul Qayum Khan ordered the cancellation of declaration of daily *Sarhad*. Simultaneously, the editor of the paper, Rahim Bakhsh Ghaznavi was arrested under the Safety Act. *Sarhad* was the first Urdu daily of the NWFP, started by Allah Bakhsh Yousufi in 1925. He had paid heavy price during the freedom movement for opposing the British Empire.

Syed Sultan Shah Gilani, the editor of *Al-Jamiat* was arrested in 1949, for criticizing the Muslim League ministry of Khan Qayum. After lengthy court proceedings, he was released but his security deposit of Rs. 2,000 was forfeited.

The government of Punjab stopped all advertisements to daily *Inqilab*, Lahore (editors Abdul Majid Salik and Ghulam Rasool Maher) and after sometime newsprint quota of the paper was also withdrawn for its opposition to the ruling clique. Earlier, the NWFP government had banned paper's entry into province. Ultimately the paper was closed in November 1949, after an excellent service to the cause of freedom struggle. The paper was started on 27th March 1927.

New Orient, a Karachi weekly, edited by Ghayurul Islam was the first Karachi paper which was forced to wind up, because it stood for 'a strong, progressive, sovereign and democratic Pakistan, where man-made inequalities will be eliminated'. It demanded 'a popular democratic constitution' with 'fundamental human rights' enshrined in it. With these high aims, the paper from its very first issue started exposing acts of anti-people elements. Before its seventh issue on 20th March 1949, the editor knew that the days of the paper were numbered, as he was summoned to the police headquarters for a lengthy

interrogation. The paper published the full account of the interrogation on its front page, which proved the last nail in the coffin of the journal. It was a hard hitting piece which concluded by asserting: 'we still stand by these principles and will continue to serve our people and our country...nor shall we accept the position that we are in any way less patriotic than the most patriotic among us. We do not believe that patriotism is the exclusive monopoly of any group or individual. We are no less patriotic Pakistani than Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan or anyone else'. On 24th March, the declaration of the journal was cancelled, the offices of the paper were searched and the remaining copies of the seventh issue were confiscated.

Maulana Waqar Ambalvi's daily *Safina*, Lahore was the first newspaper in the Punjab to be closed by the Muslim League government in July 1949, for violating the sanctity of the British Governor of Punjab province. On 20th July, the paper had published its staff reporter's news on the front page that the Governor Francis Muddy was transferring a truck-load of secret papers to London. Despite a vigorous protest by the Punjab Union of Journalists (PUJ) and the Pakistan Times, the Punjab government refused to lift the ban. Abdus Samad Khan Durrani was arrested in 1950 under the Public Safety Act. At that time he was the editor of *Istaqlal*, Quetta and with his arrest the paper which had started in January 1930, was closed.

After the 49 days long strike in 1949 by the daily Sindh Observer Karachi, led by Sindh Union of Journalists, the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) was formed in 1950.

On 9th March 1951, eighteen editors representing the entire press of Karachi, Lahore, Dhaka and Peshawar met in Karachi under Altaf Hussain, the editor of daily Dawn, on the same day accused of Rawalpindi Conspiracy were

arrested and without waiting for or demanding details, endorsed by a resolution the action taken by government and gave an assurance of 'unqualified support to any further measures'. This resolution and PM Liaquat's statement on the conspiracy appeared side by side on the front page of daily Dawn 10th March. On prominent editor Z. A. Suleri was so carried away that he resigned from the All Pakistan Newspapers Editor's Conference because it's then President Faiz Ahmed Faiz had been arrested in connection of conspiracy.

The declaration of *Satluj*, edited by Ali Ahmed Riffat and *Insaf* edited by Hayat Tareen (both weeklies published from Baghdad-ul-Jadeed, Bahawalpur) were cancelled in 1951, by the Muslim League ministry of Makhdoomzada Hassan Mahmood, on the charges of writing against the factional fight within the ruling party. Journalists all over the country reacted sharply on the closure orders, so the government was forced to withdraw its orders. Again in 1952, *Insaf* was suspended for six months. Once again the journalist community and some trade union leaders protested on the act. Popular labor leader Chaudhry Wali Mohammed along with few other comrades went on hunger strike in protest. Once again the state government was forced to withdraw its order after few weeks.

On 9th February 1951, a pre-censorship was imposed on daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* because the paper was supporting dissident group of the ruling Muslim League led by Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot. The restrictions were lifted on 25th March.

The first major attack on press, by non-state entity against the press was made in 1952, when during the language riots in the then East Pakistan, three students of the Dhaka University were killed in the police firing on 21st February (later international Mother Tongue Day) 1952, daily *Morning News*, going against the popular demand,

advocated regional status for Bengali. The Bengali youth, in anger burnt down the press and offices of the paper.

On 9th June 1952, the Government of Punjab banned the publication of two Lahore weeklies, *Chattan* (edited by Shorish Kashmiri) and *Asia*.

On 25th December 1952, the *Evening Times* (later *Times of Karachi*) published a front page editorial and a cartoon accusing the government of plunging the country into chaos. On 30th December, Z. A. Suleri, printer, Khurshid Alam the publisher and N. M. Katpal the cartoonist were arrested on the charges of sedition. The PFUJ and its affiliated unions were first to protest on this, followed by 17 editors of Karachi and Lahore. On 9th January 1953, the entire press observed a 24-hour strike in protest against the government's press policy. After 83 days of arrest, they were released on bail by Sindh High Court. Later the charges against them were also set aside by the court.

The Basic Principles Committee was appointed by the Constituent Assembly to formulate the main principles of the constitution. It was asked to submit its report to the assembly by 23rd November 1952 but at the last minute its presentation was postponed till the last week of December. Meanwhile the government apprehending publication of speculative reports on the postponement, taking refuge behind Section 144, the press was warned by the President of the Assembly Molvi Tameezud Din, not to publish anything about the report until it was presented to the Assembly. Not satisfied by the warning, the government invoked the Official Secrets Act, asking press to refrain from violating the act. The Pakistan Times was the first paper to bitterly criticize the official action, followed by the Sindh Union of Journalists.

On 29th May 1952, the Punjab government issued two notices, one to Mazhar Ali Khan, the printer and publisher of daily *Imroze*, Lahore and other to the keeper of the

Pakistan Times Press, stating that they to forfeited the security of Rs.3, 000 each. The action was taken on the publication of an article on 2nd May, under the heading *Gar Tu Bura Na Mane* (If you are not offended), a humorous piece by Tufail Ahmed Jamali, in which he had criticized the Security Act. The paper was accused of trying to 'bring hatred or contempt to the government or at least to cause dissatisfaction against it.'

The Sindhi daily *Al-Wahid*, Karachi was asked to furnish two security deposits of Rs.3, 000 each for publishing 'certain passages calculated to bring hatred to the government of Sindh established by law and to promote the feelings of hatred between the different classes of Her Majesty's subjects, in its various issues from 13th March to 6th June 1952'.

In reply to a question in the National Assembly on 28th June 1954, it was officially stated that as many as 50 newspapers were warned during 1952 and 1953, of these 29 belonged to Punjab, two to NWFP, 13 to Karachi, one to Sindh and five to East Pakistan for publication of objectionable matter or violating the different press laws.

On 30th May 1954, four journalists M. A. Shakoor, Assistant Editor of daily *Dawn*, Ahmed Hassan, Sub-editor, daily *Dawn*, Mohammed Akhtar, sports reporter, *Times of Karachi* and Eric Rahim, Karachi correspondent of *Pakistan Times*, Lahore were arrested 'for activities likely to disturb peace and tranquility'. Later they were detained for one year under the Security of Pakistan Act. This was a sequence of overall arrests of leftist workers in whole country. Though KUJ condemned these arrests, which was later endorsed by the PUJ and HUI but the Dawn unit of KUJ, on the pressure of the management, came out strongly against the KUJ Executive Council. On 23rd June, daily Dawn published a news item on its front page, announcing the dismissal of M. A. Shakoor and Ahmed Hassan from the paper.

In November 1954, the publication of a Sindhi daily *Al-Waheed*, Karachi, was banned for one year under the Security of Pakistan Act. Four Hyderabad based dailies *Karwan*, *Hilal-i-Pakistan*, *Aftab* and *Fatah-i-Islam* wrote a joint editorial against the ban. Consequently, *Karwan* was also banned for one month.

In the first week of Military coup led by General Ayub Khan, the editor of weekly *Lail-o-Nihar*, Syed Sibte-i-Hassan was arrested under the Safety Act. Four days later, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, the editor of daily *Imroze* met the same fate. As the chief editor of *Pakistan Times*, Faiz Ahmed Faiz was in Tashkent to attend a literary conference, so he was arrested on his return.

On 18th April 1959, the Ayub Government took over the Progressive Papers Limited (PPL). Although the PFUI condemned the move but majority of the newspaper owners and editors welcomed the step, taken by military, the 'savior of the country'. Exactly five years after the take-over of the PPL, the National Press Trust (NPT) came into existence in April 1964.

A few years after independence, one of the most powerful editors in the country, Altaf Hussain of daily Dawn, went all the way to Canada to tell the Empire Press Union that the press in Pakistan had no use for freedom in her present state of development. He told them that 'we are skating on thin ice.' The Pakistan Times was the only newspaper to protest against this disgusting statement.

Before the imposition of the Press and Publications Ordinance 1963, there were adequate corpuses of laws applicable to the press: Section 124-A of the Pakistan Penal Code prescribed punishment for the authors and publishers of seditious writings. Section 153-A penalized writings calculated to promote feelings of enmity or hatred among various classes and sections of the community. Section 499 and 500 took care of libelous publications.

Section 295-I prescribed punishment for those responsible for writings intended to outrage the religious feelings of any section of the community. Section 292, dealt similarly with obscene publications. Then there was the sweeping section 505, which sought to punish any person who makes, publishes or circulates any statement, rumor or report calculated or likely to subvert the loyalty of the armed forces; or to cause public fear or alarm whereby any person may be induced to commit an offence against the State or public tranquility, or incite any class or community to commit any offence against any other class or community.

Hamid Hashmi, news editor of daily *Imroze* and Aasi Nizami, editor of daily *Mujahid*, Lahore were detained under the Safety Act, after the imposition of Martial Law for three months. They were freed on 8th January 1959.

The editor and publisher of the *Eastern Examiner Dhaka*, Begum Ali Khan and the joint editor A. Ali Khan were arrested under Martial Law on 14th October 1959.

The editor of *Hilal-i-Pakistan*, Lahore, Shaikh Mohammed Salim was arrested under Martial Law Orders number 240 and 51 for spreading hatred against the government on 10th October 1959 and were sent to jail for six months.

Weekly *Jamaliat* of Usto Mohammed, Balochistan, edited by Mohammed Umar Qmbrani was ordered to close down in 1959, for publishing an article criticizing the Martial Law regime. Interestingly this article was lifted from a Lahore daily, which escaped any official action.

Malik Mohammed Ramzan, editor of weekly *Sarban*, was jailed in 1960, for three months for writing a series of articles against the feudal lords of the Kalat Division. On 12th July 1960, Special Military Court in Quetta sentenced Mohammed Hassan Nizami, the editor of *Tanzeem* for one year imprisonment and fine. He was charged under Martial Law Regulation 70 for publishing an objectionable article.

In February 1961, a summary Military Court sentenced the editor of *Kainat*, Bahawalpur Wali Ullah Ahad and its reporter Bashir Anwar for fifteen and nine months' rigorous imprisonment respectively and fined Rs.10,000 each, on the charges of spreading hatred and dissatisfaction against the government. On agitation by PFUJ and CPNE, the government released them after three months.

On 5th June 1961, the privately owned news agency Associate Press of Pakistan (APP) was nationalized by the government. The resolution passed in the Federal Executive Council meeting of PFUJ, held in Dhaka, while condemning this step, stated that this step will bring more restrictions on the freedom of press.

Protesting against the possible restrictions on media, the Rawalpindi journalists observed a one-hour strike and boycott of the national assembly proceedings on 11th August 1963.

On 9th September 1963, journalists all over the country, on the call of PFUJ observed one-day strike against the recent amendments in the Press and Publications Ordinance. APNS and Council of Newspapers Editors had also endorsed the strike. Very next day, General Ayub held a meeting with newspaper editors and on 13th September, Governors of both provinces suspended implementation on ordinance for one month.

On 21st September 1963, first time three primary media organizations PFUJ, APNS and CPNE formed a Joint Action Committee for the removal of the Press and Publications Ordinance and after its talks with the government, on 10th October, the said ordinance was partially amended. According to Safdar Qureshi, the PFUJ President and a participant of talks, because of the leniency shown by the CPNE representative Altaf Hussain, the Ordinance could not be repeal completely.

On 1st October 1963, General Ayub Khan warned those journalists who were criticizing his government and said, 'I ask journalists to change their behavior and adopt an objective attitude towards national issues. There is unreasonable hue and cry on recent Press Ordinance. There are many justifications for the recent provincial restrictions on media'.

Outlook Karachi, edited by Iqbal Hassan Burney and *Iqdam* Lahore, both weeklies were closed down due to government pressure on 10th August 1964. The New York Times in its issue of 13th August, writing on the closure of periodicals, said: 'this left West Pakistan without a single newspaper or magazine critical of government policies.'

On 8th September 1965, the Press advice system was introduced in the wake of war with India. Ghani Erabi was appointed Chief Press Advisor. Simultaneously, a Central Press Consultative Committee was formed to advise the government on matters relating to the press.

On 17th June 1966, the New Nation Press in Dhaka was sealed, where daily *Itafaq*, edited by Tofazzal Hosain, was being printed. The seizure of press led to the closure of the paper. The action was taken under the Defense of Pakistan Rules. On the very next day, the paper's editor was also arrested. The paper was accused of publishing the Six Points by Awami League, defying the government ban on its publication. The action did not go unchallenged despite the reign of terror that had been let loose in both the wings of the country. On 18th June, the Awami League observed an anti-repression day throughout East Pakistan, students and workers took leading part in the protest. The following day, on the call of the East Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (EPUJ), the entire press in the East Pakistan was shut down for 24 hours. In West Pakistan exactly after 36 days, the CPNE and APNS held a joint emergency meeting to express its 'resentment' over the seizure of the *Itafaq* press. On the initiative of PFUJ, a joint

committee, representing CPNE, APNS and PFUJ gave a strike call for 5th July, which was postponed to 20th July and ultimately abandoned due to reluctance of CPNE and APNS members, who gave in to the official pressure. In the follow-up PFUJ held meetings at the major media centers. After a lengthy legal battle and EPUJ and Mrs. Hosain's appeal to President Ayub, ultimately the 287-days ordeal for Hosain and his press came to an end on 28th March 1967, but not without huge financial losses. *Itafaq* was an influential pro-Awami League daily with a large circulation. It was started as a weekly by Maulana Abdul Hameed Khan Bhashani and later Tozaffal Hosain, popularly known as Manek Mian took it over and converted it into a daily.

On the night of the Defense Day (the anniversary of war with India during 1965), while Radio Pakistan was broadcasting Agha Shorish Kashmiri's songs, the police reached his house with his arrest warrants for writing an editorial in his weekly *Chattan*, under the headline 'what president Ayub should do?', after a few months of legal battle and his transfer from one jail to another, one of his junior in *Chattan*, Hamid Asghar Najeeb tried to organize a signature campaign for his release but failed in his mission as some writers and journalists refused to sign the memorandum. In this hour of trial, the only body who did a strong protest was the Punjab Union of Journalists, the body which was always maligned by Shorish as he always took stand against the trade unions. On 16th December, on the initiative of Mustafa Sadiq, the Lahore based editors issued a joint appeal to the President for his release and on 24th December, Shorish was released after spending 104 days in different jails. On 22nd April 1968, *Chattan* and its editor were once again in trouble. The paper was closed down under the Defense of Pakistan Rules, the press confiscated and Shorish sent to jail. He wrote about his ordeal in his prison diary. Once again KUJ and PFUJ came

forward to raise voice for him. While his family started a legal battle, first in the High Court and then in the Supreme Court, Shorish gave a nightmare to prison authorities by going on hunger strike. During the trial, both judges of High Court, Justice Bashir ud Din and Justice Shoukat Ali were pressurized by the West Pakistan Governor, General Musa for not accepting the petition challenging the arrest of Shorish.

On 28th March 1966, the declaration of Dhaka daily *Sangbad*, was cancelled under DPR by the East Pakistan government and its editor Naseer ud Din Ahmed was arrested. An application by the printer and publisher for the restoration of declaration was rejected by the Deputy Commissioner but on a writ petition filed by the paper on 19th June, the Dhaka High Court declared DC's order illegal.

On 27th May, a '*Save the Press Committee*' was formed in Dhaka with Abdus Salam and Akli Ashraf as chairman and convener, respectively. EFUJ President K. G. Mustafa, while giving a call for a protest day in support of *Sangbad*, assured a full support for the committee.

On 17th June 1966, the Fashion Press Dhaka was sealed under the Defense of Pakistan Rules as the press had printed six points of Awami League.

On the launching of the 'Decade of Development' on 10th October 1968, all the newspapers were ordered to publish special supplements highlighting the 'progress' made under the 'dynamic leadership of President Ayub'. The instructions were carried out by all Trust and 'trusted' papers. The extent of press debasement can be measured by just two examples: *Dawn* (editor: Jamil Ansari), a non-NPT paper on 27th October, managed to publish 95 photographs of President Ayub on its 32-page supplement. The editorial page of the 16-page regular issue had the distinction of reproducing the excerpts from some of the editorials written by its former editor Altaf Hussain, on the

'historical significance of the revolution of 27th October 1958'. Another specialty of the page was the reproduction of a picture in which the President was shown decorating Altaf Hussain with *Hilal-i-Quaid-i-Azam Award*, which was given to the 'distinguished editor' on 27th October 1960.

Mashriq, an NPT daily Urdu paper, from the 'Decade of Development' brochure reproduced a blasphemous poem by B. K. Sheikh, Director of Education Karachi, which claimed that God Almighty Himself would not have dared to accomplish, what the Great Savior Ayub Khan undertook and achieved in 1958.

The West Pakistan government on 2nd July 1968 cancelled the declaration of an English weekly *The Light*, Lahore, for propagating the views of the Ahmedi community.

During the last days of Field Marshal Ayub Khan, on 8th December 1968, during a student protest, the Ayub supporters opened fire on media persons covering the protest and injured Nadeem Shahid, correspondent of daily *Tameer*, Rawalpindi. On the call of PFUJ a complete strike was observed on 10th December.

On the call by the Combined Opposition for a Complete Shutdown on 24 January 1969, a student mob in Dhaka set ablaze the NPT building, which housed the offices of *Morning News* and *Dainik Pakistan*..

The Punjab Union of Journalist on 25th January 1969, gave a 24-hours province-wide shut-down call to 'protect journalists against the police misbehavior' in Lahore, Karachi and Dhaka. On 26th it called for a two-hour pen-down strike and decided to boycott all functions of the Karachi administration. On the days of the strike more police atrocities were reported from Rawalpindi, Lahore and Lyallpur.

A complete strike was observed in Karachi and Hyderabad on the call of KUJ and HUJ on 28th January. The Karachi

protest meeting announced the boycott of participation by the working journalists in the state owned radio and television programs.

On 5th February 1969, a complete strike against the steps taken by the government was observed by journalists in East Bengal on the call of EPUJ. On 10th March 1969, three offices of the news agency PPI, two in Lahore and one in Karachi, were stormed by the students of *Jamaat Islami's* students' wing IJT. This act was repeated again the following day in Lahore. In Karachi too, they stormed PPI offices and staged a sit-in chanting slogans like 'down with Socialism'.

On 25th March 1969, General Yahya Khan took over the power from Field Marshal Ayub Khan. He immediately outlawed the strikes and asked the newspapers to refrain from any criticism of the new regime.

On the call of PFUJ, journalists and press workers went on indefinite strike on 7th April 1969, for the acceptance of their four-point demands, mainly against the non-payment of interim relief announced by the Wage Board. East Pakistan remained without a single newspaper for nine days, while in West Pakistan less than half dozen papers were published and that too only in the suburban/ interior areas. *Daily Business Recorder*, Karachi, owned and edited by M. A. Zuberi, was an exception. Despite strike by the senior staff, news editor Zamirud Din Ahmed, with the help of a couple of junior men brought out the paper. The strike ended abruptly in a fiasco on 24th April, when the then Information Minister General Sher Ali, succeeded in his attempt to 'buy' a handful of journalists in some of the 'big' and influential papers.

Comrade Ghulam Mohammed Laghari launched weekly *Baidari* from Mirpurkhas in 1969, which mainly focused on the peasant issues. After the imposition of Zia Martial Law in 1977, Sohail Sangi and Ali Hassan took over the weekly

in 1978 but after twelve issues, as Sangi was arrested under Jam Saqi Conspiracy case on 30th July 1980, the police raided weekly office in Hyderabad and two days later, the government issued notification of the cancellation of its declaration.

The ten day countrywide strike in 1970 will be remembered for a number of reasons. The main reason of course was the intransigence and refusal by the proprietors' body (All Pakistan Newspapers Society-APNS) to accept and implement the award announced by the Second Wage Board for 35 percent interim relief after a decade long wages freeze. At that time the Wage Board and its award was legally meant for journalists alone and did not cover other employees of newspapers and news agencies and yet the APNS was not ready to accept and implement it. The APNS had also lost its petitions in High Court challenging the award. In their desperation, fourteen newspapers editors and proprietors issued a joint statement few days before the strike began, alleging that strike was inspired by "Communists and Maulana Bhashani of NAP". They asked the then military ruler General Yahya Khan to intervene and take action against the PFUJ and its leaders under the Martial Law Regulations. Another aspect of this strike was that for the first time it provided a joint platform of action to the entire newspaper workers community of journalists, calligraphers and press workers. As the previous wage boards were for working journalists alone, so the PFUJ had asked government to include the rest of newspaper workers in it or a separate board should be formed for them. It was for this reason; the PFUJ four point strike charter included the demand of interim relief for non-journalist workers.

On the persuasion of PFUJ, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan adopted a resolution which asked the government to appoint a press commission to study the conditions of national press particularly the working conditions on the

lines of the Royal Press Commission of Britain. In response to this, the government appointed the press commission in 1954, which failed to conduct an inquiry and submit a report. In 1958, the press commission was revived and it was formed under Justice Tayabjee of Sindh High Court. After consultation with working journalists, editors and owners, it submitted its report in March 1959, which recommended the formation of wage board. The first wage board was formed in 1960. However it was only in the Newspaper Employees (Condition of Service) Act 1973, that provision was made for the setting up of the wage board for all newspaper employees.

Restrictions on the press were withdrawn within six weeks and on 5th May the provincial governments authorized district magistrates to dispose of the cases regarding declarations.

In the second issue in February 1970, of the re-launched *Lailo Nihar* by Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Sibte Hassan, a strongly worded editorial against the fatwa against Socialism appeared. Few issues later, the journal brought out a special issue on the fatwas against the enlightenment, issued by different religious schools of thought since the early British occupation of the sub-continent, but the *Jamaat-i-Islami* bought this issue in bulk from the news stands so it could not reach the readers.

On 30th December 1970, daily Pakistan Observer correspondent Naji Ullah along with A. R. Shamsul Ghani, the Editor of weekly Inter-wing Lahore, under Martial Law Regulation 16-A. the periodical had published an article by Naji Ullah, criticizing the government policies towards East Bengal. On 20th February, both were sentenced by a military court in Rawalpindi but on the protest campaign by PFUJ both were released on 13th March.

During the year-long election campaign and afterward, the press in both wings of the country enjoyed complete

freedom, till a full scale civil war erupted in Bengal on 26th March 1971.

In the early morning of 27th March, the foreign journalists posted in Dhaka were bundled into army trucks and under heavy armed guard taken to the airport. Their baggage and bodies were thoroughly searched there for written material and photographs, some of which were confiscated. In some cases the process was repeated at Karachi before they left Pakistan. Eye-witness accounts of the indiscriminate army operation during one day and two nights, and the treatment meted out to twenty-five foreign newsmen, were reported in the *New York Times* of 28th March and by UPI Hong Kong on 29th March.

In the early morning of 28th March 1971, at the launch of military operation, the offices of the People, considered Awami League supporter, was destroyed by bombing by the Army. While a publication of it's another supporter daily *Itafaq* was suspended for two months.

Late S.G.M. Badruddin, who was Editor of daily *Morning News*, Dhaka, had to hide with his Bengali friends for months, lost the only house he made in life and came back empty hands to Pakistan. But his objectivity and progressive outlook regarding Bangladeshi movement was never dictated by his personal losses.

The family members of a well known journalist, Ali Ahmed Khan, who later became the editor of daily *Dawn*, Karachi, were killed in Bengal but he still supported the Bangladesh liberation movement.

The West Pakistan press lent its full support to the army action and at times appeared more aggressive than the regime itself.

On 4th April, daily *Dawn* Karachi, in its editorial called President Yahya the soldier-statesman to whom, it said, the nation looked up 'with the same confidence to meet

this Indian challenge from without just as he firmly faced the threat of disintegration from within when Awami League's obduracy and adamant unreasonableness left no other course open...'. Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt*, in its editorial on 14th April, invoked the usual West Pakistan bogies of Hindu influence, anti-Islamic forces, and the promotion of Bengali language, and argued that they should all be strongly curbed.

Neville Anthony Mascarenhas, a Pakistani journalist, wrote an article called "Genocide" in *The Sunday Times* of the UK on 13 June 1971. It exposed for the first time the scale of the Pakistan army's brutal campaign to suppress its breakaway eastern province. Mascarenhas' report of his ten-day witness of the massacre played a crucial part in ending the war. It helped turn world opinion against Pakistan and encouraged India to play a decisive role. The then Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi stated that Mascarenhas' article led her 'to prepare the ground for India's armed intervention' in Pakistan-controlled Bengal.

Mascarenhas was born into a Goan Catholic family in Belgaun, and educated in Karachi. He and his wife Yvonne Mascarenhas together had five children. He died in 1986.

Mascarenhas was a working journalist as the assistant editor at *The Morning News* (Karachi). After collecting information on the atrocities committed in Bangladesh, he realized that he could not publish the story in Pakistan and contacted Harold Evans of *The Sunday Times*. Before the publication of his report in 1971, he moved his family to Britain. Thereafter, he worked for 14 years with *The Sunday Times*. Afterwards, he became a freelance writer.

In 1972, he won Granada's Gerald Barry Award ('What the Papers Say') and the International Publishing Company's Special Award for reporting on the human rights violations committed during the Bangladesh liberation war. The

Bangladeshi government honored Mascarenhas's contribution to the nation during the 1971 liberation war.

The Special Military Court, Rawalpindi, on 20th February 1971, convicted A. R. Shamsud Doha, editor of weekly *Inter-wing*, and Syed Naji ullah, the columnist of the paper, under section 124-A of the Press and Publications Ordinance, read with MLR Nos2 (A) and 6. Arrested on 20th December 1970, they were charged for publishing and writing an objectionable article in the weekly. Naji Ullah, the correspondent of the *Pakistan Observer*, Dhaka, at that time, was jailed for five years rigorous imprisonment and fined Rs.5, 000, while the editor was sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment and fined Rs.35, 00. On a strong protest by PFUJ and its affiliated unions, both were released on 13th March.

On 1st March 1971, General Yahya postponed the National Assembly session, which was scheduled in Dhaka on 3rd March and appointed Martial Law Administrators in five provinces. General Tikka Khan, the Martial Law Administrator of Zone B (East Pakistan), in one of his first orders 'prohibited the press from publishing news, views or pictures against the integrity and sovereignty of Pakistan.'

Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, in a series of directives on 2nd March, to the people of various fields, asked media persons and press, radio and TV-to 'ignore the Martial Law censorship regulations'. "Telephone communications with places outside East Pakistan were snapped, only press telegrams were being allowed to be sent'. (Keesings Research, Report-9, New York, 1973, p 109)

On 3rd March, the EPUJ asked the government to withdraw all restrictions on the press. Its Executive Council decided that the journalists would 'violate orders of the managements or instructions (press advice) if they created an impediment in the way of objective reporting'.

On 20th March, Abdullah Malik, one of the members of the editorial board of daily *Azad*, Lahore, was arrested under MLR 6 and 17. Three days later, he was sentenced to one year imprisonment and fined Rs.50, 000 by a Summary Military Court.

On 22nd March, General Yahya imposed a total ban on all political activities and complete press censorship and through MLR No. 77, ordered that 'no news, poster, or leaflet can be published in the press or put on radio or TV without prior censorship'.

On 26th March, the Awami League supporter daily *Ittefaq*, Dhaka was closed down for two months.

During the military operation in the then East Pakistan, the offices of the newly launched Awami League supporter, English daily *The People* was attacked and turned into a heap of rubble on 27th March 1971.

On 30th March, all foreign correspondents based in Dhaka were asked to leave the country. They moved to Kolkata.

On 10th December 1971, leading Bengali journalist and writer Serajuddin Hussain was abducted and later killed by pro-Pakistan Al-Badar volunteers. He had been President of the East Pakistan Union of Journalists in 1964-65 and the Vice-President of the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists at the time of his abduction and murder. He was working with pro-Awami League daily *Ittefaq* and was considered a close confidant of Awami League leadership including Sheikh Mujib. His book 'Look Into The Mirror' is described as a 'gem in political literature'.

The former editor of Pakistan Press International (PPI) Nizamuddin Ahmed was picked up in front of his mother, by Al-Badar, on 12th December 1971, from his residence and was never seen again.

Born in Munshiganj in 1929, Nizamuddin did his masters in Economics from Dhaka University in 1959, afterward he

joined PPI. During the civil war, he used to send news items on the atrocities by the forces to various foreign news media. He had taken New York Times journalist McBrowne to a guerrilla camp to collect authentic news. He was one of the few persons who provided news information to BBC, which became instrumental in propagating the Bengali case with the broader world audience. Because of his clandestine activities, he was twice summoned by Major-General Rao Farman Ali, In Charge Civil Affairs, Martial Law HQ Dhaka.

After Bangladesh came into being, on 20th December 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came to power as the President and the first Civilian Martial Law Administrator. On taking power, instead of dissolving the NPT, as promised during the campaign for the restoration of democracy, he dismissed Z. A. Suleri, the editor of the *Pakistan Times* and next day sacked Lt-Gen. Habib Ullah and Rafiq Saigol, the NPT chairman and PPL managing director and appointed his confidant Younis Saeed as the NPT chairman.

I.H. Rashid, the President of PUJ and CPNE demanded the repeal of all ugly press laws, meanwhile the new NPT chairman Younis Saeed promised to reinstate all newsmen sacked during the country wide strike of 1970 and on the persuasion of the government, APNS agreed to reinstate the axed journalists.

Addressing a public meeting in Karachi on 4th January 1972, Bhutto announced that 'all restrictions and controls imposed on the press had been lifted and the press is free...the press is free to say whatever it wants to say. It is free to write anything'. Referring to editorials of some newspapers against the press advice, he directed his Information Minister Abdul Hafeez Pirzado, to 'ensure that the press functions freely according to democratic concepts'.

On 10th January 1972, the screening of a five-minute film on Pakistan Television of the military surrender at Dhaka created a furor all over the country by the right wing. Two

days later, debunking the criticism on the exhibition of the film, Pirzado said that the people must know the truth and shun the 'ostrich-like' attitude. But regardless of all these tall talks, the film was never screened again, reportedly on the pressure of the Armed Forces.

Soon after his taking over as the Civilian Martial law Administrator, Bhutto visited Lahore and during that tour, working journalist Hussain Naqi (former students' leader and future human rights activist) asked Bhutto why he had accepted to become the Civilian Martial law Administrator. Naqi soon had to pay the price by the cancellation of the declaration of his weekly *Punjab Punch* on 3rd February 1972.

On 5th February 1972, on the call of PFUJ, 'Demand Day' was observed throughout the country. In meetings held in various cities, repeal of Press and Publications Ordinance and dissolution of the National Press Trust demanded.

On 1st April, declaration of two rightist Lahore based journals; weekly *Zindagi* and monthly *Urdu Digest* were cancelled on the orders of the MLA, Zone B. Two days later, editors of the periodicals, Mujibur Rehman Shami and Altaf Hussain Qureshi were summoned by the Press Consultative Committee to answer the charges for violation of the Code. Both the editors refused to recognize the so-called Press Code of Ethics and declined to appear before the Committee. Not satisfied with the cancellation of the declarations of these journals under the Press and Publications Ordinance, proceedings under Martial Law Regulations 89 and 16(A) against Hussain Naqi, publisher-editor, and Muzaffar Qadir, printer of the *Punjab Punch*, Mujibur Rehman Shami, Dr. Ejaz Hussain Qureshi, printer-publisher of *Zindagi* and printer of *Urdu Digest* and Altaf Hussain Qureshi, editor-publisher of *Urdu Digest* was initiated on 5th April and same evening all of them were arrested and lodged in separate jails. The PFUJ and CPNE initiated campaign for the release of journalists

and for the restoration of their papers. Separate writ petitions were filed in the High court but during the proceedings, on 13th April 1972, the Special Military Court hurriedly announced its unscheduled judgment and awarded one year imprisonment and two hundred thousand rupees fine each to Hussain Naqi and Muzaffar Qadir. Altaf Qureshi and Mujibur Rehman Shami each got one year imprisonment and one hundred thousand rupees fine. They were also debarred from editing or publishing any journal in the future.

The pro-Jamaat-Islami daily *Jasarat* was attacked by Peoples Party workers on 18th April 1972. At many places bundles of papers were also set on fire.

Syed Sardar Ali Shah, editor of Sindhi daily *Mehran*, Hyderabad was arrested on 5th June.

The Frontier Guardian, an independent weekly published from Peshawar, edited by Yusuf Lodhi (a well-known cartoonist Vai Ell), proved to be a nightmare for Bhutto government because of its outspoken stance. Soon after the resignation of the NAP-JUI coalition provincial government, it was turn of the *Frontier Guardian* to face the wrath of the government. Earlier Vai Ell had antagonized Bhutto with the publication of a booklet of cartoons under the title 'Bhutto: My Master', which was immediately banned under the Press and Publications Ordinance. Instead of banning the journal outright, on 6th February 1973, the keeper of Guardian Press was served an order 'not to publish any newspaper, journal or a book for a period of two months'. Earlier, magazine's weekly newsprint quota was reduced to 75 copies a week. On 9th March, editor, printer and publisher Vai Ell was jailed for six months and fined two thousand rupees for 'publishing a contemptuous article against the Chief Justice of Peshawar High Court'. On a writ petition in the High Court, he was released on bail.

On the call of PFUJ, journalists all over the country observed a 24-hours strike on 21 September 1973, to protest against the ban on three dailies in Sindh and arrest of editors and other press workers.

Abdul Ghafoor Memon, editor of Sindhi magazine, *Malir Digest* was arrested on 14th August 1973 under the DPR.

The Sindh government banned three dailies *Jasarat*, *Hurriyat* and *Mehran* for thirteen days on 2nd September 1973 and arrested Anwar Khalil, the executive editor of *Hurriyat* and Mushtaq Ahmed, the manager of *Urdu Digest* under DPR and Security Act.

Daily *Jasarat* editor Salahuddin, along with Sajjad Mir, correspondent of *Zindagi*, Lahore were arrested on 5th September, from the 'protest camp' near the offices of *Jasarat*.

Daily *Mehran* editor Syed Sardar Ali Shah was re-arrested from the gates of Hyderabad Central Jail, after he was ordered to release by the District Magistrate, Hyderabad on 10th September.

The National Awami Party supporter, *Shahbaz*, Peshawar, suspended its publication on 10th September 1973 as the Shaheen Printing Press was closed down on the orders of the NWFP government under the Security Act.

Three Karachi based journalists Arif Zaidi, Shafi Ali and Arshad Ahmed Shakib were arrested on 20th September 1973 under the DPR.

On 21st September 1973, the Information Minister, Kausar Niazi announced the lifting of ban on daily *Hurriyat*. According to him, the government had taken the decision on 'an apology' tendered by the paper's management. About daily *Jasarat*, he said 'it is an altogether different matter. It is a spokesman of a political party and is a habitual criminal'.

On 2nd September, the 30-days ban on Sindhi daily *Mehran* was withdrawn but at the same time by another order, its press was asked not to publish any newspaper or book for a period of 30 days. Later, on 22nd October, the Sindh government cancelled its declaration while its editor was still in jail.

On 4th January 1974, the Sindh government imposed a two-month ban on *The Star*, a Karachi evening-paper, edited by Ghulam Nabi Mansuri, under the Press and Publications Ordinance.

In May-June 1974, 16 newsmen of daily *Musawat*, Lahore, (owned by Bhutto family and other Peoples' Party leaders, with Begum Nusrat Bhutto as chairperson of the Board of Directors of *Musawat* LTD.) were victimized under the Chief Ministership of an intellectual and artist Hanif Ramay. The PFUJ took up their case and after prolonged negotiations, which failed to solve the issue; a country-wide movement was started. In all, 145 newsmen courted arrest, including the leadership of PFUJ and calligraphers' union. The *Musawat* Workers Union had submitted a charter of demand to the administration and had gotten sympathy nod from its editor Safdar Mir but soon he was forced to leave the paper. In coming days novelist Shoukat Siddiqui, who took over charge as Administrator-cum Chief Editor with the help of a working journalist Abbas Athar, dismissed eleven workers.

On 8th December 1975, PFUJ directed the press workers to observe a two-hour token strike to protest against the press curbs.

On 14th March 1977, daily *Sadaqat*, Karachi, edited by Bashir Rana, was banned for two months for supporting the opposition Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) on the orders of the Sindh government. Five days later, the Chief Minister Sindh withdrew this order.

On 3rd April 1977, press workers and journalists of Karachi observed a three-hour token strike and took out a procession for the acceptance of their seven-point charter of demand.

On 5th July 1977, the Pakistan Army under General Zia overthrew the elected government of Bhutto and imposed Martial Law in the country. In his address to newspaper editors on 11th July, General Zia said 'he expected the national press will cooperate with him'.

On 13th July, the PFUJ and APNEC Chairman, Minhaj Burna issued a long statement, demanding the repeal of the Press and Publications Ordinance, reinstating the press workers.

On 20th July, Badaruddin, the editor daily *Musawat*, Lahore was arrested, according to an official handout he and the editor of daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* were summoned to the Martial Law Headquarters for violating the advice and framework issued by the Martial Law Administrator, which was obliged by the *Nawa-i-Waqt* editor but Badaruddin failed to do so.

On 5th August, Mahmood Sham, editor of weekly *Mayar*, Karachi was arrested for publishing a confidential directive issued by the Ministry of Interior to the State Bank imposing ban on certain persons leaving the country.

On 3rd September, PFUJ President Minhaj Burna was terminated from service for writing an article, demanding the undoing of the National Press Trust. This article was published in a Karachi-based Urdu weekly *Al-Fateh*.

Publication of two Karachi dailies, *Musawat* and *Hilal-i-Pakistan* was suspended on 22nd October, following the take-over of the Peoples' Foundation by the authorities. According to weekly *Viewpoint* (30th October 1977) 'although it has been stated by the new management of the Peoples' Foundation that the suspension of the printing of newspapers is not influenced by political

considerations, and they had merely been asked to pay up the huge arrears dues before they could expect the Foundation's press to continue printing them, this explanation is not original and has many precedents in the history of our press. Since no other press has been found by the journalists, they remain suspended and over 300 journalists faced sudden unemployment'.

As early as in October same year on the PFUJ initiative, a *Karachi Workers Coordination Committee* (KWCC) comprised leading trade union organizations of Sindh was formed. Later the committee was expanded as the *Pakistan Mazdoor Rabita Committee* at a representative meeting held in Lahore in January 1978, following the police firing on striking workers of Colony Textile Mills Multan.

On 8th November, a Demand day was observed on the joint appeal of PFUJ and APNEC, while in the three-day meeting of the Executive Council of PFUJ, held in Karachi removal of restrictions in the publication of daily *Musawat* and suspension of daily *Hilal-i-Pakistan* and weekly *Nusrat* was condemned. The meeting decided to launch hunger strike for the revival of newspaper publication.

On 4th December, PFUJ and APNEC started a protest campaign from the Karachi Press Club. On the first day, eleven journalists and press workers under the leadership of Minhaj Burna sat for hunger strike. Two female journalists had also joined this 48-hour hunger strike. The Karachi police arrested 21 journalists from Karachi Press Club. Later, the government allowed daily *Musawat* to change its printing press.

On 10th January 1978, daily *Hayat*, Lahore was asked to submit security bond, as the daily had published a statement of Begum Nusrat Bhutto of PPP. Later, on 13th March, the Punjab government cancelled the declaration of the newspapers. For same reason, the daily *Musawat*

Lahore, was also asked to submit a security bond of one thousand rupees, while its Editor, S: G. M. Baddaruddin and OSD Zaheer Kashmiri were arrested and on 15th March, both along with newspaper printer Mir Jamilur Rehman were sentenced for one year imprisonment. On 22nd March, the Punjab government suspended the publication of daily *Musawat* Lahore and Faisalabad and sealed the printing presses.

On 21st January, Resident Editor, a Sub-Editor and a Type Graphtec of daily *Sun* Lahore, were sentenced for one year imprisonment and ten lashes each, for publishing derogatory remarks about Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) General Zia. Very next day, he pardoned their sentence.

On reporting about the law enforcing agencies' operation against the workers of Colony Textile Mills Multan in the last week of December 1977, the declaration of Urdu weekly *Al-Fatah* under the editorship of Arshad Rao, was cancelled in April 1978. The ban was challenged in the Sindh High Court, which eventually in February 1980 gave a verdict in favor of the magazine. During that period, Rao started no fewer than eleven different weeklies under different names. All were banned, one after another. These periodicals were: *Riyasat*, *Rahi*, *Inqalab*, *Parbhat*, *Zulfiqar*, *Faryad*, *Shabnam*, *Mustaqbil*, *Loh-o-Qalam*, *Awaz* and *Al-Barq*.

In the first quarter of 1978, Bashir Ahmed Rana, editor of daily *Sadaqat*, was sentenced under MLR 13 for criticizing the central budget, under the headline '*General Shahi ka budget: Andhe ki lathi*' (the budget by General's clique: stick in the hands of blind) . He was arrested from his office without any arrest warrants.

In March 1978, through an executive order issued by the Home Department, Government of Sindh, the declaration of Urdu Weekly *Al-Fatah* was cancelled, because it

published a news item regarding ruthless and indiscriminate police firing in the Colony Textile Mills, Multan, causing death of scores of workers.

In March 1978, the Lahore edition of daily *Musawat* was closed down under the Press and Publications Ordinance, 1963. Over all eleven papers were banned and thirteen others fined in those days. This sparked off a long struggle by

On 11th April, Abbass Athar, the Resident Editor, daily *Musawat* Lahore and Sheikh Manzoor Hussain, the Editor daily *Paigham* Sargodha were arrested for publishing the review appeal, submitted in the Supreme Court of Pakistan by former PM Bhutto, against the death sentence by Lahore High Court.

PFUJ and APNEC leadership hold talks with the government on the suspension of daily *Musawat* and other newspapers and for the release of arrested journalists but on the failure of talks the Joint Committee of PFUJ and APNEC decided to launch a protest movement for the restoration of daily *Musawat* from 13th April in Lahore. Same day the Punjab government expelled Minhaj Burna from the province for six months, after arresting him from Aziz Siddiqui's house and restricted everyone from entering the daily *Musawat* offices. The authorities arrested 22 other journalists and 14 of them were produced before a Summary military Court and were sentenced on 7th May.

PFUJ started its protest on 30th April. On the call of their representative body, the journalists and newspaper workers from different parts of the country had gathered in Lahore. They came in groups of four and five at the sealed *Musawat* office to begin indefinite hunger strike; to be promptly picked up by the police. Initially, the journalists were let off soon after their arrest and forcibly boarded on planes to take them to their hometowns. But when there appeared no end to their agitation, the

authorities became severe in their attitude and the arrested media workers were produced before the military courts and sentenced to various terms of rigorous imprisonment and heavy fines.

On 13th May 1978, the following press note was issued by the Martial Law Administrator, Zone A (Punjab) Headquarters, 'various summary military courts in Lahore today sentenced eleven journalists, press workers to various terms of imprisonments and released five newsmen and press workers after giving them warnings. They were tried under MLRs 5 and 33 for organizing meetings at open public places, raising slogans, displaying banners and starting hunger strike'. Four of them Nasir Zaidi, Iqbal Jafri, Khawar Naeem Hashmi and Masudullah Khan were ordered to be flogged by the Court. The sentence of lashes was executed within 70 minutes after the judgment, to three journalists in Kot Lakhpat Jail Lahore. Masudullah Khan, who was fifty years old and was limping due to a knee ailment, was let off. By announcing the punishment of flogging, the government might have believed that it will discourage the journalists to participate in the movement. On the contrary it provided a new spark to the whole community and a number of senior newsmen from all over the country expressed their desire to court arrest. In three months of this movement, over 150 journalists were arrested. this act of the military government was condemned all over the world and the journalists covering the UN, threatened to boycott the visiting Foreign Secretary Agha Shahi. On 15th May, on the call of PFUJ and APNEC journalists observed two-hour strike to condemn this barbaric act.

The Progressive Papers Limited (PPL) Lahore administration terminated PFUJ President Minhaj Burna from services.

Meanwhile, the government had been able to 'persuade' a section of journalists and newspaper employees to call off

the agitation. Those who accepted the 'terms' were freed on 13th July. However, the central action committee of the PFUJ and APNEC, rejected the terms of agreement, and announced, 'the so-called accord reached between the government and their own hand-picked negotiation team amounted to a complete sell-out of universally accepted principal of press freedom by the self-styled negotiation team'.

On 29th May 1978, after an agreement between the government and few representatives of Punjab Union of Journalists, the restrictions on the publication of daily *Musawat* lifted. The faction of PFUJ and APNEC had assured the government that daily *Musawat* will behave under the recognized media principles.

On 30th May, government released Daily *Musawat* Editor S. G. M. Badaruddin, senior journalist Zaheer Kashmiri and Muzafar Hussain, the Editor daily *Paigham* Sargodha. The spokesperson of the PFUJ and APNEC rejected the agreement between the government and so called representatives of journalist community and called it a selling of the sacrifices of 150 journalists.

On 2nd June, the Sindh government imposed ban on speeches and issuance of any statement on PFUJ President Minhaj Burna, under the Maintenance of Public Ordinance 1960. Later, on 5th June, he was arrested and released on bail under a road accident charges.

On 6th June 1978, daily *Sadaqat* Karachi, published a critical editorial on federal budget, under the heading '*General Sahib Ka Budget Andhe Ki Lathi*' (General's Budget, a Cane of a Blind). It was written by a leftist intellectual Mohammed Mian. The Sindh government arrested Bashir Rana, the Editor of daily *Sadaqat* on 4th July and offered him release on the condition of a written apology. He rejected government offer so a Summary Military Court sentenced him of imprisonment and fine.

On 15th June, PFUJ President Minhaj Burna, appreciated Rana's stance and endorsed his plea of a trial in an open court. Rana was shifted to Sukkur Central Jail, where he went on hunger strike on 10th September in protest against the misconduct by the authorities. On 15th September, PFUJ and APNEC appealed Rana to break his hunger strike.

After the *Musawat* movement, the NPT administration had terminated 24 journalists and workers from their services, so for their restoration, lifting ban of daily *Musawat* Karachi and cancellation of all black laws the PFUJ-APNEC action committee decided to launch a fresh movement from Karachi, which received support of many peasants' and labor organisation. In the meantime, the government issued warrants of arrest for 19 leaders of the movement, including a lady journalist, Lala Rukh Hussain, who was arrested in the early hours of 14th August, with her baby and was lodged in Karachi Central Jail. She was released two weeks later. During this phase of movement, about 200 journalists and press workers along with their supporters were arrested. On 17th September, PFUJ President Nisar Usmani was called for negotiations by the Secretary of Information, Lt. General Mujibur Rehman. On 19th October, PFUJ secretary General Nisar Usmani and APNEC Secretary General Hafeez Ragib, in a joint statement announced that on that appeal by PNA and other political parties' leadership and talks with the official decision to end the protest movement had been taken. They appealed detained journalists to end their hunger strike. With this announcement all arrested persons were released from the different prisons.

On 17th October 1978, all editions of daily *Musawat*, daily *Hilal-i-Pakistan* Karachi, daily *Amn* Karachi, daily *Sadaqat* Karachi, daily *Ailan* Karachi, daily *Nijat* Sukkur, weekly *Nusrat* Karachi and weekly *Zulfiqar* Karachi were placed under censorship, which continued for seven months and nine days. A writ petition challenging the censorship

orders was filed by S G M Budruddin, the editor of the daily in the Lahore High Court. During the proceedings Martial Law authorities lifted the censorship. *Musawat's* ordeal had begun with the imposition of the Zia martial law.

While, the weekly *Viewpoint*, edited by Mazhar Ali Khan, was placed under pre-censorship on 9th December 1978, under the Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance, 1960. Under the relevant clause of the law, a pre-censorship order lapsed automatically after two months, so another identical order was issued on 8th February 1979.

On 3rd December 1978, Mazhar Ali Khan, the Editor of weekly *Viewpoint* Lahore and Pakistan Press International bureau chief Hussain Naqi were arrested under the Official Secret Act. Naqi was shifted to the notorious torture camp of the Lahore Fort, who had written an article in the weekly, on the bases of a circular sent by Chief Martial Law Administrator Secretariat to all provinces and district officials to monitor the activities of leftist workers and create hurdles in alliances among students, journalists and workers' organizations. According to Naqi, he had received that circular by the postal service, addressed to his name. Although, Sardar Mazhar was released on bail but Naqi had to spend six months in custody and was released on bail. Official secrets act case against him was withdrew ten years later in 1988, under Benazir Bhutto government.

In his address to nation on 17th October 1979, the CMLA General Zia, while announcing postponement of the general elections for the second time, said in his broadcasted address ; 'those newspapers and periodicals indulging in anti-state activities in the garb of journalism and poisoning the minds of the people have been banned, and censorship imposed for remaining newspapers and media.'

Hardly three weeks after the imposition of the pre-censorship, on 12th November, 1979, Salamat Ali, a correspondent of the Hong Kong based weekly, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, was arrested for writing an article under the caption, 'Balochistan; an upheaval is forecast.' He was tried on 27th November, by a summary military court under Martial Law regulations 4,13 and 15 for publishing literature likely to create hatred and disorder among the people and provinces of Pakistan, creating hatred and disaffection against Martial Law authorities, provoking the dismemberment of Pakistan, and possession of literature calculated to promote provincial hatred.'

A serving Artillery Major acted as both prosecutor and judge and on 29th November, he was found guilty and was sentenced to one year rigorous imprisonment. After international protest on his trial and sentence, he was released on 'compassionate grounds' four months later. Some time later, Salamat Ali left the country and only visited it, ten years later, during the short-lived era of Benazir Bhutto government.

While, all other newspapers were subjected to pre-censorship, the editor and printer of daily *Musawat*, filed a writ petition in Lahore High Court and on 12th December 1979, Justice Dilawar Mahmood declared the government order unlawful. The staff started working on the same day. However, the same evening, the paper was served with an order closing it down under Martial Law Regulation no. 49.

In December 1979, the censor staff censored the proceeding of Lahore High Court about hearing of writ petition by Air Martial (Rtd,) Asghar Khan, so he filed a contempt of court application. On that the Chief Justice asked the Advocate General Punjab on 19th December 'to take instructions from the government and furnish the court with an assurance that press reports of the proceedings of the High Court shall not be censored'.

On 18th December 1979, while blanket pre-censorship was still in existence, the CMLA-President was 'pleased' to promulgate an ordinance 'to give protection to the citizens against publication of defamatory matter.' The ordinance amended Sections 499 and 500 of the PPC, (Act XLV of 1860) and the Second Schedule of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1898.

In January 1980, the Punjab Education Department came with a prohibiting order to all its writers and researchers from contributing articles to newspapers and journals or participating in seminars and conferences without prior permission from the concerned authorities.

On 7th March 1980, talking to journalists at Lahore airport General Zia advised people that they 'should not rely on BBC reports about the happenings in Pakistan.' Late in the evening the Pakistan Information Department officials rang up newsrooms all over the country, asking them to delete the 'BBC reference'.

There was no shortage of pro-Zia elements within the media, in spite of all these suppressions. At the annual CPNE dinner in July 1980, it's the then President and editor of daily *Pakistan Times*, Z. A. Suleri, an apologist of Ayub, Yahya and Zia Martial Law regimes, said, 'the press freedom allowed by the Zia regime during its three years has not been enjoyed in the last thirty three years of the country's life. If the press is under some curbs for sometime now, there must be some serious reasons, which you (General Zia) may not be able to ignore.'

On New Year's eve of 1981, Karachi based weekly *Al-Fatah's* chief editor Irshad Rao, editor Wahab Siddiqui, assistant editor Wahid Bashir, calligraphers Zamin Ali Shah and Abdus Salam were arrested on charges of 'clandestinely' printing and dissemination of 'subversive literature'. Wahab Siddiqui was forced out to Damascus, after the hijacking of a PIA plane in March 1981, by some

agitated and frustrated People's Party supporters. At the time of raid on the office, even the visitors Naeem Arvi (fiction writer and a journalist), Sharaf Aii, Nizam Siddiqui (relatives to Wahab and Wahid), Ghulam Murtaza (guard) and binder Mohammed Aslam were taken into custody. Arvi and Sharaf Ali were released after 14 days, guard after 26 days and Nizam after 28 days.

On 19th April, the Sindh government banned the Sindhi and Urdu editions of weekly *Halchal* of 24th to 28th November, 15th to 21st December and 22nd to 28th December 1980; the newsletter was the organ of Sindh National Students' Federation, a front of the Communist Party of Pakistan.

On 30th September, the Summary Military Court sentenced Rao, Shah and Salim to one year's imprisonment and five lashes each, for printing 'objectionable literature and creating unrest among the masses and dissatisfaction against the armed forces of Pakistan. Shah and Salim were released after one year, while Wahid Bashir remained behind bars for one year, six months and seventeen days. Although Rao completed his prison term in August 1982, he was detained under preventive detention till 3rd July 1983, when he was finally released. Earlier both Irshad Rao and Wahid Bashir were adopted as 'Prisoners of Conscience' by Amnesty International and the International Federation of Journalists launched world-wide campaign for their release.

On 12th October 1981, the then APNEC president Minhaj Burna gave a call to journalists to observe an 'Anti-Censorship Day' on 16th October. His appeal landed in the newsrooms with a press advice that 'no comment or editorial was to be published on the APNEC call.' The press not only faithfully followed the advice but except daily *Dawn*, every newspaper blacked out the original press release. Although meetings were held in Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi and other cities but on the press advice no newspaper, including *Dawn* published the proceedings.

On 7th November 1981, an advice was communicated to newspapers all over the country twice in just two hours 'not to publish news about a students' raid on the censor office Karachi. This created excitement in the newsrooms. Later it was learnt that in Dow Medical College Karachi, the students of IJT clashed with the members of APMSO in which few IJT members were injured. When their news did not get space in the newspapers, they approached the daily *Jang* office and were told that their news was censored. Riding motor-bikes and buses they reached the censor office. It was after their return that the advice was sent to papers.

Through this censorship a portion of Jinnah's speech of 11th August 1947 was struck out from daily *The Muslim* Islamabad, of 25th December 1981.

On 1st January 1982, self-censorship replaced pre-censorship but political and non-literary journals continued to face the blue pencil for the sacred cows, which General Zia described while addressing the members of his hand-picked Majlis-i-Shoora, 'I like to say few things about newspapers. During self-censorship, they will have to keep in view these guiding principles: 1- no material prejudicial to religion of Islam and the ideology of Pakistan should be published, 2- or which may endanger the security of Pakistan, 3- or may encourage communal or regional prejudices in the country, and 4- or may affect the dignity of armed forces or judiciary'.

This pre-censorship came to an end after two years, two months and twenty-six days, or 817 days in all, the longest in the history of this country.

Hardly three weeks after the lifting of the pre-censorship, on 23rd January 1982, government of Sindh issued an order asking the editors of Karachi dailies to refrain from publishing 'news/views of political nature, which is not permissible under MLR 48.' Two days later, Punjab and

Balochistan governments also issued orders on same pattern.

On 28th January 1982, two journalists Manzoor Hussain and Nasar ud Din Salimi of Khanpur were arrested on charges of being members of Al-Zulfiqar. They were freed on 3rd April.

Chief Martial Law Administrator General Zia said on 21st March 1982, 'I could close all newspapers, say, for a period of five years, and nobody would be in a position to raise any voice against it. If they try to organize a meeting or procession, I will send them to jail.'

On 23rd April 1982, thunder squad of *Jamaat-i-Islami* attacked Lahore offices of daily *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* and injured eight press workers. The CPNE gave a call of 24-hours strike on 25th April, endorsed by APNS and PFUJ.

On 5th July 1982, Nisar Ahmed Baladi, reporter of daily *Hilal-i-Pakistan* Karachi, and General Secretary Press Club Shahdadpur and Salim Hanju, reporter of daily *Ibrat*, Hyderabad were convicted by the Summary Military Court and awarded one year rigorous imprisonment and 15 lashes each.

On 21st October 1982, the Press was ordered through an 'advice' that 'cases under trial in Special Military Courts were not to be reported unless allowed by courts or Martial Law Headquarters.' According to observers, this order was issued because of the reporting of Communist Conspiracy Case, held in Karachi, as its reporting was cracking the standstill in political spectrum in the country.

A senior journalist Meem Sheen (Mohammed Shafi) was rewarded with membership of Zia's handpicked *Majlis-e-Shoora*, as he paid glowing tributes to the Punjab Governor, General Jilani in one of his articles.

The pre-censorship was re-imposed on newspapers in Karachi on 23rd February 1983, in the wake of sectarian

clashes in some parts of the city. The following day, the Information Minister Raja Zafarul Haq, informed the Zia's hand-picked federal council that all government advertisements to daily *Jang* had been stopped since 22nd February, for 'ignoring the official advice' in connection with sectarian strife in Karachi. On that one of the council members, Allama Syed Mohammed Razi, demanded a 'total ban' on the paper. Pre-censorship on the Karachi press was lifted on 17th June 1983.

During the MRD movement of 1983, pre-censorship was imposed initially on two Sindhi dailies *Ibrat* and *Mehran* both from Hyderabad and later on Karachi based Urdu daily *Amn*. Shamsher ul Hyderi, editor of *Mehran* tendered his resignation in protest against these restrictions. There was a total blackout of reporting about the 'civil disobedience' movement and for the people BBC was the only information source of it. Its Pakistan correspondent Mark Tully became hero in the eyes of the people.

On 12th September 1983, the National Press Trust (NPT) terminated the services of ten senior journalists, including Mashriq Editor Aziz Mazhar, Staff Reporter Mumtaz Ahmed, Sub-Editor Aurangzeb, Pakistan Times Chief Reporter A. H. Rashid, Senior Sub-Editor Riaz Malik, daily Imroze Deputy Editor Masood Asha'ar, Assistant Editor Shafqat Tanvir Mirza, Feature Writer Mrs. Rakhshanda Hassan, Chief Reporter Badarul Islam and Magazine In-charge Athar Javaid, affiliated with Pakistan Times, Imroze and Mashriq for signing a memorandum of solidarity with the people of Sindh, who were on forefront of the MRD movement. This memorandum was prepared by the 55 writers, poets and journalists of Lahore. When PFUJ chief Nisar Usmani in a press briefing by General Zia, protested on this action, he received reply that 'you (Nisar Usmani) say the punishment to the ten NPT journalists is too much. It is too little. They should have been hung up-side down. They must learn a lesson.'

The summary military court dadu on 6th November sentenced two journalists Ghulam Shabbir alias Wafa Brahmani and Bashir Thahim for six months imprisonment. They were accused for anti-government wall chalking.

On 5th December 1983, the Federal Government asked its ministries, divisions and state controlled corporations not to donate any fund to the Karachi Press Club, as its office bearers were regularly organizing functions where leaders of banned opposition parties were invited.

In December 1983, students of a religious school attacked daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* offices in Lahore against the publication of a book review regarding Pakistan movement which was critical of Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni.

After lifting pre-censorship in early 1984, General Zia, his Information Minister Raja Zafarul Haque (later chairman PML-N) and Information Secretary Lt. General Mujib, had a well formulated policy about correcting and restricting the media. In this regard General Zia while addressing the concluding session of a seminar on national integration in Lahore, said that 'the government has decided to constitute committees at district level with federal and local council members and representatives of the administration to ensure that no newspaper in their respective area publishes material repugnant to the ideology of Pakistan' and 'people have the right to destroy the copies of such newspapers which carried material repugnant to the ideology'. At this time all representative media organisation including PFUJ, APNEC, APNS and CPNE failed to react or protest on these remarks by Chief Martial Law Administrator.

All Pakistan Newspapers Association (APNS) judged Vai Ell of daily *Dawn* as the best cartoonist for the year-1983. General Zia was the chief guest of the award distribution ceremony held on 23rd May 1984, Vai Ell refused to receive his award from Zia and issued a statement a day earlier

that was broadcast by the BBC but was ignored the 'national' press.

Mrs. Kulsoom Sohail Sangi, in a letter to the Sindh home secretary on 12th May, asked to shift his imprisoned journalist to the hospital. The copies of the letter were sent to media houses and daily *The Muslim*, Islamabad on 30th May 1984, published the letter, which said, 'my husband Sohail Sangi (one of the accused in Jam Saqi Conspiracy Case), a senior journalist of Sindh, is behind bars for the last four years. He was involved in the Jam Saqi Conspiracy Case, judgment in which is reserved. Due to terrible prison conditions and continuous solitary confinement for three years, his nervous system is badly affected...he is suffering from severe pain in the cardiac area and sleeplessness. On 14th March and again on 12th April 1984, the Medical Officer of the Karachi Central Prison recommended his case for special advice and treatment but no arrangements were made so far.'

In June 1984, US Defense Secretary Wayne Burger visited Lahore and addressed a press conference. During the press conference PPI bureau chief Hussain Naqi asked a question regarding the US-Pakistan relations, which was not liked by visiting US Secretary and on the pressure of the government of Pakistan PPI terminated the services of Hussain Naqi.

The Karachi Press Club, regarded as an island of dissent and a symbol of defiance, celebrated its silver jubilee on 4th July 1984, by organizing a symposium, the theme being 'press and the nation rise and fall together'. Over half a dozen speakers, mostly working journalists, including Mazhar Ali Khan of weekly *Viewpoint* and retired Justice Dorab Patel, who refused to take oath on Provisional Constitutional Order, issued by General Zia and resigned and later became the founder of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), congratulated the KPC 'not for celebrating its 25th birth anniversary, but for

having held 25 elections in as many years' and said that for creating consciousness of their democratic rights among the people, they (newsmen) will have to bear the cross.

Sohail Sangi, senior journalist and former news editor of daily *Sindh News*, Hyderabad, was released on 11th November 1984, when the Deputy Martial Law Administrator, Karachi, withdrew his detention orders. Sangi was arrested in the last week of July 1980 and along with Prof. Jamal Naqvi, Kamal Warsi, Badar Abro, Amar Lal, Shabbir Shar and Dr. Jabbar Khattak was charged under Jam Saqi Conspiracy Case, for printing and publishing 'subversive literature' and spreading hatred against the government and armed forces.'

With the announcement of holding referendum in December 1984 to endorse General Zia's presidential tenure, Information Ministry through an official order reminded the media outlets that they 'should not assign newsmen to such press conferences which are addressed by the political leaders, as political activities in the country are banned under martial law so the presence of reporters and photographers at such meetings will be considered as an act of violation MLR 48.' Both KUJ and APNEC took strong notice of this order and demanded that APNS and CPNE to take a stand against it. But all newspapers with the exception of two from Karachi, neither did nor dared to publish this appeal. On the other hand, Election Commission of Pakistan warned the national media to refrain from using stories from foreign press about referendum.

In his first weekly column of year 1985, Ghazi Salah ud Din wrote in daily *Dawn*, Karachi, '...my sorrow is I cannot offer you an objective summary of the current affairs. The authorities now seem to believe that journalism is too serious a business to be left to journalists...which means in a sense that there should be no journalism...'

The *Musawat* press in Lahore was sealed and in January 1985, it was auctioned for the paltry sum of Rupees two hundred thousands only, for the recovery of a loan of nine hundred thousand rupees, including interest, by the National Bank of Pakistan. The successful bidder was Rafi Butt, owner-editor of daily *Hyder*, Rawalpindi.

On 2nd January 1987, a 1500-strong mob broke into offices of the English daily *Frontier Post* Peshawar and made a bonfire of everything from stationary to furniture, teleprinters, newsprint rolls and equipments. The demonstrators, mostly students of religious institutes and Afghan refugees, were protesting against the production of an illustration based on Biblical interpretation of the Genesis and the Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden on 9th January's Friday magazine. The painting was drawn by Lucas Cranach in the 16th century and had been published all over the world, during the last four centuries. Although, the newspaper editor Aziz Siddiqui had said that it was an unintentional error and had apologized.

Before the raid, a protest rally was held at a local mosque and later demonstrators marched to the newspaper office. Journalists from other newspapers on hearing the news converged to the *Frontier Post* offices and later marched in protest to the Governor House and held a meeting with Governor Fida Mohammed Khan.

The demonstrators belonged to *Jamiat Tulaba Islam*, *Anjuman Tulaba Islam*, *Jamiat Tulaba Arabia*, *Jamiat Isha'ate Tauheed-a-asunnat* and *Jamiat Madaras Deeni*.

On the following day, *Jamiat Tulaba Arabia* secretary, Mohammed Haque while accepting the responsibility for the attack, said that the action was called for and timely because the newspaper had hurt the religious feelings of Muslims and had challenged their pride and dignity.

Two days later, *IJT* (students' wing of *Jamaat-i-Islami*) took out a rally and after pelting stones at the newspaper's local office, regretted that the staff of *Frontier Post* was

not burnt alive with its offices and demanded the death penalty for editor and publisher of the newspaper. The government benches under the General Zia's created Muslim League did not allow a motion by the opposition to discuss the incident in the national assembly. Meanwhile the religious parties took out a procession at the *Yadgar Chowk*, Peshawar and this time the speakers declared the whole journalist community as the agents of Soviet Union, US and Jews and threatened them of dire consequences.

On 2nd February, the Mayor of Karachi led the elected members' protest rally and when it reached the gates of Sindh Assembly building, police baton charged the journalists and press photographers covering the rally.

On 24th May, a five hours police siege of Hyderabad Press Club happened. The police wanted to arrest some Sindhi nationalist students and roughed up the journalists present in the club.

On 12th February 1985, the Home Department Punjab, issued a notice to weekly *Awami Jamhuriyat* Lahore, for publishing a poem by Faiz Ahmed Faiz '*Hum Mahnat Kosh...*'. According to the official notice, publication of the poem could cause hatred among the different classes.

The Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi, published Fatima Jinnah's book '*My Brother*' (her memoirs on the founder of the country) in 1987. The editor of the book, Shariful Mujahid, admitted in the preface that he had deleted some 'extremely controversial passages' from the manuscript.

During General Zia regime, lasted for eleven years, over a hundred dailies, weeklies and other periodicals were banned all over the country and scores of printing presses were sealed or confiscated. One printing press (*Musawat* press) was auctioned. Some of the important papers banned were; dailies *Musawat* (Lahore, Karachi and Faisalabad), *Tameer* (Rawalpindi), *Sadaqat* (Karachi), and

weeklies *Al-Fatah* and *Mayar* (both from Karachi), *Nusrat* (Lahore), *Dhanak* and *Sada-e-Watun* (Lahore), *Pirbhat* (Nawabshah) and *Awaz* (Karachi).

To dodge the censorship authorities, the Pakistani journalists created their own way to defy it or communicate with their readers in abstract forms. In one such instance when the editorial of a Karachi based Urdu daily *Huriyat* was censored by the authorities, the editor pasted a photo of Camel in the editorial column and doing so, on one hand he fulfilled the official requirement of filling the censored space and on the other hand he successfully messaged his readers that the editorial is being censored.

The state-owned Pakistan Television invited the displeasure of high officials responsible for overseeing the broadcasting material, when it telecasted a Koran verse for couple of times. The verse is: 'And Fulfill the promise made; you will certainly be questioned about the promise.' (Al Koran, 17:34). Officials considered the broadcast of this verse an attack on General Zia, who had backed out from his promise to hold general elections within 90 days of his taking over the power.

From 1980 to 1988, the slain American civil rights activist Martin Luther King Jr. got special coverage in Pakistani media, especially on his death anniversary, which happens on 4th April (same as former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's hanging in 1979).

On 22nd September 1988, a controversial newspaper columnist and leading poet Raees Amrohi was murdered in his Karachi house. He had written a poem '*Urdu ka janoza hai, zara dhoom sa nikla*' (this is the coffin of Urdu, let it be taken out with celebration), published in daily *Jang* Karachi with black margins in 1972, when the Sindh Assembly declared Sindhi as the official provincial language. He had been strong supporter of the ethnic Mohajir identity and politics.

On 14th April 1989, as the Chief Minister Punjab, Nawaz Sharif wished 'to twist the necks of the PTV and the papers.' He continued in this tone after becoming Prime Minister, when he warned the press in 1991, at a state-managed seminar in Islamabad.

On 1st May 1989, daily *Jang* office, Quetta was ransacked by an armed gang. They threw petrol bombs, damaging the machinery and furniture and put bundles of the daily's edition to torch. As it was a holiday for the Workers Day, so no journalist was present and the support staff was beaten by the attackers.

On 27th May 1989, in Karachi hundreds of APMSO (the students' wing of MQM) members laid a siege of the daily *Dawn* offices at Haroon House, which also housed the offices of dailies *Star*, *Huriyat*, *Dawn* and *Watan* (Gujrati) and monthly *Herald*.

On 5th August, three press photographers Naseer ud Din, Shaukat Ali and Nazir Soomro were beaten at a Hyderabad police station, when they tried to photograph a naked youth tied in chains, hanging from ceiling at the police station. -

On 17 February 1990, four press photographers Zahid Hussain of *Associated Press of America*, Zafar Ahmed of *AFP*, Hassan Sangrami of *Dawn* and Safdar Ali Syed of *Nawa-i-Waqt* were attacked by the police, when they photographed the deserted city on the eve of strike called by MQM. Zahid had a serious head injured, while Zafar had a fractured hand in that attack.

In the continuous riots during first quarter of 1990, many journalists were threatened by rival PPP and MQM.

A mob of Islamist students stormed in the offices of daily *Haider* Rawalpindi, on 19 February and damaged office property to protest on paper's advice to the Muslims to

control their enthusiasm 'while dealing with the issue of the Ahmedis'.

On 2nd March, Pakistan Awami Tahreek of Allama Tahirul Qadri organized a Kashmir rally in Lahore. In his address, he threatened 'direct action' if the rally was not given a six column display on the front page, with four column picture in every newspaper of Lahore.

On 15th March, for the first time in the history of press, a peaceful procession of the Lahore newsmen, under the Punjab Union of Journalists, was shot at from within the premises of the Muslim League House. The trigger-happy boys of the Muslim Students' Federation opened fire on journalists, who were protesting against an attack on the daily *Jang* staff and its administration, and the burning of the newspaper copies a day earlier. Although the state run television had telecast the whole scene of firing but the chief minister and Muslim League Punjab President Nawaz Sharif next day denied that his boys were involved in the incident. In the coming days, in the consequences of the incident a rift among the Muslim League members emerged in the Punjab Assembly and they accused different groups within the party responsible for the incident.

On 2nd April 1990, the largest Urdu evening paper from Karachi, daily *Qaumi Akhbar* brought out a special supplement announcing the death of PSF Karachi president Najib Ahmed, with a banner headline; '*Najib ne Jam-e-Shahadat nash kar liya*' (Najib has drunk from the goblet of martyrdom). This infuriated MQM, which immediately sent orders for the paper's boycott and displayed banners all over the city, saying '*Qaumi Akhbar* has thrown press freedom to the winds on the death of a terrorist, all lovers of the truth should boycott the enemy of Mohajirs'. The paper suspended its publication but not a single line of protest was printed anywhere in the country. For one week the *Qaumi Akhbar* offices were occupied by the

armed militants of MQM and afterward paper re-emerged only when its editor bowed before the MQM chief Altaf Hussain and the photos of this shameful sight were published in the upper half of the front page.

Amid the ethnic riots in Sindh, three journalists were shot dead in span of three days. Rahat Kazmi, a daily *Jang* correspondent and President of Khairpur Press Club was shot dead by two armed motorcyclists on 31st May, while Muthahir Naqvi a correspondent of daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* and news agency *PPI* correspondent Ahmed Khan Kamal were killed by unknown assassins in Larkana.

Many journalists in Pakistan supported General Zia's Martial Law and had portrayed its opponents as traitors and anti-Pakistan. On 5th June, Mian Irshadul Haque, Multan correspondent of daily *Nawa-i-Waqt*, received an anonymous letter threatening to kill and destroy homes of those who supported Martial Law. Fortunately this threat did not materialize.

In the evening of 6th August, four journalists Raja Mohammed Asghar (*Reuternews* agency), Shaheen Sahbai (*Dawn*), Ahmed Hassan Alvi (*Hurriyat*) and Zafar Naqvi (*Imroze*) were kidnapped by the secret agency personals, when they were coming out of an Indian diplomat's residence after attending a briefing.

Addressing a public meeting in Clifton, a posh area of Karachi, on 19th October, the MQM chief Altaf Hussain threatened the editor Razia Bhatti and staff of monthly *Newsline* (a socio-political periodical with a majority of female staff). He continued threats in coming meetings and announced that his party will not allow publications of such periodical to be sold. In this charged atmosphere, the CPNE Ethics Committee met in Karachi and this forum for safeguarding the 'owner's interests' came out with its concern over the 'flagrant violation' of its certain member-publication. The committee had special anger for monthly

Herald and its editor Ms. Sherry Rehman (later Federal Information Minister) and the *BBC* radio.

After the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto government on 6th August 1990, the journalists visiting her Karachi residence Bilawal House were questioned and investigated by the police.

The Sindh Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali, in a press conference on 9th December, threatened the whole journalist community by saying 'I have already jailed a big *Badmash* (ruffian) Asif Ali Zardari and your turn too is very near'.

From 15th December, a fortnight boycott by Sindh Tarakee Pasand Party of daily *Jang* started as the party chief in a statement had declared the paper as anti-Sindh and hostile to Sindhi nationalist movement. Several delivery vans of the paper were intercepted and burnt and few of its workers were beaten during the boycott.

Addressing a luncheon hosted by CPNE on 23rd December, Prime Minister Nawaz Shareef lashed out at the whole journalist community accusing them of being on payrolls of the opposition politicians or political parties.

On 16th March 1991, Zafar Abbas of monthly *Herald* and *BBC* radio was beaten at his home, because his periodical had published an investigative report against the MQM.

On 1st January 1990, a 27 year old young journalist Mansoor Ahmed Khan, Peshawar Bureau chief of daily *Democrat* was attacked by acid throwing, while he was sleeping at his house. On 3rd January, he died at the Islamabad Airport before being flown to England for treatment. Mansoor, an active member of the leftist students' organization in his academic life, was attacked by the Arab students studying in Peshawar. Unlike several other newspapers, the short-lived daily *Democrat*, edited by a former leftist Abid Ali Syed launched a sustained

campaign against the attack without any success. Few years later, young son of Syed was also killed in Karachi by unknown assassins.

On 16th September 1991, Mian Abdur Rashid, a columnist in daily *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Lahore and a religious scholar was shot dead from point blank range in his drawing room. According to daily *Nation* he was receiving threats from some sectarian elements.

On 24th September, Nafisa Hoodbhoy, a female investigative reporter of daily *Dawn* narrowly escaped death, when she was attacked by two men with daggers. On 1st October, an unruly mob attacked the house of Mohammed Salahud Din, the editor, weekly *Takbeer*. This right-wing magazine had been vocal against MQM and its chief Altaf Hussain. Entire first floor of the house was set on fire. Meanwhile daily *Qaumi Akhbar* launched a campaign against *Takbeer* and accused it of blasphemy and faced a siege of its offices. Later, Salahud Din was killed in front of his office.

The October issue of monthly *Herald* was seized from bookstalls all over Karachi by Crime Investigation Agency (CIA). It carried a 15-pages cover story, including an interview with Ms. Rahila Tiwana (later Deputy Speaker Sindh Assembly), a female PSF activist who was allegedly tortured and abused at the CIA center on the orders of Irfan Ullah Marwat, provincial Home Minister and son-in-law of then President Ghulam Ishaque Khan.

On 2nd November, Shabbir Baidar Bhutto, a Sukkur correspondent of daily *Frontier Post* and Sindhi daily *Kawish* was picked-up by the police without showing any arrest warrants from his office. The KUJ and Sindh Newspaper Editors Council (SNEC), came out strongly against this arrest, so Bhutto was released on 6th November.

On 21st March 1993, during a 'Meet the Press' arranged by the Karachi Press Club for the MQM leader, Senator Ishtiaq Azhar, the KPC President, Saieem Asmi, criticized the role of the MQM for its involvement in 'certain activities against the press'. Next day Urdu dailies *Jang* and *Amn* published Asmi's remarks as a separate item, while *The News* reported the entire proceedings of program in a consolidated form but daily *Dawn*, where Asmi was a senior member of the editorial staff, published the report without Asmi's comments. That same evening, the *Jang* staff received abusive and threatening telephone calls.

On 24th July 1994, a high treason case registered against Munir Ahmed, a reporter of the Frontier Post, Lahore. One year earlier, his investigative book 'Role of Intelligence Agencies in Pakistan', banned under the government orders, which was later lifted by the court orders.

On 1st February 2001, the Frontier government banned daily Frontier Post Peshawar, on the charge of publishing a blasphemous letter. The same day, a rowdy mob attacked and burnt down the Frontier Post offices.

On 23 January 2002, *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl was kidnapped in Karachi, when he was going to interview a militant leader. Three months later his body was found after the militant group dispatched a video of his beheading. According to militants, Daniel Pearl was a Jew and he was on the pay-roll of US CIA.

On 3rd November 2007, General Musharraf imposed Emergency and with that all the News TV channels and FM 99 and FM 103 Radio Stations were off-lined. Later, on the acceptance of the conditions, all except Geo News, channels were allowed to broadcast but few of the political debate programs were barred to relay, so the anchors of those programs presented their programs in front of press clubs of the major cities of the country.

Chishti Mujahid, Balochistan bureau chief of Urdu weekly *Akhbar-i-Jahan*, Karachi, was gunned down in Quetta on 9th February 2008. Baloch Liberation Army claimed responsibility for the murder. *Akhbar-i-Jahan* had published Mujahid's news report on the death of the militant leader Balach Marri with the headline '*Do guz Zameen bhi Na Mili Koi Yar Main*' (did not get two yards of land for grave in the land of beloved'.) a couplet of exiled king Bahadur Shah Zafar; this in spite of the fact that the selection of headline is always being done by the editing staff and not by the reporters.

In June 2009, Ayub Tareen of BBC conducted an interview of militant Baloch leader Dr. Allah Nazar; afterward he had to face the security forces' interrogation about the whereabouts of the Baloch leader.

The name of a newspaper editor Anwar Sajidi, was included in the hit list of *Tahreek-i-Nifaz-i-Amn* (movement for the enforcement of peace) in Balochistan.

In January 2011, Wali Babar, the reporter for private news channel *Geo* was killed in broad-day light in Karachi. All the witnesses, except one also faced same fate and were gunned down. The prosecutor of the case Naimat Ullah Randhawa advocate was also killed by unknown assassins. In the first week of March 2014, a court convicted few culprits but few more were still absconders.

In September 2011, Frontier Constabulary (a Para Military force) stopped the circulation of Urdu daily *Intakhab* in Balochistan University, because it considered newspaper as anti-state.

On 29th May 2011, Saleem Shahzad 40, of the *Asia Times Online* vanished from Islamabad, after writing about alleged links between Al-Qaeda and the Pakistani Navy. His body was found on May 31, in a canal near the town of Mandi Bahauddin, some 120 kilometers south of the capital, Islamabad. His friends said that the body had signs

of torture around the face and neck. He had told colleagues that he had been receiving threats from intelligence officials in recent months.

Shahzad was reported missing, after he failed to show up for a televised panel discussion in Islamabad. He was scheduled to discuss his recent article for *Asia Times Online* in which he alleged that Al-Qaeda, having infiltrated the Pakistani Navy, was behind a 17-hour siege at a naval base in Karachi on May 22. He said the attack came after military or security officials refused to release a group of naval officials suspected of having links to militant groups. The attack, coming soon after the U.S. killing of Osama bin Laden on May 2, was deeply embarrassing to the Pakistani military. Earlier in May, three navy buses carrying recruits were blown up via remote control devices in Karachi, the large port city. Shahzad's death also came a few days after the release of his book, *Inside the Taliban and Al-Qaeda*.

For months, the journalist had been telling friends that he had been warned by intelligence agents to stop reporting on sensitive security matters. In October 2010, Shahzad through an email informed Ali Dayan Hasan, a researcher for Human Rights Watch in Pakistan, that he had been threatened by a top official at a meeting at the headquarters of the Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate in Rawalpindi.

Hameed Haroon, president of the All Pakistan Newspapers Society and a former employer of Shahzad, said he had received a similar message at about the same time.

In July 2011, *The New York Times* reported that U.S. officials had reliable intelligence that showed that the ISI was responsible for Shahzad's murder. Pakistan's official commission of inquiry concluded in January 2012 that the perpetrators were unknown, a finding that was widely criticized as lacking credibility.

On 29th September 2012, unidentified assailants shot dead Abdul Haq Baloch, as he was leaving the Khuzdar Press Club Balochistan. He was the secretary-general of the press club and a longtime local correspondent for *ARY Television*. He had been threatened by the *Baloch Musalah Difa Army* (BMDA, or the Baloch Defense Army) in November 2011.

In its annual report for year 2012, Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) declared Pakistan remained one of the deadliest nations in the world for the press, a situation that appeared unlikely to change, given the government's unwillingness to confront the problem.

On 21st August, 2013, body of Baloch journalist Abdul Razzaq Baloch was found dumped at a waste ground in the SurjaniTown area of Karachi. A piece of paper bearing his name had been stuffed into his pocket. His hands were tied, he had been strangled.

Working as a proof-reader with pro-independent Balochistan newspaper daily *Tawar*, (Call), 42 years old Razzaq was picked up by the security agencies earlier in March. He had last been seen as he was bundled into a vehicle with a blanket over his head. He was returning home on his motor-bike after completing his work late in the night.

His associates believed his disappearance and murder was linked to the daily *Tawar's* coverage of a separatist guerrilla campaign in Balochistan.

After his death, *Tawar* seized to publish but its online edition continued.

8- Students' Movements

Before the partition, students' politics in Sindh and Punjab was dominated by different Socialist groups; however after the partition with the migration of Hindus from Sindh and Sikhs from Punjab, the space was filled in by the Muslim Students' Federation, dominated by the immigrant students, mainly in the cities of Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi.

In 1947, a unit of Muslim Students' Federation was formed in the N.E.D.EngineeringCollege (LaterUniversity), Karachi and Ahmed Khan Barakzai became its first President and Mohammed Shafi Ansari the General Secretary. In October 1947, it launched a bi-lingual magazine monthly *Taimeer*, in Sindhi and English, under the editorship of *Maimar* (looks a pen-name). Ansari was the main spirit beyond this magazine.

Soon after the partition, Muslim League disintegrated into different factions over distribution of ministries, this had a direct, divisive impact on the Muslim Students' Federation, which in various groups, followed different leaders.

On 6th February 1948, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman founded the East Pakistan Students' League, which became instrumental in forming of the Committee of Action of the

students of Dhaka University, representing all shades of political divide, with the objective of achieving national status for Bengali language. Committee initiated daily protest and on 11th March, its rally was baton charged by the police, which also made few arrests, including Sheikh Mujib. Although soon he was released but sometime later, on the occasion of another strike in the campus, he was expelled from the University.

As the Governor General Mohammed Ali Jinnah was scheduled to visit Dhaka on 19th March, so the provincial government under Khwaja Nazimuddin, in its nervousness, for ongoing agitation, negotiated with the Committee of Action with the help of Mohammed Ali Bogra and signed an agreement, which provided that 1- the Provincial Assembly shall adopt a resolution for making Bengali the official language of East Pakistan, and the medium of instruction at all stages of education, and 2- the Assembly by another resolution would recommend to the central government that Bengali should be made one of the state languages.

Although Assembly passed a resolution on first point but fallen short of fulfilling the promise on the second point. Meanwhile, Jinnah during his maiden visit of Dhaka as the Head of State felt that the provincial government had given undue concessions to the students.

Responding to this atmosphere, a few progressive-minded students in Lahore founded a group named Democratic Students' Federation. The DSF did not have any formal, written program or agenda. In the coming years, it participated in the students' union elections and at few places won some seats.

On 11th June 1948, over 800 Sindhi students brought out a rally in Karachi, to protest against the separation of Karachi from Sindh, in May.

In 1948, Islami Jami'at Tulaba (IJT), the student wing of Jamaat-i-Islami, was formed. In initial days, it limited its activities to the mosques and later published some pamphlets.

On the other hand, the students' politics in the Eastern part of the country (now Bangladesh) was both active and vibrant. Here two students' organizations, East Pakistan Students' Federation and East Pakistan Students' League were active. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the Governor General of the newly formed country, addressing a public meeting in English at Paltan Maidan, in his first and last post-independence visit to Dhaka in March 1948, declared Urdu as the national language of the country. This infuriated Bengalis, especially the students. Dhaka University Central Students' Federation and East Pakistan Students' Union led the campaign against this announcement. Later, they were joined by the other segments of the society as well.

In March 1950, on the visit of Shah of Iran to Lahore, DSF decided to greet monarch with handbills criticizing his rule. The workers were required to distribute those quickly on Mall, where Shah was scheduled to pass. Latif Afghan President of DSF was arrested with pamphlets and was sentenced for three years imprisonment.

On 28th January 1952, the students of Dhaka University, in a protest meeting, criticized the Prime Minister and the provincial cabinet by calling them stooges of West Pakistan, as on the previous day, PM Nazimuddin had reiterated in a public meeting Jinnah's Views on the national language. Once again students formed a Committee of Action and from 30th January, a series of strikes was called in university and colleges, and processions were taken out in the city. The Urdu-speaking students did not join the boycott of classes, which resulted in ethnic clashes on the campuses. Later this agitation was joined by the political forces including Awami League and Communists.

On 21st February, small processions from various parts of the city started converging on Dhaka University. By noon, several thousand persons had gathered in the University compound. After listening speeches from loudspeakers fitted inside the medical college hostel, batches of protesters started coming out from the University compound to defy the ban imposed by the government on the rallies. Meanwhile, a procession of girls coming towards the main point was stopped by the police. At this students rushed out from inside the university and medical college and joined the girls' procession by breaking the police cordon, they started march towards the Assembly building which was in session at that time. The police used tear-gas to stop the procession, have failed to do so; they opened fire, killing at least three students and injuring another more than two dozens. Later, a *Shaheed Minar* (Martyr's Monument) was erected at the site of the firing. In 1999, the United Nations declared the 22nd February, as the International Mother Language Day. After a prolong agitation, government withdrew its decision and accepted the demand of Bengali as the state language. This was the first peoples' victory in the country and is rightly considered as the founding stone for Bangladesh.

In Karachi, during the same period, Barkat, Shafi, Sibghat Qadri and other school students formed High School Students' Federation (HSSF).

In Karachi, the Democratic Students' Federation (DSF) was formed in 1950 at Dow Medical College, with Mohammed Sarwar, as its first elected convener. Mirza Kazim (later a legal expert on labor issues) followed him. The headquarters of DSF was the room no. 29 of Mitha Ram Hostel. It drew up a 'Charter of Demands' in January 1953 and decided to hold a 'Demands' Day' on 7th January. The police barricaded the area around D J Science College, where 5000-6000 students gathered for the general body meeting. Despite the tear gas shelling and baton charge by

the police, hundreds of students managed to reach the Education Minister's residence, who decided to run away rather than to face the students. Police arrested some students' leaders but was forced to release them, as the rest of the students sat in protest. The released leadership announced a protest next day to condemn the mishandling of students by the police.

Next day, Prime Minister Khwaja Nazim ud Din invited the students' leaders to his residence and listened to their demands in the presence of Education Minister Fazal ur Rehman. At this stage students thought that their demands had been accepted but the official handout pointed out it otherwise. Enraged students went on rampage and surrounded a motor car with an official flag of a minister in the commercial area of Saddar. The Home Minister Gurmani was riding the car. The police panicked and fired tear gas shells towards students. As an immediate reaction to this, the general public came out in support of students and set on fire the ministerial motor car. Police retaliated by firing live bullets on a group of students near the Paradise Cinema in Saddar and killed at least six students and a boy scout, helping the injured. According to the Students' Herald, eight students were killed on that day, with a total of 27 killed over three days from 7th to 9th January 1953. In coming years, the 8th January became the Students Martyr Day and founding day of students' politics in Pakistan.

Meanwhile, another students' group, the 'World University Service' led by Qamar uz Zaman and patronized by the Vice Chancellor Karachi University met the Education Minister and announced that all the students' demands had been accepted.

The Karachi students took an initiative and in December 1953, called an All Pakistan Students' Convention. Mohammed Sarwar was elected chairman of the convening committee. Mateen and Khaliq Zaman were delegates from East Pakistan; the Punjab delegates were led by Abid Manto, now a leftist leader and a leading lawyer and Alia Imam, who was visiting Pakistan in those days and in

coming years moved to Pakistan, represented Indian students. Alia Imam was particularly targeted and was deported from the country; a price she had to pay for attending the convention. The Sindh delegation was led by Syed Mazhar Jamil, later literary critic and lawyer in Karachi.

To pay homage to the martyrs of previous year protests, the convention was called on 8th January, with the venue at Katrak Hall, Saddar. Messages of solidarity came from students' bodies all over the world. A K Brohi, the Central Law Minister had agreed to be the chief guest of the convention. Mohammed Sarwar escorted minister from his official residence to convention venue. Meanwhile, the Commissioner Karachi imposed section 144, which proscribed a gathering of four or more persons in public places. The Brohi-Sarwar pair arrived at the hall only to find the place in pandemonium. The Home Minister Gurmani, who was still smarting from the humiliation of his motor-car fire last year, had sent the gangsters of the city, besides the police force to disrupt the proceedings of convention. These gangsters together with the police force beat up the students, especially the school and female students. Sibghat Kadri, Wadood (later Barrister and the Deputy Attorney General in the Benazir Bhutto government), Ms. Hamza and Zarina were the worst injured in the beating. Students had also taken their precaution measures and their security squad consisted of Adeeb ul Hassan Rizvi (later a leading Urology specialist and the founder of Sindh Institute of Urology and Transplantation (SIUT), Sher Afzal Malik and others, who saved many students.

The student volunteers somehow controlled the situation, so Brohi was able to deliver his speech but the rest of the convention was moved to the Model School in Pakistan Chowk area. The convention passed a resolution to form All Pakistan Students' Organisation, a right winger Iqbal

was elected as its first President and Mohammed Sarwar of DMC its Secretary General. Although many student groups of various small and big towns of West Pakistan announced to join the organization but Bengali delegates pledged that they will seek consent of their groups in this regard.

Reacting to police and gangster brutality, angry students protested all over Karachi. General public and most of the press supported them. This time police avoided direct confrontation with students, so further bloodshed was averted but few days later, many students were arrested and spent many months behind the bars.

Following the Baghdad Pact in 1954, the government banned the DSF along with Communist Party of Pakistan, Progressive Writers' Association and All Pakistan Students' Organisation. The ban was followed by the mass arrests, including the DSF chief Dr. Sarwar who passed his final year examination from the prison. The ban did not deter students and they reorganized themselves under the umbrella of National Students' Federation (NSF), at that time a small right-wing organization but soon the progressive students converted it into a leading leftist organization.

The first major protest by this new students' organization was on the occasion when Britain, France and Israel attacked Suez Canal. The organization took out a rally, fully participated by the high school students. The NSF accommodated in its folds students with different ideologies such as Marxists, Socialists, Social Democrats and Liberals.

Student activists of this period like Fatahyab Ali Khan and Mairaj Mohammed Khan later became students' as well as the leading political leaders but the students' politics of Karachi during 1955 to 1965 was dominated by Sher Afzal. According to few accounts, the General Ayub era Communist martyr Hassan Nasir was his mentor. He was an

ideological Communist students' leader, who was fluent in most of languages of the country including Urdu, Sindhi, Pashto, Gujrati and of course Punjabi, his mother tongue and was in regular contact with the general public especially with the workers. He was elected President of Dow Medical College Students' Union in 1956 and in his tenure union made some radical demands, disapproved by the administration. Sher Afzal went on hunger strike with over a dozen students including the girl students. His mass popularity brought the public support for the students' cause, so none other than the Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy visited the hunger strike camp and accepted all demands, flashed by the national and international media, including BBC and Tass News Agency.

By the time, when General Ayub Khan imposed first Martial Law in October 1958, NSF had become the biggest students' organization of the country, so with the political parties of the country, NSF was also banned under Martial Law orders. This ban continued till 1962. During the Ayub Martial Law, campuses all over the country witnessed the state patronization of IJT, the students' wing of Jamaat-i-Islami.

In 1962, students in Karachi started a movement for the restoration of their unions. The government expelled twelve students' leaders from Karachi, including Mairaj Mohammed Khan, Fatahyab Ali Khan, Nafees Siddiqui, Johar Hussain, Ali Mukhtar Rizvi and others. They went to nearby Hyderabad and then to Sukkur but wherever they reached, were asked to leave that particular city.

At last they reached Multan, where Qaswar Gardezi was an active progressive worker; who later became the General Secretary of Pakistan National Party (PNP). In Multan, the expelled students stayed at his home. Next day the students of Multan College (including Wasim Raja, a leading Pakistani cricketer in coming years and Karamat Ali, a future Trade Union leader and Peace Activist) saw

some young urban boys with pants and long hair sitting on floor in front of college main gate. On enquiry, they were told by the strangers about their expulsion and their organisation NSF. The Multan students had never heard anything like that. In their enthusiasm to support the 'rebels', they asked them what they could do for them. On the suggestion of Karachi students, they went on strike and as Ali Mukhtar Rizvi was tallest among the Karachi students, he climbed the wooden umbrella erected for the traffic constable and addressed the students in his emotional style. One police official grabbed him and tried to pull him down. Seeing this, students of Multan got furious and started beating the official. At the end of the meeting, the Karachi students suggested that the local students should bring out a rally and protest in front of Commissioner Office; till they get an assurance that the Karachi students would not be expelled from Multan. The students marched to Commissioner Office raising slogans against Ayub Khan, Governor Kalabagh and Education Minister Ms. Mahmooda Sultana. They also carried an artificial funeral on a cot. After three hours sit-in, the Commissioner called them for a meeting. The cricket loving commissioner Raja Saleem Akhter, assured students that till the Karachi administration's decision to lift the ban on them from entering the city is not being taken they can stay in Multan. The Karachi students' leaders lived for couple of weeks in Multan and during their stay; they created a political atmosphere in the city.

By the 1965, pro-Soviet and pro-China tussle in the left politics affected NSF as well, which fractionalized into two groups, dominated by the pro- China faction led by Mairaj Mohammed Khan, Zain Lodhi and Rasheed Hassan Khan. The pro-Soviet faction of NSF was to fade off in coming days and later re-emerged as new entities. NSF developed strong links with the left wing National Awami Party (NAP), especially its pro-China faction, led by Maulana Bhashani.

Both NSF and NAP (Bhashani) supported the military dictator General Ayub Khan in his presidential elections of 1962, but the honeymoon period ended soon after Pakistan's war with India in September 1965. With Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's opposition to the Tashkent declaration, NSF became his most supporting force. In 1967, NSF again split in factions on 'ideological' basis.

During the same time, a leftist students' body National Students' Organisation (NSO) emerged in Lahore. One of its founding leaders Imtiaz Alam in later years formed a leftist group *Punjab Lok Party*, further later, became a journalist and an important India-Pakistan peace initiator. Both NSF and NSO supported PPP under Bhutto, because of their common pro-China stance.

Students were the real force, who forced Bhutto to lead the people in their struggle against Ayub regime. All available accounts show that after his dismissal from Ayub cabinet in June 1966, Bhutto had planned to settle abroad. So far so, Habib Jalib composed a poem, addressing Bhutto '*Chorh Ke Na Ja*' (Do not leave us). As he was leaving Rawalpindi by Khyber Mail train on 20th June 1966, students of city in big number came to see him off. Many of them accompanied him till Lahore and at every halt were raising slogans against the government. Later, Bhutto himself admitted that this was the journey which set the future course of his life.

On 7th November 1968, a local students' leader Khalid Latif Thalla delivered an emotional speech in Rawalpindi which resulted in clashes between students and the police, who after tear gas shelling and baton charge, opened fire on the agitating students and killed a student Abdul Hameed of Polytechnic Institute. On the next day, police arrested many student activists. Political historians of Pakistan, unanimously consider that the 7th November, firing incident was the founding stone in the downfall of mighty General Ayub.

In the last quarter of 1968, both the Kazmi and Rasheed Hassan factions of NSF called a 'Demands Week'. The Kazmi group, with influence in the educational institutes in the city areas, like D J Science College, organized demands week between 1st to 7th October, while the Dr. Rasheed Hassan Khan group had influence in the Nazimabad and surrounding areas, had the week of demands after their rivals. This group had students' unions in Jinnah College, Government College and Premier College. The fortnight of students' protests created a new mobilization in whole of Karachi, with the Socialist slogans raised by both groups. Both these weeks became the turning point in students' politics and became the starting point in students' participation in anti-Ayub movement.

In early December, three major students bodies in the East Wing, the East Pakistan Students' League and two factions of the East Pakistan Students' Union set up the Students' Action Committee and issued an eleven-point program, which incorporated political as well as students' demands.

Excited by their recent victories and enthusiastic about their growing influence, some NSF members opened few offices in the residential areas. First among those offices was opened in the Dastagir Society of Federal B Area with Husnain Hyder Bukhari as the first of its caretaker. These NSF offices provided many young zealous workers; many among them were having jobs in day time and studying privately. Later, it was they who became part of the left politics and professional bodies, while the majority of NSF workers who graduated from the professional educational institutes with some exceptions, did not played an active role in mainstream politics. Few NSF leaders opposed this initiative as they were of opinion that the NSF being a students' body should not have offices in the residential areas. According to some of students involved in these offices, that stance was floated by the underground party leadership which considered these energetic students a threat for their own dominance and existence.

Insecure because of the influx of outsiders, initially the immigrants from India after partition and later from Punjab after the construction of barrages in Sindh, the tiny Sindhi middle class intelligentsia felt humiliated in 1958, when the Martial Law Administrator Brigadier Tikka Khan (later known as the Butcher of Bengal for his role in the killing of Bengali nationalists), through a summary oral order removed the requirement of having both Sindhi and Urdu as compulsory subjects from class three for Urdu and Sindhi medium schools as recommended a year before by the government appointed Commission on National Education. The Brigadier on his own exempted Urdu speaking students from reading Sindhi, whereas Urdu remained compulsory in Sindhi medium schools. There was no exclusive Sindhi students' organization except some district students' federations, to take up the issue of this discrimination. A few political forces and intellectuals did try to focus attention to this demand but in vein. The One-Unit government had advised its officials to adopt Urdu as official language in place of Sindhi. Sindhi department in Karachi University was abolished and many Sindhi medium schools in Karachi converted into Urdu medium.

In 1962, Sindh Students' Federation (SSF) was formed, which initiated a campaign against One-Unit by issuing pamphlets, wall chalking and indoor meetings. On 14 October 1963, some students at Sindh University in Jamshoro tried to observe the anniversary of the formation of One-Unit as the black day but failed to attract the common students. By the mid of 1964, SSF had vanished and its only remnant in Nawabshah was working under the name of Nawabshah Students' Federation.

On 10th October 1964, workers of banned Communist Party of Pakistan took initiative and with the help of few Sindhi nationalist students formed Hyderabad Students' Federation (HDF). Yousif Laghari was elected its Convener and Jam Saqi as the Secretary. This organization

accommodated some party affiliated Urdu speaking students like Tahir Rizvi, Hidayat Hussain and Nadeem Akhter in its folds but nevertheless Sindhi students dominated the organization.

During 1965, HSF workers were active in wall-chalking against the war with India, imperialist pacts like SEATO and CENTO and the demand of Kashmir for Kashmiris.

On 13 December 1966, the HSF held its annual convention and invited Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as the chief guest to enlist his support for the abolition of One-Unit, but Bhutto in his speech, delivered in English, avoided commenting on it, although Jam Saqi in his welcome speech delivered in Urdu, had included demands of the demolition of One-Unit and recognition of Sindhi as the national language. On HSF pattern, organizations were formed in many districts of Sindh. In year 1966, this loosely connected network of district organizations won students union elections in Sindh University, Sindh Law College, Liaquat Medical College, Sindh Agricultural College, Jinnah Law College, Muslim Science College and Sachal Sarmast College. The elected representatives formed an Inter-Collegiate Body with Masood Noorani, Maher Hussain Shah and Yousif Laghari as President, Vice President and General Secretary respectively.

The year 1967, was a historical one for the students' politics in Sindh. The students union in the University of Sindh decided to take up a stand against the Military backed Hyderabad Commissioner Masroor Hassan Khan on the issue of the arbitrary removal of Vice chancellor Hassan Ali Abdul Rehman, who was appointed for the post in 1965, with Commissioner as a Syndicate member. Hassan Ali belonged to an old Sindhi elite family, with the legal fraternity background. Rehman had many times defied the district administration which had annoyed the Commissioner. Playing hands in glove with the Commissioner, reactionary Muslim League leaders like

Nawab Muzafar and Hafiz Mubarak Shah declared Vice Chancellor Rehman an anti-Mohajirs and demanded his removal.

By February 1967, the government decided to dismiss Rehman from the office, somehow the information leaked to Sindhi students, who not only opposed it but demanded the removal of Commissioner Masroor. In their protest, they organized meetings, boycotted classes and met leaders of different walks of life.

Overall the students were divided in two camps, Urdu speaking students were supporting the Commissioner, while Sindhi students supporting the Vice Chancellor. Few clashes between both ethnic groups also occurred on the issue of the boycott of classes. The Communists under Jam Saqi opposed the movement on the plea that the students should not become a party in this clash of two bureaucrats and instead they should campaign against the One-Unit.

As the university students were holding their demonstration, few students raided the Hyderabad bureau office of the official news agency APP and shouted slogans. Meanwhile the Students' Welfare Organization, formed overnight by pro-Commissioner students, welcomed the removal of the Vice Chancellor.

In this tense atmosphere, the Students of Sindh University, Liaquat Medical College and Mehran Engineering College, situated at Jamshoro, took out a procession by riding on campus buses on 4th March 1967, which was stopped by the police deployed in the outskirts of the Hyderabad. The police after tear gas shelling and baton charge, arrested 207 students, among them many were injured. This incident triggered a wave of protest all over Sindh with students boycotting their classes and taking out solidarity rallies. Except few leaders, all the arrested students were released on bail within a week. Three provincial ministers Mohammed Ali, Mohammed Khan Junejo (later Prime

Minister) and A G Akhund rushed to Hyderabad to look into matters. The students' leaders were released on 20th May.

The 4th March became the Sindhi Students' Day, which is being marked by all students' organizations till today. The Sindhi nationalist movement believes that on 4th March tiny Sindhi middle class proved that for their genuine rights they can confront the mighty Ayub Martial Law and One-Unit administration.

After the 4th March movement, a split occurred in the HSF, mainly because of the differences between its leadership and Communist workers and its President Yousif Laghari along with Masood Noorani, joined recently formed Sindh Students' Cultural Organisation (SSCO).

On 3rd November 1968, the Communist Party backed students of the HSF called a convention to form a Sindh based students' organization. A freedom fighter during British period Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi chaired the convention that was attended by students from Hyderabad, Dadu, Hala, Jacobabad, Nawabshah and Larkana. The new organization Sindh National Students' Federation (SNSF) elected Jam Saqi as its President and Mir Thebo as General Secretary. Although a delegation of National Students' Federation (Kazmi group) from Karachi, also attended the convention but it avoided merge with the new organization. Many leaders of the new organization were arrested on the very next day of the convention.

SNSF was the first Sindh based students' organization, which besides raising academic issues took a position on political issues, especially on the One- Unit.

The 4th March movement and formation of SNSF had broken the inhibiting shackles in Sindh youth and now students supporting different political thoughts became active. On 17th January 1969, a black day was observed in

Sindh to press the demands related to abolish of One-Unit, recognition of Sindhi language, democratizing the political system and release of political, peasant and student workers. In February, this campaign converted into the hunger strike and soon the government gave in and several students' and political workers were released. This created another opportunity for the political mobilization and SNSF grabbed it and organized receptions all over Sindh for the released workers, attended and addressed by student, trade union, peasant and political leadership.

This was the period of political agitation all over the country. In one such procession in Larkana, students stoned the residence of the then Ayub cabinet minister Qazi Fazal Ullah and to disperse those protesters police fired tear gas, baton charged and resorted to aerial firing.

The Sindhi students' agitation intensified with the passage of time especially in 1969, so when General (Retired) Azam Khan visited Hyderabad, about 50 students reached the railway station on his arrival time and raised slogans against One-Unit. On their return, a clash between Sindhi and Urdu speaking students erupted in the city, resulting in injuries on both sides. The same scene was repeated on the visit by Air Marshal (Retired) Asghar Khan, a pro-One-Unit politician. This time the opponents of One-Unit were beaten by the IJT workers. In Sindh anti One-Unit movement was now taking an ugly turn towards the ethnic polarization and clashes. One incident occurred during a joint procession taken out by Sindh Students' Action Committee in Hyderabad and clashes erupted as some participants raised slogan of *Jeay Sindh* which the Mohajir students considered as anti-Pakistan.

In 1967, Baloch Students' Organization (BSO) was formed, mainly intended to involve the students from this smaller population of Pakistan in the anti-One-Unit movement with the Baloch identity.

In his announcement of ending of One-Unit and holding first general elections in the country, the new Martial Law Administrator General Yahya, declared in July 1969 that the voter lists will be published in Bengali and Urdu languages, which antagonized the Sindhi intelligentsia and it demanded the printing of the same in Sindhi as well, otherwise the protest will be registered. In between, a students' leader Lala Qadir issued an ultimatum that if such decision is not be taken, he will go on a fast-to-death after a week. On 7th November 1969, he along with few other fellow students started his fast, which later on 16th November, was joined by the peasant leaders Qazi Faiz Mohammed and Comrade Ghulam Mohammed Laghari. The very next day, the police raided the hunger strike camp and after baton charge, arrested the protesters and sent them to prison. On the next day 18th November, few other students sat for hunger strike and they were also arrested but the significant development of the day was initiating hunger strike by a female activist and a student Ms. Akhter Baloch, (who wrote her prison dairy in Sindhi, to be translated in many languages) a move unthinkable till that time in Sindh. She was also arrested on same day.

The dissatisfaction of Sher Mohammed Marri and others over a cease fire in 1969, between the Baloch militants and the government brought an internal rift within BSO and the student sympathizers of dissidents formed an '*anti-Sardar*' (Chieftain) group in the organization. Initially, the dissidents wanted to stay within BSO but as the differences sharpened, they broke away and formed a separate group *BSO-Awami*, inclined towards the liberation of Balochistan through armed struggle.

The BSO became the major force in providing the cadre for the Baloch insurgency of 1973-1977. The then BSO president Khair Jan Baloch, in an interview with American scholar Selig Harrison claimed that 'he got more than 300

BSO members for armed struggle and he could get more if they had guns'.

According to one estimate from 1967 to 1981, more than 25,000 Baloch enrolled themselves as BSO members. During the General Zia period, when the government had offered many concessions to Baloch nationalists, taking full advantage of this, BSO gave its cadre political training and in some cases combat training as well. In mid 1980s, the BSO claimed a membership of 4,300 and was organized in forty six units all over Balochistan and in a few campuses of Sindh. It was publishing many regular and special publications. BSO and its break-away faction BSO-Awami were purely Baloch nationalist organizations and were free of being the student fronts of any specific political party, although some of its earlier leaders were NAP sympathizers. The NAP leadership initiated negotiations with General Zia, after he overthrew the Bhutto government. The more militant BSO workers saw it as a compromise on part of the tribal chiefs', so again in March 1978, the BSO broke in two faction and the new faction was formed with Raziq Bugti as President and Habib Jalib Baloch as its General Secretary. In July the same year, both were invited to the World Congress of Students in the Cuban capital of Havana but the government did not issue them passports.

Under Raziq Bugti, BSO became part of Pakistan Federal Union of Students, a Pakistan level students' coalition with Communist influence. Later in his opposition to Nawab Akbar Bugti, and after experimentation with a few political parties, he became the official spokesperson of Balochistan government under General Musharraf and was gunned down, allegedly by the Baloch militants. Habib Jalib Baloch wrote a couple of books on Baloch issues and joined a Baloch mainstream parliamentary party; he was also gunned down in Quetta.

The emergence of Sindhi students' mobilization on the nationalist ground during the late 1960s saw the reactivated demand of a separate province of Karachi, this time by NSF (Kazmi group).

On the completion of ten years in power, the General Ayub regime decided to mark the Decade of Development in 1968, in opposition to it, NSF announced to observe Decade of Decadence, and sabotage many official programs, especially in Karachi.

In 1968, students of Karachi under the banner of NSF, observed a 'Demands' week' and soon it with the participation of the industrial labor, teachers, lawyers, doctors, peasants and political workers, became a countrywide mass movement against the military dictatorship of Ayub Khan and culminated in his downfall. The main demands of students were about free education up to matriculation, low cost syllabus books, concessions in bus fares and the end of the University Ordinance.

During the Demands' Week, whole Karachi came to a standstill and a cricket match between Pakistan and Commonwealth teams was also disrupted.

After the fall of General Ayub Khan, another military rule, under General Yahya Khan was imposed on the country. Bhutto was flying high in newly pro-Socialism and the anti-India tendencies in the western wing of the country. The period of 1968 to 1972, witnessed the sharpest ideological division in the country, where the right wing Jamaat-i-Islami, with its students' wing IJT was pitched against the pro-Socialism parties and people. Awami League, under Sheikh Mujib ur Rehman in the Eastern wing (now Bangladesh) and the PPP under Bhutto in the western wing were their main targets.

During the emergence of militant Bengali nationalism in late 1960s, NSF lost its grounds in Eastern wing to the students' wing of Awami League.

On 4th January 1969, students' organizations in East Bengal formed *Sarbadaliya Chhatra Sangram Parishad* (All Parties Students' Resistance Council) and presented their 11-point charter. As the military action looked inevitable, most of the leadership of the student organizations had left the halls by 25th March.

As the ban on political and students' activities lifted on 1st January 1970, the leftist students hailed the New Year with a torch-light procession at midnight, raising slogans in favor of Red Revolution. Next day, the East Pakistan Students League held a public meeting, where leaders delivered speeches in favor of Awami League, especially of its Six-points.

At 1.30 a.m. on 26th March 1971, the army attacked Iqbal Hall and Jaganath Hall, the two largest dormitories of Dhaka University and killed many students by completely gutting both halls. In his report about the raid on 30th March, *The Daily Telegraph* correspondent Simon Drings, described the situation in these words, 'led by American-supplied M-24 World War II tanks, one column of troops sped to Dacca University shortly after midnight. Troops took over the British Council library (situated within the campus) and used it as a fire base from which to shell nearby dormitory areas. Caught completely by surprise, some 200 students were killed in Iqbal Hall, the headquarters of the anti-government students' union. Two days later, bodies were still smouldering in burnt out rooms, others were scattered outside, more floated in a nearby lake. At another hall, reportedly soldiers buried the dead in a hastily dug mass grave which was then bulldozed over by tanks. People living near the University were caught in the fire too, and 200 yards of shanty houses running alongside a railway line were destroyed'.

Archer Blood, the then US Consul General at Dhaka, writes in his book, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 'Fire was started at Rokeya Hall (girls' Dormitory) and, when the

students tried to escape, the military started firing. From the conversation of military control room and Army Unit 88, a total of 300 students' death was estimated.'

Governor General Tikka Khan ordered University department heads to join work from 21st April and other teachers on 1st June. According to his orders, classes must be started from 2nd August. All the dormitories were cleaned to remove any sign of destruction to show a quite fine educational environment at the University to the international community. All examinations were postponed due to crisis and attendance in classes was very thin at that period. Interestingly, as the war intensified until September, attendance in the classes also increased. As many students had joined *Mukti Bahini*, they blasted hand grenades near the University and quickly entered classes.

Kalyan Chaudhury, writes in his book *Genocide of Bangladesh*, '...Some army officer raided Rokeya Hall on 7th October 1971. Accompanied by five soldiers, Major Aslam had first visited the hostel on 3rd October and asked the superintendent to supply some girls who could sing and dance at a function to be held in Tejgaon Cantonment. The superintendent told him that most of the girls had left the hostel, after the disturbances and only 40 students were residing but as a superintendent of a girls' hostel, she should not allow them to go to the cantonment for this purpose. Dissatisfied, Major Aslam went away. Soon after, the superintendent informed a higher military officer in the cantonment, over the telephone, of Major's mission. However, on 7th October, at about 8 p.m. Major Aslam and his men raided the hostel. The soldiers broke open the doors, dragged the girls out and stripped them before raping and torturing them in front of the helpless superintendent. The entire thing was done so openly without any provocation, that even the Karachi-based newspaper Dawn, had to publish the story, violating

censorship by the military authorities. Within seven days of surrender by the Pakistan Army, about 300 girls were recovered from different places around Dacca, where they had been taken away and kept confined by Pakistani army men. On 26th December, altogether 55 emaciated and half-dead girls on the verge of mental derangement were recovered by the Red Cross with the help of Mukti Bahini and allied forces from various hideouts of Pakistan army in Narayanganj, Dacca cantonment and other small towns on the periphery of Dacca city.'

As SNSF, the Sindh based student front of CPP, opposed the military operation in Bengal, through circulating pamphlets and wall-chalking, large number of its members including few central leaders, in fear of military suppression, quit the organisation. To overcome the large number of defections and run the organisation, party nominated Sohail Sangi, its diehard worker and a close relative of Jam Saqi, the founding President of SNSF, and now declared an absconder by a military court for opposing Bengal operation, to run the organisation with the support of few remaining comrades.

A few days after the general elections of 1970, the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education in Sindh tried to 'rectify the anomaly created by Brigadier Tikka Khan, the Martial Law administrator Hyderabad in 1959'. The Board introduced Sindhi as its official language and made it compulsory for students of 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th classes to appear in Sindhi language as non-mother tongue. The Sindhi students were to read Urdu as a non-mother tongue subject. On the call of *Majlis-i-Tahaffuz-i-Urdu* and *Muhajir Tulba Mahaz*, the Mohajirs of Hyderabad, observed a complete strike to express their opposition to said development.

Aftermath of the independence of Bangladesh brought more fractionalization within the left, which was obvious from the various factions of NSF in early 1972. Now it had

four major groups identified by their leaders' names such as Mairaj group, Kazmi Group, Rasheed group and Bari group and because of the disunity among the leftist students' organizations, IJT managed to sweep the students' union elections at the University of Karachi in 1969, 1970 and 1971. That defeat gave an awakening call to NSF and it opened negotiations with nationalist Baloch Students' Organisation (BSO) and Punjabi Students Association (PSA) and won the most of seats in college elections but once again lost Universities of Karachi and Punjab to IJT.

1972, saw the consolidation of Bhutto's power and being tired of the disobeying nature of NSF, which was following the discipline of its underground Socialist mother-party instead of Bhutto, so the PPP formed its own student wing Peoples' Students' Federation (PSF). The *Jamaat-i- Islami's* opposition to the liberal policies of Bhutto left a direct impact on campus politics in the big cities and its student wing IJT dominated universities in Karachi and Lahore. In this onslaught NSO also crumbled in Punjab.

In 1972, a Sindh based Jeay Sindh Students' Federation was formed, which supported the independence of Sindh, pleaded by G. M. Syed. Since its early days, the workers of this organisation lacked discipline and soon came under state repression.

The disheartened elements of PSF, NSO and the independent leftists sat together and formed a loosely disciplined Liberal Students' Organization in 1973-74 and became the leading force in an anti-IJT alliance Progressive Students' Alliance (PSA).

Day by day, the urban areas of the country were becoming the center of right-wing politics and the educational institutions were also reflecting the same trend. In 1976 students' union elections, for the first time the Gordon College Rawalpindi was won by IJT.

After the general elections in 1977, the right wing Pakistan National Alliance with Jamaat-i-Islami and Muslim League, guiding their students' wings, launched an agitation, first on the pretext of rigging in the general elections and later on the enforcement of Islamic system in the country. This agitation culminated in another Martial Law in the country, imposed by General Ziaon 5th July 1977.

General Zia got political legitimacy from Jamaat-i-Islami and paid back for it by giving an open hand to its students' wing IJT, which through its 'Thunder Squads', unleashed a wave of terror against its opponents in educational institutions.

To face this challenge, in 1978 NSF, PSF, LSO and Punjab Union of Students' formed the Punjab Progressive Students' Alliance (PPSA) at Punjab University, Gordon College Rawalpindi and Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad.

Resentment to the suppression by General Zia government caused the defeat of IJT in many colleges of Lahore, Rawalpindi and Islamabad. This was the worst defeat for the right-wing IJT, since it took over these institutes in 1972.

On 11th June 1978, Altaf Hussain, Azim Ahmed Tariq, Hassam Uddin and others formed All Pakistan Mohajir Students' Organization (APMSO) in Karachi with earlier membership included some former IJT and progressive workers. The APMSO claimed to hold progressive views and wanted to work for Mohajir students, who, according to its claim had suffered due to quota system in educational institutes and the government jobs, introduced by the Bhutto government and Punjab's political and economic hegemony.

In the wave of campus violence, the University of Karachi held union elections in 1978, when the joint Presidential candidate of progressive and liberal students' forces,

Mustafain Kazmi won the ballot but later was injured in an attack by the IJT thunder squad.

To protest against the alleged misbehavior with Shirin Soomro, a student of Peoples' Medical College, Nawabshah, by a serving Pakistan Army Major Kifayat, the students of Jamshoro campus came out and blocked the National Highway. On 3rd October 1978, the first day of the protest, 180 students of overall 350, were arrested and later charged for killing an army recruit. Although, many students were released within short time but 33 among them were sentenced for long imprisonments including life sentence. Later, government constituted a judicial tribunal under Justice (R) Fakhruddin G Ibrahim and on its recommendation released six more students. Two of the sentenced students Ali Hyder Shah and Qadir Bakhsh Jatoi were sent into exile on the demand of PIA plane hijackers in March 1981. Sometime later, Shah was arrested, when he returned back to and kept in prison till 1989, when Benazir Bhutto government released him. The second exiled student Jatoi settled in Europe and came back home, after Asif Zardari formed government in 2008.

In 1979 union elections, the progressive forces won all major posts in Karachi University except the President, which was won by IJT candidate Hussain Haqani (later joined both Nawaz Shareef and Benazir Bhutto governments and lastly became Pakistan ambassador in USA under Zardari government). It was Haqani who introduced the latest arms in the University of Karachi.

Bhutto's overthrow and Jamaat-i-Islami growing influence over General Zia government, gave IJT the space to become a more violent organization, especially in Karachi against APMSO and PSF, whose many workers were arrested, tortured and flogged, because of their affiliation with PPP.

On 9th August 1980, Nazir Abbassi the central president of SNSF and a Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Pakistan was tortured to death at the Mauripur torture camp, Karachi, run by ISI. He was arrested on 30th July, 1980, from a party-owned house in Karachi, along with his comrades.

Belonging to a poor family of Tando Allahyar near Hyderabad, Nazir was a street vendor during his childhood and teenage. He joined a Sindhi nationalist organization '*Azad Maroarha Students' Federation*' in his teenage and sat for in a hunger strike and was arrested in 1969, while he was a student in the first year of college. This was his first arrest. In prison, he was attracted to the Communist ideology and politics and after his release joined SNSF, a students' wing of the Communist Party of Pakistan. He was arrested again during the civilian rule of Bhutto. Sindhi writer Tariq Ashraf has recorded in his prison diary that during his twenty two months in prison he did not meet a more sober political prisoner than Nazir Abbassi.

Nazir Abbassi married fellow Comrade Hamida Ghanghro and their only daughter was named Zarqa, after the legendary Palestinian fighter.

During Zia Martial Law, he was arrested in May 1978 in the *Halchal* pamphlet case and was kept at notorious torture camp Qulli Camp, Quetta. He was released, when his wife approached Sindh High Court for his disappearance but was warned by military officials that if he continued his politics, he will face the worst.

After torture to death, his remains were not handed over to his family and he was buried at Sakhi Hassan Graveyard Karachi, by the security officials. His wife in a writ petition to the Sindh High Court, accused Brigadier Imtiaz and other ISI officials but never got the justice.

To counter the IJT onslaught, all organizations explored and nurtured their own militant workers. Besides some

Baloch and Pashtoon workers, Karachi saw emergence of Salam Ullah Tipu, who had joined NSF in mid-1970s but in 1977 had switched over to PSF.

During this time IJT leadership was seen purchasing sophisticated arms, especially assault rifle AK 47 from the Afghan traders, who had purchased this weaponry from the so called Afghan Mujahidin, supposedly to fight against the Soviet army with the support of American CIA and other imperialist forces. These weapons were finding their destination in Karachi; where 1980, saw armed attacks by IJT on progressive students, killing one activist Qadeer Abid. As a reaction, the anti-IJT students' bodies, especially PSF, started getting weapons, from the same Afghan traders of Peshawar. Few months after the death of Qadeer Abid, the PSF workers led by Tipu, retaliated and killed an IJT militant Hafiz Shahid. As IJT registered the murder case against Tipu, he escaped first to Peshawar and then secretly crossed border to Afghanistan, where he joined Murtaza and Shahnawaz Bhutto, sons of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who had formed militant outfit, recruiting most of its members from PSF and SPSF.

One of the earliest commandos of this group in Kabul was Raja Anwar, a former NSF activist, who later joined the PPP. After Bhutto's fall from the power, Raja organized many protests, mainly with the support of his contacts in PSF Punjab but as the military hunt for him intensified, he escaped to Kabul, where after some time he developed differences with Murtaza Bhutto and was arrested.

In late 1980, the AZO, formed by Murtaza Bhutto, after the hijacking started its activities in Pakistan; the most daring attack was by Lala Aslam, a former member of SPSF on General Zia in Karachi, who was accompanying the Pope Paul on 17th February 1981. General Zia escaped unhurt as the bomb went off at a checking point, set by security forces to search the people coming for the ceremonial program.

On 25th February 1981, Karachi University student Nasir Jamal was elected PSF Karachi President. Very next day of his election, on 26th February, workers of PSF and IJT clashed near the Karachi University, in which an IJT worker died. The police nominated six PSF workers including Nasir Jamal, who in his run from the security forces; came in contact with Salam Ullah Tipu and joined him in the hijacking of PIA plane.

On 2nd March 1981, Tipu, Nasir and Arshad Ali Khan Tagi hijacked a PIA flight from Karachi to Peshawar, first the plane was brought to Kabul, where Murtaza and then Afghan intelligence agency KHAD chief Dr. Najib Ullah met the hijackers at the Kabul airport; afterward the plane flew to Syrian capital Damascus. After negotiations, this hijacking resulted in the release of dozens of political prisoners including students' leaders from Martial Law captivity. The aftermath of this hijacking saw the worst mass arresting and torture of the political activists of all shades in the country.

On 2nd March, students of Sindh Agriculture University Tando Jam near Hyderabad, boycotted their classes and examinations. They brought out a rally which blocked the traffic on Hyderabad-Mirpurkhas road and set on fire a truck. The police arrested ten students.

At Karachi University, the Progressive Alliance had seized to exist in face of dual onslaught by government and IJT. In response to this withering away of progressive unity, a senior progressive intellectual and Karachi University teacher Dr. Zafar Arif started lobbying for a new alternative. In a meeting in early 1981 at his residence, the United Students' Movement (USM) came into being, which included JSSF, DSF, BSO, PkSF, PSA and outside support of APMSO. For this and other anti-regime activities, Dr. Zafar Arif was expelled from the University and later arrested. The USM had a two-tier strategy, of presenting an alternate electoral option to the right wing IJT and

showing some muscles to the IJT Thunder Squads. On the other hand, PSF and NSF formed *Tuliba Jamhoori Mahaz* (Students' Democratic Front) in same university and announced its support for USM in the union elections. During this time, IJT Thunder Squad killed a USM activist Shoukat Cheema, a former IJT Thunder Squad member, who had joined USM.

In the neighboring NEDUniversity of Engineering & Technology, a separate students' body, the Progressive Students' Federation was formed with the support of PSF, NSF and BSO.

On 19th May, over 300 students of different colleges, gathered at ScienceCollege and protested in Quetta and delivered speeches against the government. The protesting students made hostage the principal and other college teachers. The police fired tear gas shells to rescue the faculty and arrested few students.

On the students' union election day of 1981, violence erupted in Karachi University and intensified firing for half an hour left many students of both sides injured. An IJT worker was critically wounded who later succumbed to his injuries in a hospital.

This violent clash saw the expulsion of anti-IJT students from the KarachiUniversity especially the members of APMSO, whom IJT considered the biggest threat as it was penetrating into the Mohajir students, formerly led by IJT. During this onslaught, the APMSO chief Altaf Hussain was also barred from entering the University, who later formed Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM), ultimately transformed into Muthahida Qaumi Movement.

On 10th June 1981, Hameed Baloch, an active member of BSO was hanged in Machh Jail on the verdict by a Military Court. In his last will, written eight hours before his death, he wrote 'at the moment armed personals are guarding me

but I have no guilt of my political thoughts that teach me that slavery is a curse.....'

He was accused of attacking a serving Pakistan military official but another civilian was killed in the attack. The Pakistan Army was recruiting the Baloch youth into the army of neighboring Gulf countries, which was opposed by BSO.

The students' union elections in 1981 and 1982 were disaster for IJT, which it lost badly. This forced the Sindh Governor General S M Abbassi and his advisors to set about preparing another plan of action.

Ghansham Parkash, the Sindh President of DSF was arrested in a raid, conducted under Major Ghafoor in December 1982 and after keeping in prison for fifteen months, without any trial he was released on 28th March 1984. After a week, it was asserted that he and his comrade Shabbir Lashari were released in misunderstanding, so on 7th April Shabbir and on 8th April Ghansham were rearrested and kept in Nara Jail, Hyderabad in solitary confinement, where they started hunger strike. After five days of hunger strike, on the assurance of fellow political prisoners, they broke their fast, but later the prison administration backed-out from its promise to end their solitary confinement.

In July 1983, on the instructions of the Martial Law authorities, the Punjab government imposed a ban on the joint programs of boys and girls. According to the letter sent to all educational heads, the government thought such acts as immoral.

To discourage students from participating in the MRD movement, admissions of 36 students of Peshawar University and Khyber Medical College, Peshawar were cancelled. They were accused of disturbing the academic atmosphere.

The Karachi police killed a PSF worker Ilyas Siddiqui, in an encounter and alleged that he was involved in the murder of a pro-Zia local politician Zahoor ul Hassan Bhopali. Ilyas was arrested in 1980 from a protest rally and was sentenced for one year imprisonment. One week before the completion of his sentence, he was sent to Damascus on the demand of the PIA plane hijackers.

Sindh Police claimed that on 27th July, it raided a van and recovered eight hand grenades and had arrested seven persons including Pir Salim Sarhandi, a student activist of SPSF, who was asked by the PPP leaders to mobilize students in Sindh, Mehran and Agricultural Universities and Liaquat Medical College for the MRD movement. Salim along with his comrades was incarcerated in torture camps of Hyderabad and Karachi. They were asked to confess that Makhdoom Khalique Zaman, a senior PPP leader had gave them the bombs. They were shifted to Hyderabad Central Jail on 23rd August.

In the central coordination committee meeting of the *Shaheed Ahsan Memon Action Committee*, it was decided that the committee will fully participate in the MRD movement. DSF, SPSF, Progressive JSSF and JSSF (Organizing Committee) were the members of this action committee.

In the 1983 students' union elections, IJT faced a tough contest by the progressive elements in the Punjab University and it lost Quaid-i-Azam University and many college seats to Punjab Progressive Students' Alliance.

In Peshawar University Students' Union elections for 1981-82 and later for 1982-83, Anisa Zeb Tahirkhaili of PSF won the post of vice president with record votes. Originally hailing from a small village Khalo near Ghazi in district Haripur, she was a daughter of a retired colonel in Pakistan army. After her early education in Rawalpindi and

Islamabad, she had joined the Peshawar University for her graduation.

Those were crucial times and the effects of Afghan war were having its repercussions in Peshawar campus, where Jehadi green attire of Hizb-e-Islami Afghanistan with IJT activists were seen as regular and routine occurrences. Because of the violent attitude of the rivals, Anisa had to carry a pistol in her bag while in the campus. Once she with the help of her friends from the tribal area brought a Kalashnikov rifle in the campus and fired many aerial rounds during a public meeting of her organization PSF. After completing her education, she became the founding Secretary General of Peoples' Youth Organization, member of the provincial assembly, senator and a federal minister.

On 12th October, Dadu police arrested four high school students including a female student Rashida Panhwar for creating the law and order situation and were sent to prison. They were leading a rally of MRD.

A complete strike was observed in Turbat Balochistan on 12th December 1983, in protest against lashes to school students. The women of the city brought out a protest rally against the act.

On 12th January 1984, four students activists Mohammed Aslam Memon, Ghulam Mustafa Soho, Faiz Mohammed Soho and Naseer Ahmed Soho of Progressive Jeay Sindh Students' Federation, were released from Karachi Central Jail on completing their sentences. They were accused of bringing out a rally in support of the Palestinians and raising anti-government slogans. They were sentenced for one year imprisonment. Two other students Ghulam Rasool Soho and Ghafoor Shoro, arrested in same case were not released.

On 22nd January 1984, Martial Law authorities released Rashida Panhwar, a female leader of SPSF. She was

arrested in October 1983 for leading a MRD rally in dadu and was kept at Karachi central jail.

Just before the students' union elections in 1984, the government imposed ban on students' politics and unions. Students throughout the country protested against this action which took a violent turn in Karachi and during the two months long agitation, dozens of government vehicles were set on fire and many students arrested during street fights with the police.

On 2nd June, military court Larkana, sentenced three students for imprisonment, lashes and fine, charged of making bomb on Chandka Medical College Larkana hostel on 18th February 1981. One of the accused was a student of the High School.

As the alternate of students' union, the Martial Law authorities, announced to form Students' Councils under Martial Law Order no. 227 by the Martial Law Administrator zone C (Sindh), issued in the third week of October.

On 17th October 1984, a bus convey of Sindh and Mehran Universities students, affiliated with JSSF and led by its Central President Gul Mohammed Jakhrani, on their way to Larkana, was stopped at Thorhi railway crossing, by closing the crossing-gates. As the convoy stopped, the military picket opened firing, without any warning and killed five, including four students and one university employee on spot and injured dozens more. The convoy was on its way to attend a seminar on Mohen Jo Daro, at the historical ruins.

Among the killed, Aman Ullah Wisturo born in 1958 in Naushehro Feroz of the Central Sindh, had just passed his BSC examination and was keen to become Geologist. Fifteen days after his martyrdom, a conformation letter of his admission in a British University reached his home. He

had joined JSSF in 1981. He was buried at his ancestor village.

Second martyr Anwar Ali Abbasi was born in 1962 in Larkana and was a commerce student. He had joined JSSF in 1977-78. Anwar was buried at Jamshoro.

Abdul Malik Khushik of Thatta was born in 1964 and was first year student at Mehran University of Engineering and Technology. He was buried in his ancestor village.

Zakiriya Memon of village Darho district Thatta was born 1960 and was the third year engineering student at Mehran University of Engineering and Technology at the time of his martyrdom. He was buried in his ancestor village.

Martyr Mohammed Mithal Buledi was a lower grade employee in Sindh University. He had no political affiliation and was buried at Jamshoro. Although government announced a judicial enquiry of the incident but it was neither completed nor its report was made public. Karachi Bar Association disclosed in its independent enquiry that the law enforcers wanted to arrest two JSSF leaders Gul Mohammed Jakhrani and Sattar Morio but on spot 88 students and university staff members were arrested.

In 1987, the PPP issued a list of political and students' workers, who had been arrested in early 1980s and few among them were still missing. They were feared to have been tortured to death. Most of them belonged to PSF and others with BSO and PkSF. These activists were labeled as AZO terrorists or Soviet agents by General Zia government.

In the same year of 1987, pro-General Zia Pakistan Muslim League revived Muslim Students' Federation and in Punjab educational institutes, it replaced the IJT.

The progressive Jeay Sindh Students' Federation leader Latif Mahesar was released on 16th may 1985 after three

years. He was arrested on 27th July 1982; on his release he demanded release of fellow prisoners.

According to an independent investigation, conducted in early 1986, because of often closure of the educational institutes, the examinations in the University of Karachi were two years behind of its schedule, while the University of Sindh, Liaquat Medical College, Chandka Medical College and Agricultural University were three years behind of original schedule. Report stated that the major educational institutes of Karachi were closed for five months in 1984 and seven months in 1985, while the University of Sindh Jamshoro was closed for almost two years.

On 18th June 1988, the riots spread all over Hyderabad, when Sindh University students came under attack from the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation building. At least eight persons killed and scores of other injured, despite of imposition of curfew by the administration. The students were on their way to Hyderabad Press Club, to hold a demonstration in front of it.

Just one month later, Mayor of Hyderabad, Aftab Ahmed Sheikh of MQM, was attacked by some unknown persons on 17th July. MQM blamed on Bashir Ahmed Qureshi and Niaz Kalani of JSSF for the attack. Once again Hyderabad took dead bodies and suffered curfew.

In 1989, the first Benazir government lifted ban on the students' politics and students' unions were restored in a few campuses. In Rawalpindi, Okara and Southern Punjab, IJT faced heavy defeat by PSF in student body elections. At Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, PSF with the support of NSF and other progressive students' bodies, routed IJT, same thing happened in Peshawar University, where the nationalist Pakhtoon Students' Federation stood second. Karachi also witnessed the victory of progressive and liberal forces, where APMSO routed IJT from Karachi University and PSF with its adjustment with NSF

and BSO did well in most of the professional and degree colleges.

The euphoria of routing IJT from most of the institutes was short lived and to grab this vacuum clashes erupted between APMSO and PSF, all over the city including Karachi University, NED Engineering University and Dow Medical College. As the MQM quit the coalition government led by Benazir Bhutto to join the opposition led by Nawaz Sharif, the city witnessed the worst students' confrontation, during which both APMSO and PSF abducted each others workers, tortured them with drilling their knees and other bones. Many of the workers of both organizations lost their lives; the most significant among them was the PSF Karachi President Najeeb Ahmed, whom the party workers saw as the reincarnation of Tipu, who could face APMSO with gun power. On the killing of Najeeb, army was brought in to 'assist' the civilian administration.

In such a volatile situation, no students' union elections were held in the rest of Sindh. The educational institutes in whole of Sindh were shut down most of time because of clashes in Karachi and the worst ethnic clashes between Sindhi and Mohajir population in rest of Sindh.

On the other hand in Punjab, MSF with the support of the provincial government under Chief Minister Nawaz Sharif, once again blocked IJT from regaining its lost space.

After the dismissal of the Benazir government by President Ghulam Ishaque Khan and installation of Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister, the struggle to capture Punjab educational institutes intensified between IJT and MSF, which resulted in the loss of many lives.

On the other hand in Sindh, PSF and SPSF once again came under attack by the sitting government. Most notorious cases were the arrest of two female PSF workers Rahila

Tiwana and Shahla Raza in Karachi. Both of them were assaulted in the CID center and later both became Deputy Speaker of Sindh Assembly.

In the coastal area of Shah Bundar, near Thatta, a dozen SPSF workers were killed in a police encounter. The government agencies alleged that they were AZO recruits and were on their way to India for terrorism training.

The General Musharraf era witnessed the most barren phase of the students' politics in the history of Pakistan. Till the launch of restoration of Judiciary movement in 2007, this front kept silent and IJT, PSF and APMSO in Karachi and IJT and MSF in Punjab existed in just functionary way.

The students' organizations including PSF, IJT and remnants of NSF came out of their shells as General Musharraf dismissed the Chief Justice Iftikhar Mohammed Chaudhry in March 2007 and participated in the agitation, in the later phase dominated by the right-wing forces.

During the democratic government of Asif Ali Zardari, attempts to revive DSF and NSF were made but it could not bore results, as on one hand students were inclined towards the careerism and on the other hand, the post-General Zia generation of Pakistan had been completely indoctrinated in the Islamic Jihadists tendencies and is not ready to receive and accept the progressive and liberal thoughts.

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Born in Hyderabad Sindh on 25th December 1962. Joined left politics in late 1970s, during the General Zia Martial Law with the students' wing of Communist Party of Pakistan.

Worked as reporter and sub-editor, with leading Sindhi daily newspapers.

Translated over two dozen books in Sindhi and Urdu, wrote a researched book "1857 Ki Jang-i-Azadi" in Urdu, published a collection of columns in Sindhi and Urdu.

Working as a volunteer with leading social welfare organization Edhi Foundation since 1986, including translating autobiography of Abdul Sattar Edhi into Sindhi and Urdu.

Has been active part of India-Pakistan Peace initiatives, including New Delhi-Multan Peace March of 2005.

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