

**GOVERNMENT & THE OPPOSITION RELATIONS IN  
THE PUNJAB ASSEMBLY 1972-77**



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## **CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL**

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## **DECLARATION**

It is to certify that the data collected by me is purely for academic purpose and is not being concurrently submitted to any other University, for any other degree whatsoever.

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## **ABSTRACT**

This research is an attempt to unearth the government's attitude towards the opposition members of the Punjab Assembly during 1972-77. The first ever general elections of Pakistan in 1970 enabled the Pakistan People's Party to form the government in the center and in the largest province, Punjab. It was expected that after the sad demise of East Pakistan, a truly republic and democratic system, democratic norms and traditions will be followed in true sense, but in the Punjab the PPP government could not measure up the standards of the democratic values and traditions. This study aims at analyzing the newly elected government's relationship with the opposition both inside the assembly and outside the house. The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab comprised the truly elected representatives of the masses of the province and had to face many obstacles for procuring the basic rights of the people and eradicate the undemocratic and dictatorial attitude of the government-treasury benches. The Government of the Punjab, under the patronage of Mr. Z.A Bhutto, took wrong decisions and misbehaved with the opposition leaders both at the national and provincial level. Moreover, this is an attempt to trace the true nature of the relations between the ruling party and the opposition parties. This study also encompasses how the opposition had been victimized, tortured and maltreated by the government in and outside the provincial assembly.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

AC	Assistant Commissioner
BD	Basic Democrats
CID	Crime Investigation Department
DSP	Deputy Superintendent of Police
ECP	Election Commission of Pakistan
FIR	First Information Report
FSF	Federal Security Force
JIP	Jamat-i-Islami Pakistan
JTP	Jamiyat Tulba Pakistan
LC	Legislative Council
MNA	Member of the National Assembly
MPA	Member of the Provincial Assembly
NDP	National Democratic Party
NMC	Nishtar Medical College
PAP	Provincial Assembly of the Punjab
PLA	Punjab Legislative Assembly
PLC	Punjab Legislative Council
PPCO	Pakistan Provisional Constitution Order
PPCO	Pakistan Provisional Constitution Order
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
SCP	Supreme Court of Pakistan
SHO	Station House Officer
UDF	United Democratic Front
WPLA	West Punjab Legislative Assembly
WPPA	West Punjab Provincial Assembly

## Introduction

Among all available governing systems, democracy is such a political system as it is considered the most potent system for the regularization of society to manage ethnic, linguistic, religious and class differences.<sup>1</sup> It guarantees popular control as well as political equality. A true democratic state has certain prerequisites. The first and foremost requirement is that the government must be held accountable to public.

A true democratic state ensures civil and political rights of the people of the state. The government must own certain accountable liabilities in a democratic system. It is the democracy that must preserve all basic human rights of the people of the country. But democracy cannot be the ultimate solution to all human problems. If it is allowed to go unchecked, it may harm social fabric and public at large. For this purpose, the role of opposition becomes necessary. For a healthy and progressive democracy, the existence of healthy and active opposition is essential. Without health and dynamic opposition, the democracy tends to be dictatorship, which is lethal to any society or country.

The Pakistan People's Party (PPP), led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, appeared as a ruling party in the General Elections 1970. It won more than two-third seats of National Assembly from the Punjab. The party won total eighty-one seats from whole Pakistan, out of which sixty-two were from Punjab and only twenty-three were from other provinces. The party bagged 41.7 percent votes of this province. It came to be regarded as the largest and the most popular party in Pakistan, and the Punjab was seen as its bastion of strength.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Parveen, Kausar. *The Politics of Pakistan: Role of the Opposition, 1947-1958*. Oxford University Press, 2013.

<sup>2</sup> National Assembly: *Elections in Pakistan 1970-2008, A Compendium of elections related facts and statistics*, 2010.

The first general elections, in the history of the country, provided the opportunity to the ruling party, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) to form the government in the Punjab, Sind and the Center. The first elected Provincial Assembly of the Punjab made sure the formation of the PPP's government in the province as she secured 113 out of 180 seats of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab in the elections. The Pakistan People's Party had 65% seats of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab while rest of the seats went to the different political parties.<sup>3</sup>

Having the clear majority in the provincial assembly, the People's Party tried its best to unite all the members of the provincial assembly during the period of 1972-77. It wanted to establish the single party rule in the Province and for this purpose; it made many attempts to sweep away the opposition members of the largest Provincial Assembly of the country. Many members of the opposition of the Punjab Assembly were tortured, victimized and teased either to crush the opposition or bring them into its own side.

The assembly's record reflects that government of the Punjab attempted to crush the opposition in the province. Many honorable members of the house from opposition parties were taken into the custody and false cases were made against them. The ruling part tried to harass the representatives of the masses of the Punjab. The lands of the opposition members were confiscated, and they were mentally tortured by different means. The police arrested the families and relatives of the members of the opposition and brought them to the police stations. The People's Party government put the opposition's relatives into the jails for several hours without any warrant.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See Appendix:1

<sup>4</sup> The proceedings of the assembly from 1972 to 1977 [ Different references made in proceeding pages]

## **Statement of the Problem**

This research work will make an important study of different issues related to the Punjab assembly with especial focus on the nature of relations between the Government of the Punjab and the opposition of the Province, which was elected for the first time under Legal Framework Order of 1970. The Punjab Assembly being the oldest legislative institution installed by the British in the sub-continent, has the significant importance in the legislative history of Pakistan. After the secession of Bangladesh Province the Punjab played a crucial role in making the government of Pakistan People's Party in the country as well as in the province.

## **Hypothesis and Research Questions**

As far as the relations between the government and the opposition in a democratic society are concerned, they have shown drastic ups and downs. Most of the time they were cold and at rare occasions they were warm. In this regard, the legislative history of Pakistan, is not praiseworthy. The government has always tried to suppress the opposition brutally. Therefore, the working relationship between the two sides of floor is an important case study to be analyzed. When we try to analyse the relations between the government and the opposition in 1972-77, we are shocked that the government of the Punjab left no stone unturned to victimize the opposition at all levels. The government humiliated and harassed the leaders and the members of the opposition parties. Z.A Bhutto who himself was the chief executive of the country, did not tolerate any kind of difference of opinion. Pakistan People's Party, being the then ruling party, did not spare the members and leaders of the opposition in the Punjab province. Both inside the Assembly and outside the Assembly, the Government victimized and threatened the opposition in order to achieve their objectives whatsoever. Through this investigation, we will try to find the answers to the questions: why government behaved

in autocratic manners, what measures were adopted by the executive to curb the voices in the assembly?

### **Aims and objectives of the Study**

In a democratic parliamentary setup, the provincial governments have subordinate functions with the federal government under the constitution. The status of both the governments is the same in their respective domains. The governments are bound to launch the programs which are necessary for the welfare of the people. These programs are discussed in the assembly to get the view point of the opposition. The aim and objective of my research is to unearth the politics of the Pakistan People's Party specially its relationship with the opposition of the Punjab province.

### **Scope and Significance of the Study**

This research is an attempt to explore the attitude of the Government of the Punjab towards the opposition of both the assemblies, Provincial Assembly of the Punjab and National Assembly of Pakistan respectively. This work is purely based upon the primary data which was collected from the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab debates of 1972-77. This research will contribute to the existing literature on the legislative history of the country.

### **Review of Literature**

The work has been made on the Punjab Assembly to highlight its formation and working by the few research scholars. Murad Faisal's research work deals with the formation and working of the Punjab Assembly covering the period of five years from 2013-2018. He has discussed how the Assembly is formulated, and what is working nature of the necessary committees of the Punjab Assembly.<sup>5</sup> The research under the

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<sup>5</sup> Murad, Faisal. "*Formation and Working of Punjab Assembly (2008-13)*", M.Phil. thesis, University of the Punjab, 2015-17.

title of “Punjab Assembly on National Issues during Bhutto era”<sup>6</sup> explains the functioning of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab as the title of research suggests. In this work, the attempt has been made to unearth the participation of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab in sorting out the National issues deliberately. Although, Javed Hashmi’s autobiography entitled “Han! Ma Baghi Hon” brings to light the political atmosphere of the Punjab and the policies of the government but it does not provide the detailed information.<sup>7</sup> The book “Punjab Ka Muqadma” written by Hanif Ramay, who had been the Chief Minister of the Punjab from March 1974 to July 1975, unearths the history of the Punjab and does not highlight the political issues during the 1972-77.<sup>8</sup>

### **Key Research Questions**

This research work will answer the following questions:

- What kind of relationship the PPP government had with the opposition members?
- What kinds of strategies were put into the force by Punjab government to ill-treat the opposition members?
- How and why the Punjab government hijacked the political activities of the opposition in the Punjab through its perpetrator.
- How practices of the PPP Government affected the politics of the Punjab along with its repercussions in the future?

### **Research Methodology**

As the concerned topic deals with an historic explanation in the arena of politics, so exploratory approach had been adopted.

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<sup>6</sup> Iqbal, Azher. “*Punjab Assembly on National Issues During Bhutto Era*”, M.Phil. thesis, University of the Punjab, 2013-15.

<sup>7</sup> Hashmi, Javed. *Haan! Ma Baghi Hon*. Lahore: Sagar Publications, 2005.

<sup>8</sup> Ramey, Hanif. *Punjab Ka Muqadma*. Lahore: Jhang Publishers, 1985.

## **Organizational structure**

The whole research work has been divided into four chapters.

### **Chapter:1**

First chapter describes the evolution of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. It explains the formation of the first elected assembly of the Punjab in terms of adult franchise vote.

### **Chapter: 2**

Second chapter unearths the nature of relationship between the government of the PPP and the opposition in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. It explores how the Members of the Punjab Assembly were victimized, politically tortured, harassed and teased by the PPP's government of the Punjab.

### **Chapter: 3**

Third chapter reveals the government of the Punjab's attitude towards the Members of the National Assembly in the premises of the Punjab Province. The MNA's criticized the policies of the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government on the National level, the opposition leaders were arrested, tortured and restricted, ban was imposed on their political activities in the Punjab. This chapter reveals the hard steps of the government of the Punjab with the opposition's national leaders.

### **Chapter: 4**

In fourth chapter, the effort has been made to highlight the ruling party's policy to suppress the opposition parties of the Punjab through its perpetrators.

# CHAPTER 1

## Punjab Assembly in Historical Context

This chapter reveals the process of evolution of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab as a law-making body for the masses of the province. This chapter will explore the development and changes made by the British in the institution of the law-making and how this institution was run by the British. The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab had to pass through different development phases.

The Britishers took the initiative and provided the opportunity to the Indians to be the part of the legislature councils constituted by governor-general of India after the recommendation of Sir Ahmed Khan, which he presented to the incumbent government after the war of independence of 1857.<sup>9</sup> In the initial period, the representatives of the Indians could only participate in the Councils but later they were bestowed the importance gradually. The right to suggest on the bills and comment on the policies of the British was awarded to the local legislators in the Council Act, 1892. The local legislators could amend any law and regulation.<sup>10</sup>

The Indian Councils Act, 1861 provided an opportunity for the domestic representation in the colonial Punjab. The first Legislature in the colonial Punjab was done in 1897.<sup>11</sup> Despite the fact that it was a selected collection of both authority and non-official members, it had the authority of legislation. The main Council worked over 11 years. The Lieutenant Governor used to manage the gatherings of the Council himself. The main Council was an ostensible body and there was a need to present the

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<sup>9</sup> Khan, Ahmad, Causes of Indian Revolt, Benares Medical Hall Press, 1873. *Translated Work*.

<sup>10</sup> *The Indian Council Act 1892*, printed in Constitutional Documents (Pakistan, Volume 1, Edition 1964, pp.408-13, section 5.

<sup>11</sup> *The Punjab parliamentarians: 1897-2013*. Lahore: Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, 2015.

component of race in the Legislative Council, which was, out of the blue, acquired by the Minto Morley reforms. In these reforms the demand for separate electorate was accepted by the UK.<sup>12</sup> The participation was expanded from 10 to 30; including 14 nominated and five elected members. The Council was furthermore offered ability to pass objectives on the monetary arrangement which, nevertheless, was of a recommendatory nature. The second Council was in this way comprised as per the arrangements of Indian Councils Acts which had been passed in the past.<sup>13</sup>

In 1915 Act, the participation was expanded by three elected seats and one by nomination. The fourth Council was made in 1916 following Government of India Act, 1915. The position of Vice President was presented out of the blue. Since the 1915 Act had accommodated the constitution of the law-making body instead of the Governor's Council, consequently, that Council proved to be the last one.<sup>14</sup>

The First World War offered energy to the developing interest for self-government in colonial India. Accordingly, the newly established changes were presented by British in the 1919 reforms. The main reason for this change in reforms was to present new arrangement of Government, "diarchy". The Indian Act of 1915, had just accommodated the structure of the Legislative Council rather than the Council of Governor. The main Punjab Legislative Council was made in 1921. The Council included 93 members, 70% to be chosen and rest to be designated; and the tenure of the Council was decided to be three years<sup>15</sup> Earlier, the Lieutenant Governor used to manage the gatherings of the PLC, and instantly, a designated member (assigned as

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<sup>12</sup> Abid, Qalb, "The Punjab Muslim League: Campaign for Separate Electorates to Separate Country", *Pakistan Vision* Vol.12 No.01, 2011.

<sup>13</sup> "Pre-Second Council Synopsis", <http://papmis.pitb.gov.pk/en/members/past-members/council-of-the-lieutenant-governor-of-the-punjab-1897-to-1920/pre-second-council-synopsis>. accessed on July 13, 2019.

<sup>14</sup> *The Punjab parliamentarians: 1897-2013*. Lahore: Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, 2015.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

President), and in his absence, a chosen member (assigned as Deputy President) used to direct the gatherings of the Council. The Punjab Legislative Council could only succeed in arranging 98 gatherings when it was broken down on October 27, 1923 after conclusion of its tenure.

According to the Montague-Chelmsford reforms that after the termination of four years from the opening session of the first Punjab Legislative Council (PLC), the President would be chosen by the PLC. The PLC was lower house which comprised of 145 members.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, Sheikh Abdul Qadir was chosen the first Muslim President of the PLC and soon he resigned from the presidency of it and he was succeeded by Sir Shahab-ud-Din. The PLC was disintegrated in 1926 after the fulfillment of its tenure.

The third PLC following Indian Act of 1919 was constituted in 1927. The incomparable Muslim logician, researcher and scholar Allama Muhammad Iqbal was a member from this Council.<sup>17</sup> Mr. Shahab-ud-Din was its President in 1927. The PLC was bestowed the expansion of seven months in its residency and it was broken down in 1930. The PLC could arrange only 111 gatherings amid its all-encompassing period.<sup>18</sup>

The last PLC was established in 1930 on the basis of the Act of 1919. In 1930, Mr. Shahab-ud-Din was chosen as its President for one more sequential tenure. In the meantime, Indian government Act of 1935 set out the residency of the commonplace lawmaking body for the period of five years.<sup>19</sup> In these conditions, the PLC proceeded for over six years. Therefore, the PLC could conduct 197 gatherings amid its all-

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<sup>16</sup> Khan, Hamid. *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 19.

<sup>17</sup> *The Punjab Parliamentarians: 1897-2003*. Lahore: Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, 2015.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Khan, Hamid, p. 35.

encompassing residency. It merits referencing that amid the residency of this PLC, development of the present Assembly was initiated in the last quarter of 1935 by Mr. Jogendra Singh who was the then minister for Agriculture at that time.

The British managed a progression of round table meetings in London with the representatives of different communities in India and planned certain established changes. These changes were in the long run encapsulated in the Act of 1935. The Act of 1935 brought a huge change in the political situation of India. The decision of the main PLA under the Act of 1935 was taken in 1936. The first session of the primary Assembly had been conducted on April 5, 1937 in Lahore as the Assembly making was under the process of development. The first Speaker of the house was chosen on April 6, 1937. The first historically walk out, in the historical backdrop of PLA, was additionally organized at that time. The main gathering of PLA was hung on November 10, 1938. The tenure of the PLA was five years, notwithstanding, because of various political advancements just as WWII, the PLA proceeded for around eight years. The PLA continued its sittings and last one was held on March 19, 1945. The PLA could manage 368 sittings amid its all-inclusive life.<sup>20</sup>

Pakistan emerged, successfully, on the map of the world in 1947 under the Independence Act of 1947. The constituent Assembly proclaimed a constitution for the nation, the Act of 1935, was received as the temporary constitution under the PPCO 1947. Because of a ballot in the PLA 1946 held on June 23, 1947, the Assembly was separated into West and the East Punjab.

Every single sitting member from the PLA 1946, chosen from electorates incorporated into the Province of WPLA with the impact from August 15, 1947. Francis

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<sup>20</sup> "Punjab Legislators Assembly (1937-47)", [papmis.pitb.gov.pk/en/members/past-memebers/Punjab-legislative-assembly-1937-to-1947](http://papmis.pitb.gov.pk/en/members/past-memebers/Punjab-legislative-assembly-1937-to-1947), accessed on July 13, 2019

Mudie, the Governor of West Punjab delegated Mr. M. Jamal Khan to play out the obligations of Speaker of the house till new Speaker was chosen. That Assembly could conduct only 29 sittings when the Governor broke down it on January 25, 1949. Along these lines, the primary Assembly after freedom stayed on ground for a time of almost one year and six months.<sup>21</sup>

The West Punjab was given a new name as Province of Punjab in 1950<sup>22</sup> and because of the general decisions were taken in 1951 following the PPCO, 1947 the PLA was established. It conducted its first session on May 7, 1951 and met once for all in 1955. The PLA could manage 114 sittings along with more than 10 sessions amid its life and stopped to exist on the appearance of one-unit. After Martial Law in 1958, General Ayub Khan presented the idea of essential vote based system in 1959.<sup>23</sup> The Basic Democrats (BD) elections chose 40,000 delegates from both wings of the Pakistan to be held in 1959. The Advisory Council was established rather than a lawmaking body. These BD members approved General Muhammad Ayub Khan to proclaim a Constitution who brought him into power in 1962. According to the Constitution, there was a common governing body involving 155 members for the period of five years. In any case, Article 230 visualized that the term of first governing body would be three years.<sup>24</sup>

The BD members proved to be an electoral school to choose the President and both the assemblies. The WPAP was chosen by the BD political workers which stopped to exist on June 8, 1965 on the fulfillment of its term. It could arrange 218 sittings more than 7 sessions. Mr. Chou En Lai of Peoples Republic of China spoke to that Assembly

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<sup>21</sup> *The Punjab Parliamentarians: 1897-2013*. Lahore: Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, 2015.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> The Basic Democracies Order, 1959. President's order No. 18 of 1959.

<sup>24</sup> Khan Hamid, pp. 220-21.

in February and Abdul Salam Arif, the President of Iraq, made a formal address in the Punjab Assembly in March 1964.<sup>25</sup>

The WPAP was established for a time of five year as per the Constitution of 1962. The Chief Minister was enabled to run the inner undertakings of the Provincial Assembly. The Assembly could meet for 248 sittings more than 8 sessions. That Assembly stayed on ground for a long time 9 months when it was broken down in 1969 because of the announcement of Martial Law by General Muhammad Yahya Khan.

Yahya Khan assigned to the Election Commission of Pakistan the task of getting ready for the following decisions on July 26, 1969. The one-unit was nullified with impact from July 1, 1970, and the areas of the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and NWFP were reinstated. The Provincial Assembly of the Punjab involving 186 members was constituted because of the general elections held on December 17, 1970 under the Legal Framework Order. Because of political turmoil, war with India and secession of Bangladesh, its first session could not be called until May 2, 1972.<sup>26</sup> The PPP had the 65% representation in the assembly house and the rest of the political parties were in the opposition which comprised 45% of the house.<sup>27</sup>

The Interim Constitution proclaimed Provincial Assembly of the Punjab to be the main law-making institution. In wake of promulgating of Interim Constitution, the members pledged in the first session of May 2, which was chaired by M. Yaqub Awan who was designated by the Governor of the Punjab, Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar to chair the gathering. The election of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab had been conducted in 1977 and the Pakistan Peoples Party again secured majority in the house.

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<sup>25</sup> *West Pakistan Fifth Synopsis (post)*, <http://papmis.pitb.gov.pk/en/members/past-members/provincial-assembly-of-west-pakistan-1956-1969/west-pakistan-fifth-synopsis-post>, accessed on July 13, 2019.

<sup>26</sup> PAPD, Vol.01 No.01 (02 May 1972): 1-3.

<sup>27</sup> Iqbal, Azher, "Punjab Assembly on National Issues During Bhutto Era", M.Phil. thesis, University of the Punjab, 2013-15.

The allegation of rigging in the elections had been levelled by the opposition parties against the chairman of the PPP. The PPP secured 155, the PNA 36, independents 08, Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum) one seat out of the 200 seats of the National Assembly.<sup>28</sup> The opposition launched anti-PPP campaign which resulted in the imposition of Martial Law in the country and all the assemblies were broken in the wake of coup. The PAP was to finish its tenure on August 14, 1977 constitutionally; nonetheless, the Governor of the Punjab broke down it on January 13, 1977. The Provincial Assembly of 1972-77 could conduct only 329 gatherings in more than 19 sessions.

To sum up, the evolution of the Provincial Assembly of Punjab has gone through multiples changes that developed it in to the present assembly of the Punjab. After the Battle of the Independence of 1857, following the recommendation of Syed Ahmad Khan, the Indian people gave the opportunity to become a part of the formation of the Governor General of India. At the earliest times, representatives of the Indians could only participate in the councils, but later they were gradually given importance. The right to suggest on bills and comment on UK policies was given to local lawmakers. The provincial assembly of Punjab had passed through various stages of development and the current constitutional status of the house is the result of the great struggle of the people of Punjab.

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<sup>28</sup> “*All Pakistan Party Position 1977*”, [http://gallup.com.pk/bb\\_old\\_site/election/2GIER1977.pdf](http://gallup.com.pk/bb_old_site/election/2GIER1977.pdf), accessed on 13 July, 2019.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **Government and the Opposition in Punjab Assembly**

When we try to analyze the relations between the PPP's Punjab government and the opposition members of the Punjab Assembly during 1972 to 1977, we get a very dismal and abhorring picture of the treatment of the government with the opposition. We feel ashamed that in a democratic country, so much undemocratic, strange and immoral treatment was received by the opposition at the hands of the powerful government. The government of the time set unprecedented examples of authoritarianism, cruelty, callousness, narrow mindedness, harassment, political victimization, blackmailing and other threats while dealing with the opposition. The government did not spare any political leader of the opposition to victimize and harass in one way or the other. There are such heartrending incidents on record which prove that the democratic government did not have the courage to tolerate the opposition. The behavior and the conduct of the government clearly shows that it did not want to have any opposition at all. It wanted to have one party system with no rivals at all. False cases were registered against the leaders of the opposition and their families. They were forced to undergo mental agony and physical torture. This attitude was one of the causes of ineffectiveness of legislative institutes of the country.

The government arrested the leaders of the opposition were on false charges to crush them and to snub their dissent voices. The government used administrative machinery mercilessly against the leaders of the opposition to spread terror and fear among the leaders of the opposition and the public. The government not only victimized and pressurized the leaders of the opposition but also violated the rules of the assembly. According to rules 60, 61 and 62 of the Rules of Business of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, the government is bound to inform the honorable speaker of the House

on the prescribed form of schedule 2, about the arrest, House arrest, conviction or release of any honorable member of Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.<sup>29</sup> Then, the speaker is bound to share this information with the members of the House. In the light of these rules, the government violated them time and again and did not furnish the information to the members of the House. The government also played havoc with the rules of business of the Punjab assembly by telling lies on the floor of the House. Let us discuss in detail how the government tried to crush and curb the political leaders of the opposition.

### **Disinformation about the Arrests of MPA's on the Part of Government**

Rule 60 of the Business of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab maintains the privilege of the honorable members of the assembly that no MPA can be arrested without informing to the speaker of the House. When any member of the PAP is arrested, it is the responsibility of the police or administration to send the information about the arrest of honorable member of the assembly. Gujrat police arrested honorable member of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab Chaudhry Muhammad Nawaz on December 18, 1972 violating rule 60 of Punjab Assembly which says that the reason for arrest of any member should be reported to the speaker.<sup>30</sup> But Gujrat police did not care for the rules of business of the Punjab Assembly. The purpose behind the arrest of honorable member of the House was to threat and crush the leaders of the opposition. The government did not care for the rules of the Punjab Assembly. The PPP government was not worried about the privilege of the Members of the PAP. It tried its best to lessen the political influence of the opposition members among the people of the Punjab

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<sup>29</sup> The rules of the business of the Punjab Assembly change with the formation of assembly.

<sup>30</sup>PAPD, vol.03 No.02 (22 January 1972): 1922.

Province. In fact, the opposition was excruciating for the PPP and Mr. Zulfiqar Ali, especially.<sup>31</sup>

Once, Raja Muhammad Afzal<sup>32</sup> in the company of Air Marshal Asghar Khan was going to Dera Ghazi Khan to attend a public meeting arranged by the political workers of his party on December 01, 1974.<sup>33</sup> When they reached Dera Din Panah, they were stopped by the Assistant Commissioner (AC) Layyah with the help of Police and took them into his custody without showing any warrant. Being the member of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, Raja Afzal questioned about the arrest warrant, but he was communicated that arrest warrant would be provided to him later. Raja Afzal was kept under custody for 30 hours and he was not provided the food. Moreover, he was also not given the permission to sleep there. After making him wander here and there, he was released at Tarnol near Rawalpindi.<sup>34</sup> The Assistant Commissioner of Layyah and the local police arrested the honorable members of the PAP without any charge. The purpose behind the arrest of him was to please the government party, the PPP. The speaker of the Punjab assembly was not informed by the AC of Layyah and the local police which was a clear violation of the rules 60, 61 and 62 of the business of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. They took it for granted as they were patronized by the government of the PPP. The AC and the local police were working under the umbrella of the Peoples Party's government.

The PPP being the ruling party in the Punjab used different tools and tactics to suppress the opposition. The PPP having clear majority in the province could not avoid rigging in any bye-election. It wanted victory in every election at any cost at all levels.

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<sup>31</sup> Hashmi, Javed. *Han! Ma Baghi Hon*. Lahore: Sagar Publications. Sagar Publications. P48.

<sup>32</sup> Raja Muhammad Afzal was elected Member of the Provincial Assembly from the constituency of PP-23 Gujrat-V.

<sup>33</sup>PAPD, vol.13 No. 01 (16 December 1974): 30.

<sup>34</sup>ibid.

The Election Commission conducted the elections in the constituency No.6 of Lahore on October 19, 1975. Muhammad Akram Cheema<sup>35</sup>, the member of the PAP was supporting to Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar in the elections campaign. The PPP wanted to win elections in that constituency at any cost. Therefore, Akram Cheema was taken into the custody of the police prior to the elections just four days before the elections on October 15, 1975.<sup>36</sup> He was put under the House arrest in the rest House near Chiniot and was released after the elections in the constituency No.6 Lahore on October 19. In this case again the speaker of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab was not informed by the administration which was the duty of the government. Here, again the incompetency of the administration showed the violation of the rules of the business of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. All this had been done under the supervision of the PPP government of the Punjab Province.<sup>37</sup>

On January 12, 1975, the police arrested Manzoor Ahmed Mohal<sup>38</sup>, the leader of the Tahreek Istaqlal from Chamberlain Road, Lahore. As usual police did not inform the speaker of the Assembly which was a clear violation of rules of the business of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.<sup>39</sup> Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* dated February 01, 1975 said that Mr. Manzoor Ahmed Mohal, the honorable member of the PAP protested at the inhuman treatment of the jail authorities and went on hunger strike as the concerned authorities did not provide him with proper facilities.<sup>40</sup> Neither he was given a bed nor he was allowed to call someone to bring warm clothes for him in the severe cold. He was given poor food. The police arrested him first, then, took him to Bahawalnagar and

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<sup>35</sup> Chaudhry Muhammad Akram Cheema was elected from the constituency of PP-91 Sheikhpura-IV

<sup>36</sup>PAPD, vol.16 No.01 (15 November1975): 14.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Advocate Mian Manzoor Ahmad was the elected as Member of the Provincial Assembly on the ticket of the Tahreek-i-Istaqlal from the constituency PP-169 Bahawalnagar-II.

<sup>39</sup>*Daily Nawa-i-Waqt*, 13 January 1975.

<sup>40</sup>PAPD, vol.14 No.02 (11 February 1975): 87.

registered a case against him so that he might not get pre-arrest bail. In this way the government tortured and mistreated with the political leaders of the oppositions in the Punjab Province. The government's undemocratic attitude proves that the ruling party was not in favor of democratic customs and traditions. The government wanted to crush and eradicate the oppositions at any cost and did not want the opposition to flourish in her rule in the Punjab Province.<sup>41</sup>

Mian Manzoor Ahmed Mohal went to Sahiwal to address the lawyers of the Sahiwal Bar association on February 20, 1975. When he had delivered his speech, he wanted to go back to home but when he came out of the Bar room, many policemen stopped him on the way and informed him that a case had been registered against him. Therefore, he was under arrest.<sup>42</sup> Many lawyers gathered there, and they informed the police that Mian Manzoor Mohal was on bail in all cases till February 24; therefore, he could not be arrested. This was the order of the High court but Station House Officer (SHO) Lashari was not ready to accept it. Then, the lawyers escorted Mohal to the Bar Room. The Deputy Superintendent of Police (DSP) who was holding the charge of SP came to the Bar room and threatened the lawyers to get away from this issue, otherwise he would order to start the lathi-charge. Lashari continued the siege of the Bar room.<sup>43</sup> In the meantime, the lawyers succeeded in getting the pre-arrest bail from the Sessions Judge Sahiwal. The police took Mohal's car to the Police station. For the next two days Lashari could not be found when the Magistrate called him for his misuse of power. The attitude of SHO Lashari clearly indicates that he was under the influence of the Punjab government. What he did with the honorable member of the assembly, Mian Manzoor Ahmed Mohal, could be possible only under the umbrella of the ruling party,

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>*Daily Jamhoor*, 22 February 1975.

<sup>43</sup>*Daily Wafaq*, 22 February 1975.

the People's Party. The purpose behind this incident was to torture the members of the opposition mentally. The government tried her best to lessen the popularity graph of the members of the opposition among the masses. The opposition in the People's Party's despotic rule had lost the basic human rights in the Punjab Province.<sup>44</sup>

Tabish Alwari<sup>45</sup> brought the privilege motion that Abdur Rahman Jami's, the honorable member of the PAP, arrest and dismissal of fake suit was reported by the concerned authorities, according to the rules 60, 61 and 62 of the business of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. The authorities reported the incident to the speaker and the honorable members of the assembly which was ambiguous and unclear.<sup>46</sup> The letter did not clarify why Abdur Rahman Jami was arrested and under which section he was prosecuted. The speaker was misled about the arrest of the honorable MPA. The main objective of the government behind the arrest of the honorable member of the House and to register a false case was to threaten the oppositions. The Punjab Government did not want the opposition in the Province any more. The Peoples Party wanted to weaken the opposition so that they could not play their dynamic role in the politics of the Punjab Province.<sup>47</sup>

On the night between 30 and 31 of May 1975, Mian Manzoor Ahmed had to deliver a speech in the mosque of Sadr, Jhang. When the Jhang police came to know about this proposed speech, the police did not allow him to address the people and arrested him on the spot. After some time, the police released him. The purpose of this undemocratic conduct on the part of the police was to stop Mian Manzoor Ahmad from delivering the speech. SP Jhang sent a telegram number ES/9884 on May 31, 1975 to

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<sup>44</sup>PAPD, vol.14 No.11 (26 February 1975): 810.

<sup>45</sup> Syed Tabish Alwari was elected as the Member of the Provincial Assembly from the constituency PP-163 Bahawalpur-I.

<sup>46</sup>PAPD, vol.03 No.02 (22 January 1972): 363-64.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 65.

the speaker of the Punjab Assembly about his release. This telegram was based on distorted facts and an attempt was made to support the government. According to that telegram, the pre-arrest bail of Mr. Mohal had been granted by Additional Session Judge Jhang in the crimes 49-DPR, 16/19 WPMOPO 1960 and 550 CD till June 05, 1975.<sup>48</sup> The fact was that the Additional Sessions Judge Jhang granted him the bail for the public protection. The rest of the cases were falsely reported because Mian Manzoor Ahmed did not apply for the bail in any other case. The S.P Jhang reported to the Speaker of the Assembly wrongly.<sup>49</sup> What the S.P Jhang had done only could be possible with the support and supervision of the Punjab government. The attitude of the bureaucrats clearly indicates that the government had decided to punish the opposition in her tenure.

From the aforesaid incident, it is crystal clear that the government did not treat the leaders of the opposition in a democratic way. The government did not follow the rules of business and suppressed and tortured the opposition in the Punjab Assembly. The government threatened the leaders of the opposition so that they might not take an active part in the debates and discussions on the floor of the House. Further the government pressurized them to join PPP and leave other parties. The government harassed those MPA's even more, who left PPP and joined other political parties. The government tried a wretched attempt to distort the facts and cheat the opposition and the public which is reflected in the case of Mian Manzoor Ahmad Mohal.

One thing more is to be noted that the government politicized the government institutions for her vested interests and political motives. The ruthless use of the Police and other Administrative machinery against the leaders of the opposition is

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<sup>48</sup>PAPD, vol.15 No.06 (18 June 1975): 295.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

unprecedented in the entire history of Pakistan. In true democratic countries, no such activity is allowed as they have developed their institutions and the government can't even think of using them in its favour. In a way the government of that time played havoc with the country by corrupting the institutions of the country, just to gain political benefits over the opposition.

The government of the time was much biased towards the opposition and was not ready to give room to the opposition as the government was narrow-minded. The representatives of the people in the Punjab Assembly were humiliated and degraded by the government at all level. The government tried to suppress the voice of the people who did not vote in the favor of the PPP in the elections of 1970. The government did not show the behavior of tolerance for the leaders of the opposition and for the people who were supporting the leaders of the opposition.

After arrest tactic to pressurize the leaders of the opposition, the government used threat policy to snub the voice of the opposition in the Punjab Province. The government used administrative machinery to threat the members of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. The government appointed such DC's at the places where the government was weak, and the members of the opposition had been elected by the masses of the Punjab province in the general elections.

### **Harassment of the opposition leaders who left PPP**

Besides other negative tactics to suppress the opposition, the government tried to win favors of the opposition leaders by force. The government used the administrative machinery wholeheartedly to curb and suppress the opposition. The government did not hesitate to register false cases against the honorable MPA's and their relatives. Abdur Rahman Jami<sup>50</sup> brought the privilege motion in the House on

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<sup>50</sup> Abdur Rehman Jami was the elected MPA from the constituency of PP-67, Lyallpur XVI

November 22, 1975 that the Deputy Commissioner Lyallpur sent for honorable member of the House, Mr. Abdur Rahman Jami who was staying at the rest House in Toba Tek Singh. When he went to see the DC, he was made wait for half an hour outside he DC office.<sup>51</sup> This kind of behavior clearly shows that the government servants were patronized by the government of the Punjab. The civil servants were supported by the PPP government and they were forced to do all what the government wanted in the Punjab province at that time. The PPP government used them as a tool for the procurement of its vested interests in the Punjab politics. The government's agenda was to finish the opposition in the Punjab politics and to rule solely in the province.

The DC of Lyallpur informed Abdur Rahman Jami that since when he had joined the Muslim League, the government gave the directions to create the hurdles and obstacles in the way of Jami so that he might not be able to attend the Assembly Session. The DC pressurized him if he wanted to remain the part of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, he would have to rejoin the Pakistan Peoples' Party otherwise, such environment would be created as would render him incapable to retain his seat in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.<sup>52</sup>

Honorable member of the House, Mr. Jami warned the DC not to get involved in the politics. At this the DC got infuriated and remarked, 'I shall see how the constitution and Assembly protect your seat and how you attend the assembly session'. The next day, false cases were registered against his brother Abdul Majeed and his friend Sheikh Shabbir. He was harassed by the government machinery to stop him from performing his duties by different criminal tactics.<sup>53</sup> The purpose behind the harassment of members of the PAP was to create such environment in which the opposition could

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<sup>51</sup>PAPD, vol.16 No.15 (04 December 1975): 1180.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

not survive to be the true representative of the voice of the masses of the Punjab Province. The members of the opposition were harassed by the government of the Punjab by using various tools and tactics. Not only the opposition members were harassed by the government but also their relatives and friends were taken under the custody of the police and false cases were registered against them. This kind of political environment which was prevailing at that time was totally opposite to democratic norms.

The government did not spare even the relatives of the leaders of the opposition. The government of that time did not show any humanity and morality while treating the leaders of the opposition. Another government's immoral act was to harass Syed Tahir Ahmad<sup>54</sup> Shah's father-in-law on false charges. On November 22, 1975, on the orders of the Deputy Commissioner Lyallpur, Syed Tahir Ahmed Shah's father in law's factory which was situated on the Dajj Kot Road Lyallpur was sealed without any prior notice or reason.<sup>55</sup>

In the same way, his relative's shop named Pakpattan Engineer situated at Sarkar Road Lyallpur was also sealed without any prior notice. The DC Lyallpur appointed the Municipal Magistrate to demolish the shop with the help of police and the staff of Municipal Corporation. His brother-in-law Mumtaz Ahmad Hashmi received threats from the DC Lyallpur that his different business agencies would be sealed as reported by MPA on the floor of the house.<sup>56</sup> When his relatives inquired the reasons for this unlawful action, they were told that the action was taken just because of ego of the members of the ruling party against Syed Tahir Ahmed Shah who was opposing the government. He had left PPP and joined the hands with the politicians of

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<sup>54</sup> Syed Tahir Ahmed Shah was elected as the Member of the Provincial Assembly from the constituency of PP-54 Lyallpur-III.

<sup>55</sup>PAPD, vol.16 No.15 (04 December 1975): 1184.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

the Muslim League. The Assistant Commissioner told them that the government had asked them to pressurize Tahir Ahmed Shah to re-join People's Party. If he did so, everything would be fine, and no further action would be taken against him, When Tahir Shah came to know about this action, he contacted DC Lyallpur.<sup>57</sup> The DC threatened him in clear words if he opposed the government in the assembly sessions, there would be even more serious actions and he would be compelled to resign from the membership of the PAP. He warned the DC that he was interfering with the business of members of the PAP and that issue would be raised on the floor of the House. At that, the DC got even more infuriated and said that he did not care for the Punjab Assembly. He declared that the proceeding of the provincial assembly was just a drama. He further threatened him that such circumstance would be created as to compel him to resign from the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab if he did not re-join Pakistan People's Party at once.<sup>58</sup>

Another incident clearly proves the involvement of the administrative departments and the police on the encouragement by the government. The government assigned specific tasks to various officers and officials to crush and threat the leaders of the opposition in the Punjab Province. Mian Khursheed Anwar<sup>59</sup> presented the privilege motion in the House that on March 15, 1973, Manzoor Hussain SHO Police station Karyanwala District Gujrat with some armed constables tried to arrest Chaudhry Muhammad Nawaz in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab compound. For the protection of himself, Muhammad Nawaz entered in the chamber of the Punjab assembly.<sup>60</sup> This act of victimization on the part of the government is a glaring proof

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Mian Khursheed Anwar was the elected Member of the Provincial Assembly from the constituency of PP-127 Multan-XII

<sup>60</sup>PAPD, vol.03 No.33 (16 March 1973): 4606.

that the government did not have any kind of moral sense. Mian Khursheed Anwar was much sorry and regretted and said on the floor of the House, that to crush and paralyze the opposition, the government was using different hostile tactics. The government of the Punjab pressurized the opposition by using such threatening tactics. Whatever was done to Muhammad Nawaz is a vivid proof of the hostility and cruelty on the part of the government towards the opposition of the Punjab assembly. The police registered a false case against Muhammad Nawaz and the minister for law expressed his unawareness about this event. The minister for law intentionally denied this event on the floor of the House in order to avoid public resentment and save face in such kind of barbarian act.<sup>61</sup> How could law minister be oblivious of such an important event? In fact, the government did not care for the democratic values and the rights of the opposition of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.

Haji Muhammad Saifullah<sup>62</sup> brought the privilege motion in the Punjab assembly to discuss the above-mentioned incident. The Punjab assembly decided unanimously that the services of the Station House Officer, Manzoor Hussain should be suspended and an enquiry should be initiated against him. But the government did not take any serious action against the SHO. The Home Department wrote a letter to the Inspector General of Punjab Police but the IG Punjab Police did not take any action against him and the services of the SHO were not suspended.<sup>63</sup> This protection of the SHO on the part of the Government clearly shows that the government intentionally wanted to threat or harass Muhammad Nawaz particularly and the other members of the opposition generally. It also proves that government used its administrative

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Haji Muhammad Saifullah Khan was the elected Member of the Provincial Assembly from the constituency of PP-174 Rahimyarkhan-I.

<sup>63</sup>PAPD, vol.03 No.47 (23 April 1973): 6114.

machinery to crush the opposition in every possible way, and it looked somewhat successful in crushing and victimizing the opposition.

## **Bypass of the opposition in Various Schemes**

Another way to undermine the leaders of the opposition on the part of the government was to bypass the opposition in sharing the public welfare projects. The government intentionally did not take into consideration the leaders of the opposition while making the policies for the public welfare projects. Chaudhry Amanullah Lak<sup>64</sup> moved the privilege motion in the House that District Peoples' Works Council Gujrat made a sub-division of Phalia such a way as the role of the leaders of the opposition might be minimized.<sup>65</sup> The two MPA's, one MNA of Pakistan People's Party and Tehsil Chairman Peoples Party were nominated to constitute the sub-division Phalia. Chaudhry Lal Khan member of the PAP elected from the ticket of Qayum League and Chaudhry Amanullah Lak the members of the opposition had not been nominated and were ignored thoroughly during the working of said project. This undemocratic and dictatorial action of the government created feelings of deprivation among the masses as their representatives were ignored in the social welfare programs by the government intentionally. This sub-committee met on 02 February 1973 in Mandi Bahudin for the recruitment of *Sipah-e-Danish*. Majority of such candidates were not called for interview as had been recommended by Chaudhry Lal Khan and Chaudry Amanullah, the members of the opposition all those candidates who recommended by opposition MPAs had been rejected.<sup>66</sup>

The government decided to dig up the tube wells for the aid to the rural society all over the Punjab province. It was also decided by the treasury benches unanimously to provide the subsidy to the poor farmers in the installation of the tube wells. The

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<sup>64</sup> Chaudri Amanullah Lak was elected as the Member of the Provincial Assembly from the constituency of PP-26 Gujrat-VIII.

<sup>65</sup>PAPD, vol.03 No.13 (06 February 1973): 1979.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.

farmers could get the subsidy if their applications were recommended by the members of the members of the assembly to get the subsidy in the installation of the tube wells in the less cultivated areas, the applications recommended by opposition's members Amanullah Lak and Chaudhry Lal Khan were rejected. The government tried its best to faint the political image of the members of the opposition among the masses of the Punjab. Similarly, the other development projects were also put aside which were proposed by Amanullah Lak for his constituency. In this way, the two members of the oppositions were degraded in the meeting. The behavior of the government proves that it was not ready to respect the voice of the people through their representatives. The government also proved that it did not care for the people who did not vote for them. In a way it was a lesson for the people of the constituency that they would get nothing until they vote for the PPP. This cruel behavior on the part of the government does not have any example in the history of Pakistan.<sup>67</sup>

Raja Muhammad Afzal Khan presented the privilege motion in the assembly that on April 21, 1973, a meeting of District Peoples Works Program was held under the headship of Mr. Muhammad Anwer Samma<sup>68</sup> who revealed that the aid which the government had given for the installation of tube wells had been decided by such a committee which was constituted by the chairman of the PPP and the government of the Punjab. The districts education committees were converted into People's Works Committee.<sup>69</sup> The members of those committees were the local MNA's and the members of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. The local district chairmen were also made the members of these committees. All the funds of that scheme were bestowed to the Members of the National Assembly and MPA's of the PPP. The

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<sup>67</sup>PAPD, vol.03 No. 14 (07 February 1973): 2119.

<sup>68</sup> Muhammad Anwar Samma was elected from the constituency of PP-20 Gujrat-II. He had been the minister for revenue, power and irrigation during the PPP's government in the Punjab.

<sup>69</sup>PAPD, vol.03 No.52 (30 April 1973): 6839.

members from the opposition were ignored badly and intentionally. They were not given even a single penny. The purpose of that heinous crime was to penalize the people of those districts who did not vote in favor of the PPP. It had the objective of crushing the opposition in the province. It had another intend to pave the way for single party government in the whole Punjab.<sup>70</sup>

Colonel Muhammad Aslam Khan Niazi<sup>71</sup>, the member of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab published a pamphlet *lamha fikria* in which he leveled false allegations against to honorable members of the Assembly, Ameer Abdullah Khan Rokhri<sup>72</sup> and Captain Ahmed Nawaz<sup>73</sup>. He also attacked on their personal life during the Assembly session. That pamphlet was distributed in the Assembly in the presence of the speaker of the House without any hesitation. The parliamentary traditions were blown. That was done for the first time in any parliament in history of the world.<sup>74</sup> The ruling party, the PPP had given free-hand to its political leaders to lessen the political influence of the opposition among the masses of their constituencies. The purpose behind the publication of the pamphlet was to humiliate the opposition in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.

### **Harassment of Honorable Members of the Opposition**

Raja M. Afzal presented the privilege motion against the government's policy of harassment on the part of the government of People's Party. He said that an inspector

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Colonel Muhammad Aslam Khan Niazi was elected from the constituency of PP-39 Mianwali-I. He rendered his military services for the cause of British and took part in the WW-II actively. He joined Pakistan Army but soon resigned and came into the Politics. He supported Fatima Jinnah in the presidential elections of 1965 and won a seat from the constituency of Mianwali. In the first session of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab he declared to be the political worker of the Pakistan People's Party. Whereas, he was elected as the Member of the Provincial Assembly on the ticket of the Muslim League. He died in 2004 being Acheson oldest survivor.

<sup>72</sup> Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhri was the elected Member of the Provincial Assembly from the constituency of PP-40 Mianwali-II.

<sup>73</sup> Captain Ahmad Nawaz Cheema was elected as the Member of the Provincial Assembly from the constituency of PP-42 Mianwali-IV

<sup>74</sup>PAPD, vol.03 No.52 (30 April 1973): 6844.

income tax Gujrat named Muhamad Hussain visited his House on February 12, 1973 and harassed him saying, “Government has directed me to assess your property on the spot”, which was against the law of the time. That action of the government shows that it was following the policy of harassing and threatening the members of the opposition.<sup>75</sup> The purpose of that immoral and illegal action was that the opposition might refrain from criticizing the government’s policies. Fair criticism is the basic right of the opposition in a democratic country, but this right was denied to the opposition by the government.

On February 19, 1973, Raja Muhammad Afzal delivered a speech in the PAP and revealed upon the honorable members of the House that,

“I had decided three years ago that I had to divide my property. I had divided my 80% of my property, which has been spent on local schools and other projects of the welfare of the poor. After this, I am being suspected that I am involved in such an activity as suggests that I have committed some embezzlement in tax paying. I did not care even for my wife’s ornaments in the recent war with India. Despite my great sacrifices for the country, my patriotism is being questioned.”<sup>76</sup>

### **Threats of Murder to the Opposition Members**

Amanullah Lak presented the privilege motion that on March 15, 1973 when the assembly session ended, he went to his residence. So many unknown persons telephoned him and threatened him. They demanded the arrest of Chaudry Muhammad Nawaz the honorable member of the PAP from Gujrat who was wanted to Gujrat police. They further said if he did not present Chaudhry M. Nawaz, at least he should tell his present address. Since police reached the Provincial Assembly to arrest Chaudhry

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<sup>75</sup>PAPD, vol.03 No.18 (19 February 1973): 2590.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

Nawaz who was able to run away. Thus, Chuadhry Amanullah Lak was charged with abetting Chaudhry M. Nawaz and was threatened for that.<sup>77</sup>

Chuadhry Rahmatullah Arshad, the opposition leader in the House moved the privilege motion that minister for revenue Mr. Anwar Samma threatened the former in the following words, “What the hell are you talking here in the assembly, I will see you outside.” Rahmatullah Arshad, the honorable member of the House protested in the session and explained that it was an open threat that he could not work freely in the House.<sup>78</sup> Despite the fact, that he was elected member of the PAP and was the true representative of their voices. He had the right to express his opinion on different political issues and give suggestions according to the needs and the demands of the people of his constituency.

But the government of the Punjab had adopted the policy of crushing the opposition members badly. The hurdles and obstacles were created for the opposition members in the House so that they could not take part in the business of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab actively. It means that the government of the PPP wanted to suppress and snub the voice of the people in the so-called democratic government in the province.

### **Persecution of Syed Hassan Mahmood**

The Housing Bill was brought under the discussion in the Assembly session on February 26, 1973. Allama Rahmatullah Arshad moved the privilege motion in the House that minister Aukaf assured the House while speaking on Housing Bill in the words “I also assure you that Inshallah when this bill becomes the Act wherever the land is acquire the first of all the land of the people of the treasury bench will be taken,

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<sup>77</sup>PAPD, vol.03 No.35 (20 March 1973): 4754.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., 4759.

because this is a work for the welfare of the people". Despite that vivid assurance, the government confiscated Makhdoom Zada Syed Hassan Mahmood's plots on 15 March in Rahimyar Khan.<sup>79</sup>As for as the Land Acquisition Bill was concerned, there was no provision of land or plot confiscation added in the bill. If any plot was confiscated it would not fall under that Housing Bill.

Makhdoom Zada Syed Hassan Mahmood said he had no residential plots which may be the subject to Land Acquisition Act. Hassan's father had two plots for bungalows of which only boundary walls were constructed. The main structure was yet to be built. Those plots were confiscated without any notice. Hassan Mahmood said categorically, the government could neither suppress him nor purchase his loyalties whatever the government wanted to do it might do.<sup>80</sup> The opposition of the Punjab Assembly was victimized by the government of the Punjab through such kind of brutal actions. The only purpose behind the confiscation of the plots of the honorable member of the House was to tease and refrain from the performing his duties. The honorable member of the House, Syed Hassan<sup>81</sup> criticized the government of the Punjab which caused a lot of hurdles for him in the performing his duties properly. The government could not tolerate the criticism of the opposition on the implementation of its policies and agenda.

The opposition leader Allama Rehmatullah Arshad moved the motion that the connections of tube wells of Syed Hassan Mahmood, the honorable member of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, located at village Jamal Din Wali Tehsil Sadiqabad were cut off only because being the member of opposition he criticized the policies of the government in the House. The honorable members of the PAP have the right to

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., 4760.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Syed Hassan Mahmood was elected as the Member of the Provincial Assembly from the constituency of PP-180 Rahimyar-VIII.

express their opinions freely and honestly.<sup>82</sup> But the government of the Punjab had snubbed the basic human rights of the masses of the province generally and the opposition particularly. All these activities are glaring proof that the government wanted to suppress and crush the opposition.

Sardar Amjad Hamid Khan Dasti brought the privilege motion in the House that on May 26, 1973 once again Syed Makhdoom Hassan Mahmood was victimized by the government of the PPP. The connections of electricity of the aforementioned the honorable member of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab Syed Hassan Mahmood and his tenants were cut off without any legal notice or solid reason. The power supply remained discontinued for consecutive five days. Not only was that but the water which was provided through electricity to the people also stopped.<sup>83</sup> Those steps were taken to lessen the popularity graph and reverence of the honorable member of the PAP in the eyes of the people of his constituency.

Syed Hassan Mahmood's lands were also irrigated by the irrigation department. On the behalf of the government of the Punjab the water ways to his land were broken and false cases were filed against him. The purpose of those cases was to bother and victimized the honorable Member of the Punjab Assembly.<sup>84</sup>

Allama Rahmatullah Arshad<sup>85</sup> brought the privilege motion that the bank account of honorable member of the House Syed Hassan Mahmood was frozen without any prior information or notice. He came to know about that act of the government when he went to the *Neela Gumbad* branch Lahore to draw the cash through check on April 6, 1973. Those proceedings were carried out so that the honorable member of the

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<sup>82</sup> PAPD, vol.3 No.36 (21 March 1973): 4981-82.

<sup>83</sup>PAPD, vol.4 No.3 (06 June 1973): 225.

<sup>84</sup>PAPD, vol.4 No.3 (06 June 1973): 228.

<sup>85</sup> Allama Rehmatullah Arshad was the elected Member of the Provincial Assembly from the constituency of PP-166 Bahawalpur and the leader of the opposition in the house.

House might not perform his duties honestly and truthfully. On that issue the minister for law said that 2.3 million and 21 thousand rupees were due to Makhdoom Zada and Syed Shareef Hussain. Assistant registrar cooperative societies banking Karachi using his powers directed the Muslim Commercial Bank Limited *Neela Gumbad* Lahore that Hassan's Mahmood accounts should be frozen. Now it was a matter between Hassan Mahmood and the Sind government. Allama Rahmatullah Arshad responded why the orders of the Sind government obeyed in the jurisdiction of the Punjab province. Whenever some problems or issues of any other province were discussed in the PAP the government said that it had no jurisdiction over those issues. For example, the discussion on massacre of *Mahajirs* and non-Punjabi was not allowed in the Punjab Assembly the pretext that that issue did not fall in the jurisdiction of the PAP. Makhdoom Zada responded to minister for law that his warrants of arrest were issued against him without any logic and reason. During the session of the assembly when Makhdoom Zada went to Karachi, 15 policemen came there in the van among them 6 were officers tried to arrest him. The minister for law distorted the facts during the session of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab.<sup>86</sup>

### **Stern Attitude of Government Officials**

The honorable member of the House Syed Hassan Mahmood criticized the government policies and projects for the welfare of the people of the Punjab badly. He was threatened by the government of the Punjab to give up the political activities in the province forever. The honorable member of the opposition went to Karachi to see his friends, relatives and daughter specially. The district authorities and the police officers had received the information that Hassan Mahmood would come from Karachi to Sadiqabad via train on Friday December 13, 1975 to celebrate *Eid* in his native village

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<sup>86</sup>PAPD, vol.3 No.45 (11 April 1973): 5806.

Jamal Din Wali, Rahim Yar Khan. On that day two vans of police and some officers waited for Syed Hassan at the Sadiqabad railway station. Since, his plan changed, and police could not arrest him and went to his village Jamal Din Wali with nearly 60 personnel including police officers and the Magistrate. They again cut off the power supply to the tube wells on their way to his village. They harassed and arrested the members of his family and their tenants.

In daily *Huriyat* a news as published against him and his brother Iqbal Mahmood and his three sisters that electricity was stolen for the tube wells of his family and cases were registered, 25 people of the family were taken into the police custody. Fake cases were also registered against his mother, daughters and Iqbal Mahmood's family. He was threatened by the government that he should give up his duties as Member of the Provincial Assembly and quit political activities in the Punjab forever. Otherwise, more strict actions would be taken against him.<sup>87</sup> It was an open threat to the honorable member of the opposition by the democratic government of the Punjab. The government of the PPP was not ready to accept any opposition in the Punjab. That is why severe actions were taken to crush and sweep away the opposition in the province so that it might rule over the Punjab solely.

Mian Khurshid Anwar brought the privilege motion in the House that different cases were registered against the opposition leader and honorable members of the House. His party delegation met twice with the honorable governor, Khar and requested him not to tease honorable members of the PAP. The governor of the Punjab ordered to dismiss all the cases against Chuadhry M. Nawaz. Before the orders of the governor were implemented, Mr. Muhammad Nawaz went to see the DC Gujrat, Malik Ijaz CSP where he was abused, threatened and several allegations had been charged against his

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<sup>87</sup>PAPD, vol.16 No.22 (18 December 1975): 1707.

party. The DC said to him that he belonged to the party who had the memberships of the profligate, thieves and vagabonds.<sup>88</sup>

### **Debasement of the MPA's**

Mian Khurshid Anwar, Mr. Nasir Ali Khan Baloch<sup>89</sup>, Rao Maratib Ali Khan<sup>90</sup>, Haji Muhammad Saifullah Khan, Mr. Umer Hayat<sup>91</sup> and Mian Mustafa Zafar<sup>92</sup> brought common privilege motions in the Punjab Assembly. On March 31, 1973 special invitation cards were given to the members of the assembly for the last session of *Awami Mela*. Those cards were particularly numbered and were only for Members of the Punjab Assembly and their wives.<sup>93</sup> At the doors, the police not only forbade them to enter in the VIP enclosure but also misbehaved.

At last, with much difficulty, the members succeeded in entering the VIP enclosure there was no reserved seat for them. The administration was informed about this, but it paid no heed. Mrs. Rehana Sarwar was also stopped at the gate for two hours.<sup>94</sup> The attitude of the police is evidence that the government of the Punjab wanted to humiliate the opposition members in every way. The opposition of the PPA was insulted by the Punjab police by stop them on the entrance gate.

Sheikh Aziz Ahmed<sup>95</sup> brought the privilege motion in the House that his car no 9277 which was given to him for his personal use by the Pakistan Mutual Insurance Company Limited Lahore for being the managing director of the company. His car was

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<sup>88</sup>PAPD, vol.04 No.13 (20 June 1973): 1090.

<sup>89</sup> Mr. Nasir Ali Khan Baluch was the elected Member of the Provincial Assembly from the constituency of PP-64 Lyallpur-XIII.

<sup>90</sup> Rao Muratib Ali Khan was the elected Member of the Provincial Assembly. He was the president of Tahreek-i-Istaqlal in the Punjab.

<sup>91</sup> Rai Umer Hayat Khan was elected as the Member of the Provincial Assembly from the constituency of PP-60 Lyallpur-IX.

<sup>92</sup> Mian Mustafa Zafar was the elected Member of the Provincial Assembly from the constituency of PP-142 Muzaffargarh-II.

<sup>93</sup>PAPD, vol.3 No.40 (04 April 1973): 5302.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Sheikh Aziz Ahmad was elected as the Member of the Provincial Assembly from the constituency of PP-109 s

stolen by thieves in front of his House no.4, street no. 21N-E7 Sultan Pura Road Lahore. He was busy in his constituency Sialkot to implement the plans made under the Peoples Works Program. His son, Zahirudin informed about the incident to the Emergency Central Civil Line 54444 that suggested him to report the incident to the Police Station Misri Shah.<sup>96</sup>He contacted police station Misri shah, but he was told that all the Police officers at Station had slept and no serious action was taken.

Zahir went to Ravi bridge toll plaza to check the register but he could not find his car number in the exit list. After some time, his daughter also tried to seek help from the Emergency Central Civil Line, but her effort ended in vain. That time, it was inquired about Sheikh Aziz Ahmed by the police. When they were told that he was not in Lahore the call ended without any further proceeding. Mr. Zahir Ahmed visited again Ravi toll plaza to check the register but this time he succeeded to find the car number in the register. His daughter phoned at PCO-35 Pasroor at 6 am o'clock but no one picked the phone for one and half an hour. Her message was conveyed to Sheikh Aziz Ahmed after two hours. Sheikh Aziz's daughter and son gave the information about their father, but no serious action had been taken by the Police to catch the thieves. This was done to torture the members of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab so that they might not create hurdles for the government.<sup>97</sup>

The government did not lose any chance to degrade the members of the opposition. When there was shortage of Sugar, sugar was given on quota. When there were some significant events like marriage or death, the sugar was needed in large quantity, but this extra sugar could be obtained only when the permit form was attested by the honorable members of the PAP. But in practice, the rights of the opposition were

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<sup>96</sup>PAPD, vol.04 No.02 (05 June 1973): 93.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid.

not protected, and the members of the PPP were honored by the authorities.<sup>98</sup> The permits attested by the members of the opposition were put in the waste basket and the people having permit forms attested by the members of the opposition were clearly told that they cannot get sugar until or unless they get their form attested by the members of the PPP.

It was made compulsory for the people of Mandi Bahauddin that they could get sugar only when they had permit forms attested only by the Chairman PPP Mandi Bahauddin. The conduct and attitude of the government towards the opposition clearly proves that the government was intentionally following the policy of harassing the opposition. The government did not show any democratic values of tolerance, patience and forbearance.<sup>99</sup>

The government's undemocratic and dictatorial attitude towards the members of the opposition can be noticed by the uneven and unjust treatment of Raja Muhammad Afzal Khan the honorable Member of the Punjab Assembly. As per practice Raja Muhammad Afzal attested the applications for issuance of license of arms of the people of his locality like the MPA's of PPP, who also attested applications for the issuance of licenses of arms. But the Deputy Commissioner did not take actions on the applications attested by Raja Muhammad Afzal whereas he accepted the applications attested by the MPA's of PPP.<sup>100</sup> Despite a lot of reassurances that Raja Afzal Khan that he never attested any application DC refused to accept the applications. This discriminatory attitude of the civil servants clearly proves that the government had instructed them to crush the members of the opposition. The government used the civil bureaucracy to discourage and victimize the leaders of the opposition. This action of the DC not only

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<sup>98</sup>PAPD, vol.03 No.47 (23 April 1973): 6114.

<sup>99</sup>PAPD, vol.03 No.50 (26 April 1973): 6622.

<sup>100</sup>PAPD, vol.04 No.05 (08 June 1973): 404

devalued Raja Afzal but also tarnished his credibility as a representative of the people of his locality.<sup>101</sup>

The ruling party had also a way to suppress the voice of the representative of the people on the floor of the House. The speaker did not allow the leader of the oppositions to speak on the issues. Raja Muhammad Afzal tried to argue that the good people are need of licenses, the criminal do not. At this, the speaker of the assembly remarked curtly, "I do not want a general speech over this." That attitude on the part of the speaker of the House shows that the ruling party was not ready to listen to the leaders of the opposition. Such kind of attitude is not found in the democratic government. It is purely an act of smashing the basic human rights.<sup>102</sup>

Chuadhry Amanullah Lak presented the privilege motion in the House that Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto called for the opposition members of the PAP to discuss whether Bangladesh should be recognized or not. The members of the opposition gave their individual points of view. But the government issued the handout on June 07, 1973. In this handout, the government proved that the members of the opposition who were presented in the meeting did not belong to the PPP but supported the government. The reality was altogether opposite.<sup>103</sup> On June 11, 1973, on the front page of the *daily Amroz*, a photo was published under which this news was given, "President Bhutto is addressing the MPA's of other parties who support PPP." The purpose of that news was to humiliate the opposition in the eyes of the people of the Punjab by showing them the supporters of the PPP. The fact is that the opposition neither supported the Bhutto's campaign to recognize Bangladesh nor supported PPP politically. The opposition just

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<sup>101</sup>Ibid., 408.

<sup>102</sup>PAPD, vol.04 No.7 (12 June 1973): 547.

<sup>103</sup>PAPD, vol.04 No.06 (11 June 1973): 476.

used its democratic right to convey its point of view or the voice of the people of the Punjab.<sup>104</sup>

### **Ministers' Hooliganism**

Mian Manzoor Ahmed Mohal brought the privilege motion in the House that he received a telephone from Bahawalnagar. According to the information Mian Muhammad Afzal Wattoo directed the SP Bahawalnagar to kill two or three political opponents in every police station. These murders should be colored like police encounter. Particularly it had been emphasized with reference to our college particularly Hafiz Ali Asadullah should be killed when they reached Bahawalnagar after attending the session of the Punjab assembly.<sup>105</sup>

The tussle between both the members of the House erupted which became the problem of Mian Afzal Wattoo's ego who was the minister for Work. An attempt was made to kill Hafiz Ali Asadullah by Afzal Wattoo's hired killers July 01, 1973. Bullets were opened to Hafiz Ali Asadullah and his companions who likely remained safe and sound in this attempt. The above-mentioned incident was the further episode of the brutal action of Mian Afzal Wattoo against the members of the House. The FIR was not registered in the Christian Police Station against the minister for Work. The preference was given to Mian Afzal in regarding to register a FIR. The Punjab government and the ministers of the PPP had full control over the Government's institutions.<sup>106</sup>

The government of the Punjab Province did not behave cordially with the opposition in the House. Amanullah Lak brought the privilege motion in the House when he brought the privilege motion in the House on July 29, 1972, all the ministers

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid.

<sup>105</sup>PAPD, vol.05 No.11 (04 October 1973): 912.

<sup>106</sup>PAPD, vol.04 No.23 (05 July 1973): 2022.

and the members of the PPP walked out the session of the House. The speaker of the assembly did not take it seriously and accepted this privilege motion to discuss it on the floor of the House. It was claimed by the law minister that the session could not be continued as the assembly did not meet the quorum.<sup>107</sup>

Summing the over-all arguments, it is crystal clear that the relationship between the government of the PPP and the opposition of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab never remained cordial during the 1972-77. The PPP ruled over the Punjab despotically. The government victimized and tortured the opposition of the PAP, politically. The members of the opposition parties had to face difficulties to perform their constitutional duties in the premises of the Punjab province. The government of the Punjab arrested and registered the false cases against the honorable political leader of the opposition. The government of the PPP arrested the political figures of different political parties in the Punjab without any reason and false cases were registered against them. The opposition of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab was ignored by the treachery benches not only in the house but also in the social welfare programs and the funds were not given to them. They were harassed by the government's official and threatened to deter the criticism on the government policies in the Punjab. The ministers were involved in the killing of the opposition in the Punjab. The government of the PPP wanted to sweep away the opposition in the province. The democratic government of the Pakistan People's Party left the legacy of undemocratic traditions in the politics of the Punjab.

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<sup>107</sup>PAPD, vol.03 No.02 (22 January 1973): 365.

## CHAPTER 3

### **The Relations between the Government of the Punjab and the Leaders of the Opposition at National Level**

In this chapter, an attempt to make the attitude of provincial government of the Punjab towards central leaders of opposition parties. When we try to analyze the relationship between the Punjab government and the leaders of the opposition at national level, we are wonderstruck that the Punjab government posed a gesture of hostility and coldness towards the leaders of the opposition at both provincial and national levels. If we term the attitude of the government towards the opposition cruel, it would not be incorrect as there are numberless incidents and cases available in the official documents which prove that the government victimized and harassed the leaders of the opposition at national level by using the administrative machinery and police. The undue detainments of the leaders of the opposition, the registration of false cases against the leading opposition leaders, plans to threat the opposition by various tactics, were special tools of the government against the leaders of the opposition in the Punjab.

#### **Hindrance in the Release of Ch. Zahoor Elahi from Jail**

Syed Tabish Alwari on the floor of the house said that the government intentionally tried to create a hindrance in the release of Ch. Zahoor Elahi from the camp jail Lahore. According to *Nawa-i-Waqt* of February 22, 1973, the Additional Session Judge Lahore ordered to release him, but the Superintendent Jail refused to release him despite the orders of the Additional Session Judge. The Superintendent did not obey the orders of the court only because the government had extended a full-

fledged support to the Superintendent of the Camp Jail Lahore.<sup>108</sup> It is crystal clear that no Superintendent can dare ignore the orders the court until or unless he had some support on the part of the government.

At last he was released from the jail on the orders of the Chief Justice Lahore High Court after an undue detainment for several hours. The disobedience of the court orders by the Superintendent of Camp Jail Lahore and the undue discretionary powers of the administrative authorities clearly show that the government revengefully targeted the opposition leaders.<sup>109</sup> In this way the government not only opened the gateway to corruption for the police and other administrative authorities but also undermined the rule of law.

### **Notice to Ch. Zahoor Elahi by the Punjab Government**

Mian Khursheed Anwar said on the floor of the house, referring to the daily *Mashriq* that the leader of the Muslim League Ch. Zahoor Elahi's life was in danger. He revealed in a press conference that there were serious threats to his life on the part of the government. He further said quoting Ch. Zahoor that the District Magistrate Gujrat had served a notice to him to hand over his arms to the authorities. The Minister for Law, replying Khursheed's remarks, levelled false charge that as many criminal cases had been registered against Ch. Zahoor. Therefore, he was trying to manipulate the evidence of those cases with the help of his arms.<sup>110</sup>

The Minister for Law argued that he had been given notice to hand over his arms so that peace and order might be kept in the locality. He would get his arms back when the cases were decided. Khursheed Anwar replied to the Minister for Law alleging that the Government was pressurizing him so that he might not be able to

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<sup>108</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.25 (27 February 1973): 3550.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.30 (12 March 1973): 4211.

present his proposals for constitutional amendments. The government wanted to disarm Ch. Zahoor so that he might be killed easily. As a Pakistani he had the right to have license so that he might use them in self-defense. Besides this, as an MNA he did have the right to have license.<sup>111</sup>

### **Ban on the Political Activities of the National Awami Party**

Ch. Amanullah Lak presented the adjournment motion in the Punjab Assembly that under the charge of riots between Sunnis and Shias, the government arrested many of the workers of National Awami Party. The actions on the part of the government caused panic and fear among the opposition and the people who voted for the members of the opposition. Under the garb of sanctions imposed by the government on NAP, the authorities also arrested the friends of the workers and members of the Opposition to threaten and victimize the opposition. The government further inflicted cruelty on the Opposition parties by not allowing the discussion on the motions forwarded by the opposition through their speaker of the Assembly.<sup>112</sup>

On February 19, 1973, the leader of the house Haneef Ramy announced that all the members who were arrested on the 10<sup>th</sup> of Muharram, in the Punjab Province, were released. But the Vice President of National Awami Party Punjab, Ch. Jaleel Ahmad Khan was not released he was arrested in Gujranwala. The opposition charged that the leader of the house with telling lies in the house. Tabish Alwari further told the story of the government's cruel treatment with the political leaders of the opposition that Jaleel Ahmad Khan was still in the police custody. The government arrested the members of the opposition on the pretexts of baseless and false charges. In the Assembly, the government failed to tell charges on Jaleel Ahmad Khan.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.18 (18 February 1973): 2635.

<sup>113</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.19 (19 February 1973): 2611.

Chaudhry Amanullah Lak moved the motion referring to the Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* of November 08, 1976. The political leaders of the National Democratic Party (NDP), i.e., Bagum Naseem Wali Khan, Sardar Sherbaz Mazari, were going to address the Bahawalpur Bar. When they were crossing the Bridge of Sutlej River, the personal of Crime Investigation Department (CID) and the police who were in white dresses stopped them forcefully and took them under custody. The political leaders of NDP and other opposition party members were compelled to leave for Karachi via train. Somehow Rao Mahroz Akhtar escaped to Bahawalpur successfully and informed about what had happened with the leaders of NDP. Mr. Mahroz was tortured by the police on duty.<sup>114</sup> The government had usurped the basic democratic and constitutional rights of the citizens. In the People's Party government in the Punjab, no one could either travel freely or deliver a speech at public place. The government had adopted the policy to threaten the opposition so that they might not resist the People's Party's policies in the Punjab.<sup>115</sup>

The Punjab Minister for Law denied the incident and said that Bahawalpur Bar Association had refused to meet the leaders of the National Democratic Party (NDP). The government also stopped the opposition leaders from stepping into the Bar Room that was opposed in the form of a motion by Syed Tabish Alwari. The Punjab Minister for law had replied on November 17, 1976 that Bahawalpur Bar Association had not allowed the NDP leaders Bagum Naseem Wali Khan and Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari to meet and moreover, the government and administration did not stop them from Bahawalpur. The statement of Minister for Law was based on sheer falsehood that was proved by Bar Association's resolution letter and scattered pieces of newspapers. The

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<sup>114</sup>PAPD, vol.19 No.12 (17 November 1976): 969.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

printed reply of Minister for Law was reacted by Bar Association by a letter to the speaker of the Punjab assembly.<sup>116</sup> The letter reads...

“My attention has been drawn to the news item appearing in daily *Mashriq*, Lahore Dated 18-11-76 and Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* Dated 18-11-76, in which an impression has been given by the Law minister Provincial Assembly of the Punjab while replying *Tahreek-i-Iltawa* raised by Chaudhry Amanullah Lak, M.P.A, that Bahawalpur Bar Association had refused to listen the leaders of the National Democratic Party i.e. Begum Naseem Wali Khan and Mr. Sher Baz Khan Mazari. The factual position is that the Bahawalpur Bar Association had voted a day earlier by an overwhelming majority by ratio in 95 in favor and only 9 against to listen Begum Naseem Wali Khan and other political leaders of National Democratic Party.

I am sending herewith a copy of resolution.

“The Bar Association condemns the attitude adopted by the local administration in inviting the miscreants and encouraging them to indulge in the hooliganism and who by forcing their entry in the Bar Room have violated the privilege and most cherished sanctity of the Bar Association forcibly manhandled and removed from Bar Room a guest of the Bar. The Bar Association condemns the objectionable attitude and observed a token strike on 08-11-76.”<sup>117</sup>

### **Violence Against Mian Mehmood Ali Qasoori’s Son**

Mian Mehmood Qasoori the member of National Assembly and ex-Minister for Law, charged the government that since he resigned from the Federal cabinet, he and his members of the family had been receiving threats by different tactics. The ways which were adopted to harass Mehmood Qasoori by the government could only be used

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<sup>116</sup>PAPD, vol.19 No.19 (26 November 1976): 1431.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid, 1432-33.

by such people as are bereft of decency and nobility.<sup>118</sup> Mehmood Qasoori charged that government had used violence against his son Danyal. On February 08,1973, when he went to college to take the examination of Statistics, three persons who were armed with pistols and knives, forcefully made him sit in the car and pressurized him to sign on the paper accepting that he had used unfair means in the examination. When Danyal refused to do so, they threatened him that his father would not be forgiven. They detained him till the time of the paper was over.<sup>119</sup> They further said that it was the first punishment for disagreeing from the government. The finance minister showed ignorance to this event. He said that no such event was reported. There was no FIR the point to note here is that ex-Minister for Law himself was saying and the Finance Minister was denying it.

### **Detention of Mian Muhammad Tufail**

Chaudhry Amanullah Lak telephoned to the office of the Jamat-i-Islami Lahore on February 19, 1973 as a result of his phone, he came to know that Mian Muhammad Tufail, the leader of the Jamat-i-Islami Pakistan, had been arrested a night before. The government did not allow the media to either publish it in the press or telecast on the radio or television. The purpose of this action on the part of the government was to crush and pressurize the opposition.<sup>120</sup>

Sardar Amjad Hameed Khan brought the motion in the house that the government under the Defense of Pakistan Rules of the Punjab, had arrested Mian Tufail earlier, while delivering a speech in the public meeting, and his speech was distorted and published in the national press and the all newspapers which come under the Press Trust. As the Punjab government arrested Mian Tufail, without having

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<sup>118</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.25 (27 February 1973): 3540.

<sup>119</sup> *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt*, 23, February 1973.

<sup>120</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No. 21 (22 February 1973): 3022.

authority, therefore, the Government had to release him, but he was arrested again on the orders of the government of the Punjab under the Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance and the clause no.124-(I) section of the Pakistan Penal Code. The government used different tools and tactics to threaten the members of the opposition so that they could not create hurdles for the government in promoting their agenda and policies whatever.<sup>121</sup>

The aforesaid cases are a glaring proof that the government used police and the administrative machinery to curb and suppress the opposition leaders of the national level. This misuse of power on the part of the government against the leaders of the opposition shows that the relationship between the government and the opposition had never been cordial. There existed no mutual trust and confidence between the government and the opposition. Due to this great mistrust, the government did not give the opposition any room to carry on its political activities. The government's different tactics to stop the opposition from any political activity prove that the government was not standing on solid footing and it was afraid of the opposition. In any democratic government of the world, no civil rights can be curbed by force, but the government did not abide the civil rights of the opposition and misused its power as is done in dictatorship. The government went too low to tease even the members of the family of the leaders of the opposition.

### **Ban on the Political Activities of Tahreek-i-Istaqlal**

Chaudhry Amanullah Lak moved the adjournment motion in the house that the District Magistrate of Jhang banned Mian Babu Ferozudin to enter the premises of the District Jhang for the three months. But this motion was disallowed by the honorable

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<sup>121</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.22 (23 February 1973): 3145.

speaker of the house for the further proceeding.<sup>122</sup> This kind of attitude on the part of the government was clearly undemocratic and autocratic. The government did not allow any such motion to be discussed in the Assembly as went against it. Further, this kind of dictatorship was adopted to discourage the political activities in the Punjab province.

Syed Tabish Alwari presented the motion in the house that the Chairman and the leader of the Tahreek-i-Istaqlal, Air Marshal Asghar Khan arranged a meeting at Bahawalpur with his supporters. When he reached there to address the people, stones were thrown on him and the supporters of the Tahreek-i-Istaqlal. A fierce quarrel broke out there between the supporters of the ruling party and the Tahreek-i-Istaqlal, which resulted in the dismissal of the meeting. The Punjab Police was there but no action had been taken against the vagabonds of the PPP. The police remained silent and did not take any action against the ruling party's supporters.<sup>123</sup>

Raja Muhammad Afzal brought the motion referring to the daily Amroz Lahore of 14 March 1973, Air Marshal Asghar Khan had to attend the meeting and address to the supporters of the Tahreek-i-Istaqlal at Samma Satha on 13 March 1973. Through the supporters of the PPP, the government tried to stop the meeting. The supporters of Tehreek-i-Istaqlal did not want at all to dismiss the meeting. Therefore, they resisted the supporters of PPP and a row broke out there between supporters of the ruling party and the Tahreek-i-Istaqlal. As a result of this row, so many supporters of both the parties were wounded.

Air Marshal Asghar Khan sought the help of the police, but the police did not take any action on the fair demands of Air Marshal. Raja Afzal opined in the house, that the government wanted to launch civil war in the Punjab through such actions. The

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<sup>122</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.18 (19 February 1973): 2634.

<sup>123</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.38 (02 April 1973): 5133.

attempt had been made to lessen the influence of the opposition members among the masses and degrade in the eyes of the people.<sup>124</sup>

Amanullah Lak moved the motion on the news of *Nawa-i-Waqt* of March 14, 1976. Asghar Khan was stopped by FSF personals on his way from Sargodha to Jhang. A number of hurdles were placed on his way. Air Marshal Asghar Khan had to address District Convention of his party in Jhang. He was told by those personal that they were only following the orders of the Punjab government. In this way, the Punjab government was encroaching upon the basis rights of the citizens by putting an end to their political freedom.

### **Maltreatment with ex-MNA Rana Mukhtar**

According to *Nawa-i-Waqt* on December 25,1973 Mukhtar Rana an ex MNA of PPP and later the head of the United Front, was suffering from severe intestinal problems in Bahawalpur jail. Due to lack of medical facilities in the jail, his disease grew worse day by day.<sup>125</sup>

According to Syed Tabish Alwari, the ailment of Mukhtar Rana in Bahawalpur jail became very severe and critical. After his medical checkup, the local doctors keeping in view the complexity and severity of his disease, suggested in written that he should be shifted to Lahore so that he might get better and proper medical treatment. Despite the clear medical advice, Mukhtar Rana was not shifted to Lahore. At this insensitivity and cruelty on the part of the ruling party, Mukhtar Rana protested to the government and refused to get treatment in Bahawalpur Jail. The SCP had ordered the government to provide Mr. Rana with A class facilities. The government of the PPP did not carry out the instructions of the SCP and he was not provided with A Class facility.

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup>PAPD, vol.08 No.01 (14 January 1974): 39.

Mr. Rana went on hunger strike with three other prisoners in the jail. The three other prisoners who shared his hunger strike were shifted from there, but he was not.

The inhuman and cruel treatment with Mukhtar Rana testifies that the government was not ready to spare even a patient just because he had left PPP and made his own Party, The United Front. The government of the time was so much addicted to power that it had forgotten the moral laws and basic human rights. The government had a sole mission to crush and exterminate the opposition in every possible manner, which can't be afforded in a democratic country.<sup>126</sup>

Syed Tabish Alwari presented the motion in the house that the former MNA Rana Mukhtar was severely ill in the jail. As per orders of the high court, he was neither being cured in the jail nor referred to Mayo Hospital Lahore. In addition to this, Lahore high court had also ordered to constitute a board that would take the decision of Rana Mukhtar's treatment either in hospital or in jail. While government constituted the board consisting of Doctor Ifitkhar, Doctor Ghardezi and Prof. Doctor Akhtar, (the Principal of King Edward College), the board recommended the quick treatment for Rana Mukhtar, but it did not give the decision regarding the place of treatment. The irony of the situation is, what they were asked to do, was not accomplished by them despite the orders of the High Court. The board made by the Punjab government was not acting upon the orders of the high court. It was so because the board was under the full control of the PPP's government. This proves that government left no stone unturned in sweeping away or persecuting the members of the opposition.<sup>127</sup>

Syed Tabish brought another motion in the house that Mukhtar Rana was severely ill in Lakhpat jail. He had severe eye problem that can only be resolved through

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<sup>126</sup> PAPD, vol.08 No.03 (16 January 1973): 163.

<sup>127</sup> PAPD, vol.17 No.22 (20 April 1976): 2346.

operation. The left part of his body was paralyzed. His heart problem had also aggravated and pain in chest and back bones was unbearable. But he still had not been shifted to Mayo Hospital for the treatment. His life was in danger and his treatment was possible only through radioactive waves in Mayo hospital, but the government was only beating about the bush by leaving this very critical issue unattended.<sup>128</sup>

### **Ban on Peer Pagaro's Political Activities in the Punjab**

The District Administration Jhang, did not permit peer Pagaro the president of Pakistan Muslim League to enter Jhang city, when he went there to address the workers of Muslim League. After a long and hot discussion, peer Pagaro went back.<sup>129</sup> This issue was raised in the house by the opposition for the discussion. The Chief Minister misstated the above said event. The Chief Minister said on the floor of the house when peer Pagaro, Malik Muhammad Qasim, Major Ejaz, Rana Khudadad, Ch. Muhammad Idrees and other fifteen persons entered the boundary of Jhang, they were informed about the tensions between different political parties. Besides this, they were also informed about the promulgation of section 144 of Pakistan Penal Code to stop any kind of violence on the part of the political parties.<sup>130</sup>

Actually, the government did not want to allow any political party to conduct any political activity under the garb of section 144. Wherever, the opposition wanted to do some political activity, the government-imposed section 144 of the Pakistan Penal Code. PPP was very strong in the Punjab during that era. The other parties were very weak and could hardly think of fighting among themselves. So, the argument on the part of the government does not seem logical. The only reason that appeals to every student of history is that the government wanted to weaken and crush the opposition at

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<sup>128</sup> PAPD, vol.18 No.28 (08 July1976): 2360.

<sup>129</sup> *Daily Nawa i Waqt*, 19 February 1974.

<sup>130</sup> PAPD, vol.10 No.01 (02 April 1974): 25.

all levels.<sup>131</sup> The government intentionally tortured, harassed and crushed the opposition as it did not want any other party to be strong, powerful and popular. In this way, the government used administrative machinery to suppress the voice of the opposition which is discredited in any democratic country.

### **The Arrest of Syed Atta ul Mohsin**

Mian Khurshid Anwar brought the motion in the house that referring to daily *Jamhoor* of July 04, 1973, the leader of the Majlis Ahrar Syed Ata ul Mohsin was arrested by the Cheecha Watni Police and sent to the cell to be hanged in Central Jail Sahiwal. His major fault was that he had delivered the speeches against the activities of the Qadianis inside the country and outside the country.<sup>132</sup> The PPP being the leftist party in Pakistan was not ready to assert the Qadianis as non-Muslims but later, the amendment in the constitution was made on the demands of the rightist opposition. That is why, the religious scholars were arrested and tortured by the Punjab Government to fulfil its political agenda.

### **The United Democratic Front**

The National Awami Party and the other members of the opposition parties, under the flag of the UDF arranged a big-mass gathering at Liaquat Bagh, Rawalpindi to protest at the sacking of the Balochistan government on 23 March 1973.<sup>133</sup> They were fired upon by the paramilitary Federal Security Force. Wali Khan had a narrow escape from death. In this firing, over a dozen party workers were killed. This action on the part of the Punjab Government against the opposition is the glaring proof that the government used force mercilessly to curb the voice of the people. Further, this

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<sup>131</sup> PAPD, vol.10 No.03 (04 April 1974): 311.

<sup>132</sup> PAPD, vol.04 No.24 (09 July 1973): 2160.

<sup>133</sup> Ahmad, Ghafoor. *Phir Martial Law Aa Gaya*. Lahore: Jhang Publisher Press, 1988.

action also highlights the government's autocratic and dictatorial bent of mind. The Punjab Government did not have patience to listen to the opposition.

Mian Khursheed Anwar brought the motion referring to *Nawa-i-Waqt* of March 25, 1973, that on March 23 the rioters set the busses of the people who came from N.W.F.P to participate in the meeting of UDF, on fire near the office of Improvement Trust.<sup>134</sup> When the leaders of the oppositions reached the residence of Mr. Mehmood Ahmed Minto at college Road, after the cancelation of the meeting of the UDF due to violence, guns and hand-grenades, a group of rioters started to fling stones on his house. Before the start of public meeting of the UDF, the Federal Police Peoples Guards and imported vagabonds tortured and beat the journalists. They snatched cameras from photographers and fired them. Hand- grenades were used and busses were burnt. The rioters burnt the library and all books of Jamat-i-Islami.

The government's cruel and high-handed treatment with the leaders of the opposition proves that the government was not ready to tolerate the opposition. The government of the time was very much egocentric and thought that only the government could think good of the country. That's why it was not ready to allow any political party of the opposition to conduct its political activities. This extremism on the part of the government cannot be seen in any democratic form of government.

Another incident that shows the hostility and intolerance of the Punjab government towards the opposition is the attack on the leaders of the opposition at Wazeerabad Railway Station. According to Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* of June 07, 1973, hand-grenades were thrown on the leaders of the UDF in the train at Wazirabad Railway Station and bullets were fired on them due to which the leaders of the UDF got severely injured. Besides this a severe damage was done to the railway station because of that

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<sup>134</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.43 (09 April 1973): 5666-70.

attack. The government's hostile and criminal activities aimed at containing the opposition.<sup>135</sup>

According to Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* July 06, 1973 the police stopped the leader of the Istaqlal Air Marshal Asghar Khan at Landiyanwala, 30 miles away from Lyallpur on July 05, 1973. He was going to Lyallpur from Lahore to attend a public meeting. The police asked the Air Marshal to hand over his licensed arms and go to attend the public meeting as the DC Lyallpur had imposed or section 144. Air Marshal did not hand over his arms and went back to Lahore. Mian Khursheed Anwar presented a motion to have a comprehensive discuss on it but this motion was not accepted by the speaker of the PAP.<sup>136</sup> The government's double standard is evident. On one side the police claimed the imposition of section 144 and on the other hand he was allowed to go for the public meeting. It seems that the government had some secret plans to kill Asgar Khan.

### **Arrest of Abdul Qadir Qasmi's Wife and Children**

According to *Nawa-i-Waqt* of September 02, 1973. The police arrested the wife and children of Moulana Abdul Qadir Qasmi, the president of JUI Multan and the leader of the UDF. They were arrested at the time when Moulana had gone to Toba Tek Singh for preaching purpose. When UDF asked the police about the arrest of Qasmi's family, the police replied that the family could not be released until Moulana presented himself before the police. His family was released the next day in the afternoon. The Chief Minister denied the fact that his wife and children were arrested. At this Khursheed Anwar declared Malik Miraj Khalid a liar. The speaker interrupted and presented the

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<sup>135</sup> PAPD, vol.04 No.06 (11 June 1973): 483.

<sup>136</sup> PAPD, vol.04 No.25 (10 July 1973): 2263.

motion for vote. The motion was ruled out as it could not secure the required votes for its acceptance for the discussion.<sup>137</sup>

His wife gave a statement under oath to the police that on August 31, 1973 the police by force took them to Purani Kotwali Police station where they were kept from 11pm to 4am under custody and from 10:30am to 4pm they were kept in chahleek. At 4pm they were released on the condition that Moulana would be presented before the police within 24 hours. His wife said that his husband was abused in dirty language. The police did not allow her to lock her home. The police did not care for her small children and took her to the police station. Two lady constables snatched Rs.8 which were for household expenditure. His wife's statement under oath was attested and certified by the people of the locality.<sup>138</sup> This political victimization cannot be even thought of in a democratic country like Pakistan. But the then government did not care for the sanctity of Chaadar and Chardeewari and maltreated the house wife of the political opponent. This kind of political victimization is unprecedented in the history of Pakistan.

### **Rabwa Railway Station incident**

According to the information of daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* June 05, 1974, the police arrested nine prominent religious and political leaders from their residences and offices to stop them from conducting a meeting in a historical Mosque Wazir Khan. These leaders included Abdusatar Niazi, Malik M Qasim, Aga Shorash Kashmiri, Muzaffar Ali Shamsi, Chaudhry Ghulam Gilani, Moulana Khalil Qadri, Maulana Mahmood Ahmed Rizvi, Hafiz Abdul Qadir Rohri and Ehsaan Elahi Zaheer. Despite the central government's announcement that the government would declare Qadiyani a non-

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<sup>137</sup> PAPD, vol.05 No.03 (24 September 1973): 108.

<sup>138</sup> PAPD, vol.05 No.06 (28 September 1973): 445.

Muslim sect, these steps taken by the Punjab government caused resentment and anxiety among the Muslims of the Punjab. Some scholars of Lahore were arrested because they desired to opine on Rabwa incident. The wires of the loud speaker were disconnected. As a result of this action taken by the Punjab government the people tried to protest in the form of procession and the police used tear gas on a grand scale. Maulana Obaidullah Anwar who was present there to lead the *Asr* prayer was stopped not only from performing his religious duty but also was dishonored and arrested. When the people present in the mosque protested against this act of brutality, the police lathi-charged them. Mian Khursheed Anwar, Allama Rahmatullah Arshad and Mirza Fazle Haq presented the motions in house which were ruled out by the speaker of the house.<sup>139</sup>

Mian Khursheed Anwer brought the motion with refernce to the daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* of May 30, 1974. The Chenab Express when reached Rabwa Railway Station, nearly 5000 people of Ahmedis attacked the train. In this attack, knives, batons, swords were used freely. As per the information, the students of NMC were on the way back from Peshawar after recreational tour. These students had raised slogans in favor of *khatm e nabowat* when they were on their way to Peshawar at Rabwa Railway Station. The Station master at Rabwa Railway Station, took an active part in this revengeful action. The Ahmedis detained the train despite the signal was down. The rioters beat the students a lot and dragged them out of the train. They broke the window-panes of the train. The train and passengers were stoned by the rioters, mercilessly. The clothes of the students and passengers were tore and their belongings like watches, attaché cases, radios etc., were taken abruptly from them. This act of violence caused resentment among the Muslims.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> PAPD, vol.11 No.11 (05 June 1974): 1613-15.

<sup>140</sup> PAPD, vol.11 No.08 (30 May 1974): 928.

## **Political Torture on Abdu Sattar Khan Niazi**

Raja Muhammad Afzal brought the motion in the house. According to *Nawa-i-Waqt* of April 18, 1976. On April 17, 1976, some unknown people opened the fire on Mr. Abdusattar Niazi and clubbed him nearly to death. They severely injured his arms and shoulders. Moulana had reached Lahore from Karachi and covered his journey from Airport to the city by Auto. His auto was suddenly stopped by the collusion of the car that was chasing him. This news made the public angry because the Punjab government was extensively involved in the systematic cleansing of sincere political personalities especially of the Punjab Province. Furthermore, the government was also giving birth to a strange kind of violent culture by strangling the political activities in the country. Raja Muhammad Afzal was not permitted to deliver a speech by Mr. Speaker. He was not given much importance and his basic right to speak was snubbed. The session was called off for five minutes.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> PAPD, vol.17 No.22 (20 April 1976): 2343.

## CHAPTER 4

### **Miscellaneous Atrocities by the Punjab Government**

This chapter reveals the tragic incidents in which the government of the PPP did not involve directly but abet and aid its perpetrators. The political workers of the People's Party opened a new chapter of atrocities and tyranny in the Punjab politics. There was a common culture to create hurdles, obstacles in the way of political activities of the opposition. The contention between the government of the PPP and the opposition created the chaos in politics of the Punjab. The student leaders of the opposition parties had been murdered by the provincial ministers and the perpetrators of the PPP. The offices of the opposition parties had been occupied by the political workers of the PPP. The attempts had been made by the government of the Punjab to disperse the public meetings of the opposition through the criminals. The following incidents provide the evidence that the government of the Punjab abet its political worker for the political torture and victimization of the opposition.

#### **Attack on the office of the Muslim League**

Haji Muhammad Saifullah Khan presented an adjournment motion about the government's support to its workers against the leaders of the opposition to harass them. In Dera Ghazi Khan, the supporters of PPP attacked on the office of the Muslim league and occupied it by force.<sup>142</sup> The office of the Muslim league had been functioning at that place for the last ten years. The building was owned by Aukaf department of Pakistan and the building was allotted to the Muslim League. The letter of allotment and the receipts of the payment of the rent were available.<sup>143</sup> The rent of the building had been paid till June 1973, but the perpetrators of the ruling party broke the locks of

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<sup>142</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.13 (06 February 1973): 1983.

<sup>143</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.17 (10 February 1973): 2502.

the building and occupied it. The people of the locality showed severe anxiety, anger and grief at that action supported by the government of the Punjab.<sup>144</sup> The government did not take any action against the culprits of the incident. This shows that the government wanted to exterminate all the opposition parties and its members. The government of the Punjab had no tolerance for the opposition parties.

Allama Rahmatullah moved the adjournment motion regarding the interference on the part of the government in the affairs of Government College Mandi Bahaudin. The PPP interfered in the duties of elected members through local administration. Actually, the candidates nominated by the workers of the PPP lost the election and the candidates of the opposition party were successful in the election. The government of the time had no courage to accept the defeat of its candidates. It wanted to keep its hold on the affairs of the locality, ignoring the will of the masses of that area. As the government could not put up with the victory of the opposition, it decided to pressurize the leaders of the opposition through Police and Magistrates.<sup>145</sup>

### **PPP's Brawl with Islamic Jamiyat Tulba Pakistan**

Mian Khursheed Anwar brought the adjournment motion referring to the daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* of 15 March, the supporters of the PPP attacked the meeting of Islamic Jamiyat Tulba Pakistan, which was being held in the Government College Wahdat Road Lahore. An attempt was made to harm the Chairman of the Punjab Students Union, Mr. Javed Hashmi in that meeting in which the general secretary of the Islamic Jamiyat Tulba Pakistan Lahore, Mr. Riaz Ahmed got severe injuries and was admitted to the Mayo Hospital Lahore. The police favoring the perpetrators of the People's Party arrested the leadership and political workers of the Islamic Jamiyat Tulba Pakistan including Javed

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<sup>144</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.14 (07 February 1973): 2130.

<sup>145</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.19 (20 February 1973): 2614.

Hashmi, Mirza Abdul Latif, Ziaullah and Qari Mugees-ud-Din. The baton-charge was used to disperse the meeting of the Jamiyt. The shelter was provided to the police in the office of the principal of the college during the quarrel.<sup>146</sup>

The government of the Punjab used the government machinery including police, the college office and the principal of the college to torture the students of the Islamic Jamiat Tulba Pakistan and other leaders of the opposition. The PPP's government encouraged and supported its workers and members to harass and demoralize the leaders of the opposition at all levels.

Haji Muhammad Saifullah Khan presented the adjournment motion on the floor of the house quoting daily *Nawa-i-Waqt*, criticizing the government for its immense support to its workers and supporters target and torture the opposition. According to the daily *Nawa-i-Waqt*, the political workers of the ruling party, the PPP attacked with the sticks and knives the elective session of the Islamic Jamiyat Tulba Pakistan in the Government Islamia College Civil Lines Lahore. The fires were opened on the unarmed and peaceful workers of IJT for ten minutes by the perpetrators of the PPP.<sup>147</sup>

### **Murder of Abdur Razaq**

Raja Muhammad Afzal brought the adjournment motion in the house that according to the press conference by the Tahreek-i-Istaqlal on 14 March 1973, some unknown people shot Mr. Abdur Razaq Bhatti, who was the joint secretary of the Tahreek-i-Istaqlal students Sargodha branch. It was reported that late Abdur Razaq's parents received grave threats by the provincial ministers. They were asked to stop their son from taking part in the political activities against the ruling party, the PPP. In case of non-compliance, their son would be killed. Besides this, the president of the

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<sup>146</sup> PAPP, vol.03 No.41 (05 April 1973): 5440.

<sup>147</sup> PAPP, vol.03 No.45 (11 April 1973): 5818.

students of Tahreek Istqlal, Mr. Tariq Mirza was also threatened by the government of the Punjab in the same way.<sup>148</sup>

### **Baton-Charge on Public Meetings**

Mian Manzoor Ahmed Mohal brought the motion in the house that ex-Governor and the Chief Minister of the Punjab province, Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar had to address the masses in the public meeting in his constituency at Tajpura Lahore in 1975.<sup>149</sup> Khar had excluded himself from the PPP and joined Muslim League.<sup>150</sup> He decided to contest elections in the constituency No.6 of Lahore against Sher Muhammad Bhatti, the candidate of the PPP.<sup>151</sup> Khar was on election campaign and delivered his speech to the peaceful gathering of the people. Suddenly, the on-duty police started to baton-charge the people for taking part in that gathering. Earlier, everything was fine. But after some time, the police started to disperse the people. For that purpose, the police also used tear gas extensively. The police also opened fire on the innocent masses to disperse the meeting. In this brutal action of the police on the part of the governing party in the Punjab, almost twenty people died, and many more were severely injured.<sup>152</sup> This action of brutality shows clearly that the government of the PPP was not ready at all to allow the opposition to take part in political activities. The government was so much autocratic and dictatorial that it did not care for basic human and democratic rights of the masses. Basic democratic right of freedom of expression was usurped by the government from the people. Only the political leaders who were the part of the government were allowed to take part in the political activities of the Punjab province.

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<sup>148</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.40 (04 April 1973): 5311.

<sup>149</sup> Rashid, Muhammad, Shiekh. *Johd-e-Musalsal*. Lahore: Jamhori Publications, 2011, p 150.

<sup>150</sup> Dogar, Rafiq. *Siyasi Mulaqaten*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1992, p 150.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, p 152.

<sup>152</sup> PAPD, vol.16 No.01 (15 November 1975): 38.

## **Address of Government Official to a Public Meeting**

Haji Muhammad Saifullah Khan brought the adjournment motion in the house referring to the picture a DSP, Khan Taj Muhammad Khan delivering a speech in favor of PPP, to the public meeting of PPP in Jhang, published in the daily *Waffaq* of March 19, 1973. The finance minister refuted the statement by explaining that the Governor of the Punjab went to Jhang to sort out the problems of the people as their buffaloes' theft had increased. The people did not trust the police; therefore, the Governor of the Punjab ordered the DSP to deliver a speech to regain the trust of the people on police. But Haji Saifullah denied that and the actual position was brought to the light that the meeting was purely organized by the workers of the ruling party, the PPP where an official of the government entered the politics. Mr. Speaker did not accept this motion for the discussion by saying, "It falls as it does not get the required number of votes."<sup>153</sup> This shows that the government allowed the public servants for its favor in the political activities. The involvement of public servants in the political activities, provide them with an opportunity to promote corruption in the country.

## **Uproar in the Meeting of the Tehreek-i-Istaqlal**

Sardar Amjad Hamid Khan Dasti brought the adjournment motion in the house referring to the daily *Nawa-i-Waqt*. According to *Nawa-i-Waqt*, the Tehreek-i-Istaqlal had arranged the meetings of its workers at Liaquat Pur on 14 March 1973, where Air Marshal Asghar Khan addressed to the supporters of the Tehreek. During the meeting, many attempts had been made to create disturbance and disperse the meeting of Tehreek Istaqal at different places by the political workers of the ruling party. However, with the help of meeting-administration and audience the situation was under control. After attending the meeting at Khan Bela, Asghar Khan left for another meeting at Liaquat

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<sup>153</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.43 (19 April 1973): 5669.

Pur. The stones were thrown on his caravan of cars. The police were present on the occasion but did not take any action against the rioters.<sup>154</sup> The silence of the police clearly shows that the government had ordered the police to give protection to the perpetrators and political workers of the ruling party.

Syed Tabish Alwari presented the adjournment motion that the government had imposed ban to publish Asgar Khan's press conference. The delegation of the Tehreek-i-Istaqlal met with the members of the Punjab Assembly on April 03, 1973 and informed them that the Chairman of the Tehreek, Asghar Khan had given an important statement about the national issue which was not published in any newspaper of Lahore. The government had warned and forbade all the newspapers and journalists to publish his statement. The government threatened them if any word of Asghar Khan's press conference was published by the press, the severe action would be taken under the Defense of Pakistan Rules.<sup>155</sup> Responding to that press conference, Sardar Sagheer Ahmed, an elected MPA on the ticket of PPP, brought the motion against Asghar Khan and put many allegations on him. These allegations included the use of abusive language against the President of the country and the chairman of the PPP, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. He further alleged that his speech was a great threat to the existence of the country. He also declared the purpose of illegal tactics on the part of the opposition was to create the hurdles to stop the smooth functioning of the democracy in Pakistan.<sup>156</sup> This shows that the government tried to stop the opposition from taking part in the political activities in every possible manner. This issue also highlights that the government had controlled over the media and nothing against the government was allowed to publish.

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<sup>154</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.41 (05 April 1973): 5442-45.

<sup>155</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.51 (27 April 1973): 6729.

<sup>156</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.52 (30 April 1973): 6826.



## **Arrest of Syed Muhammad Afzal**

Allama Rahmatullah Arshad brought the adjournment motion on the floor of the house that the ex-Ameer Jamat-i-Islami Syed Muhammad Afzal was arrested by the Mailsi police and his house was searched on April 03, 1973 but the police could not find any objectionable commodity or thing. Despite this cruelty, Syed Afzal was taken into the police custody. The police and the government of the Punjab did not give any information about his arrest.<sup>157</sup> The police on the encouragement on the part of the government made illegal and unlawful arrests of the leaders of the opposition in the Punjab province. Further, the government was not ready to tell the charges for which the leaders of the opposition were arrested. It shows that it was purely political victimization of the leaders of the opposition by the government of the Punjab.

## **Misbehave of Imtiaz Malik**

Imtiaz Malik was a Junior Clerk in the Education Department Rahimyar Khan who was much notorious for corruption. The stories of his corruption echoed on the floor of the PAP. He was backed up and encouraged by the government of the Punjab. Haji Saifullah Khan, the honorable MPA, during the discussion on mini-budget mentioned the performance of District Inspector Schools Rahimyar Khan. He also discussed the reported corruption of Imtiaz Malik on June 08, 1973. The Minister for Education, Dr. Abdul Khaliq assured the house that an enquiry would be initiated against Mr. Imtiaz Malik. When the news about the inquiry was published, Imtiaz Malik abused the honorable MPA, particularly the members of the opposition parties in the office of Director Educations Lahore. He openly threatened one of the members that he would teach him an unprecedented lesson. On June 13, 1973, he gave an objectionable political statement in the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. As he was a government

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<sup>157</sup> PAPD, vol.03 No.52 (30 April 1973): 6855.

official, he had no right to speak in the provincial Assembly. He also leveled charges on the members of the opposition that they wanted to misuse the Assembly to victimize him. The government servant has no right to discuss individual and collective characters of the honorable members of the PAP. All that done because he was favored and used by the PPP against the opposition to crush it. Although, the Minister for Education ordered for an inquiry against him but after the report of the incident in the newspapers, Intiaz Malik was promoted as a senior clerk by the concerned department. The inquiry officer reached Rahimyar Khan to inquire from him, but when he was in Lahore and was not called for inquiry. The government dismissed him from the service but actually he was not. After that he was also declared medically unfit for the job. He never discontinued his services. His dismissal was a fraud on the part of the government of the Punjab.<sup>158</sup>

### **Seize the office of Jamat-i-Islami**

Almost 200 perpetrators of the PPP under the patronage of Chairmen PPP Gujrat seized the office of the Jamat-i-Islami in Gujrat. The slogans had been raised against peer Pagara and the leaders of the Jamat-i-Islami for two hours. The political workers of the PPP opened the bullets in the air and all that was done in the presence of Magistrate and the police.<sup>159</sup> This attitude on the part of the Government of the Punjab indicates that the PPP had given free hand to his perpetrators to tease the members of the opposition in the Punjab.

### **Arrest of Mian Zahid Sarfaraz**

Mian Khurshid Anwar moved the privilege motion in the house that according to *Nawa-i-Waqt* of June 04, 1973 that a popular leader of the Muslim League, Mian

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<sup>158</sup> PAPD, vol.04 No.09 (14 June 1973): 776-81.

<sup>159</sup> PAPD, vol.04 No.11 (18 June 1973): 965.

Zahid Sarfraz was arrested on June 03 at his residence by the Multan Police. The speaker of the Assembly said in house, “I entertain it. Those in favor of the leave being granted to please rise in their seats. The count was taken... It does not get the required number of votes, leave is refused.”<sup>160</sup>

### **Union Council Chanpur Seized by the PPP’s Perpetrators**

On June 2, 2019 some persons pretending themselves to be the political workers of the PPP intruded in the office of Union Council Chanpur Tehsil Liaquat Pur and established an office of the PPP. They also hoisted the flag of the PPP at the building. That building belonged to the Government commodity and was constructed by the government funds. This event proves that the government of the Punjab had formed armed groups to create harassment and panic among the leaders of the opposition and the general public. The way the building of Union Council was occupied clearly shows that no one can be so daring and courageous until or unless he has some support of the government of the Punjab.<sup>161</sup>

### **Misuse of the section 144**

The misuse of section 144 can be seen at some other place. According to daily *Siyasat* of March 20, 1974 that a meeting of Mazdoor Kisan Party was held indoor at Wan Bhachran in the Tehsil of Mianwali the government of the Punjab misused section 144. The workers were lathi-charged and more that forty workers were arrested. This act of brutality by the government had a sole purpose to crush the opposition. Here once again the Chief Minister told a lie on the floor of the house that the meeting was not indoors. It was in the form of a procession and the police was right to lathi charge the violators of the law.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> PAPD, vol.04 No.03 (06 June 1973): 237.

<sup>161</sup> PAPD, vol.04 No.03 (06 June 1973): 239.

<sup>162</sup> PAPD, vol.10 No.02 (03 April 1974): 182.

Syed Tabish Alwari presented the motion in the house that according to *Nawa-i-Waqt* of March 18, 1974, the police maltreated and humiliated the arrested political workers of the Mazdoor Kisan Party at police station Mandooki, Mianwali. They were tortured badly. Their moustaches, beards and heads' hairs were cut. The workers of the party were taken into the custody under the section 144 from Musa Khel police station. Many political leaders gave the statements against that cruel action of the government of the Punjab, but Chief Minister denied that on the floor of the house.<sup>163</sup>

### **Abduction of Abdusalam Shaami**

Allama Rehmatullah Arshad brought the motion that Abdusalam Shaami, the political worker of Jamat-i-Islami was arrested by Peoples Guard under the supervision of chairman People's Party Multan, Syed Munir Hussain and was taken to an unknown place. When all the police stations Multan were contacted, it came to know that he was not present in any of them. Whereas the finance minister said that a FIR 356 under section 16 of West Pakistan maintenance of Public Order was registered against him in Purani Kotwali Multan. He was arrested on July 08, 1973 and was handed over by the court to the police remand till 16 July. He was not killed.<sup>164</sup>

### **Arrest of Mr. Ghafoor Sohail**

According to daily *Jamhoor* of 11 September 1973, the police raided the chairman of the coordinating committee Multan of Tehreek-i-Istaqlal Mr. Ghafoor Sohail's house on 28 August, but he was not at his home. The police beat his wife and mother mercilessly. The inspector took his old mother to the police station. The Chief Minister declared it an allegation, but the news was published in all the newspapers.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> PAPD, vol.10 No.05 (08 April 1974): 495.

<sup>164</sup> PAPD, vol.04 No.25 (10 July 1973): 2264.

<sup>165</sup> PAPD, vol.05 No.04 (25 September 1973): 221-24.

According to daily *Jamhoor* of 02 September 1973, Mr. Sohail was put into jail according to Ghunda Act. His mother, wife and sister were tortured in the police station. His 60-year-old mother was dragged by her hairs.<sup>166</sup>

### **Use of Press Against the Opposition**

According to *Nawa-i-Waqt* of 18 September 1973, the information department Layalpur sent the speech of Faiz-ul-Hasan the president of the allied party, Jamiyat Ulama-i-Pakistan as a hand out to various newspaper on September 08,1973. While political statements of information minister, Mr. Mumtaz Ahmed Kahlu and the other of the office bearers against Shah Ahmed Noorani and other leaders were provided to the newspapers officially by the information department Bahawalpur.<sup>167</sup>

### **Killing of Abdurahman**

Chaudhry Amanullah Luck presented the motion that on April 30, 1974 a labor leader Abdurrahman was killed in Gulab Devi hospital. At this cruelty of the government, all the labourers of the Punjab got infuriated. Factories remained closed for many days. Laborers put the secretariat under siege. Industrial peace was ended. Laborers had firm faith that government aided in the killing of Abdurrahman.<sup>168</sup>

Raja Muhammad Afzal moved the motion that many political leaders of the Muslim League Pagaro group and a student leader Javed Anjum were arrested by the Multan police.<sup>169</sup> The arrest of the president of the Muslim League was made when he gave statements against the policies of the government. The government wanted to eradicate the oppositions in the Punjab province.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> PAPD, vol.05 No.06 (28 September 1973): 444.

<sup>167</sup> PAPD, vol.05 No.10 (03 October 1973): 864.

<sup>168</sup> PAPD, vol.11 No.10 (04 June 1974): 1292.

<sup>169</sup> *Daily Wafaq*, July 06, 1976.

<sup>170</sup> PAPD, vol.18 No.28 (08 July 1976): 2346.

Chaudhry Amanullah Luck brought the motion in the house that he received a telegraph that spoke about the chaos in Multan caused by the arrest of eleven members of Jamat-i-Islami by the Multan police on the midnight of November 04, 1976. They were hand-cuffed that was totally against the prevailing law as there were no charges against them. They were violently compelled to sign on blank papers. Those workers of the Jamat-i-Islami were working on an advertisement campaign in Multan. They were assigned the task of gluing the advertising leaflets. The advertisements demanded the imposition of *Sharia* from the government. There was no objectionable material on the advertisements. The government had snubbed the basic rights of the citizens which had been given by the Constitution of 1973. The police administration tortured the people of Multan without any reason.<sup>171</sup>

From the above-mentioned incidents, it is crystal clear that the government of the time was following the Machiavellian doctrine to preserve its rule. The government left no stone unturned to curb and crush the opposition. The government tried and used every possible tactic and tool to threat, torture, harass, victimize and pressurize the leaders of the opposition. The government invited the public servants to take part in the political activities. The government used police and administrative machinery against the opposition mercilessly for confining and containing their political activities. The government strangled the democratic norms and values and promoted undemocratic and autocratic values and norms by not giving the due room and place to the leaders of the opposition. In this way, the government has also tried to suppress the voice of the people which is altogether undemocratic. To suppress the voice of the people, the government went too far to hesitate from killing someone. We find a lot of heart-rending incidents which undermine the government's claim of being democratic. The

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<sup>171</sup> PAPD, vol.19 No.16 (November 23, 1976): 1220.

government did not treat the opposition in a democratic way. Rather it set standards of undemocratic, autocratic and dictatorship.

## **Conclusion**

Summing the over-all arguments, it is crystal clear that the relationship between the government of the PPP and the opposition of the PAP never remained cordial during the 1972-77. The Pakistan People's Party ruled over the Punjab despotically. The government of the PPP victimized and tortured the opposition of the PAP, badly. The members of the opposition parties had to face difficulties to perform their constitutional duties in the premises of the Punjab. The government of the PPP arrested and registered the false cases against the honourable members of the opposition of the assembly. The government of the PPP arrested the political figures of different political parties in the Punjab without any reason and false cases were registered against them. The MPA's of the opposition parties were ignored by the treachery benches not only in the house but also in the social welfare programs and the funds were not given to them. They were harassed by the government's official and threatened to deter the criticism on the government policies in the Punjab. The ministers were involved in the killing of the opposition in the Punjab. The government of the PPP wanted to sweep away the opposition in the province. The democratic government of the ruling party left the legacy of undemocratic traditions in the politics of the Punjab.

The government of the Punjab politicized the government institutions for its vested interests and political motives. The ruthless use of the Police and other Administrative machinery against the leaders of the opposition is unprecedented in the entire history of Pakistan. In true democratic countries, no such activity is allowed as they have developed their institutions and the government can't even think of using them in its favour. In a way the government of that time played havoc with the country by corrupting the institutions of the country, just to gain political benefits over the opposition.

The government of the time was much biased towards the opposition and was not ready to give room to the opposition as the government was narrow-minded. The representatives of the people in the Punjab Assembly were humiliated and degraded by the government at all levels. The government tried to suppress the voice of the people who did not vote in the favour of the PPP in the general elections of 1970. The government did not show the behaviour of tolerance for the leaders of the opposition and for the people who were supporting the political leaders of the opposition. After arrest tactic to pressurize the leaders of the opposition, the government used threat policy to lessen the influence of the opposition in the Punjab Province. The government used administrative machinery to threat the members of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. The government appointed such DC's at the places where the government was weak, and the members of the opposition had been elected by the masses of the Punjab province in the general elections. The purpose behind the harassment of members of the PAP was to create such environment in which the opposition could not survive to be the true representative of the voice of the masses of the Punjab Province. The members of the opposition were harassed by the government of the Punjab by using various tools and tactics. Not only the opposition members were harassed by the government but also their relatives and friends were taken under the custody of the police and false cases were registered against them. This kind of political environment which was prevailing at that time cannot be seen in any democratic government of the world.

The election of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab had been conducted in 1977 and the PPP again secured majority in the house. The allegation of rigging in the elections had been charged by the opposition parties against the chairman of the PPP. The opposition launched the campaign against the People's Party which resulted the

imposition of the Martial Law and all the assemblies were broken. The first ever, in the history of Pakistan, elected Provincial Assembly of the Punjab could work for 329 days.

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## Appendix: 1

Party	Panjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan	W.Pakistan	E.Pakistan	Total
AL	0	0	0	0	0	288	288
PPP	113	28	3	0	144	0	8
PML (Gayyum)	6	5	10	3	24	0	24
PML Convention	14	4	1	0	21	1	22
JUI	2	0	4	2	8	0	8
MJUP	4	7	0	0	11	0	11
NAP( W)	0	0	13	8	21	1	22
JI	1	1	1	0	3	1	4
PML (council)	6	0	2	0	8	0	8
PDP	4	0	0	0	4	2	6
Others	1	1	0	2	4	1	5
IND	28	14	6	5	53	7	60
<b>Total</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>600</b>