SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, RELIGION, DEMOCRACY, AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN PAKISTAN

by

Imran Munir

M. A., Simon Fraser University, 2002

M.A., Punjab University, 1984

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the
School of Communication
Faculty of Communication, Art and Technology

© Imran Munir, 2011

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Summer 2011

APPROVAL

NAME   Imran Munir

DEGREE   PhD

TITLE OF DISSERTATION: Social Movements, Religion, Democracy, and
                              Political Communication in Pakistan

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

CHAIR: Dr. Robert Anderson, Professor

_____

Dr. Pat Howard, Associate Professor (Retired)
School of Communication

_____

Dr. Gary McCarron, Associate Professor
School of Communication

_____

Dr. Martin Laba, Associate Professor
School of Communication

_____

Dr. Sunera Thobani, Associate Professor
Women's and Gender Studies
University of British Columbia

_____

Dr. Roman Onufrijchuk, Senior Lecturer
School of Communication

DATE: June 9, 2011
                             _____

ii

STATEMENT OF
ETHICS APPROVAL

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained, for the research described in this work, either:

(a) Human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics,

or

(b) Advance approval of the animal care protocol from the University Animal Care Committee of Simon Fraser University;

or has conducted the research

(c) as a co-investigator, collaborator or research assistant in a research project approved in advance,

or

(d) as a member of a course approved in advance for minimal risk human research, by the Office of Research Ethics.

A copy of the approval letter has been filed at the Theses Office of the University Library at the time of submission of this thesis or project.

The original application for approval and letter of approval are filed with the relevant offices. Inquiries may be directed to those authorities.

Simon Fraser University Library
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, BC, Canada

Last update: Spring 2010

ABSTRACT

After gaining independence from Britain in 1947, for more than half of its history various authoritarian regimes and military dictatorships have ruled Pakistan. As military leaders needed civilian masks to legitimize their rule, Pakistan's parasitic landlords and religious elite stepped in to fill the vacuum, in the process gaining significant control over the socio-political discourse via Islamic ideology. Under this authoritarian arrangement, no dissent or freedom of expression is allowed, and every channel of communication is placed under tight state scrutiny. Similarly, activist pockets of resistance have also never faltered to oppose and challenge such forces and the status quo, significant among them being the media, lawyers, intellectuals, and pro-democracy elements. The first part of this dissertation examines the resistance, social movements, and struggle for democracy under authoritarian rule, and the role of state controlled broadcast media and the independent but severely chained print media in a historical perspective.

After the liberalization of private sector broadcasting and cable television in 2002, Pakistan saw a massive surge in digital technologies and new media. The second part examines the role of digital media in organizing collective action, and facilitating democratic struggles during General Musharraf's tenure. It investigates the role of new media platforms and digital technologies in the service of the largest social movement of lawyers, journalists, media, and civil society from March 2007 to October 2008, a period that saw the imposition of Emergency Rule, crackdown on media, assassination of Benazir Bhutto, and ultimately, fresh general elections that saw the ouster of Musharraf. Given the dire scarcity of academic enquiry into these areas in Pakistan's history, it is the intention of this dissertation to fill the vacuum.

Keywords: Social movements, ideology, Pakistan, democracy, resistance, media, politics, Islam, digital technologies, communication.

Subject Terms: Communication, Media Studies.

DEDICATION

This humble effort is inspired by, and dedicated to, all those in Pakistani media, and around the world, who have, and continue to uphold the principals of human rights, investigative journalism, and social activism in the face of authoritarian regimes, daunting oppression, marginalization, gender-biases, injustice, and personal risks and reprisals. It is my privilege to have been part of your unwavering struggle. I hope this dissertation in some small way will serve as a token of gratitude and appreciation of your courage.

It is my greatest hope that some day our son, Momin Imran, will also in his own way, play his part in upholding the spirit of fearlessness, and principals of courage.

I would like to say a special note of thanks and love to our feline family members, Bibi Jan and Louis Baba, for enriching my world. For years, you have sat by and looked on patiently as I wrote late into the night.

And yes, Mrs. Naz Imran, colleagues since 1986, this journey began with you on a Lahori summer day in 1992 in a newspaper office… neither of us knew then it would lead to this page in our lives

To many more…

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is my tremendous privilege to acknowledge Dr. Martin Laba for his exceptional kindness, guidance, and support throughout my years at SFU. His intellectual contribution to my doctoral work, sense of humour, and warm friendship always kept me on track. If it had not been for Dr. Laba's unwavering encouragement throughout the long years of my graduate work, I would probably not be at a stage to write this page today. And Danielle, your silent support and warmth never went unnoticed. Knowing you both has brought me and my family joy and happiness beyond measure.

I would like to thank Professor Dr. Pat Howard for her continuing support throughout the writing of this thesis. Dr. Howard's professionalism and intellectual guidance have served as a strong basis for the completion of my work at every stage. Words serve as mere tokens for the gratitude I shall always feel for Dr. Howard's unconditional help in revising my doctoral writing at every stage. I remain indebted to you for seeing me through some of the most difficult and challenging days in my academic life.

I have enjoyed all the time spent with Dr. Gary McCarron and Dr. Cathy. Your good wishes always played a huge part in encouraging me to pursue the academic path I chose.

Dr. Roman Onufrijchuk, knowing you is truly the bonus I received from SFU. Your place in my life, and memories of time spent with you, will always be very special. Working with you has been a joy. You are an exceptional and rare teacher. I learnt immensely from your wisdom, experience, sense of humour, and generosity of spirit. You taught me what compassion really means. In return, I can only offer a heartfelt, humble thanks.

A very special thanks is due to Dr. Manzur-ul-Haq Hashmi for his steadfast encouragement, affection, friendship, hospitality, and help in every way. You were always there for me, and taught me by example to believe in myself, come what may.

It is my pleasure to have known the following people during my years at SFU, all of whom became treasured friends: Dr. Mark Cote and Jennifer Pybus, Jackie Cote, Dr. Manisha and Heiko Decosas, Dr. Hari Sharma and Mrs. Shalini Sharma, Dr. Elahe Sohbat, Dr. Roger Howard, Dr. Paul Reynolds, Dr. Arthur-Martins Aginam, Dr. Fiona Jefferies and Pablo, Tamara Wojciechowska, Dr. Sabastian Touza and Dr. Greg de Peuter.

As well, I would like to thank Lucie Menkveld, Neena Shahani, Monique Cloutier, and Amy Soo at the School of Communication for always going out of their way to help, and assist me over the years. Also, the library staff at Belzberg Library, SFU Harbour Centre, who became a part of life for so many years, and in no small measure played their part with encouraging smiles, and greetings. A very big thanks to Janelle Pramberg, Jill Mandrake, and Daniel Jans.

Lastly, 'SFU 135', you have been a most trusted companion. I will miss you.

It is with great joy that I write this page at the end of a most fruitful, and productive journey. My years at SFU have been some of the most precious in my life. I shall remain indebted to all who gave of their unconditional friendship, support, and laughter. You have enriched my life forever with priceless memories. Wherever life takes me, I will carry this treasure with me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

MAP OF PAKISTAN

Source: http://www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/asia/pakistan/

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Sanoon likhan na dende kaghazan te
Jo chaante likh gaye maasan te
(*What they did not allow us to write on paper, their stripes imprinted on our flesh*)
Javed Jaidi 1985[1]

Pakistan is home to three ancient civilizations: the oldest being *Mehrgarh,*[2] which archaeologists have dated back to 7000 B.C.; the Indus Valley Civilization, a contemporary to the Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilizations; and the Gandhara civilization, a kingdom that lasted from 1000 B.C. to 1100 A.D. and gave birth to Buddhism and leading centres of learning.[3] After experiencing two hundred years of British rule as an integral part of colonial India, Pakistan emerged on the world map as an independent country on the 14th of August in 1947 divided into two parts, separated by sixteen hundred kilometres: West Pakistan, present day Pakistan, and East Pakistan, now Bangladesh. India gained its independence the next day.

---

[1] Punjabi couplet taken and translated by permission from an untitled, and unpublished poem by Javed Jaidi. '*They*' here refers to the Pakistani military establishment and its brutal public floggings, torture, and harassment of journalists during General Zia-ul-Haq's martial law regime. Javed Jaidi is a journalist, former colleague, and dear friend who was very actively involved in opposing Zia's dictatorship. The author is deeply grateful and indebted to the poet for his kind permission to reproduce his work.

[2] Mehrgarh is a Neolithic (7000-3200 BC) site on the Kachi plain of Baluchistan, Pakistan. It is one of the earliest sites in south Asia with evidence of farming (wheat and barley) and herding (cattle, sheep and goats). For details, see http://archaeology.about.com/od/mterms/g/mehrgarh.htm
[3] Taxila, located 26 km from Islamabad, was the main centre of Gandhara, and is over 3,000 years old. Taxila attracted Alexander the Great from Macedonia in 326 BC, with whom the influence of Greek culture came to this part of the world.

The creation of Pakistan was violent and complex. Twelve to fifteen million people were forcibly transferred between India and Pakistan amidst religious fury and a horrific bloodbath that caused the deaths of approximately two million Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. At least 75,000 women were raped.[4] Before the late nineteenth century, the concept of Hindu and Muslim identities did not exist, and several scholars consider communal violence to have been a product of colonialism. For example, Sudhir Kakar argues that to counter growing Indian nationalism, the British followed a divide and rule policy by strengthening Muslim communalism.[5] Another scholar, Kaushal Vepa, suggests that the containment of Soviet Russia was the main geopolitical reasoning behind Britain's support for creating a Muslim state, Pakistan, as a buffer between the Soviet Union and India. Afghanistan was considered too unreliable and already amenable to Soviet pressure. Pakistan has had vital importance for Western powers for the last two centuries, first, as a part of the "Great Game" between Britain and Czarist Russia to control the region and, second, as a client state of the West during the cold war.[6] The partition and subsequent horrific violence left permanent marks of mutual distrust and hatred between India and Pakistan.

Pakistan has a unique geographically strategic location with a border with Iran in the West, a 2,640 kilometers boundary with Afghanistan that runs deep into the north to Wakhan, a narrow strip extending Pakistan to Tajikistan, northeast to China, east to India, and south to the Arabian Sea. The importance of Pakistan's location became apparent in 1951, when Mohammad Mosaddeq's government in Iran nationalized its oil industry, and

---

[4] Ishtiaq Ahmed, "The 1947 Partition of India: A Paradigm for Pathological Politics in India and Pakistan," *Asian Ethnicity*, Vol. 3 No. 1, March 2002.

[5] Sudhir Kakar, *The Colors of Violence,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

[6] Vepa Kaushal, "Great Games," Op. ed., *Bharat Rakshak Monitor* **5**:2 (Sept.-Oct. 2002). Available online at www.bharat-rakshak.com/MONITOR/ISSUE5-2/index.htm

Western powers were unable to intervene directly in Iran because they lacked a strategic

base in the region. In 1952, a military alliance between the United States and Pakistan to

defend U.S. oil interests in the Middle East and block communist Russia was forged.[7]

After the agreement, U.S. military advisors were attached to the Pakistani armed forces to

train them for their role to help service and police the Gulf States. Under Pakistan's first

military dictator, General Ayub Khan (1958-69), U.S. spy planes used Pakistani bases to

fly over the Soviet Union. The famous American U-2 spy plane that was shot down by

the Soviets — pushing the two superpowers to the brink of war in the 1960s — was

flown from a Pakistani airbase in Peshawar. The second Pakistani dictator, General

Yahya Khan (1969-72), facilitated secret diplomacy between China and the United

States; the famous secret visit by Henry Kissinger to China from Pakistan was arranged

under Yahya Khan. Pakistan's third dictator, General Zia-ul Haq (1977-88), fought the

U.S. war in Afghanistan that brought 3.5 million Afghan refugees, the heroin trade, a

Kalashnikov culture, and extremism to Pakistan, while the fourth military dictator,

General Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008), facilitated the current U.S. war against terrorism.

When Musharraf toppled Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's government in a bloodless coup,

he was an international pariah. In his March 25, 2000 visit to Pakistan, President Bill

Clinton showed Musharraf a cold shoulder and avoided having a photo session with him.

However, the same Musharraf became a darling and most important partner in the war on

terror after the tragic 9/11/2001 events in the US. In New York, American businessmen

and investors hosted a luncheon at a swank restaurant for Musharraf with surprise visitors

— the King and Queen of Jordan, accompanied by former US President Bill Clinton in a

---

[7]Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule:The Origin of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defense,* New
    York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

warm gesture to the Pakistani leader.[8] The events of 9/11 again turned Pakistan's strategic location into a hot spot as the sole logistic supply route for US troops in Afghanistan. Pakistan's air and naval bases became operational facilities for US troops to conduct air raids in Afghanistan.

Soon after the terrible incidents of 11 September 2001, masterminded in Afghanistan, the world's focus shifted suddenly to Pakistan, precipitated by a surge of interest among Western scholars and media. Spurring this growing interest was Pakistan's close geographical proximity to Afghanistan and the country's role as the locale of the chief architects of the Taliban phenomenon. Moreover, Pakistan was one of only three countries that recognized the reclusive regime in Afghanistan.

Not surprisingly, this unprecedented desire to explore and explain the role of Pakistan as a frontline state and major ally in the U.S.-led global war on terrorism also stimulated investigative work and produced scores of accounts and scholarly analyses that explored Pakistan's history, its independence from the British Raj in 1947, the ensuing inherent political instability, the drift toward religious extremism and growth of vocal anti-Western religious parties, its access to nuclear weapons, the wars and confrontation with India over Kashmir, the regular military takeovers and imposition of martial law, the prospects for the future of democracy, and the country's role as chief source of nuclear proliferation and exporter of global jihad.[9]

---

[8]"Clinton, Abdullah Surprise Musharraf," *The Dawn*, September 19, 2006.
[9]Imran Munir, "From Independence to Fundamentalism: Pakistan's Search for Identity," *Critical Asian Studies*, 39:4, 2007, pp. 617–633.

The Pakistan army, which owns the country's largest enterprises, ranging from chemicals, textiles, leasing, banking, heavy engineering and mechanical complexes, airlines, media, food, petroleum and other industries, are all exempted from taxation. This huge business empire, including the largest fertilizer unit in Asia, cannot be subjected to any government audit or accountability despite being created from taxpayers' money.[10] Agenda setting for national "debate" on security, relations with neighbors, and foreign affairs is largely viewed by the government as the exclusive domain of the military establishment in Pakistan. Given such domination of the military and four martial law regimes spanning thirty-two years of the country's history, it is no mean achievement that the people of Pakistan repeatedly managed to force authoritative military dictatorships to retreat.

This dissertation seeks to understand the complex and diverse nature of Pakistani society, media, and activism in a historical context. With many cultures and ethnicities, it is hard to apply one framework to understand and explore a country with the world's sixth largest population. Therefore, to unmask and explain media, society, resistance, extremism, censorship, authoritarianism, religion, and social movements in Pakistan, I will use a multi-disciplinary approach and will discuss these theoretical frameworks in the opening chapter in some detail. Despite the massive surge and skyrocketing growth in media, there has been very limited research on Pakistani media. Although the Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA) issues an annual report, which maps and projects the growth and other technical and economic aspects of the telecom sector, there is a dearth of research on the relationship between technology and society.

---

[10]Dr Ayesha Siddiqa-Agha, "Army Welfare Trust: Vested Khaki Interests and Double Standards of Business Accountability," *The Friday Times*, December 14-20, 2001, p. 3.

In chapter two, the project to identify and analyze an Islamic Communication Model is discussed. It has proven less than fruitful inasmuch as its entire premise is based on a utopian notion of the *ummah* (community of believers) popular among hard line scholars and militant groups. The Social Movement approach and its wide scope and application in diverse backgrounds is examined, analyzing American and European models and application to studies of social movements in Iran and the Middle East. The Social Movement approach is a useful tool to map activism in the Muslim world in general and in Pakistan in particular. When Martin Luther King visited India in 1959, he came to study how a half naked man, by deploying nonviolence as a tool, could mobilize a social movement able to defeat the British imperialists. It was again the same tool that was deployed in South Africa by Nelson Mandela to end Apartheid.

Chapter two also examines discourse analysis and its relevance to analyzing the media and the nuclear debate in Pakistan. Communication is the most important tool of social movements in mobilizing resistance to oppression and asserting the right to social justice. In the face of a relative vacuum of scholarly discourse analyzing the media and social movements in Pakistan, this work seeks to stimulate much needed research, analysis, and debate.

I use secondary sources to investigate historical, cultural and religious factors relevant to the investigation of media and social movements in Pakistan. These include field research findings, reports from non-governmental organizations, reports and data from government ministries and archives, newspaper archives, and the Internet. In chapter one there is an analysis of the "Two Nation Theory" before and after the partition

of India. It reveals that religious parties and groups[11] are today the chief proponents of this theory, even though the religious parties before partition rejected the creation of Pakistan and called it *Kafiristan*, (Land of Infidels). People in India and Pakistan whose political interests rest on the rhetoric of the enemy image, security establishments and religious parties in both countries, sustain that division, or what Ishtiaq Ahmed calls the "pathological paradigm of difference."

Beside secondary sources, I will also use my interviews with several journalists and media managers belonging to various political and ideological groups and affiliations. These interviews were conducted in an informal way without using any recording device and on the condition that their identities would not be disclosed in order to ensure they could speak without any fear. My personal experience as a journalist working in Pakistan and inside knowledge of different newspapers helped me to dig deep and analyze the agenda-setting practices of the establishment. My informal discussion with former colleagues and friends, many now serving in senior positions, both in print and in television, provided a way to triangulate the different modes of research employed to uncover consistencies and contradictions. All these approaches helped me to understand the dynamic interplay between the forces protecting the status quo and the countervailing agents of change, and the persistent struggle to dominate and influence the contemporary political discourse in Pakistan. Although I have mentioned how the agenda setting of debate regarding 'the national interest' has been viewed as an exclusive domain of the security establishment and rightwing politicians and journalists, it is not within the

---

[11]There are Pakistani religious parties and groups who participate in electoral politics, and there are those who do not participate such as the *Sunni Tehrik*, the largest party, or the second largest party of *Tablighi Jamaat* who do not contest elections. However, some banned groups, because of their strong position, alliances, and influence do contest elections such as the *Lashker-e-Jhangvi*.

scope of this work to analyze praetorian domination over civilian and elected institutions in Pakistan nor the imbalance of civil military relations.

The discussion of the media in Pakistan works with a conceptual distinction between two broad categories of old media and new media. The old media include independent and state-run newspapers and state-owned broadcast media, both TV and radio. New media include private television, FM radio, the Internet, cell phones, and social media such as Facebook and You Tube.

The dissertation maps the origin and development of the old media in a historical context, on the one hand, their role in shaping or changing Pakistani society and, on the other hand, how control and censorship were applied by successive regimes to discourage and bar media and to "encourage" them to remain dormant and subservient.

Chapter three provides a historical perspective on "Pakistani Traditional Media, State Control, Censorship, and Resistance Prior to the Reign of Zia-ul-Haq." It traces the historical roots and emergence of the Muslim Press in India under colonial rule. It describes the various legislations imposing censorship, media control, and punishment and fines on the press from 1870 to 1947. The role of the Urdu press in the 1857 mutiny and the subsequent crackdown by the British administration on the Urdu press saw the closure of many newspapers and the first martyrdom of a Muslim journalist, the late editor, Maulana Mohammad Baqir, who was shot dead by British troops for openly siding with the rebels and denouncing colonial occupation in his writings. Another former editor of the same press was sentenced to three years in prison. Later, the Governor General imposed Act No. XV of 1857 to regulate the press; that Act barred possession of a printing press without obtaining a license from the government. Chapter

two maps key media developments and movements in the 19th and 20th centuries related to the Muslim press in the sub-continent. It also describes the emergence of the penny-press and the first mass circulation of newspapers. The chapter discusses various legislations and Acts to limit the freedom of the press and attempts to control the media, especially from 1930-1947 when the freedom struggle against the British was at its peak.

Chapter three also discusses the introduction of radio under British rule in India in the early 1920s, which became quite popular for news and entertainment programs. After partition, radio was set up in Pakistan, playing a significant role in the newly created country. Radio's role in helping to locate missing family members during the post-partition migration was significant and firmly established the importance of the medium during crises such as monsoon floods, when people turned to radio for the latest information. During the 1965 war with India, radio played a crucial role by boosting morale with live broadcasts of patriotic songs and programs. The chapter discusses how the once hugely popular medium was reduced to a mere mouthpiece for government propaganda and lost its credibility.

Chapter three analyzes the role of print media in the post-1947 independence era and successive government policies to muzzle the press through censorship, legislation, imposition of heavy fines, and reenactment of colonial laws that suppress press freedom. Within the first six years of its existence, Pakistani rulers banned more than thirty newspapers and fined more than fifty publications.

After struggling to survive under civilian rule, Pakistani media went through another challenge, the first military dictatorship of General Ayub Khan, which refused to recognize any independent role for the press and instead put the media under government

control. The papers of the largest media group, Progressive Papers Limited (PPL), were taken over by the government and placed under its control under the 1952 Security Act. The chapter discusses government tactics through legislation or otherwise to deny the press any freedom. After massive demonstrations and student revolt, Ayub Khan stepped down and was replaced by another dictator, General Yahya Khan, under whose regime the ideology of Pakistan was introduced. The chapter discusses the 1971 war with India, which saw Pakistan army atrocities and genocide of fellow Bengali countrymen, rape of hundreds of women, and finally its surrender to India in Dhaka, and the subsequent emergence of East Pakistan as the independent nation of Bangladesh. The role of the media during this tragedy is analyzed as it failed to provide adequate information on the happenings in East Pakistan. The Pakistani media did not report the army action against its own people, and just before the surrender, Radio Pakistan was claiming victory in the war. After the division of Pakistan in 1971, civilian rule was restored with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as the elected prime minister. The state of media under Bhutto's rule was marred by repressive measures, offering little respite. Although the civilian government was less harsh than the military governments, freedom of the press was not realized under Bhutto's rule.

Chapter four examines "Media, State Control, and Resistance: The Zia Regime and its Aftermath." The eleven years of martial law under General Zia-ul-Haq proved to be the darkest period for media in Pakistan's history. Journalists were jailed and publicly flogged. Many journalists were sacked and forced to go into exile as no newspaper was willing to offer them a job.[12] Newspapers were encouraged to hire right-wing journalists

---

[12]Discussion with a senior colleague who went to the Gulf after being fired from his job in a newspaper.

and staff. One of my fellow journalists recalls that despite the fact that the editor hired him, the management of the paper could not give him an appointment letter for two months as they considered him a leftist.[13]

Chapter four analyzes the emergence of Jihadi media in Pakistan under the Zia regime and its impact on political communication. The relationship of media and government under the civilian tenures of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif are also discussed. Amidst *fatwa's* (religious edicts) by the Islamists that a woman could not become a head of state in an Islamic country, Benazir Bhutto won the 1988 elections and became the first Muslim woman prime minister in the world. Bhutto allowed the government-controlled radio and television to provide coverage of the speeches and statements of the opposition in news bulletins and current affairs programs. The Urdu, English, and regional press grew as the introduction of computers and desktop publishing facilitated more coverage and better reporting of news. At the same time, the right-wing media and right-wing journalists launched a smear campaign against Benazir Bhutto and her husband.

Under Nawaz Sharif's civilian rule, many officials from intelligence agencies were planted in the media, while buying the loyalty of journalists became a widespread practice. The Sharif government arrested one editor on charges of drug smuggling and abducted another for courting Indian interests. Sharif asked the Jang group to sack sixteen journalists who were critical of his government. Sharif, who had served as the chief minister of Punjab under General Zia, manifested the authoritarian tendencies of his guru and did not allow any dissent within his party's ranks. Nawaz Sharif was also widely

---

[13]Discussion with a former colleague.

blamed for corrupting a crop of loyal journalists by awarding them residential and commercial plots and cars. In both his tenures as prime minister, he showed that he could be anything but a democrat.

Chapter four concludes with an account of a very strong resistance movement against the Zia regime, the Movement to Restore Democracy (MRD), which was initiated against the regime in 1983 by an alliance of several political parties. The MRD struggle is analyzed as a case study to map resistance, the role of the media, and activism under the brutal regime of Zia-ul-Haq. Very few details of the brutal suppression of this extremely important movement exist in either the academic literature or media archives. The media was simply barred from writing or mentioning the name of the MRD. The Zia regime sacked several journalists working for the state-controlled National Press Trust (NPT) and university professors who signed a petition calling for an end to military operations against MRD activists. All those who signed the petition were declared anti-state elements who wanted to disrupt the process of Islamization in the country. They were sacked, and no newspaper or university dared to hire them. They only returned to their jobs after Zia-ul Haq's death in a plane crash in August 1988.

Students of journalism are taught that they should produce an historical record of local, national, and international events. The mass media are expected to document developments in the cultural, political, and social dimensions of society and not to ignore problems. Credibility is essential to its capacity to give shape to and sway public opinion. The mass media is not merely a recorder of history, but can also play a significant role in the shape that history will, or can, take. In a Muslim society like Pakistan, the media has also faced the task of representing what became a sovereign state after 1947, while trying

to extricate it from its past as part of United India ruled by the British – all the while having to perform within the edicts of an Islamic ideology, government control, and citizens' expectation and need for a free press. This balancing act has not been easy, nor generally successful.

Media in Pakistan, even that which is not officially under state control, are bound by serious limitations, *vis a vis* religious, social and cultural biases, to sacrifice truth for the sake of acceptability. What is "acceptable" is defined by various power groups, be it the government, the clergy, the army or the media's own vested interests and instincts for survival. These constraints are numerous, while the crusaders for free speech and expression are few. Such is the dilemma facing the press in Pakistan, which has never managed to play its potential role – not only in terms of disseminating news, but most importantly in informing citizens and upholding the right of dissent and the importance of free and open debate of government policies. Governments in Pakistan have never been of a stable nature or stature, and thus the media has never been allowed to function as an independent institution. This in turn, to a large extent, has contributed to Pakistani media's submissive role even in matters of tremendous national importance. The results are obvious. The language, news structure and content must all comply in the end to the dictates of the state. The language, news placement, editorial policies must all in the end, even in the relatively progressive and daring publications, be subservient to the demands of the state and adhere strictly to the status quo. While critical pieces *do* appear in the press, they are allowed publication only to serve another purpose, to neutralize the government's iron fist image in the eyes of the national and international community and lend it a veneer of liberalism.

In Pakistan, it seems that absolute rule has merely been handed down from one set of rulers, the British, to another more permanent post-partition dictatorial system, the latter being all the more unacceptable and painful as it comes from its very own guardian angels. The impacts of the lack of democracy are not limited to undermining, distorting and manipulating the media. The impact is apparent in almost every aspect of social and cultural life. The stifling of free expression runs through the entire social fabric, only to be strengthened by twisted religious ideologies and experimentation. The media represent what exists in society at large. Not only is the reporting of and analysis of daily news distorted, but the media in Pakistan face the added burden of having been given the task to spread, uphold and promote Islam, in all its purity, among the masses. It is, in fact, an impossible juggling act, and once the social movements began to make use of the new media, it all began to fall apart. But that story must wait till chapter six.

Chapter five explores Zia-ul Haq's various Islamization and legislative measures to convert Pakistan into an Islamic state. These included several Sharia laws that were discriminatory against women and minorities, such as the Zina Hudood Ordinance, the Law of Evidence that regulated sexual conduct and declared a woman's testimony as equal to half that of a man's in the court of law, and according to which, if a women reported being raped, she was to be immediately arrested. She was required to present four witnesses of 'good repute' to the crime, otherwise she would be found guilty of extra-marital sex and faced the death sentence for committing adultery. In a famous 1983 case, a thirteen-year old blind girl servant, Safia Bibi, was raped by her employer and his son. The girl was found guilty as she could not identify her violators and could not produce four pious men who were witnesses to the crime, as required by the Sharia laws.

Similarly, the promulgation of the Blasphemy Law proved to be a tool of discrimination and victimization against religious minorities. The profound impact of these laws on Pakistani society will be discussed. The chapter also analyzes the impact of the Ministry of Education curricula to promote Islam at a very early level in elementary education.

Chapter six discusses the emergence of an organized social movement to resist the imposition of Zia's Islamization policies. It makes it clear that Zia's initiatives were contested as strong civil society organizations emerged to oppose the imposition of the Sharia laws. These included human rights and women's rights activists, lawyers' associations, independent media, journalists, writers, theatre groups, women's organizations, and other activist groups and individuals to oppose Zia's policies. This chapter reveals how no matter how brutal or harsh the authoritarian regime became, they could not suppress the resistance. Zia introduced harsh and discriminatory legislation and measures one after another, but civil society responded with organizations and oppositional measures to confront the regime. When Safia Bibi was raped, and the court sentenced her for not providing witnesses, the civil society and human rights organizations rallied to her defense and embarrassed the regime globally.

Chapter seven examines the use of new media in the communications, organizing, and planning of social movements and the potential of new media activists to survive and organize in the face of government crackdowns. On November 3, 2007, General Musharraf, blaming the judiciary and the media for the deteriorating law and order situation in the country, declared Emergency Rule and sacked sixty judges of the superior courts. Media outlets were unplugged, and their offices were sealed. As a result, a few anchors started staging their regular shows on the street, attracting large live audiences

and people who began raising slogans against the government during the show. Geo TV's program, *Capital Talk*, was staged on the Parade Ground, located in front of the parliament, which attracted a live audience of 10,000 people chanting slogans in favor of the media and the judiciary and cursing the government. Several hundred people recorded the proceedings of the live show on cell phones and then uploaded it to social networking sites to share the footage globally. Senior politicians, intellectuals, retired military and government officials, poets, and ordinary citizens flocked to these shows on the streets and footpaths to express their solidarity. When the government decided on a complete crackdown, Geo and ARY networks continued their transmission from Dubai Media City. Geo TV anchor, Hamid Mir, continued recording his program from a secret location. He told CNN "We go to a secret location where we have set up our satellite system. And then we transfer our recorded program to the Dubai office. From there it is aired all over the world. And I am also changing my sleeping place every night. I am not sleeping at my home." [14]

Noted academic and columnist Tariq Rehman commented:

> Personally, I feel that the press is good because a certain ethos of courage and candour has emerged. Young people see role models whose writings are held in esteem and feel that they have to follow the norms of behaviour laid down by them. This has not happened in academia. This has not happened in most other institutions which ought to be the keepers of the country's conscience. It has, for some, happened in the press. The price, however, is far too heavy. One would welcome a day when journalists do not get beaten up to keep the press alive. One shudders at the thought of what might happen to our society if the press finally surrenders - I hope it never happens. I end by saluting the heroes of the press - those who dare![15]

---

[14] CNN, March 27, 2008

[15] Tariq Rehman, <u>A dangerous profession</u>, April 4, 2001, The News, Islamabad.

In a country like Pakistan, technology has a double edge and double meaning. It is being used both by those engaged in the war on terror and also by ordinary people. Cell phones are being used to detonate bombs for terrorism and to nab criminals. The Taliban are trying to intercept the cellular communications of NATO and Pakistan Intelligence agencies. In the tribal area of South Waziristan, the first Pakistani Taliban Commander, Nek Mohammad, forced the Pakistan Army to sign a peace accord with him in 2004. He achieved international fame after signing the peace treaty and could not digest the fame and power. He started inviting the media and giving them long interviews and chatting with a few journalists. One day his satellite phone call was tracked, and within no time he was eliminated in a drone strike.

New media technologies are playing a significant role in world affairs and politics and as a tool for activist resistance to political oppression, victimization, and marginalization. However, new technologies do not operate on their own. While they have facilitated mobilization of resistance, it is the journalists, the lawyers, the human rights and democracy movement activists themselves who have figured out how to use them and prepared the way with their grassroots organizing. Pakistan's story illustrates this.

CHAPTER 2: SOCIAL MOVEMENT APPROACHES TO PRO-DEMOCRACY MOVEMENTS AND ISLAMIC ACTIVISM

The decade of the 1960s saw an unprecedented and unanticipated growth of social movements across the globe: the U.S. Civil Rights movement; student protests against nuclear arms; mobilization against the Vietnam War; President Sukarno's removal by right-wing student groups in Indonesia; the emergence of a New Left student organization and their anti-war campaign in Canada; unrest in Mexico where more than three hundred students and protestors were killed just before the Olympics in Mexico city's Tlateloco square; student mobilization in England against racist white rule in Rhodesia and the Vietnam war; student protests against the Vietnam war in Germany; the radicalization and mobilization of Arab youth against the Arab-Israel war of 1967 in many Middle Eastern countries; in Italy, the 'Hot Autumn' worker-student alliance and the year-long radical workers' strike; the Algerian struggle to win independence from French colonial rule; students' and workers' protests in France in 1968 that eventually forced President Charles De Gaulle to leave the Elysee Palace; and the students' and workers' protests that forced Pakistan's first military dictator, General Ayub Khan, to step down as president in 1968. These are a few examples that reveal the serious transformational nature of the civic activism and social mobilization of the1960s.

The American Perspective

The literature on social movements suggests that before the 1960s the study of social movements largely drew its theoretical base from the works of Karl Marx on

political economy and Emile Durkheim in sociology.[16] The very first line of *The Communist Manifesto* declaring that the "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle" informs us of Marx's perspective on social movements. Marx saw social movements as a reflection of class relations as determined by the structure of ownership of the means of production.

Durkheim's work influences many sub-fields of sociology such as theories of collective behavior and relative deprivation that suggest that people feel grievances and anomy, which leads to collective action that challenges the existing system. The decade of the 1960s exposed the limitations of social movement theory, on the one hand, but also opened the space for new claim-making practices such as feminist, environmental, and human rights activism.   Prominent scholars of social movements such as David A Snow, Sarah Anne Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi believe that no matter what were or were not the major consequences of the 1960s, one profound impact was that "it pushed open the doors to the streets wider than ever before as a major venue for the aggrieved citizens to press their claims."[17]

The early theories of social movements, which many label as structural grievance models or breakdown theory, argue that a social movement emerges as a result of malfunctioning of the society. Most scholars today view social movements as a regular part of politics and no longer take early theories seriously. Doug McAdam, who analyzed the works of earlier functionalist theorists such as Herbert Blumer, Neil Smelser, and Ted Robert Gurr, notes that these classical theorists share a similar causal model of social

[16]For details, see Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution*, Reading, UK: Addison-Wesley, 1978 and Della Porta Donatella and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction* (2nd edition), Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006.

[17]David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds., *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004, p. 4.

change and believe that structural strain is what produces the feeling of psychological anxiety which eventually leads to a general change in social norms.[18]

These classical models were seriously challenged by the work of American economist Mancur Olson, who asked why would individuals protest if they were rational beings. His work explores how groups are formed and how individuals as rational beings decide to join a collective action by calculating incentives for maximum benefits and low risk.[19] He theorizes that a rational individual does not join a social movement simply to satisfy his desires. Rather, it is a separate and 'selective' incentive that would stimulate a rational individual in a latent group to act in a group-oriented way. Olson's characterization of people as overly individualistic recognized that rational people could engage in protest. Olson's work, which was mainly interested in studying collective action by reference to the problematic relationship of individuals and groups, generated major discussion that eventually gave birth to "resource mobilization" theory.

A group of U.S. scholars known as the resource mobilization school observed that social movements are generally based on an organization, "and one prerequisite for any organization was a certain level of resources, especially money, to sustain it."[20] John McCarthy and Mayer Zald, among others, try to answer Olson's question regarding the rationality of an individual in joining a movement by adopting an individual-centered approach to the larger model that includes both macro and micro levels of analysis. This

---

[18]D. MacAdam, *The Classical Models of Social Movements Examined: Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982.

[19]Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action : Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. (Revised edition) Harvard University Press, 1965.

[20]See Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds, *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003, p. 11.

new 'resource mobilization' approach looks at how social movements utilize their different human, economic, cultural, and political resources.

Resource mobilization theory argues that the survival of a social movement is based on the strength and weakness of the social movement organization and its capacity to mobilize enough resources to sustain it. McCarthy and Zald identify five main components of resource mobilization. First, an analysis of the availability of resources, labor and money can lead to a good understanding of the movement's capacities. Second, some form of organization is required to manage the accumulated resources. Third, a clear acknowledgement of those individuals or organizations "from outside the collectivity which a social movement represents" who could be useful to the movement. Fourth, the application of a supply and demand model to track the flow of resources in and out of the specific social movement. And finally, sensitivity to costs and rewards is important to explain the relationship between an individual and the organizations' involvement in the activities of the movement.[21]

By placing formal organization at the epicenter of their analysis, McCarthy and Zald demonstrate that Social Movements Organizations (SMOs) perform like firms to collect resources, hire staff from various backgrounds, and sell their point of view to potential contributors: "SMOs often compete with one another for contribution; together they add up to a Social Movement Industry (SMI)."[22]

Some resource mobilization scholars incorporated environmental factors into their analysis, which led to Political Opportunity Structure (POS) theory, a political process

---

[21]John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, "Social Movement Organizations" in Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, (eds), *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003, p.171.

[22]Ibid., p.6.

approach that focuses on the political rather than civil society realms and perceives social

movements as a form of mass politics. The prospect of a movement achieving success is

discussed in terms of the 'opportunities' that are available. Goodwin and Jasper note that

the political process approach views social movements primarily as a political issue that

entails making demands of the state, asking for changes in laws and policies, and views

changes in the state as a most important opportunity for a movement.[23]

Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly explain this

model in their *Dynamics of Contention*.

> Historical work on the political process produced investigations of the
> forms of claim making that people use in real-life situations – what has
> come to be called "the repertoire of contention." For political-process
> theorists, repertoires represent the culturally encoded ways in which
> people interact in contentious politics. They are invariably narrower than
> all of the hypothetical forms they might use or those that others in
> different circumstances or periods of history employ. More recently,
> scholars reacting to the structuralism of these earlier studies have drawn
> on social-psychological and cultural perspectives, adding a fourth
> component to studies of social movements: how social actors frame their
> claims, their opponents and their identities. They have argued cogently
> that framing is not simply an expression of preexisting group claims but an
> active, creative, constitutive process.[24]

The political process approach argues the central role of the process over structure

in collective actions. Instead of an outcome of fixed circumstances, the political process

approach treats social and political struggle as a dynamic of interaction, adoption, and

intended and unintended consequences that are likely to shape the strategy of the

---

[23] Ibid., p. 12.

[24] Doug McAdam, Sidney G. Tarrow, Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention*, New York: Cambridge
University Press, 2001, p. 16.

movement over time. Rather than ask *why* does a movement become rebellious, it would ask *what is the process* by which a movement becomes rebellious.[25]

The political process approach proposes three main aspects to the study of social movement tactics: political environment, mobilization structure, and ideological frames. Speaking of Islamic movements, sociologist Mohammad M. Hafiz notes that "the interplay among political environment, mobilization structure, and ideological frames is the key to understand the strategic orientation of Islamic movements over time."[26]

Although the resource mobilization and political opportunity structure theory do not offer tools for understanding the origins and roles of popular movements, they *do* provide valuable analyses of organization, strategy, reasons for failure or success, availability of resources, networking, and the impact on political change.

The European Perspective

It was not until the 1970s, much later than in the U.S., that social movement theorists began to examine issues relating to women, sexual identities, the environment, etc. Unlike the U.S., where scholars were discussing organizations, strategies, and chances of success and failure, in Europe discussion focused on what prompted these non-class- based movements to surface. Western European scholars took a different view because of their different socio-historical and political contexts. Joe Foweraker, a leading U.S. scholar of social movements in Latin America, points out that in post-war Europe there was consensus among the social democrats to build welfare states, and strong corporatized labour movements emerged to play a significant role in economic and social

---

[25]Mohammad M. Hafiz, *Why Muslims Rebel: Repression and Resistance in Islamic World*, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, , 2003, p. 21.
[26]Ibid., p. 21.

policy making.[27] Whereas in the U.S., there has been no tradition of social democracy, a weak labor movement, and no corporatist tradition of linking trade unions to the state, the social movement debate among U.S. scholars lacked relevance and failed to reverberate with European scholars.[28]

The New Social Movements (NSMs) approach emerged from the work of three European scholars from France, Germany, and Italy: Alain Touraine, Claus Offe and Alberto Melucci, respectively.

The NSMs theorists argue that the failure of the democratic system in postmodern society to ensure individual freedom, equality and fraternity generates social movements. These scholars argue that democracies are degenerating into authoritarian, technocratic states that have bowed to market forces as a result of which state technocracies and market forces have assumed a dominant role. Workers no longer think of themselves as workers, rather only as consumers, and the old class of workers no longer thinks or acts as a class in the production process. Instead, people's main social role has become that of consumers, and in this role, they are manipulated entirely by the market. For Touraine, the state, the market, and the domain of communications and media are gradually diminishing the liberty of the individual. As the technologies of state control, mega-corporation economics, and mass media advance, the reduction of liberty gathers pace.[29]

---

[27]Joe Foweraker, *Theorizing Social Movements: Critical Studies on Latin America*, London: Pluto Press, 1995, p. 13.

[28] Alain Touraine, The Critique of Modernity, Oxford ; Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell 1995.

[29]For details see Pasuk Phongpaichit, *Theories of Social Movements and their Relevance for Thailand*. Paper for Social Movement in Thailand, for Thailand Research Fund's methi witchai awuso program. August 1999.

Noted social movement scholar June Nash suggests that to address the complexities of contemporary political and economic activism, a multiplex analysis is required.

> Thus emerged the New Social Movement field led by Alain Touraine, Ernesto Laclau, and Chantral Mouffe, and Alberto Melucci who incorporated cultural issues as central to the motivating logic of society. Their rejection of the base/superstructure dichotomy was presaged in the challenge made by feminist scholars who rejected Cartesian dichotomies of nature/culture and female/male that precluded agency and intellect in the feminine sphere and by the cultural studies spearheaded by Raymond Williams. By drawing attention to the ethnic, gender, and racial composition of movements that were suppressed by those that gave priority to class position, new social movement theorists opened the stage of history to many new actors.[30]

Despite the tremendous growth of research, analysis, and theorizing in the study of social movements, there is as yet no consensus among scholars about a definition of what constitutes a social movement. As Charles Tilly notes, there is no single definition and no single method for studying social movements.

> Let me make my own claim crystal clear. No one owns the term "social movement"; analysts, activists, and critics remain free to use the phrase as they want. But a distinctive way of pursuing public politics began to take shape in Western countries during the later eighteenth century, acquired wide spread recognition in Western Europe and North America by the early nineteenth century, consolidated into a durable ensemble of elements by the middle of the same century, altered more slowly and incrementally after that point, spread widely through the Western world, and came to be called a social movement. That political complex combined three elements: 1) campaigns of collective claims or target authorities; 2) an array of claim-making performances including special purpose associations, public meetings, media statements and demonstrations; 3) public representations of the cause's worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment. I am calling this historical complex a social movement.[31]

---

[30]June Nash, (ed.), *Social Movements: An Anthropological Reader*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005. p.10.
[31]Tilly, Charles, *Social Movements, 1768-2004*. Boulder, Colorado: Paradigm, 2004, p. 7.

For Tilly, a distinguished combination of campaign, repertoire, and WUNC (worthiness, unity, number, and commitment) displays is social movements. Despite the various definitions and perspectives, they all have one thing in common: a social movement is analyzed as a collective action that aims toward a specific change. Historical analysis reveals how the Quaker movement's anti-slavery mobilization between the 1770s and 1780s compelled many jurists in Britain and North America to deliver a ruling against the legality of slavery. To achieve this, anti-slavery activists employed many different innovative interventions such as a general boycott of sugar grown with slave labor. The anti-slavery activists convinced 300,000 families to participate in the boycott between 1791 and 1792.[32] Today activists use similar tactics with creative variations in struggles for social justice, such as boycotts and massive petitions for fair trade coffee, revealing lessons learned from the history of earlier social movements.[33]

Charles Tilly thinks that a historical narrative is required to understand social movements and explain why social movements incorporate crucial features, such as the disciplined street march and the employment of well financed professional staff, to distinguish them from ordinary politics. He argues that the rise and fall of social movements reflects the expansion and contraction of democratic opportunities.[34]

June Nash notes that during the last fifty years, the concept of global integration has introduced many changes to the notion of human rights, environmental conservation and justice, and autonomy grounded in pluricultural co-existence. During the same period

---

[32]For details, see Patricia Bradley, *Slavery, Propaganda, and the American Revolution*, Jackson, Mississippi: University Press of the Mississippi, 1998.
[33]June Nash, (ed)., *Social Movements: An Anthropological Reader*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005. p.10.
[34]Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768-2004,* Boulder, Colorado: Paradigm, 2004.

world population grew three fold, resulting in the depletion of unutilized resources and

territories. She observes that the locus of working class struggle in the workplace, which

emerged in the 19th century with industrial capitalism, has shifted. Today, shopping mall

boycotts, mass protests against the World Trade Organization (WTO), and highways

blocked by small-scale commodity producers of the Third World have become sites of

protests.[35]

Nash suggests that the single theme that unites the many social movements is the

growing autonomy sought by the participants:

> Women, ethnic minorities, semi-subsistence producers, wage workers,
> immigrants are in one way or another seeking a voice and space of their
> own. If the predominant theme in the twentieth century was to select a
> unifying model for action, predicated on dichotomized interests that
> minimized the expression of difference, the theme running through the
> social movements of the twenty-first century is the right of participants to
> be themselves. This enhances the plasticity of human responses to our
> social and physical environment, which was our unique advantage over
> other species at the dawn of civilization. This remains our best option for
> survival in a world of diminishing resources where we have become our
> own worst enemy.[36]

Many frameworks and approaches for analyzing social movements suggest that

no one of them is able to explain everything. Whereas each of these approaches may be

correct for explaining a particular movement, they tend either to draw attention to

specific types of social movements and consider them as universal or to narrow the

reader's focus to a single aspect of the phenomenon of social movements and ignore

others. Different lenses reveal diverse perspectives.

---

[35]June Nash, *Social Movements: An Anthropological Reader*, p.10.
[36]Ibid., p. 22.

Islamic Activism and Social Movements

After the Islamic Revolution in Iran and Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, both in 1979, activists began mobilizing support in many Muslim countries. Some of this activism assumed militant and violent dimensions that attracted scholars' attention. Social movement scholars David S. Meyer and Sidney Tarrow note:

> The rapid spread of contention across the globe and the increased capacity of citizens to mount it have been seen by some to portend a new and more chaotic era of global turbulence and by others to represent direct challenges to state sovereignty. This view is supported by the spread of such militant movements as Islamic fundamentalism transnationally from Iran to Afghanistan and to North Africa and by the more recent appearance of extremist groups like American militias and European naziskins.[37]

Pakistan presents a very complex and challenging scenario to map social activism, Islamic activism, various civil society campaigns and pro-democracy marches, demand for an Islamic state, terrorism and the 'war on terror' and the Talibanization of several parts of Pakistan, which forced several million people to live as what the international development agencies call Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in improvised camps. Given the lack of literature on social movements in Pakistan, I will discuss some of the recent scholarship on Islam and Islamic activism and social movements in other Muslim countries that share many similarities and some differences with Pakistan. For example, the conservative and violent Islamist mobilization in Pakistan has many aspects in common with the activism of Islamic militant groups in other countries.

Today, the majority of countries with large Muslim populations are living under authoritarian regimes and are experiencing growing pressure on the economic, social, and

---

[37]David S. Meyer and Sydney Tarrow, (eds.), *Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for A New Century*, Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998, p. 6.

political fronts. Operating under repressive undemocratic regimes, social movements in Muslim countries need to be analyzed carefully, acknowledging the constraints on modes of expression, the prospects and potential they offer for change, and the role of external global conditions.

After the successful Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979, Islam assumed significant importance in the West and the term 'political Islam' become popular. Edmund Burke believes it swept away not only a regime but also a view of the world. He argues that the Iranian Revolution smashed many Western scholars' hypothesis about how revolutions happen. They had assumed that those on the left, secular in ideology, carried out revolutions with the help of a mobilized peasantry and militant wings of a guerrilla movement. Contrary to such conceptions of revolution, the Iranian Revolution was a Shia Islamic and anti-Marxist movement. There was no contribution from the peasantry, and guerrilla groups played a very small role. In fact, the Iranian Revolution was an exclusively urban uprising that was achieved through large, peaceful demonstrations.

> Finally against those who argued that incumbent force can maintain control through a unified display of repressive force, Iran offers the example of a regime that deployed unprecedented repressive power and maintained its unity yet still lost. Social scientists are still working to salvage something from the wreckage of battered concepts in the wake of the Iranian revolution.[38]

Peter Beyer's influential work on religion and globalization discusses the importance of religion in a globalized and highly interconnected society. He argues that

---

[38]Edmund Burke, "Islam and Social Movements: Methodological Reflection" in Edmund Burke and Ira M. Lapidus (eds.), *Islam, Politics and Social Movement*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988, p. 32.

globalization's main effect is to destroy shared norms and systematically weaken the religious fabric of the Third World – a notion shared by many Muslim conservatives.[39]

Although religious assimilation with other civilizations is not allowed in Islam as it proposes one single ummah (community) under a single state, diversity of experiences has contributed to a very divided Islamic world, split into five large geographically and culturally distinct blocks: South Asia, Middle East, Malay, Central Asia, and Africa, not to mention the sizable Muslim minorities in many parts of the world. Without appearing on the radar of the Western media, unlike small groups of radicals, the majority of Muslims in these regions find inspiration to aspire to and even struggle for democracy, peaceful co-existence, and dialogue with other civilizations from the very same religion that inspires radicals to view nonbelievers as infidels who can be killed with impunity. A good understanding of religion and rethinking of Islamic activism are essential to understand today's complex Islamic world. Sadly, this crucial understanding is missing in the majority of Western accounts of Islam and Muslim societies. Sociologist Asef Bayat draws attention to this crucial void in the West and the reductionism in the understanding of the social movement theorists on the left, such as Alain Touraine and Alberto Melucci, who consider all religious or revivalist movements, especially Islamist, as regressive utopianism.[40] By contrast on the right, these movements are analyzed under the 'clash of civilization' model to illustrate their anti-modern character.

Asef Bayat, in criticizing Western scholars, notes that their 'Westocentric' orientation distorts their interpretations of activism in the global south. He draws the attention of Western scholars to Islamic activism and develops the concept of 'imagined

---

[39]For details, see Peter Beyer, *Religion and Globalization*, London: Sage, 1994.

[40]Asef Bayat, "Islamism and Social Movement Theory," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 26, (6), December 2005, pp. 891-908.

solidarities' to examine the process of solidarity formation and how activism emerges out of this process.

Jenny Pickerill, who studied Muslim activist mobilization in the European anti-war campaigns for two years, points out the shortcomings of Western frameworks to examine Muslim activism: "the NSM perspectives are inadequate to incorporate non-Western ideologies, or limited in aiding understanding of social movements in Muslim societies, where we are exploring anti-war activism in a European context."[41] Another challenge, she notes, is that many Muslim youth construct multiple identities such as Pakistani-British-Muslim thus further complicating empirical understanding of Muslim activism. Utilizing Bayat's notion of 'imagined solidarities', Pickerill acknowledges why Bayat is critical of the 'Westocentric' orientation of social movement theories, which are inadequate for understanding such diverse and worldwide movements.[42] Pickerill suggests an adequate analysis of religion, specifically Islam, within anti-war activism requires a focus on two key elements: first, a mapping of Muslim anti-war activists and associated groups; and second, an understanding of Muslim identity politics and its relation to political activism.[43]

---

[41]For details see, Jenny Pickerill, *New Social Movements, Coalitions, and Religion: Muslim Anti-war Activists in Britain*, London: Open University Press, 2006.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Due to the length of this chapter, I have not included other Muslim scholars who have also studied Muslim activism in Europe during the anti-war mobilization against the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan and Iran such as: Asad Abu Khalil, *Bin Laden, Islam and America's New "War on Terrorism*," New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002; P. Akhtar, "(Re)turn to Religion and Radical Islam" in T. Abbas, ed., *Muslim Britain: Communities Under Pressure*, London: Zed Books, 2005; Y. Hussain and P. Bagguley, "*Citizenship, Ethnicity and Identity: British Pakistanis After the 2001 'Riots",* Working paper, Department of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Leads, UK, 2003; S. Ismail, "Being Muslim: Islam, Islamism and Identity Politics." *Government and Opposition*, No. 39, 2004, pp. 614-631; N. Naber, "Muslim First, Arab Second: A Strategic Politics of Race and Gender," *The Muslim World*, No. 95, 2005, pp. 479-495; Tariq Ramadan, *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Many Muslim scholars such as Khalid Al-Hroub, Musa Shteiwi, Naomi Sakr, Karim H. Karim, Khalil Rinnawi, among others who study ethnic media in the Muslim diasporic communities in the West, suggest that electronic communication has allowed both conventional and virtual neighborhoods to become sites for identifying, evaluating, addressing, and sharing concerns and complaints, thereby creating 'imagined communities' and 'imagined solidarities'.

The term 'imagined solidarities' is taken from the seminal work of Benedict Anderson on nationalism. Anderson argues that nations should be seen as 'imagined communities' because a member of even the smallest nation will never know the majority of the other members of his or her nation.[44] Khalil Rinnawi's work on the transnational media's regionalization effects in the Arab world draws from Anderson's concept of imagined communities. Drawing from Anderson's argument that the novel and the newspaper were the two forms of activity that created the 'imagined community' of the European nation in the eighteenth century, Rinnawi notes that the Qur'an was the first unifying text for the imagined community of the Muslims. He observes that now new media is fostering a new nationalism, an imagined community that he calls 'McArabism'.[45]

Muslim scholar Mohammed M. Hafiz's work *Why Muslims Rebel*, although borrowed from Ted Robert Gurr's acclaimed work *Why Men Rebel*,[46] illustrates the importance of the broader question of whether theories about social movements developed in Western democratic settings can apply to non-Western settings or whether

---

[44]For further discussion, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, New York: Verso, 2001.
[45]Khalil Rinnawi. *Instant Nationalism: McArabism, al-Jazeera and Transnational Media in the Arab World*, New York: University Press of America, 2006. p. 7.
[46]Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Muslim rebels require different reasons to rebel than those that motivate non-Muslims.[47] Hafiz demonstrates that Western theoretical tools can be used in the study of Muslim societies, and his work on Algeria, Egypt, Afghanistan, India (Kashmir), Pakistan, Jordan, Philippines, Russia (Chechnya), Tajikistan, and Tunisia successfully validates his claim. He has used frame analysis to analyze radical Islamist ideologies that seek to justify killing of civilians; resource mobilization to study the organizational structure of radical Islamist groups; and political opportunity based on political exclusion and repression models to study Islamic activism in diverse contexts. Consequently, his analyses have brought Islamic activism to mainstream social movement theory.

Muslim scholar Asef Bayat's work on Iran's 'poor people's movements'[48] draws from the theoretical framework developed to study poor people's movements in the U.S. by Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward.[49] Bayat overcomes the deficiency in Piven and Cloward's models' application to the nature and level of poverty between the U.S. and Iran's poor by employing James Scott's influential work on Indonesian peasants,[50] another Muslim country, that suggests that poor peoples' real power lies in theft: the ability to press claim on public space and public resources like vacant land, sidewalks, electricity, and water pipelines. Instead of 'theft', he uses the term 'quiet encroachment', and by introducing the notion of a Passive Network to the Resource Mobilization

---

[47]Mohammad M. Hafiz, *Why Muslims Rebel: Repression and Resistance in Islamic World*, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2003.

[48]Asef Bayat, *Street Politics: Poor People's Movements in Iran*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

[49]Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1977.

[50]James Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasants: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1976.

approach, he makes a novel contribution to social movement theory in his study of Iran's poor people.

After the events of 9/11, there was a sudden surge in Western scholarship to examine Islam and Islamic activism in Muslim societies, and many scholars started to apply social movement frameworks to understand the contemporary Muslim world. With his colleagues from diverse backgrounds, Quintan Wiktorowicz produced a landmark study on Islamic activism by applying social movement approaches. His work covers many parts of the Islamic world and suggests that Islamic activism is mobilization of contention to support Muslim causes.[51]

Bayat's stress on the need for a reconceptulization of social activism has many merits inasmuch as Islamist leaders in the Muslim world frame their movement in mainly religious terms, using Islamic codes and concepts as well as resources. The understanding and significance of Islamic codes is crucial to examine Muslim activism.

The term 'social change' in the Islamic context is complicated and problematic. There is controversy regarding notions of progress and development, on the one hand, and debate over modernity and commitment to traditional values on the other. Desire to influence the course of action and outcomes is one driving force behind the competing ideologies and beliefs in the Muslim world. For Islamists, both moderates and extremists, social change means the 'Islamization of society'. This vision of social change is very different from secular notions of the ideal society and social change. Secular theorists argue that lack of secular and modern positions leads to the continuity of traditional and obsolete customs such as relations based on kinship and tribes, the subordinate status of

---

[51]Quintan Wiktorowicz, *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2004.

women and minorities, etc. These two competing views occupy the main stage and shape political discourse in debates about social change throughout the Muslim world.

In his recent work, Bayat addresses the issue of Islam's compatibility with democracy, saying that democracy has no particular relation with any religion. The real question is how it is practiced.[52] He suggests that the social struggles of students, women's organizations, youth, and intelligentsia along with other social movements can make Islam democratic. He notes that much has been said about political Islam, but very little is known about the social movements that aim to combine Islam and democracy. This new trend represents an endeavor to fuse Islam and religiosity with socio-political rights and liberties. Bayat provides details of those movements that are trying to combine Islam with struggle for democracy, mainly in Iran, thus paving the way for the eventual democratization of Islam.

I share Bayat's enthusiasm in general that social movements could bring Muslim societies into a democratic fold that may be altogether different from either a neo-liberal model or a social democratic model.[53] I am particularly excited for Pakistan where progressive social movements and civil society activism are gaining solid ground, forcing traditional powers bases to retreat.

Music and Social Movements

Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison's excellent work on music and social change explains the importance of music and how it speaks to emotions better than pictures or

---

[52]Asef Bayat, *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007. p. 7.
[53] David Held identifies nine models of democracy by distinguishing four classical and five contemporary models. For details please see David Held, *Model of Democracy*, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998.

words and serves as an instrument to rouse people.[54] They point out that historians frequently mention the importance of Tom Paine's pamphlets to the American Revolution, too often overlooking his reworking of popular folk tunes. As one cannot tell the story of the South African people's struggle against Apartheid without discussing the paramount role of music, similarly music plays a key role in mass mobilization practices in Pakistan.[55] Horse dances, drums, and songs are an integral part of agitation and protest rallies in Pakistan. Islamists also use singing in their rallies – *Sunni* Muslims sing *naat*, a poetic form that praises Prophet Mohammad. These *naats* make use of melodies from hit songs in Indian and Pakistani films. At *Barelvi* Muslim (believes in shrines and sufi order) gatherings, besides *naat*, *durood,* a collective recitation to praise and pray for Prophet Mohammad is also performed.[56] Several folk songs from the days of mobilization against the British Empire during the colonial period are regularly performed during various blockades and protest rallies in contemporary South Asia. The famous Punjabi song "*mera rang dey basanti chola maiy*" (*Oh, mother please dye my yellow dress to A red*) was recited by the most influential Marxist freedom fighter and martyr in India, Bhagat Singh, and his colleagues during their court hearing under British rule. Bhagat Singh and others were still singing this song when they were executed by the British in March 1931.

---

[54]Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamieson, *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

[55]See *Amandla*! directed by Lee Hirsch, Artisan Home Entertainment, 2003, an excellent documentary film highlighting the significance of music in the movement against Apartheid in South Africa.

[56] *Barelvi* is a movement of Sunni Islam that originated in India before the separation. The Barelvi movement was started in 1880 to defend traditionalist Islamic beliefs and practices from the criticisms of reformist movements. It sought to preserve many traditional practices and rites associated with popular Sufism. The movement was originally influenced by the writings of Ahmed Raza Khan Barelvi (1856–1921).

William G. Roy studied the use of music by the American old left of the 1930s and 1940s and the civil rights movement of the 1960s, both of which used folk music in their campaigns. He notes that the old left used music as a weapon for propaganda, whereas in the civil rights movement, music was used as an instrument to build solidarity for collective action. Both movements had a major impact on the U.S. inasmuch as the old left eventually helped to unionize the major U.S. industrial sectors, while the civil rights movement caused the U.S. government to eliminate legalized racial segregation.[57]

The symbolic and heroic signification of great martyrs is strongly associated with contemporary South Asian resistance movements, and over a dozen Bollywood (India) and Lollywood (Pakistan) films have been produced during the last fifty years telling the stories of such resistance heroes. The most recent of these in India, entitled *Rang dey Basanti* (2006), besides being an unprecedented all time hit in South Asia, was also nominated as India's entry to the Oscar Academy's best foreign film category. However, no literature is available on the role of music in social movements and protests in South Asia. Eyerman and Jamison's work could be a good guide for developing frames for analysis of the various kinds of music used in marches and mobilization and their impact on people's involvement in various struggles.

Media and Social Movements

The role of media has also become a very significant part of analysis of the successes and failures of modern social movements. Todd Gitlin's influential work, *The Whole World is Watching*, analyzed how the mass media played a crucial role in shaping

---

[57]William G. Roy, *Reds, Whites, and Blues: Social Movements, Folk Music and Race in the United States*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010, p. 24.

public perception and opinion in specific social movements and its impact on the

successes and failures of a social movement.[58] He discusses how mass media downplayed

the demands of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the anti-war movement.

David Mayer and Sydney Tarrow no longer see activists and ordinary citizens as

passive consumers of media, but rather they claim that the expansion of the mass media

and citizens' capacity both to consume and participate has increased the speed of

contentious politics. They attribute three reasons for this:

> First, when ordinary citizens see others like themselves demonstrating on
> television, they learn how protest can be mounted and occasionally how
> they can succeed – demonstrations have a demonstration effect. Second,
> television focuses attention not on discrete issues that can divide viewers
> from those they see protesting on the screen but on visual images that
> diffuse information about the routine of the contentious politics, which can
> be used regardless of the content of the demands. Third, because television
> broadcasts attract viewers through visual images, social actors with a
> claim to make may learn to mount them through dramatic public
> performances that are more likely to attract the attention of the media than
> through less public forms of collective action.[59]

The significance of the role of media can be judged from citizens' response to

three massively rigged elections: Georgia in 2003, Ukraine in 2005, and Kyrgyzstan in

2005. Media played a major role in public mobilization that led to massive protests and

the eventual success of The Rose Revolution, The Orange Revolution, and The Tulip

Revolution in the three countries, respectively.[60]

Pakistan, the fifth largest nation in the world, has a diverse multi-ethnic and

---

[58]Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980. See also Todd Gitlin, "The Media in the Unmaking of the New Left" in Goodwin and Jasper, (eds.), *The Social Movements Reader*, Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2009.

[59]David S. Mayer and Sydney Tarrow, (eds.), *Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century*, Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998. p. 13.

[60]Katya Kalandadze and A. Mitchell Orenstein, "Electoral Protests and Democratization Beyond the Color Revolutions," *Comparative Political Studies*, November 2009, Vol. 42, No. 11, pp. 1403-1425.

multi-lingual population that has experienced considerable turmoil, military coups, authoritarian and democratic governments, repeated and extensive global interference, cold war intrigues, terrorism and the war on terrorism because of its role serving as a haven for terrorists as well as a very strong culture of resistance and a vibrant civil society and media. The largest peasant movement in the world, *Anjuman Mozareen Punjab* (Punjab Tennant Association) with more than a million members, has been sustaining its campaigns for social justice in Pakistan since 2000, while the 110,000-strong lawyers' sustained movement paralyzed the judicial system in Pakistan in 2007, bringing the number of pending cases in the superior courts to a figure of well over 250,000 cases. The international media and rights organizations have termed Pakistan's lawyers' movement the largest social movement in the world.

Sadly, the entire body of academic research and analysis of social movements is devoid of scholarly work on these movements in Pakistan, although these issues feature in local and global media. Utilizing insights derived from social movements literature examining civic activism and struggles elsewhere, the analysis of the Pakistani people's resistance to the dictatorial rule of former president Pervez Musharraf in this dissertation will contribute to filling this void.

The Islamic Communication Model

There is growing dissatisfaction and concern among Muslims all over the world that Western media do not treat them fairly and instead impose moral and ethical values without showing any understanding of Muslim cultural norms and traditions. Responding to these distortions, many Muslim scholars began to propose developing a Muslim media system based on the moral and ethical teachings of the Quran and the *sunnah* (teachings

of Prophet Mohammad) to present an Islamic perspective that would counter the 'biased'

Anglo-American media.[61]

Several Western scholars, including Denis McQuail and James Curran,

acknowledge the bias of Western media theory and its negative impact.[62] The following

excerpt from an article by Dr. Bouthaina Shabaan, a Damascas University academic, who

has also served as a cabinet minister in the Syrian government, reflects a common

perception of western democracy behind some of the anti-West feelings that are prevalent

in television and print media discourse in the contemporary Muslim world. She describes

"democracy in Arab eyes" in this way:

> The problem today is that our language, values and ideas have become a
> tool used by the other to speak for us and about the crimes it is committing
> against us in our countries, while we sit and watch our own news from the
> other's perspective and its coverage of our suffering through its racist lens.
> The danger here is for us to continue in this negative posture until we
> diminish and disappear altogether and leave behind the story written about
> us by the colonizer. Our stories will disappear under the flow of artistic,
> linguistic and political material produced by organizations fuming with
> hatred against Muslims and promoted as 'democratic' aiming at liberating
> people from backwardness and tyranny…Rising oppression of Muslims in
> Western countries and depriving them of freedoms, coupled with the
> tragedies caused by the 'democratic' Western invasion of Iraq and
> Afghanistan and what is happening today in Pakistan, represents only one
> aspect of the modern history of Western democracy that is characterized
> by its thirst for the blood of Muslims.[63]

---

[61]The *Sunnah*, are based on the life of Prophet Mohammad . The *Sunnah* also contain the *Ahadith*, (plural
   of *Hadith*) the sayings of the Prophet, or the Traditions in Islam. For further details see Gibb, H. R. *'The
   Shari'a.'* at: http://answering-islam.org.uk/Books/Gibb/sharia.htm

[62]For details see D. McQuail, "Some Reflections on the Western Bias of Media Theory," *Asian Journal of
   Communication*, Vol. 10, No. 2:1-13, 2000 and J. Curran, "Rethinking the Media as a Public Sphere" in
   P. Dahgren and C. Sparks, (eds.), *Communication and Citizenship*, London: Routledge, 1991.

[63]Bouthaina Shabaan, "Democracy in Arab Eyes," *Daily Asharq alawsat*, September 21, 2010. Bouthaina
   Shaaban is Political and Media Advisor at the Syrian Presidency and former Minister of Expatriates. She
   is a writer and has been a professor at Damascus University since 1985. She has a Ph.D. in English
   Literature from Warwick University in London and was a spokesperson for the Syrian government. She
   was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005.

Pakistani academics Saqib Riaz and Shahid Hussain are more strident.

> Today's world is the world of communication and there is no option but to concentrate on this aspect. One of the biggest reasons of isolation of *Ummah* is its backwardness in communication and media. It is the duty of Muslim countries to pay special attention to dismantle the evil dreams of non-Muslim powers especially the Jews. The false propaganda of anti-Islamic institutions like BBC and CNN should be replied with due courage. It is the need of the hour for the Islamic world to adopt such a strategy to negate the label of terrorism on Islam and to promote the real Islamic teachings of peace and welfare for all. If the rulers of Islamic countries, instead of obeying the western masters, struggle for the renaissance of *Ummah*, then a very big positive change could be brought in the world through mass communication. It is not possible to stay away from mass communication in this world because it is the biggest source of change in society. It is also the responsibility of Muslim media to follow Islamic concept of communication to portray the real image of Islam before the world.[64]

Within Islamist ideology, there is a dangerous trend of essentialism that blames the West for every ill in the Muslim world. This is one reason for the felt need to develop an Islamic media. This aspiration is not new. The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC)[65] established the first Islamic International News Agency (IINA) in 1972 in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia as a special organ of the OIC. IINA covers news about the Islamic world and Islamic affairs and distributes its stories to the Middle East, Asia, Europe, USA, and Africa in Arabic, English, and French. Similarly, the *Rabita al-Alam al-Islami*, (Muslim World League) organized an Islamic conference in Karachi, Pakistan in 1978 and decided to develop coordination among Muslim journalists to fight Western

---

[64]Saqib Riaz and Shahid Hussain, "Islamic Concept of Mass Communication," *Global Media Journal,* Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring 2009). Both authors teach at the Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad, Pakistan, the largest online university in the world in terms of enrollment. Besides teaching, Saqib Riaz is also a regular contributor to media and a media consultant for many organizations.

[65]Formed in September 1969 in Morocco, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) is an international organization with fifty-seven member states. It is the second largest inter-governmental organization after the United Nations. Following the first ever Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in 1970, a permanent secretariat was set up in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia with an aim to protect the economic, social, and political interests of the Muslim world.

domination of mass communication and its anti-Islam propaganda.[66] The conference

proposed organizing a gathering of Muslim journalists to chalk out strategies to introduce

and implement a Muslim media in the Islamic world.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), based in Saudi Arabia, and the

Government of Indonesia Ministry of Information jointly organized the First International

Conference of Muslim Journalists in Jakarta in September 1981. The conference

endorsed an agreement to implement an Islamic code of conduct in all forms of media. It

proposed developing a Muslim independent media system that would aim to consolidate

the faith of Muslims in Islamic values and ethical practices.

All these efforts and recommendations remained in the domain of conferences

and seminars in the 1980s as no Islamic country showed any desire to change the media.

However, after the first Gulf War in 1991, many Muslim governments and scholars

became convinced of the importance of having a media system that would project a

Muslim viewpoint. Scores of Muslim scholars, particularly those based in the West,

geared up to develop an Islamic Media theory. There are a number of Muslim scholars

who are engaged in this debate and trying to develop a Muslim media ethic and theory.[67]

Muslim scholar Khalid Baig draws from the writings of Mufti Muhammad Shah, the

grand *mufti* (Islamic jurist) of Pakistan, who wrote an article entitled *Adab-ul-Akhbar*

(The News Protocol) in 1950. Mufti Muhammad Shah's news protocol was drawn from

---

[66]Major religious scholars from twenty-two Muslim states founded the Muslim World League (MWL), the largest Islamic NGO, in 1962. The council has sixty members, two from each country, with an aim to facilitate the preaching of Islam around the world, upgrading the productivity of the mass media, education, Islamic culture, and bringing together scholars to find ways to promote Islam, the Arabic language, etc. For details, see the Muslim World League website: www.themwl.org

[67]For examples, see Mohammad Ali, "Journalistic Ethics and Responsibilities in Relation to Freedom of Expression: An Islamic Perspective" in Stephen J.A. Ward & Herman Wasserman (eds.), *Media Ethics Beyond Borders: A Global Perspective*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Heinemann, 2008 and Joel Thierstein and Yayha R. Kamallpour (eds.), *ReligiKhaon, Law, and Freedom: A Global Perspective*, Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2000.

the Quran and *hadith* literature. Pakistani Muslim scholar Khalid Baig argues that this was a rare effort to develop an Islamic framework for journalism in the new state of Pakistan.[68]

Baig notes that technology has a new way of forcing its social and cultural agenda, just like the air-hostesses that came with the aircraft and were allowed in the Muslim world without any question or resistance, the newspaper was also greeted by blind and willing followers.[69] He warns that without developing an Islamic News protocol, there would be no Islamic media.

However, the debate on Islamic media intensified when Islamic scholar Hamid Mowlana proposed an Islamic Communication Model that challenged not only Western models of communication but also Western society, suggesting that it is completely opposite to an Islamic State.[70] In his new communication paradigm, unlike the Western concept of a nation state, the Muslim state is a God-fearing state founded on the Quran, the *sunnah,* and the *sharia,* (Islamic laws) in which sovereignty belongs to God and not to the people or nation. He also stresses that the concept of the Muslim *ummah* (community of believers) is based on shared religious beliefs, and hence it is quite opposed to the Western understanding and meaning of community.

To provide some historical verification for his theorizing, Mowlana notes that Islamic philosophers such as Farabi (870-950), Ibn Sina or Avicenna (980-1037), and Ibn Rushd or Averroes (1126-1198) wrote works on *akhlaq* (character) that contributed

---

[68]Khalid Baig, a Pakistani based in the U.S., is a noted Muslim scholar who is editor of the Islamic journal *Albalagh* and *Islamopedia Online*, which provides *fatwas* (religious rulings) and other information on all aspects of Islam. http://www.islamopediaonline.org/scholar/khalid-baig

[69]Khalid Baig, "The News Protocol: Toward an Islamic Framework." Accessed at www.albalgh.net

[70]Hamid Mowlana, a respected U.S. scholar is also serving as Iranian President Ahmedinejad's special advisor on international affairs, particularly on the USA, since 2008. The Iranian government has also granted him multi-million dollar premises to run his Hamid Mowlana Foundation in the Iranian capital city of Tehran.

significantly to the knowledge of the Islamic system of ethics. He explains that Ibn

Khaldun (1332-1406), considered by many to be the father of the social sciences,

theorized about communication as a social institution that grew according to the needs of

the community. Social communication or *tabligh* (propagation) provided a vast number

of people from diverse races, languages, and histories with a common forum for

participation in a shared culture that was Islam.[71]

Mowlana sees the introduction of the secular nationalist framework, ethics, and

method of communication into Islamic countries under colonial rule as the cause of the

dualism and many contradictions that emerged in the Muslim world. He argues:

> A crisis of legitimacy has been created as a result of a conflict between the
> "official culture" of the ruling elites, which in many cases now represent
> and promote Western influences, and the "traditional Islamic Culture" of
> the masses, rooted in centuries of religio-political and socio-ethical
> experiences.[72]

Mowlana argues that the current movements in the Islamic world are simply a

continuation of pre-modernist movements that tried to resolve contradictions created by

exogenous forces. Mowlana's work on an Islamic Model of Communication triggered

considerable discussion and debate in the Muslim world.

Secular and left-wing Muslim scholars strongly criticized the Mowlana model for

essentialism and other flaws. For example, sociologist Gholam Khiabany, while

acknowledging that media theory desperately needs to renew itself and break out of the

geographical confines of the West, warns:

---

[71]Hamid Mowlana, "Professional Ethics and Sociopolitical Mobilization of Muslim Journalists: A Study of Communication, Ethics, and the Islamic Tradition" in Joel Thierstein and Yahya R. Kamlipour (eds), *Religion Law and Freedom: A Global Perspective,* Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000, p. 131.
[72]Ibid., p. 138.

> We must avoid simply inverting the modernization schools' false binary of
> tradition versus modernity, so that we over-value the 'traditional' and line
> up the commercial, rootless, banal and pre-packaged 'Western' products
> against the 'authentic', 'organic' and deeply rooted culture of the 'East'.[73]

I agree with Khiabany's argument that Islamists like Mowlana imagine a past that never was, a golden age that never existed, a pure and uniform Islam that could not be, and that this is a model of communication and society without a foundation inasmuch as it lacks the backing of any empirical evidence as there is not even any basic demographic data and analysis in his theory.[74] Islamists are nostalgic about living in the past and about the *ummah* as an imagined community. In Pakistan's socio-political discourse among the religious as well as right-wing popular political parties, the concept of *ummah* has assumed central stage. A senior Pakistani journalist notes that during Zia-ul Haq's dictatorship, a period of intense Islamization efforts, many Arab and other foreign Muslims were allowed to live in Pakistan and wage *jihad* against the Soviets without visas and work permits because of the Islamic concept of *ummah*, which does not acknowledge national state boundaries.[75] In a democratic political context, Mowlana's model could not be implemented in Pakistan, as there is no unified *ummah*. In fact, the many diverse nationalities, sub-nationalities and ethnic groups, tribes, and castes do not agree on any mutually agreed definition of Islam, much less the *ummah*.

A Pakistani secular syndicated columnist of the Urdu daily newspaper with the largest circulation noted that it is only Pakistanis who are caught up in the fever of an *ummah*.

---

[73]Gholam Khiabany, "Is There an Islamic Communication? *The Persistence of 'Tradition' and the Lure of Modernity*," *Critical Arts*, Vol. 21, No.1, 2007, p.107.

[74]Gholam Khiabany, "De-westernizing Media Theory, or Reverse Orientalism: 'Islamic Communication' as Theorized by Hamid Mowlana." *Media, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 2003, p.419.

[75]Interview with the Resident Editor of an Islamabad-based Urdu daily newspaper in June 2003.

Do oil rich gulf countries allow our people to get their citizenship after spending years and years there? Of course, the Arab Sheiks don't consider Pakistanis as an equal part of the *ummah*, rather they look upon them as *maskeen* (helpless poor). There is no such thing as an *ummah* in the real world.[76]

He further suggested that the Islamists exploit the concept of *ummah* to gain support among the masses by suggesting that embracing the notion of *ummah* will ensure an equal and just society for everyone. Noted Indian Islamic scholar and reformist, Asghar Ali Engineer, explains that the notion of the unity of the Islamic *ummah* has remained rhetoric for centuries, while Muslims have remained divided along sectarian lines for the last fourteen hundred years even though they believe in one God, one Prophet, and one Book. He notes that all our *muhaddithun* (those who narrate the Prophet's sayings) have narrated a *hadith* from the Prophet that my ummah will be divided into seventy-two sects and that only one sect will be *naji* (on the right path). He points out that already by the end of the second century, according to the *hijrah* (Muslim lunar calendar), Muslim scholar Baghdadi had written a book entitled *AlFarq Bayn al-Firaq* (Differences between Different Sects) that listed more than one hundred sects among Muslims of the time.[77]

Just five years after Independence, the Islamists and religious parties who had opposed the very creation of Pakistan started heated campaigns and debates about the *ummah* and who should be recognized as belonging to the Islamic community. They put forward a demand to declare the Ahmadia sect non-Muslim. This demand provoked widespread riots in the country. Following the sectarian riots of 1953 and the radical

---

[76] Interview conducted in December 2008 in Lahore.
[77] Asghar Ali Engineer, "Indian Muslims and Muslim Personal Law Board," *Secular Perspectives*. February, 2005. pp. 16-28.

Islamists' demand to declare the Ahmadia community 'non-Muslim', the then

government of Pakistan appointed Justice Mohammad Munir, who served as Chief

Justice of Pakistan from 1954-1960, to conduct a public inquiry into the unrest. His report

stated that the *ulema* (religious scholars) were not even able to agree on the definition of

who a 'Muslim' is, exposing the limitation and ambiguity of the concept of one religion

and one *ummah*. Justice Munir rightly asked, "What then is the Islamic State of which

everybody talks but nobody thinks?"[78]

Khiabany suggests that the Islamic theory of communication is actually an old

argument that revolves around the West and its 'other'.

> The new concern over 'Western' bias in media theory and the reaction
> against the lack of understanding of other cultures – their values, belief
> systems and communication models, however, is not a singular,
> homogeneous current. There exist a variety of different projects with
> different aims and concerns. Since 'culture' has become an essential
> category in trying to explain the post-1989 world in all areas of social
> sciences, including media studies, a new wave of essentialist thinking has
> emerged in which many who are trying to take issue with Eurocentrism,
> operate within an Orientalist worldview. One such reaction is the so-called
> Islamic theory of communication based on a narrow and essentialist
> conceptualization of 'authentic' culture. [79]

The major problem with the Islamic Communication Model is its failure to

recognize the diversity within different Muslim nation states and its failure to

acknowledge and analyze several layers of political, cultural, social, and historical

complexity. According to a Washington-based Pew Research Centre survey of Muslim

populations, only twenty percent of Muslims live in the Middle East, while, interestingly,

more Muslims live in China than Syria, and Russia has a bigger Muslim population than

---

[78]Justice Mohammad Munir's report on the 1953 sectarian riots in Pakistan can be accessed at:
www.thepersecution.org/dl/report_1953.pdf

[79]Gholam Khiabany, "Is There an Islamic Communication? The Persistence of 'Tradition' and the Lure of
Modernity," *Critical Arts*, Vol. 21, No.1, 2007, p. 107.

the Sultanate of Oman. India, which is home to the second largest Muslim population, shows an amazing diversity. Instead of all identifying themselves with Islam, there were twelve Muslim communities who professed to be Brahmins (the Hindu priestly and upper caste); twenty-four communities declared themselves as *Kshatriyas* (a Hindu warrior caste); six identified themselves as *Vaishyas* (the third Hindu caste made up of merchants and traders); and eleven Muslim communities viewed themselves as *Sudras* (the lowest caste who make their living serving the needs of the other three castes).[80]

The once uniform rituals and religious practices among members of the same sect of Muslims of United India changed after the partition in 1947. In India Muslims lived under a secular democracy, while in Pakistan they lived under harsh dictatorships and state-imposed religious doctrines and practices.[81] Although there is an ongoing debate over the construction of an Islamic Communication Model in the Muslim world, the prospects for implementation of the model are bleak. However, the theorizing and debates over the model are useful inasmuch as they provide a window into Islamists' perspectives and the political discourse that is fanning anti-Western, in particular anti-American, feelings among Muslims. However, in the context of an increasingly globalized and market-driven economy, the implementation of an Islamic Communication Model is a tough, if not impossible, task. Particularly in Pakistan where audiences have been consuming pervasive patriarchal, but modern, images of bikini-clad Bollywood actresses and have become attached to young westernized hosts of Pakistan's TV Channels, they will not easily settle for *burqa*-wearing anchors.

---

[80] For details, see *People of India*, Anthropological Survey of India, Ministry of Culture, Government of India, 2007.

[81] Asghar Ali Engineer, "Islam and Secularism" in Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Contemporary Islamic Thought*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006.

Discourse Analysis as a Tool of Investigation

Discourse analysis is a multi-disciplinary field being employed in almost every discipline of the social sciences and humanities. Although there is no consensus on a single definition, many scholars identify three key movements in the development of the theory of discourse analysis: structuralism; post-structuralism (some use post modernism); and critical discourse analysis. Communication also involves other significant medium such as architecture, photographs, gestures, dress, fashion, and dance, as they invite our attention to understand the connection between language and other such semiotic systems. The understanding of language as a system comes from the structuralist linguistic tradition established by Ferdinand de Saussure to study language as a sign system.[82]

The volatile economic and political activism of the 'swinging sixties' and the early 1970s saw a massive surge in social movements, and the major focus on the economy and labor as core issues started shifting. The new issues included sexuality, decolonialization, women's liberation, gay and lesbian liberation and rights, post-industrial identity, the environment, war and peace, etc. Thus emerged academic analysis of the New Social Movements (NSM). Scholars started paying attention to culture as a core entity to understand the motivating logic of society.

Jacob Torfing argues that the explosion of new social movements after May 1968 in Paris affected the Western world deeply, and scores of intellectuals started paying attention to discourse theory. He notes that the interest in discourse theory among left-

---

[82]Marianne Jørgensen and Louise J. Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002, p. 9.

wing intellectuals intensified further following the failure of welfare state capitalism in the wake of the oil crisis of the 1970s.[83]

Poststructuralist discourse analysis was mainly developed from the theoretical work of Antonio Gramsci, Mikhail Bakhtin, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Ernesto Laclau, and Chantal Mouffe. Poststructuralist theorists argue that discourse constructs the social world with no fixed and permanent meaning. Discourse never remains closed, but rather it evolves and changes through interaction with other discourses.[84]

Discourse analysis is a way of understanding social interactions, a way to look at the use of language in context. The main concern of discourse analysis is

> what speakers/writers do and not so much the formal relationship among sentences or propositions. Discourse analysis, then, has a social dimension, and for many analysts it is a method for studying how language gets "recruited 'on site' to enact specific social activities and social identities."[85]

Discourse is both a social process and a linguistic structure, and the two cannot be divided, although it is possible to highlight one aspect more than the other. We will focus on discourse as a social phenomena more than as a linguistic structure. Written and spoken texts are constrained by society, however, texts can create and construct not only knowledge but also the very reality that produces a tradition or discourse. In multilingual, heterogeneous societies, language ideologies are constantly constructed and re-constructed in discursive interactions at the micro and macro levels to promote the

---

[83]Jacob Torfing, *New Theories of Discourse: Laclau, Mouffe, and Zizek,* Oxford: Blackwell, 1999, pp. 1-2.
[84]Ibid.
[85]Laura Alba-Juez, *Perspectives on Discourse Analysis: Theory and Practice*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2009, p. 16. The quote within the quote is from James Paul Gee, *An introduction to discourse analysis: theory and method.* London and New York: Routledge, 1999.

hegemony of the dominant ideology to maintain monolingualism in multilingual societies.[86]

Ideology is a crucial concept to understand relations of dominance in Pakistan. We take the term ideology from the sociological analysis of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in *The German Ideology*: "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas … The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production.'[87] Therefore the ideas of the ruling class would be the dominant ideology of the given society, and that ideology sustains its domination by reproducing non-stop the means of production. Gramsci elaborated on the scope of ideology by introducing the concept of hegemony. He analyzed how the power of ideology is established through consent rather than the use of force to become the prevailing 'common sense'. In an underdeveloped country like Pakistan, the notions of ideology and hegemony are essential to understand the power of the dominant discourse of the ruling political elite.

One of the founders of critical discourse analysis, Norman Fairclough, points out that the political concept of hegemony can be usefully employed in analyzing orders of discourse – a social structuring of semiotic differences that may become hegemonic. They may become part of the legitimizing "common sense" that sustains relations of domination, but hegemony will always be contested. Fairclough argues that "an order of

---

[86]Adrian Blackledge, *Literacy, Power and Social Justice*, Staffordshire, England: Trentham Books, 2000. Language ideologies are sets of ideas whereby particular ways of using language are invested with social, political, or moral values and thereby confer desirable or undesirable social identity or status to individuals or groups.

[87]Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *German Ideology*, Christopher John Arthur, (ed. & Intro), London: Lawrence & Wishat, 1970, p. 64.

discourse is not a closed and rigid system, rather an open system, which is put at risk by what happened in actual interaction."[88]

Another pioneer and influential scholar of critical discourse analysis, Teun A. van Dijk, stresses the power of discourse: "dominant groups or institutions may influence the structure of text and talk in such a way that, as a result, the knowledge, attitudes, norms, values and ideologies of recipients are–more or less indirectly–affected in the interest of the dominant group."[89] Van Dijk's major work on ethnic affairs, beside his studies on racism and news analysis – mixing discourse analysis with a multidisciplinary approach to language – offers a very relevant framework to examine communication within a socio-cultural context. Van Dijk also provides a useful framework to study ideology and its relation with society, cognition, and discourse. This analytical method helps us to understand what he calls the "process of framing beliefs and opinions" and that text is not a simple entity, but rather "an iceberg of information." Van Dijk underlines the importance of who controls language, speech and text features because they will have control over the public mind as "discourse access is a primary condition for the manufacturing of consent."[90] He maintains that in order to study power and its abuse, it is crucial to understand how exactly powerful groups and institutions manage and express their knowledge in public discourse. We will use van Dijk's multidisciplinary approach to examine the way abuse of social power, dominance, and inequality have been engendered and reproduced by text in the social and political context of Pakistan.

---

[88]Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: Papers in the Critical Study of Language*, London & New York: Longman, 1995, p. 124.
[89]Teun A. van Dijk, *Discourse, Power and Access*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. p. 85.
[90] Ibid., p. 102.

Discourse analyst Barbara Johnstone identifies power and solidarity as the two aspects of social association created and expressed in discourse. Power represents the asymmetrical nature of human relations in which one can suppress the other, while solidarity is the counterpart of power in human relations, which is possible "only in the context of mutual relations to shared knowledge and membership in predefined grouping or joint activity."[91] She notes that "not all members of a human social group play the same role. Social groups are hierarchically stratified in sub groups" based on social class and castes ranging from high to low in terms of power and status.[92] In all the religious traditions, there are laws governing who has the power to take certain decisions in certain situations. In Islam, the *Imam* (religious leader) has the power to declare what is right and wrong – this is an institutional power. Johnstone reminds us that power is also negotiable, and people compete for the ability to make things happen.[93]

Marianne Jørgensen and Louise J. Phillips note that when we use discourse analysis instead of language analysis, our emphasis is not on language as an abstract system, rather our main interest is:

> …what happens when people draw on the knowledge they have about language, based on their memories of things they have said, heard, seen, or written before to do things in the world: exchange information, express feelings, make things happen, create beauty, entertain themselves and others, and so on.[94]

---

[91]Barbara Johnstone, *Discourse Analysis*, Malden, MA.: Blackwell, 2002, p. 102.

[92] Ibid., p. 102.

[93] Ibid., p. 112.

[94]Marianne Jørgensen and Louise J. Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002, p. 3.

In Pakistan, Urdu textbooks are used to disseminate ideological messages to students. Such messages are mostly given through the History, Social Studies and Pakistan Studies textbooks. However, language and literature textbooks also reinforce ideological messages. These ideological messages have three main subject areas: Islam, nationalism, and militarism. Lessons on Islam are about the fundamentals of Islam, Islamic leaders and heroes, and events that glorify Muslim history and the importance of *jihad*. Lessons on nationalism are about the Muslim leaders of the Pakistan Movement and about Pakistan's history and current situation. They are written so as to create Pakistani nationalism and a sense of Pakistani identity. The third component, that of militarism, comprise lessons glorifying war in general and especially glorifying the wars between Pakistan and India in 1948, 1965 and 1971. The heroes of these wars are celebrated in many poems and lessons.

One special feature of these three ideological themes is that Islam is made to support nationalism of which militarism is taken as the chief expression and most desired value. In short, Islam is co-opted in the service of the state in a process described by Jamal Malik as the "colonialization of Islam."[95]

Textbooks disseminate an array of half truths and propagate Taliban-like fundamentalism and values and hate literature. Noted Pakistani scholars Ahmed Salim and A.H. Nayyar compiled a detailed report on the activities of the Curriculum Wing of the Federal Education Ministry regarding the kind of school and college textbooks being produced in the provinces in 2003. The report, which recommended the removal of hate texts from the curriculum, received serious bashing from mainstream Urdu media and

---

[95]Jamal Malik, *The Colonialization of Islam: Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan*, Lahore, Pakistan : Vanguard Publishers,.1996.

religious and political parties.[96] To better understand the context and effects of such

educational, religious, and other texts, discourse analysis is a useful tool.

To understand the complex interplay of cultural components, I will examine

religion, politics, and the media as cultural products of society that reflect the main

ideological and political discourses in Pakistan. Discourse as a set of cultural rules is a

most useful tool to unmask cultural complexity as it reflects dominant and subordinate

views of the society. Anthropologist and media scholar, Shakil Akhtar, who used

discourse analysis to study Pakistani media, also analyzed the dominant and subordinate

views of society. He suggests that once symbols become part of social and cultural

dialogue and assume fixed meanings and gradually become 'principles', then they cannot

be used freely. Instead of using the word 'principle' or 'cultural code,' we use the term

discourse to include the elements of power, ideology, leadership, and the dominating and

subordinate parts of society.[97]

In Pakistan, the elite groups, the military, bureaucracy, industrialists, feudal

landlords, and religious leaders, provide the dominant views of the society, while

teachers, lawyers, workers, and journalists tend to reflect subordinate views. In

contemporary Pakistani society, the elite groups control all the power and resources. As

noted sociologist Hassan Gardezi explains: "This is a deadly combination of forces that

[96]Ahmad Salim and A.H. Nayyar, *The Subtle Subversion: 'The State of Curriculum and Textbooks in Pakistan*, Islamabad, Pakistan: Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), 2004.

[97]Shakil Akhtar, *Media, Religion, and Politics in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000. Haider K. Nizamani applies 'discourse analysis' to examine the development and direction of domestic debate over nuclear issues in South Asia. See Haider K. Nizamani, *The Roots of Rhetoric: Politics of Nuclear Weapons in India and Pakistan*. Westport, CT.: Praeger, 2000. Verkaaik Oskar used the discourse analysis approach to study ethnicity, migration, migrant identity, and violence in Pakistan. Verkaaik Oskar, *Migrants and Militants: Fun and Urban Violence in Pakistan*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004, and *People of Migrants: Ethnicity, State, and Religion in Karachi*, Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994.

sustains the praetorian role of Pakistani state and retards the process of democratization in the country. Each of these forces thrives on the other."[98]

Shakil Akhtar notes that a society reflects its ideological and political discourse through the mass media. Discourse, as the most powerful cultural expression and social process, unfolds the complex web of major political and ideological events in the media. He argues: "The media provides the information building blocks to structure the views of the political world…from which may stem a range of actions."[99]

The Two-Nation Theory as a Component of Discourse Analysis

British colonialism introduced parliamentary democracy into the politics of the sub-continent causing many Muslims to feel threatened that they would be reduced to a minority under rule by the Hindu majority. The very concept of democracy promoted insecurity among Muslims, particularly the feudal elite and aristocracy, who had ruled the sub-continent for centuries before the era of British colonialism. Muslim thinkers, the most notable of them being Allama Mohammad Iqbal, responded with the idea of a separate homeland for the Muslims and developed the notion of an Islamic State.[100]

In 1908, the Muslim elite formed a separate political platform and launched their party, the Muslim League, which contested elections in 1937 but failed miserably winning only 4.6 percent of the votes. These election results caused the secular and Western-trained leadership of the Muslim League to play the religious card in a bid to

---

[98]Hassan Gardezi, *Re-Examination of the Socio-political History of Pakistan: reproduction of class relations and ideology*. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991, p. 139.

[99]Shakil Akhtar, *Media, Religion, and Politics in Pakistan*. Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. xvi.

[100]Dr. Allama Mohammad Iqbal (1877-1938) was a poet-philosopher and leader of the Muslim League who introduced the idea of Muslim nationhood in India and also presented the idea of a separate state for Muslims in 1930.

unite the divided Muslim community.[101] In 1940, Mohammad Ali Jinnah presented a

Two-Nation theory and declared the struggle for a separate homeland for the Muslims of

India to preserve their religion and culture. Jinnah stressed the differences between

Hindus and Muslims.

The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social

customs and literatures. They neither marry nor dine together and indeed, they belong to

two different civilizations that are based on conflicting ideas and conceptions and both

derive their inspiration from a different source of history. They have different epics,

different heroes and different episodes.[102]

The interpretation of the Two-Nation theory is a source of considerable

contention between the Pakistani Establishment, comprising the military, the civil

bureaucracy, and landlords backed by religious fundamentalists, conservatives, and right-

wing political parties and groups, on the one hand, and liberal and secular forces on the

other. The Establishment and its backers believe and propagate the notion that Pakistan

was created on the basis of the Two-Nation theory as a state based on Islamic ideology,

an Islamist state. This theory faced a serious setback in 1971 when one part of the

country, East Pakistan, became Bangladesh. Even the then Indian Prime Minister Indira

Gandhi declared that the birth of Bangladesh was the death of the Two-Nation theory.

---

[101]Anwar Hussain Syed, *Pakistan: Islam, Politics and National Solidarity*, New York: Praeger, 1982.
[102]Jinnah's speech to the annual gathering of the Muslim League in 1940. For details see *Speeches and Writings*, Vol. 11, p. 24. Ministry of Information, Pakistan, 1983.

Further blows to this approach have been delivered by the nationalist movements in three provinces of Pakistan, the NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan.[103]

In the face of the loss of East Pakistan and creation of the new state of Bangladesh, a revised second version of the Two-Nation theory circulated in Pakistan claiming that the Indus Valley Civilization, with Mohenjodaro as its capital, had always been separate from the Ganga Jumna Civilization (Hindu dominated area of present-day India).[104] This theory became popular among the establishment to rationalize the separation of East Pakistan (Bangladesh), which did not share Pakistan's cultural roots in the Indus Valley Civilization.

In 1980, in the absence of a parliament, military dictator General Zia-ul-Haq selected his 284-member *Majilis-e-Shoora*, the Islamic parliament, to act as the Parliament of Pakistan. Zia appointed the members of the *Shoora* and gave the religious parties a major representation in the new parliament. The religious parties and other Islamists favored a demand to implement Islamic rule in Pakistan. They based their demands for Islamization on their ideological interpretation of the Two-Nation theory as seeking to create an Islamic state for the Muslims of the sub-continent. During Zia's eleven-year dictatorship, discourse on the Two-Nation theory took center-stage in the political communication of Pakistan. During this period, the state-controlled broadcast media and newspapers promoted the Islamist version of the Two-Nation theory to facilitate the implementation of Islamic laws. Anyone who dared to question the validity

---

[103]Following widespread lobbying and demand by political leaders for a regionally and ethnically representative name for their province, the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) was renamed the Khyber–Pukhtunkhwa Province (KPK) in April 2010. "NWFP Officially Renamed as Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa," *One Pakistan News*, April 15, 2010.

[104]For details, see Aitzaz Ahsan, *The Indus Saga*, Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press, 1995.

of the Two-Nation theory was instantly dubbed as 'anti Pakistan' and working against the ideology of Pakistan.[105] However, in 1970 secular and Left forces secured power and countered the theory. Later, with the arrival of satellite television and free media in the late 1990s, secular and progressive journalists and intellectuals began to question the official and Islamist version of the Two-Nation theory. Debate on this theory is a regular feature of media discourse in Pakistan.[106]

Media and Women

In his study of the history of British media, media scholar James Curran recognizes six leading interpretations of media history and examines the strengths and weaknesses of the liberal, feminist, populist, libertarian, anthropological, and radical narratives. Curran notes that

> …liberal history argues that a succession of media became independent over two centuries and contributed to the empowerment of the people. The media exposed government to public scrutiny. They enlarged the political community and facilitated public debate. They spoke up for the people and increased public influence over government.
>
> This account contains an important element of truth. However, one of its defects is that it fails to mention that the 'public' initially represented by the press largely excluded women. This is rectified by a different interpretation which narrates media history as HERstory. This simple shift of perspective produces a very different version of media history.[107]

---

[105]Conversation with senior journalists at the Lahore Press Club in Lahore, Pakistan in 2003.

[106] Yasser Latif Hamdani, "VIEW: Two Nation Theory," *Daily Times*,Lahore, June 07, 2010. http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2010%5C06%5C07%5Cstory_7-6-2010_pg3_5

[107]James Curran, "Media and the Making of British Society, c. 1700-2000," *Media History*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2002, p. 138.

The limited scholarly work on mass media that exists in Pakistan does not acknowledge the gender and class-based struggle of women for social change and their contribution to media. The works of Akhtar, Mehdi, Khurshid, and Ahmad do not bother to look at the historical struggle of Pakistani women under religious constraints, patriarchy, and marginalizing socio-cultural and tribal practices.[108] They ignore HERstory despite Pakistani women's extensive efforts to carve their place in the socio-political discourse while working in all the major fields of media. In my own study, I seek to correct this error and begin to map the role of Pakistani women in media and how they are an integral part of the forces that are shaping contemporary media discourse in Pakistan. My analysis will draw from the feminist critiques of Curran's work, in particular the work of Maria Dicenzo, who argues that Curran missed the importance of feminism within media history, in particular, "the relationship between the politics of gender formation" and interrelated changing definitions of both femininity and masculinity and the evolution of media institutions.[109]

Since the term 'feminism' is a Western construct with its own history and does not entirely fit into the Pakistani context, where women's issues still remain primarily human rights issues, I will use the word 'women' instead. A cursory look at the main 'feminist' or women's organizations and NGOs in Pakistan reveals that the founders of these organizations are foreign educated and hail from elite classes. They take up social causes as required by the *noblesse oblige* of their social position. South Asia historian

---

[108]S.A. Akhtar, *Media, Religion, and Politics in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000; Hassan Mehdi, and A.S. Khurshid, *Journalism for All*, Lahore: Ehtisham Publishers, 1988; Abdul Salam Khurshid, *Karvan-i-Sahafat*, (Caravan of Journalism). Lahore: Ehtisham Publishers, 1989; Nihalm Ahmad, *A History of Radio Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005.

[109]Maria Dicenzo, "Feminist Media and History: A Response to James Curran," *Media History*,Vol. 10, No. 1, 2004, p.46.

Ayesha Jalal, while acknowledging the abilities and feminist intent of Pakistani women's organizations and foreign educated feminists in opposing Zia's imposition of gender-discriminatory Sharia laws, points out the contradictions in their status and strategies in the Pakistani context:

> Women who led the vocal protest against the Islamic laws were also the ones least likely to suffer their consequences…For the vast majority of Pakistani women in the rural areas little is likely to change, so long as their urban sisters continue to tolerate a modicum of subservience in public affairs in return for state policies that leave their not inconsiderable privileges untouched…Until such time that urban middle-and upper-class women grasp the contradiction between an attachment to social privileges flowing from the class accommodations of their families and the social subservience which is their fate *qua* women, the gender balance in Pakistani society is unlikely to be restored.[110]

Over the years, the mushroom growth of the NGO sector forced these organizations to hire young educated women from urban middle-classes, but it did not change the elitist approach of their organizations. The majority of Pakistani women are uneducated and rural and generally not included in their discourse. U.S.-based Pakistani scholar, Rafia Zakaria notes:

> If these poor, rural or religiously conservative women do appear in the discourse of Pakistani feminism they appear always as the victim, being defended or empowered by their more educated, liberal counterparts. Other categories of women are somehow never envisioned as the stalwarts of the struggle towards women's empowerment. Indeed, many women who professionally champion feminist causes never seem to realize the relevance of issues of economic equality and human dignity when dealing with their own female domestic workers. This double standard of who defines Pakistani feminism was most evident in the wake of Mukhtar

---

[110]Ayesha Jalal, "The Convenience of Subservience" in Deniz Kandiyoti (ed.), *Women, Islam, and the State*, London: Macmillan, 1991, p. 108.

Mai's [111]ascendance to fame and popularity. Many "empowered" Pakistani women spoke publicly about how they were offended by the fact that Mukhtar Mai, a rural and uneducated woman, was representing Pakistan internationally.[112]

The criticism of such distorted feminism in Pakistan is reminiscent of similar

frustration expressed by women of colour who were excluded from the 'exclusive' white

feminist domain in North America and Europe. Feminist scholars Valerie Amos and

Pratibha Parmar state that their concern is to

> …show that white mainstream feminist theory, be it from the socialist feminist or radical feminist perspective, does not speak to the experiences of Black women and where it attempts to do so it is often from a racist perspective and reasoning…The limitations of the movement are expressed in the issues which are identified as priorities: they are issues which have in the main contributed to an improvement in the material situation of a small number of white middle-class women often at the expense of their Black and working class 'sisters', for example, short-term gains such as equal opportunities and job sharing. The power of sisterhood stops at the point at which hard political decisions need to be made and political priorities decided.**[113]**

---

[111]In 2002, Mukhtar Mai, a resident of a small village in the remote district of Muzafargarh, was gang-raped on the orders of a tribal council to settle an honor dispute involving her teenage brother, who was allegedly seen sitting with an upper-class tribal woman. Mai was brutally gang-raped and paraded naked in front of her father and the entire village. Contrary to the local custom whereby shamed woman normally commit suicide, Mai chose to fight back through the legal system. The uneducated woman eventually succeeded in having the powerful members of the Mastoi tribe involved in the gang rape arrested. Six of them were handed death sentences. She received $8300 from the government of Pakistan in compensation and instead of moving away, she returned to her village and started an elementary school for poor and orphaned children. She also started the Mukhtar Mai Women's Welfare Organization to support and educate women in her village. She has become an outspoken crusader for women's rights in Pakistan. She received "The Glamour Woman of the Year 2005 Award" from *Glamour Magazine* at New York's Lincoln Center and the North South Prize from the Council of Europe in 2007. Her memoir entitled *In the Name of Honor: A Memoir*, published in New York in 2006, became the number three bestseller in France according to the *New York Times*. Her memoir has been translated into twenty-three languages. In 2006, Mai was invited to address an assembly at the UN Headquarters in New York. In 2010, Laurentian University in Canada awarded her an honorary doctorate degree.

[112]Rafia Zakaria, "JH Represents Failure of Pakistani Feminism," *The Daily Times*, April 14, 2007.

[113]Valerie Amos & Pratibha Parmar, "Challenging Imperial Feminism," *Feminist Review*, No. 80, 2005, p. 47.

Analogous to some labour movement criticism of Black people for weak participation in their struggle, they say, "So white women have condemned Black women for not engaging in the struggles they have identified as important – the colonial heritage marches on."[114] Similarly, Amos and Parmar point out that there is no apology for, awareness even, of the contradiction of white feminists as anthropologists studying villages in India, Africa, China for evidence of feminist consciousness and female solidarity.

Setting aside the discussion on Pakistani feminism, we will employ a feminist lens to discuss women's roles and contributions to Pakistani media. Although there are many oppressive practices and laws in Pakistan that discriminate against women and reduce their status to that of second-class citizens, they have persisted in a courageous struggle to be heard. This struggle is showing results. In terms of university and college enrollments and professional education in Pakistan, fifty-three percent are female students. At the highest level in the Pakistani government, the Speaker of the National Assembly is a woman. At the lowest level of elected government, which is the local union council representing an average population of 25,000 that includes small villages or towns, thirty-three percent of councilors are woman . From commercial pilots to air force pilots, from the Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan to performances of the Vagina Monologues in Urdu and Punjabi, Pakistani women are registering their presence in every field.[115] Despite gender marginalization and social, cultural, and religious constraints in film, television, theatre, radio, print media, music, internet blogs, and

---

[114] Ibid., 47.
[115]Shimaila Matri Dawood, "Will the Real Pakistani Woman Please Standup?" *Newsline* Monthly
Magazine. March 2005. Accessed at: http://www.newsline.com.pk/NewsMar2005/cover1mar2005.htm

satellite television, women's influence is growing and demands a critical evaluation and acknowledgement of the role and contribution of women to media in Pakistan. Chapter 5 will discuss Pakistani women's courageous role and their contribution to activism and social movements in the country. It will examine the emergence of various women's organizations in Pakistan and their activist socio-political role in opposing marginalizing practices and gender discriminatory laws.

The military government of General Musharraf introduced changes that reduced the farmers from sharecropper to renters on military controlled farms in Punjab in 2000. The farmer organized a movement to foil their eviction and demand ownership rights. The most distinguished feature of this peasant movement is that it has mobilized women who had led several marches and fought courageously against police and rangers.

> A war rages here. On one side, thousands of police, rangers, and the military; on the other, thousands of men and women armed with nothing more than 'thappas', wooden sticks that women use to wash clothes. The women, thappa in hand, are in the front-line; the men, unarmed, are behind them. Confrontation of this sort is unprecedented in our country.[116]

---

[116] Imran Munir, The Subaltern Act! Peasant Struggles and Pedagogy in Pakistan, in Cote, Mark Day, Richard J.F. de Peuter, Greig , eds., *Utopian Pedagogy: Radical Experiments Against Neoliberal Globalization*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007, p.286.

CHAPTER 3: PAKISTANI TRADITIONAL MEDIA, STATE CONTROL, CENSORSHIP, AND RESISTANCE PRIOR TO THE REIGN OF ZIA-UL-HAQ

This chapter examines traditional print and broadcast media in Pakistan under various dictatorships and democratic regimes before the imposition of martial law by General Zia-ul-Haq in 1977. It maps attempts to pressure, cajole, tame, bribe or otherwise influence or control a vocal press by governments, wealthy politicians, businessmen, and various members of Pakistan's establishment elite in different periods.

Historical Roots: The Press Prior to 1947

The newsletter was the forerunner of the newspaper in the Indian subcontinent. The Ghaznavide[117] Muslim rulers introduced the handwritten version of the newsletter toward the end of the tenth century. During the reign of the last great Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (1658–1707), news writers known as 'waquai-nawees' or 'waqia-nawis' assumed an important status and were regarded as the eyes and ears of the emperor.[118] The newsletters existed till the *sepoy* mutiny of 1857, or what many in South Asia view as the first war of independence. Soon after, printed newssheets replaced the handwritten newsletters.

---

[117]The Ghaznavid rule in Pakistan lasted for more than 175 years from 971 A.D. to 1187 A.D. During this period Lahore assumed considerable importance as the eastern-most bastion of Muslim power and as an outpost for further advances in the East. For details, see Judith E. Walsh, *History of Muslim Rule in India*, New York: Infobase Publishing, 2006, p. 62.
[118]Mazharul Haque, "Pakistan" in Yahya R. Kamalipour, and Mowlana Hamid, eds., *Mass Media in the Middle East, A Comprehensive Handbook*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994, p. 199.

William Bolt, a sacked employee of the East Indian Company, was the first person to attempt to publish a newspaper in India, but the British East India Company officials blocked the move. However, a few years later another dismissed employee, James Augustus Hickey made history by starting a weekly journal, the *Bengal Gazette*, from Calcutta in January 1780.

James Augustus Hickey introduced newspapers and journalism to India on January 29, 1780 when he launched a two-page weekly, the *Bengal Gazette aka* the *Calcutta General Advertiser*, focusing on the private lives of officers of the East India Company.[119] Hickey also wrote a weekly column in which he talked directly to his readers; all the notables of Calcutta appeared in his column with nicknames. Soon his paper developed a reputation as a 'witty and scurrilous' paper that irked Governor General Warren Hastings, whom he called **'**Sir F. Wronghead', 'The Great Mughal', and the 'Dictator'.[120] His depiction of the social life of the European community in Calcutta was not untouched by malice and ridicule, and while announcing marriages and engagements he also published news of the anticipated engagements especially of those he disliked.**[121]** Finally, Hastings took action against Hickey for defamation in June 1781 and had him convicted and sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of Rs 2000. While Hickey served his sentence under mysterious circumstances, his column continued to appear regularly. Hastings took further action and seized the paper, which ended the publication of *Hickey's Gazette*.[122] Subsequently, many more newspapers came out in several parts of India, but the government exercised strict control over content.

---

[119]S.M. Zaidi Muniruddin, *History of Journalism in India*, New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 2005, p. 69.
[120]Ibid. p.70.
[121] Ibid. p.71.
[122] Ibid.p.72.

Examining the British strict control over the press, Muniruddin notes that "parliament proceedings in England could not be published in the press in India as they were considered 'seditious literature'."[123]

Restrictive laws regulating the press were imposed in the first half of the nineteenth century and tightened further in the post-1857 (the national uprising) years. The brunt of the attack was borne by the vernacular press, especially the Persian and Urdu language papers.

Gangadhar Bhattacharjee, a teacher, launched the *Bengal Gazette* in 1816 in Calcutta, becoming the first Indian owner of an English language daily.[124] The first Urdu newspaper, *Jam-e-jahan Numan*, which lay the foundation for Urdu journalism in India, was started in Calcutta on March 27, 1822 by two Hindus, Hari Har Datt and Munchi Seva Sukh, while a respected Muslim scholar and journalist, Moulana Mohammad Baqir, became the first martyr of the freedom struggle in Urdu journalism when he was executed in 1857 for supporting and joining the rebels. His paper *Dihli Urdu Akhbar* (Delhi Urdu Newspaper), which highlighted the racial arrogance of the foreign rulers and provided detailed coverage of the 1857 revolution, was confiscated.[125]. Also, the banned newspaper was the first to introduce lithography, which helped Urdu journalism. At the times, Persian and Urdu were the two dominant languages in India, as the former had remained the court language till 1836.

---

[123]Ibid.p.72.
[124]Ibid. p.59.
[125]Abida Sami Uddin, "Freedom Struggle and Urdu Journalism During the Nineteenth Century" in Asghar Ali Engineer, ed., *They Too Fought for India:The Role of Minorities*, Mumbai: Centre for the Study of Society and Secularism, pp. 117-119.

Later, Baqir's son, the noted oriental scholar Shamsul-Ulama[126] Maulana Mohammad Husain Azad abandoned the idea of re-establishing his father's publication and due to turmoil in Delhi, left for Lahore.

As many as thirty-five Urdu newspapers were published in diverse parts of India; they were mostly owned by Muslims. Their prominent coverage of the 1857 events displeased the British government. Consequently, on June 12, 1858 Lord Canning enacted the Canning Act, which had very serious implications for the Muslim and Urdu press. The suppression was so severe that by 1858 only six Urdu newspapers had managed to survive, while by and large Muslims had been totally expelled from the field of journalism.[127]

Muslim reformist Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan launched two journals, the bilingual *Institute Gazette* in March 1866 and *Tehzibul Akhlaq (Mohammedan Social Reformer)* in December 1870, which proved to be a turning point in the history of Muslim journalism. Both magazines were published in *Naskh* type instead of calligraphy and their influence and impact was soon felt all over the country. Maulana Wahid-uddin Salim, who edited the *Institute Gazette* for some time, later launched the *Muslim Gazette* on the pattern of Saiyad Ahmad's two highly respected magazines.[128] In the early part of the twentieth century, a number of Muslim journals, particularly Maulana Mohammad Ali's *Hamdard* and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's *Al-Hilal* and *Al-Balagh* followed the style and format set by Saiyad Ahmad.

---

[126]The title 'Shamsul-Ulama' was conferred as a personal distinction in recognition of Maulana Mohammad Husain Azad's eminence as an oriental scholar. It entitled the recipient to take rank in court after the Nawabs (provincial governors of the Mughal empire).

[127] Ibid. pp. 127-128.

[128] Zamir Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1987, p. 15.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there were thirty-two Urdu

dailies being published in various parts of the country. Seven of them were published

from Punjab. Munshi Nawal Kishore from Lucknow started the first daily, the *Oudh*

Akhbar, in 1877. Three other significant dailies were launched by the end of the

nineteenth century – *Akhbar-e-A'am* (1891) and *Paisa Akhbar* (1891), both from Lahore,

and *Mushir-e-Deccan* (1892) from Hyderabad. The two Lahore dailies introduced the

penny press and were priced at a *paisa* (penny) per copy. They were instrumental in

transforming the media as Urdu dailies became mass circulated papers.

The dawn of the twentieth century brought a fresh wave of repression and

suppression, and between 1900 and 1918 the print media were repeatedly bludgeoned by

sedition trials that significantly curtailed the power of the press. From 1907 onwards, the

political newspaper became the major means of communication for politician-editors

through which they carried on a dialogue with the masses, their opponents, and the

British rulers.[129] As these papers became increasingly effective instruments for creating

an organized public opinion, the government felt the need for more strict press rules. To

gag the press, Sir Herbert Risely introduced to the Viceroy's Council the Press Act of

1910, which was severely criticized by Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

In 1915, the Press Association of India was formed and submitted a memorandum

to the authorities, pointing out that up to 1917, twenty-two papers had been asked to

furnish security,[130]and eighteen of them had to shut down rather than function under

---

[129]Ibid. p.17.

[130] The Indian Press Act of 1910 required owners of printing presses and newspapers to deposit security of
up to 5,000 rupees, which could be forfeited for publishing any objectionable material that included
criticizing the Government. If the security was forfeited, the next security was heavier, and a third offense
meant that the printing press could be forfeited. The Post Office and Customs could detain packages with
objectionable material. The Moderate leader Gokhale supported these measures to control political

official British tutelage. Between 1917 and 1919, some 963 newspapers and printing presses, which had existed before the Press Act of 1910, had been prosecuted under the Act. In all, 286 cases of warnings and 705 cases of demand for heavy security and forfeitures by executive order stifled the victims. There were 173 new printing presses and 129 new newspapers that were killed at birth because of heavy security demands.[131]

Regular agitation and strikes calling for independence in 1927-1928 unsettled the British rulers, and furthermore, as part of a violent campaign, a bomb was thrown from the gallery while the Legislative Assembly was in session. Demands for a separate homeland for the Muslims could not be ignored. To counter the growing agitation and people's mobilization, the government promulgated the severe Public Safety Ordinance and the Press Ordinance of May 1930, used to rein in 131 papers in six months, while suspending the publication of nine papers. Meanwhile the government blamed the press and journalists for the success of the Indian Congress Party's mobilization of civil disobedience. The House of Commons was informed that action had been taken against 109 journalists and 98 printing presses in India. This repression continued, and in 1935 alone, 450 newspapers were closed down because of their failure to deposit the required security money. As the independence movement gained momentum, repressive actions against the press continued with a vengeance, and over a thousand papers in Bombay, Bengal, Lahore, Delhi, Punjab, and the United Provinces were targeted and suppressed by

violence. Over the next decade the Press Act of 1910 penalized more than 350 presses, 300 newspapers, required £40,000 in securities, and proscribed more than 500 publications. The security requirement prevented 130 newspapers from starting. For details see Sanderson Beck, India's Freedom Struggle 1905-1918. Available at
http://www.san.beck.org/20-4-India1905-18.html
[131]Ibid. p.20.

the government. Despite all the repression, scores of newspapers in India contributed to the intellectual battle and the freedom struggle throughout the country.

Zamir Niazi points out that there were thirty-two English dailies and an equal number of weeklies being produced in 1937, and within the next ten years, the number of publications jumped to fifty-one dailies and 258 weeklies. The growing numbers of publications before the partition reflects the enormous role played by the media in mobilizing Muslims as well as Hindus to struggle for independence.[132] Niazi points out that the closing years of the freedom movement saw the rise of newspapers such as the *Nawa-e-Waqt* (Lahore), *Dawn* and *Manshoor* (Delhi), *Morning News* (Calcutta), *Eastern Times*, and *Pakistan Times* (Lahore). All these and many more published from every nook and corner of the subcontinent played their part in mobilizing support for the independence struggle.

Newspaper owners who were also editors of their publications who were intensely engaged with politics and felt duty bound to confront the colonial rule that dominated the pre-partition Muslim press. Soon after the demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims, Urdu and English publications, on the one hand, confronted colonialism, while on the other, they promoted the idea of Pakistan as a separate homeland for the Muslims.[133]

Vallabhai Patel, the Home Minister of United India, was very annoyed with the daily *Dawn* as the newspaper was advertizing an illegal radio station operating from Lahore and promoting the creation of Pakistan. In his *History of Journalism in India*, Muniruddin describes Patel, known as the 'Indian Iron Man':

---

[132]Zamir Naizi, p.10.

[133] Zamir Niazi, "All Is Not Lost," *Dawn* Millennium Edition, Karachi: Dawn Publishers, 2000, p. 10.

Patel has no peace from the *Dawn*. On April 22, 1947, he wrote to Viceroy,

Lord Mountbatten, drawing his attention to a report in the *Dawn* on *Radio Pakistan*.

The paper, he said, had exhorted its readers to tune in to an illegal radio station, the

"clear aim of which is to promote direct action by nefarious means and fits ill with

Gandhi and Jinnah's appeal (for communal harmony)." The report mentioned by Patel

said the new radio station "has lately come on the air (not AIR) that operates

presumably underground. It begins and ends its program with 'Pakistan Zindabad'

(Long live Pakistan). Listeners in Delhi can hear it on meter band at 8:30 am and 8:00

pm."[134]

The Early Years of Radio Prior to 1947

In 1921, *The Daily Times of India* launched a private broadcasting service in

partnership with the Post and Telegraph Department in Bombay. In 1924, the Colonial

government granted radio licenses to another private company in Madras (now Chennai),

and during the same year the Indian Broadcasting Company (IBC) was granted a license

to open radio stations in Bombay and Calcutta. The IBC went bankrupt in 1930, and the

British colonial government took over its operations in April the same year under a new

name, the Indian State Broadcasting Service (ISBS). [135]

The ISBC suffered heavy losses and shut down its operations in October 1931,

but in response to popular demand, the ISBC was revived under state control. This move

proved a blessing for the broadcasting sector in India on two counts. Firstly, after the

takeover by the imperial government, a solid technical foundation for a nationwide

---

[134] S.M. Zaidi Muniruddin, *History of Journalism in India,* p.328.

[135] Vir Bala Aggarwal and V.S. Gupta, *Handbook on Journalism and Mass Communication*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2002, p. 180.

network was laid with a mix of short wave and medium wave transmissions under the guidance of British engineers H. L. Kirke, and Cecil Goyder. Secondly, Lionel Fielden, a BBC expert, infused the operations of public broadcasting with social responsibility. As a result, several socially significant innovations such as programming promoting development of agriculture and educational programs took shape as early as 1936.[136]

In 1928, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) built a small one hundred-watt medium-wave transmitter in Lahore that started broadcasting two hours of entertainment programs daily and a Church service on Sundays. The service was upgraded with the installation of a five kilowatts medium-wave radio station. The government of North West Frontier Province (NWFP) borrowed equipment from the Marconi Company to launch a radio station in Peshawar in 1935. The ISBC was renamed in 1936, becoming All India Radio (AIR). On December 16, 1939, AIR launched a broadcasting service in Dhaka.

With independence, Pakistan inherited three radio stations in Lahore, Dhaka, and Peshawar. The last broadcast of AIR from these three stations was at 11:00 pm on August 13, 1947. Late journalist, Khalid Hassan, while recounting the events of that first night of a free Pakistan, notes that the first announcement that the moment of Pakistan's birth was at hand came in English from the Lahore station which was still the All India Radio. The announcement went on the air exactly five seconds before midnight on August 13, 1947 as Zahur Azar announced in his polished voice: "At the stroke of midnight, the independent and sovereign State of Pakistan will come into existence." Hassan further notes that this English announcement was followed by twelve chimes of the studio clock.

---

[136]Padmaja Shaw, "Radio India: Problem of Broadcasting and Hope of FM," *Asian Communication Quarterly*, Volume 32, Number 4, 2000, p. 234.

There was a dramatic pause, and then Azar came on the air again: "This is Pakistan

Broadcasting Service, Lahore. We now bring you a special programme on the dawn of

Pakistan's Independence." Similar announcements were made at the Peshawar and Dhaka

radio stations.[137] The name Pakistan Broadcasting Service was the invention of an

acclaimed broadcaster, Syed Zulfiqar Ali Bokhari. The third announcement came from

Mustafa Ali Hamdani in Urdu saying: "*Assalam-au-Alaikum. Ye Pakistan Broadcasting

Service, Lahore, hai. Abb aap hamara khusoosi programme sunye.*" (This is the Pakistan

Broadcasting Service, Lahore. Please stand by for our special programme.) The Special

Programme began with the first two stanzas of Allama Muhammad Iqbal's *Saqi Nama*

sung by Fateh Ali Khan and Mubarak Ali Khan, the celebrated *qawwals* (singers of Sufi

devotional music) and scions of the *gharana* music tradition.[138]

The partition of India was the largest migration in human history as within a few

days of independence more than ten million Hindus and Sikhs migrated from Pakistan to

India. Similarly, 7.5 million Muslims from India crossed the border to enter Pakistan

amidst a bloodbath that saw more than two million people slaughtered in the ensuing

violence.[139] The hundreds and thousands of people who were separated from their

families posed the first challenge for Radio Pakistan Lahore to provide information of

missing persons, making Radio Pakistan a crucial link for lost families. Radio Pakistan

set up an SOS center that operated for seven months and broadcast 36,900 SOS

messages.[140]

[137]Nihal Ahmad, *A History of Radio Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 12.
[138]Khalid Hassan, "Zahur Azar and the First Broadcast," *The Friday Times* Lahore, August 11, 2006.
[139]Ishtiaq Ahmad, "Partition of Punjab," *The News International*. August 11, 2007.
[140]Nihal Ahmad, *A History of Radio Pakistan*, p. 19.

The Press in the Post-1947 Independence Era

After the partition of India on August 14, 1947, the majority of Muslim political activists-cum journalists who had fought against colonialism migrated to Pakistan to contribute to a new Muslim state based on secular democracy and an ideal civic society. They brought with them the notion that journalism has a mission to fight against oppression and to secure the rights of the people. They had always considered themselves as those whose job it was to say what others did not dare to. The press played its assigned role of awakening political consciousness and mobilizing people to expedite the pace of the freedom movement to its successful end.[141]

The first ruler of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who was a strong believer in the freedom of the press and very keen to develop a Muslim press, founded the daily *Dawn* newspaper in Delhi in the 1940s to promulgate the case of Indian Muslims for a separate homeland. He was also aware of the power of the media in shaping public opinion and reminded journalists that they had a huge power that could just as easily guide or misguide people. He declared his expectations, asking journalists to be completely fearless: "And even if I go wrong or for that matter, the Muslim League goes wrong in any direction of its policy or program, I want you to criticize it honestly as its friend, in fact, as one whose heart is beating with the Muslim nation."[142] Following growing criticism and hard-hitting stories in the newspapers against Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan's government, officials drafted the Public Safety Ordinance and asked Jinnah to sign it. He told them he had fought all his life against these black laws and

---

[141]Interview with a senior journalist who had migrated to Pakistan in 1948 to work for the *Pakistan Times*. He died in 2010.

[142] Mohammad Ali Jinnah's address to the staff of the *Dawn* newspaper in Delhi, India. March 13, 1947. Zamir Niazi, Press in Chain, p 35

refused to sign. During Jinnah's short rule as Governor-General in Pakistan, no repressive legislation to curb the freedom of expression was enacted,[143] but just one month after his death in September 1948, the Public Safety Ordinance was promulgated and civil liberties, including the freedom of speech and expression, were curtailed.[144]

Contrary to popular belief that it was only the military dictators who suppressed the press, Pakistani civilian governments could be equally repressive. Senior columnist and short story writer, Zahida Hina says that on September 1, 1948 the three most prestigious literary journals, *Adab-e-Lateef, Naqoosh*, and *Sawaira*, were banned for six months. The editor of *Sawaira*, Zaheer Kashmiri, a respected leftist and poet, was arrested. The next victims of the Public Safety Act were the *Dawn* groups' English, Urdu, and Gujrati editions, besides the Sindh *Observer, Jang, Anjam,* and *Sindh,* all of which were banned from circulation in any city other than Karachi for six months.[145] These newspapers were banned because they had published a joint editorial on acts of nepotism by chief minister of Sindh, Pir Elhai Bukhsh.

A veteran journalist, Ghayurul Islam, who had actively participated in the freedom movement in United India, migrated to Pakistan after the partition. He launched his newspaper, the *Orient Dream*, targeting the corrupt and anti-democratic elements in the government. Hina recalls that he was summoned on March 20, 1948 and 'investigated' for hours. The next day he published all the details of the investigation by the authorities. On March 24, 1948, his newspaper declaration (license) was cancelled. In Hina's opinion, "It was no less a crime than to strangulate an infant child."[146]

---

[143] Zamir Niazi, "All is Not Lost," p. 11.
[144] Ibid. p. 12.
[145] Zahida Hina, Op-ed page, Urdu daily *The Express*, Karachi, Pakistan, Dec. 5, 2008.
[146] Ibid.

The Public Safety Ordinance empowered the government with discretionary

powers to stop publication of any newspaper without requirement to provide any reason.

This Ordinance empowered police to enter newspaper offices without search warrants

and confiscate any material deemed dangerous for the people.[147] Jinnah's successors have

created havoc with such powers and damaged Pakistan's democratic institutions one by

one. The mass communication media have been compelled to suppress the truth, to

misinform people, and to support dictators and their cronies. A study of official records

shows that during the first seven years (1947-1953), in Punjab province alone, thirty-one

newspapers were banned, and fines were imposed on fifty-three publications.[148]

Another repressive law, the Security of Pakistan Act, was introduced in 1952,

which allowed federal and provincial governments to close down any publication and

arrest the publisher, editor or writer if they believed that a news story or editorial was

likely to endanger the defense, external affairs, or security of Pakistan. Under this Act,

any police officer may be authorized to carry out search and seizure.[149] Niazi cites an

infamous case of application of the Security Act in February 1952 involving the Dhaka

English daily *Pakistan Observer,* which published an editorial severely criticizing the

prime minister. The editor of the *Observer*, one of its owners, and the printer were all

---

[147]The concept of preventive detention in operational terms seems to have been in existence in some forms
since the early period of British rule in India. The departure of the British from India in 1947 left many
unresolved issues and led India and Pakistan to adopt preventive detention statutes. Pakistan adopted
preventive detention statutes much before it had a Constitution. Bangladesh retained most of the statutes
that were adopted by Pakistan. The Government of India Act of 1919 and the Government of India Act of
1935 containing provisions for preventive detention were the interim constitutions. The latter was retained
untill partition of India in 1947. In Pakistan it remained in force till 1956 when it was replaced by the
Constitution of Pakistan. By this time, the Pakistan Public Safety Ordinance of 1949 had been passed
giving authorities wider powers of preventive detention. In 1951, passage of the East Bengal Public Safety
Ordinance also expanded powers for preventive detention. This was followed by the Security of Pakistan
Act of 1952 containing provisions for the same purpose. For details see www.banglapedia.org
[148]Niazi Zamir, *The Press in Chains,* p. 62.
[149]*Security of Pakistan Act 1952*, Government of Pakistan.

arrested under the Security Act. The press was impounded and after one year the court dropped the charges and discharged them, but for one year 150 staff members of the paper remained unemployed.[150]

Under the so-called democratic civilian administrations from 1947 to 1958, a culture of corruption and bribes was introduced, and many journalists became willing partners of the government. Two shameful manifestations of this trend occurred in the early media history of Pakistan. The first happened on May 6, 1949 when seventeen editors, many of whom never tired of declaring themselves champions of freedom of the press, published a joint editorial under the title "Treason" demanding the closure of the prestigious English daily *Civil and Military Gazette*, the oldest paper in Pakistan founded in 1872. The paper had published a story by its Delhi correspondent suggesting that a compromise formula on the Kashmir dispute had been agreed upon between India and Pakistan. The *Civil and Military Gazette* was banned for six months but never really recovered and finally closed down in 1963.

In the second case, the Provincial Government of Punjab bribed the daily *Afaaq* by promising to provide advertisements and to buy copies for government offices in return for the publication's help in promoting its campaign to declare the Ahmadi sect non-Muslim. The paper was vociferous in its criticisms of the Ahmadis, instigating widespread riots and disturbances that eventually led to the first declaration of martial law in Pakistan to control the riots in Punjab. The military succeeded in controlling the riots and also used their role as a public relations exercise. In an interview in 2003, a former editor of an Urdu daily, who was a city reporter in 1953, suggested that the Punjab

---

[150] Niazi,Zamir, p.57.

government's use of the army was an admission by the civil administration of its inability

to maintain law and order and to protect the lives of citizens. The religious parties and

right-wing forces were lying low because of their opposition to the creation of

Pakistan.[151] The editor noted that the army had already gained respect and admiration for

their role in rehabilitating migrants during the partition and relief efforts during the

annual monsoon flooding. He notes:

> General Azam, the Martial Law Administrator, quickly managed to
> control the riots in Lahore, and massive coverage of military efforts in
> restoring peace was ensured in the media. The Pakistan Army publicity
> wing, the Directorate of Inter Services Public Relations (ISPR), was
> responsible for providing promotional material, photographs and news to
> the newspapers to ensure 'good coverage.'

He added that this was how in those days the army started building its image of

efficiency in contrast to the bungling and incompetence of the civilian government

running the country.

The perception that the civilian government could not govern without the help of

the army was reinforced by the fact that from 1951 to 1958 altogether seven prime

ministers took turns leading the country. The carefully cultivated perception of the need

for the firm hand of the army became a reality when Prime Minister Mohammad Ali

Bogra called in the army to control the riots. The following incident that led to the forced

closure of a Karachi-based newspaper, *Musalman*, is indicative of the rough treatment

meted out to the press during the "democratic" civilian administration of Bogra.

In 1953 the *Musalman* revealed that Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra had

married his secretary, a Lebanese woman by the name of Aliya. The *Musalman* did not

own its own printing press so the paper was printed by the *Jang* press, whose editor, Mir

---

[151]Interview with the former editor of an Urdu daily in Lahore in 2003.

Khalilur Rehman, called the then Information Secretary, Syed Hashim Raza to confirm the news about the Prime Minister's marriage. Information Secretary Raza declared the news 'false' and detrimental to the prime minister and ordered that distribution of the issue cease. He revoked the *Musalman* editor's accreditation and withdrew his newsprint quota. The editor, however, refused to be coerced or compensated, and the paper, which had a thin circulation, ceased operation within two weeks when its newsprint stock ran out. A few months later, however, it was confirmed by Reuter's news agency that Mr. Mohammad Ali Bogra had indeed married his secretary in Beirut.[152]

In 1953 Mohammad Ali Bogra appointed army chief General Mohammad Ayub Khan as defense minister, thereby allowing the direct entry of the army into the cabinet and state affairs. Meanwhile, the government appointed Justice M.R Kiyani and Justice M. Munir to probe the anti-Ahmadia riots in Punjab. They blamed the daily *Afaq* and a few other newspapers and journalists for taking bribes and favours from the government to print stories that led to the riots. The report also stated that the army was the only force that could stand between the civilian government and the Islamists. While comparing the earlier period of civilian rule with the martial law period initiated by General Ayub Khan, in 1958, Niazi admits that from 1947 to 1958, despite many repressive practices against the press, the fundamental rights of the people were never violated as the Objective Resolution of 1949 ensured these rights. [153]

---

[152] Zamir Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, pp. 63-64.
[153] Zamir Niazi, Press in Chain, p. 73

Radio in the Post-Partition Era

Nihal Ahmad says that after partition, when Karachi became the federal capital without a radio station, there was an urgent need to start a short-wave external service that would broadcast from Karachi and Dhaka and thereby connect the East and West wings of Pakistan, which were one thousand miles apart. He recalls that before the project could be launched, Indian forces invaded the Muslim majority state of Kashmir, creating an urgent need to set up radio transmissions to boost the morale of freedom fighters and counter Indian propaganda. A five-hundred-watt short-wave transmitter was secured from a junkyard dealer, and engineers repaired and put it in service with the public address system. The microphone and other equipment were installed on a truck, while two generators were installed on another truck to create a complete and mobile makeshift station. Ahmad notes that to avoid detection from Indian troops, the trucks kept changing their position. "Then a site about 40 km from the border was selected to serve as a broadcasting station. The trucks were hidden behind tall pine trees. A room was built to serve as a studio, with blankets hung on the walls to achieve the right acoustics." [154]

Ahmad notes that the working conditions were harsh as the team had to work under heavy snow and without any facilities. However, the reception of the broadcasts was very clear, and the staff at the station received letters from many parts of the world. "Some listeners in Kenya sent table tennis equipment for the staff that consisted of four engineers, two news editors, and two producers."[155]

The shortage of professionally trained radio producers, newsmen, and technical staff to run the programming and manage the transmitters led the management of Radio

[154]Nihal Ahmad, *A History of Radio Pakistan*, p. 15.
[155]Ibid., p. 15.

Pakistan to open the Pakistan Broadcasting Academy in January 1949 in Karachi. In

January 1949, a short-wave transmitter was commissioned in Dhaka, becoming the first

one of its kind to operate in Pakistan. In August 1949, Radio Pakistan's external services

were formally inaugurated and came on the air from Karachi and Rawalpindi in 1950.

Since then, radio broadcast services have continuously expanded their operations

throughout the country.

The external services programs are designed to promote Pakistan's viewpoint on

domestic and foreign policy issues and to disseminate knowledge of its arts, culture,

history, values, and the way of life of its people among foreign listeners. The objective is

to generate feelings of friendship, goodwill, and mutual understanding to help create an

environment of peaceful co-existence in the region. The PBC now broadcasts in thirty-

one local languages and dialects besides its broadcasts in sixteen other languages:

English, Chinese, Russian, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Dari, Tamil, Hindi, Gujarati, Pashto,

Sinhala, Nepali, Hazargi, Turkish, and Bangla.

Radio Pakistan was established to work as a department of the Government of

Pakistan charged with nation-building duties: creation of national unity; promotion of

culture, Islamic ideology, and the ideology of Pakistan based on the Two Nations theory;

promotion of regional languages; entertainment; and education. Radio Pakistan became

an extremely important organ of the government. Its signature tune became an audio

icon for the new nation state, while its transmissions played a central role in forging a

new national identity.

Pakistan faced a major crisis as it sought to rehabilitate millions of people who

were stranded in camps. Under these circumstances, art was not in the government's

priorities, and music became the worst victim of its oversight. Another factor was that because most of the classical music was based on Hindu mythologies, the government found it improper for a Muslim country. Interestingly, Dhaka Radio adopted a different policy. Although Bangla music was deeply rooted in the Hindu music tradition, they continued to perform classical music in its original form. However, in Pakistan the construction of a project to invent a new 'Pakistani/Islamic culture' was launched. Nihal Ahmad, who joined Radio Pakistan in 1951 and retired as director of programming in 1997, notes that there were two types of music available, classical music and film songs. Classical music, he suggests, "was heavily influenced by Hindu mythology and references, and did not relate to the culture or aspiration of the Pakistani nation." On the other hand,

> Film music was considered vulgar and offended Pakistani audiences. It was, however, not possible to break away from the Hindu/Indian tradition overnight. Selection and modifications had to be made. Thumri and Dadra with sensuous and erotic themes were rejected, while Khayal for classical music and Ghazal as a form of light music were retained. Words of a number of Raags and Khayals were changed, and words with an alien bias were replaced by more appropriate words. Experimentation with Qawwali form and folk music were conducted. Poetry was set to music, particularly those with Islamic and nationalistic themes. [156]

---

[156]Ibid., p. 60. It is ironic that Amir Khusrau, a great Sufi Persian poet and father of *Ghazal,* developed the *Khayal* genre of Hindustani classical music in the thirteenth century. The story *of Khayal* is inseparable from the system of Muslim family styles that is popularly called *'Gharanas'*. About a dozen *Khayal Gharanas* are well known in India. Each *Gharana* has originated in a particular city or at a particular court, and each has developed their own techniques and style, based on what they came to emphasize as their take on a raga.

The Awadh Muslim ruler Nawab Wajid Ali Shah (1822-87) and his court musician, Sadiq Ali Khan, developed *Thumri* in the 19th century. The Nawab composed many *thumris* with a pen name, Akhtar Pia, and his role as practitioner, composer, patron, and connoisseur of *thumri* was to have far reaching effects on its development and maturation during the 19th century. Further details can be found at www.indianetzone.com

The lack of government interest in classical music and its attempt to introduce a more Islamic version of music disgusted legendary classical singers of the sub-continent such as Ustad Bade Ghulam Ali Khan, who gave up his Pakistani nationality and moved to India in 1959, where he received royal treatment at state level. This was a serious blow as a master artist (*ustad*) such as Bade Ghulam Ali is rarely born more than once in a century. Soon after the *Ustad's* departure to India, legendary female singer, Roshan Ara Begum, also known as the 'queen of music,' announced that she was giving up singing in protest of the government's lack of interest in classical music. Her statement shocked music lovers in Pakistan, and many decided to launch a collective effort to find ways of reviving and preserving the diminishing classical music tradition of the land. Thus started the first social movement regarding music in Pakistan when concerned citizens congregated at the popular Pak Tea House in Lahore in September 1959 and launched a voluntary organization, the All Pakistan Music Conference (APMC), with the objective of promoting music and musicians by organizing concerts, conferences, and festivals. Within five months, the APMC held its first music conference in Lahore, a festival of folk, light, semi-classical and classical music spanning five evenings and two mornings in which musicians from all over the country participated. The APMC official website describes the event: "the programme started daily at eight in the evening and lasted for five to six hours with the last evening closing a couple of hours after sunrise---a glorious day had dawned."[157] The huge success of the festival not only provided a new lease of

---

[157]For details see the All Pakistan Music Conference website: www.apmc.info

life to music in Pakistan but also gave the public an opportunity to listen to many maestros whom they would never have had the opportunity to listen to otherwise.[158]

Former information minister, filmmaker, and communication scholar Javed Jabbar notes that Radio Pakistan became a training ground for hundreds of individuals whose talent and interest in broadcasting was nurtured and guided towards high levels of professional skill. After the partition there was no news agency in Pakistan. As the majority of the All India Radio staff had left for India, Radio Pakistan had to set up its own news collection unit. The contribution of Radio Pakistan in the formative years was huge, ranging from development of management skills, production, recording, writing, music, narration, acting and presentation to news gathering and reporting. This institution attracted people of all ages to new professions and to a new part-time vocation that provided a pool of highly trained human resources from which many went on to become pioneers in television after its introduction in 1964.[159]

Jabbar argues that the 1965 war with India was a turning point in terms of the relationship between the media and Pakistanis.

> Radio Pakistan kept millions spellbound with its news bulletins and its reports and also with war songs to boost morale. The media in general, in East or West, accurately and fulsomely reflected the nationwide surge of a new sense of fellowship. They memorably extolled the courage and skills

---

[158] From 1960 onwards, the APMC has been regularly holding its monthly music program, while the five-day annual festival is a regular feature that has also hosted many musicians from India, Afghanistan, Japan, Turkey, Germany, and America. According to music scholar Dr. Hassan Azad, the music of the subcontinent is an oral tradition. Insights acquired over generations are divulged only to the children of the practitioners or to exceptionally talented students who can endure being treated as apprentices as in the Middle Ages. Even full compositions are kept secret, and only part of the composition is performed publicly. In contrast to the West, nothing has been written or recorded about voice culture, principles of melodic development, exercises for the advanced learner or history of compositions. For details see http://www.kavitachhibber.com/main/main.jsp?id=arts-Oct2007

[159] Javed Jabbar, "Role of Media in National Development in the 21st Century," Inderjeet Banerjee and Stephan Logan, (eds), *Asian Communication Handbook*, Singapore: Asian Media and Communication Centre and Nanyang Technological University, 2008, p. 45.

with which the armed forces engaged Indian troops and "enemy" targets, capturing the mood of the nation's will for survival and victory.[160]

The Media Under the First Dictatorship

On October 7, 1958, then President of Pakistan Iskandar Mirza declared Martial Law and appointed General Ayub Khan as chief martial law administrator. Twenty days later Ayub Khan deposed Iskandar Mirza in a bloodless coup d'etat and took over the role of president himself. In an attempt to clearly establish himself as boss, Ayub Khan took action against several civil service officials and police officers, charging them with corruption, inefficiency, and misconduct. Similarly strict action was taken against politicians as the General introduced the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order authorizing special tribunals to try former politicians for misconduct. However, prosecution could be avoided if the accused agreed not to participate in any elected body for a period of seven years. Nevertheless, more than seven thousand politicians were prosecuted under the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order. Between 1958 and 1962, Ayub Khan used the martial law to initiate a number of reforms that reduced the power of groups opposing him. One such group was the landed aristocracy. Landholders retained their dominant positions in the social hierarchy and their political influence, but they heeded Ayub Khan's warnings against political assertiveness. Some four million hectares of land in West Pakistan, much of it in Sindh, was released for public acquisition between 1959 and 1969 and sold mainly to civil and military officers, thus creating a new class of farmers with medium-sized holdings.[161]

---

[160] Ibid.

[161] For details, see *Country Profile, Pakistan: The Ayub Era*. http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-9775.html

Though the civilian governments had formally accepted the notion that the press had a role independent of government, in due course they introduced laws to set limits on that independence as narrowly as suited their purpose. The prolonged military regimes, on the other hand, could not acknowledge even such a limited notion and practice of independence. They could not admit any role for the media except as a tightly regulated adjunct of themselves.[162]

Communication has a key significance in army thinking and "in fact every conceivable mode of communication is important to the military in peace and in conflict, regardless of the kind of society in which it operates."[163] In Pakistan, every military intervention has had a standard procedure: the 111 Brigades of the army move in to take control of telephone exchanges, TV stations, radio broadcasting, and the post offices, replacing civilians with Army Signal Corps officials before declaring martial law. Despite having a very limited experience with the mass media, it is essential for martial law regimes to control the media and to operate in this manner "to create and sustain a grand illusion" for the legitimacy of their rule.[164]

The first martial law government of General Ayub Khan in 1958 introduced a grand plan for placing mass media under the government umbrella to silence independent voices against the praetorians. The first casualty of this grand design was the Progressive Papers Limited which published *The Pakistan Times* and the Urdu daily *Imroze* (*Today*), both declared the best edited dailies by the Asia Pacific Award, and the weekly *Lailo*

---

[162]Aziz Siddiqui, "No Hurrahs For Freedom" *Dawn*. Millenium Edition, Karachi, Pakistan, 1999.
Aziz Siddiqui served as editor of *The Pakistan Times* (Lahore), *The Gulf News* (Dubai) and *The Frontier Post* (Peshawar) at various times in his journalistic career. He was also the Joint Director of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan at the time of his death on June 7, 2000.
[163]R.S. Anderson, "Introduction: Communication and Martial Law," *Canadian Journal of Communication*, Fall, 1988, p. 3.
[164]Ibid.

Nihar. Progressive Papers Limited owner and publisher Mian Iftikhar-ud-din was framed in several cases ranging from high treason to receiving money from a foreign power, allegations that were never proved. The papers were taken over by the government under the 1952 Security Act, which was amended suitably for the purpose. The most problematic aspect of this development was the fact that the editors of the *Dawn*, *Nawa-i-Waqt* and the *Jang* hailed the decision as a right step.[165]

In 1960 the government introduced another draconian law, the Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance, which stills restrains Pakistan's media to this day. This law allows the government to prohibit the publication of material, impose pre-censorship, close down publications for an unspecified time, prohibit the entry of a publication into any province, require disclosure of sources, and make arrests. All offenses under this law are cognizable and those charged are not eligible for release with bail.

In 1961, the government took the premier news agency, the Associated Press of Pakistan (APP), under government control in the 'public interest' and later introduced the Press and Publications Ordinance in 1963, which was even more authoritarian than the press laws under colonial rule. Hundreds of dailies and publishing houses were closed down and scores of journalists were jailed under the ordinance until its repeal in 1988 by the caretaker government of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan.[166]

General Ayub Khan's regime also introduced another authoritarian practice, the *press advice,* a telephone call from the government Press Information Department (PID) directly to the newsroom to "advise" which news or photograph should be highlighted, played down or totally suppressed. This practice has persisted throughout both civilian

---

[165]Zamir Niazi, "All is Not Lost," p. 18.
[166]Mehdi Hassan, _Akhbar aur Pakistani Muashra_ (Newspapers and Pakistani Society), Lahore: A.H.Publishers, 1997, p. 41.

and military regimes right up to the present. A news editor told me in 1991: "I have to fax

the slugs[167] of the stories to the PID for their 'opinion.' Sometimes they ask to change the

headline. Most of the time we follow."[168]

The government decision to take over Progressive Papers Ltd. (PPL) newspaper

group in April 1959 was a massive setback to press freedom and Pakistan's civil society

as they were deprived of the most authoritative and important voice of the people, while

rendering jobless dozens of leftist journalists, including its editor, Mazhar Ali Khan who

later wrote that:

> We were naïve enough to believe that any action contemplated would be
> legal action of some sort, and we did not see how our papers came within
> the mischief of any existing laws, not excluding the Security Act and the
> various Martial Law Regulations applicable to the press. Since 8 October
> 1958, our journals had been published under censorship, and when the
> censorship order was formally withdrawn and the euphemism Press
> Advice substituted for it, we chose to be 'advised' daily, unlike some other
> newspapers more confident of being able to interpret the government mind
> in respect of the draconian laws to which the press was subject. In the
> circumstances, we felt that there could be no palpable cause for action, and
> even if action were taken out of pique it could not be sustained. Our
> naiveté was rudely shattered, and we learnt the lesson that a usurper's
> regime, guided by unprincipled and lying toadies, was capable of illegal
> and unscrupulous action to gain its own ends.[169]

The late editor of *Pakistan Times*, Aziz Sidique pointed out:

> The military rule could not, you see, stand daily scrutiny of itself by a
> watchdog that presumed to have an allegiance to the people and the
> country rather than to itself. The next step was the setting up of the
> National Press Trust (NPT). The concept was based on that original
> assumption that there were national verities, departures from which were
> impermissible, that the government and the state were indistinguishable
> entities, and that the national interest was only what the government

---

[167] The story is labeled with its slug as it makes its way from the reporter through the editorial process and contains code information that tells editors specific information about the story.

[168]A news editor of an Urdu journal in Lahore informed me of this daily practice in 1991.

[169]Khalid Hasan, *The Pakistan Times*, July 23, 2008. www.khalidhasan.net//2008/07/23/the-pakistan-times/2008/07/23/the-pakistan-times/

ordained. The Trust brought 11 newspapers of both the wings into its bear hug. The hope was that all the major papers of the country would eventually belong to it, or that the ones that belonged to it would eventually be the only ones that would count.[170]

Despite all the suppression and the inability of media to provide free and fair information, peoples' aspiration to challenge the military persisted. Like so many others in the rest of the world, in 1968 workers, peasants, students, and leftist organizations organized mass mobilization against the martial law regime. In 1969, following the massive agitation launched by students, trade unions and the media, Ayub Khan stepped down and handed over power to fellow General Yahya Khan, who promised to hold the first general elections on the basis of adult franchise. General Yahya appointed as his Minister for Information General Sher Ali, who was the first to introduce the term "ideology of Pakistan." He proposed a strategic formula to shape political discourse in favour of the military. Hussain Haqqani examines the Sher Ali formula of behind the scenes manipulation of the political process to ensure maintenance of a situation of chaos due to severe divisions in the parliament between uncompromising parties so that the army could act as 'referee' able to preserve the integrity of the nation state.

Haqqani notes that the process not only requires increasing the number of political contenders but also identifying 'patriotic' and 'unpatriotic' factions. Haqqani identifies three layers of General Yahya's political operation. First, the National Security Council headed by Major General Ghulam Umer was responsible for assessing the political process and diverting resources to various factions of the Muslim League and to the religious parties and recommending policies to promote the Ideology of Pakistan. Second, civilian and military intelligence services monitored and infiltrated left-wing and

---

[170]Aziz Siddiqui, "No Hurrahs for Freedom," *Dawn* Special Report, 1999.

regional parties, spreading disinformation against them and organizing attacks by

religious groups against them because of their un-Islamic and foreign-inspired beliefs.

Third, the Information Ministry launched a propaganda drive to create a specter of Islam

and Pakistan being in danger to foster polarization between lovers of Islam on the one

side, and communists, socialists, and secularists on the other.[171] Haqqani analyzes how

the ideological indoctrination during the Yahya regime deeply influenced the military. He

quotes Brigadier A.R. Siddiqi, the then head of the military public relations team, who

explains how the professional military image was replaced by a 'politico-ideological

image':

> Expressions like the "ideology of Pakistan" and the "glory of Islam" used by the military high command were becoming stock phrases. Messages issued by the services chiefs and the President on the occasion of Defense day reflected the ideological overtones. They sounded more like high priests than soldiers when they urged the men to rededicate themselves to the sacred cause of ensuring the "security, solidarity, integrity of the country and its ideology." They praised the people for their determination, courage and high ideals in the best tradition of Islam…" [General] Sher Ali took the regime to the point of no return on the road to the ideological involvement. He went place to place preaching and pontificating about the Islamic ideology. He even talked of his personal relationship with God with whom, he playfully quipped, he had been "on a direct line" five times a day without anybody's help or assistance. Sher Ali called himself "an ideological man…" To be sure, Yahya himself liked and encouraged Sher Ali's ideological P[ublic] R[elations].[172]

Haqqani points out that the army assumed the government's right to exercise

censorship to prevent religiously offensive material, which resulted in severe containment

of academic freedom of thought and eventually saw the emergence of ideological

---

[171]Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military,* Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005, p. 55. Haqqani is a well-known journalist and Pakistan's ambassador to the U.S.

[172]Ibid., pp. 55-56.

vigilantes on campuses, in the media, and in trade unions attacking secularists and socialists in the name of protecting the "ideology of Pakistan."[173]

East Pakistan Becomes Bangladesh: The Tragedy of 1971:

Following the popular demand and mass mobilization for democracy, the martial law government of General Yahya Khan held general elections in December 1970 after a delay of almost one year. Ten political parties fielded 1,579 candidates to contest the three hundred seats in the National Assembly. Sheikh Mujeebur Rehman's Awami League won 160 seats in East Pakistan but could not win a seat in West Pakistan; the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) won eighty-one seats, all from West Pakistan; the rest of the parties each won less than ten seats.[174] Despite the election results, General Yahya refused to hand over power to the Awami League, which was demanding an end to military rule and transfer of power to the elected civilian government. Instead, the Pakistani generals ordered a crackdown in East Pakistan, and following India's decision to block the air route for Pakistani planes to East Pakistan, the army was faced with the daunting task of deploying its troops in East Pakistan. Consequently, the army decided to raise 100,000 volunteers from the non-Bengali settlers in East Pakistan. They raised a *lashkar* (Persian word meaning army) by hiring Islamists of non-Bengali origin to aid the counter insurgency. The *Jamaat-e-Islami* (JI) and its student wing, the *Islami Jamiat e-Tulba* (IJT), joined the army recruitment efforts, and by May 1971 they raised two units, the *Al-Shamas* (The Sun) and *Al-Badr* (The Moon) Brigades, that comprised the main bulk of mercenaries. By September 1971, the number of volunteers had reached fifty

---

[173]Ibid., p. 57.

[174] Election Commission of Pakistan, 1970 election result. For the complete list of the winners, see: http://www.ecp.gov.pk/GE/1970/NAWestPakistan.aspx

thousand.[175] Eighteen thousand Bengali troops in the Pakistan Army were either disarmed by the Pakistan army or deserted.

On March 25, 1971 the army launched an operation that many Bangladeshis identify as a genocide campaign. The University of Dhaka was attacked, and scores of students and many respected teachers were killed, while several million people were forced to flee taking refuge in India. Journalist , poet, and human right activist Wajahat Masood points out that the military launched a village-to-village operation with their Islamist *Razakars* (volunteers) to hunt down 'insurgents', but poets, writers, intellectuals and Hindus were their target. In the words of one observer, "It was as if the Pakistani army had decided to deprive us of our intellectual base."[176] The Bangladesh Genocide Archives, an online chronology of events, documentations, audio, video, images, media reports and eyewitness accounts of the 1971 genocide by the Pakistan army in Bangladesh, states:

> On March 25 the genocide was launched. The University in Dacca (Dhaka) was attacked and students exterminated in the hundreds. Death squads roamed the streets of Dacca, killing some 7,000 people in a single night. It was only the beginning. "Within a week, half the population of Dacca had fled, and at least 30,000 people had been killed. Chittagong, too, had lost half its population. All over East Pakistan people were taking flight, and it was estimated that in April some thirty million people [!] were wandering helplessly across East Pakistan to escape the grasp of the military." (Robert Payne, *Massacre*, 1972. p. 48.) Ten million refugees fled to India, overwhelming that country's resources and spurring the eventual Indian military intervention. (The population of Bangladesh/East Pakistan at the outbreak of the genocide was about 75 million.)[177]

---

[175]Husain Haqqani, p. 79.

[176]Several Bangladeshi graduate students and academics in Vancouver told me the same things over the years. Pakistani intellectual and journalist, Wajahat Masood's article on the "Bangladesh Massacre" in the op-ed pages of the Urdu daily *Aaj Kal* on December 17, 2008 cited the same version.

[177]www.genocidebangladesh.org

A November 5, 1971 U.S. declassified report by the deputy administrator of the

Agency for International Development on the developments in East Pakistan provided the

following analysis:

Increasing Chaos in Rural East Pakistan

… the "Rasikars" are a destabilizing element - living off the land, able to make life and death decisions by denouncing collaborators and openly pillaging and terrorizing villagers without apparent restraint from the Army. With villagers caught between the *Rasikars* and *Mukti guerrillas*,[178] law and order is breaking down rapidly in rural East Pakistan. Hence, the rural population is moving either to the cities which are now over populated or going to India. The flow of Muslim refugees to India has recently increased - many of them small land-holders and farmers who are normally the more stable political elements.[179]

Army Policy to Clear East Pakistan of Hindus

The Pakistan Army is ideologically anti-Hindu and their historic experience in West Pakistan, from the time of partition, has been that Hindus should go to India. Hence, reprisal operations naturally continue to focus against Hindus. Without law or order, except that sanctioned by the Army, Hindu lives and property are not safe in East Pakistan today.[180]

General Farman Ali Khan accepted the estimate that at least 80 percent of the Hindus had left East Pakistan. He, off-the-record, spoke of about six million refugees who had gone to India and he anticipated that a further 1,500,000 refugees would probably go to India "before the situation settles down."[181]

On December 3, 1971, the Indian army attacked East Pakistan and fierce fighting

began that lasted only fifteen days, as Pakistani General Niazi surrendered on December

---

[178] Mukti Bahani , an armed organization whose guerrillas fought against the Pakistan Army during the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971.

[179] F.S. Aijazuddin, ed., *The White House and Pakistan: Secret declassified documents, 1969 – 1974,* Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2002.

[180] Ibid.

[181]Report by Maurice J. Williams for Secretary of State, November 5, 1971, Washington DC., 20523. This report can be found online at http://therepublicofrumi.com/archives/71us.htm which cites as its source: F. S. Aijazuddin, ed., *The White House and Pakistan: Secret declassified documents, 1969 – 1974,* Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

18, 1971, and as many as 90,000 Pakistani troops became prisoners of war (POWs) in India.

Perhaps the most shameful crime committed by the Pakistan Army was just two days before their surrender. Knowing fully well that they had lost the war, the generals provided a list of prominent Bengali intellectuals to *Jamaat-e-Islami* (JI) goons. The volunteers of JI and its student wing, *Islami Jamiat e-Tulba,* were given the task to hunt down the intellectuals. On December 16, twenty-four leading intellectuals were abducted in the night, tortured and killed. Their dead bodies, with extensive marks of torture and hands tied, were found in a pond on December 17, 1971. Prominent eye surgeon Dr Fazal Rabi's eyes had been pulled out, while noted writer Shaheed Ullah's hands were chopped off. The rest were mostly heads of departments of the university, whose bodies were found with hands tied and a bullet hole in the head.[182]

During the 1971 war with India, the world media was reporting the retreat and then surrender of Pakistani armed forces, while the official spokesman of Pakistan was reported as saying "we are winning the war" less than twenty-four hours before the military command in East Pakistan signed the surrender document. No newspaper dared to report the real situation on the war front. The Pakistani media played a most shameful role blindly towing the official line, they failed to investigate or report the facts. People in West Pakistan were shocked that they had lost half of the country whilst their media had been constantly telling them that they were winning the war. The media also failed to report the small demonstrations against the military action in East Pakistan, ensuring a complete blackout of reality.

---

[182]Wajahat Masood, "When Pakistan was Divided," Op-ed. Lahore: *Aaj Kal*, December 3, 2009.

Jabbar points out that the relationship between Radio Pakistan and its audience remained strong until the 1970s when the military dictator, General Yahya Khan, refused to allow the newly elected members of the National Assembly to take their oath of office, instigating massive protest and state repression in East Pakistan. Radio Pakistan followed the government line by blocking coverage from East Pakistan and broadcast only state propaganda.[183] The media and people in West Pakistan had no idea of the grave situation in East Pakistan during the war with India, and when Pakistani troops surrendered on December 17, 1971, the people in West Pakistan were shocked; Radio Pakistan lost its credibility. One journalist recalled that "People were crying in the streets, homes, and in our offices with disbelief as to how this happened. Nobody told us."[184]

In December 1971, the president of Pakistan appointed an inquiry commission to investigate the circumstances of the military surrender in East Pakistan.

Return to Civilian Rule: Zulifiqar Ali Bhutto

After the back-to-back martial law governments of Ayub Khan (1958-69) and Yahya Khan (1969-72) and the disastrous defeat of the Pakistan army, on December 20, 1971, Yahya Khan resigned and Zulifiqar Ali Bhutto took over as President of Pakistan and Chief Martial Law Administrator. [185] In July 1972, the inquiry commission submitted its report, known as the Hamood-ur Rehman Commission Report, on the surrender in East Pakistan. However, after long debates it was decided not to make the report public

---

[183]Ibid. p. 45.

[184]"Mourning East Pakistan," *The Daily News*, December 17, 1994.

[185] Bhuto had served as foreign minister (1962-66) under Ayub Khan, but he resigned over a dispute with him, and in Lahore in November 1967, he founded the Pakistan People's Party. When Yahya Khan finally agreed to hold parliamentary elections in 1970, the PPP won a majority of seats in West Pakistan.

as it could humiliate the army. Khalid Hassan, who was Bhutto's press secretary at the

time, has described the struggle over this decision.

> The government had film footage of the surrender of the Pakistan army at
> Dhaka's Paltan Maidan to the so-called joint command of the Indian army
> and the Indian equipped and trained Bengali militia called Mukti Bahini.
> At a meeting in which some of his ministers, including the personable
> Abdul Hafiz Pirzada whom Bhutto had immortalized in a Lahore public
> meeting by calling him [sohna munda].[186] At one point Bhutto said,
> "Everyone asks what happened in East Pakistan. Well, let them then see
> what happened." It was decided to screen the footage from Pakistan
> Television. The showing was to be preceded by a statement from Pirzada
> that I was asked to draft. I did so hurriedly and the footage was shown,
> preceded by or followed by Pirzada's statement. The reaction was stormy.
> PTV phone lines were literally jammed with protesting calls. "Why are
> you showing us our disgrace?" could be said to be the basic point of these
> phone calls. Not one person said that it was the right thing to do. Bhutto
> was philosophical. "They don't want to see it because they cannot face the
> truth. Don't then show it to them." The surrender ceremony was never
> again shown on Pakistan TV. In fact, one of the charges levelled to this
> day at Bhutto is that he humiliated the armed forces by ordering the
> surrender ceremony to be shown on PTV.[187]

According to media historian Zamir Niazi, after Liaquat Ali Khan, Bhutto was

Pakistan's most popular elected leader, and many secular, leftist and other segments

believed that he would pull the country out from the crisis after the loss of East Pakistan

and its subsequent trauma. Bhutto did indeed pull the nation out of rough times. He

negotiated a peace agreement with Indira Gandhi, the return of five thousand square

miles of territory occupied by India and the safe return of ninety-three thousand POWs.

Bhutto rescinded martial law and convened the national assembly. With Bhutto as acting

President, the national assembly appointed a committee to draft a constitution for a newly

constituted Islamic Republic of Pakistan. In August 1973 the national assembly

---

[186] Punjabi word meaning handsome boy.
[187] Khalid Hasan, "Z. A. Bhutto," September 23, 2008. http://www.khalidhasan.net/2008/09/23/zulfikar-ali-
bhutto/

approved the new constitution and Bhutto stepped down as President and took over as Prime Miinister.[188] In January 1972, Bhutto issued an Economic Reform Order, whereby he nationalized the banking and insurance sector and seventy of the largest industrial enterprises including steel, petrochemicals, cement and public utalities.[189] This affected a core sector of the economic elite that had prospered under the prior military regimes. These nationalizations reflected Bhutto's and the Pakistan People's Party's commitment to constructing a socialist economy. His government also implemented labour reforms to give greater rights and protections to workers and trade unions. There were also land reforms, but because of loopholes, they did not significantly affect the power of large landholding elites.

However, when it came to the media, Z.A Bhutto's government was not very different from previous regimes. The government acquired full control over the press in 1972 when it issued directives to all government, semi-government, and autonomous and semi-autonomous institutions to release their advertisements through the provincial Press Information Department (PID). Even to this date, the PID has sole authority to determine which newspaper will, or will not, get a quota of advertisements. The *Dawn* tried to resist and challenged the government's harsh policies for one year, but soon after the arrest of its chief editor it too started towing the government line.[190]

One serious and lasting consequence of the Bhutto era was the rise of the right-wing media. His information minister, Maulana Kausar Niazi, promoted the right-wing media to counter 'nationalist' political parties in the provinces of Balochistan and the NWFP who were demanding autonomy and engaging in armed liberation struggles

---

[188]Zamir Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, p. 145.
[189]http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zulfikar_Ali_Bhutto - cite_note-USCS-11
[190]Ibid. p. 148.

against the center. This was also an attempt to counter the influence of critical leftists in academic institutions and trade unions. Kausar Niazi's strategy worked, but it backfired inasmuch as it gave a new lease on life to rightist media groups who later launched a vigorous movement against Bhutto in 1977. Several newspapers and journalists were intimidated during Bhutto's rule, and several publications were closed down. Newspapers were either banned for short periods or permanently. Niazi notes that "editors, publishers and printers of three Lahore-based journals, the *Punjab Punch*, the *Zindagi* (*Life*) and the *Urdu Digest*, were not only put in prison and their papers closed down but were also barred from editing or publishing any other newspaper or journal under any name or title whatsoever. Dailies, weeklies and monthlies were shut down in large numbers and many journalists were hounded and insulted." [191]

The media played an ugly role when the Bhutto government declared the religious minority community of Qadianis (also known as Ahmadis) 'non-Muslim' in response to demands of the religious parties. The media did not even bother to provide the Qadianis' point of view, let alone any balanced coverage of such an important issue where the state was discriminating against its own people in violation of the UN charter. Even violent attacks led by the Jamaat-I-Islami and its affiliated organization on the lives and property of the minority community were not reported accurately. Instead, the media joined the religious parties and establishment discourse in transforming the Qadianis 'into an inhuman network of evil, bent upon destroying Islam and hijacking the state."[192] After the loss of East Pakistan, for the second time the vernacular media blindly followed the religious discourse and failed to present fair, balanced, and accurate reporting.

---

[191]Ibid. p.157.
[192]Shakil Akhtar, *Media, Religion and Politics in Pakistan*, p. 130.

In elections in January 1977, the PPP won a majority of seats, but the results were viewed as rigged and contested by the Pakistan National Alliance, which had brought together a grouping of most of the opposition parties. Some Muslim leaders called for the overthrow of Bhutto's government as illegitimate. Amidst widening protest, Bhutto finally agreed to new elections, but it was too late. In a bloodless coup in July 1977, General Zia-ul-Haq removed Z.A. Bhutto and assumed power. He declared martial law and Bhutto was tried for allegedly plotting the murder of a political opponent. He was found guilty and eventually hanged in April 1979, an act that many believe was the judicial murder of the most charismatic leader Pakistan had ever had. After seven years of civilian rule, Pakistan entered the darkest and most brutal era in the history of journalism. Zia, who had promised to hold elections in ninety days, introduced new intimidating policies to choke the press.

CHAPTER 4: MEDIA, STATE CONTROL, AND RESISTANCE: THE ZIA REGIME AND ITS AFTERMATH

The Martial Law Years of General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1988)

Despite the censorship and policies of control imposed by various regimes, Pakistan had always enjoyed a vibrant and defiant media, one that has continued to grow since the independence of the country, despite restrictions, censorship, and regulatory policies.[193] The key measure that General Zia used to strengthen his political control and suppression of freedoms was the muzzling of the entire Pakistani media through stringent censorship policies. Although there was not much to be restricted or curtailed in terms of anything that could be reasonably described as anti-Islamic since the media were careful to adhere to norms that showed due respect for Islam, the Zia regime, nevertheless, introduced mechanisms to systematically promote and support religious right-wing journalists, media owners, and editors who would promote a pro-Zia and pro-Islamization ideology across the country. In a brazen show of his absolute dictatorial power, Zia declared in a speech:

> I could close down all the newspapers, say, for a period of five years, and nobody would be in a position to raise any voice against it. If they try to organize a meeting or procession, I will send them to jail.[194]

---

[193]The All-Pakistan Newspaper Society (APNS) estimated that the print media included 424 dailies, 718 weeklies, 107 fortnightlies, and 553 monthlies in 1997. *Pakistan Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers.* Accessed at: http://www.pressreference.com/No-Sa/Pakistan.html

[194] Zia-ul-Haq, "Presidential speech to the nation," *The Daily Jang*, 22 March 1982.

Pakistani journalist and media historian Zamir Niazi elaborates on the sweeping

measures taken by Zia to impose complete control over all aspects of the media,

including the performing arts:

> Blanket censorship of all printed and audio-visual matter was imposed in
> October 1979 (along with an 'indefinite postponement' of general
> elections and a ban on all political parties). It covered all dailies,
> periodicals, books, pamphlets, posters, handbills, photographs, motion
> pictures, dramatic and stage productions, phonographic records, radio and
> television programmes…All entry points in the country were heavily
> guarded – land, sea and air. Specialties of the Customs officials dealing
> with printed matter were to blacken the 'objectionable' portions with thick
> markers, tear off pages and photographs or seize offending publications
> and confiscate them.[195]

The Zia regime enforced its power over the media through not only extreme

censorship policies, but also daunting consequences and punishments for breaching

them.[196] Towards this end, Zia, who also held the title of the Chief Martial Law

Administrator (CMLA), introduced amendments to the Pakistan Penal Code, as Zamir

Niazi elaborates:

> On December 18, 1979, the CMLA-President was "pleased to promulgate
> an ordinance to give protection to citizens against publication of
> defamatory matter". The ordinance amended Sections 499 and 500 of the
> Pakistan Penal Code (Act XLV of 1860) and the Second Schedule of the
> Criminal Procedure Code, 1898. The effect of the amendment would be
> that with the exception of the publication or report of court proceedings,
> publication of defamatory matter against any person, even if it is true and
> in public interest, would constitute a cognizable and compoundable
> offence punishable with five years' rigorous imprisonment or with fine, or
> with both. In the 1860 Law of Defamation, there had been ten exceptions,
> of which nine were withdrawn with one stroke of the pen…After a lapse

---

[195]Zamir Niazi, "Darkness at Noon," *The Web of Censorship*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 3.

[196]Censorship pervades journalism history in Pakistan; certainly, the blackest censorship period came during General Zia's 11-year military regime. Almost all journalists mention the press advice system as one of the most insidious means of censorship. It specified that whoever 'contravenes any provision of this regulation shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment which may extend to ten years, and shall be liable to fine or stripes [lashes] not to exceed twenty-five.' *Pakistan Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers*. Accessed at: http://www.pressreference.com/No-Sa/Pakistan.html

of 119 years all these safeguards for individual and public interests in the Law of Defamation granted by an imperialist power to its subjects were snatched away by the military rulers of the free land.[197]

Following Zia's amendments, the government-run Press Information Department (PID), set up under Z.A. Bhutto in 1972 to bring the press under state control by exercising complete control over the quota of advertisements and newsprint, assumed even greater powers. Newspaper newsrooms, editors, and journalists were directly monitored by the state, ensuring that all published material met the state requirements for supporting Zia and his Islamization policies. Those journalists or publications that defied the rules to any extent were duly punished and had their advertisements and newsprint quotas curtailed or their enterprise's declarations cancelled.[198]

Besides pre-censorship, the Zia regime also imposed a complete ban on coverage of political parties, activities for the restoration of democracy, or protests against the martial law regime. For example, in 1983 the regime dismissed many senior journalists working in the National Press Trust (NPT) and university professors who were signatories to a memorandum urging an immediate halt to army atrocities against the people of the Sindh province. The government declared all the signatories to be 'anti-state' elements seeking to disrupt the process of Islamization. They were only reinstated after Zia's death in 1988.[199]

On May 13, 1978, a day that has come to be known as the 'Black Day' in the history of Pakistani media, a countrywide newspaper workers' movement initiated against Zia's dictatorship was brutally crushed by the public flogging of four journalists,

---

[197]Zamir Niazi, "Dark Tunnel," *The Press in Chains*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1986, pp. 183-184.
[198]Ibid. p. 192.
[199]For further details, see Imran Munir, *The Consequences of Fundamentalism on Pakistani Media*, M.A Thesis, School of Communication, Simon Fraser University, 2002, p. 30.

while another four hundred journalists were arrested and put behind bars in a single day. Most of these journalists were also fired from their jobs by the Ministry of Information for the entire length of Zia's rule. This led many journalists, mostly the absolutely uncompromising ones, to go into exile abroad, thereby leaving a vacuum to be filled by Zia's right-wing loyalists. The Zia regime closed down the Karachi daily *Musawat* on March 24 1978 without giving any reasons. Karachi journalists went on a hunger strike to protest the sudden and illegal action of the government. The Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) called for countrywide protests in which hundreds of journalists participated from every part of Pakistan. To demonstrate its authority, the Zia regime brutally baton-charged and dragged the protesting journalists on roads and arrested four hundred in a single day. Journalists started courting arrest by raising pro democracy and freedom of press slogans at the *Musawat* on a daily basis, but the regime did not budge and decided to crush the journalists' resistance with an iron hand. On May 13th 1978, four journalists courted arrest at the offices of the *Musawaat*. The four journalists, Nasir Zaidi, Masood Ullah Khan, a disabled man, Iqbal Jafari, and Khawar Naeem Hashmi were picked up from outside the Musawat office by the authorities and driven away in chains. The journalists were produced before a summary military court headed by a young major, who, within minutes, had not only completed his summary proceedings, but also sentenced the journalists to imprisonment and a flogging. Within one hour of passing the sentence, the four journalists were taken to the Kot Lakhpat Jail in Lahore where each man was stripped to his waist, spread eagled and lashed five times with a yard of plaited leather thong dipped in oil. After the sentence was carried out, Zaidi, an extremely frail man, was offered to be taken out on a stretcher by the jail authorities. In a

show of defiance that his captors could not break his spirit, Zaidi rejected the offer. All four men were then taken to hospital in chains and fettered to their hospital beds.[200]

Niazi believes that the worst period of media oppression was between October 17, 1979 and December 31, 1982. He explains:

> …information officials, who were experts only in sycophancy, fresh from colleges, who had never seen the inside of a newspaper office, assumed power as the sole arbiters of journalism, superseding journalists who had been in the profession since the dawn of independence. During this period "press advises" continued to be issued unabated. [201]

Meanwhile the government created a post called the 'censor officer' to which mostly army captains were appointed. One censor officer who was going through the content of a Lahore based Urdu daily, *Sadaqat*, objected to a headline based on a *hadith* "May Allah curse the Liar" and asked the editor to remove it. On the editor's inquiry as to why, he replied, "it points towards the President and cannot be published." Perhaps the author of the headline or the censor officer had in mind that Zia swore he would hold elections within ninety days of assuming power. His dictatorship lasted for eleven years until his death in a plane crash in August 1988.[202]

In the early 1980s, newspapers were required to deliver drafts of each edition before printing to the censor office for clearance. An army officer would go through the content in detail and blacken objectionable portions deemed critical of the regime with a marker. Before the final printing, staff had to painstakingly fill those blackened spots in the paper with other stories. Eventually, an innovative practice of defiance evolved to

---

[200]Masoodullah Khan was my News Editor at the *Daily News International* in Lahore in 1990-93. Khawar Naeem Hashmi was also a colleague and has remained a good friend.

[201]Zamir Niazi, "All is Not Lost," p. 25.

[202]This was one of the most popular stories at the Lahore Press Club. Many senior journalists used to tell this story about the late Rana Bashir, owner and editor of the daily *Sadaqat*. He was a veteran nationalist who had fought against British colonialism during the independence struggle.

simply leave the blackened spots unfilled. This became a serious embarrassment for the government, especially when forty to sixty percent of a page was blanked out with black ink.[203]

Another innovative strategy was to break stories in editorials as they were generally considered boring with complicated language and more easily escaped censorship. This is how the practice of 'writing between the lines' evolved in the Pakistani media, and over the years many journalists developed the skill to tell a story in this manner thereby doing their jobs with conviction and a sense of duty.[204] Under the Zia regime, many newspapers also adopted another method whereby they not only managed to publish critical and hard-hitting stories but also to protect themselves. Many leading newspapers would publish a story in a dummy paper[205] and publish few copies everyday and then lift and reproduce the story in their own papers, shifting any blame of breach to another paper.[206]

General Zia amended the Penal Code provision, Section 123-A, which further curtailed the media, making the criticism of the state or its ideology punishable by ten years imprisonment and a fine. It became a popular tale in the journalist community that

---

[203]Many senior newsroom staff, shift-incharge and sub-editors used to tell this author and others about the early days of working under the Zia regime. This author began working as a journalist in 1985. It may be mentioned that there are three shifts in the newsroom, morning, evening and night in the newsroom and each shift is headed by a senior sub-editor, a shift incharge.

[204] A former senior sub-editor of the daily *Muslim,* who was also in charge of the mid-shift of the daily *Frontier Post* in Peshawar, made this comment to this author in 1987.

[205] The dummy papers publish few copies to retain declaration and advertisement quota of the government. These papers were published for public.

[206]Shakil Akhtar, *Media, Religion, and Politics in Pakistan*, p. 92.

each time Zia-ul-Haq visited Lahore, a senior journalist, the late Nisar Osmani,[207] had to go to jail because during Zia's press conference he would begin with his standard question, "When are you lifting the martial law?" Invariably, after the press conference, Osmani would be taken into custody for a few days.

With the help of oppressive laws and the backing of the right - wing media, Zia managed to create a division in the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) by establishing a parallel, pro-Zia right-wing PFUJ group that justified all his actions for creating an ideal Islamic State. He managed to mobilize support for his arbitrary actions against the press in the name of 'national interest', 'Pakistan's ideology', the 'glory of Islam', etc.

Two pro-establishment newspaper editors even went to the International Press Institute in Zurich to defend and justify Zia's assault on the press. Majid Nizami, editor of the Urdu daily, the *Nawa-i-Waqat*, and president of the All Pakistan Newspaper Society (APNS), asserted that under Zia-ul-Haq's martial law, the press was enjoying more freedom than ever.[208] A popular joke about Majid Nizami's paper was based on a saying of Prophet Mohammad: "the best Jihad is speaking the truth to the face of Sultan"---yes, provided you check with the Sultan first as to what the truth is.[209]

---

[207]The late Nisar Osmani was one of the founders of the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) at the time and the Bureau Chief of the daily *Dawn* in Lahore. In recognition of Osmani's services, the Pakistan Human Rights Society awards the 'Nisar Osmani Award for Courage in Journalism' annually to a journalist in recognition of his/her outstanding contribution to human rights and excellence in journalism.

[208]R. Bhatti, "The Influence of Policies and Government on Communication Ethics," *AMICS Seminar on Communication Ethics from a South Asian Perspective*. Colombo, Sri Lanka, Nov 9-12, 1993. p. 9.

[209]Some of the information here is based on the author's memory and experiences while working in the field for fourteen years and time spent at the press clubs which were/are a public sphere for journalists in Pakistan.

Government – Media Relations under Bhutto and Sharif

After Zia's death in a plane crash in 1988, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) won a majority of seats in the national assembly, and PPP leader Benazir Bhutto became Prime Minister, the first woman to assume the top post in an Islamic state. In 1990, however, she was dismissed on charges of corruption and replaced by Nawaz Sharif, a member of the business elite who had been a staunch supporter of Zia's military regime. Sharif privatized the state banks and many industrial enterprises originally nationalized by Benazir Bhutto's father. Sharif became embroiled in disputes with several Pakistan Army chiefs and was eventually "convinced" to resign as Prime Minister in 1993. Benazir Bhutto became Prime Minister again after the PPP won a majority of seats in an election in October 1993. She was again dismissed from her post amid charges of corruption in 1996. Once again Nawaz Sharif returned to the post of Prime Minister and again ran into conflict with an army chief, this time, General Pervez Musharraf. He attempted to remove the army chief, but instead Musharraf removed Sharif in a coup d'etat in October 1999.

During the democratically elected governments of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif (1988-99), thirty-six journalists lost their lives while scores of others were assaulted. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) in their 1999 report discusses in detail numerous examples of intimidation of the media by state agencies, religious groups and the drug-mafia.[210] Amnesty International also verified that "journalists who have reported critically on different armed groups, drug lords, and

---

[210]*The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan Annual Report, 1999*, Lahore, 1999.

Islamist groups have been threatened with abduction and killing if they did not alter their reports."[211]

The government of Nawaz Sharif (1996-99) introduced several new measures to again place the relatively free press under state control. His government accused newspapers of tax evasion, arrested one newspaper owner for drug trafficking and 'kidnapped' another for 'courting' Indian interests.[212] Sharif, who had served as chief minister of Punjab province during Zia- ul-Haq's martial law, applied the ruthless strategy of his mentor and launched attacks on all institutions that dared to question his autocratic rule. Sharif muted his parliamentarians by introducing an amendment to the constitution which barred them from expressing disagreements with their leader. His supporters launched a mob attack on the Supreme Court of Pakistan, whose chief justice was about to disqualify Sharif on corruption and other charges. Sharif's government asked the country's largest newsgroup, the *Jang* Group of Publications, to sack sixteen journalists who were critical of his government. The *Jang* management refused to follow government dictates, and the Sharif government retaliated by seizing all their accounts, while intelligence agencies raided their offices in all the major cities of Pakistan.[213] The supply of their newsprint quota was also stopped, and *Jang* press workers (non journalist printing staff) were harassed. However, journalists responded by staging a nine-day, countrywide hunger-strike. Several political parties and civic groups joined the struggle

[211]*Amnesty International Report on Pakistan 1998.*

[212]Rahmat Shah Afridi, the editor-in-chief of the English daily *The Frontier Post*, published several stories exposing massive corruption in the Nawaz Sharif government. He was arrested on charges of drug smuggling and awarded a death sentence. The editor of the *Friday Times*, Najam Sethi, criticized the policies of the Sharif government at a forum held in India. He was arrested on treason charges after his return home. Police raided his house late at night, when he was in bed, arrested him and dragged him away.

[213]The author was working at the daily *News International* Lahore office during this period and witnessed the government's harassment tactics.

to protect freedom of expression. The government was forced to withdraw its legal cases against the organization. They had not anticipated that the rightist media and religious parties would support the struggle of the *Jang* Group mainly because of their own serious differences with the Sharif government over the issue of making peace with India. Secondly, the *Jang* Group got away with a great deal simply because of the diffusion of power at the top which prevented the government from being ruthless with its opponents. At the time the Sharif government was simultaneously locked in conflict with the judiciary, the political parties, and the establishment. Moreover, the *Jang* Group had already transformed itself into a huge business conglomerate mainly because of their pro-establishment policies.

Under Zia's rule, selected newsgroups were allowed to flourish and make money. *Dawn* columnist Ardeshir Cowasji rightly analyzed the situation:

> Wily Zia, powerful and backed by his guns and tanks, was not unduly worried by the press. He deftly toyed with the press lords. He allowed all to make money. Come 1985 and Mohammad Khan Junejo, his hand picked prime minister, and the press was free to a large extent and has remained free.
>
> Concurrent with the freedom, many press lords have acquired extensive properties and assets and have famously prospered. The various governments that have come and gone have allowed most of them to sell in the market newsprint given to them at concessional rates. The larger the fudged government audit bureau's circulation figures, the greater the profit. Nelson's eye was allowed to scrutinize their tax returns.[214]

The three main newsgroups, the *Jang*, the *Dawn* and the *Nawa-e-Waqt*, were the main beneficiaries of Zia's blessings and amassed huge fortunes. The *Nawa-e-Waqt* launched its first English daily, *The Nation*, from Lahore in 1986 and later also started

---

[214] Ardeshir Cowasji, "Has the Press Failed Us?" *The Dawn*, Karachi, February 7, 1999.

110

publishing the same paper from Islamabad. The *Jang* Group launched its *Jang* edition from Lahore in 1982 and became the first newsgroup to publish from Karachi, Quetta, Lahore, Islamabad and London. They also launched the English weekly*, The Mag*, the daily *Morning News,* and later the daily *News International*, published from Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad and London.

The *Dawn* group also joined the race and launched its Lahore and Islamabad editions. The owners of the *Dawn* Group, the Haroon family, are leading industrialists in Pakistan and have had a long and substantial share in successive governments. Their family members have ruled in Sindh province as chief ministers and governors for many years.

The Nizami family of *Nawa-e-Waqt* are known as champions of Islamic ideology and the two-nation theory, while the Mir family of the *Jang* Group have always maintained good ties with the ruling party of the day and never challenged any regime on the basis of principles or freedom of press. Small newspaper groups like *The Muslim* and the *Frontier Post*, however, became easy casualties in the struggle for the freedom of the press.

The 'heroic stand' by the *Jang* Group to uphold press freedom against interference by the Nawaz Sharif government was aimed at protecting its business empire, and journalists joined this struggle countrywide when the *Jang* administration announced it would regularize the services of all daily waged and temporary employees. The NGOs supported and participated in the struggle of the press because of their own grudges against the government, which had launched a crackdown against hundreds of NGOs on charges of malpractice.

Similarly, Benazir Bhutto and her party workers also led a few journalists' rallies to "express solidarity with the journalist community," not only for her love of press freedom but equally because of her personal grievances with the Nawaz government, which had initiated corruption charges against her and her husband.

In 1990, the *Jang* Group launched its English daily the *News International* from Lahore and appointed Hussain Naqi, a veteran journalist, trade-unionist and political activist, as its editor. This was done, no doubt, to create a fresh image of liberalism and progressive journalism for the new daily and at the same time to attract a readership that otherwise considered the *Jang* Group as shameless champions of the status quo. However, the experiment went sourly wrong within months. Hussain Naqi, true to his convictions, encouraged the formation of an independent trade union within the *News* office and, in great secrecy, helped the employees to have their union registered within twenty-four hours.[215] This was unprecedented inasmuch as the *Jang* organization had only allowed pro-management union organizations within its operations. This development was seen as a huge and unacceptable threat to the organization and its policies; within no time the *Jang* management sacked forty-two journalists from the *News*, including the editor. [216]

During Zia's regime, the *Jang* Group had always gone the extra mile to please the ruler. Whenever the government showed displeasure at a news story or editorial comments, the *Jang* management not only published an unconditional apology the very next day, but also in several cases, sacked the journalist responsible and published his photograph, disclaiming any further dealings with the individual.

---

[215]The author was the Joint Secretary of the Union. We held a few meetings, after which we elected office bearers and registered the union.
[216] Ibid.

112

Shakil Akhtar, as an information officer, took a team of government officers in training to meet the owner and editor-in-chief of the *Jang* Group of Publications, Mir Khalilur Rehman, in his Karachi office in 1984. When told that the team would like to learn about the policy of the newspaper, the owner/editor asked "What policy? You tell me what should be the policy, we only follow it. There cannot be a policy. How can there be?" And then he made a long and rather angry speech about the undemocratic and repressive policies of the Bhutto regime, which he said had smothered freedom of press in Pakistan. He was not, however, equally forthcoming about the martial law regime of that time.[217]

There has been a huge transformation from Mir Khalilur Rehman's times to those of the present owner, Mir Shakilur Rehman, as the group's fortunes had expanded greatly by the late 1990s. Hence, the group could afford to exercise defiance – the lap dog had become a biting dog. Many analysts and international bodies, including Media Watch, Amnesty International, and the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), termed this new defiance a new dawn for the freedom of press in Pakistan, which would strengthen democracy in the country.

The Emergence of *Jihadist* Media in Pakistan

Among Zia's worst crimes towards the people of Pakistan was his fostering of the *jihadist* culture and media. After the partition in 1947, the Islamic parties were lying low as they strongly opposed the creation of Pakistan, which means "land of the pure". Instead, they called it *Kafiristan* or "land of infidels" during the independence struggle

---

[217]Shakil Akhtar, p. xxxi.

113

and opposed the Muslim League and sided with the Indian Congress. It was generally alleged in Pakistani political discourse that the right-wing parties were financed and promoted by the West, the U.S. in particular. Declassified documents of the U.S. government from 1951-56 show the extent of U.S. support to the religious right in Pakistan. They reveal that the Karachi secretary of *Jamaat-e-Islami* (JI) was in contact with the U.S. Embassy in Karachi as early as 1951. The U.S. launched a program with specific 'operational themes': "To discredit the concept of communism; to link communism with imperialism; to build fear of 'communism in action'; to show the communists as anti-God and therefore a threat to the Muslim world as a free and independent religio-political entity; to promote an Islamic socio-economic concept under which there will be freedom and dignity for the individual and which will provide for the elimination of economic disparities and inequalities."[218]

For the press, the documents reveal plans for development of covert distribution of heavily anti-communist material: "USIS will reach 'understanding' with as many publishers and editors as possible; the fringe and friendly press should be assisted, if possible, with newsprint and other means; a covert subsidized newspaper."[219]

About religious leaders and groups, the documents state:

> …'understandings' with religious leaders should be achieved so that an anti-communist drive can be launched from the pulpit. This campaign should use the theme that communism being anti-religion is therefore anti-Muslim. Material showing persecution of religious groups and in particular persecution of Muslims should be provided for this campaign.[220]

---

[218]SECRET—Enclosures to Dacca Despatches #13 of August 7, 1951. *Coordinated Program for Combating Communism*, p. 3. www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/pakistan/anticommunist7aug1951.htm
[219] Ibid., p. 8.
[220] Ibid., p. 9.

The religious parties and groups received American funding to set up printing presses to counter the communist threat. Among the religious parties, the *Jamaat-e-Islami* (*JI*) was one of the main beneficiaries of the U.S. largesse, and they set up their printing press and publication operations to promote Islam as an anti-communist ideology.[221]

Although the impacts of fundamentalism on the media appeared early during the anti-Ahmadia campaign in the 1950s, the fundamentalists remained a vocal fringe till the late 1960s. Following the release of the Justice Munir Commission Report, which probed the anti-Ahmadia riots in Punjab, it is an established and documented fact that the then provincial Government of the Punjab choreographed the riots with the help of the media by promoting radical views against the Ahmadia community: "the newspaper "Nawa-e-Waqt" was among the papers receiving money from the Punjab government to incite public anger against the Ahmadis."[222] Before the regime of Zia-ul Haq, Islamic and right-wing publications were mainly engaged in intellectual debates, criticisms of left-wing or liberal ideas, discussion of religious reforms and socio-economic issues in the light of Islamic teachings, and anti-Hindu and anti-Jewish diatribes.**[223]**

---

[221]Because the *JI* had consistently been a beneficiary of U.S. funding, one of our senior staff in Lahore asked a reporter who had a soft spot for the party, "How can they be anti-U.S. when their founder Maududi chose to die in a New York hospital rather than in Pakistan?"

[222]Lotte Dahlmann, *Media in Pakistan: Between Radicalisation and Democratisation in an Unfolding Conflict*, International Media Support, September 2009, p. 30. International Media Support is an international NGO based in Copenhagen. This report is available online at: http://www.i-m-s.dk/files/publications/1491%20Pakistan.final.web.pdf Justice Munir's report is available online at: http://www.thepersecution.org/dl/report_1953.pdf

[223]Before Zia staged his coup d'etat and removed democratically elected Zulifiqar Ali Bhutto, Zia's openness to use of Islam as a political ideology was already evident. Bhutto's press secretary, the journalist Khalid Hassan recalls that once Prime Minister Bhutto received a report that the Corps Commander, Multan, Lt. General Zia-ul Haq had distributed Maudoodi's books to the winners of an army-organized competition. Bhutto was not amused and had his displeasure conveyed to Zia. In reply, Zia wrote him a seven-page letter of abject apology. See Khalid Hassan, "Z.A Bhutto," 2008.

Under Zia's dictatorship, the beginning of the Afghan war in 1979 changed the nature of media discourse and practices profoundly. Today radical fundamentalist Islamic groups and political parties such as the *Jamaat-i-Islami*, the *Sipah-e-Sahaba*, and more recently the Pakistani Taliban, *Tehreek-e-Taliban* (PTT), have infiltrated the mainstream media in Pakistan.[224]

In 1979, when the Red Army marched into Afghanistan to protect and help the communist government, the Pakistan Army was already hosting Afghan resistance leaders, including Islamic hardliners, at its Frontier Corps Headquarters in Peshawar. The Pakistan Inter Service Intelligence (ISI), with the help of the Peshawar-based Afghan resistance leadership, initiated a small-scale resistance movement that proved surprisingly successful. As a result of the initial successes against the Soviets, the Americans decided to join the struggle so as to avenge their defeat in Vietnam. Thus the CIA launched the largest covert operation of its history against the Soviets in Afghanistan with the collaboration of the Pakistani ISI and Saudi Arabian financial assistance. The nature and scale of the CIA operation can be judged by the fact that the U.S. Department of Defense's Black Budget, which had never exceeded $9 billion a year, shot up to $36 billion a year in the Reagan era effort to defeat the 'evil empire'.[225] The ISI and the CIA, with the help of Islamist organizations, recruited about 35,000 radicals from forty Muslim countries. Hundreds of thousands of students from all over the Muslim world were sent to Pakistan to receive Islamic education in religious schools known as *madrassa* (religious seminaries). Saudi Arabia provided generous funding for this 'noble' cause, while the

---

[224]Lotte Dahlmann, *Media in Pakistan: Between Radicalisation and Democratisation in an Unfolding Conflict*, 2009, p. 30.

[225]John K. Cooley, *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism*, (Third Edition). London: Pluto Press, 2002. p. 88.

University of Nebraska, Omaha, was contracted to prepare literature and textbooks to teach 'holy warriors' about the significance of Islam and Jihad. The textbooks encouraged killing of infidels, communicated messages of hatred against them, and glorified martyrdom.[226]

When William Casey took over as the CIA chief in 1981, Pakistan and other Muslim countries had already assembled pools of respective mercenaries; what was required was a further effort to train and deploy them in Afghanistan. The ISI and the CIA decided to give the task of recruiting volunteers to various religious and charitable organizations and bodies, in many cases undercover groups working for the CIA. The *Tablighi Jamaat*, (Preaching Party) of Pakistan, which wielded significant influence in Africa and other Muslim countries, helped the CIA and the ISI by recruiting young men from Africa and sending them to study Islam in Pakistan. Army deserters and other wanted men were also recruited from all over the Muslim world by the CIA, bringing them to Pakistan, and after training, dispatching them to Afghanistan. John Cooley notes that more than three thousand army deserters in Algeria were on the wanted list when the CIA recruited them and sent them to train in Pakistan to fight in Afghanistan.[227] Similarly, in Tunisia, many Islamists who were not happy with the secular policies of their rulers decided to study Islam in Pakistan and join the jihad.

The CIA, despite being the manager of the program, could not directly hire recruits in the U.S. and instead assigned the task to local cover groups, mostly various 'legitimate' charities and mosque communities with dense Arab populations in New York, Los Angeles, Detroit and other cities. Since the CIA charter bars any domestic

[226]"The ABC's Of Jihad: Violent Soviet-Era Textbooks Complicate Afghan Education Efforts," *The Washington Post*, March 23, 2002.
[227]Cooley, p. 69.

activity inside the U.S., "Surroundings for the induction and indoctrination of the future holy warriors were modest and humdrum. One was New York's Arab district, in Brooklyn along the Atlantic Avenue. Another was a private rifle club in an affluent community in Connecticut."[228]

In New York's Brooklyn borough, the *Al-Kifah* Refugee Center,[229] also known as the '*Al-Jihad*' center was a recruitment and funding hub, which raised money for the Afghan Jihad.[230] Ironically, Abdullah Yusuf Azzam, popularly known as Abdul Azzam, a founder of *Hamas*, was the key person at the Brooklyn centre, and his agent Mustafa Chalaby ran the center. Ali Mohamed, an instructor at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, home of the U.S. Army Special Forces and Airborne Division, frequently spent his weekends traveling to meet with Islamic activists at the *Al-Kifah* Refugee Center in Brooklyn**.** Peter Lance in his well-received work, *Triple Cross*, discloses that Ali Mohamed was a regular visitor of the center, who

> came quite often and became a real presence in that [Al-Kifah] office, which later metastasized into al-Qaeda. He would bring with him a satchel full of military manuals and documents. It was Ali Mohamed who taught the men how to engage in guerrilla war. He would give courses in how to make bombs, how to use guns, how to make Molotov cocktails.[231]

---

[228] Ibid., p. 69.

[229] Another famous character associated with the *Al-Kifah* centre was Jamal al-Fadl, a founding member of Al-Qaeda and a future FBI informant, who also worked at the Al-Kifah Refugee Center in its early days. The Brooklyn office recruited Arab immigrants and Arab-Americans to fight in Afghanistan even after the Soviets withdrew in early 1989. As many as two hundred fighters were sent there from the office. Before they would go, the office arranged training in the use of rifles, assault weapons, and handguns, and then helped them with visas, plane tickets, and contacts. They were generally sent to the MAK/Al-Kifah office in Peshawar, Pakistan and then connected to either the radical Afghan faction led by Abdul Rasul Sayyaf or the equally radical one led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. *New York Times, April 11, 1993.*

[230] For further details, see John Miller, Michael Stone, and Chris Mitchell, *The Cell: Inside the 9/11 Plot, and Why FBI and CIA Failed to Stop it*. New York, New York: Hyperion, 2002, p. 155.

[231] Peter Lance, *Triple Cross: How bin Laden's Master Spy Penetrated the CIA, the Green Berets, and the FBI--and Why Patrick Fitzgerald Failed to Stop Him*, New York: Harper Collins, 2006. p. 47.

Meanwhile, Azzam remained busy recruiting young radicals, and for this he visited twenty-six states in the U.S. in his effort to hire Muslims for Jihad in Afghanistan.[232] In 1988, Osama Bin Laden's mentor Azzam told "a rapt crowd of several hundred in Jersey City: 'Blood and martyrdom are the only way to create a Muslim society… However, humanity won't allow us to achieve this objective, because all humanity is the enemy of every Muslim.'"[233] The Egyptian radical Ayman Al-Zawahiri, the future *Al-Qaida* second-in-command, made a recruiting trip to the Brooklyn office in 1989.[234]

Later, Abdullah Azzam was killed in a car blast in Peshawar on November 24, 1989, while Chalabi was murdered in New York in 1991.[235] Osama bin Laden then replaced his mentor Abdullah Azzam as head of *Al-Qaida*. He became very close to Azzam's Algerian son-in-law, Bounoua Boudjema, leader of the Armed Islamist Group (GIA), who was later accused of masterminding the 1995 metro bombing in Paris. Cooley writes that the blind Egyptian cleric Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, who sent his two sons for *jihad* in Afghanistan, was a CIA recruiter for the *jihad*. He was later convicted for the World Trade Center bombing in 1993.

The operational and training facilities that had been established to train a team to rescue American Embassy hostages in Tehran, Iran in 1979 were eventually used to host ISI 'South Asian guests' for training:

---

[232]Cooley, p. 70.

[233]Robert I. Friedman, "The CIA Jihad," *New Yorker*, March 17, 1995.

[234]Lawrence Wright, "Man Behind Bin Laden: How an Egyptian Doctor Becomes a Master of Terror," *New Yorker*, September 9, 2002.

[235]The author was stationed in Peshawar and working for daily *The Frontier Post* when Azzam was killed in November 1989. One of the intelligence officials told this correspondent that he had been taken off by the CIA or Mossad, as he had become known to everyone as the main CIA man running the *Al-Qaida* and a chief recruiter of Arab jihadists. This was the first remote control bombing with a time device in Pakistan.

Camp Peary, nicknamed 'The Farm' in the American spy world, was and probably still is the CIA's main place of training for spies, infiltrators and covert operators of all sorts. Its very existence was classified secret until various visitors discovered it and began to write about it at the beginning of the 1990s. The farm is a parcel of land about 25 square miles in area, just northeast of Williamsburg, Virginia, running between US Route 64 and the James River. Some of the future Afghan warrior-trainers, chiefly Pakistanis sent by the ISI, were probably able to see Beckwith and his men train on a model of the occupied American Embassy compound in Tehran, rehearsing all their hypothetical moves once they got over the wall. Camp Peary was also where members of the CIA Career Training Program, many of them officers seeking advancement and new assignments in covert action in Afghanistan and elsewhere, studied and worked out. Subjects, which were imparted to the trainees for the Afghan war, included use and detection of explosives; surveillance and counter-surveillance; how to write reports according to CIA "Company" standards; how to shoot various weapons, and the running of the counter-terrorism, counter-narcotics and paramilitary operations. There were also classroom courses in the all-important subject of recruiting new agents, couriers and assorted helpers. Paramilitary training also went on at another CIA-used Army Special Force site, Harvey Point, North Carolina.[236]

Britain, France and other countries also trained recruits for the Afghan war. China, which had prior experience training leftist groups in Latin America and Africa in the 1960s, provided a major input by supplying $400 million worth of weaponry between 1980 and 1988, with the CIA and Saudi Arabia paying the bill. China opened several training camps inside its territory in its Muslim-dominated Xinjiang province where recruits were trained in Chinese weapons, explosives, and People's Liberation Army combat tactics. After the early 1990s, the Chinese *jihadists* started returning to Western China and revived the dormant Eastern Turkestan Liberation Movement – thus initiating China's 'blowback', a conflict that remains unresolved.[237] Pakistan's ISI, known as the invisible government in Pakistan, were assigned to train the majority of the recruits in their training camps. Several veterans of the American Green Berets and the UK SAS

---

[236]Cooley, p. 71.
[237]Cooley, p. 62.

commandoes were hired not as trainers but as *jihad* managers to supervise the operations.[238] Over the years, about 100,000 recruits were ideologically indoctrinated to kill in the name of religion, trained, and sent into combat in Afghanistan without considering what they might do once this particular *jihad* was over.

Another most unfortunate aspect of the Afghan *jihad* was the introduction of a heroin and drug culture and the proliferation of weapons in the region in the early 80s and the subsequent effects in Pakistan. Heroin was non-existent in the region before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan although both Pakistan and Afghanistan produced opium for domestic and regional markets. Soon after the CIA involvement started in Afghanistan in 1979, Golden Triangle facilities for producing heroin moved to the Golden Crescent, a tribal belt between Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran. There was no chemical factory in Pakistan that produced acetic anhydride, a chemical required to convert opium into heroin. An elaborate smuggling network was developed to ensure the smooth supply of the chemical smuggled from India to Pakistan. Hands-on training was provided to the tribal people on how to make heroin out of opium, and thus a new lucrative industry was developed to meet the expenditures of an expensive and ambitious war in Afghanistan for U.S. interests:

> CIA assets again controlled this heroin trade. As the Mujahideen guerrillas seized territory inside Afghanistan, they ordered peasants to plant opium as a revolutionary tax. Across the border in Pakistan, Afghan leaders and local syndicates under the protection of Pakistan Intelligence operated hundreds of heroin laboratories. During this decade of wide-open drug-dealing, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency in Islamabad failed to instigate major seizures or arrests...U.S. officials had refused to investigate charges of heroin dealing by its Afghan allies "because U.S. narcotics policy in Afghanistan has been subordinated to the war against Soviet influence there."

---

[238] Ibid., p. 64.

In 1995, the former CIA director of the Afghan operation, Charles Cogan, admitted the CIA had indeed sacrificed the drug war to fight the Cold War: "Our main mission was to do as much damage as possible to the Soviets. We didn't really have the resources or the time to devote to an investigation of the drug trade. I don't think that we need to apologize for this. Every situation has its fallout...There was fallout in terms of drugs, yes. But the main objective was accomplished. The Soviets left Afghanistan."[239]

In one decade heroin addiction rose from zero to 1.5 million in Pakistan, making it the largest user of heroin in the world, causing numerous socio cultural problems.[240] Another problematic outcome of the Afghan *jihad* against the Soviets was that fundamentalists and *jihadists* became skilled in the use of modern communication tools. Under CIA tutelage, Pakistani religious party cadres and international recruits mastered the use of sophisticated satellite technology, devices to intercept Soviet and Afghan army communications, and how to operate makeshift FM radios with small but powerful handheld devices provided by the CIA. The Mujahideen developed an extensive yet discreet network for distribution of print and audio propaganda material throughout Afghanistan to promote *jihad*. The mujahideen started FM Radio broadcasting by using portable and mobile transmitters in the early 1980s, whereas FM was only launched in 1997 in Pakistan and in 2000 in India. They distributed radio sets to every village in Afghanistan so that they could communicate their propaganda to the people of Afghanistan, urging them to stand up against the Soviets. They were able to use FM equipment to capture the transmission frequencies of the Soviet military and air force planes. The French and US signal experts and satellite and communication specialists

---

[239]Alfred McCoy, "Drug Fallout: The CIA's Forty Year Complicity in the Narcotics Trade," *The Progressive*, Vol. 61, Issue 8, August 1, 1997.

[240]Barrym, Bearak, "Adding to Pakistan's Misery: Million-Plus Heroin Addicts," *The New York Times*, April 19, 2000.

studied Soviet military communication strategies, developed new strategies to counter them, and then taught the new forms of communication to the mujahideen.[241]

The religious parties in Pakistan, with their close links with the army, had already realized the importance of communication. The Afghan *jihad* and the sympathetic government of Zia-ul- Haq opened up an enormous opportunity to the *jihadists* and the Islamists to profoundly influence political communication in Pakistan. The success of *jihadi* propaganda in Afghanistan encouraged the religious parties to deploy more technological resources to their efforts to impose a radical Islamist frame on political discourse in Pakistan. The Zia regime obliged them by issuing newspaper licences to several religious parties and groups to enable them to prepare the youth to take part in '*Jihad*' in Afghanistan. All these new publications instantly received huge advertisement quotas, commercial plots, and other perks to make their place in the market.[242]

To promote the *jihad* in Afghanistan, several Islamist and *jihadist* publications surfaced, many of which were operated with U.S. financial assistance such as, for example, the *Jamaat-e-Islami* magazine, *Impact*. Right-wing journalists such as Majeed Nizami, Zahid Malik, Haroon Rashid, Irfan Saddiqui, Mujeebur Rehman Shami, Mahmood Sham, and Abdul Qadir Hassan were given the task to train *jihadi* journalists. Right-wing academics of journalism departments also joined the project to train a new breed of *jihadi* journalists who easily found jobs in the mainstream vernacular press.[243]

---

[241] Cooley, pp. 78-79.

[242] In Pakistan, the government controls all advertisements and issues a quota to each publication according to their circulation. However, this control allows governments to arm twist any publication that does not toe the government line. Those publications that favour the government always receive the major quota of advertisements.

[243] This information is based on the author's several interviews with senior journalists who are concerned about the rising number of quite biased journalists who are willingly playing into the hands of intelligence agencies and religious parties.

Jihadist journalism has become a discipline, and many banned organizations organize *jihadist* journalism courses from basic reporting to post graduate diplomas.[244]

The *jihadist* publications also received advertisements and special supplement orders from Middle Eastern Islamic countries to sustain their businesses and to promote fundamentalism to serve the Afghan cause, in particular, and the Islamic world in general. Thus, a new breed of journalists, blessed with their own trade union organizations and press clubs, emerged with full official backing in Pakistan. Several retired army officers and civilian officials who strongly believed in pan-Islamization joined these publications. The government facilitated several right-wing journalists to get important posts in newspapers, with a mission to redefine Pakistan's ideology and its foreign policy and to promote anti-India jingoism. The culture of bribery and intimidation reached new heights in the media, and a class of haves and have-nots emerged among journalists. The right-wing journalists gained a new political clout as state media, TV and radio regularly featured them in discussions to endorse Zia's foreign and Islamization policies. The use of telecommunication, particularly fax machines, became extremely popular for transmitting instant orders from the religious elite to their respective countrywide seminaries and offices to take action according to their requirements, such as whether to demonstrate street power or to mute some dissent by attacking newspaper offices to discourage any news items criticizing their leadership or publication of photographs which they perceived as 'un-Islamic.'[245]

---

[244]Amir Hussaini, "Jihadi Journalism: Rising Branch of Mass Communication," Op-ed, the daily *Aaj Kal*, Lahore, November 13, 2009.

[245] For details see Imran Munir, *The Consequences of Fundamentalism on Pakistani Media*, MA Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2002.

In the 1997 general elections, the *Jamiat-e- Ulema-e-Islam* got 0.97% of National

Assembly seats. The *Tehreek-e-Islam*, *Tehreek-e-Nifaz Fiqh-e-Ja'afria, Islamic Public

Party*, *Mutahidda Deeni Mahaz, Islami Siasi Tehreek, Islami Inquilab Party, Jamiat-e-

Ulema-e-Islam* (*Sami-ul-Haq* Group), *Markazi Jamiat-e- Ahl-e- Hadis, Jamiat-e-Ulema-

e-Pakistan* and the *Muslim Ittehad* – even between the ten of these Islamist parties–

could not win a single seat. Despite a complete rejection of the Islamists by the people of

Pakistan at the ballot box, the Islamists managed to make all the post-Zia governments

hostages of the radical Islamists. In 1989, Benazir Bhutto's government tried to open a

dialogue with India over the Kashmir, a dispute which had already triggered three wars

between the two countries. But the military and the Islamists launched a campaign

against her; calling the initiative a 'sell out' to India, they successfully engineered the

sacking of her government.

The number of *jihadist* publications in Pakistan rose to 150 by the end of 1989,

mostly published in the provincial capitals of Lahore (Punjab), Quetta (Balochistan), and

Peshawar (North West Frontier Province (NWFP). According to a 2008 Pakistan Institute

for Peace Studies Report,[246] the *jihadist* print media had become profitable by the end of

the 1980s, and became an alternative print media with widely circulated daily, weekly

and monthly magazines and newspapers. The *Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)* in Pakistan and its

affiliates were producing over a dozen publications and were soon joined by *Deobandi*,

Ahle-Hadith, *Sunni*, and *Shia* organizations, who also launched dozens of publications.

Meanwhile in the late 1980s, the new venue for jihad opening up in Kashmir inspired

several dozen more publications to promote the Kashmir *jihad*. The *JI* think tank, the

---

[246]Amir Rana, "Jihadi Print Media in Pakistan: An Overview," Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies, Oct-
Dec. 2008.

Institute of Policy Studies, organized a seminar in 1990 on the "Role of Islamic Media in the Afghan Jihad" with the goal of forming a union of Islamic media. The editors of *jihadist* publications participated and decided to form a committee to promote 'Islamic Journalism' and to approve the establishment of an institute for Islamic Journalism.[247]

After the Soviet withdrawal in 1988, the Americans abandoned Afghanistan and Pakistan, leaving an open field for the fundamentalists to take charge in Afghanistan. The Americans left without realizing the consequences of leaving behind such a dangerous monster armed with military and communications skills. There is an old saying in Pakistan: "Never give a match to a monkey, otherwise he can burn the entire forest." During the Afghan war, the battle hardened and well trained recruits from the Arab world, mostly from Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Egypt, Gaza, the West Bank, Algeria, and Tunisia, and non-Arabs such as the Chinese, Central Asians, Iranians, Turks, Filipinos, and Afro-Americans started returning home, taking with them arms and CIA training manuals and a thirst for *jihad*. In the 1990s violent Islamic campaigns and incidents erupted worldwide.

In 1991, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, five Muslim states in the Soviet Union, became independent nations. Meanwhile, a civil war began in Algeria in January 1992 that led to large-scale death and destruction. The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992 attracted *jihadists* from all over the world to protect Muslims. On December 11, 1994 Russian troops attacked Chechnya to prevent its secession. There was unrest in Tunisia in 1991, the Abu Sayyaf group's Islamist insurgency in Southern Philippines, bombings in Bali, Indonesia in 2002 and 2005, the

---

[247]Ibid., p. 3.

Paris bombing by the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) in 1995, and eventually the twin tower

episode in the U.S. in September 2001. Today, the U.S. is asking for removal of the

University of Nebraska textbooks from *madrasas* in Pakistan. The FM and other

communication tools introduced by the CIA are now being used against the Americans in

Afghanistan, where after a decade of fighting, there isn't a single Afghan city that could

be considered secure.

Pakistani Television: From the 1960s to the 1990s

      Launched in 1964, the state-controlled Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV) is

run by the Ministry of Information, which appoints its chairman and managing directors,

while the bureaucracy, headed by the Information Secretary, controls all of the PTV

corporation's functions. Only pre-edited broadcasts were allowed to be transmitted on

PTV, while the government also held complete control over the content of news bulletins

relayed by all other privately owned television stations at the time.

      The Pakistan Television network has become the largest and most important tool

of communication in Pakistan because of the very low literacy rate in the country.

Although PTV has made significant progress in terms of quality and countrywide

transmissions, as a state-media organ it lacks credibility. News bulletins always begin

with "he/she said" and end with a "he/she further said" standard format. A PTV news

editor was sacked in 1986 because he broadcast the name of the prime minister before

that of General Zia, who was known for his passion for watching TV. He would

sometimes issue directives during newscasts. When Zia was killed in a plane crash in

1988, the duration of the news bulletin was cut from thirty minutes to nine minutes as the

PTV programmers had no clue what would be the policies of the new ruler. When

Benazir Bhutto was sacked in 1990, her title of *Mohtarma* (respected) was instantly deleted. Similarly, when Pervez Musharraf took power in 1999, PTV halted its transmission for several hours, waiting to find out what new policies the military government would pursue.

A 1998 study conducted by Punjab University, Lahore, shows that Pakistan had 5.1 million TV sets, with a ratio of seven people per set, and a viewing time average of four hours a day. The political and cultural impact of television can be imagined given these figures, and this is the main reason why government authorities and religious parties take this medium so seriously.

In the nineties, with the advent of satellite and cable TV in Pakistan, the government effectively controlled the content by allowing only pre-edited broadcasts to air to ensure that no independent source of information was available to the people. To meet the new challenge posed by technology, the government created two semi-autonomous TV channels, *Shaheen* Pay TV and *Shalimar* Television Network, but both without independent news bulletins. These channels could only broadcast PTV newscasts. *Shaheen* Pay TV (the largest cable TV provider at the time) and its Radio FM-100 were owned by the Pakistan Air Force.

With such absolute control over television producers, successive governments did not permit any social or political debates, and there was no representation of minorities and the smaller provinces on the small screen. The only goal of the state-controlled electronic media was to promote Islamic ideology and the threat posed by India to justify massive military and defense spending. The dismal state of the electronic media, in

particular its depiction of India as Pakistan's number one enemy, has been analyzed by

senior journalist and human rights activist I.A. Rehman.

> Out of all the enemy images Pakistani people have seen on the TV screen
> it is the treatment of India that merits attention in the present exercise. In
> both substance and style the enemy image on TV is derived from the
> stereotypes of Muslims' adversaries in *Urdu* historical fiction and of
> villainous characters in sub-continental cinema. The main characteristic of
> 'us versus them' situations has traditionally been concentration on the
> assumption that we have always been in the right, that we have been more
> courageous than the adversary, and that the latter's chief weapons have
> been deceit and intrigue. The appeal has been to raw emotions rather than
> to reason. The purpose has been to perpetuate belief in the existence of an
> enemy instead of drawing up its complete portrait or presenting an
> analysis of the factors that propel the enemy to persist in its hostility to
> Pakistan.[248]

The arrival of television in the 1960s had an important impact on women, not

only providing a new venue for job opportunities as producers, scriptwriters, set

designers, etc., but also allowing them to express themselves through acting, which still

remains a taboo area to a large extent for women of 'good' family backgrounds.

However, many young women from that early period excelled in their respective fields in

television and later gained an iconic status as actresses and television directors. On the

issue of women, Pakistan scholar Shahida Kazi elaborates on the climate of freedom and

progress that prevailed for women during those times:

> During the '70s, the Pakistani woman had found her niche. She was
> liberated, progressive and had become a part of mainstream life. She could
> wear what she wanted, do the kind of job that she wished, drive cars, fly

---

[248]I. E. Rehman, "Enemy Images on Pakistan Television" in *Making Enemies, Creating Conflict: Pakistan's Crises of State and Society*, Zia Mian and Iftikhar Ahmad, eds. Lahore: Mashal Press, 1997. Rehman's chapter was published by the South Asia Think Tank, *Akhbar* in its December 2001 issue. *Akhbar* is put together by a team of concerned scholars, social activists, and volunteers working in various disciplines in different parts of the world. Rehman's chapter can be accessed online: http://members.tripod.com/no_nukes_sa/chapter_9.html

airplanes, and had no fear of being harassed. It seemed that the only way now for her was forward.[249]

But, with Zia's Islamization all this was to change and regress in the name of religion. And so it was with television. As an audio-visual medium, PTV was placed under particularly strict Islamic codes of conduct, especially regarding the appearance and dress of women. Similarly, the content of its plays and entertainment and the policies and productions of its directors, producers, and writers were required to depict and promote 'Islamic' values. These directives had a particularly negative impact on the women affiliated with the medium at the time. The very first sign was the disappearance of a most popular female face on PTV, Dr. Mehtab Rashidi, an anchorperson and presenter, who refused to accept the new directive to cover her head and resigned. Commenting on Zia's *dupputta* (head scarf) policy, Shahida Kazi notes that this was the beginning of the official *duppatta* policy, which dictated that "all females appearing on TV should have their heads covered, so much so that the *duppatta* ought to remain stuck to their heads even if the character was sleeping in bed, trying to save herself from drowning, or trying to escape from kidnappers, or even – and this is not a joke – while having her hair dyed."[250]

Zia also introduced a 'Ban of Nudity,' which strictly prohibited any display of nude posters and portrayal of women as publicity symbols. Under the new law, display of nude scenes and films with nudity were also banned on television.[251]

---

[249]Shahida Kazi, "On the Horns of a Dilemma," *The Daily Dawn Magazine*, Karachi, April 9, 2006. Accessed at: www.dawn.com/weekly/dmag/archive/060409/dmag1.htm on March 18, 2008.

[250]Ibid.

[251]"Pakistan: The First Islamic Republic" Accessed at: www.islamic-world.net/islamic-state/pakistan.htm on March 18, 2008.

In the 1990s, India's public television broadcaster, *Doordarshan*, became popular in Pakistan, thus PTV launched its Pakistan International Television (PITV) via AsiaSat1 to target the Urdu speaking population in India, Bangladesh, and the Middle East. During the Nawaz Sharif government (1997-1999), the state imposed strict censorship and anti-western cultural guidelines on both programming and advertising on PTV.[252] In 2000, under the Musharraf regime, PTV lost its monopoly with the launching of a new era of private television in Pakistan, which would prove to have important implications for the struggle to restore democracy in Pakistan.

The Launch of FM Radio

Radio Pakistan became the Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation (PBC) in 1972. It held a complete monopoly in radio broadcasting as a government department working under the Ministry of Information. Current medium-wave coverage reaches ninety-five percent of Pakistan's population and seventy-five per cent of the land area while short-wave covers one hundred per cent of the population. Radio audiences shrank significantly under the dictatorship of Zia-ul-Haq, and this trend continued till mid 1996 when its demise seemed certain. But the launch of FM radio in Pakistan gave radio a new lease on life.

The PBC launched its FM channel in 1994 on an experimental basis from Lahore, Karachi, and Islamabad, broadcasting from 7:00 am to 1:00 pm using its own facilities and staff. The launch of the FM channel opened up new communication opportunities for the government, but soon after for others as well. In 1996, the government of Prime

---

[252]Amos Owen Thomas, *Imagi-nations and Borderless Television: Media, Culture and Politics Across Asia*, New Dehi: Sage, 2005, p. 107.

Minister Benazir Bhutto allowed the first private radio channel, FM 100, to operate from three major cities attracting an audience of more than two million in a short span of time. In 1997, the president of Pakistan, Farooq Ahmed Leghari, signed the Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (EMRA) Ordinance just before the February elections.[253] With EMRA headed by a retired Supreme Court judge with the power to award broadcasting licenses, the ordinance offered a more liberal future for the electronic media. Mass communication scholar A. K. Naz notes that the new ordinance allowed more media sources to the people of Pakistan for news and current affairs, religious knowledge, art, culture, science, technology, economic development, social sector concerns, music, sports, drama and other subjects of public and national interest, "but in practice, the government of Pakistan did not allow any private radio channel the independent transmission of news and current affairs programs." [254]

In 2002, General Pervez Musharraf, the then President of Pakistan, introduced the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) Ordinance with certain amendments, citing the need for a domestic model that is sensitive to Pakistani people's socio-cultural conditions, tastes, preferences, and national needs. The ordinance stated:

> An independent corporate body namely PEMRA has been established with effect from 1st March 2002 in order to:
>
> i)   improve the standard of information, education and entertainment.
>
> ii)   enlarge the choice available to the people of Pakistan in the media for news, current affairs, religious knowledge, art, culture, science, technology, economic development, social sector concerns, music, sports, drama and other subjects of public and national interest.

---

[253]First Report PEMRA 2002. For details see the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Ordinance 2002. Access at: http://pemra.gov.pk/pdf/ordinance1.pdf [Accessed March 27, 2010].

[254] A.K. Naz, "FM Revolution in Pakistan: A Case Study," *Global Media Journal*, Vol. 1, Issue 1, (Spring 2008).

iii)   facilitate the devolution of responsibility and power to the grass roots improving the access of the people to mass media at the local and community level.

iv)   ensure accountability, transparency and good governance of optimizing the free flow of information.[255]

According to Ibn Abdur Rehman, a peace and human rights advocate and director of the Pakistan Human Rights Comission, "The PEMRA Ordinance in its original form was a bad law to start with, because it created a mechanism to control the electronic media in contravention of the objectives given in the Ordinance itself."[256] He goes on to elaborate the problems with the PEMRA Ordinance and the powers of the regulatory body.

> The federal government's directives on a matter of policy were binding on the Authority. What constituted a matter of policy was to be decided by the federal government (Sec 5). The Authority comprised a chairman and nine members, all appointed by the president. Out of the nine members, five had to be "eminent" citizens (Sec 6). The licensee was bound to broadcast programmes (in public interest) specified by the government or the Authority and comply with the rules and codes made by the Authority with the government approval (Sec 20).
>
> The Authority was given the power to prohibit a broadcast/ distribution of programmes and the premises of a broadcaster/operator could be inspected "after giving reasonable notice." The Authority could revoke or suspend a licence if (a) the licensee had not paid fee and charges; (b) a committee appointed by the government, headed by a retired HC or SC judge (and a nominee each of the Authority and licensee) expressed opinion that the licensee had violated the Ordinance/rules; (c) licensee had failed to

---

[255]These are the four objectives of PEMRA. In the ordinance's article 18(1) this was mentioned under the topic of 'Prohibition of Broadcasts' stating that: '18(1) The Authority, or an officer so authorized by the authority, may, giving reasons in writing, prohibit any broadcaster from broadcasting or re-broadcasting any programming, if the Authority, or as the case may be, the officer is of the opinion that such particular program is likely to create hatred among the people or is prejudicial to the maintenance of law and order, or is likely to disturb peace and tranquility, or endangers national security, or is violator of the terms and conditions of the license. These are ethical responsibilities of the license holder. If he/she violates these, PEMRA has the power to suspend or cancel the license.
www.pemra.gov.pk/pemra/images/docs/legislation/Ordinance_2002.pdf

[256] I. A. Rehman, "What remains of Pemra Law?" *Dawn*, June 13, 2007, *Asia Media Archives,*
   www.asiamedia.ucla.edu/article.asp?parentid=71969

comply with licence conditions; (d) If the broadcast company's ownership changed. However, a show cause notice (reasonable) was necessary except for reason of necessity in public interest. (Sec 30).

The penalties were: (1) For any violation of the ordinance, fine up to Rs. one million; (2) second violation, a three-year imprisonment or fine or both; (3) violation by a person who is not a licensee, a four-year imprisonment or fine or both.

The ordinance overrode other laws. (Sec 37), a feature not allowed in case of the Freedom of Information Ordinance, despite media community's clamour.[257]

A government-conducted Gallup survey indicated that FM 100 increased radio listening in Lahore from 40.45 percent to 82.02 percent in 1998. During its first three years of transmission, the station became very popular in major urban centers. A large number of FM radio stations began operating throughout the country. As people's interests and preferences were given consideration in the design of programming, while allowing DJs to innovate new styles, audiences grew.[258]

By 2009, PEMRA had granted licenses to eighty-three channels in the private sector. In 2009 sixty channels were fully functional in the private sector, including twenty-two news channels, thirty-five in the general entertainment category, and three in the religious genre, bringing the total number of functional channels to ninety. There are twenty-eight foreign channels providing entertainment and news and four educational channels are provided by the Virtual University plus five channels managed by the state-owned Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV).[259]

---

[257] Ibid.

[258] Ahsan Akhtar Naz, "FM Revolution in Pakistan: A Case Study," *Global Media Journal*, Vol. 1, Issue 1, Spring 2008.

[259] PEMRA Annual Report 2009 (online). Available from: www.pemra.gov.pk/pdf/Annual_Report.pdf

In 2003, an Islamabad-based NGO, *Uks* (Reflection), became the first civil society organization to launch an independent radio production house in Pakistan. With an all female team of journalists and broadcasters, they began broadcasting a fifteen-minute biweekly program in Urdu: [260]

> Through the creation of its own original program content, the *Uks* Radio project has tried to counter a broadcast media environment that confines women's programming to issues of beauty, fitness and cooking. The mission of the project is to not only raise awareness of women's issues but also to strengthen the profile of female journalists. The project team is all-female and they are responsible for all aspects of programming from conception to research, script-writing, narration, recording, and compiling the finished product. *Uks* looks at social and health issues such as HIV/AIDS, reproductive health, human trafficking, and economic development from a gender perspective. Although the project has found great success in recent years, where and when *Uks* programming is broadcast has been limited by the commercial interests of radio stations.[261]

Uks received funding from multiple international donor agencies and international organizations such as the National Endowment for Democracy, the International Women's Media Foundation, and the Global Fund for Women.[262] In November 2005, *Uks* produced sixteen programs on violence against women. The FM stations that ran the programs were flooded with letters and phone calls reporting incidents or responding to the radio reports and backgrounders on burnings, acid throwing, honor killings, rapes, and other violence against women. In March 2006, *Uks* produced a program series on: water and migration; water and women's employment; on mobility, water and the

---

[260] For details see: www.uksresearch.com/radioProjects.htm)

[261] See: http://www.audiencescapes.org/country-profiles-pakistan-country-overview-radio-statistics

[262] Ibid.

workload of women; and on the impacts of unsafe drinking water on hygiene and health; and impacts on women of water-related natural disasters.[263]

Uks broadcasts its programmes from the few Pakistani universities that have FM radio licenses and other FM channels for educational and advocacy purposes to highlight women's issues. Due to the staggering cost of licenses and operations, community FM radio could not kick off in Pakistan, although FM radio fully demonstrated its capacity and potential during the 2005 earthquake in Pakistan's Northern Areas that killed 80,000 people and injured 150,000, beside displacing and rendering homeless over a million people.[264] The deaths of dozens of journalists as well as destruction of newspaper offices and press clubs and other infrastructure in the quake created a complete breakdown of information flow. PEMRA issued temporary licenses to the stations already operating in the neighboring areas. A team from Internews, a Washington-based United States Information Service (USIS) funded media advocacy and training organization, provided technical and material support to reopen radio stations in the quake affected area.[265] Internews also provided logistical support to teams of journalists and producers that broadcast the first detailed reports on the quake. The University of the Punjab and the University of Peshawar FM radio teams, among others, provided timely information about the rescue and rehabilitation services in the affected areas.[266]

Cross media ownership was banned in Pakistan, but the Musharraf government removed the ban through the PEMRA Amendment Act of 2007. According to Pakistani

---

[263] Upasna Kakroo, "Women in Reflection: Uks Radio Project, Pakistan," *i4d (Information for Development)Online Magazine*, http://www.i4donline.net/articles/current-article.asp?articleid=1157&typ=Features

[264] http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2008-10-28-pakistan-quake_N.htm

[265] Rehmat Adnan, "The Quake-hit North: Shattered State of Media in the North West Frontier Province," *Media Law Bulletin. Pakistan Media Quarterly* Round-up. Issue 3, Vol 2, 2005.

[266] Ibid.

media law and policy expert Muhammad Aftab Alam, "This has allowed print media tycoons to own electronic media outlets. As a result, market is becoming an oligopoly. Due to mounting media ownership consolidation and concentration, diversity is in decline and new entrants are finding it difficult to compete with big market players."[267]

Despite the expansion of FM radio, community radio has yet to be launched in Pakistan. High license fees are hindering any possibility for community-based groups to operate and launch a radio station, thus further facilitating the large media conglomerates to establish monopoly over the radio industry. The final chapter of the dissertation discusses in detail the role of FM radio in social change and promotion of democracy in contemporary Pakistan.

The Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD): A Case Study

After overthrowing the government of ZA Bhutto, military dictator General Zia-ul Haq became the Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) in July 1977. On December 29, 1977 the workers of the Colony Textile Mill went on a peaceful strike to demand a bonus. Dialogue between the striking workers and the management continued peacefully until Jan 2, 1978, the day of the wedding of the mill owners' daughter. General Zia-ul Haq, a close friend of the owner, arrived to attend the wedding. Meanwhile, the workers learnt that the owner was giving a dowry to his daughter ten times more than what the 13,000 workers were demanding. A rumor circulated at the wedding party that the workers were planning to attack the wedding ceremony. General Zia called in paramilitary troops who replaced the police and opened fire on the workers. After a three-

---

[267] Muhammad Aftab Alam, "Broadcasting Regulation in Pakistan: The Need for an Enabling Regulatory Regime," The Institute of Social and Policy Science (ISAPS), Islamabad, Pakistan (online): http://eastbound.eu/site_media/pdf/EB2010_Alam.pdf

hour-long operation, the factory was subdued by the troops. Marxist scholar Lal Khan, who was a student activist helping the trade union in the factory, recalls that the paramilitary troops refused to allow the workers and students to remove the injured from the factory to take them to the hospital: "a dozen injured men died due to excessive loss of blood" in the factory compound and on the lawn.[268] During the night, state forces started throwing the bodies into trucks without verifying them as dead or alive. The forces also threw several bodies in the factory's huge gutter, and others were buried without coffins in the nearby Baga Sher village. Khan says that despite the ruthless state repression, hundreds of students, including himself, along with workers managed to take many injured people to the hospital to save their lives. The dead comrades were removed from the gutter and proper burial was arranged for them in the presence of their families.

The media, under the ruthless control of the Martial Law administration reported only eighteen deaths and twenty-five injuries whereas many workers believe that more than two hundred workers were killed.[269] The workers' action committee estimated 133 killings and more than four hundred injured by firing in a senseless slaughter of workers who were peacefully demanding a bonus. No case was registered against the management of the factory, whose goons had joined the state forces in a killing spree. This incident reinforced the image of Zia as a ruthless dictator, who, when posted as a Brigadier in Jordan to train its armed forces, had engaged in the "Black September" manslaughter of thousands of Palestinians in 1970 as commander of the Jordanian 2nd division .

Zia also initiated the murder trial against Z.A Bhutto. On the instruction of her father, Benazir Bhutto announced on September 24, 1978 in a party meeting of the

---

[268]Lal Khan, "Pakistan's Other Story: 9 Dictatorships and Democracy-Regimes Changed, the Masses Continue to Suffer," June, 2009. http://www.marxist.com/pakistans-other-story-9.htm
[269]Ibid.

Pakistan People's Party (PPP) that she was taking over as the leader of the party. After that, she started touring to organize her party and to build pressure for her father's release from jail. On April 4, 1979 Z. A. Bhutto, the elected prime minister of Pakistan, was hanged around 2 am in Adiala Jail in Rawalpindi under controversial circumstances. There is a popular belief that Bhutto was tortured to death before being hanged. The hanging and subsequent burial in the late night without allowing even family members to attend the burial shocked PPP workers, who launched a countrywide protest. A number of diehard party workers and Bhutto loyalists set themselves on fire in various parts of the country. A senior photographer was covering a protest demonstration against the hanging of Bhutto when all of a sudden, he recalls, one PPP worker appeared and poured petrol on his body and set himself on fire. He was dancing and raising the slogan '*Jiay Bhutto*' ('long live Bhutto'): "It was an incredible scene amidst the flames, showing no sign of pain, in a sheer frenzy, he kept on dancing and chanting the slogan until he fell and was gone." He recalls further: "I was mesmerized and could only take two photographs. Whenever I remember that scene, a current passes through my spine."[270]

The PPP's core leadership were all arrested, while a crackdown was launched on the PPP and thousands of its workers were arrested and brutally tortured. The cruel dictatorship of Zia-ul-Haq could not suppress many courageous people who stood up to resist such tyranny. Many progressive political parties joined hands to oppose the martial law regime. On February 6, 1981, the PPP joined with ten other political parties to launch the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), launching what became a major challenge and historic struggle against Zia's dictatorship. Despite his oppressive rule, Zia

---

[270]A senior photographer of an English daily, with whom I worked for a month to learn photo journalism, told this story while we were browsing through his collection of exclusive photographs in his office in 1985.

was unable to suppress the movement. In 1983, he announced plans to hold a *non-party* election. The major political parties, however, announced a boycott of the election, while the JI, also known as "the B team of the Martial Law regime," supported Zia's announcement.[271] After the August announcement, the MRD struggle intensified and spread all over the country.

For the first time in the history of Pakistan, not only the big cities but the rural areas joined the agitation, reflecting the widespread desire for democracy among the masses.[272] The MRD received a serious setback when a terrorist organization, the *Al-Zulifiqar*, hijacked a Pakistan International Airline (PIA) passenger plane in March 1981 and demanded the release of political prisoners in Pakistan. Although the PPP distanced itself from the *Al-Zulifiqar* by denouncing the hijacking, the fact was that the guerilla organization was run by Z. A. Bhutto's son, Murtaza, and that was enough for the military government to malign the entire movement.[273] Meanwhile, betrayal by right-wing parties in the MRD restricted it mainly to Sindh province in the immediate aftermath of the hijacking.[274] Despite these early setbacks, the PPP dominated the scene, and the MRD continued to challenge the dictatorship:

> On August 23, 1983, thousands of people, led by a local religious leader, rampaged through a big town of Khairpur in Sindh province and set fire to city courts, a municipal office, two banks, government shops, and local tax office. There were reports of running battles throughout the town, located about 275 miles from north of Karachi, demanding the end of the six year martial law rule. Army have been deployed at least 11 cities of Sindh, including Khairpur. The armed police and paramilitary troops were

---

[271]One can hardly find any record of the existence of this struggle in the media archives of the Pakistani press. But the existence and impact of the MRD struggle can be gauged from the fact that it had forced the military dictator to hold elections.

[272]Amir Ahmad Khuro and Ishtiaque Ahmad Choudhry, "Benazir Bhutto's Struggle for Democracy," *European Journal of Social Sciences*, Volume 10, Number 1, 2009, p. 162.

[273]Based on my discussion with journalists and analysts.

[274]Based on an Interview with a senior journalist.

deployed outside the jails to guard against raids by protestors, such as the one a day earlier in which 102 convicts were freed. Banks have withdrawn funds from provincial branches to put them in safe vaults. According to official figures 14 people have died and 715 have been arrested so far in the protest organized by the MRD.[275]

During this period, the Zia regime outlawed any coverage of political parties and any mention of the MRD in the media. In 1983, his regime dismissed many senior journalists working in the government-owned National Press Trust (NPT) newspapers and professors of several universities who had signed a memorandum urging an immediate halt to army atrocities against the people of Sindh province. The government declared all the signatories to be 'anti-state' elements who wanted to disrupt the process of Islamization. The sacked journalists and professors were reinstated only after the death of Zia in 1988.[276]

There are very few written accounts of the movement for the restoration of democracy available in the media archives in Pakistan because of the very strict imposition of censorship at the time. After many years, some journalists revisited what they had reported during the MRD struggle as the stories they had filed were either heavily censored or completely dropped. In one such account, Sindhi journalist Ishaque Soomro recalls that he had just started his career in his home city of Sakrand in the Nawabshah District, a time when the entire Sindh province had become the main battlefield of the MRD in 1983. He points out that it was an extremely difficult time for a reporter as one was watching major events unfolding in front of one's eyes and yet could not report them because of the rigid censorship. He recalls one such event on September

---

[275]Linda Feldmann, (ed). "Troops, Rioters Battle in Sindh, Pakistan." Compiled from Wire Service Dispatches With Analysis from the *Christian Science Monitor* Correspondents Around The World, Karachi, Pakistan—From the August 23, 1983 edition.
[276]Zamir Niazi, *Unglian Figaar Apni* (*Our Fingers are Bleeding*), Karachi: Marwa Publishers, 2000, p 19.

29, 1983 when people from small villages near his hometown started assembling on the

National Highway. They staged a sit-in and blocked the highway. They were "chanting

slogans against the dictatorship and at the same time they were reciting the Holy

Quran."[277] Meanwhile, army trucks appeared on the scene, and the protestors chanted

slogans against military rule. Soldiers, armed with machine guns and semi-automatic

rifles, opened fire on the unarmed protestors killing sixteen, while fifty-four people

sustained bullet wounds. Soomro recalls:

> When I reached the spot with my colleagues for reporting there was a
> death like silence all around and red blood was still fresh and could be
> seen oozing out of the dead as well as the injured human bodies. The
> bodies was also blackened because heavy trucks were made to run over
> these bodies presumably to demonstrate the callousness and barbarism
> against the protesting common people of Sindh at the hands of those who
> were responsible for the uncalled for operation. Fifty-four people
> including those injured were arrested. All, including dead bodies, were
> brought first to the army camp in Nawabshah, 25 Kilometer away from the
> spot. After filling the formalities, the dead and the wounded were brought
> to the Civil Hospital in Nawabshah in private vehicles. In the evening,
> hundreds of men and women rushed to the hospital to donate blood and
> saved the lives of the injured who raised MRD pro-democracy slogan of
> 'Save Pakistan Movement.'[278]

Somroo recalls that in its night broadcast, Radio Pakistan briefly mentioned the

incident, stating in a few lines that a gun battle had ensued between miscreants and law

enforcment agencies near Sakrand town in which sixteen miscreants were killed and fifty

wounded. Soon after the Radio Pakistan broadcast, the BBC reported that the law

enforcement agencies killed sixteen people and injured more than fifty who were

demonstrating for the restoration of democracy. Soomro reports that the bodies were

---

[277]Ishaque Soomro, "Martyrs of MRD 1983," *The Frontier Post*, September 29, 2008.
[278]Ibid.

dispatched without postmortem. Among the innocent martyrs, two were Ghulam Mustafa

Chandio and Ali Sher, Grade 7 and 8 students, respectively, of Sakrand High School.

The Zia government deployed 45,000 army troops to crush the MRD movement

in Sindh. The *Christian Science Monitor*'s correspondent stationed in Pakistan, Anne

Weaver, who travelled to the interior of Sindh province, was surprised by the strong

rural-based movement and notes that in a first such movement outside the cities,

thousands continued their defiance of General Zia's martial law regime. She writes:

> In recent weeks, they have all, in one way or another, protested against the
> Zia regime or gone on rampage. They have defied police lines, been
> beaten back by teargas or a lathi charge. They have burned government
> buildings, disrupted transportation links, broken into Sindhi jails and court
> buildings, or engaged in a general strike.[279]

During her journey, Weaver visited jails in Sindh to meet political prisoners. She

notes that inside the dirty and overcrowded jail in the Dadu district, as many as seventy-

seven political prisoners told her why they were willing to confront martial law, endure

flogging, and go before special military court-martials, whose sessions last less than five

minutes. She notes that all of the young men, medical students, provincial government

civil servants, workers, shopkeepers, and peasants, crammed into one of the barracks of

the prison wanted to speak: "It is not surprising their primary topic of conversation is

their long-time resentment over domination by the government, armies, and

bureaucracies coming from the Punjab region."[280]

Throughout the MRD struggle, PPP co-chairperson Benazir Bhutto suffered all

sorts of repression but held her ground courageously demanding an end to Martial Law

---

[279]Ann Weaver, "Protests Sweep Pakistan in Effort to Restore Democracy, Archives of History: Mass movement in Sindh – Every Minute Has a Story to Tell," December 18, 2008.
http://www.csmonitor.com/search
[280]Ibid.

and holding of free elections. It was not only men who made sacrifices in this historical

movement. It is no small achievement that in a male-dominated society a woman,

Shahida Jabeen, earned the title of 'the fighter.' A leftist PPP worker, she was arrested in

1977 in Rawalpindi with her five-month-old baby girl and denied her basic needs in the

lock up. Later, a military court sentenced her to one year in prison and sent her to Multan

Jail. After completing her sentence, she returned to the struggle, and in 1983 she was

arrested again and sent to the notorious Lahore Fort detention center, built by the Mughal

emperor Akbar. The detention center is operated by the Army and has tiny cells with no

sunlight or fresh air. The most hardened of criminals cannot survive there. A common

saying about the center is that the moment victims enter, fifty per cent wet their *shalwar*

(loose pants). During the British raj, this notorious 'torture chamber' was used to 'tame'

freedom fighters. Shahida, along with hundreds of other PPP workers, braved the

detention centre horrors. Once in the Lahore Fort detention center, the prisoner was

completely shut off from the outside world. There was no bail and no family members

were allowed to meet the detainees. Shahida's brother Usman Ghani and his closest

friend Idress Totee were arrested, tried, and given the death sentence by a military court.

On August 6, 1984 an army Major came to visit Shadida in the detention center where he

said that he had a gift for her: "Your brother and his friend were hanged today." She was

not allowed to attend her brother's funeral. She endured all sorts of torture and brutalities

and after spending more than a year at the detention centre, she was moved to the Kot

Lakhpat Jail in Lahore and the following year sent to Multan Jail. She was finally

released in 1990.[281]

---

[281] "Shahida Jabeen, a leading struggle", Pakistan Trade Union Defense Campaign, December 02, 2001.
   Online version can be found http://www.ptudc.org/content/view/23/36/.

Marxist scholar Lal Khan asserts that during the MRD more than twelve hundred people were killed and thousands injured by the army in Sindh.[282] The army used military gunship helicopters, even in the smallest villages, to crush the resistance in the most remote and underdeveloped areas of the country. About 80,000 political workers were flogged and more than 20,000 people were arrested. A large number of them were still languishing in jails when Benazir Bhutto came to power in 1988. Khan notes that although this movement was unable to overthrow the Zia dictatorship, it had jolted the state apparatus and had an enormous impact internationally by exposing the brutalities of the Zia regime to the world. Because of this movement, General Zia was forced to hold a non-party parliamentary election in 1985.

This case study shows that the press and state-owned broadcast media can be suppressed, and their ability to mobilize citizens can be limited if not eliminated. The control of images is essential to sustain authoritarian rule, and the traditional media without freedom cannot play a significant role for regime change. The mass mobilization of the MRD struggle was curtailed with brute force, and very few written accounts existed during the Zia regime other than oral stories and poetry in local languages that documented the resistance.

Also see "Urgent Appeal! Shahida Jabeen : Leading Woman Marxist in PPP arrested", In *Defense of Marxism*, December 02, 2001. http://www.marxist.com/pakistan-shahida-jabeen-arrested021201.htm

[282]Lal Khan was sentenced to one year of rigorous imprisonment, fifteen lashes, and a Rs. 20,000 fine for leading the student movement against the Zia regime in 1980. After serving his sentence, Khan rejoined the political struggle. Because of his leadership role, the government ordered that he be shot on sight. Because of this death sentence, he went into exile in the Netherlands. He now lives in Pakistan and is still engaged in left-wing political agitation and analysis.

For detailed account see, Lal Khan, *Pakistan's Other Story, the 1968-1969 revolution*, Lahore : Struggle Publications, 2008.

CHAPTER 5: ISLAMIZATION OF PAKISTANI SOCIETY UNDER ZIA-UL-HAQ'S DICTATORSHIP

Thirty years after Pakistan's creation as a Muslim country, General Zia-ul-Haq used his eleven-year dictatorship and Martial Law rule (1977-1988) to pursue a course of politicization of Islam that empowered particular vested interests by redefining state ideology to accord with fundamentalists' injunctions and interpretations of Islamic *Sharia* laws. This period drastically transformed socio-political organization in Pakistan in the name of establishing and maintaining an 'Islamic' national identity. The government targeted, in particular, the role and legal status of women, the first step being the promulgation of state laws that served to subjugate them by curtailing their rights as equal citizens. [283]

Zia sought to politicize Islam by state imposition of Islamic *Sharia* laws in order to legitimize his dictatorial regime. He imposed state-endorsed Islamic laws, directives, and regulations to curb citizens' freedom on the pretext of religion. According to Pakistan scholar Anita Weiss, "the Islamization program of the Zia government can be broken down into four areas: economic programs, judicial reforms, the introduction of an Islamic penal code, and a new educational policy conforming to Islamic tenets."[284]

---

[283]For detailed discussion of imposition of *Sharia* laws during General Zia-ul-Haq's rule and the implications for women, see Khawar Mumtaz and Fareeda Shaheed, *Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?* Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1987.

[284]Anita M. Weiss, *Islamic Reassertion in Pakistan: The Application of Islamic Laws in a Modern State*, Anita M. Weiss, ed., Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1986, p. 11.

After overthrowing the democratically elected government of Z. A. Bhutto in July

1977, Zia launched his *Wahabbi* Islamization process by announcing that he had been

designated by God to transform Pakistan.[285] In an interview with the British Broadcasting

Corporation (BBC), Zia proclaimed: "I have a mission, given by God, to bring Islamic

order in Pakistan."[286] South Asia scholar Hamza Alavi notes the appropriation of the

concept of *ilham* from the life of Prophet Mohammed to validate Zia's concept of

Islamization and his leadership role in the transformation.[287]

> When, after seizing power, the Zia regime discovered that it was totally
> lacking in authority (its power base being the army itself), it took refuge in
> divine providence and it was soon claimed that the Almighty has
> communicated with the General in a dream; that he has experienced *ilham*,

---

[285]Robert Marquand explains the Wahabbi sect of Islam is a Saudi Arabian variant that follows a literal interpretation of the *Quran* as prescribed by 18th century Saudi cleric Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahab.

> He was backed by the House of Saud, which eventually took *Wahhabist* views as national policy…Today, Saudi oil wealth gives what would be a minority orthodox faction in the Muslim world a disproportionate amount of influence. Saudi funds pour out, officially and unofficially, across the globe – paying for new mosques from Bosnia to Boston, as well as Islamic centers, university chairs, conferences, and organizations for the promotion of orthodox Islam, primary schools, charities, and visiting scholars.
> Exact figures on the petrodollars pushing Saudi orthodox Islam are hard to come by. But few experts say that Saudi funds are directly used for the export of militant training. Indeed, today, the Saudi government does not particularly want to fund fundamentalism that will turn on the government, as has bin Laden. (In 1994, the Saudis revoked his citizenship). One of the original aims of funding orthodox Islamic institutions was to check the spread of Iranian Ayatollah Khomeini's *Shia* fundamentalism in the Gulf region in the 1980s.
> Nor does Saudi money come labeled as "*Wahhabi* funding." (*Wahhabism* in many parts of the world is viewed suspiciously.) Rather, funding for mosques or schools simply comes with the requirements that certain teachings and practices be observed: Women should cover their heads and be subservient, students should focus more on the Koran and less on "worldly" instruction, Islamic law (*Sharia*) should be taught as the only real law, and other forms of Islam should be abandoned. Yet in practice, and even if unintentionally, experts say, the spread of *Wahhabist* or revivalist Islam has been a breeding ground for militant behavior, and for an assault on local traditional forms of Islamic practice.

Robert Marquand, "The Tenets of Terror,'" *The Christian Science Monitor*, October 18, 2001. Accessed at: http://www.csmonitor.com/2001/1018/p1s2-wogi.html on February 16, 2007.

[286]Interview given to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) on April 15, 1978. Jebran Chamieh, "Contemporary Fundamentalist Regimes and Movements" in *Traditionalists, Militants and Liberals in Present Islam*, Montreal: Research and Publishing House, 1995, p. 170.

[287]Muslims believe that the *Quran* was revealed to Prophet Muhammed through the process of *ilham*, (divine message) in his dreams. The authenticity of these dreams and the *Quran* remain uncontested by Muslims.

a state of grace in which a divine message entered his heart, charging him with a task of creating an Islamic state and society in Pakistan.[288]

Contextualizing the role of religion in the political history of the sub-continent, Islamic scholar Marc Gaborieau argues that the fundamentalist ideological concept of the Islamic state predates the partition, and its political implications should not be overlooked in the continuing confusions and upheavals that have surrounded the identity formation of Pakistan since 1947. Gaborieau elaborates on how the 'ideology' of Pakistan was formulated as an 'Islamic state' by the Muslim scholar and later founder of the *Jamaat-e-Islami* religious party, Abul-Ala Maududi.

> The fundamentalist's true guiding spirit, however, was the dynamic Abul-Ala Maududi (1903-79). Although he was schooled in the traditional disciplines of the ulemas – contrary to the popular hagiography, which says that he was self-taught – he wanted to re-erect the entire edifice of Islamic thought in a way that would adapt it to the modern world. He began with the supremacy of God and the transcendence of the revealed Law. An Islamic state should be completely oriented towards putting this law into practice. To this end, it needed an authoritarian government led by the most worthy Muslims; there was no need for political parties, since the 'ideology' – this is the word he uses – which is Islam is indivisible; the Consultative Assembly around the head of the state, and the head of state himself, should be elected on merit alone, with no partisan electoral campaign…Maududi started to formulate this model of the Islamic state in 1939.[289]

Since all practicing Muslims believe in the divine nature of the *Quran*, laws based on interpretation of the *Quran* by the *ulema* (religious scholars) are considered 'divine' laws prescribed by God, i.e., the *Sharia*.[290] The pioneering figure behind Pakistani

[288]Hamza Alavi, "Pakistan and Islam: Ethnicity and Ideology," *State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan*, Fred Halliday and Hamza Alavi, eds., Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Education, 1988, p. 64.

[289]Marc Gaborieau, "Islam and Politics," *A History of Pakistan and its Origins,* Christophe Jaffrelot , ed., (translated by Gillian Beaumont), London, UK: Anthem Press, 2002, p. 240.

[290]The *Quran* is the Muslims' Holy Book. They believe it was revealed to Prophet Mohammad through the Angel Gabriel more than 1400 years ago. *Sharia* laws are Islamic socio-religious laws based upon the *Quran* and the *Sunnah* (Islamic Traditions based on Prophet Mohammad's life). The principles of *Sharia*

religious fundamentalism, Maulana Abul-Ala Maududi, elaborated on the theological

basis for formulating *Sharia* laws and the justification for a fundamentalist interpretation

and an "all-embracing" application in an Islamic state:

> The *Shariah*...prescribes directives for the regulation of our individual as
> well as collective life. These directives touch such varied subjects as
> religious rituals, personal character, morals, habits, family relationships,
> social and economic affairs, administration, rights and duties of citizens,
> judicial system, laws of war and peace and international relations. In short,
> it embraces all the various departments of life and an all-embracing social
> order where nothing is superfluous, and nothing is lacking.[291]

On the other hand, political analyst and South Asia scholar Ishtiaq Ahmed argues

that the concept of the 'Islamic state' as contained in the "political theory of the *Quran*"

cannot be ascertained with final authority:

> The structure of authority given in the *Quran* can be put in the following
> relationship: God–Prophet–Man. Disagreement exists among Muslims on
> the structure of authority based on the relationship: God–Man. Is such a
> structure political? In other words, does one become a good Muslim
> through the agency of the state?...To these questions the *Quran* does not
> furnish easy answers. Composed as a rythmic style resembling modern
> blank verse, it makes liberal usage of symbolic and allegorical imagery.
> There are many cryptic and esoteric formulations, and a rich fund of
> allusions and indirect explanations. All this renders the task of
> interpretation extremely complicated. The type of message culled out of
> the *Quranic* texts depends largely on the cultural and intellectual
> framework of the interpreter. In terms of general principles of government

laws are the foundation for Islamic jurisprudence. H.R. Gibb, *"The Shari'a."* Accessed at: http://answering-islam.org.uk/Books/Gibb/*ShariaSharia*.htm on January 27, 2008.

The *Sunnah* also contains the *Ahadith*, the sayings of the Prophet, or the Traditions in Islam. Since the early days of Islam, the *Hadith* literature has been the lens through which the words of the *Quran* have been interpreted. Although there are several schools of thought and contending perspectives regarding the interpretation and authenticity of the various *Ahadith* and the *Sunnah*, depending on which Islamic sect one belongs to or studies, there is consensus among all practicing Muslims regarding the divine nature of the *Quranic* text itself. For further discussion, see Riffat Hassan, "Muslim Women and Post-Patriarchal Islam" in *After Patriarchy: Feminist Transformations of the World Religions*, Paula M. Cooey, William R. Eakin, Jay B. McDaniel, eds., Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1991, p. 39. For a detailed discussion of the various sources of Islamic law, see "Intellectual Background: Islamic Sources of Information and the Development into Islamic Law." Accessed at: www.mwlusa.org on February 10, 2008, p. 1.

[291] Abul A'la. Maududi, *The Islamic Law and Constitution,* Lahore: Islamic Publications Ltd.,1980, p. 52.

one can point out that the *Quran* approves of government through consultation, the establishment of justice and the rule of law.[292]

Nevertheless, because of his status as an eminent Islamic scholar, Maulana Maududi's continuing influence over the construction of Pakistan's 'Islamic' state ideology remains a crucial reality despite the struggle against religious extremism and fundamentalism in recent years. Maududi's rigid Islamic ideology espouses an Islamic state to be eventually promoted on a global scale. His vision is definitely not limited to Pakistan. Peter Demant explains Maududi's universalism.

> Everything in Islam, Maududi warns, is valid for all human beings. He thus cleanses it of any national, ethnic, or regional connotation, just as he rejects all mystical, magical, and 'superstitious' forms of popular Islam. Because it is universally valid, Islam must be imposed on all…Islam would have to use any available means to shake up the whole world, until *jihad* has entirely Islamized it. Maududi wished to convert India to Islam as a first step to the conversion of all humanity.[293]

---

[292]Ishtiaq Ahmed, "Muslim Political Heritage" in *The Concept of an Islamic State: An Analysis of the Ideological Controversy in Pakistan*, London, UK: Frances Pinter, 1987, p. 47. South Asia scholar Hamza Alavi comments on the exalted status assigned to *ulema* by religious fundamentalists in Pakistan as misplaced and greatly overrated: "The '*ulama*' (plural of *alim*, a man of religious learning) is a grandiose term, which is often used quite loosely, as for example in the results of a survey recently published by the government of Pakistan which finds the vast majority of them to be barely literate. The '*ulama*', properly so designated, however, are those who have been educated at a religious seminary and have gone through the *Dars-e-Nizami*, a syllabus that was laid down in medieval India and has hardly changed. Generally, they have little knowledge of the world they live in, nor even perhaps of the world of Islam except for myths and legends. They inhabit little temples of their own uncomprehending and enclosed minds in which they intone slogans, petrified words and dogmas. Affairs of state and society are, generally, beyond their narrowed vision. There are only a few amongst them who have had the benefit of some tolerable education and who, in their own ways, try to follow current affairs." Hamza Alavi, "Pakistan and Islam: Ethnicity and Ideology," *State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan*, Fred Halliday and Hamza Alavi, eds., Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Education, 1988, p. 80.
[293]Peter R. Demant, *Islam vs. Islamism*: *The Dilemma of the Muslim World*, Westport, Connecticut & London, UK: Praeger Publishers, 2006, pp. 99-100.

Zia took his cue from Maududi and saw the Islamization of Pakistan as a first step toward a pan-Islamism that would eventually be achieved through a global *jihad*. [294] The influence of the *Jamaat-e-Islami* religious party and its leader Maulana Maududi was central in the formation of Pakistan's Islamic ideology; the party's later collaboration with the Zia regime in launching the Islamization process should not be overlooked. As a result of this partnership, the Zia regime was able to prepare a comprehensive Islamization model and impose Islamic principles on Pakistan's judicial and political system on February 10, 1979 in the form of Islamic laws concerning taxation and *Hudood* punishments (punishments mentioned in the *Quran* and *sunnah*).[295] Zia used the largely uncontested status of *Sharia* in Islam to politicize religion through a call for '*Nizam-e-Mustafa'*…(a way of life based on the teachings of Prophet Mohammad). South Asia historian Ayesha Jalal points out that Zia used the *Nizam-e-Muastafa* concept as "an umbrella term to dignify an ideologically and economically fragmented opposition" that would in turn support and legitimize his dictatorial rule.[296]

To formulate and implement his Islamization plan, Zia relied on a wide-ranging official decision-making network that included the government bureaucracy, judiciary,

---

[294] The Islamic concept of *Jihad* stands for a moral or physical struggle and resistance when a Muslim is confronted by a threat to their life, faith, or rights. This fight can be either non-violent or be through warfare. Islamic scholar, A. G. Noorani quotes a *hadith* (saying) from Prophet Mohammed to explain further: 'the highest form of jihad is to speak the truth in the face of an unjust ruler…It alone suffices to dispel the long-held, but utterly false impression, among Muslims no less than the rest, that jihad is synonymous with warfare…The word Jihad simply means 'to exert'. Ijtihad is exertion of the intellect and is a recognized source of Islamic law, *Sharia*." A. G. Noorani, "The Meanings of Jihad and Fatwa," *Islam and Jihad: Prejudice versus Reality*, London & New York: Zed, 2002, pp. 45-50.

[295] Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jama'at-i-Islami of Pakistan*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994. pp. 192-193.

[296] Ayesha Jalal, "The Convenience of Subservience: Women and the State of Pakistan," *Women, Islam and the State,* Deniz Kandiyoti, ed., London, UK: Macmillan Press, 1991, pp. 100-101.

Shariat Courts, the Council of Islamic Ideology[297], the Law Commission, and the *Majlis-e-Shura* (Assembly for Consultation), a national hand-picked 350-member consultative assembly nominated by the martial law regime and promoted as a transitional government.[298] Additionally, when needed, the regime formed committees to address specific issues. Members of these committees included bureaucrats, bankers, financiers, economists, industrialists, lawyers, *ulema*, and academics.[299] Pakistan scholar Saadia Toor argues that Zia provided fundamentalists, who had not hitherto had access to the state machinery and processes of policy formation, an entry point to interfere with the ideological state apparatuses such as the media and educational institutions. Zia's Islamization strategies also garnered the support of feudal elites who were attracted to the potential for using the patriarchal, anti-minority stance of the Islamicists to further their own economic and political interests.[300]

The *Hudood* Ordinances:

Zia launched the Islamization process in 1979. The first step involved transformation of the Pakistani criminal justice system though imposition of *Sharia* laws in the form of the Hudood ordinances. These were drafted by a committee that included

---

[297] The Council of Islamic Ideology has the following functions: 1. To recommend laws conforming to *Quran* and *Sunnah* to the Parliament and *Provincial Assemblies*, 2. To advise Parliament or the government or the President or the Governor on any question referred to the Council as to whether a proposed law is or is not repugnant to the Injunctions of Islam, 3. To make recommendations to bring current laws to conform to Islamic injunctions, 4. To compile guidance for Parliament and *Provincial Assemblies*. See Wikipedia on Council of Islamic Ideology.

[298] Hassan Abbas, "General Zia-ul-Haq: The Redefinition of a Country," *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror,* Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., New York, USA, 2005, p. 116.

[299] A. Kemal Faruki, "Pakistan: Islamic Government and Society" in *Islam in Asia: Religion, Politics, and Society,* John L. Esposito, ed., New York & Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 58

[300] Saadia Toor, "The State, Fundamentalism and Civil Society," *Engendering the Nation-State*, Neelam Hussain, Samiya Mumtaz and Rubina Saigol, eds., Lahore: *Simorgh* Women's Resource and Publication Centre, 1997, p. 119.

four members from the *ulema*, three legal experts, and three retired judges.[301] Pakistani

human rights lawyers and activists Asma Jehangir and Hina Jilani explain the legal

implications of the *Hudood* Ordinances.

> Promulgated in 1979 and enforced in 1980, the *Hudood* laws were a
> collection of five criminal laws, collectively known as the *Hudood*
> Ordinances. These included the Offences Against Property Ordinance,
> which deals with the crime of theft and robbery; the Offence of *Zina*
> Ordinance relates to the crimes of rape, abduction, adultery and
> fornication, while the word '*Zina*' covers adultery and fornication. The
> Offence of *Qazaf* Ordinance relates to false accusation of *Zina*; the
> Prohibition Order prohibits use of alcohol and narcotics. The last is the
> Execution of Punishment of Whipping Ordinance, which prescribes the
> mode of whipping for those convicted under the *Hudood*
> Ordinances…Two levels of punishment and, correspondingly, two
> separate sets of rules of evidence are prescribed. The first level or category
> is called the "*Hadd*" which literally means the "limit", and the other
> "*Tazir*", which means "to punish." *Hadd* punishments are fixed, leaving
> no room for the judge to take account of mitigating or extenuating
> circumstances of the crime. *Hadd* for theft is amputation of a hand; for
> armed robbery it is amputation of a foot or thirty whippings or the death
> penalty according to specific circumstances enumerated in the law. For
> rape or *Zina* (adultery or fornication) committed by adult married
> Muslims, *Hadd* punishment is stoning to death; for adult non-Muslims and
> adult single Muslims it is 100 lashes. *Hadd* for committing *Qazaf* (false
> accusation) and for drinking of alcohol: (for Muslims alone) is eighty
> stripes. *Tazir* is simply a fall-back position from *Hadd*. For instance, lack
> of evidence for *Hadd* does not exonerate the accused of criminal liability.
> The accused is still liable for *Tazir*.[302]

Whereas all measures contained in the *Hudood* Ordinances were horrifying, the

Zina Hudood Ordinance, which governed sexual conduct and morality, and the Law of

Evidence, which was introduced later, were the most problematic and specifically

gender-discriminatory in practice. Jehangir and Jilani explain that the *Zina Hudood*

---

[301]The members of the drafting committee are named in an article entitled "A Law of One Man Imposed on Others," which is article 12 in a series by Abdul Rehman, "Lies and Distortions by the Media About Hudood Ordinance," Oct. 21, 2006 available online at http://www.haqeeqat.org/v1.0/articles/thnb/12.htm

[302]Asma Jahangir and Hina Jilani, *The Hudood Ordinances: A Divine Sanction?* Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003, pp. 23-24.

Ordinance criminalized *zina,* which is defined as extra-marital sex, including adultery

and fornication. A man and a woman are said to commit '*Zina*' if they willfully have

sexual intercourse without being validly married to each other.[303]

Pakistani feminist scholars and activists Mumtaz Khawar and Fareeda Shaheed,

founding members of the Women's Action Forum (WAF), a pioneering women's rights

organization formed to oppose Zia's discriminatory laws elaborate:

> On the 22 February 1979 (the Prophet's birthday), amidst much fanfare
> and media build-up, the first concrete step towards *Islamization* was
> announced by the military government. This took the shape of the *Hudood
> Ordinance* 1979, which covers theft, drunkenness, adultery, rape and
> bearing false witness. The *Ordinance* makes *Zina* an offence against the
> state, unlike the British law hitherto in force, which considered adultery a
> matter of personal offence against the husband.[304]

The *Zina Hudood* Ordinance also became a tool for men to control and punish

women in their families, and more than half of the women in Pakistani jails awaiting trial

were falsely accused under the *Zina Hudood* Ordinance.[305] A report prepared by

Mahbub-ul-Haq Human Development Centre elaborates further:

> Apart from the fact that the law is used to penalize rape victims as those
> who have indulged in extra marital sex, it has also been used by men to
> control and punish women in their own families, giving them a tool to
> enforce their own notions of women's conduct and to punish any
> deviations. Thus, a large proportion of women in jail on *zina* charges have
> been put there by their own fathers, brothers and husbands. These include
> girls who refuse to marry according to parental wishes, wives who wish to
> separate or terminate their marriages, women who leave their homes
> because of abuse, and women who refuse to go into prostitution.[306]

---

[303]Ibid. p. 23.

[304]Khawar Mumtaz and Fareeda Shaheed, *Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?*
    Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1987, p. 100.

[305]*From Victim to the Accused – The Zina Ordinance in Pakistan: Human Development in South Asia
    2000: The Gender Question.* Report prepared by the Mahbub-ul-Haq Human Development Centre
    (Islamabad) Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 99.

[306]Ibid. p. 99.

Aslam Zahid, a former Supreme Court Judge and chair of the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW), in his recommendations for the repeal of the *Hudood* laws in its 1997 report explains that before the introduction of the *Zina Hudood Ordinance*, instead of being a criminal offence, adultery had remained a personal issue: "only directly affected persons – a wife or husband – could register cases, but only against men as a protection for women in a male-dominated, feudal society where women are rarely in control of their lives."[307]

The unequal gender status becomes obvious when women accused under these *Sharia* laws seek justice through the legal system, particularly in rape cases. The gender and social biases that women rape victims and prisoners face is also impacted by the low literacy rate among women, which leaves many unaware of their legal rights, however limited those rights may be, as Dorothy Thomas of Human Rights Watch elaborates:

> The discriminatory treatment encountered by women who enter the criminal justice system reflects the treatment of women as second-class citizens by Pakistani society at large. Given this subordinate status, once a woman is in prison it is extremely unlikely that she will possess the knowledge or the means to secure even the minimal protections due to her under law, or that such efforts as she makes will be given credence. Eighty percent of all female prisoners in Pakistan are illiterate and nearly 90 percent live on a monthly family income of less than 40 dollars. According to a survey conducted in 1988, over 90 percent of the 90 women prisoners interviewed in two prisons in Punjab were unaware of the law under which they had been imprisoned. Over 60 percent had received no legal assistance whatsoever.[308]

---

[307]"Pakistan — Focus on Renewed Debate over Faith-based Laws" Accessed at: www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=37481&SelectRegion=Central_Asia&SelectCountry=PAKISTAN on April 6, 2008.

[308]Dorothy Q. Thomas, "Double Jeopardy: Police Abuse of Women in Pakistan," *Human Rights Watch Report*, 1991. p.5. Accessed at: www.hrw.org/pakistan on April 20, 2009.

As pre-marital and extra-marital sex is strictly prohibited by Islam as a sin, it

potentially carries the sentence of capital punishment through stoning to death if

administered through strict Islamic dictates. Promulgated as part of an Islamic criminal

justice system to regulate morality and sexual conduct, the *Zina Hudood* Ordinance was

designed to hand down punishment according to the most rigid interpretations of the

Sharia laws. South Asia historian and scholar Ayesha Jalal explains that through his

Wahabbist and institutionalized marginalization of women's rights, Zia sought a way to

gain legitimacy for his policies:

> Realizing that very few had been persuaded, the General, a wily social
> tactician, calculated that playing the women's card could confirm his
> regime's commitment to Islam and, by extension, its legitimacy. It was a
> brilliant ploy. Making women the focal point of his 'Islamization'
> programme would win him a round of applause from the religious parties
> as well as the muted approval of broad sections of society.[309]

Zia also established Federal *Shariat* Courts (FSC) in 1980 whose judges were all

Muslims, two out of five of which were *ulema* (Islamic scholars). Non-Muslims were

also to be tried in these courts under Islamic laws.[310]

Although non-Muslims (religious minorities such as Christians) were to be tried

under the *Hudood* Ordinances, non-Muslim lawyers and judges were not allowed to

appear or preside over the Federal *Shariat* Court. These courts have the exclusive

jurisdiction to hear appeals against all convictions passed under the *Hudood*

---

[309]Ayesha Jalal, "The Convenience of Subservience: Women and the State of Pakistan," *Women, Islam and the State* Deniz Kandiyoti, ed., London: Macmillan Press,1991, pp. 100-101.

[310]Pakistan is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country in which 96 % of the population comprise Muslim *Sunni* (majority), and *Shia* (minority) sects, while 4% belong to religious minorities, including Christians, Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Parsis, Bahá'ís, Ahmadis, and Kalash. See "The Silence of our Friends: Communal Violence in India and Pakistan" on the Franciscans International website: http://www.franciscansinternational.org/node/3037 Accessed on December 1, 2009.

Ordinances.[311] The *Zina Hudood* Ordinance was also extended to govern the conduct of

religious minorities in Pakistan. This was a brazen violation of human and gender rights

by the Zia regime and its Islamization policies. Whereas the 1973 Constitution of

Pakistan, and the *Sharia* Act of Pakistan passed later, did not extend Islamic laws to

religious minorities, the *Hudood* laws did not exempt them on the basis of their non-

Muslim religious affiliations.[312]

The Law of Evidence

The Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) proposed the Law of Evidence (*Qanun-e-*

Shahadat) in April 1982, and it was promulgated as law in 1984.[313] The Law of

Evidence reinforced the gender-discriminatory nature of the *Zina Hudood* Ordinance by

establishing that only the testimony of *two* women would be admissible as equivalent to

one reliable source, which is to say that the testimony of a female is worth half that of a

man's in a Pakistani court of law. Moreover, the law demanded that an equivalent of four

Muslim male witnesses of 'good repute'[314] verify a woman's claim of sexual penetration

and consequent rape.[315] Failing this condition, a rape victim would be considered guilty

---

[311]Ibid. pp. 24-25.

[312]Naeem Shakir, "Women and Religious Minorities under the *Hudood* Laws in Pakistan," Asian Legal
    Resource Centre, July 2, 2004. Accessed at: www.article2.org/index.php on May 23, 2008.

[313]Mumtaz, Khawar and Shaheed, Farida. 'Legally Reducing Women's Status.' Women of Pakistan: Two
Steps Forward, One Step Back? Vanguard Books. Lahore, Pakistan, 1987. p.106.

[314]The 1997 Report of the Pakistan Commission of Inquiry for Women noted: "Muslims of good repute
who are witnesses is an unfair standard since few men of good repute would stand by and watch a rape take
place. In a Pakistani court a woman's complaint of rape is considered a confession of illicit sexual
intercourse; a subsequent pregnancy is also evidence against her." *The Commission of Inquiry for Women*
Report of 1997, Ministry of Women's Development, Social Welfare, and Special Education, Islamabad,
Pakistan, 1997.

[315]For further discussion, see Khawar Mumtaz and Fareeda Shaheed, "Legally Reducing Women's Status,"
    Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back? Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1987, pp. 106-110.

of fornication or adultery under the *Zina Hudood* Ordinance.[316] The combined effect of the Law of Evidence and the Zina Ordinance seriously undermined women's rights to equal treatment as citizens seeking justice in any Pakistani law court.[317]

After decades of domestic and international pressure, the *Zina Hudood* Ordinance was amended by the government of Pervez Musharraf through the promulgation of the Protection of Women Bill in 2006. Placing the crime of rape under the Pakistan Penal Code instead of the Islamic *Zina Hudood* Ordinance, the Bill dropped the previous requirement to produce four male witnesses to prove the crime of rape. The Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act, 2006 was approved by the National Assembly on November 15, 2006, enacted on December 1, 2006, and signed into Pakistan's Penal Code by President General Pervez Musharraf.[318]

---

[316]Feminist scholar Shahnaz Khan points out: "The onus of providing proof of rape rests with the victim under the *Hudood Ordinance* and there are severe ramifications if she does not provide that proof. If she is unable to convince the court, her allegation of rape is in itself considered as confession of *Zina* and the victim effectively implicates herself and is liable to *Tazir* punishment. Furthermore, the woman can be categorized as the rapist herself since it is often assumed that she seduced the man." Shahnaz Khan, *Gender, Religion, Sexuality and the State: Mediating the Hudood Laws in Pakistan*, Centre for Research and Violence Against Women and Children, London, Ontario, 2001, p. 3. Accessed at: www.uwo.ca/violence on February 19, 2009

[317]This was most obvious in the infamous Safia Bibi case, which remains a classic illustration of miscarriage of justice because of the gender discriminatory nature of the Law of Evidence. "A sixteen-year-old blind girl, Safia Bibi, was raped by her landlord and his son in Sahiwal, eighty kilometers away from the Punjab capital of Lahore in 1983. A case was registered against the culprits in July 1983, and the court asked the blind girl to identify the rapists. As she failed to identify them, Bibi's consequent pregnancy was treated as evidence of fornication (as if pregnancy can only result from consensual sex), and therefore she was sentenced to three years in prison, fifteen lashes, and a fine of 1,000 rupees. The judge said the sentence was light because she was young and disabled." For further details, see Khawar Mumtaz and Fareeda Shaheed, *Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?* Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1987, p. 103.

[318]The Protection of Women Act 2006. 'Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act, 2006.' Accessed at: http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/legislation/2006/wpb.html on October 1, 2009.
The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom reports: 'Under the new legislation, convictions for rape must be based on forensic and circumstantial evidence. This change followed another amendment to the Ordinances enacted in July 2006 allowing women convicted of purported sexual transgressions to be released on bail rather than having to remain in prison – sometimes for lengthy periods – waiting for their cases to come to trial.' The United States Commission on International Religious

Further Oppressive Directives

The political and social environment in Pakistan under Zia was significantly influenced by the fundamentalist Islamist *Jamaat-e-Islami* party, which began to pressure the government in 1983 to ban women from government jobs, the arts, the media, and even from driving cars, and called on the government to create separate women's universities. Similarly, members of the *Majlis-e-Shoora* such as the ultra orthodox Dr. Israr Ahmed, began to call for imposition of the '*chador* and *chardivari*' (four walls and a black veil to hide women from public view, also known as *purdah* or segregation), arguing that women should be confined to their homes and "exist just for the pleasure of the male."[319] The *Majlis-e-Shoora* also distributed an official 'Should women vote?' questionnaire in 1985.[320]

Beginning with the most obvious symbol of 'Islamic' identity, that of dress, the Zia government issued directives in 1980 for all women in government jobs to wear the chador[321] over whatever they were wearing, something that had till then been a matter of personal choice.[322] Similarly, there was an attempt to ban the wearing of the sari. A dress common to all Indian and South Asian women before the partition, regardless of

---

Freedom (USCIRF) Annual Report, 2010. 'Annual Report 2010 - Countries of Particular Concern: Pakistan.' April 29, 2009. Accessed at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/category,COI,USCIRF,,PAK,4be2840c20,0.html on June 12, 2009.

[319]Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed, "Dr. Israr and Women's Status," *Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?* London: Zed, 1987, p. 83.

[320]Inderpal Grewal, "Salman Rushdie: Marginality, Women, and Shame," *Genders 3*, November, 1988. pp. 24-42.

[321]The *chador* is a traditional large shawl for covering the head and the upper part of the body worn by conservative women in Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan.

[322] Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed, The Veiling and Seclusion of Women. Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back? Zed Books Ltd., London and New Jersey, 1987. p.77.

religion, the sari was suddenly proclaimed by right-wing elements to be a specifically 'Indian' and 'Hindu' dress.323

In 1982, the Zia regime also launched a national campaign against 'obscenity' under which once again women and their appearance in advertisements and the media were subjected to an 'Islamic' dress code and a domesticated representation. As Pakistani authors Mumtaz Khawar and Farida Shaheed recall, the Zia government endorsed a systematic redefinition and depiction of women through the media to conform to a very conservative and insidious interpretation of Islamic dictates and standards of morality.

In fact, the government was less concerned about obscenity or the misuse of women in advertising than projecting a particular image of women, defined by sewing machines, detergents and other items of housework…Newspapers reduced the number of photographs of women and film editions were stopped altogether…Newspapers held debates on modesty and obscenity. Women were generally regarded as synonymous with obscenity, corruption and immorality. If women were harassed, killed or raped in the streets, or at home, it was because women had provoked these attacks by their speech, action, or just their very presence…television programmes depicted women as the root cause of corruption, as those who forced poor men into accepting bribes, smuggling or pilfering funds, all in order to satisfy the insatiable female desire for clothes and jewellery. Similarly, working women were the cause of lax morality and the disintegration of the family and social values.324

323Ibid. p. 78.
324Ibid. pp. 81-82.

Islamists called for segregating the sexes according to 'Islamic' principles in education and sports. In education, they demanded an end to co-education and urged that girl's colleges be granted upgraded university status instead, while new 'women's universities' could be established in due course of time.[325]

In sports, the debate focused on the religious right's opposition to women's participation in spectator sports and a demand to ban them from inclusion in international competitions on religious grounds. Zia met this demand by declaring that "women would be allowed to play sports (and would be encouraged), but within segregated compounds, and while Pakistani women were free to play international teams under Islamic conditions within the country, they would not be allowed to proceed abroad."[326]

Other marginalizing measures included the banning of co-educational social evenings, ending the promotion and recruitment of women to work in national banks, canceling postings of Foreign Office female employees, and preventing women from taking up scholarships abroad.[327]

The Blasphemy Law

Another horrific measure taken by the Zia regime was the insertion of new sections into the Pakistan Penal Code's Blasphemy Law, which outlines injunctions pertaining to offences against Islam.[328] The new intimidating sections, 298-A and 298-C,

---

[325]Ibid. p. 86.

[326]Ibid. pp. 90-91.

[327]Ibid. p.95.

[328]The Blasphemy laws of Pakistan date back to the 1860 British colonial criminal law. Zia Islamicized them in 1986, while in 1991 Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif introduced the death penalty for blasphemy. During Zia's tenure, these laws were widely abused. Whereas there were only seven cases between 1927 and 1986, number of cases between 1986 and 2004 shot up to more than four thousand. *Rationalist International*, Bulletin # 135 (21 November 2004). http://www.rationalistinternational.net Accessed on June 3, 2007.

were inserted as legal provisions as part of the Islamization process to transform Pakistan into an 'Islamic' state.[329] They were added to the existing Blasphemy law in 1980. Section 298-A made the use of derogatory remarks in respect of persons revered in Islam an offence, punishable with up to three years' imprisonment. Sections 298-B and 298-C prohibit the Ahmadiyya from behaving as Muslims, calling themselves Muslims, proselytizing, or "in any manner whatsoever" outraging the religious feelings of Muslims. Violators of any part of Section 298 are liable to imprisonment for up to three years and liable also to a fine. In 1986, the insertion of 295-C specifically made defiling the name of the Prophet Mohammed a criminal offence, punishable with death or life imprisonment.[330] The two aforementioned insertions in the Blasphemy Law as contained in the Pakistan Penal Code are:

> **Section 298-A**
> **Use of derogatory remarks, etc., in respect of holy personages:**
>
> Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representation, or by any imputation, innuendo or insinuation, directly or indirectly, defiles the sacred name of any wife (Ummul Mumineen), or members of the family (Ahle-bait), of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him), or any of the righteous Caliphs (Khulafa-e-Raashideen) or companions (Sahaaba) of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

---

[329]The provisions in the Blasphemy Laws have been widely misused to target religious minorities such as the Christian and the Ahmaddia communities through false accusations. For the full text of the Blasphemy Law, see: United Nations Commission on Human Rights.
http://www.unhchr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/0/9da54d3f22f184f1802567390039e0d6?Opendocument Accessed on May 20, 2009.
For details of Blasphemy Law cases against the Ahmaddia community, see Asian Human Rights Report: "Pakistan: The Year 2009 was Worst for Ahmedis," February 3, 2010.
http://www.humanrights.asia/news/forwarded-news/AHRC-FST-009-2010 Accessed on March 11, 2010.
For details of significant cases of Blasphemy Law in Pakistan see 'Pakistan:
Use and Abuse of the Blasphemy Laws.' Amnesty International. AI Index: ASA 33/008/1994. 27 July 1994. Accessed at:
http://asiapacific.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGASA330081994?open&of=ENG-390 on March 14, 2009.

[330]Amnesty International Report on Pakistan (ASA 33/10/96) September 1996. Accessed at:
   http://www.amnesty.org/ on May 8, 2006.

<u>Section 295-C</u>
Use of derogatory remarks etc., in respect of the Holy Prophet:

Whoever by words, either spoken or written or by visible representation,
or by any imputation, innuendo, or insinuation, directly or indirectly,
defiles the sacred name of the Holy Prophet Mohammed (peace be upon
him) shall be punished with death. [331]

Much like the marginalization of women, the Zia regime was committed to

marginalizing the 'non–Muslim' religious minorities and preventing their political

participation as equal citizens. The Zia regime excluded them from wider political

participation through a system of Separate Electorates. [332] Zia justified his actions in the

wider interests of the religious minorities, although formerly non-Muslims had been able

to take part in electing all members of the national and provincial assemblies. **[333]**

The Separate Electorate allowed minorities to elect their representatives from

their reserved seats in parliament under the Eighth Amendment in Constitution of the

Islamic Republic of Pakistan of 1985. In 2002, President Pervez Musharraf abolished this

system and restored the joint electorate system. [334]

In 2009 the Supreme Court of Pakistan rejected an appeal filed eighteen years

earlier against the Federal *Shariat* Court thereby upholding the death penalty as the sole

punishment for blasphemy. [335] Besides the above-mentioned legal and political measures

to achieve the Islamization of the country, many other changes, even symbolic and

---

[331]Pakistan Blasphemy Law: Accessed at: United Nations Commission on Human Rights.
http://www.unhchr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/0/9da54d3f22f184f1802567390039e0d6?Opendocument
on May 10, 2007.

[333]Javaid Rehman, "The Right to Equality and Non-Discrimination and Minorities of Pakistan" in *The
Weaknesses in the International Protection of Minority Rights*, The Hague, London, Boston: Kluwer
Law International, 2000, p. 145.

[334] Accessed at: http://www.zenit.org/article-3437?l=english on October 6, 2009.

[335]Nasir Iqbal, "Death Only Punishment for Blasphemy," *The Daily Dawn*, April 21, 2009. Accessed at:
http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-
library/dawn/news/pakistan/death+only+punishment+for+blasphemy--szh on April 21, 2009.

superficial ones, were also introduced into the fabric of Pakistan's daily life to promote

and support General Zia's ideology, as Pakistan scholar Kemal A. Faruki recounts:

> Where the five Pillars (*arkan*) of the Faith were concerned, greater
> emphasis was laid on observing the noonday prayer in government-
> controlled offices. Senior officers were advised to lead or, at least, attend
> these prayers. During the month of fasting (Ramadan), restrictions on
> eating in public places became more stringent…Television and film
> censorship was increased and the dress worn by women participants and a
> purity view were increasingly applied regarding entertainment at schools
> and colleges. The walls of offices, calendars, and even billboards were
> adorned with quotations from the Holy *Quran* and with sayings of the
> Prophet Mohammad. In due course, lounge suits, safari suits, and ties were
> frowned on as un-Islamic…conferences and seminars on Islamic themes
> proliferated, with and without delegates from other Muslim countries, and
> were welcomed with banners and extensive publicity.[336]

Similarly, Pakistan scholar Anita Weiss points out that as another very visible

measure combining Islam and nationalism and making the judicial system compliant with

his *Sharia*-led penal and political system, Zia also introduced a strict state-enforced dress

code, whereby the *Sharia* court jurists were ordered to wear the Pakistani traditional

national dress of white *shalwar kameez* and the formal black top coat, *sherwani*. And, if

headgear was to be used, it had to be a black cap such as the one worn by Pakistan's

founder, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, popularly referred to in Pakistan as the

'*Quaid* cap.'[337]

In the banking sector, Zia introduced reforms to bring banking transactions into

compliance with the Islamic taxation concepts of *Zakat* (wealth tax), *Ushr* (agricultural

---

[336]A. Kemal Faruki, "Pakistan: Islamic Government and Society" in *Islam in Asia: Religion, Politics, and Society*, John L. Esposito, ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 59.

[337]Anita M. Weiss, ed., *Islamic Reassertion in Pakistan: The Application of Islamic Laws in a Modern State*, Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1986, p. 12.

tax), and *Riba*, (interest).[338] *Zakat*, which constitutes one of the five pillars of Islam, is to be paid by Muslims annually in the month of Ramadan on wealth held more than a year to help the poor, deserving, and needy. The *Zakat* Ordinance came into effect on June 20, 1980, levying a two and one-half percent compulsory, instead of the hitherto voluntary, *zakat* tax, at source, on savings and similar accounts, time-deposit receipts and certificates, government securities and shares, life insurance policies, and provident (retirement) funds.

Endorsed through the political machinery and meant to serve Zia's agenda of Islamization rather than to facilitate the state economy, these changes placed the country's financial sector firmly under state control. As a result of such transformations and reforms, an individual's 'piety' and adherence to their Islamic faith would be monitored and judged by state standards and directives as opposed to personal convictions and deeds.

Islamicizing Education

In his critical study of politically motivated and state-sanctioned manipulation of historical facts by respective Pakistani regimes, South Asia historian K.K. Aziz discusses the 'murder of history' in Pakistani history and social studies school textbooks. He points out that these publications are controlled and approved by the Ministry of Education

---

[338]Grace Clark, "Pakistan's Zakat and Ushr as a Welfare System" in Anita M. Weiss, ed., *Islamic Reassertion in Pakistan: The Application of Islamic Laws in a Modern State*, p.63.

Ushr (literally, a tenth or tithe), an agricultural subsidiary to *zakat*, came into effect much later as a compulsory five percent tax on agricultural produce, with the remaining five percent regarded as voluntary There has been no understanding of *Riba* (which is prohibited by the *Quran*) as referring only to usury and excluding bank interest. Instead, official policy (in line with traditional doctrine) has been to eliminate 'the curse of interest' interpreted as any fixed, predetermined increase in the capital sum lent. As an initial step, parallel bank counters were set up in banks (nationalized during the Bhutto regime). These accepted deposits under a Profit-and-Loss Sharing scheme. The theory behind this was that the banks would invest their customers' money in businesses in which the return to the bank's customers would depend on the profits or losses made in these investments.

"which checks their accuracy and approves of their 'ideological' content, and after their publication prescribes them as the 'sole textbook' for the various class levels while issuing a warning that students must not buy or use any 'additional' textbooks."[339] These books, Aziz elaborates, "thus become the only source of information for millions of students whose education stops at or before the 12th class."[340] Aziz points out that to simplify this manipulation, "history as a subject in the schools was abolished by the government of Field Marshal Ayub Khan. Its place has been taken by a subject called '*Mu'ashrati Ulum*' or 'Social Studies' for classes 1-8, and by another subject called '*Mutala'a-i-Pakistan*' or 'Pakistan Studies' for classes 9-12. Both are amalgams of bits of geography, history, economics, civics, Islamic Studies and International Relations."[341]

As an example of the state's manipulation of historical facts through textbooks, Aziz points out that Zia's military coup and consequent martial law regime is conveniently described as a 'logical' outcome of political developments in Pakistan following Z.A Bhutto's democratic rule, and the ensuing *Nizam-e-Mustafa* endorsed by Zia-ul-Haq is presented as a 'mass movement' that installed and accepted the Zia regime as the true leadership for an Islamic state.[342]

Describing at length the historical distortions that appear in Pakistani textbooks and the official ideologies and supporting guidelines that dictate and guide them such as 'Follow the Government in Office,' 'Support Military Rule,' 'Glorify Wars,' 'Hate India,' among others, Aziz elaborates on the factors that facilitate these damaging distortions.

---

[339]K. K. Aziz, "The Prescribed Myths" in *The Murder of History: A Critique of History Textbooks Used in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1993, p. 1.
[340]Ibid. p. 2.
[341]Ibid. p. 2.
[342]Ibid. "The Calamity of Errors," p. 156.

The stuffing of the textbook is closely associated with the regime in power under which it is produced and published. This intimate relationship with the pillars of the State (bureaucracy and political and military rulers) is inevitable when the book is planned by the functionaries of the government, written and edited by teachers who are government employees, approved by a committee in the federal ministry of education, and issued by a board which is an official institution. Thus it is easy to understand the nature of the prescribed book…This official attitude produces such amusing oddities as the omission of the name of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto from all books published during General Zia-ul Haq's rule. That means that the millions of students who went to school during the eleven years of his dictatorship did not know what happened in the country between East Pakistan's secession in 1971 and Zia's *coup* in 1977.[343]

Similarly, in an NGO-sponsored report on political and ideological manipulation of Pakistani school textbooks produced by the Curriculum Wing[344] of the Federal Ministry of Education during the Zia years, education scholars A. H. Nayyar and Ahmed Salim trace the roots of the Islamization of the education curricula by the Zia regime.

Soon after his coup in 1977, General Zia-ul-Haq called a national education conference, the goals and objectives of which were "to redefine the aims of education, choose basic strategies, ascertain the main problems in education confronting the nation, and to bring education in line with Pakistani faith and ideology". The direction, again, was clear. General Zia said in his inaugural speech: "Our curriculum must ensure that our children are brought up educated as good Pakistanis and good Muslims. They must imbibe the lofty ideals and principles of Islam." Under the new policy, the subject of Islamiat was made compulsory at all levels of education up to BA, teaching of Arabic was made compulsory in all schools to students of all religions, great emphasis was placed on the Ideology of Pakistan, the madrassah education was encouraged by

---

[343]Ibid. "The Road to Ruin," pp. 188-189.

[344]"The Curriculum Wing lays down criteria for the Provincial Textbook Boards, which have a monopoly on authorizing books for use in public schools in their respective province. The monopoly allows the Textbook Boards to act as ideological gatekeepers, making sure that only what they see as ideologically acceptable gets into classrooms. The frequent re-writing and publishing of textbooks is also a way for the Boards to exercise power over authors and ensure they conform to the guidelines. The 'approved' authors, in their bid to be accepted, go much farther on doctrinal matters than is demanded by the curriculum." A. H. Nayyar and Ahmad Salim, eds., *The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan: Urdu, English, Social Studies and Civics*, Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute, (SDPI), 2002, p. 5. Available online at: http://www.sdpi.org/archive/nayyar_report.htm Accessed on December 6, 2007.

declaring madrassah certificates equivalent to normal university degrees. The policy made Nazria-e-Qur'an compulsory from Class-I and learning the Qur'an with translation from Class-IV. Islamiat was made compulsory from Class-I to BA/BSc level. Not surprisingly, there was little effort to change the Zia era curriculum or establish a new set of requirements for textbooks.[345]

Ahmed Salim points out that Zia's education policies were aimed at consolidating Islamization at the core and elementary levels, and the process gave birth to a culture of religious intolerance and extremism.

> Zia-ul-Haq started the process of Islamization in full measure. The textbooks continued to lay even greater stress on the Islamic perspective of historical events. The new education policy of 1979 was presented as a five-year programme. It listed nine national aims of education. The first four highlighted Zia's political agenda of Islam. The phrase 'Ideology of Pakistan' was re-installed with vigour and all the textbooks were re-written to reassert the Islamic orientation of Pakistani nationalism according to Gen. Zia's socio-political concepts.[346]

Giving an example to describe the implications and the extent of the absurdities introduced by Zia's politicized manipulation of school textbooks, Ahmed Salim elaborates on the imaginary renaming, and thus invention, of a physical world with a 'Muslim' identity.

> The curriculum and text books of Social Studies Class VII relate only to the 'Muslim World', which becomes problematic when describing 'Mountains of the Muslim World', Rivers of the Muslim World', 'Seas of the Muslim World', etc., because physical geography neither has a religion nor does it follow ideology, and the Ummah or 'Muslim World' is an ideological and abstract construction. This has been in the Class VII textbooks since the early nineties and is still present.[347]

---

[345]Ibid. 'Introduction.' p.3-4. The quotes of Zia are from Nasir Jalil, *The State and Education: The Political Economy of Education Development in Pakistan from 1958 to 1988*, PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1996, pp. 220 and 273. Islamiat refers to Islamic religious studies as taught in Pakistani schools.

[346]Ibid. Ahmed Salim, "Historical Falsehoods and Inaccuracies," p. 66.

[347]Ibid. p. 67.

Taking the example of three compulsory subjects – Social Studies/Pakistan Studies, Urdu, and English – A. H. Nayyar pinpoints the highly politicized religion-specific aims of this curriculum in spite of Pakistan's religious diversity.

> Four themes emerge most strongly as constituting the bulk of the curricula and textbooks of the three compulsory subjects. 1) That Pakistan is for Muslims alone; 2) That Islamic teachings, including a compulsory reading and memorization of Qur'an, are to be included in all the subjects, hence to be forcibly taught to all the students, whatever their faith; 3) That Ideology of Pakistan is to be internalized as faith, and that hate be created against Hindus and India; and 4) That students are to be urged to take the path of Jehad and Shahadat...Although non-Muslims are not required to take the fourth compulsory subject of Islamiat, there is an extraordinary incentive for them in the form of 25% additional marks for learning and taking examinations in Islamiat.[348]

Nayyar points out that Zia's Islamization through education policies can be clearly distinguished by their promotion of the themes of *Jehad* and *Shahadat* inasmuch as "There was no mention of these in the pre-Islamization period curricula and textbooks, and the post-1979 curricula and textbooks openly eulogize Jehad and Shahadat and urge students to become mujahids and martyrs."[349] Similarly, so strongly and vehemently is the Islamic/Pakistani identity promoted and indoctrinated that textbooks even refer to dress as an identifying and differentiating factor between Muslims and non-Muslims. A Class VI Punjab textbook stresses, for example, that "Muslim children of India wear *shalwar kameez* or shirt and pajama and Hindu children wear *Dhoti* also."[350]

However, Islamic scholar Anita Weiss notes that "the new educational policy is the only one of the four areas of Zia's Islamization program not directly based on Qur'anic injunction; it relates instead to the assimilation and acceptance of the

---

[348] A. H. Nayyar, "Insensitivity to the Religious Diversity of the Nation," pp. 11-12. The "path of Jehad and *shahadat*" refers to a "path of struggle and martyrdom."
[349] Ibid. p. 22.
[350] Ibid. p. 59.

government's Islamization program among the people."[351] Towards this end, Zia gave

public affirmation of his commitment to Islam and Islamic values by supporting the

setting up of a '*Shariat* faculty' for the first time in the country's history. The new faculty

was integrated as a separate entity at the Islamabad-based Quaid-e-Azam University in

1979, and a year later evolved into a separate institution calling itself the International

Islamic University.[352] The foundation of the International Islamic University in

Islamabad, the country's capital, was laid on the first day of the fifteenth century *Hijrah*

i.e. *Muharram* 1, 1401 (November 11, 1980). This landmark of the beginning of the new

Islamic century was meant to symbolize the aspirations and hopes of the Muslim *ummah*

for an Islamic renaissance.[353]

Zia's government opened a new arena to further his Islamization agenda by

declaring *madrasa* education certificates equivalent to normal university degrees and

funding them from the new compulsory *Zakat* and *Ushr* taxes.[354] Traditionally operating

as institutes for basic religious education, normally attached to local mosques, Zia's state

patronage gave the religious seminaries status as legitimate institutions to promote his

brand of 'Islamic' ideology. Political analyst Zahid Hussain elaborates on the rising

power and status of *madrasas* in Pakistan during the Zia years:

> Many of the religious parties operating the madrasas turned to militancy
> courtesy of the US-sponsored jihad in Afghanistan. From waging jihad
> against infidels in that foreign land, taking on perceived enemies of Islam
> at home was just a small step away. The influx of huge sums of money

[351]"The Historical Debate on Islam and the State in South Asia" in *Islamic Reassertion in Pakistan: The Application of Islamic Laws in a Modern State*, Anita M. Weiss, ed., Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1986, p. 15.

[352]Ibid. p.15.

[353]The International Islamic University Islamabad. Accessed at: http://www.iiu.edu.pk/ on March 20, 2007.

[354]Grace Clark, "Pakistan's Zakat and Ushr as a Welfare System" in *Islamic Reassertion in Pakistan: The Application of Islamic Laws in a Modern State*, Anita M. Weiss, ed., 1986, p. 63.

and a growing sense of power transformed the mullah's image from that of a docile and humble man to a mafia thug with a four-wheel drive Jeep and armed bodyguards…The Islamization of education and levying of Islamic taxes had a profound long-term effect.[355]

Hussain Haqqani, journalist, academic, and Pakistan's current ambassador to the U.S., elaborates on the regional political developments that were driving Zia's promotion of *madrasas* during the Iranian Islamic Revolution in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, both taking place in 1979.

> Iran's mullahs had managed to overthrow the shah and take power, undermining the idea that religious education was useless in worldly matters…In the midst of this conflict, and the madrassah boom it spawned, the United States helped create an Islamic resistance to communism in Afghanistan, encouraging Saudi Arabia and other oil-rich states to fund the Afghan resistance and its supporters throughout the Muslim world. Pakistan's military ruler at the time, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, decided to establish madaris instead of modern schools in Afghan refugee camps, where five million displaced Afghans provided a natural supply of recruits for the resistance. The refugees needed schools; the resistance needed mujahideen. Madaris would provide an education of sorts, but it was believed that they would also serve as a center of indoctrination and motivation.[356]

Islamic scholar John L. Esposito elaborates on the radicalization of Pakistani *madrasas* and the financial support that continued to pour in from *Wahabbist* sources such as Saudi Arabia.

> After the Afghan war, *madrasas* continued to thrive both as part of Saudi Arabia's ongoing export of its ideology and as a means to create a strong Sunni wall against Iran's export of its revolution. Governments, their religious agencies, and wealthy members of the business community pumped in large amounts of money to build and support *madrasas*. In Pakistan, a country of some 150 million with nearly a two-thirds illiteracy rate and an annual average per capita income of $450, the *madrasas*

[355]Zahid Hussain, "Nursery for Jihad," *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam*, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 2007, pp. 77-78.

[356]Hussain Haqqani, "Forword" in C. Christine Fair, *The Madrassah Challenge: Militancy and Religious Education in Pakistan*, Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2008, p. xiii.

provided much-needed shelter along with free education for millions of Afghans who found refuge there as well as Pakistanis whose state (secular) educational system had collapsed due to lack of funding.[357]

The emerging *'jihad* culture' since the 1980s has given *madrasas* an exalted status and significant function among fundamentalist factions. Since the 1990s, there has been a swift mushrooming of these religious seminaries right across Pakistan, while the fundamentalist clergy has emerged as an extremely strong and dangerous new political entity having a major impact on the socio-political fabric of the country. Besides fanning sectarian violence, the madrasas and the extremists among the clergy have been at the forefront of recruiting and training potential Taliban suicide bombers and fighters. Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the US and the subsequent US-led 'war on terror' in Afghanistan and Pakistan's tribal belts, many of these religious seminaries have been actively and openly promoting Taliban and *Al Qaida* ideologies and hatred against the US and the West. Tracing the steady increase in the numbers of *madrasas* in Pakistan since its independence from India, Zahid Hussain notes:

> At independence in 1947, there were only 137 *madrasas* in Pakistan; in the next ten years their number rose to 244. After that they doubled every ten years. A significant number remained unregistered and therefore it was hard to know precisely how many there were. Government sources put the figure at 13,000, with total enrollment close to 1.7 million. According to the government's own estimates, ten to 15 percent of the madrasas had links with sectarian militancy or international terrorism. The trail of international terror often led to the madrasas and mosques. [358]

It is apparent from the above discussions that through an all-encompassing and broad-based state machinery, Zia began to establish an Islamic state in a 'substantial and

[357]John L. Esposito, "The Armies of God," *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam*, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 109-110.

[358]Zahid Hussain, "Nursery for Jihad," *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam*, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 2007, p. 79-80.

not merely a symbolic manner' by imposing reforms in the country's administrative,

judicial, banking, education, sports, and agriculture sectors, as well as foreign affairs. As

a result, women, non-Muslims and minority sects became the direct victims of *Sharia*-

based legal reforms such as the *Hudood* Ordinances, the Law of Evidence, and the

Blasphemy Law with their punishments upheld by the Pakistani judicial system despite

their brazen contravention of the human rights commitment that the government of

Pakistan had made to the international community.[359] As harsh *Wahabbist* Islamic *Sharia*

laws and penalties, prevalent in Saudi Arabia, were enforced in Pakistan for the first time,

religious minorities, particularly the Ahmadiyya community, became a prime target of

persecution as 'non-Muslims', suffering humiliation and marginalization in every sphere

of public life. [360]

---

[359]Ishtiaq Ahmed, "Pakistan's Human Rights Obligations," *The Daily Times*, Pakistan, November 30, 2003. This article is available from the online discussion of "Constitution Making and Law Enactment in Pakistan" available at: www.usenet.com Accessed on March 19, 2009.

[360]Pooja Joshi, *Jamaat-i-Islami: The Catalyst of Islamization in Pakistan*, Delhi, India: Kalinga Publications, 2003, p. 61.

CHAPTER 6: RESPONDING TO ZIA'S ISLAMIZATION POLICIES: EMERGENCE OF ACTIVIST ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIO-POLITICAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS

Zia's Islamization produced an atmosphere of suffocating oppression and fear. Nevertheless, many Pakistani citizens stood up to courageously protest and organize resistance. Pakistan experienced an unprecedented surge in civil society activism as organizations and individuals in various cities mobilized public opinion and protest against the Zia's regime's transformative measures, in particular, those designed to marginalize, control, and suppress women and minority groups and limit freedoms on the pretext of establishing Pakistan's religious identity and enforcing Islamic laws.

This chapter will identify the significant pioneering resistance movements, organizations, and leading individuals that emerged to oppose Zia's imposition of *Sharia* laws and Islamization policies. Many of the groups launched in the struggle against Zia have continued to expand, collaborate and grow over the decades. These include women's organizations; legal aid cells; politically conscious theatre groups; literary voices; and the first Pakistani activist documentary film makers. Rooted in the struggles against Zia's Islamization policies, over the subsequent decades, these organizations and individuals have continued to work on issues of women's rights and human rights in the spheres of law, media, and theatre.

Women's Resistance Movement and Organizations

The intensely patriarchal socio-political environment created by the imposition of *Sharia* laws, in particular the *Zina Hudood* Ordinance, in the early years of Islamization gave rise to countrywide resistance. Given that women were the first victims of blatantly gender-discriminatory laws such as the *Zina Hudood* Ordinance and the Law of Evidence, the first groups to collaborate and organize resistance and alliances were made up of educated and politically conscious urban women who came together to strategize and mobilize opposition against the dictator's policies. In the period from the partition in 1947 until the Islamization era and the beginning of the promulgation of *Sharia* laws in 1979, women's organizations in Pakistan had mostly concentrated on social work and welfare activities for women, children and the poor.[361] During Zia's martial law and dictatorship, an organized activist women's movement, which pursued a self-identifying 'feminist' social agenda and developed new strategies to protest and register their resistance, emerged for the first time in Pakistan.[362] The organizing efforts of these non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and individuals focused on women's rights and issues produced a new wave of activism that included reaching out through education, advocacy, media campaigns, research, writing, publishing, domestic and international alliances and collaborations, and partaking in international conferences to muster support and build pressure. Significant women's organizations and multidisciplinary resource

---

[361]For example, the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA), which was formed in 1949 by Begum Raana Liaquat Ali Khan, the wife of Pakistan's first prime minister, Begum Raana Liaquat Ali Khan, to deal with the refugee crisis in the wake of the partition from India in 1947. Begum Raana Liaquat had announced the formation of APWA as a voluntary, non-political organization that would work for the social, cultural and economic empowerment of women and children in Pakistan. See the All Pakistan Women's Association at: Accessed at: http://apwapakistan.com// Accessed on: January 3, 2007.

[362]The use of the word 'feminist' here is according to the self-identification of the various individuals and organizations that will be discussed in the following discussions. On my part, I assert that women's rights in Pakistan are a human rights issue first and foremost until the state and laws grant them equal status and rights as individuals and as citizens.

centers that began to promote activism, resistance, and research on women's issues during

the Zia years are the *Shirkat Gah* (Participation Forum)*,* the Women's Action Forum

(WAF), Simorgh, the Aurat (Woman) Foundation, and the ASR (Impact) Institute for

Applied Socio-Economic Research and Resource Centre.

The Shirkat Gah (Participation Forum)

The Shirkat Gah Women's Resource Centre was established in 1975, the United

Nations International Women's Year, with an objective to design and implement

strategies and campaigns to achieve women' equal rights and participation in the public

sphere.[363] But it was under Zia's repressive regime and the promulgation of the Zina

Hudood Ordinance that it came out stronger than ever in the public arena to coordinate

the creation and ongoing work of the Women's Action Forum (WAF). Founded by

human rights activist Khawar Mumtaz and sociologist Farida Shaheed as a collective,

over the decades the Shirkat Gah has taken up issues such as violence against women,

legal literacy, sustainable development, reproductive health, and economic

empowerment. Every other year since 1994 the Shirkat Gah has organized paralegal

training through its Women, Law and Status (WLS) modules. These modules have

included Muslim family laws, the criminal justice system, and violence against women,

among others. Through its 'Outreach' initiative, the WLS program has focused on

promoting collaboration between NGOs and twenty-six community-based organizations

(CBOs) in three provinces, (Punjab, Sindh, and the North West Frontier Province) to

lobby governments about various issues, including honour-killing and other gender-

---

[363]*Shirkat Gah Handbook*, Lahore: *Shirkat Gah* Publications, 2008.
For details on *Shirkat Gah* initiatives and publications on women's issues, see:
   http://www.shirkatgah.org/pubs_women_law&rights.htm Accessed on April 3, 2009.

specific tribal practices. One aspect that sets it apart from other women's organizations in Pakistan is that the Shirkat Gah was founded as a participatory and non-hierarchical collective and has retained this egalitarian character.

With offices in four provinces and an Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) consultative membership status at the United Nations, the *Shirkat Gah* has expanded beyond its initial small collective status into a major women's resource centre for research, documentation, and dissemination of information on women's issues in Pakistan.[364]

The Women's Action Forum (WAF)

Led by the *Shirkat Gah*, the Women's Action Forum (WAF) was launched in 1982 in Karachi with the participation of five other women's organizations, primarily from the middle and upper classes, in response to the 1981 case of *Fehmida and Allah Bux versus the State* in which a sessions judge sentenced a fifteen-year-old woman to one hundred lashes and a man to death by stoning under the *Zina Hudood* Ordinance because her parents disapproved of their marriage.[365] The WAF mobilized a countrywide protest and drew attention to the case through advocacy programmes, lobbying, and press campaigns. As Khawar Mumtaz, human rights activist and founding member of WAF, points out, these measures led to an increase in Pakistani women's research and writing

---

[364]The first avenue by which non-governmental organizations took a role in formal UN deliberations was through the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Forty-one NGOs were granted consultative status by the council in 1946. By 1992 more than 700 NGOs had attained consultative status and the number has been steadily increasing ever since to 3,187 organizations in 2010. Consultative status is granted by ECOSOC upon recommendation of the ECOSOC Committee on NGOs, which is comprised of 19 Member States. For further details on the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), see: http://esa.un.org/coordination/ngo/new/index.asp?page=intro Accessed on June 27, 2010.
[365]Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed, "Zia and the Creation of WAF," *Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?* Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1987, pp. 71-75.

on women and hitherto taboo or ignored issues such as rape, honour-killing and other

forms of violence against women. The WAF drew the attention of political parties and

trade unions to the need to work for the participation of women as a political force and to

give due attention to women's rights and issues.[366] Pakistan Women's Day is celebrated

annually on February 12th to commemorate the courage of a peaceful women's

demonstration in Lahore on that day in 1984 protesting the Law of Evidence and led by

the WAF and the Pakistan Women's Lawyers' Association. The demonstrators were

brutalized by the police.[367] This incident proved a turning point in the mobilization of

democratic forces to oppose the Zia regime's *Zina Hudood* Ordinance and other

repressive policies.

The ASR (Impact) Institute for Applied Socio-Economic Research and Resource Centre

The *ASR* (Impact) Institute for Applied Socio-Economic Research and Resource

Centre, launched in 1983, describes itself as a socialist-feminist applied social research

organization. For almost three decades, it has been involved in research, training

workshops, academic teaching, community work, documentary film production, and

assisting theatre and art groups with projects that deal with gender discrimination. The

organization launched the first feminist press in Pakistan. It created an educational and

training Institute of Women's Studies in Lahore, with a focus on "cultivating and

---

[366]Khawar Mumtaz, "Advocacy For An End to Poverty, Inequality, and Insecurity: Feminist Social Movements in Pakistan," *Gender, Development, and Advocacy,* Koos Kingman and Caroline Sweetman, eds., Oxfam Focus on Gender, Oxford: Oxfam, 2005, p. 64.

[367]Women's Action Forum Press Release (WAF), "Pakistan Women's Day," *The Daily News International*, Islamabad, Pakistan, February 12, 2004.

disseminating a type of Women's Studies that addresses the specific realities of Asian

women's experiences and contributions."[368]

Led by its founder and director, sociologist Nighat Said Khan, *ASR* has been

actively involved in consciousness-raising campaigns and a host of diverse issue-specific

workshops on topics such as sexual harassment of women in the workplace, women's

labour and rights in rural communities, women's health, peace and conflict resolution in

South Asia, feminist perspectives on the portrayal of women in the media, the use of

theatre for empowerment, design and production of crafts, and feminist research methods.

The organization has also organized and hosted several international conferences on

women's issues, including Pakistan's first national women's studies conference in 1994,

which brought together women academics, activists, writers, artists, poets, theatre

activists, dancers, and performers and included the first national feminist women's

mushaira (traditional forum for public recitation of Urdu poetry).[369] Other significant

ASR conferences have included 'In Struggle Together', a national conference of

development activists, and 'From Rio to Beijing' in 1995, which was attended by more

than two thousand activists.[370]

---

[368]*ASR Resource Center Handbook*, Lahore, Pakistan: *ASR* Publications, 2003.

[369]The literary scene in post-independence Pakistan had traditionally been dominated by male Urdu writers –poets, novelists, short story writers, dramatists and essayists. This was largely so because the literary tradition among Muslims in the Indian sub-continent did not allow women's voices to be heard in the public arena. Culturally, women were not in a position to find recognition as individuals due to the spatial segregation of the sexes. The most popular form of literature in Urdu has been poetry, with a tradition of public recitations, known as the *mushaira,* a forum for poets to recite their latest works. Traditionally, women could not participate in this forum due to social and cultural segregation. However, the scene began to change with the emergence of women's and feminist literature in Pakistan, particularly during Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization that triggered a fierce countrywide response from literary circles.

[370]*ASR Resource Center Handbook*, Published by *ASR* Publications, Lahore, Pakistan, 2003.

Along with other women's organizations, as part of its advocacy and activism initiative, *ASR* has remained committed to the struggle for the repeal and amendment of gender-discriminatory *Sharia* laws and problematic socio cultural practices.[371]

As an extension of its feminist activism, in 1997 *ASR* founded the Institute of Women's Studies (IWSL), which offers diploma and certificate courses designed specifically to train and sensitize NGO personnel, economists, sociologists, teachers, university faculty, government employees, media management and journalists, artists, human rights activists, and postgraduates in contemporary women's issues.[372] The IWSL socio-economic research has investigated income-generation schemes in Pakistan, women in handicrafts, the situation of women in industry, especially the brick kiln, construction, and quarrying industries. The *ASR* documentation centre and its in-house library today provides researchers access to a wide collection of books and journals on development-related issues in Pakistan and abroad as well as housing an audio and film collection.[373]

At the same time that progressive urban educated women were forming alliances, organizations, and pressure groups to oppose Islamization and discriminatory *Sharia* laws, women of Sindh province formed the first rural-based women's organization, the *Sindhiani Tehreek* (The Sindhi Women's Movement), in 1982 to mobilize women to seek protection of their rights. They focused on abuse of bonded labour by feudal landlords,

---

[371]Today, many women's NGO's, because of their active presence on the national scene and strong voice through international agencies such as the United Nations, are consulted by governments at various levels about relevant policy making, legislation issues, and implementation strategies.

[372]The last decade has also seen the emergence of several Women's Studies departments and programs in the major universities of the country, but since these are mostly state-run institutions, their curriculums are designed under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. Examples include Karachi University in Karachi, the Quaid-e-Azam University in Islamabad and Punjab University in Lahore.

[373]*ASR Resource Center Handbook*. *ASR* Publications, Lahore, Pakistan, 2003.

rape, and unequal wages for rural women.[374] As the women's wing of the *Awami Tehreek* (People's Movement), the *Sindhiani Tehreek* became the first ever progressive and exclusive women's organization in South Asia. Under the leadership of Zarina Baloch, a folk singer and composer whose songs and anthems became musical emblems of Sindhi and Baloch nationalism, the *Sindhiani Tehreek* played an important role in the struggle for democracy and human rights. Zarina Baloch, popularly called *JeeJee* (mother of Sindh), was always on the frontlines, marching with the people, braving tear gas and heavy baton charges by police, jails terms, and torture.[375] In 1983, during the MRD struggle, along with other women's organization members of the *Sindhiani Tehreek*, they confronted heavily armed law enforcement agencies in Moro city. As many as five thousand women clashed with security service personnel in street skirmises in which several security personnel were killed. [376]

During the Zia regime, a distinct genre of Pakistani feminist poetry emerged, led primarily by women's rights activists and poets such as Kishwar Naheed, Fehmida Riaz, and later, Parveen Shakir. Working as poets, writers, journalists and activists, Kishwar Naheed and Fehmida Riaz have remained prominent pioneering voices in fields traditionally dominated by male voices. For four decades they have unceasingly spoken out against women's oppression and discriminatory Islamic laws. Their writings have dealt with women's sexuality, politics, and social issues, areas that had never before been publicly explored by female poets in Pakistan. Kishwar Naheed, in particular, who has

---

[374]Mumtaz Khawar and Yameema Mitha, *Pakistan: An Oxfam Country Profile*, Oxford, UK: Oxfam, 2003, p. 46.

[375]For further details, see the *Awami Tehreek* website: www.pat.com.pk

[376]Zulfiqar Shah, "Charting the Women's Movement in Sindh," *The Daily News International*, July 4, 2010.

been at the forefront of raising cross-cultural awareness about Pakistani women's issues

in her writings, has seen her work translated into more than twenty languages.

Additionally, she has been raising awareness through lecture tours at North American and

European universities.[377]

Needless to say, Kishwar Naheed and Fehmida Riaz were constantly harassed by

the Zia regime because of their opposition to *Sharia* laws. Fehmida Riaz, who was the

editor and publisher of the Urdu magazine *Awaaz* (Voice) during the Zia regime, was

charged with sedition in fourteen court cases, one of which carried the death penalty. As

a result, she went into self-exile in India, serving as Poet in Residence at Jamia Millia

University in Delhi.[378]

During and since the Islamization years, the writings of Kishwar Naheed and

Fehmida Riaz have also given voice to the Pakistani women's resistance movement

against gender-discriminatory laws, practices, and patriarchal attitudes towards women.

These Pakistani women writers and their works are reflective of the activism and

outspoken courage of the urban, educated Pakistani women who stood up to the Zia

regime's oppression and victimization of women and joined the struggle for

democracy.[379]

Just as new organizations were springing up to resist and oppose the effects of

Islamization, so were academics, journalists, writers, and intellectuals taking on an active

---

[377]For further discussion, see Neluka Silva, "Shameless Women: Repression and Resistance in 'We the Sinful Women: Contemporary Urdu Feminist Poetry'," *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism*, Vol.3, No.2, 2003, Wesleyan University Press, USA, p. 28-51.

[378]See Silva, op. cit., for further biographical details on these and other Pakistani women poets.

[379]For contemporary Pakistani women writers and their works, including Fehmida Riaz and Parveen Shakir, visit South Asian Women Writers at: http://www.sawnet.org/books/authors.php Accessed on July 11, 2007.

role in their independent capacities in their particular fields. Independent daily

newspapers such as *The Muslim* in Islamabad and in Peshawar *The Frontier Post* in the

North West Frontier Province of Pakistan played a leading role with scathing criticism of

the Zia regime's politicization of religion, in the process challenging and thwarting state

censorship polices. As expected, this opposition was not without consequences, as many

journalists were repeatedly arrested, harassed, and tortured. Monthly magazines such as

the *Herald Magazine* and later the *Newsline Magazine*, both from Karachi and headed

and mainly staffed by female journalists, also spoke out against Zia's Islamization despite

state opposition and harassment.[380] Known as a crusader and a symbol of courage, Razia

Bhatti became the editor of the outspoken current affairs monthly, *The Herald*, in

1976.[381] Throughout Zia's dictatorship, she braved all sorts of threats and constant

harassment to fearlessly write on issues of women rights, political corruption, and martial

law. General Zia once got so infuriated that he waved a copy of Razia's hard-hitting

---

[380]For detailed discussions on this period of Zia's harassment, censorship and clampdown on the Pakistani media and journalists see: Zamir Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1986 and Zamir Niazi, *The Web of Censorship*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

[381]Begum Zaib-un-Nissa Hamidullah was the first Muslim female journalist/columnist writing in English who, before partition, wrote for the prestigious Bombay based magazine, *The Illustrated Weekly of India*. After partition, she joined the *Daily Dawn* newspaper and soon become the first female political columnist. She left the *Dawn* in 1951 and started her own publishing house and became editor-publisher of the first South Asian social glossy magazine, *The Mirror*. Being the first woman editor, Hamidullah was included in many Pakistani press delegations that were sent abroad. She was the first woman to give a lecture at the historic *Al Azhar* University in Cairo, Egypt, founded in 970-971 as a leading Sunni Islamic teaching centre. She also had the distinction of becoming the first woman to successfully challenge the ban against her publication from the superior court in Pakistan. She left Pakistan in 1971 to join her husband in Ireland, thus ending the publication of *The Mirror*. I did not include Zaib-un-Nissa in the main text, as her magazine was a light read with occasional hard-hitting editorials. Another woman, Mussarat Jabeen, was the founding editor of the *Akhbar-e-Khawateen,* (Newspaper of the Women), in February 1966. This was the first women's weekly magazine in Pakistan and became an instant success. It provided women legal help, career direction, and emotional counseling. See M. Jabeen, "Language Barrier," *The Monthly Herald*, Karachi, September 1997.

article at a press conference and said he would not tolerate such journalism.[382] She was also the recipient of the prestigious *Courage in Journalism* award given by the New York-based International Women's Media Foundation – the only such award in the world that exclusively acknowledges women journalists.[383] Bhatti was also the founding editor of the monthly magazine, *Newsline*. She died in 1996 due to a brain haemorrhage. The Pakistan Press Foundation honoured her by declaring her death the end of a golden chapter of journalism in Pakistan.

Former professor of the London School of Economics, Maleeha Lodhi, who joined the *Daily Muslim* newspaper in Islamabad in 1985, became the editor of the paper in 1987, thus also becoming the first ever female newspaper editor in Asia. Later, Lodhi also became Pakistan's ambassador to the United States during Benazir Bhutto's government and served from 1994 to 1997.[384] She also served as ambassador to England during General Musharraf's rule from 2003-2008.

The *Simorgh* Women's Resource and Publication Centre

The *Simorgh* Women's Resource and Publication Centre, named after a mythical Iranian bird that has a nest in the Tree of Knowledge, came into being in 1985 as a part-time initiative, and became an organization in 1995.[385] *Simorgh* was founded by leaders in the struggle for women's rights in Pakistan during the Zia regime, including educationist Neelum Hussain who is its chief coordinator and senior editor for the

---

[382]For further details on Razia Bhatti's writings, see *A Profile in Courage: The Newsline Editorials of Razia Bhatti: 1989-1996*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

[383]For details, see the International Women's Media Foundation website, www.iwmf.org/archive/articletype/categoryview/categoryid/46/currentpage/4.aspx

[384] "Pakistan's 'Dynamo' in Washington Gains Wide Respect," *The Washington Post*, August 3, 1996.

[385]The mythical bird, Simurgh or Simorgh Accessed at: http://www.statemaster.com/encyclopedia/Simorgh on December 17, 2007.

organization's socio-legal journal *BAYAN,* which serves as a forum for debates on judicial reform. Run by a diverse group of people from the fields of education, sociology, and the arts, the NGO works in collaboration with students, teachers, the media, and domestic and international NGOs and Community Based Organizations (CBOs).[386]

In addition to research and dissemination of information through publications, seminars, conferences, documentary film screenings, gender awareness workshops, and skills-development and income-generation projects, *Simorgh* engages in alternative education projects. With a focus on human and gender rights, the NGO has published children's primers with accompanying teacher's guides under their 'Kaleidoscope series 1-10' program.[387] In 2004, *Simorgh* launched a bi-annual socio-legal journal *BAYAN* (Expression), which serves as a specialist forum on law and socio-legal issues.[388] The journal includes critiques of judicial decisions by specialists from the legal profession as well as academics and activists from the socio-legal fields. Its advisory and editorial board, comprised of lawyers, education experts, and activists from South Asia, focuses on reaching out to the legal community and academics, students, and human and women's rights activists to create a critical awareness of important socio-legal issues. *Simorgh* publications and research also extend to issues of women's history and women's literature, which they translate into local languages as well as English.

---

[386]For further details, see: http://www.simorghpk.org/aboutus/profiles/ Accessed on July 22, 2007.

[387]For further details on *Simorgh* research, projects, and publications, visit: http://www.simorghpk.org/ Accessed on January, 10, 2008.

[388]*BAYAN*. Accessed at: http://www.simorghpk.org/projects/bayan/introduction/ on April7, 2008.

The *Aurat* (Woman) Foundation (AF)

The *Aurat* (Woman) Foundation was established in 1986 as a publication and information service, with a focus on working for women's empowerment and citizen participation in governance. It has promoted its agenda in social and political arenas through campaigns such as its Information Programme for Grass Roots Action and Organization, the Programme for Strengthening Citizens for Advocacy and Action and its Programme for Affirmative Legislation and Policies.[389] The Foundation has streamlined these core programmes and institutionalized them through Information Network Centres, Citizens Action Committees and Legislative Watch Groups, which form part of *Aurat* Foundation's outreach programme.[390]

The *Aurat* Foundation has used media to transmit knowledge about agricultural technologies to rural women. Besides a weekly radio programme on food production technologies for rural women, it also established Radio Listening Centres in more than 178 villages with an answering service to respond to queries. Forty-nine posters and pamphlets were produced and distributed to disseminate additional information. This initiative, presented in the format of a romantic comedy, was selected by UNIFEM as one of the two Asian projects showcased at the Beijing World Conference on Women in 1995.

---

[389]These programmes were designed to educate women in their citizenship rights, while providing information about women's issues and concerns to decision makers. For example, the Information Programme for Grass Roots Action and Organization links up directly with women at the grass roots level. It has been designed primarily to develop women's control over knowledge, including knowledge about resources and institutions, and focuses primarily on the information needs of women of low-income households, as they are perceived to be the ones least likely to have access to information.

[390]As part of its Outreach Programme, the *Aurat* Foundation held the First National Peasant Women's Conference in Pakistan in 1991, inviting women to identify their particular problems and hold dialogues with policy makers, public representatives and officials of government departments about their needs for services, credit, training, and other resources.

The focus of the Foundation's Programme for Strengthening Citizens for Advocacy and Action has been on women elected to the local government institutions, training them to raise women's issues effectively in local councils. Additionally, the aim has been to encourage women across the country to participate in governance and to run advocacy campaigns. Through the Political Education Programme, about 1,100 citizens representing various civil society organisations in more than sixty districts have acquired knowledge about key political issues and participated in various campaigns of the Foundation.[391]

Given the environment of gender-discriminatory laws and practices in the country, the Foundation's Programme for Affirmative Legislation and Policies was developed to undertake sustained advocacy with legislatures, executive authorities, media, and political parties to influence policies and legislation for women. The key institutional structures under this Programme have been the Legislative Watch Groups, four at the provincial level and one at the federal level, which undertake advocacy for women with public authorities and representatives.[392]

Through its advocacy and activist initiatives, the *Aurat* Foundation has remained a consistent participant and collaborator with other women's organizations and donor

---

[391]Many of them are now working in Citizens' Action Committees at the district level engaged in advocacy and action for women's rights. Many of these activists were elected as councillors in Local Government Elections in 2000-2001. Citizens' Action Committees have been set up in seventy districts of Pakistan to undertake awareness raising, gender sensitising and advocacy for women's rights at the district level. These Committees represent more than four hundred civil society organisations. More than seventy per cent of Committee members are men, willing to give their time and commitment to undertake advocacy and action to address women's concerns. Citizens' Action Committees set up by the Aurat Foundation in seventy districts of Pakistan provide a countrywide network for its women's rights and advocacy campaigns. Information of the website of the *Aurat* Foundation. Accessed at:http://af.org.pk/mainpage.htm on June 29, 2009.

[392]As result of this initiative, five Legislative Watch Groups have been established at the provincial and federal levels to monitor legislatures with the help of civil society groups, media, and women politicians. The Legislative Watch Groups in the NWFP and Punjab provinces have been given observer status in the meetings of the Standing Committees of the Provincial legislatures.

agencies, within Pakistan and internationally, working in a concerted joint effort for the repeal of the *Zina Hudood* Ordinances, legislative reforms, and focus on issues of violence against women.[393] Besides maintaining its resource library, and publishing annual reports on women's issues, primarily on violence against women, the Foundation also continues to publish a quarterly newsletter, *Legislative Watch*, on developments in the legal and judicial arena, edited and compiled by human rights activists and legal experts.

The National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW)

In the face of persistent resistance and pressure by Pakistan's women's organizations, activists, and lawyers as well as the international community, demanding that successive governments review and amend or repeal Zia's gender-discriminatory *Zina Hudood* Ordinance and Law of Evidence, in July 2000 the government of dictator and president Pervez Musharraf set up a National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW).[394] Musharraf's motives were perhaps more to appease critics in the international community, particularly the US as an ally in the 'war on terror', than for any genuine concern about infringement of women's rights or the abusive nature of particular legislation. Established as a permanent and autonomous statutory body to review laws affecting women and to make recommendations, the twenty-member commission was headed by the first woman judge to have been appointed to a High Court in Pakistan, the retired Majida Rizvi.

---

[393]For further details on the *Aurat* Foundation and its publications, visit: http://www.af.org.pk/ Accessed on June 29, 2007.

[394]For further details on the National Commission on the Status of Women, visit: http://www.ncsw.gov.pk/index.php Accessed on May 2, 2008.

The NCSW lacks the autonomy and power it needs to do its job effectively. Because it is a government organ whose staff are government employees, it has been unable to achieve any swift and unrestricted progress that would go against government policies, the demands of religious political elements and constraints on women extracted from the government by fundamentalist leaders. Nevertheless, because of the consistent pressure exerted by Pakistani activists and rights organizations, today the laws imposed under Zia are being discussed and reviewed at the government level through its own organ.

Over the past decade, the NCSW has also extended its projects to include radio programs, documentaries for legal literacy, and other consciousness-raising projects. It has been working with legal experts, women's organizations, and international bodies that include the United Nations and human rights organizations. Besides publishing annual reports and documentation of socio-legal developments in Pakistan, the NCSW has also held debates and seminars analyzing the impact of *Sharia* laws on women's status and rights regarding divorce, inheritance, family laws, and child custody. They have also explored how the laws have affected Islamic concepts of justice, such as *qisas* (equal punishment) and *diyat* (blood money), in criminal procedures. The NCSW has been active in international conferences and seminars seeking a wider participation of women in the political sphere and in civil society deliberation generally.

The Commission is chaired by Anis Haroon, a former journalist and rights activist. Ms. Haroon has been associated with leading women's rights and human rights organizations including the *ASR* (Applied Socio-economic Research) Foundation and Resource Center, the South Asia Partnership (SAP), the *Aurat* Foundation (AI) where she

was President from 1994 to 2004. Haroon was also a founding member of the Women's Action Forum (WAF) and the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP).[395]

Human Rights and Legal Aid Cells

The introduction of *Sharia* laws and the promulgation of the *Zina Hudood* Ordinance provoked a strong reaction from legal circles. This resistance was articulated by establishing new organizations and legal aid cells that catered specifically to female victims of the *Zina Hudood* Ordinance as well as tribal practices such as honour-killing and honour-rape.

The AGHS Legal Aid Cell

In 1980, Asma Jehangir and Hina Jilani, who are sisters and both lawyers and advocates of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, launched the country's first all-women's law firm and set up Pakistan's first free legal aid center, the AGHS Legal Aid Cell for Women in Lahore, Punjab, which has offered shelter and legal aid to thousands of battered and abused women over the years. Jehangir and Jilani have been at the forefront of the persistent struggle with the government for the repeal of the *Zina Hudood* laws. Over the years, both women have faced arrests, death threats, vindictive propaganda, intimidation, and murder attempts both on themselves and their families because religious fundamentalists accuse them of 'misguiding women' and have declared them 'non-believers' who are following a 'Western' agenda to subvert Islamic values.[396]

---

[395]Anis Haroon Profile. *Pakistan Leaders Online*. Accessed at:
http://www.pakistanileaders.com.pk/profile/Anis_HaroonJ on January 5, 2010.

[396]AGHS Legal Aid Cell for Women (Named after the initials of its founding members). For details visit www.fnst.de/webcom/show_article.php/_c-1056/_nr-1/_lkm-1673/i.html. Accessed on December 29, 2008.

In 1997, Jehangir created a countrywide stir, particularly among fundamentalist clergy, when she secured a landmark ruling from the Lahore High Court confirming that under the marriage guardianship governed by classical Islamic Hanafi law (Abdul Waheed v. Asma Jehangir. PLD 1997 Lah 331), an adult Hanafi Muslim woman can contract herself in marriage without a *wali*'s (guardian's) consent because the essential requirement for the validity of contract is the woman's consent and not the *wali*'s.[397]

For three decades, the AGHS Legal Aid Cell has focused on research and awareness programs and publications to educate women from all walks of the society about their legal rights. It is engaged in providing and fostering free legal aid; paralegal education; publication of books and pamphlets on legal rights and processes; and research on child labor and child rights, bonded labour, discrimination against minorities and ethnic groups, as well as individuals discriminated against because of their sexual orientation or AIDS/HIV status. It has drafted human rights legislation and opposed curbs on freedom of speech, press, and media. As a watchdog entity, the AGHS also documents and publishes its findings on countrywide violations of human rights, prison conditions, juvenile justice, and data on violence against women on an annual basis.[398]

As the Islamization period led to an increased abuse and victimization of women because of discriminatory laws, the AGHS Legal Aid Cell also founded the *Dastak*

Asma Jehangir and Hina Jilani, winners of the Millennium Peace Prize for Women, among many other international awards, and known and respected as advocates of women's rights, were also among the founding members of the Women's Action Forum (WAF) and the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. Asma Jehangir has also served as the Chairperson of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) and UN Special Rapporteur on Extra-Judicial, Arbitrary, and Summary Executions.

[397]For details, see: 'Women of Pakistan.' www.jazbah.org Accessed on May 9, 2009.

[398]For further information on the AGHS Legal Aid Cell, its operations, and publications, see: http://aghsblog.wordpress.com/ Accessed on August 2, 2009.

(Knock) women's shelter in 1990 in the city of Lahore.[399] Over the years, the shelter has housed and helped both single women and women with children to find refuge and free legal aid through its team of lawyers specializing in *Sharia*, family, and civil and criminal law. *Dastak's* main activities include counseling, education, skill development, social integration, rehabilitation, and resettlement. Besides running the shelter, *Dastak* is involved in lobbying and advocacy to gain political and public support to bring about a change in the perception of the need for protection for women by involving NGOs, community-based organizations, and the government to create better systems and monitoring of shelters.[400]

In 1994, the AGHS also established a separate Child Rights Unit to promote and campaign for Pakistan's ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. It's goals include undertaking "initiatives for the adoption of laws and policies and for the creation of mechanisms for the implementation of the Convention at the national level" and monitoring "the performance of state agencies and institutions" to "identify good practices as well as those which undermine the rights of children" and to "conduct

---

[399]Established under the AGHS charitable trust, the *Dastak* shelter house provides immediate help and temporary residence to women escaping violent situations and in need of counseling and legal aid. Supervised by a female staff, the shelter is located at a secret address to protect women leaving abusive domestic situations, families, and spouses.

[400]For further details visit: http://www.oxfamnovib.nl/id.html?lang=EN&id=PROJ_DETAIL&pid=PAK-501818-0003320 Accessed on June 1, 2009. The government of Pakistan's Ministry of Women Development (MoWD) also manages crisis centers to provide support and rehabilitation to survivors of violence and women in distress in major as well as smaller cities and districts. Ten Crises Centers have been established in Islamabad, Lahore, Sahiwal, Vehari, Rawalpindi, Mianwali, Peshawar, Kohat, Quetta and Karachi, while there are plans for another ten to be established in Faisalabad, Sialkot, Bahawalpur, Hyderabad, Mirpur, Sibi, Abottabad, Multan, Mirwala and Nawabshah. These crises centers are being run in active collaboration with prominent local NGOs. For further details, see the website of the Ministry of Women Development, Government of Pakistan: http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/divisions/ContentInfo.jsp?DivID=20&cPath=185_394&ContentID=3710 Accessed on April-15, 2009.

training in order to improve practices and enhance capacity of state institutions, judiciary and non-government organizations for the protection of children's rights."[401]

In response to rising rates of domestic violence against women, the AGHS also established a separate Violence and Burn Victims Project in 2007 to document and research such cases. Data available from the AGHS Legal Aid Cell revealed that sixty-eight women were burnt in the city of Lahore in the first three months of 2009. A statement issued by the cell said that eight women were burnt in acid attacks and sixty set ablaze. It said the figures were probably the tip of an iceberg inasmuch as in Lahore alone only forty-nine of sixty-eight cases were reported in the local press, while the others went unreported for various reasons.[402]

The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)

The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), established in 1986, serves as the main broad-spectrum watchdog organization that investigates and document incidents of human rights violations in its annual reports and other publications.[403] The HRCP, with offices in all the major cities, has links with national and international human rights organizations, such as Human Rights Watch (HRW) and Amnesty International (AI). It employs legal experts, rights activists, and women at senior positions as well as interns, including some from abroad, at junior positions who work on

---

[401]For further information on the AGHS Child Rights Unit, see: http://aghsblog.wordpress.com/child-rights-unit/ Accessed on June 2, 2009.

[402]"68 Women Burnt in City in 3 Months," *The Daily Times*, April 15, 2009. Accessed July 1, 2009 at: http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2009%5C04%5C15%5Cstory_15-4-2009_pg13_7.

[403]Nationally, the HRCP has established a leading role in providing a highly informed and independent voice in the struggle for human rights and democracy in Pakistan – a role that is also recognized internationally by other leading human rights organizations and governments. Registered under the Societies Registration Act (XXI of 1860), with its Secretariat in Lahore, it operates as an independent, voluntary, non-political, non-profit, non-governmental organization. For further details and the HRCP annual reports and data, see: http://www.hrcp.cjb.net/ Accessed on: June 1, 2008.

awareness campaigns and research for its reports. Today, the organization serves as the

main human rights resource and documentation centre and also collaborates with

women's organizations and legal aid cells in Pakistan and publishes issue-specific reports

for dissemination. One significant example is *Terrorist Unless Proven Otherwise:*

Human Rights Implications of Anti-Terror Laws in Pakistan. Published in 2007, this

report is a legal critique of Pakistan's involvement in the war on terror, which has

resulted in undocumented arrests, disappearances, and torture of individuals in Pakistan

as well as handing over of alleged terrorists into the custody of the U.S. government

without trial in their home country.[404]

Since its inception, the HRCP has been monitoring legal and judicial

developments in the country, documenting cases of rights abuses, preparing detailed

reports on fundamental freedoms of expression, assembly, etc.; the rights of child

prisoners; prison conditions; excesses of law enforcement agencies; politically motivated

judicial murders, custodial torture, disappearances and deaths; minority rights violations;

bonded labour; social and economic rights; and religious and sectarian violence. This

data and analysis is presented in detailed annual reports.

Despite the opposition and threats its members have been consistently subjected

to by the government and by fundamentalist organizations and groups in the country,

since it establishment in 1986, the HRCP has remained a key player raising rights issues

and drawing political and public attention to these issues as well as to individual cases to

mobilize public demand for political and judicial reforms, such as repeal of the *Hudood*

---

[404]This report can be found online at: http://ejp.icj.org/IMG/Briefing_paper_HRCP.pdf

Ordinances and the Blasphemy Law and abolition of child labour and the death penalty.[405]

Pakistan Women Lawyers Association and Legal Aid Cell (PAWLA)

In 1981, women's and human rights lawyer Rashida Muhammad Hussain Patel set up another women's free legal aid non-governmental organization, the Karachi-based Pakistan Women Lawyers Association and Legal Aid Cell (PAWLA).[406] Staffed by professional lawyers and volunteers to provide free legal assistance to women in distress, its main objectives are to create legal rights awareness through programs and activities, such as screening videos on key laws and women's rights issues in girl's schools, clinics, parks, and remote areas of the country. PAWLA's awareness campaigns have also included plays on legal issues and question and answer sessions on Radio Pakistan. With regional offices in all the major cities of the country, its members have been a strong voice in mobilizing street protests and rallies for women's equality and rights and the repeal of the *Zina Hudood* laws.[407]

As a women's rights lawyer, Rashida Patel played a pioneering role in introducing the Family Law Ordinance of 1961 in Pakistan, whereby the military ruler, President Ayub Khan, had to amend various clauses of the *Nikahnama* (Muslim marriage contract) to ensure protection to women against abuse and violation of their rights after

---

[405]The HRCP's serving members have included some of the country's most noted activists, journalists, and lawyers such as I.A.Rehman, the late Aziz Siddiqui, Zamir Niazi, among others, and Asma Jehangir from the AGHS Legal Aid Cell, all of whom joined and developed the organization and who were frequently imprisoned or harassed for their outspoken criticism of Zia-ul-Haq's martial law regime and policies.

[406]For details on the Pakistan Women Lawyers Association (PAWLA), see: www.pawla.sdnpk.org/introduction.htm Accessed on September 13, 2008.

[407]For a listing of some other prominent Pakistani human rights lawyers, see: *Financial Post* http://www.dailyfpost.com/women/wom-22/womenachiver22.htm Accessed on June 4, 2009.

marriage. The PAWLA legal team provides free legal aid to women who request their assistance in cases of marriage disputes, *Khula*, guardianship disputes, and maintenance cases. [408]

Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid (LHRLA)

The Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid (LHRLA) was conceived in 1990 with the assistance of the Edhi Welfare Trust by a group of fifty lawyers, headed by Zia Ahmed Awan, a human rights lawyer, as its president. LHRLA, as a registered association, where individuals provide twenty-five percent of the total funding and donor agencies the rest, was formed to meet the growing needs of those who cannot afford the expenses of litigation, particularly destitute women, and children. The organization focuses on cases of abuse of women and children, human-trafficking, illegal detention, rape, torture, dissolution of marriage, child custody, the juvenile justice system, jail reforms and public interest litigation. Throughout its existence, the LHRLA has also been at the forefront in dealing with cases registered under the *Zina Hudood* Ordinance, while campaigning with other rights organizations for its amendment and repeal.[409]

The Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid has also worked for law reforms, amendments, and new legislation in areas where none existed, such as sexual harassment

---

[408]In Islam, *khula* is defined as "the release secured by the wife from the husband from the marriage-tie, at her insistance, on paying or consenting to pay compensation to him." For detailed discussion, see "Family Laws in Pakistan" in National Commission on the Status of Women, *The Impact of Family Laws on the Rights of Divorced Women in Pakistan*, Islamabad: Aligarh Publishers, 2008, p. 11.
For a legal discussion of the concept of *Khula*, see "'*Khula*' – Right to Divorce: Panel Discussion" in the *National Commission on the Status of Women Annual Report, 2007,* Islamabad: Aligarh Publishers, 2007, p. 11-16.
[409]LHRLA has also adopted a system of exerting pressure on law enforcement agencies, the Deputy Inspector General of Police, the Home Secretary, provincial Governors, and other highly placed officials, approaching them with reports, petitions, and statistics to secure direct legal aid for its clients. For further details on Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid (LHRLA) projects, see: http://www.lhrla.com/index.html Accessed on June 4, 2009.

against women in the workplace. Towards this end, LHRLA took the initiative to set up a centre for the facilitation of women at the workplace, as a result of which the Working Women's Support Centre (WWSC) was established, and the first workshop on gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment was held in 1999.[410]

National Commission for Justice and Peace (NCJP)

Formed in 1985, the National Commission for Justice and Peace (NCJP) is a Catholic organization with headquarters in the Punjab provincial capital of Lahore. It was initially formed by the Pakistan Catholic Bishop's Conference as an advocacy, human rights, and legal counseling organization to address religious and other discrimination regardless of minority status. The NCJP has six regional offices (Rawalpindi, Gujranwala, Faisalabad, Multan, Hyderabad and Quetta) besides its head office in Lahore, all of which provide legal aid and human rights education. It is the only Christian organization that has openly and consistently asked for the repeal of the Blasphemy Laws since the days of Zia's martial law. Since 1990, the Commission has defended Muslims, Christians and Hindus charged with blasphemy and has campaigned for abolition of the Blasphemy Laws. In 1998, Bishop John Joseph committed suicide to protest the death penalty given to a Christian man, Ayub Masih, under the Blasphemy Law. His death became a rallying point for people to protest against the blasphemy laws.

The NCJP's first advocacy campaign was launched on behalf of bonded labourers in brick kiln factories in 1987. Building partnerships with other organizations, the NCJP's campaign led to passage of a law on abolition of bonded labour in 1992. The Commission

---

[410]For a brief self description of the work of the Working Women's Support Centre, see http://www.net-ngo.org/detailpage.cfm?ngoid=374

now concentrates on bonded labour in the agricultural sector. Under its legal aid program, the Commission provides legal counseling and financial assistance to litigants in fifty to sixty high profile human rights cases and to about fifty other victims of human rights violations where a prolonged litigation is not involved. Over the last twenty-two years, the NCJP has dealt with about eight hundred cases of human rights violations.

In 1988, the Commission filed an appeal in the Supreme Court of Pakistan against Zia's apartheid system of Separate Electorates for minorities. In 1992, when the government tried to include a designation of religion into the National Identity Card, a broadly based national campaign of opposition under the leadership of the NCJP's then Chairperson, Bishop John Joseph, forced the government to withdraw the cabinet decision.

The NCJP also implemented a Peace Education Pilot Project (PEPP) in three cities of Pakistan (Lahore, Rawalpindi and Gujranwala) between October 2004 and March 2005, the success of which led to its extension to 2010. The project focused on promotion of peace and tolerance through training workshops, art competitions, theatre performances, seminars and meetings. The NCJP also serves as a monitoring and resource centre for Blasphemy cases and other violations of human rights and abuses against religious minorities through documentation and annual reports. The organization also develops audio-visual material on themes of interfaith and religious harmony for circulation.[411]

---

[411]The National Commission for Justice and Peace (NCJP). Accessed at: www.ncjppk.org on March 9, 2010.

Theatre Groups

The Islamization period provoked significant developments in the arena of performing arts as a new defiant and politically-conscious street and activist theatre of resistance began to take shape in the country. As General Zia-ul-Haq placed a ban on student unions, trade unions, and political parties and imposed restrictions on freedom of the press and expression, politically motivated theatre groups began to emerge, staging plays that provided a much needed cathartic experience to the public and activist performers facilitating an interactive forum to promote democracy and human rights.[412]

Among the significant protest theatre groups that emerged during Zia's rule were the *Ajoka* Theatre for Social Change, the Punjab *Lok Rehas* theatre group, [413] and the *Tehrik-e-Niswan* theatre group, while the Rafi Peer Theatre Workshop, the oldest performing arts company in Pakistan, also combined film, puppet theatre, music, and dance for social awareness, and mobilizing resistance.

The *Ajoka* Theatre for Social Change

The *Ajoka* Theatre for Social Change, a Lahore-based private theatre company that pioneered the activist theatre movement in Pakistan, came into existence in 1983 in response to Zia-ul-Haq's introduction of *Sharia* laws and marginalization of women's rights through the promulgation of the *Zina Hudood* Ordinance and the Law of Evidence. Ajoka's first play, Badal Sarkar's '*Jaloos'* (Procession), was performed in Lahore in 1984

---

[412] Although post-partition Pakistan maintained a very strong theater tradition, before the Islamization period it had been largely confined to serious and conventional stage productions or commercial theatre that presented mostly lewd comedies offering little more than a vulgar and crude form of entertainment. However, the changing socio-political environment laid the foundation for a new breed of activist theatre groups, writers, and actors that, flouting censorship policies and government clearance procedures, sought to raise political consciousness through street theatre.

[413] The author was associated with both theatre groups. For *Ajoka*, besides performing as an actor, the author was also involved in production and script writing.

on a private house lawn in defiance of the strict censorship laws. Founded by stage and TV actress Madeeha Gauhar, her playwright and theatre director husband Shahid Nadeem, and a small group of cultural activists, over the years the *Ajoka* has produced plays, telefilms, drama serials, songs, and documentaries on themes of human rights, women's rights, religious freedom, family planning, regional peace, and honour-killing.[414] Nadeem, who is a screenwriter, journalist, and human rights activist, had also been associated with Pakistan Television (PTV) since 1973 as a producer and playwright. He was imprisoned three times for his oppositional views and writings under military rule. As a social and political activist, Nadeem has also worked with Amnesty International.

Focusing on issues of human and gender rights, Nadeem has written more than forty plays, mostly for *Ajoka*. The theatre company continues to produce and adapt plays (such as *Chalk Chakkar* (The Chalk Circle) adapted from Bertolt Brecht's *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*) and other productions to improve understanding of various social issues and to mobilize support against gender-discriminatory practices, laws, and dictatorial rule. Within Pakistan *Ajoka* has worked with various NGOs such as the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), the Family Planning Association of Pakistan, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), the Goethe Institute, the Heinrich-Boll Foundation, the War Against Rape (WAR), and the Alhamra Arts Council. During President Pervez Musharraf's rule, despite his claims of 'enlightened moderation', *Ajokas'* play *Burqagavanza*, a satire on hypocrisy and the rising tide of religious fundamentalism and

---

[414]For further details of *Ajoka* productions and activities, see: http://www.ajoka.org.pk/ajoka/theatre.asp Accessed on January 18, 2008.

Talibanization using the metaphor of the *burqa*, was banned in 2007 by the authorities in response to protest organized by religious parties.[415]

The Punjab *Lok Rehas* Theatre Group

In the early 1980s, the leftist and youth wing of the Communist Party of Pakistan, which was mainly comprised of Punjabi nationalists, started an organization called the *Punjabi Parchar* Committee, PPC, (Committee to Promote Punjabi), in Lahore with an aim to find and use Punjabi cultural expressions to confront Zia's martial law and to promote progressive ideas and values. Music, literature, and theater were identified as possible new forms of resistance and tools for change.[416] The group was primarily made up of painters, designers, singers, architects, and students from various arts colleges. It held secret study circle meetings twice weekly and interacted daily at tea-shops late in the night. A cadre was selected from the PPC to be trained in the theory of theatre for social change and then dispatched to the *Ajoka* Theater to learn the practical aspects of theater production and performance. The *Ajoka* theatre, run by Madiha Gauhar, the daughter of a former army general and a famous classical dancer Mrs. Indu Mitha, was the perfect foil and school to learn the tricks of the trade.

---

[415]President Pervez Musharraf had proposed a strategy of 'Enlightened Moderation' which he claimed would be applied to all spheres of life to alleviate poverty and socio-economic disparities and , in particular, to inspire the practice of Islam to counter religious fundamentalism and extremism. He explained his proposition in an article in the Washington Post: 'My idea for untangling this knot is Enlightened Moderation, which I think is a win for all--for both the Muslim and non-Muslim worlds. It is a two-pronged strategy. The first part is for the Muslim world to shun militancy and extremism and adopt the path of socioeconomic uplift. The second is for the West, and the United States in particular, to seek to resolve all political disputes with justice and to aid in the socioeconomic betterment of the deprived Muslim world. We need to understand that the root cause of extremism and militancy lies in political injustice, denial and deprivation. Political injustice to a nation or a people, when combined with stark poverty and illiteracy, makes for an explosive mix. It produces an acute sense of hopelessness and powerlessness. A nation suffering from these lethal ills is easily available for the propagation of militancy and the perpetration of extremist, terrorist acts. It is cannon fodder in a war of terrorism." Pervez Musharraf, "A Plea for Enlightened Moderation," *The Washington Post*, June 1, 2004. Accessed at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A5081-2004May31.html on May 31, 2008.

[416] The author joined the *Punjabi Parchar* Committee (PPC) in 1982 and was one of its early members.

Founded by a small group from the *Ajoka* Theatre for Social Change, the Punjab *Lok Rehas* theatre group emerged as an alternative Pakistani theatre organization in 1986. Through classical epics, improvisation, adaptations of foreign works, and street skits and plays, the group has been addressing a broad range of issues, such as gender equity, identity, child marriage, and military dictatorship. *Lok Rehas* also conducts community theatre and provides theatrical training and support to other organizations working for social change.[417]

In 1979 a group of women formed the *Tehrik-e-Niswan*, (The Women's Movement) with a feminist focus, among them classical dancer and actress Sheema Kirmani, who continued with her profession, teaching, and cultural activism through dance and theatre during the Islamization period despite Zia's opposition to such activities. *Tehrik-e-Niswan's* first All Women's Conference was held in Karachi in 1980, attended by women from all sections of society, especially working-class women from the lower-class Lyari and Orangi areas of Karachi, and from various trade and labour unions. *Tehrik's* initial focus was on organizing seminars and workshops, taking up issues such as the seclusion of women and violence against women. The organization sought to address both sexes in its awareness campaigns, particularly men, regarding the social, patriarchal, political, economic and cultural discrimination against women and their low status in society. However, within a year of its inception, the *Tehrik-e-Niswan* shifted its strategy from holding seminars to organizing theatre and dance productions to convey its message. These were the first politically conscious plays about the plight of

---

[417]The Punjab *Lok Rehas* Theatre Group. Accessed at: http://www.icasc.ca/node/659 on May 12, 2009.

women and other oppressed people staged in Pakistan.[418] As a Cultural Action Group comprising performing artists, activists, and writers on its board, today the *Tehrik-e-Niswan* is involved in theatre, dance, television plays and serials, video productions such as video songs and documentaries that address socio-political and cultural issues regarding women.[419]

The Rafi Peer Theatre Workshop:

The Rafi Peer Theatre Workshop is the oldest independent theatre/puppet company of Pakistan. Founded in 1974 as a Not for Profit Organization by writer and theatre artist Rafi Peerzada, this family run unit is the only performing arts group in Pakistan involved in organizing major international arts festivals. In 1992, the Rafi Peer Theatre staged its first Puppet Festival. Over the last two decades, it has organized more than twenty international festivals of puppetry, theatre, dance, music, and film.[420]

The parallel theatre movement in Pakistan is also called alternative theatre because it has offered an alternative to mainstream entertainment on state-controlled television channels and to the theatre performances of the arts councils. The parallel theatre groups have also produced 'street theatre' and theatre workshops that involve grassroots community groups and students in rural and low-income urban areas. They have taught individuals and new groups theatrical and communication skills for building resistance to political, gender, and religious oppression. In contrast to the affluent

---

[418]The *Tehrik-e-Niswan* Theatre. Accessed at: http://www.sacw.net/site17.html on November 15, 2008.

[419]For details on *Tehrik-e-Niswan's* projects and productions visit: http://tehrik-e-niswan.org.pk/default.asp Accessed on August 9, 2009.

[420]These festivals have included more than 3000 performances of individuals and groups from 59 countries. For further details on the Rafi Peer Productions visit: http://www.brain.net.pk/~rptw/rptw.htm Accessed on January 13, 2008.

audience of mainstream theatre, the audiences for parallel theatre are mostly educated

middle class and ordinary working people of the city and countryside.[421]

Although the parallel theatre movement in Pakistan emerged as a result of cultural

activism and the voluntary involvement of individuals protesting the impact of

Islamization and martial law, the growing presence and support of foreign funded NGOs

in the country since the late 1980s also played a significant role enlarging the impact and

improving the economic viability of the movement.[422]

Activist Documentary Film Production

Given the magnitude and reach of Zia's *Zina Hudood* Ordinance and the Law of

Evidence, in keeping with the emergent trend of social resistance and opposition,

Pakistan also saw the emergence of what can be described as an activist documentary

film trend. Sabiha Sumar, a young Pakistani woman, launched her filmmaking career in

1988 with her first film *Who Will Cast the First Stone?* It is a documentary that

investigates the lives and conditions of three women imprisoned under the *Zina Hudood*

Ordinance in the Karachi Central Jail.[423] Sumar based her film on the findings of the

campaign of the Committee for the Repeal of *Hudood* Ordinances conducted in 1987/88.

The committee was chaired by the filmmaker who spent months interviewing imprisoned

women.[424] Audience reaction to *Who Will Cast the First Stone?* is widely credited with

---

[421]For further discussion, see Shoaib Iqbal, "Parallel Theater: Socio-Political Perspective," Accessed at: http://kunci.or.id/articles/parallel-theater-socio-political-perscepctive-by-shoaib-iqbal/ on April 19, 2011.

[422]For further discussion, see Fawzia Afzal-Khan, "Pakistani Community Theatre and the NGO Movement" in *A Critical Stage: The Role of Secular Alternative Theatre in Pakistan*, Calcutta, New Delhi, India: Seagull Books, 2006, p. 71-90.

[423]Sabiha Sumar with Ahmed Alauddin Jamal, *Who Will Cast the First Stone?* (Urdu/English/English sub-titles) (52-min) 1988, Retake Film & Video Collective, UK.

[424]Production notes for *Who Will Cast the First Stone?* Accessed at: http://www.vidhifilms.net/documentaries.htm on April 21, 2007.

contributing to stopping the imposition of death by stoning on Shahida Parveen for adultery as defined by the *Zina Hudood* Ordinance.

Sumar has continued to take up topics of religious fundamentalism, women's oppression and the effects of *Sharia* laws on Pakistani society. In 1992, Sumar set up her independent film production company Vidhi Films and also established the Centre for Social Science Research in Karachi.[425]

No matter how draconian and oppressive Zia's *Sharia* laws and state directives may have been during his Islamization period, as discussed in chapter four, they nevertheless met with persistent resistance and opposition as activist segments in Pakistani society began to mobilize and rally support against them. Over the years, Pakistani women's organizations, legal aid cells, theater groups, and progressive documentary film makers, with their human rights, women's rights, and feminist agendas and activism have drawn attention to socio-political and religious oppression through diverse forms of collaboration, alliances, conferences, networking, research, publications, media, and cultural productions. This is arguably a tremendous achievement for organizations that emerged and collaborated through the initial efforts of a small number of activists, particularly women, during the Zia period. They have persisted and widened their focus to deal with a more diverse range of women's and human rights issues. They have led the way establishing a permanent platform from within their own socio-cultural, patriarchal, and religious constraints to fight for human rights as a central concern demanding attention in national political decision-making and legislative procedures.

---

[425]Vidhi Films. Accessed at: http://www.vidhifilms.net/index.htm Accessed on December 3, 2007.

CHAPTER 7: CATALYST FOR SOCIAL CHANGE: ACTIVISTS' USE OF NEW MEDIA IN PAKISTAN

This chapter maps the use of new technologies, such as the Internet, FM radio, satellite TV, cell phones, and social networks and the impact of these technologies on the fabric of socio-political culture in Pakistan. Although most of these new technologies were launched in the late 20th and early 21st century in Pakistan, yet within a short span of time they have changed the socio-political horizon by facilitating civil society, social activism, and restoration of democracy. Acknowledging the stunning pace of this change in Pakistan, senior journalist and chairperson of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) Zohra Yousaf notes, "For most viewers, brought up on the monopoly and monotony of Pakistan Television the breathtaking speed at which change is taking place is nothing short of experiencing "shock-'n' awe."[426]

Internet

The Sustainable Development Networking Program (SDNP) was initiated in Islamabad in 1993 to provide dial-up email service to the general public and support projects related to news service, education, sustainable development, NGOs and other sectors.[427] The project was an instant hit as it provided much cheaper communication than the other expensive international fax or international dial-up service options. Many

---

[426]Zohra Yousuf, "Media Watch," *Monthly Herald Magazine*, Karachi, March 2007, p. 21.

[427] The SDNP was one part of a UNDP (United Nations Development Program) funded initiative to introduce email service in third world countries.

people from neighboring cities also joined the network.[428] In July 1995, Digicom, a private email provider launched on-line Internet service in Karachi, Pakistan's largest city, paving the way for the Internet industry in Pakistan.[429] This was the first opening of Internet service to the private sector in South Asia.

In 1996, the state-owned Pakistan Telecommunication Corporation Limited (PTCL) offered the public use of its packet data network for nationwide local-call access to the Internet and also "set up the PAK Net to provide Internet access via shell account."[430] However, getting an Internet account from PTCL was a difficult and time-consuming task as subscribers had to go through various security and background checks.

The SDNP was sustained by UNDP funding for a number of years and expanded from Islamabad to other cities such as Karachi, Lahore and Peshawar. Karachi had the majority of subscribers, while the rest were almost evenly divided between Lahore and Islamabad.[431]

In the 1990s, the Internet remained a limited, privileged-access medium in Pakistan due to prohibitive computer prices and other costs. However, in the 21st century, Internet access exploded in Pakistan with 131 Internet Service Providers (IPSs) covering 1707 cities and the rapid spread of Internet cafes. The reduction in the prices of bandwidth, the start of 131 Universal Internet Number (UIN), and locally assembled and manufactured cheap computers have pushed the sector upward with a rapid pace: [432]

---

[428]ITU (International Telecommunication Union), *World Telecommunication Development Report*, Geneva, Switzerland, 2008.

[429]Owais Aslam Ali and Shelton A. Gunaratne, "Pakistan," in Shelton A. Gunaratne, ed., *Handbook of the Media in Asia*, New Delhi: Sage Publications India, 2000, p. 172.

[430] Ibid.

[431]Ibid.

[432]Ibid.

On 4 June 1996, *Dawn*, one of Pakistan's most widely read English dailies, launched its online version. Dawn.com was an enormous success, immediately reaching out to the millions of Pakistani expatriates that hungered for news from their homeland. Just a few years prior to launching the website, *Dawn* had already experimented with a weekly electronic edition sent out via email to listed subscribers. This was set up at a time when the Internet was just emerging from a prolonged infancy in Pakistan. The launch of Dawn.com was soon followed by *The News*, *Jang*, *Business Recorder*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, *The Nation*, *The Friday Times*, and *The Daily Times*, to name a few.[433]

In 2003, the military government of General Musharraf deregulated the telecom market and opened it to corporate competition in telephone, cellular, and Internet services. The giant global corporations invested heavily in the newly opened market, resulting in a massive expansion of the sector with 3.7 million Internet subscribers.An estimated twenty-two million Pakistanis were online in 2008, constituting a penetration rate of around ten percent. Also, Internet access is widely available at Internet cafes to cater to many lower-income and causal users. Rates range between fifteen and forty rupees per hour (US fifteen to forty cents) depending on the location and amenities. According to recent estimations, "Pakistan is ranked fourth globally in broadband Internet growth, with a growth rate of 180 percent in the metropolitan areas." [434]

State-owned Pakistan Telecommunication Corporation Limited PTCL is solely responsible for the Internet traffic in Pakistan besides controlling the IT infrastructure with the assistance of its subsidiary, the Pakistan Internet Exchange (PIE), with three international gateways in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. The PIE is responsible for monitoring and filtering all Internet traffic in Pakistan, thus allowing it to screen and

---

[433]Manzur Elahi and Anjum Zia, "Pakistan" in Inderjeet Banerjee and Stephan Logan, eds., *Asia Communication Hand Book,* 2008, Singapore: AIMC, 2008, p. 374.

[434]Ronald Deibert, John Palfrey, Rafal Rohozinski, and Jonathan Zittrain, eds., *Access Controlled: The Shaping of Power, Right, and Rule in Cyberspace*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2010, p. 491.

store all emails for a certain period of time. PIE routinely blocks porn sites and anti-Islamic websites.[435]

The military government of General Musharraf, as a matter of policy, blocked websites. For example, they curtailed access to a Washington-based news website, *The South Asia Tribune* in 2002 and later PIE blocked the site. Since its inception in 2003, PIE had banned Internet telephony and voice/chat websites.[436]

Facilities made available via the Internet include E-learning, facilitating distance education and the setting up of a Virtual University in 2002 with outreach to sixty cities; E-banking, provided by all the major banks; E-health services in several major cities; E-Commerce, which allows online shopping and E-Billing; and E-Government, which enables access to government websites. These are some of the areas where the Internet is playing a significant role in Pakistan. However, at the same time the Internet has also become a major site to promote extremism and terrorism in Pakistan. Historically, in South Asia, the clergy has often criticized the modern media as obscene. In contemporary Pakistan, clerics have openly called for a ban on television, dish antennas, cable, cinema, billboards with female images, and cyber cafes, and yet they also depend on the Internet to spread their ideology.

In Pakistani cyberspace, the presence of *Jihadists* and extremists is very noticeable where one website is suggesting that children learn to love guns rather than playing cricket or promoting a video of the beheading of an infidel or enemy of Islam at the hands of a child:

---

[435]Ibid., p. 493.
[436] Athina Karatzogianni, *The Politics of Cyberconflict*, New York: Routledge, 2006, p. 149.

The beheading videos are almost orchestrated; with speeches prepared before hand, detainees dress up in the same orange colored jump suits that the Gauntanamo Bay prisoners wear, four to five gun totting masked militants stand in line behind their kneeling victim and the banner of the radical organization is mounted on a wall in the background. Also the victims are no longer drugged as in the case of Daniel Pearl who was at least sedated before his throat was slit open. But now as in the case of Nick Berg, an American civilian contractor, the victims are placed under the knife in full consciousness so that their horrific screams of pain can be recorded for the maximum terrorizing effect. The timing of releasing the execution footages online has also been varied. In Daniel's case a videotape was first delivered to a US consulate and only later posted online. Nick's footage was released on the web soon after his beheading. Now the captors draw even more attention to themselves by first releasing the video announcing their prey's capture with threats to kill if their demands aren't met by a deadline. Paul Johnson, a US engineer for Apache helicopters, was given a 72 hour deadline when he was shown captured. On failing to meet the demands his mutilated pictures were promptly posted online.[437]

Noted physicist Pervaiz Hoodbhoy, who writes frequently on social and political issues, says the closing down of militant networks on the Internet could be impossible for any government. However, he points out that Pakistan's policy of trying to modernize religious schools, some of which are seen as breeding grounds for extremism, may make the job more difficult. Explaining further, he notes that the government provided Internet and computers as part of its reform package to modernize the madrasas: "in fact it has given them means of networking with jihadist groups across the world."[438]

FM radio

FM radio is playing an important role by providing communication facilities, education and entertainment to the people in Pakistan. We have already discussed the crucial role FM radio played in the 2005 earthquake disaster area for not only providing

---

[437]Salman Siddique, "Internet and Terrorism," *The Chowk*, August 25, 2004.
[438]www.reuters.com/article/2009/12/11/us-pakistan-militants-Internet-idUSTRE5BA10U20091211

timely communication but also finding missing persons and help in reuniting separated family members. Since more than eighty percent of the households in the quake affected area had radio sets, with the destruction of power infrastructure, radio broadcasts assumed a vital role in facilitating the effective delivery of relief goods and services. During the relief distribution, people called the FM station to report corrupt practices by government officials in the relief distribution, which eliminated much of the corruption.

In the rural areas and small towns, FM radio is the sole source of information and entertainment for people who have no access to newspapers and television. FM radio is playing a significant communication role facilitating timely emergency assistance in highway accidents, providing valuable information to fishermen on the open sea about any weather changes, broadcasting interviews with teachers and school children to inspire other children to attend school and get education, providing farmers with useful information during sowing and harvest times and health information and entertainment to all age groups.[439]

Despite the unquestionable benefits of FM radio, it has also had a negative impact inasmuch as it also provides a medium for extremists to spread their hate messages and terrorism. In fact, over the last few years, FM radio has proved to be the most potent threat to the security and Talibanization of Pakistani society. The mushroom growth of FM radio in the Northern Areas and the tribal belt in Pakistan has had serious consequences as the authority of government has been eroded in these areas and Taliban warlords have replaced the state administration.

---

[439]*FM radio Broadcast in Pakistan*, Karachi: Muzzam Ali Research and Publication Centre, Pakistan Press Foundation, 2009, p.13.

There are more than 150 illegal FM radio stations operational in the North West

Frontier Province (NWFP) and the adjacent tribal areas of Pakistan. The majority of these

pirate FM stations, popularly called "FM Mullah" stations, are located in religious

schools, mosques, and compounds of militant leaders. Retired Brigadier Mahmood Shah,

chief of security for Pakistan's tribal regions, is quoted in a BBC World Service

broadcast as saying that the Taliban have used radio in a clever way to increase their

influence and intimidate the general population:

> Of course, the illegal stations have contributed a lot to the spreading of
> militancy. They issue instructions on the radio to their fighters and used it
> to recruit and organise them. In many areas, listening to militant Taliban
> radio stations is hardly a matter of choice, but a way of avoiding the
> possible wrath of Taliban militants.[440]

The threat of the FM stations is so severe that the US government launched a

secret effort to jam radio and web sites of the Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The

Wall Street Journal reported in 2009 that US intelligence and military personnel were

working to jam the illegal FM radio services in Pakistan to stop the Taliban from issuing

"threats and decrees."[441] Quoting US and Pakistani officials, the paper reports that the

Taliban leaders use illegal FM stations to announce the names of local Pakistani officials,

policemen, political figures, and others who have been marked for death by the Taliban.

"Hundreds of people named in the broadcasts have later been killed." [442] According to a

fairly detailed report on "The FM Mullahs and the Taliban's Propaganda War in

Pakistan" in the *Terrorism Monitor* in 2009,

---

[440]Dawood Azami, "Pakistan's Taliban Radio Insurgency," *BBC World Service*, June 22, 2009.
[441] Yochi J. Dreazen and Siobhan Gorman, "Pentagon Jams Web, Radio Links of Taliban," *The Wall Street Journal*, April 18, 2009.
[442]Ibid.

The Taliban are smart enough to have exploited these outlets in their propaganda war against the US and foreign forces in Afghanistan. They incite the local youth to rise up for jihad against the foreign armies and urge elderly men and women to give their moral and financial support to the cause of jihad. Typically, the broadcasts are made from mosques and madrassas where hundreds of men are present to listen to the FM Mullahs in person while women listen in their homes. The broadcasts are highly interactive---not only do men ask questions of the mullahs in these live broadcasts but women also send questions to be answered by the mullahs, who have successfully won a majority of the women over to their side by asking men to give women their legal share of inheritances, especially land. All the FM Mullahs' broadcasts start with the recitation of the Koran and its interpretation. They soon switch to politics and hate sermons against the US and Pakistani governments and their militaries. Their political and ideological agenda is justified by their own interpretation of the religion. However, they may refer to Pashtun culture or nationalism if it suits their goals and ambitions.[443]

Launching an illegal FM radio broadcast is inexpensive and requires little technical knowledge, with only a transmitter, amplifier, and the battery of a car or motorcycle needed to be able to broadcast. The material is readily available in local markets, and the total cost of set up "ranges from $65 to $185."[444] These channels are light and portable and can even be operated from the back of a bicycle and can be packed in a briefcase to move to another location. By comparison, setting up a legal FM operation requires a huge investment as the license fee alone costs many thousands of dollars. While it is not difficult to jam illegal stations, because the legal and illegal FM broadcasters use frequencies that often overlap, it is difficult to jam without affecting legal broadcasts. Security and intelligence forces also use the same or adjacent frequencies, and using jammers can affect their transmissions as well.[445] The majority of

[443]Mukhtar A. Khan, "The FM Mullahs and the Taliban's Propaganda War in Pakistan," *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 7, No. 14. May 26, 2009. Available online at:
http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=35033&tx_ttnews[backPid]=7&cHash=ecea744d69
[444]Dawood Azami, "Pakistan's Taliban Radio Insurgency," *BBC World Service*, June 22, 2009.
[445] Ibid.

people in the tribal areas are poor but can easily afford an FM radio, which costs about a

dollar, much less than comparatively expensive short wave radios. The majority of cell

phones in Pakistan have built-in FM radio receivers, which has further increased the FM

broadcast audience.

Journalist Manzoor Ali recorded a brief sample of a typical radio broadcast given

by Maulana Shah Doran, an infamous cleric noted for his fiery transmissions in the Swat

Valley:

> I was coming to meet you people, but the infidels – the army, police,
> politicians – were there, so I cancelled my plans to visit the village of
> Shamozai Zarkhela. These infidels are opposing Sharia, and I say that if
> they do not implement it, we will enforce it on our own … they should be
> torn to pieces instead of being beheaded.[446]

Cell Phones

Although Pakistan was the first country to introduce mobile phones in the region,

mobile phone consumption and subscription remained very limited in Pakistan in the

early 1990s. The failure of the government to devise any clear national policy, high taxes

and communication charges, the high cost of handsets, and lack of clear regulation were

the factors responsible for the sluggish growth of the industry. Addressing these flaws,

the government of Pakistan finally introduced the Telecommunications Act of 1996,

which provided a legal framework for deregulating the market, thereby allowing private

capital into the telecommunications sector as made explicit by the Act.

> Whereas it is expedient to provide for re-organization of
> telecommunication system in Pakistan by establishing the Pakistan
> Telecommunication Authority, the Frequency Allocation Board, National
> Telecommunication Corporation and the Pakistan Telecommunication

---

[446]Manzoor Ali, "Mullah Radio," *Himal South Asia*, April 2009
http://himalmag.com/component/content/article/53/492-Mullah-Radio.html

Employees Trust, regulation of telecommunication industry, transfer of telecommunication services to private sector…[447]

Ping Gao and Adnan Rafiq, who studied mobile phone development in Pakistan, assert that under this Act two institutions, the Frequency Allocation Board (FAB), which is responsible for allocating frequencies and managing the spectrum, and the Pakistan Telecommunications Authority (PTA), which is responsible for protecting the rights of consumers and encouraging fair competition, proved to be crucial in the development of the mobile infrastructure in Pakistan.[448] They argue that the emergence of educational institutions' use of information technologies in the 1990s and the increased availability of Internet access produced a new professional work force in the late 1990s that began transforming traditionally sluggish bureaucratic norms. These new professional practices included putting the policy draft on the ministry website and allowing all stakeholders to review and openly debate policy before the implementation.[449]

The new transparent policies of the government opened the floodgates of direct foreign investment into the telecommunication sector, and in 2004 Al-Warid of the United Arab Emirates and Telenor of Norway started their successful operation of cell phone services in Pakistan.

No other new technology has had a more profound impact on Pakistani culture and society than the cell phone in the last few years. Pakistan's telecommunication market emerged as one of the world's fastest growing industries with a growth rate of 170 percent per annum. The Pakistan Telecom Authority (PTA) says 2.7 million

---

[447] "Act No. XVII of 1996: An Act to provide for re-organization of telecommunication system," *The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary,* Islamabad: National Assembly Secretariat, Oct. 17, 1996. This document is available online at: http://www.serl.pk/lawfile/12/PTRA-1996.pdf .

[448] Ping Gao, and Adnan Rafiq, "The transformation of the mobile telecommunications industry in Pakistan: A developing country perspective," *Telecommunication Policy*, Vol. 33, 5-6, June-July, 2009, pp. 309-323.

[449] Ibid.

subscribers are added every month and the total number crossed the 100 million mark in December 2010. This is phenomenal growth considering that in 2003 there was only a five percent teledensity or five landline or mobile subscribers per hundred people. Today, the telecom sector has more than two percent of the share in GDP and secures more than US$ 1,438 million of direct foreign investment, more than any other industrial sector in Pakistan. [450]

According to the PTA, Pakistani subscribers exchanged 151.6385 billion text messages in fiscal year 2009-10, pushing Pakistan to number four in the world in SMS use. In 2006, Pakistani cell phone users sent 8.7 billion messages, a total that rose to 151.7 billion in 2009, with an average U.S. $0.30 cost, making it the cheapest service in the world.[451] The availability of a range of purchase options, from the latest hand sets to local and cheap Chinese-made mobiles, has been another factor in the sheer growth of cell phone use in Pakistan.

In 2009, the second largest mobile service provider Telenor Pakistan together with the Tameer Microfinance Bank launched a service called EasyPaisa, or branchless banking, which allowed about 22.5 million subscribers of Telenor to open a bank account at EasyPaisa retail outlets. There are more than 11,000 EasyPaisa shops in Pakistan, providing services such as money transfer, domestic and international money transactions, utility bills payment, mobile wallet, and Airtime top up. In Pakistan where

---

[450]For details, see the Pakistan Telecom Authority PTA annual report 2008-2009.
http://propakistani.pk/2010/12/02/pta-annual-report-for-2009-2010-download/

[451] Aamir Atta, "Pakistan Exchanged 151 Billion SMS in 2009: Report," *pro pakistani: Pakistan Telecom and IT News,* Jan. 13, 2011 http://propakistani.pk/2011/01/13/pakistan-exchanged-151-billion-sms-in-2009-report/ .

only about ten percent of the population has bank accounts, this service allows E-banking to millions.[452]

Cell phones with camera, FM radio, MP3 player, alarm clock, watch, SMS, beeping, social networking, games, banking, religious services such as prayer calls, and other features have made it a most attractive technology in Pakistan.

Satellite and Cable Television

The youngest of the new media in Pakistan is satellite television, which has shifted the central character of entertainment from film and music to political talk shows and news within a few years. It is hard to imagine that just a decade ago, Pakistan had only one television channel, PTV, whereas today it has more one hundred channels opening up in a country beset by political, moral and religious censorship for decades, thus breaking social-political taboos, confronting the government, and more recently, fostering a new national consensus against the Taliban. According to PEMRA, it has issued ninety-six satellite TV channel licenses of which eighty are operational. Of these, twenty-six are news and current affairs channels out of which twelve are in vernacular, largely localized languages (Sindhi, Punjabi, Pushto, etc.) [453] The twenty-four/seven news channels have changed the media landscape altogether as the live coverage of violence, bloodshed, mutilated bodies, scenes after bomb blasts and suicide attacks are shown on TV. The growth of private channels has also promoted many journalists to roles as hosts, anchors, and analysts with a power to sway and influence their audience. Constant media

---

[452]Steve Mollman, "Cell-phone banking offers financial help to Third World," *CNN,* Jan. 14, 2010 http://articles.cnn.com/2010-01-14/tech/mobile.phone.banking_1_world-bank-full-banking-license-mobile-operators?_s=PM:TECH .
[453]*Asian Media Barometer- Pakistan 2009*, Kuala Lumpur: Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development in collaboration with Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2009, p. 25.

growth, greater freedom for all forms of media, more coverage in local languages,

increased diversity of formats and perspectives, increased number of female anchors and

journalists, and minimum government restriction are the major hallmarks today of

television in Pakistan.[454]

Case Study of the Impact of New Media in the Resistance to Musharraf

This section examines the role of new media in facilitating social change and

resisting government repression in the face of military dictator General Musharraf's

imposition of Emergency rule, sacking of senior judges, and crackdown on the media in

2007.

On March 9, 2007, Pervez Musharraf, along with four other generals, summoned

the Supreme Court Chief Justice of Pakistan Iftikhar Ahmad Chaudhry to the Presidency

and asked him to resign or otherwise face a case of misconduct against him would be sent

to the Supreme Judicial Council (SJC). Chief Justice Chaudhry refused to oblige the

generals. He was offered ambassadorial positions and other prestigious appointments. He

was kept in the presidency for several hours during which the generals tried to convince,

threaten, and bribe him, but he declined all their offers. Soon after, the Chief Justice was

sacked and put under house arrest.

Political analysts and senior journalists identified two reasons behind the sacking

of Chaudhry. He had become a major hurdle in the way of the regime's efforts to

implement a neoliberal agenda by privatizing national assets at throw-away prices.

Secondly, the Chief Justice had started hearing the evidence regarding thousands of

missing persons in Pakistan and trying to make the country's most powerful security

---

[454]Ibid. p. 71.

agencies accountable.[455] The government privatized Pakistan's largest industrial

complex, the Pakistan Steel Mill in Karachi, selling it to a Saudi Arabian group at a price

many believed was several time less than its actual value. Chief Justice Chaudhry took a

suo moto action and banned the sale in 2007, which annoyed many powerful

parliamentarians, especially the prime minister who was a major proponent of the sale.[456]

Chaudhry, who became Chief Justice of Pakistan in 2005, started making

independent decisions and engaging in judicial activism in a country where the judiciary

had always played a subservient role to the army and the political leadership. Besides

speeding up the handling of a backlog of cases, Chaudhry also actively followed up on

cases of many persons who had disappeared since 2006 and consistently pressured the

intelligence agencies to find and deliver them to the court. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks,

as Musharraf developed a significantly close alliance with US president George W. Bush

in the 'war on terror', it was frequently reported that Pakistani citizens had been picked

up on suspicion of terrorism-related links or for political opposition to the dictatorial

regime and kept in secret illegal detention facilities, while some were reported to have

been handed over to US agencies for interrogation. In either case, torture, mistreatment,

and even extra-judicial killings had been documented by both international and Pakistani

human rights and non-governmental organizations. Ziad Zafar's documentary film,

Missing in Pakistan (2007), addresses the issue of the involvement of Pakistan's military

---

[455]This is based on discussions and telephone conversations with several journalists and lawyers and my
    field trip research in Pakistan from November 2008 to January 2009.
[456]Ibid. *Suo moto* action here refers to an initiative taken on his own cognizance.

intelligence in extra-legal disappearances of ordinary citizens and journalists whose

voices and dissent the government found intolerable.**457**

Missing in Pakistan presents a heartrending and profoundly disturbing account of

the plight of hundreds of people and their families who have become victims of extra-

legal enforced disappearances and illegal detention by intelligence agencies, while the

state's legal institutions have failed to provide an option to turn to for justice.[458] Zafar, an

independent journalist and filmmaker, opens his film with a compilation of street scenes

depicting violence and brutality meted out to people by law enforcement officials. We

learn that Pakistan's involvement in the 'war on terror' has given these violations an

entirely new dimension. According to international human rights organizations,

Musharraf's government used the 'war on terror' as a smokescreen to authorize arbitrary

illegal detentions and torture, which eventually led to a sinister new tactic in dealing with

dissent. As Zafar elaborates,

> The Pakistani government has flatly denied the accusations, but in recent
> years hundreds of people have just disappeared. They are believed to be in
> the custody of Pakistan's intelligence agencies. Some surface in
> Guantanamo Bay, others are not so lucky. They remain missing.[459]

This is a claim Anjelicka Pathak of Amnesty International seconds:

> We know that two-thirds of the people in Guantanamo Bay were handed
> through unlawfully by Pakistan to US custody. There are numerous people
> who have disappeared in various secret sites around the world, and there

---

[457]*Missing in Pakistan,* Ziad Zafar, director, 2007. (24min, 3 secs). (Urdu/English/ English sub-titles). The film can be viewed at: http://vodpod.com/watch/361336-missing-in-pakistan-documentary-by-ziad-zafar-2007

[458] For a detailed report on the issue of enforced disappearances during President Musharraf's tenure, see Amnesty International Report 2008: "Denying the Undeniable: Enforced Disappearances in Pakistan." http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/ASA33/018/2008/en Accessed on May 23, 2010.

[459] Ibid.

are many, an unknown number of people, who have disappeared in Pakistan itself.[460]

Still photographs of missing persons, followed by families and women protesting and wailing on the streets, holding up pictures of missing relatives, demanding their whereabouts, pleading for answers and justice, serve as testimony to the film's assertions of injustice, testimonies and pictures that Pakistan's Federal Minister for Law, Human Rights and Justice, Wasi Zafar, arrogantly denies in the film as mere lies by Amnesty International. Ali Dayan of Human Rights Watch (HRW) elaborates that in all the violations of human rights his organization has documented in Pakistan, the issue of missing persons is a new development: "Disappearances as a form of law-enforcement is something that has been introduced post the war on terror, which means that the US has had an absolutely crucial role to play." [461]

When confronted with pictures and lists of missing persons, the Federal Minister Wasi Zafar, towing the official line, replies: "These are pictures, just pictures. These people normally go for terrorism, they run away from their houses, they join some organizations, they disappear by themselves." But, as the filmmaker points out, behind the pictures exist real human stories. One such story is related by Amina Masood, a veiled forty-two-year-old college teacher and mother of three, whose engineer husband, described as a born-again Muslim preacher, has been missing for two years. Speaking in a sparsely furnished room in her home, Masood vehemently denies her husband's involvement with any political group. Instead, she sees these disappearances as part of the Musharraf governments' efforts to please Bush and Blair, a reference to US President

---

[460] *Missing in Pakistan*, 2007
[461]Ibid.

George W. Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair. We learn that as no government officials were willing to help Masood, she worked with Amnesty International for justice and in the process founded the Joint Action Forum, which brought together one hundred other families with similar stories of disappearances.[462]

The seriousness of enforced disappearances and the threat of accountability they pose for the government become all the more obvious in some of the most disturbing scenes in the film. As families of victims, including Masood, gather for a protest demonstration outside the Pakistan military headquarters demanding answers and the whereabouts of their kin, they are told to "go home or face dire consequences." When they refuse to disperse, many are brutally beaten up by law enforcement officials and arrested, among them Masood's sixteen year old son Mohammed, who is particularly targeted. His pants ripped in full public view, the near naked boy is dragged mercilessly as he cries out to be saved and thrown into the back of a police van, while police officials are heard shouting arrogantly "throw him inside, spoilt brat!" Howling in pain, embarrassment, and disbelief, Mohammad shrieks, "why won't anyone save me?" as he is left to his fate. Masood's own disbelief and horror is echoed in her and her daughters shrieks, as they plead helplessly for mercy for Mohammad, failing which Masood is seen

---

[462]On the Defence of Human Rights website, Masood reports that "Since the War on Terror thousands of Pakistani men and women have been picked up by the law enforcement agencies. Hundreds have been handed over to the US often for a sizeable bounty. Many have ended up in Guantanamo Bay. The Pakistani government suggests that only 4,000 have been arrested since 2001. Human Rights organizations claim thousands more. It is impossible to ascertain the correct figures. All that can be said is they remain invisible, hidden from the public, without any contact with family, subject to torture and beyond the protection of all laws." For further details on the missing persons issue and current development, see the Defence of Human Rights website: www.dhrpk.org

cursing her son's captors, "Bastards! Die die die. I hope you all die. I hope God doesn't grant you a funeral. I pray he doesn't grant you anything."[463]

Just as these horrific scenes, caught on site, serve as a record of Musharraf's authoritarian rule and tactics to secure his grip on power while serving US interests, they also highlight the contribution and role of filmmakers like Zafar in keeping crucial human rights issues alive. Since the film was produced at the height of Musharraf's crackdown on public and media dissent, it was circulated informally in Pakistan and widely viewed on Youtube.[464]

Confronted with questions of government complicity in illegal disappearances in the film, Federal Minister for Human Rights and Justice Wasi Zafar dismisses such accounts as 'baseless' and 'exaggerated.' On the other hand, Ali Dayan of Human Rights Watch explains: "We have documented enough cases of torture in the custody of Pakistan police and military intelligence agencies to know that that's just a fact of life, that's how it is, that is what happens here…torture is widespread." Lawyer, activist, and UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, Asma Jehangir, supports and elaborates on this fact: "There is huge evidence, overwhelming, that the government of Pakistan is maintaining illegal detention centers where torture goes on as a routine." [465]

---

[463] Ibid.

[464] *Missing in Pakistan* (2007) realized its activist aim as it was picked up by various international human rights organizations for screening at different forums to highlight the excesses meted out by the Musharraf government. In Vancouver, it was screened at the Vancouver Public Library on Dec. 11, 2007 at a public forum on Dec. 11, 2007, organized by lawyers, activists, and journalists entitled "Pakistan Under the Gun." The author was the keynote speaker. For further details, visit: http://www.workingtv.com/pakistan-forum.html Accessed on June 6, 2010.

In New York, the film was screened at the Institute for International Law and Justice, New York University School of Law at a forum entitled "The Judicial Crisis in Pakistan and its Implications for Pakistan's Future" on February 25, 2008. For details visit: http://iiljfilms.blogspot.com/2008/02/missing-in-pakistan-movie-screening-in.html Accessed on June 6, 2010.

[465] Ibid.

When Chief Justice Chaudhry started hearing the missing persons evidence, it gave hope to the families of several thousand people who have not seen their loved ones for years. At the same time, for the first time in Pakistan's history, the court started summoning officials of the all powerful military and civilian intelligence agencies to answer questions. The military and the ruling establishment did not approve of the new independence of the judiciary.[466]

The Chief Justice's 'No' to a dictator was unprecedented. In the past, the Pakistan Supreme Court had legitimized military coups. The private TV channels broadcast live the news of Chief Justice Chaudhry's removal and interviews with leading lawyers who described his 'No' as a watershed event, pledging on camera to support their chief.

A delegation of the Pakistan Bar Council and the Supreme Court Bar Association was not allowed to meet with the Chief Justice, while lawyers said he had been put under house arrest and was being forced to resign.[467] On March 13, 2007 Chaudhry, accompanied by five senior lawyers, appeared before a closed hearing of the Supreme Judicial Council to answer allegations of misconduct against him.

In an unprecedented manner and irrespective of political affiliations, 80,000 lawyers formed a non-violent countrywide 'Save Judiciary Movement' to restore the rule of law. They announced a boycott of court proceedings. Despite government imposition of Section 144 of the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC), which bars any assembly of five men, gatherings of five or more persons, processions, rallies and demonstrations at public places, the lawyers held countrywide protest rallies on March 13, 2007. In Lahore, hundreds of lawyers crossed police pickets and raised slogans reading 'Go Musharraf Go'

---

[466]Discussion with an editor of a Lahore-based newspaper.
[467]"Lawyers Not Allowed to CJPs House," *The Daily Times*, March 11, 2007.

and 'No Musharraf No.' Over a thousand lawyers, holding placards inscribed with anti-government slogans, gathered at the Lahore High Court building, which was surrounded by police. The two sides clashed when the lawyers dismantled police barricades and police wielding batons charged them, resulting in injuries to fifty lawyers and thirty-five policemen, who were rushed to a nearby hospital for treatment.[468]

On March 14 in Islamabad, opposition leaders, parliamentarians, lawyers and representatives of civil society occupied Constitution Avenue next to the buildings of the Prime Minister's Secretariat, the Supreme Court of Pakistan, and the Parliament House, among other government offices, to express solidarity with the Chief Justice who was appearing before the court. The Acting Chief Justice took a *suo motu* notice of the police manhandling of the suspended Chief Justice and served notice to the police officials. Three TV channels were blocked by the government, including the Geo TV's popular Kamran Khan show, in response to their detailed coverage of the Supreme Judicial Council (CJC) meeting.[469] The next day, the police stormed and ransacked the office of Geo TV to stop the live telecast of police action against the protesting lawyers and activists of political parties.

> The police action against Geo TV came minutes after the channel telecast footage of running battles between the police and protesters, captured from its cameras on the rooftop of the office building situated about 500 metres from the Supreme Court building where the protesters were trying to reach to welcome the 'non-functional' chief justice. A strong reaction from journalists, politicians, lawyers and traders against the attack on the TV channel prompted President Pervez Musharraf to come live on TV and 'apologise' for the incident.[470]

[468]"Clashes as Lawyers Protest CJP's Suspension," *The Dawn*, March 14, 2007.
[469]"TV Show Banned," *The Dawn*, March 16, 2007.
[470]"Police Storm Office of TV Channel: Musharraf Apologises for Raid," *The Dawn*, March 17, 2007.

On March 17, the sacked Chief Justice appeared before the Supreme Judicial Council amidst tight security and heavy deployment of paramilitary troops, while the federal as well as the Punjab police had virtually sealed off the city. However, a few thousand lawyers and other protestors managed to reach a location near the Supreme Court building. During the clashes with protestors at various locations in the city, police fired rubber bullets and tear gas and arrested seven hundred protestors while injuring fifty.[471]

Having been invited to address the Lahore High Court Bar Association, the deposed Chief Justice decided to travel from Islamabad to Lahore by the Grand Trunk Road, a journey of 288 kilometres. On the eve of his visit on May 5 in Lahore, police picked up more than one thousand political activists in different parts of the province in an attempt to foil the reception. *The Dawn* informed readers what happened in various locations.

> About 250 activists and their relatives are reported to have been arrested in Gujranwala, 300 in Gujrat, 200 in Sheikhupura, 67 in Sialkot, 60 in Sargodha and 40 in Mandi Bahaudin. A torch-bearing rally of lawyers was baton charged by police in Sahiwal. The police action caused a stampede and a fire which burnt two cars and injured 21 lawyers.[472]

The Chief Justice had set off in a convoy of six buses and dozens of motor cars from his Islamabad residence at 7:45 am. He was accorded a warm welcome in every small town and city by lawyer associations, activists of various political parties and the general public, which caused a major delay in his travel to Lahore. People queued on both sides of the road in the scorching heat in almost every city and town to welcome the

[471]"Police Protestors Fight Pitched Battle," *The News*, March 17, 2007.
[472]Ashraf Mumtaz and Asif Shahzad, "Over 1,000 Held on Eve of CJ's Visit," *The Dawn*, Lahore, May 5, 2007.

caravan of Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry. They showered rose petals on him and

chanted slogans in favour of the judiciary and against the government. The private

channels showed live coverage, while major newspapers deployed teams of reporters to

cover the unprecedented welcome to a man who had become a symbol of hope and

courage for the nation.[473]

When the Chief Justice arrived at the Lahore High Court (LHC), hundreds of

lawyers raised anti-government and anti-Musharraf slogans to welcome him. Several

serving and retired judges, hundreds of activists of various political parties, members of

civil society organizations, and ordinary people waited all night to greet the man. The

political party leaders and workers were not allowed to enter the LHC premises as

decided earlier during a meeting between the parties and the lawyers' community. The

lawyers' community waited for more than twenty hours to welcome their Chief Justice

and his convoy along with delegations of different district and town bars. Amidst the

recitation of revolutionary poetry, a large number of female lawyers made their presence

known raising anti-government and anti-Musharraf slogans from time to time. [474]

Meanwhile Musharraf's coalition government partner, the Muttahida Quami

Movement (MQM), blocked TV transmission in many cities of Sindh province by

unplugging the cables on allegations that the private TV channels covered the rally for

the Chief Justice constantly for twelve hours and had ignored an MQM rally. Chaudhry's

next address was scheduled to take place at the Karachi Bar Association. He arrived at

the Karachi airport on May 12 but could not leave the airport as violence between pro-

Musharraf and other political parties had erupted. The city arteries were blocked by

[473]Wajih Ahmad Sheikh, Arslan Rafiq Bhatti, Ziaullah Niazi and Sajjad Shafiq Butt, "It's Now in the
     People's Court: Justice Iftikhar," *The News*, Lahore, May 6, 2007.
[474]Ibid.

placing heavy containers to prevent any traffic moving in and out of the city. As many as

forty-six people were killed and more than 140 sustained bullet injuries during the

violence, while several dozen vehicles, two gas stations, and a bank building were

reduced to ashes. The Aaj TV station came under a prolonged assault.

> Naeem Qureshi, a spokesman for the Karachi Bar Association, said dozens
> of lawyers were hurt when they were attacked near the Sindh High Court.
> He blamed the MQM for the incident. Journalists, in particular, were
> affected as they took the challenge to cover and convey the gory picture to
> the people of the city and the world at large. Several reporters and
> cameramen barely survived volleys of bullets fired across the
> battlegrounds. Some of them were even challenged by gunmen who,
> mercifully, ignored them after learning their identity. However, the
> situation was not so pleasant for the staff of the Aaj Television, who faced
> an onslaught of bullets for more than five hours. Staff at the channel
> constantly appealed to the law-enforcement agencies and officials to bail
> them out but their requests were strangely ignored.[475]

The Aaj TV was telecasting live footage of youths brandishing guns in front of its

offices on the Business Recorder Road and firing on their rivals in the Patel Para

neighbourhood. As the telecast continued, the youths turned their guns on the Aaj TV

building which also houses the offices of the daily Business Recorder. The firing

shattered windowpanes of the building.

> The Aaj TV building came under fire from MQM supporters who wanted
> the airing of live footage of the unrest in the city stopped," the network's
> chief executive Arshad Zubairi was quoted as saying by AP. Cameramen
> and journalists working on the roof of the building had to take cover.
> However, no one was hurt and the network remained on air uninterrupted.
> "We are under attack," senior journalist Talat Hussain said on air as he
> took shelter behind a wall. "We have seen no security force. No one has
> come to help us.[476]

---

[475]"34 Killed, Over 140 Injured in Karachi," *The News*, Karachi, May 13, 2007.
[476]"Armed Men Attack Aaj TV Office," *The Dawn*, May 13, 2007.

This was unprecedented live coverage of violence and killings and the entire country was watching with disbelief-Pakistan TV had entered into a new era. The Chief Justice toured the country by road to speak to various bar councils while his caravan was welcomed by hundreds of thousands of ordinary people. During these tours, Chaudhry did not speak with the press and only addressed bar councils. The rallies for the dismissed Chief Justice were the largest mobilizations during the Musharraf dictatorship and revealed Pakistan's lawyers' absolute support for him. On July 17, 2007, a suicide bomber attacked supporters of the Chief Justice in Islamabad killing fifteen and wounding forty-three, the majority of whom were workers of the Pakistan People Party.

On July 20, 2007, a full court bench of the Supreme Court of Pakistan reinstated Justice Chaudhry and dropped charges of misconduct against him, thus ending the 134-day-long struggle for justice. The Chief Justice took charge once again and started releasing political prisoners besides ordering the immediate recovery of missing persons as a result of which intelligence agencies released several missing persons. The Chief Justice also started taking an interest in public issues such as blocking the construction of high rises that violated building codes. Enjoying the full support of the bench and the people of Pakistan, the courts began exercising judicial authority to challenge the arbitrary power of the military.

The Supreme Court was due to rule on the legality of General Musharraf's October election victory and to decide whether Musharraf had been legally eligible to run for re-election the previous month while also remaining the Army Chief of Staff. According to the BBC, fears had been growing in the government that the Supreme Court

ruling could go against Musharraf.[477] Unsure of the outcome, Musharraf imposed

Emergency rule on November 3, 2007 and suspended the constitution once again. Chief

Justice Chaudhry and eight other judges of the superior courts were arrested after they

refused to endorse the Emergency Order and declared it unconstitutional. Musarraf

introduced a new Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) and required the top senior

judges to take a fresh oath. However, more than sixty top judges refused to take any new

oath. The army placed Justice Chaudhry under house arrest along with his family.

Overall, almost two-thirds of the ninety-seven senior judges refused to endorse the

Emergency Rule and were subsequently dismissed and placed in detention or under house

arrest where they were subjected to surveillance by the paramilitary Rangers, the police,

and the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) Agency. The government replaced the deposed

judiciary members with Musharraf loyalists, and on November 22, a 'puppet' Supreme

Court quickly dismissed the legal challenges to Musharraf's re-election as president.[478]

With so many judges refusing to endorse the Emergency Order and being

arrested, replacing them became a challenge for the regime. A new wave of terror was

unleashed in which as many as twenty-five thousand lawyers and political workers were

arrested by the regime and a ban on reporting this story was imposed on news

channels.[479] Although the Lawyers Movement was threatened by tremendous political

pressure and strict government restrictions, the clampdown triggered even more

resistance, which was facilitated in no small measure by use of digital technologies that

---

[477]"Musharraf Imposes Emergency Rule," *BBC*, November 3, 2007.

[478] For detailed background, see Human Rights Watch Report: *Destroying Legality: Pakistan's Crackdown on Lawyers and Judges*, December 18, 2007. www.hrw.org/en/reports/2007/12/18/destroying-legality-0 Accessed on February 1, 2010.

[479] Jordyn Phelps, "Pakistan's Lawyers Movement (2007-2009)," International Centre on Non-violent Conflict, 2009. http://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/index.php/movements-and-campaigns/movements-and-campaigns-summaries?sobi2Task=sobi2Details&catid=21&sobi2Id=30

enabled, encouraged, and sustained the lawyers' movement through countrywide public

mobilization and activism. The potential of cell phones, camera phones, SMS text

messages, online mailing lists, Internet broadcasts, live blogging, YouTube, Flickr, and

Facebook was dramatically manifested.

Karachi journalist Adnan Rehmat, writing in *Newsline Monthly Magazine* in

December, noted the significant difference of this particular "coup" compared with those

of the past.

> What distinguished this coup from others was that it was staged in the
> presence of a vibrant private broadcast media: dozens of television
> channels and FM radio stations providing Pakistanis news in real time. At
> least until that moment. Musharraf made sure his team pulled the plug on
> all TV channels (including foreign ones) and radio stations before the state
> of emergency was formally announced on PTV – whose control, in
> keeping with tradition, was also seized beforehand.
>
> What was shocking about the coup was that it was not ostensibly against
> the government of the day (Musharraf's own) but against the judiciary and
> the media. Both were blamed for the deterioration of law and order and
> proliferation of terrorism. "Glorification of violence by the media," said
> Musharraf, was a major factor in his decision to impose the emergency.[480]

Under the amended Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Ordinance

2007 (PEMRA Ordinance 2007) promulgated by Musharraf, popular current affairs TV

channels, such as GEO, ARY, *Aaj* TV, Dawn News, KTN, and Khyber TV, as well as

international news channels, such as CNN and the BBC, were taken off the air, while

only the state-controlled Pakistan TV was allowed to operate. Non-government satellite

TV channels were prevented from up-linking to satellites and banned from carriage on

domestic cable networks. Following the ban on cable TV, people rushed to buy dish

---

[480]Adnan Rehmat, "Gagged and Shackled," *Newsline Monthly Magazine*, Karachi, December, 2007, pp.
77-82.   The article is available online at: http://rghm.wordpress.com/2007/12/16/community-media-
selected-clippings-121507/

antennae, but a ban was also placed on the sale of dish antennae through the imposition

of the amended Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Ordinance 2007

(PEMRA Ordinance 2007).[481]

It was ironic that Musharraf's declaration of Emergency or martial law was not

against the government, but rather against the judiciary and the media accused of

promoting terrorism and worsening the law and order situation. The Annual State of

Pakistan Media Report 2007-08 paints a very bleak picture for media and journalists as

between May 3, 2007 and May 3, 2008 fifteen journalists were killed, 357 were arrested

or abducted, 123 were assaulted or wounded, and 154 received threats or were harassed,

while eighteen media properties were attacked, and eighty-eight gag orders were

issued.[482]

The report notes that to tame the media, Musharraf suspended broadcast of all

national and international news channels except the state owned PTV. The private

channels were banned from domestic cable networks, a main source of broadcast, and

forbidden to uplink to satellite. Twelve popular twenty-four/seven current affairs

channels and twenty others were taken off the air. Meanwhile, at Musharraf's request, the

Dubai government gave Geo TV and ARY TV networks, both registered in Dubai, less

than two hours to stop and pack up their operations. [483]

> A symbiotic relationship between the media and the citizens started
> evolving virtually as soon as the state of emergency was imposed. The
> mainstream news channels set up live streaming on their websites where
> 24/7 coverage ensured that many of the country's estimated 20 million

---

[481]Ibid.

[482]Adnan Rahmat, *Murder and Mayhem: The Worst Year Ever for Pakistan Media, Annual State of Pakistan Media Report 2007-08*, Islamabad: Intermedia, 2008.
www.internews.org/pubs/pubs_pakistan.shtm

[483]Ibid.

Internet users logged on. Increased amounts of web news became available in both English and Urdu, and even in Sindhi, to satiate the growing hunger for news. Interestingly, those in Pakistan with Internet – and therefore access to new sites – transformed from merely passive consumers of information to 'citizen broadcasters'; they began passing it around through emails and blogs (dozens of blogs sprung up, providing specific information such as where the next protest by journalists or media groups and their supporters would be held) and used the information to network towards mobilizing resistance and arranging protests. This resulted in independent websites increasing their content. Because the government thinks in conventional ways, it had not seen mobile phones as a medium for news. However, Pakistan, at that point, had 70 million mobile phone users. Calls are cheap and texting even more so. Hence, between calling the media and friends on their mobile phones, people began managing to get at least important bits of information every day despite the TV channels being browbeaten and forced to filter their news and information content. After the government disrupted cable TV distribution, most current affairs channels sent SMS text messages to millions of mobile phone users, telling them to log onto their website to get live transmission and text news. According to sources in the telecom sector, daily mobile phone calls in the weeks after the imposition of the state of emergency increased sevenfold and text messaging tenfold, elevating the status of mobile telephony as a formal source of information.[484]

The report acknowledges the expansion and diversity of the media that have influenced political discourse and communication. The report notes:

When the Musharraf regime unplugged the TV channels and radio stations in November 2007 to disrupt real time news and information flow, people in their millions turned to the Internet where these channels continued broadcasting. Also, the 70 million cell phone users meant that people who either could not afford satellite dishes or Internet connections contacted their friends and acquaintances who could, and therefore, largely, still managed to keep abreast of what was going on through uninterrupted TV broadcasts.

Live coverage of the lawyers' movement to protest sacking of the top judge of the country and the landmark operation against Taliban and Al Qaeda-backed militants at the Red Mosque meant that politics in Pakistan from there onwards would be very personal and very public as opposed to elitist, as in the past. No wonder Musharraf had to crack down hard on the

---

[484]Ibid. p. 9.

media to stop the emergence of another major player on the national political scene that could challenge his authority when even the elected parliament or the judiciary could not.[485]

Student unions were banned under the Musharraf regime, yet out of the blue, and from the elite educational institutions, emerged a large number of students along with their teachers to join the protests against the Emergency Rule. These students, mostly equipped with the latest communication devices and access to social media, in their slogans vowed that they would "fight until the judiciary is free" and "we will decide our own future." They demanded that the government "give justice to the judiciary" and "stop playing with the law." Many of these students and their teachers were brutally beaten up by the police in Lahore, Islamabad, Karachi, and Rawalpindi.[486]

Several student groups, such as the Student Action Group, active in Lahore, Karachi, and Islamabad, the Concerned Citizens of Pakistan, who collaborated with civil society activists, and the Pakistan Youth Alliance, maintained a strong online presence to mobilize students. It is significant that students at universities across the country joined in the digital activism and began campaigning against the Emergency Rule through Facebook, YouTube, Flickr and blogs. For example, on November 7, 2007 more than a thousand students at the prestigious Lahore University of Management Sciences defied the government and organized the largest ever civil society gathering comprising students, lawyers, and journalists at their campus despite heavy police presence.[487] The same night, videos shot by students on camcorders and cell phone cameras were released

---

[485]Ibid. p.14.

[486]Zahid Shahab Ahmed and Maria J. Stephan, "Fighting for the Rule of Law: Civil Resistance and the Lawyers' Movement in Pakistan," *Democratization*, Vol. 17, Issue 3, June 2010, pp. 492-513.

[487]For details, see Saman Talib, "Pakistan Students' Uses of New Media to Construct a Narrative of Dissent" in Banaji Shakuntala, ed., *South Asian Media Cultures: Audiences, Representations, Contexts*, London: Anthum Press, 2010.

on YouTube and footage sent to CNN's iReport website, which invites videos, pictures and posts from citizen journalists. This activist stance was further taken up by Pakistani students abroad who joined the campaign through blogs, online mailing lists, and newsletters.[488]

Zahid Shahab Ahmed and Maria J. Stephan argue that the effective use of the media and alternative modes of communication strengthened the Lawyers Movement, while the well-organized network of provincial and district bar councils provided coordination among the lawyers community. The National Action Committee of Lawyers (NACL) sent instructions to the Pakistan Bar Association and the Supreme Court Bar Association of Pakistan and from there the messages were sent to the Provincial Bar Associations and then sent down to the city-level Bar Councils. The NACL communicated their messages/instructions via cell phone and SMS.

> After CJ Chaudhry's personal cell phone was blocked, both before and during the emergency period in 2007, he obtained a separate mobile phone SIM card to be able to communicate for a time. During emergency period of November-December 2007, Chaudhry spoke from his mobile phone to a rally of several hundred lawyers near Islamabad's district court. His voice was received through a mobile phone that was held up to a loudspeaker - until the mobile networks in the capital suddenly went dead.[489]

Although FM stations were constrained by the PEMRA Ordinance to only broadcast a "diversified mixture of programs on information, education, entertainment, culture, religion, public service, and such other areas of public interest," even before the

[488]Huma Yusuf, "Old and New Media: Converging During the Pakistan Emergency (March 2007 - February 2008)," Center for Future Civic Media. A Collaboration of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Media Lab and Comparative Media Studies (MIT), 2009, pp. 14-16. http://civic.mit.edu/watchlistenlearn/old-and-new-media-converging-during-the-pakistan-emergency-march-2007-february-2008 Accessed on January 31, 2010.
[489]Ibid.

Emergency, one Karachi-based channel, Apna Karachi FM 107, played a significant role

on May 12, 2007 in the wake of fierce gun battles, aggressive rallies, and the torching of

vehicles on the day when Chief Justice Chaudhry was stopped from visiting the city.[490]

In the guise of broadcasting 'traffic conditions' and 'traffic updates' every five minutes,

the FM channel relayed to its listeners the state of violence in the city, thereby playing a

political and activist role in keeping its listeners informed of the political ramifications of

the situation. For example, broadcasts such as "buses have been torched near Karsaz, so

people wanting to come to Drigh Road shouldn't head in this direction *because traffic is*

bad," and "traffic on Shaheed-e- Millat Road is very bad, as it is on the Sharah-e-Faisal

road. There's madness all the way until Tipu Sultan Road. Drivers should choose their

routes carefully so that they don't become *victims of bad traffic*" FM 107 played a

political role in keeping Karachi citizens informed of traffic conditions as well as the

flaring political situation. Additionally, the FM station also became a hub for callers who

phoned in to tell their families about their whereabouts and safety, turning the network

into a people's organ for public communication under the governments' very nose.

Hence, the FM station played not only a timely and vital role, but also an activist role in a

social movement that was rapidly engulfing the country.[491]

Bringing together political events that led to clashes involving the judiciary,

media, and civil society, all seeking rights, accountability, and justice in their respective

domains, the documentary film *Emergency Plus* (2007) exposes the shallowness of the

---

[490] Ibid. Journalist Huma Yousaf explains that "despite the burgeoning popularity of FM radio stations – by July 2008, there were nine operational FM radio stations in Karachi and 162 licensed stations nationwide – the medium did not emerge as a site for civic engagement or community building. This is because unlike television, all FM radio stations – whether state or privately-owned – were forbidden even before the Emergency from broadcasting news, current affairs shows, or any time-bound content with political implications.

[491] Ibid. p. 11-12.

claims President Musharraf continued to make about his support for democratic rule and

his vision for a moderate and progressive Pakistani society.[492] This powerful short film

focuses on the political and civil unrest following Musharraf's imposition of Emergency

Rule and the suspension of the Constitution on November 3, 2007.

Citing 'glorification of violence' by the media, and absurdly blaming both 'media

and the judiciary for the deterioration of law and order' in the country, Musharraf had

sought to justify his clampdown on dozens of Pakistani and international TV channels.

However, despite the restrictions that the Emergency Rule imposed, it could not stop the

eruption of countrywide protest as the nation realized the high-handedness of yet another

authoritarian regime.

Compiled from footage from various news channels and media outlets that took to

the streets with mobile units in defiance of the curbs imposed on their freedoms,

Emergency Plus exposes the brutal treatment meted out to civil society protestors,

activists, journalists, lawyers, and women who came out on the streets to demand the

restoration of the constitution. Footage shows hurt and bleeding, but defiant men and

women protestors, including lawyers being baton-charged, dragged, and detained on the

streets by uniformed and plainclothes law enforcement officials and shoved into waiting

police vans. Clips showing the government clampdown on media offices, suspension of

all private channels and broadcasts, and a ban on the sale of dish antennae through the

imposition of the amended Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Ordinance

---

[492]*Emergency Plus*, (12-min. documentary). Lahore, Pakistan: Interactive Resource Centre, 2007. (Urdu/English/English sub-titles). Produced for the Pakistan Coalition for Free and Fair Democratic Elections (PACFREL), a coalition of Pakistani civil society organizations, instituted in 2006. PACFREL partner organizations comprise the *Aurat* Foundation, the Ecumenical Advocacy Forum, the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), the Interactive Resource Centre (IRC), the Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research (PILER), the South Asia Partnership (SAP-PK), the Strengthening Participatory Organization (SPO), and the SUNGI Development Foundation. http://www.pacfrel.com/aboutpac.asp Accessed on February 1, 2010.

2007 (PEMRA Ordinance 2007) contrast starkly with Musharraf's claims of restoring democratic order.[493]

Emergency Plus, produced as part of the Interactive Resource Centre's Human Rights Advocacy Package, includes views from journalists, human rights activists, lawyers, political leaders, and pro-democracy, anti-Musharraf protestors countrywide. The series of short clips depicting police and state-sanctioned atrocities are punctuated with activists, lawyers, journalists, and politicians vocally condemning the Musharraf regime and the Emergency Rule as illegal. In the film, senior journalist Ayaz Mir terms Musharraf a 'martial law idiot', while journalist Khawar Naeem Hashmi[494] resolutely speaks for his community saying the government will run out of jail space, but not those willing to fight for freedom of the press. Similarly, Secretary General of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) I.A. Rehman joins the oppositional debate, as does HRCP chairperson, lawyer and activist Asma Jehangir, who condemns the government brutalities saying her colleagues were "trained and educated to fight in the courts, not for physical violence on the streets." The appearance of Rehman and Jehangir are reminders that lawyers, activists, and individuals have continued to oppose military dictatorships ever since General Zia-ul-Haq imposed his martial law regime in 1977. *Emergency Plus*, exposes the anti-democratic practices of yet another horrific period in

---

[493]On November 3, 2007 soon after proclaiming Emergency Rule in a televised address, President Musharraf demanded that cable television operators block the broadcasts of all local and foreign news channels, except those of the state-owned Pakistan Television Corporation. Nearly 30 privately owned channels were promptly taken off the air. The next day, policemen raided the Islamabad offices of *Aaj* TV, an independent news channel, and attempted to confiscate the channel's equipment. The telephone lines of Pakistan's first independent news channel, Geo TV, were cut, and their broadcasters were threatened with long jail terms. The new laws restricted live coverage, empowered the government to interrupt broadcasts that were deemed inappropriate, and gave government regulators the power to seal buildings, and seize privately owned equipment. Huma Yusaf. "Old and New Media: Converging During the Pakistan Emergency (March 2007-February 2008)." MIT Center for Future Civic Media.

[494]Journalist Khawar Naeem Hashmi was flogged under General Zia's Martial Law regime.

Pakistan's history – testifying to the savagery of authoritarian rule and Pakistani society's persistent united opposition to it.[495]

> The Internet, as a tool for dissemination of information and mobilization of civil society, has been increasingly integrated into the political life of Pakistan. Bloggers across Pakistan objected to the intermittent block of the Blogspot platform and the temporary blocking of Wikipedia in 2006, and initiated a virtual civil society movement to repeal the orders. In the movement against Musharraf's declaration of emergency in November 2007, with lawyers leading mass protests and acts of civil disobedience against suspension of judges and the constitution, a convergence between old and new media became evident. According to one contributor to the Emergency Times blog (pakistanmartiallaw.blogspot.com), created to keep people informed about news and protests,[496] "the real resistance to the emergency was built on the Internet." In the face of stringent media regulation, individual journalists, lawyers, and viewers uploaded news broadcasts from banned television stations to YouTube, while students, youth, and others created blogs (such as Emergency Times) and dynamically utilized an array of tools, including SMS2Blog, Facebook, and video and photos uploaded to social media sites, such as Flickr, to plan flash protests and document their resistance in the face of a media blackout.[497]

---

[495]Under tremendous national and international pressure, President Musharraf ended Emergency Rule on December 15, 2007, but only after enacting constitutional amendments designed to provide legal cover for his actions. Among them is a provision stating that his legal maneuvering since Nov. 3, 2007 "shall not be called in question by or before any court." In his speech to the nation, Musharraf claimed that his imposition of Emergency Rule had succeeded in saving the country from an unidentified 'conspiracy' against democracy in Pakistan: 'I say it with pride that the process towards democracy, which had been derailed, has now been put back on track." However, despite the move to end Emergency Rule, numerous top judges remained under house arrest, and a restrictive new code of conduct continued to affect news media. Griff Witte, "Musharraf Ends 6-Week Emergency Rule," *The Washington Post Foreign Service*, December 16, 2007. www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/12/15/AR2007121500302.html Accessed on April 9, 2010.

[496] Communications on the Emergency Times blog can be found at: http://pakistanmartiallaw.blogspot.com/

[497]Ronald Deibert, John Palfrey, Rafal Rohozinski, and Jonathan Zittrain, eds., *Access Controlled: The Shaping of Power, Rights, and Rules in Cyberspace*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010, pp. 492-493.

During the Emergency Rule and the Lawyer's Movement, 'Go Musharraf Go' became the most popularly used ringtone in Pakistan. A phone line dedicated to the 'Go Musharraf Go' campaign operated from Lahore, welcoming people opposed to Musharraf who could listen to anti-Musharraf slogans. Zahir Ahmad Mir, operating the lines, welcomed callers to the 'Go Musharraf Go' phone line with "Dial 1 to listen to Justice Chaudhry's lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan, dial 2 to listen to anti-Musharraf songs, dial 3 to record your anti-Musharraf message, and dial 4 to listen to public opinion about Musharraf."[498] Similarly, several dozen funny clips of Musharraf were posted on Youtube. Aitzaz Ahsan, head of the lawyers' team that represented Chief Justice Chaudhry, wrote a poem during his house arrest, which was later adopted as an anthem of the Lawyer's Movement. The Laal Band, a group of academics and musicians from a private elite institution, rendered Aitzaz Ahsan's poem, Kal Aaj Aur Kal (Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow), and poems of the late revolutionary poet, Habib Jalib, into songs, such as Umeed-e-Sahar (Hope of Dawn), which became anthems of the Lawyers Movement. The following is an excerpt from Jalib's Urdu poetry:[499]

> I do not accept
> I do not recognize
> A constitution that resembles
> A morning with no light[500]

Another Urdu poem by Jalib that became very popular during the movement for the restoration of democracy in 1983 and the Lawyers Movement of 2007 was:

---

[498] "Go Musharraf Go Campaign Now on Phone," *Indian Express*, March 6, 2008.

[499] Raza Rumi, "Bol! Bol!Bol," ("Speak up! Speak up! Speak up!") *Himal Southasian*, January 2008. This article on Pakistan's resistance poetry is available online: http://www.amenews.org/ResistancePoetry.htm

[500] Ibid.

The plight of the poor remains unchanged
Only the days of the ministers have changed
Each Bilawal (Benazir Bhutto's son) of the country is indebted
And the Benazirs of the country walk without shoes[501]

Horse dancing, rebellious poetry, revolutionary songs from the colonial time, and poetry of another late revolutionary poet, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, also became a regular feature of the lawyers campaign.[502] A poem by an unknown Punjabi poet that asked: *'Chacha wardi laanda kyon nahin?'* (Uncle, why don't you doff your uniform?),[503] was heard as urging the military dictator to draw his pension and take a good rest. It became hugely popular:

You rushed to Washington all the time
And pleased Bush again and again
Begged at his feet all the time
And threatened the oppressed of your country
Why don't you confront the oppressors? [504]

During the Lawyer's Movement, it became a common sight to see hundreds of lawyers, workers, and activists singing these lines together in marches and picketing all across the country.

In the February 2008 general elections, the Pakistan Peoples Party won the election and formed a coalition government with the Pakistan Muslim League. On August 16, the government gave a deadline to president Musharraf to resign by August

---

[501] Ibid.

[502] Syed Ali Abbas Zaidi, "Music, Revolutions and Activism," *The Islamabad Dateline*, April 3, 2011 http://plastictearz.wordpress.com/2011/04/04/music-revolutions-activism/

[503] Elderly men and women in Pakistan's rural areas are commonly referred to as *chacha* (uncle), and *maasi* (aunt), to show respect for their age, and experience. These titles carry a cultural connotation, rather than an actual kinship. The reference to '*chacha*' is this case was used as a term of ridicule for General Musharraf.

[504] Raza Rumi, Pakistan's rich dissident literary tradition, see http://www.razarumi.com/2008/05/19/pakistans-rich-dissident-literary-tradition/

19 otherwise he would be impeached. Musharraf finally stepped down on August 18 and

later fled from Pakistan with his family to London. Benazir's widower Asif Ali Zardari

replaced him as the President of Pakistan. Despite the ouster of Musharraf, Zardari did

not restore the sacked judges. The Lawyers Movement announced a "Long March" to

Islamabad to demand the restoration of judges, but the government refused and instead

imposed Section 144 of the Pakistan Penal Code in three provinces and blocked all the

roads and bridges to prevent the march.[505] But nothing stopped the marchers as thousands

of workers from the major political parties, lawyers, and civil society activists started

marching towards Islamabad on the night of March 15. Within a few hours, the Prime

Minister reinstated the Chief Justice with a notification, thus ending one of the most

important and successful struggles in the recent history of social movements in Pakistan.

---

[505] "Section 144 traces its origins to a British criminal code enacted in India as far back as 1860, just three years after the subcontinent's first modern independence movement rocked British rule throughout north and central India. The provision was subsequently used routinely by British authorities well up to Partition in 1947. Many of the most celebrated leaders of the great civil disobedience project who eventually unseated the British were imprisoned using this most colonial of enforcement mechanisms. The 1860 criminal code was adopted by Indian and Pakistani authorities after independence, and section 144 has been used to prevent civil disobedience in both countries for successive decades." Mustafa Qadri, "History repeats itself in Pakistan," *The Guardian*, March 13, 2009.
http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/mar/13/pakistan-zardari-sharif-chaudhry

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

If I had to pick the most debated topic that dominates social and political discourse in Pakistan, undoubtedly it would be religion as Pakistan was created to provide an alternative home for India's Muslims. After achieving independence, although the demand was still there, it was not the priority of the secular and liberal leadership to declare the new state an Islamic country. Pakistan's search for an 'Islamic' identity is not a post partition phenomenon, rather an old dream of Indian Muslims. South Asia historian Mubarak Ali argues that consciousness of a Muslim identity in India was a product of British colonial rule, under which the class-conscious Muslim elite began to assert itself to serve its vested interests by using religion as a rallying point.[506] He argues that the real uniting factor among the Muslims at the time was class rather than religion. The Muslim elite sought to hold on to its power through stimulation of religious consciousness and defense of religious identity as the British East India Company made its entry into India, undermining the authority and power of the Muslim ruling classes following the occupation of Delhi in 1803 that ended the Mughal empire. This defeat at the hands of a foreign power led to the rise of the *ulema* (Muslim religious scholars), who took up the task of preserving and upholding the 'purity' of Muslim religious identity.

> Another significant change was that with the eclipse of the political
> authority of the Mughal Emperor, the *ulema* began to represent themselves

---

[506] Mubarak Ali, "Consciousness of Muslim Identity in South Asia before 1947," in S.M. Naseem and Khalid Nadvi, eds., *The Post-colonial State and Social Transformation in India and Pakistan,* Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 330.

as the protectors and custodians of the interests of the community. They were now contemptuous of the Mughals whose decline they attributed to their indifference towards religion. They embarked on revivalist movements which they claimed would lift the community from the low position to which it had fallen. Their revivalism was intended to reform the Muslim community and infuse homogeneity in order to meet the challenges that confronted them…Their ultimate goal was to establish an Islamic state in India and to unite Muslims into one community on the basis of religion. Two factors played an important role in reinforcing the creation of a separate identity amongst Indian Muslims. They were, firstly, the activities of Christian Missionaries and secondly, the Hindu reformist and revivalist movements. Muslims felt threatened by both…Religious consciousness paved the way towards a separate identity.[507]

Against this backdrop of paranoia fostered by the *ulema* and consequent surge of Islamic revivalism, Muslim politicians exploited the deepening divide within 'Indian' identity in the 1930's.

Thus the two-nation theory arose out of political necessity, and for the first time it highlighted the differences between Muslim and Hindu culture, social life, and history, as well as religion…Muslim intellectuals provided the theoretical basis of the two-nation theory by reconstructing Indian history on the basis of religion. Those Muslim conquerors, who had long been forgotten and had vanished into the dry pages of history, were resurrected and presented as champions of the Muslims of India.[508]

The two-nation theory grew out of and fed a growing identity crisis among Indian Muslims, which was fanned and manipulated by the Muslim elite with their vested interests and the *ulema* alike. It eventually produced a deepening of distrust and hatred between Muslims and Hindus. It was in this context that Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who had emerged as the leading figure of the Muslim League political party, called for a separate homeland for the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent. This goal was finally

---

[507]Ibid. p. 334-335.
[508]Ibid. p. 338.

realized with the partition of India in 1947 and the creation of Pakistan as a 'Muslim'
state as an integral part of achieving Independence from the British.[509]

In 1906, the Muslims of India had formed their political party, the All India
Muslim League, and demanded a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims. In the 1946
elections, the Muslim League won all the Muslim reserve seats and achieved majorities in
Northern India and Bengal. In the face of the overwhelming resistance to British rule and
struggle for independence, the British government appointed Lord Mountbatten as
Viceroy of India in 1947 with the mission to negotiate the terms of the transfer of power.
By this time, it appeared there was no way to avoid partition. Lord Mountbatten,
describing the partition of India as the largest administrative action in human history,
took only five months to negotiate the terms that delivered independence together with
partition.[510]

Mountbatten, brought down the Union Jack on August 15, 1947, and independent
India and the newborn Pakistan emerged, resulting in not only the partition of India but
also the division of the provinces of Punjab and Bengal. This division triggered one of the
worst tragedies in human history during which more than two million people were
butchered and more than fifteen million refugees uprooted from their homes. Ghost trains
heaped with dead bodies, particularly women's bodies, many who had been raped and
their breasts mutilated, would arrive on both sides of the divide, bearing the brutal

---

[509]Ibid. p.339.

[510]For detailed and specific discussions on the issue see following texts: Mubarak Ali, "Consciousness of
Muslim Identity in South Asia Before 1947.' *The Post-colonial State and Social Transformation in India
and Pakistan.* (eds). S.M. Naseem and Khalid Nadvi. Oxford University Press, Karachi, Pakistan, 2002;
Ian Talbot, "Nationalism, Communal and Ethnic Identities and the Partition of India", *Inventing the
Nation: India and Pakistan,* Arnold, London, UK, 2000. p.134. Ayesha Jalal, "Between Region and
Nation: The Missing Centre," p.320, and "At the Crossroads of Pakistan." p.386, *in Self and
Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam Since 1850*, Sang-e-Meel Publications,
Lahore, Pakistan, 2001.

evidence of the mutual distrust and hatred of Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. After more than half a century, the wounds of this experience continue to fester unable to heal. The multitudes crossing over into the newly formed Pakistan largely did so because of the opportunity to align themselves with a Muslim state and identity. Although this process was not carried out in a time of war or armed conflict, the migration took place under conditions of extreme communal violence during which more than one million people were slaughtered, and thousands of women were abducted and raped from both sides of the new border. Families were divided and experienced personal losses and emotional traumas that have lasted for many to this day.[511]

Pakistan's New Identity as a 'Muslim' State: Post-partition Conflicts

Although the creation of Pakistan was an enormous achievement for the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent, it was not only accompanied by heavy casualties and personal losses of life and property,[512] but also carried a tremendous baggage of psychological traumas, including persistent issues of identity and belonging. Despite the passage of time, South Asia historian Yunas Samad points out that partition is a factor that continues to haunt the two nations' historical memories, describing it as a "contested and bitter divorce where former partners fight over property, people and even memories

---

[511]For detailed personal interviews and first-hand narratives of those directly affected by the victimization, bloodshed, and losses during the partition of India, see: Ian Talbot and Darshan Singh Tatla, eds., *Epicentre of Violence: Partition Voices and Memories from Amritsar,* Delhi: Permanent Black, 2006; For women's narratives and interviews, see Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin, *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India's Partition,* Delhi: Kali for Women, 1998.

[512]Ian Talbot and Shinder Thandi point out that "twelve million people in an unexpected mass migration fled their homes…Many of the refugees left everything behind them in the two-way chaotic flight. Hindu and Sikh refugees for example vacated 9.6 million acres of land in Pakistan, and abandoned 1,789 factories and around 400,000 houses. Muslims left behind 5.5 million acres of land in India." For further details see Ian Talbot and Shinder Thandi, eds., *People on the Move: Punjabi Colonial, and Post-Colonial Migration,* London: Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 61.

of the past, and has a lasting and negative effect on their progeny."[513] Samad explains

further that the Pakistani state and its people continue to struggle with issues of identity

and power-sharing as a result of having been cut off from an Indian identity and history

which till independence had given them a past to relate to, and thereby contextualize their

existence as a nation and as individuals. It is little wonder then that subsequent regimes

and leaders have been able to attract public support and allegiance by playing the religion

card and even to suppress individual rights and freedoms on the pretext of protecting

religious and 'Islamic' national identity.

Having mobilized the independence movement around religious identity, the new

leaders suddenly found themselves faced with a Muslim state to organize and run as

Pakistanis and not as *Indians*, which led to conflicting ethnic regroupings and identities,

a contentious issue, which still persists among the various minority groups, such as the

muhajirs (immigrants).[514] Taking a broad collective view of the emergence of Pakistan as

a new entity on the world map, Pakistan historian and scholar Christophe Jaffrelot argues

that "from the start Pakistan was the creation of the Muhajirs – literally the migrants."[515]

South Asia scholars Tai Yong Tan and Gyanesh Kudaisya provide Islamic historical

background to contextualize the *muhajir* issue. They elaborate on the dilemma of ethnic

identities, which, despite their common religion, complicated people's lives and

---

[513]Yunas Samad, "Reflections on Partition: Pakistan Perspective." in Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh, eds., *Region and Partition: Bengal, Punjab and the Partition of the Subcontinent,* London: Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 375.

[514]Ibid. p. 376.

[515]The author elaborates further that "according to the 1951 census there were 7 million Muhajirs in the country – 700,000 of them in East Pakistan. This meant that in West Pakistan there were 6.3 million Muhajirs – a fifth of the total population of 33.5 million." Christophe Jaffrelot, "Islamic Identity and Ethnic Tensions" in Christophe Jaffrelot, ed., *A History of Pakistan and its Origins*, (trans. Gillian Beaumont), London: Anthem Press, 2002, p. 17.

relationships in the aftermath of the partition as they sought a permanent presence and

status in the new Pakistani state.

> The term 'Muhajir' in present-day politics refers to Urdu-speaking people,
> mainly concentrated in Karachi and Hyderabad, whose families came as
> refugees from northern India during partition. 'Muhajir' was originally
> used to describe the followers of Prophet Mohammad who had converted
> to Islam and faced religious persecution in Medina. To escape persecution,
> the Prophet initiated the *hijrat* (migration) and those who joined him were
> called the Muhajirs…The refugees looked upon themselves as the
> 'founding fathers' of Pakistan, having performed *hijrat* for the sake of the
> new Muslim nation. In the early years of Pakistan, Muhajir was an all-
> inclusive category used by people with pride. Migration was represented
> in terms of pilgrimage and the existing ethnic and regional differences
> were played down to emphasize the unity and brotherhood which the new
> nation symbolized…Due to the influx of the Muhajirs, Karachi's
> population, which was less than 350,000 in 1941 rose to 1,119,589 in
> 1961. Sind province itself became a centre of Muhajir immigration, with
> 57 percent of the population of Karachi, 65 per cent of Hyderabad, and 55
> per cent of Sukkur made up of refugees.[516]

However, the initial mutual feelings of having made sacrifices for a common

cause and the unifying factor of a Muslim brotherhood and identity began to disappear.

They were transformed into conflicts and hostilities in the changing socio-political and

economic climate of the new state, as Tan and Kudaisya explain:

> As the Muhajirs made their presence felt in the civil service, the local
> Sindhis began to feel threatened. They believed they were losing out in
> terms of access to education, employment, land, political power, and even
> in terms of their cultural identity. In the early years of Pakistan, the
> Muhajirs dominated the commercial, administrative and service sectors of
> the province…On their part, the Muhajirs, although well-represented in
> the bureaucracy, were growing restive with the Pakistani government as
> well as the local Sindhis for failing to adequately recognize their
> contributions to the new nation and to give them the preferential treatment
> which they felt they deserved. They had, after all, made the ultimate

---

[516]Tai Yong Tan and Gyanesh Kudaisya, *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia.* London and New York:
Routledge, 2000, pp. 234-235.

sacrifice by foregoing all they had in India for the Islamic nation, for which they had fought so hard.[517]

Although now united by religion, the growing ethnic hostilities between the *Muhajirs* and the Sindhi's reached a crucial point when Pakistani Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto declared Sindhi as the official language. This led to riots in Karachi when the Language Bill was passed in 1972.[518] The emerging *Muhajir* issue undermined the religious unity that had initially been the unifying basis for the partition and creation of Pakistan as a separate Muslim state. Tan and Kudaisya elaborate on the political aspects of this new conflict that ultimately led to the formation of the *Muhajir Qaumi Movement* as a political party in response to the ethnic divisions between the Sindhis and the *Muhajirs*.

> The Muhajir issue, which poses a major challenge to nation-building in present day Pakistan, demonstrates that the country has yet to come to terms with the changing long-term political implications of the partition. The state of affairs in Karachi is a poignant reminder that religion, which was to be the basis for forming the new nation, has failed to provide a cohesive unifying element, and Pakistanis continue to remain divided along lines of class, region and ethnicity…overall, the old divisions which existed prior to partition have merely been replaced by new ones.[519]

Analyzing the complexities that have engulfed Pakistani identity and politics since its inception in 1947, South Asia political analyst Ishtiaq Ahmed attributes them to the system of 'pathological politics' that the country has been mired in since the

---

[517]Ibid. p. 236.

[518]Ibid. p. 236.

[519]Ibid. pp.236-237. For further detailed discussion on *Muhajir* identity politics and their role in Pakistan's national politics, see Yunas Samad, "In and Out of Power but Not Down and Out: Mohajir Identity Politics," in Christophe Jaffrelot, ed., *Pakistan: Nationalism Without a Nation,* London: Zed, 2002, p. 63; Oskar Verkaaik, *Migrants and Militants: Fun and Urban Violence in Pakistan*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004; Ishtiaq Ahmed, "Sindh in Pakistani Politics" in *State, Nation and Ethnicity in Contemporary South Asi,* London and New York: Pinter, 1996, p. 190.

partition.[520] He maintains that it is this 'pathological' system that has been responsible

for, and instrumental in, creating a culture of hatred, anxiety and fear against those who

are deemed 'different', in particular, Indians, Hindus, and other minorities. Ahmed argues

that it has been this continuing fear and sense of the 'different' other that has served as

the basis for Pakistan's quest for a Muslim/Islamic identity. He points out that this

'pathological politics' not only served as a political facilitator and platform for the

formation of Pakistan as an independent Muslim state but has also been instrumental in

serving as an ideological basis for the state-endorsed imposition of Islamization in

Pakistan. Ahmed elaborates on the confusions and arguments that were intrinsic to

Pakistan's creation:

> A notorious ambiguity about the purposes for which Pakistan was created
> was it to be simply a national state of Muslims or theocratic Islamic state
> based on Sharia (dogmatic Islamic laws)? characterizes its travails with
> national identity. Jinnah had never provided any clear answer to this
> question. Pakistan can therefore be described as an unimagined nation.
> The elite that came to power in Pakistan lacked political vision and
> preparedness. It did not allow democracy to be institutionalized. Recurrent
> military-bureaucratic takeovers and a host of bizarre decisions contributed
> to the fostering of a pathological political culture at all levels of state and
> society.[521]

---

[520]Ishtiaq Ahmed elaborates on the use of the term 'pathological politics': "The expression 'pathological politics' is used here to indicate that individuals not only prefer people of their own ethnic stock, culture, religion, language, nationality and so on, but dislike and despise those belonging to other groups. This derives from not some natural propensity, but because a host of negative historical, socio-economic and cultural facts converge to create a hostile milieu in which individuals and groups, embedded in thick social webs and networks, get trapped…As a pathological situation develops and takes shape, politics can be reduced to sheer gut reactions. The 'enemy' becomes a faceless, indiscriminate lump of individuals, an ethnic mass, a target requiring and justifying punitive pre-emptive action…the roots of pathological politics in the intrastate and interstate politics of India and Pakistan are to be traced to the bloody division of the British Indian empire in 1947." Ishtiaq Ahmad, "The 1947 Partition of India: A Paradigm for Pathological Politics in India and Pakistan," *Asian Ethnicity*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (March 2002): p. 10-11. http://www.sacw.net/partition/IshtiaqAhmed2002.html Accessedon September 20, 2006.
[521]Ibid. p. 20.

Ahmed argues that Islamization in Pakistan has its roots in the very inception of the Pakistani state as a 'Muslim' country and therefore can be easily politicized and justified as complementary to rigid Islamic dictates by the ruling elites. To achieve this, he points out, Pakistan's rulers have manipulated and falsified historical facts regarding the partition to create a distinctly 'Muslim' identity and justification for its creation:

> The invention of a distinct historical past for the so-called Muslim nation of India justifying its separate existence within the boundaries of Pakistan has been felt to be necessary for conferring legitimacy and authenticity on it. Attempts to imagine such a nation have unsurprisingly resulted in distortion and exaggeration of facts on massive scale, resulting in mythogenesis.[522]

Similarly, South Asia historian Ayesha Jalal points out not only the religio-political contradictions that have governed the creation and identity of Pakistan as a 'Muslim' state, but also the geographical realities and citizenship issues that have been conveniently ignored and sidelined by its rulers in the promotion of their highly politicized and self-serving ideologies in the name of religion.

> In order to be true to the Islamic conception of the political entity, religious affiliations and not the boundaries of the nation-state had to be the main qualification distinguishing citizens from non-citizens. While proclaiming Islam as the sole basis of nationality, the architects of Pakistan had few qualms about severing all ties with their co-religionists in India, whose geographical location denied them citizenship rights in a Muslim nation or *ummah*. This was despite the fact that these Muslim non-citizens are theoretically constitutive elements not only of the *ummah* but also of the pre-1947 'Muslim nation.' An unavoidable outcome of the establishment of a territorial nation-state, it has not been taken to its logical conclusion to extend equal rights of citizenship to non-Muslims in Pakistan. So a basic contractual principle of the modern nation-state,

---

[522]Ibid. p.21.

251

namely equal citizenship rights, is denied on the grounds that it is contrary to a purely Islamic conception of government.[523]

Lacking popular support and legitimacy, the Pakistani military dictators have used religion as a rallying point, taking onboard religious parties that are highly vocal but otherwise have very little electoral base. This dissertation discussed in detail General Zia-ul-Haq's imposition of Islamization through Sharia laws, legal, educational, judicial, reforms, oppressive gender-specific legislation, and curbs on media and freedom of expression. Zia's experimentation with religion altered the very fabric of a once tolerant society by fanning sectarianism and led the way for state sponsored militant organizations and centers for global jihad. Thanks to Zia's introduction of Ordinance XX of Pakistan, the more than four million people of the Ahmadiya community of Pakistan became one of the most persecuted populations on earth. Under this Ordinance, they cannot practice their faith, perform religious rituals, or even worship in any mosque or public prayer room. Thousands of Ahmadiya community members were forced to seek exile in the West. Similarly brute repression forced thousands of educated Pakistani professionals and political workers into exile, living abroad without seeing their families for a decade unable to return until after Zia's death.

Zia's oppressive measures were, however, resisted by defiant individuals, groups, organizations, and campaigns in all areas who dared to stand up to the dictator and forge a powerful Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD). The thesis documents both the resistance and the government's efforts to suppress the movement. The regime cornered the MRD's major struggle in the interior of Sindh province, while the rest of

---

[523]Ayesha Jalal, "Ideology and the Struggle for Democratic Institutions," in Victoria Schofield, ed., *Old Roads, New Highways: Fifty Years of Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 131-132.

Pakistan had no clear idea that thousands of army troops were regularly raiding villages in Sindh, conducting door-to-door searches, killing and wounding men and beating women. The International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International reports of human right abuses, raids on villages in Sindh, and the killing and disappearance of political workers never found space for publication in the print media. Since Pakistan's news agencies, Pakistan Television, and Radio Pakistan were all state owned and run by the Ministry of Information of Pakistan, there was no possibility of these reports being covered in the broadcast media. The stories of the massive sacrifices by people during the MRD could not reach many people, and oral accounts remained the main source besides some radio reports on BBC. As for reports in print, the British Council and the American Center libraries in the major cities of Pakistan provided limited access to a small number of foreign publications who reported what was happening.

During the MRD struggle, there were rather few landlines and fax machines available in Pakistan, and to get a landline phone connection was very expensive and out of reach for the majority of people. The waiting period for a connection was typically two to three years. The most common mode of communication was oral or through pamphlets and posters, but the transportation of posters and pamphlets was risky and rather easily detected as undercover and uniformed officials of police and intelligence agencies were stationed everywhere. Those who were arrested with pamphlets or posters received heavy sentences and fines; sometimes the administration gave orders for lashings as well as regular sentences. Despite all these limitations, the MRD waged a powerful campaign of resistance that challenged the dictatorship, forcing it to hold general elections in 1985. It may be pointed out that the resistance movement against General Zia-ul-Haq had very

little international support as the dictator was the darling of the West who was fighting against the evil empire of communist Russia.

The second case study examined the response to the imposition of Emergency Rule by the fourth military dictator, General Musharraf on November 3, 2007. If we compare these two cases, one outstanding difference is the activists' use of new media in the struggle with Musharraf. Chapter six addressed this difference in detail and mapped the significant role of readily available modes of communication, such as the Internet, dozens of 24/7 private television channels, blogs, FM radio, independent and fearless newspapers, Facebook, and most importantly about eighty million cell phones in use.

As the Musharraf regime shut down TV channels, it forced the management of these networks to sign on the dotted line that they would not criticize the government and its officials in lieu of restoring their services. Two main channels, the ARY TV and Geo TV, refused to sign the agreement and continued their broadcast from Dubai media city. The Musharraf government forced the UAE rulers to eventually shut down Geo and ARY operations. The creative use of new media by civil society kept the movement against the Musharraf government alive, facilitating demonstrations all across Pakistan. Many Pakistani students studying abroad, mostly in Europe and the USA, came to join the protest directly in Pakistan, while others provided technological assistance from abroad to keep channels of communication open. The government even banned the sale of satellite dishes and its parts through a notification and managed to completely black out TV coverage of its atrocities. But what it could not block was the amateur footage of protests and police action against the protestors filmed with cell phones and uploaded to social networks. Meanwhile, the TV networks, unable to telecast their footage on their channels,

started releasing their coverage and programs on the Internet. Thus a new term was introduced – E-resistance. Following the London train bombings in July 2005, which gave citizen journalism credentials as most of the footage of the bombings was recorded on cell phones, another new term in communication studies emerged – Cellevision. The protestors in Pakistan, already familiar with this term and the importance of cell phones, now have another tool, Facebook. The combination of Facebook and other media such as cell phones have facilitated E-resistance. The integration of recording on cell phones with distribution on Facebook, Flickr, Blogs and Youtube have facilitated the emergence of imagined communities united in an effort to communicate the truth and mobilize resistance. It is not so easy to suppress information released through these channels.

The day after the declaration of Emergency Rule, blogging started in Pakistan when students of Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS), largely children of Pakistan's elite, intelligentsia, and middle class, began to protest the raid on the office of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) in Lahore. The day after the declaration of Emergency Rule, seventy of the most prominent figures of Lahore gathered at the HRCP office to discuss Musharraf's promulgation of Emergency. The police raided the office and dragged them away to unknown locations. Those arrested included the eighty-year-old former finance minister of Pakistan, Dr. Mubashir Hassan, HRCP director I.A Rehman, and noted lawyer Asma Jahngir. More than one thousand students participated in the demonstration to protest against this action at LUMS. The protest was raided by the police who baton-charged students and faculty members. The entire drama was recorded, and blogging made its entry on the Pakistani scene as part of the new media. Metroblogging Lahore ended its day-long reportage by inviting the

student community to join them. The average of five hundred million text messages a day sent during the Emergency Rule suggests that 21st century media cannot be suppressed with the tools of the 20th century.

The resistance eventually forced Musharraf to give up his uniform and hold elections in which his political party, the Muslim League (Q), was humiliated. It is interesting to note that many NGOs and media research institutions such as Internews, financed by the US State Department and USAID, were closely following the developments. Several pro-democracy initiatives were funded by Freedom House, a program funded by the US State Department, the International Republican Institute (Republican Party), and National Democratic Institute (Democratic party), all Washington-based non-profit human rights organizations.

A former leftist activist, now senior executive of an international NGO based in Islamabad, revealed that the Pakistani experience and validation of the role and potential of new media and the importance of social networking has convinced international organizations working in Third World countries and the Middle East to start providing training to build campaigns and advocacy through new technologies.[524] His prediction that there would be a major emphasis on the future role of new technologies and training to promote human rights and democracy by the US to the Third World came true when youth leaders from fifteen countries were brought to the US in December 2008 to attend a

---

[524]Discussion with NGO executive in November 2008 in Islamabad.

technology conference in New York to teach them the use of social networking and mobile technologies.

> Facebook, Google, YouTube, MTV, Howcast, Columbia Law School, the U.S. State Department and Access 360 Media are bringing leaders of 17 pioneering organizations from 15 countries together with technology experts next month in New York for the first-ever conclave to empower youth against violence and oppression through the use of the latest online tools. These young leaders will form a new group, the Alliance of Youth Movements, which will produce a field manual for youth empowerment. The field manual will stand in stark contrast to the Al-Qaeda manual on the basics of terrorism, found by coalition forces in Iraq.[525]

Today we know that youth leader Bashem Fathy, who was founder of the youth movement and led the protest in Egypt to oust President Hosni Mubarak, was one of those who attended the training by Freedom House on how to use social media. Also, anybody who has doubts about the impact of technology can see the role of FM radio in the Swat Valley in Pakistan. Former lift operator, Fazlullah, started an illegal FM radio station in the Swat Valley in 2005 to broadcast his fiery sermons against democracy and became the leader of his father-in-law's organization, the Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM) movement to implement Prophet Mohammad's traditions. Within a few years of launching his FM radio, he established an armed force of thousands of fighters and established his courts to provide crude forms of justice. He took virtual control of the entire valley and forced the government to sign a deal to implement Islamic laws. The authority of the state disappeared as the entire area fell into his control. A video clip shot on cell phone in which the Taliban were shown lashing a young girl in Swat jolted the country, and the government was forced to take military action to recover the

---

[525]America.gov Archive. Accessed at: http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/November/20081120122321eaifas0.3440363.html#ixzz1Ll6yZxup on April 2, 2011.

Valley. During the military operation, more than three million people were displaced and became Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and refugees in their homeland. What can be achieved with a little bit of $150 radio broadcasting equipment does not need further elaboration. It remains to be seen whether the predominant impact of the new media on Pakistan will be to usher in an era of Islamic fundamentalist rule or a democratic political system resting on the solid bedrock of a free press nurtured by committed professional journalists and innovative citizen journalists acting as watchdogs to maintain the integrity of their elected and appointed civil servants. It will not be the technology that will determine which it will be. To find out, stay tuned to the social movements.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbas, Hassan. "General Zia-ul-Haq: The Redefinition of a Country." *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror.* Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2005.

"Act No. XVII of 1996: An Act to provide for re-organization of telecommunication system." *The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary.* Islamabad: National Assembly Secretariat, Oct. 17, 1996 http://www.serl.pk/lawfile/12/PTRA-1996.pdf .

Afzal-Khan, Fawzia. "Pakistani Community Theatre and the NGO Movement." *A Critical Stage: The Role of Secular Alternative Theatre in Pakistan.* Calcutta, New Delhi, India: Seagull Books, 2006.

Aggarwal, Vir Bala, and V. S. Gupta. *Handbook on Journalism and Mass Communication.* New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2002.

"AGHS Child Rights Unit." http://aghsblog.wordpress.com/child-rights-unit/ .

"AGHS Legal Aid Cell." http://aghsblog.wordpress.com/ .

Ahmed, Ishtiaq. "Muslim Political Heritage." *The Concept of an Islamic State: An Analysis of the Ideological Controversy in Pakistan.* London, UK: Frances Pinter, 1987.

Ahmed, Ishtiaq. "Pakistan's Human Rights Obligations," *The Daily Times.* Lahore, Pakistan, November 30, 2003. This article is available from the online discussion of "Constitution Making and Law Enactment in Pakistan" at: www.usenet.com .

Ahmed, Ishtiaq. "Partition of Punjab." *The News International.* August 11, 2007.

Ahmed, Ishtiaq. "Sindh in Pakistani Politics." *State, Nation and Ethnicity in Contemporary South Asia.* London and New York: Pinter, 1996.

Ahmed, Ishtiaq. "The 1947 Partition of India: A Paradigm for Pathological Politics in India and Pakistan." *Asian Ethnicity* 3.1 (March 2002).

Ahmad, Nihal. *A History of Radio Pakistan.* Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Ahmed, Zahid Shahab, and Maria J. Stephan. "Fighting for the Rule of Law: Civil Resistance and the Lawyers' Movement in Pakistan." *Democratization* 17.3 (June 2010): 492-513.

Ahsan, Aitzaz. *The Indus Saga*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Aijazuddin, F. S. ed. *The White House and Pakistan: Secret declassified documents, 1969 – 1974.* Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

"Ajoka Theatre for Social Change." http://www.ajoka.org.pk/ajoka/theatre.asp .

Akhtar, P. "(Re)turn to Religion and Radical Islam." *Muslim Britain: Communities Under Pressure*, Ed. T. Abbas. London: Zed, 2005.

Akhtar, S.A. *Media, Religion, and Politics in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000;

Akhtar, Shakil. *Media, Religion, and Politics in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Alam, Muhammad Aftab. "Broadcasting Regulation in Pakistan: The Need for an Enabling Regulatory Regime." The Institute of Social and Policy Science (ISAPS), Islamabad, Pakistan http://eastbound.eu/site_media/pdf/EB2010_Alam.pdf

Alavi, Hamza. "Pakistan and Islam: Ethnicity and Ideology." *State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan*. Eds. Fred Halliday and Hamza Alavi. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Education, 1988.

Alba-Juez, Laura. *Perspectives on Discourse Analysis: Theory and Practice*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2009.

Ali, Manzoor. "Mullah Radio," *Himal South Asia*. April 2009 http://himalmag.com/component/content/article/53/492-Mullah-Radio.html .

Ali, Mohammad. "Journalistic Ethics and Responsibilities in Relation to Freedom of Expression: An Islamic Perspective." *Media Ethics beyond Borders: A Global Perspective*. Eds. J.A. Stephen Ward & Herman Wasserman. Johannesburg, South Africa: Heinemann, 2008.

Ali, Mubarak. "Consciousness of Muslim Identity in South Asia before 1947." *The Post-colonial State and Social Transformation in India and Pakistan*. Eds. S.M. Naseem and Khalid Nadvi. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Ali, Owais Aslam, and Shelton A. Gunaratne. "Pakistan." *Handbook of the Media in Asia*. Ed. Shelton A. Gunaratne. New Delhi: Sage Publications India, 2000.

All Pakistan Music Conference. www.apmc.info .

All Pakistan Women's Association. http://apwapakistan.com// .

Amandla! Dir. Lee Hirsch, Artisan Home Entertainment. 2003. DVD.

Amnesty International. *1998 Annual Report for Pakistan.* http://www.amnestyusa.org/annualreport.php?id=ar&yr=1998&c=PAK

Amnesty International. "Denying the Undeniable: Enforced Disappearances in Pakistan." July 23, 2008 http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/ASA33/018/2008/en

Amnesty International. "Pakistan: Use and Abuse of the Blasphemy Laws." July 27, 1994. www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/ASA33/008/1994

Amnesty International Report 1996 – Pakistan. http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,AMNESTY,,PAK,,3ae6a9ff58,0.html

Amos, Valerie, and Pratibha Parmar. "Challenging Imperial Feminism." *Feminist Review*. 80 (2005): 3-19.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities:Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 2001.

Anderson, R.S. "Introduction: Communication and Martial Law," *Canadian Journal of Communication* Fall, 1988.

"Announcement on Alliance of Youth Movements Summit, December 3-5," Nov. 20, 2008, *America.gov Archive*. Press release. http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/November/20081120122321eaifas0.3440363.html#ixzz1Ll6yZxup

"Armed Men Attack Aaj TV Office." *The Dawn* May 13, 2007.

Asian Human Rights Commission. "Pakistan: The Year 2009 was Worst for Ahmedis." February 3, 2010. http://www.humanrights.asia/news/forwarded-news/AHRC-FST-009-2010 .

Asian Media Barometer- Pakistan 2009. Kuala Lumpur: Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development in collaboration with Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2009.

ASR Resource Center Handbook, Lahore, Pakistan: *ASR* Publications, 2003.

Atta, Aamir. "Pakistan Exchanged 151 Billion SMS in 2009: Report." *pro pakistani: Pakistan Telecom and IT News* Jan. 13, 2011 http://propakistani.pk/2011/01/13/pakistan-exchanged-151-billion-sms-in-2009-report/ .

AudienceScapes. "Radio in Pakistan." http://www.audiencescapes.org/country-profiles-pakistan-country-overview-radio-statistics.

Aurat Foundation. http://af.org.pk/mainpage.htm

Azad, Hassan, "Music as a Branch of Knowledge." http://www.kavitachhibber.com/main/main.jsp?id=arts-Oct2007

Azami, Dawood. "Pakistan's Taliban Radio Insurgency." *BBC World Service*, June 22, 2009.

Aziz Siddiqui, "No Hurrahs for Freedom." *Dawn*. Millenium Edition. Karachi, Pakistan, 1999.

Aziz, K. K. "The Prescribed Myths." *The Murder of History: A Critique of History Textbooks Used in Pakistan*. Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1993.

Baig, Khalid. "The News Protocol: Toward an Islamic Framework." *First Things First: For Inquiring Minds and Yearning Hearts*. n.d. www.albalgh.net .

Bangladesh Genocide Archive. www.genocidebangladesh.org .

Banglapedia-National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh. www.banglapedia.org (www.banglapedia.org/httpdocs/HT/G_0075.HTM) .

BAYAN Socio-Legal Journal. http://www.simorghpk.org/projects/bayan/introduction/

Bayat, Asef. "Islamism and Social Movement Theory." *Third World Quarterly* 26.6 (2005): 891-908.

Bayat, Asef. *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007.

Bayat, Asef. *Street Politics: Poor People's Movements in Iran*. New York: Columbia
University Press, 1997.

Bearak, Barrym. "Adding to Pakistan's Misery: Million-Plus Heroin Addicts." *The New
York Times* April 19, 2000.

Beyer, Peter. *Religion and Globalization*. London: Sage, 1994.

Bhatti, Razia. *A Profile in Courage: The Newsline Editorials of Razia Bhatti: 1989-1996*.
Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Bhatti, Razia. "The Influence of Policies and Government on Communication Ethics."
AMICS Seminar on Communication Ethics from a South Asian Perspective.
Colombo, Sri Lanka, Nov 9-12, 1993. http://dr.ntu.edu.sg/handle/10220/1718 .
Conference paper.

Blackledge, Adrian. *Literacy, Power and Social Justice*. Staffordshire, England:
Trentham Books, 2000.

Bradley, Patricia. *Slavery, Propaganda, and the American Revolution*. Jackson,
Mississippi: University Press of the Mississippi, 1998.

Burke, Edmund. "Islam and Social Movements: Methodological Reflection." *Islam,
Politics and Social Movements*. Eds. Edmund Burke and Ira M. Lapidus. Berkeley,
CA: University of California Press, 1988.

Chamieh, Jebran. "Contemporary Fundamentalist Regimes and Movements."
Traditionalists, Militants and Liberals in Present Islam. Montreal: Research and
Publishing House, 1995.

Clark, Grace. "Pakistan's Zakat and Ushr as a Welfare System." *Islamic Reassertion in
Pakistan: The Application of Islamic Laws in a Modern State*. Ed. Anita Weiss.
Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1986.

"Clashes as Lawyers Protest CJP's Suspension." *The Dawn* March 14, 2007.

"Clinton, Abdullah Surprise Musharraf." *The Dawn* September 19, 2006.

Commission of Inquiry for Women Report of 1997. Islamabad, Pakistan: Ministry of
Women's Development, Social Welfare, and Special Education, 1997.

Cooley, John K. *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism*. 3rd ed.
London: Pluto Press, 2002.

Council of Islamic Ideology. "Functions." http://www.cii.gov.pk/about/functions.asp .

Cowasji, Ardeshir. "Has the Press Failed Us?" *The Dawn* Karachi, February 7, 1999.

Curran, James. "Media and the Making of British Society, c. 1700-2000." *Media History* 8.2 (2002): 135-154.

Curran, James. "Rethinking the Media as a Public Sphere." *Communication and Citizenship*. Eds. P. Dahgren and C. Sparks. London: Routledge, 1991.

Dahlmann, Lotte. *Media in Pakistan: Between Radicalisation and Democratisation in an Unfolding Conflict*. International Media Support, September 2009 http://www.i-m-s.dk/files/publications/1491%20Pakistan.final.web.pdf

Dawood, Shimaila Matri. "Will the Real Pakistani Woman Please Standup?" *Newsline* Monthly Magazine. March 2005 http://www.newsline.com.pk/NewsMar2005/cover1mar2005.htm

Defense of Human Rights Pakistan www.dhrpk.org

Deibert, Ronald, John Palfrey, Rafal Rohozinski, and Jonathan Zittrain, eds. *Access Controlled: The Shaping of Power, Right, and Rule in Cyberspace*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2010.

Demant, Peter R. *Islam vs. Islamism*: *The Dilemma of the Muslim World*. Westport, Connecticut & London, UK: Praeger Publishers, 2006.

Dicenzo, Maria. "Feminist Media and History: A Response to James Curran." *Media History* 10.1 (2004): 43-49.

Dijk, Tenu A. van. *Discourse, Power and Access*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Donatella, Della Porta, and Mario Diani. *Social Movements: An Introduction.* 2nd ed. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006.

Dreazen, Yochi J., and Siobhan Gorman. "Pentagon Jams Web, Radio Links of Taliban." *The Wall Street Journal*, April 18, 2009.

Elahi, Manzur, and Anjum Zia. "Pakistan." *Asia Communication Hand Book,* 2008. Eds. Inderjeet Banerjee and Stephan Logan. Singapore: AIMC, 2008.

264

"Election Commission of Pakistan."
http://www.ecp.gov.pk/GE/1970/NAWestPakistan.aspx

Emergency Plus. Lahore, Pakistan: Interactive Resource Centre, 2007. DVD.

Engineer, Asghar Ali. "Indian Muslims and Muslim Personal Law Board." *Secular Perspectives*. February, 2005.

Engineer, Asghar Ali. "Islam and Secularism." *The Blackwell Companion to Contemporary Islamic Thought.* Ed., Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006.

Esposito, John L. "The Armies of God." *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Eyerman, Ron, and Andrew Jamieson. *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Fairclough, Norman. *Critical Discourse Analysis: Papers in the Critical Study of Language*. London & New York: Longman, 1995.

Faruki, A. Kemal. "Pakistan: Islamic Government and Society." *Islam in Asia: Religion, Politics, and Society*. Ed. John L. Esposito. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Feldmann, Linda, ed. "Troops, Rioters Battle in Sindh, Pakistan." *Christian Science Monitor* August 23, 1983 http://iaoj.wordpress.com/2009/09 .

Financial Post. "Editorial." March 19, 2007 http://www.dailyfpost.com/women/wom-22/womenachiver22.htm .

FM radio Broadcast in Pakistan. Karachi: Muzzam Ali Research and Publication Centre, Pakistan Press Foundation, 2009.

Foweraker, Joe. *Theorizing Social Movements: Critical Studies on Latin America*. London: Pluto Press, 1995.

Franciscan's International, "The Silence of our Friends: Communal Violence in India and Pakistan." http://www.franciscansinternational.org/node/3037 .

Friedman, Robert I. "The CIA Jihad." *The New Yorker* March 17, 1995.

From Victim to the Accused – The Zina Ordinance in Pakistan: Human Development in South Asia 2000: The Gender Question. Mahbub-ul-Haq Human Development Centre. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Gaborieau, Marc. "Islam and Politics." *A History of Pakistan and its Origins.* Ed. Christophe Jaffrelot, Trans. Gillian Beaumont. London, UK: Anthem Press, 2002.

Gao, Ping, and Adnan Rafiq. "The transformation of the mobile telecommunications industry in Pakistan: A developing country perspective." *Telecommunication Policy* 33.5-6 (June-July, 2009): 309-323.

Gardezi, Hassan. *Re-Examination of the Socio-political History of Pakistan: Reproduction of class relations and ideology*. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991.

Gibb, H.R. *"The Shari'a."* http://answering-islam.org.uk/Books/Gibb/*ShariaSharia*.htm .

Gitlin, Todd. "The Media in the Unmaking of the New Left." *The Social Movements Reader*. Eds. Goodwin and Jasper. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2009.

Gitlin, Todd. *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980.

"Go Musharraf Go Campaign Now on Phone." *Indian Express* March 6, 2008.

Goodwin, Jeff, and James M. Jasper, eds. *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*. Malden, MA: Blackwell. 2003.

Grewal, Inderpal. "Salman Rushdie: Marginality, Women, and Shame." *Genders 3*, November, 1988: 24-42.

Gurr, Ted Robert. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Hafiz, Mohammad M. *Why Muslims Rebel: Repression and Resistance in Islamic World*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2003.

Haq, Zia-ul. "Presidential speech to the nation," *The Daily Jang*, March 22, 1982.

Haqqani, Hussain. "Foreword." *The Madrassah Challenge: Militancy and Religious Education in Pakistan*. By C. Christine Fair. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2008.

Haqqani, Hussain. *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*. Washington DC: Carnegie
Endowment for International Peace, 2005.

Haque, Mazharul. "Pakistan." *Mass Media in the Middle East, A Comprehensive
Handbook*. Eds. Yahya R. Kamallpour and Mowlana Hamid. Westport, Conn.:
Greenwood Press, 1994.

Hassan, Khalid. "*The Pakistan Times*." July 23, 2008.
www.khalidhasan.net//2008/07/23/the-pakistan-times/2008/07/23/the-pakistan-
times/

Hasan, Khalid. "Z. A. Bhutto," September 23, 2008
http://www.khalidhasan.net/2008/09/23/zulfikar-ali-bhutto/

Hasan, Khalid. "Zahur Azar and the First Broadcast." *The Friday Times* Lahore,
Pakistan, August 11, 2006.

Hassan, Mehdi. *Akhbar aur Pakistani Muashra* (Newspapers and Pakistani Society).
Lahore: A.H. Publishers, 1997.

Hassan, Mehdi, and A.S. Khurshid. *Journalism for All*. Lahore: Ehtisham Publishers,
1988.

Hassan, Riffat. "Muslim Women and Post-Patriarchal Islam." *After Patriarchy: Feminist
Transformations of the World Religions*, Eds. Paula M.Cooley, William R. Eakin,
and Jay B. McDaniel. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1991.

Hina, Zahida. "Letter." *The Express*, Karachi, Pakistan, Dec. 5, 2008.

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. http://www.hrcp.cjb.net/

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan Annual Report, 1999, Lahore, 1999.

Human Rights Watch. *Destroying Legality: Pakistan's Crackdown on Lawyers and
Judges*. December 18, 2007. www.hrw.org/en/reports/2007/12/18/destroying-
legality-0

Hussain, Y., and P. Bagguley. "Citizenship, Ethnicity and Identity: British Pakistanis
After the 2001 Riots." *Sociology* 39.3 (2003): 407-425.

Hussain, Zahid. *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam*. N.Y.: Columbia
University Press, 2007.

Hussaini, Amir. "Jihadi Journalism: Rising Branch of Mass Communication." *Aaj Kal*, Lahore, November 13, 2009.

Indianetzone. www.indianetzone.com

International Islamic University. Islamabad, Pakistan. http://www.iiu.edu.pk/

International Women's Media Foundation. www.iwmf.org/archive/articletype/categoryview/categoryid/46/currentpage/4.aspx

ITU (International Telecommunication Union). *World Telecommunication Development Report*. Geneva, Switzerland, 2008.

Iqbal, Nasir. "Death Only Punishment for Blasphemy," *The Daily Dawn*, April 21, 2009. http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-library/dawn/news/pakistan/death+only+punishment+for+blasphemy--szh

Iqbal, Shoaib. "Parallel Theater: Socio-Political Perspective." http://kunci.or.id/articles/parallel-theater-socio-political-perscepctive-by-shoaib-iqbal/

IRIN Global, "Pakistan — Focus on Renewed Debate over Faith-based Laws" www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=37481&SelectRegion=Central_Asia&SelectCountry=PAKISTAN

Islamic World, "Pakistan: The First Islamic Republic." www.islamic-world.net/islamic-state/pakistan.htm

Ismail, S. "Being Muslim: Islam, Islamism and Identity Politics." *Government and Opposition* 39 (2004): 614-631.

Jabbar, Javed. "Role of Media in National Development in the 21st Century." <u>*Asian Communication Handbook*</u>. Eds. Inderjeet Banerjee and Stephan Logan. Singapore Asian Media and Communication Centre and Nanyang Technological University,2008.

Jabeen, M. "Language Barrier." *The Monthly Herald* Karachi, September 1997.

Jaffrelot, Christophe. "Islamic Identity and Ethnic Tensions." *A History of Pakistan and its Origins*. Ed. Christophe Jaffrelot. Trans. Gillian Beaumont. London: Anthem Press, 2002.

Jahangir, Asma, and Hina Jilani. *The Hudood Ordinances: A Divine Sanction?* Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003.

Jalal, Ayesha. "At the Crossroads of Pakistan." in *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam Since 1850*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2001.

Jalal, Ayesha. "Between Region and Nation: The Missing Centre." *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam Since 1850*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2001.

Jalal, Ayesha. "Ideology and the Struggle for Democratic Institutions." *Old Roads, New Highways: Fifty Years of Pakistan*. Ed. Victoria Schofield. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Jalal, Ayesha. "The Convenience of Subservience: Women and the State of Pakistan." *Women, Islam and the State,* Ed. Kandiyoti, Deniz. London, UK: Macmillan Press, 1991.

Jalal, Ayesha. *The State of Martial Rule: The Origin of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defense.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Jalil, Nasir. *The State and Education: The Political Economy of Education Development in Pakistan from 1958 to 1988*. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1996.

Jinnah, Mohammad Ali. *Speeches and Writings*. Vol. 11. Ministry of Information, Pakistan, 1983.

Johnstone, Barbara. *Discourse Analysis*. Malden, MA.: Blackwell, 2002.

Joshi, Pooja. *Jamaat-i-Islami: The Catalyst of Islamization in Pakistan*. Delhi, India: Kalinga Publications, 2003.

Jørgensen, Marianne, and Louise J. Phillips. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002.

Kakar, Sudhir. *The Colors of Violence.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Kalandadze, Katya, and A. Mitchell Orenstein. "Electoral Protests and Democratization beyond the Color Revolutions." *Comparative Political Studies* 42.11 (2009): 1403-1425.

Karatzogianni, Athina. *The Politics of Cyberconflict*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Kazi, Shahida. "On the Horns of a Dilemma." *The Daily Dawn Magazine* Karachi, April 9, 2006. www.dawn.com/weekly/dmag/archive/060409/dmag1.htm.

Khalil, Asad Abu. *Bin Laden, Islam and America's New "War on Terrorism."* New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002.

Khan, Lal. "Pakistan's Other Story: 9 Dictatorships and Democracy-Regimes Changed, the Masses Continue to Suffer." June, 2009 http://www.marxist.com/pakistans-other-story-9.htm .

Khan, Mukhtar A. "The FM Mullahs and the Taliban's Propaganda War in Pakistan." *Terrorism Monitor*. 7.14 (May 26, 2009). http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=35033&tx_ttnews[backPid]=7&cHash=ecea744d69 .

Khan, Shahnaz. *Gender, Religion, Sexuality and the State: Mediating the Hudood Laws in Pakistan*. London, Ontario: Centre for Research and Violence Against Women and Children, 2001. www.uwo.ca/violence .

Khiabany, Gholam. "De-westernizing Media Theory, or Reverse Orientalism: 'Islamic Communication' as Theorized by Hamid Mowlana." *Media, Culture, and Society* 25.3 (2003).

Khiabany, Gholam. "Is There an Islamic Communication? The Persistence of 'Tradition' and the Lure of Modernity." *Critical Arts* 21.1 (2007).

Khuro, Amir Ahmad, and Ishtiaque Ahmad Choudhry. "Benazir Bhutto's Struggle for Democracy." *European Journal of Social Sciences* 10,1 (2009).

Lance, Peter. *Triple Cross: How bin Laden's Master Spy Penetrated the CIA, the Green Berets, and the FBI--and Why Patrick Fitzgerald Failed to Stop Him*. New York: Harper Collins, 2006.

Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid. http://www.lhrla.com/index.html

"Lawyers Not Allowed to CJPs House." *The Daily Times* March 11, 2007.

MacAdam, D. *The Classical Models of Social Movements Examined: Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982.

Malik, Jamal. *The Colonialization of Islam: Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan*. Lahore, Pakistan : Vanguard Publishers,1996.

Marquand, Robert. "The Tenets of Terror." *The Christian Science Monitor* October 18, 2001 http://www.csmonitor.com/2001/1018/p1s2-wogi.html .

Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. *German Ideology*. Ed. Christopher John Arthur. London: Lawrence & Wishat, 1970.

Masood, Wajahat. "When Pakistan was Divided." Op-ed. Lahore: *Aaj Kal*, December 3, 2009.

Mawdudi, Abul A'la. *The Islamic Law and Constitution.* Lahore: Islamic Publications, 1980.

McAdam, Doug, Sidney G. Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. *Dynamics of Contention*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

McCarthy, John D., and Mayer N. Zald. "Social Movement Organizations." *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*. Eds. Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003.

McCoy, Alfred. "Drug Fallout: The CIA's Forty Year Complicity in the Narcotics Trade." *The Progressive* 61.8 (August 1, 1997).

McQuail, D. "Some Reflections on the Western Bias of Media Theory." *Asian Journal of Communication* 10.2 (2000):1-13.

Menon, Ritu, and Kamla Bhasin. *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India's Partition.* Delhi: Kali for Women, 1998.

Meyer, David S., and Sydney Tarrow, eds. *Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998.

Miller, John, Michael Stone, and Chris Mitchell. *The Cell: Inside the 9/11 Plot, and Why FBI and CIA Failed to Stop it*. New York: Hyperion, 2002.

Ministry of Women Development (MoWD), Government of Pakistan. http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/divisions/ContentInfo.jsp?DivID=20&cPath=185_394 &ContentID=3710

Missing in Pakistan. Dir. Ziad Zafar. 2007 http://vodpod.com/watch/361336-missing-in-pakistan-documentary-by-ziad-zafar-2007

Mitchel, Allison. "After Blast, New Interest in Holy-War Recruits in Brooklyn." New York Times, April 11, 1993.

Mollman, Steve. "Cell-phone banking offers financial help to Third World." *CNN,* Jan. 14, 2010 http://articles.cnn.com/2010-01-14/tech/mobile.phone.banking_1_world-bank-full-banking-license-mobile-operators?_s=PM:TECH .

"Mourning East Pakistan." *The Daily News* December 17, 1994.

Mowlana, Hamid. "Professional Ethics and Sociopolitical Mobilization of Muslim Journalists: A Study of Communication, Ethics, and the Islamic Tradition." *Religion Law and Freedom: A Global Perspective.* Eds. Joel Thierstein and Yahya R. Kamlipour. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000.

Mumtaz, Ashraf, and Asif Shahzad. "Over 1,000 Held on Eve of CJ's Visit." *The Dawn* Lahore, May 5, 2007.

Mumtaz, Khawar and Fareeda Shaheed. *Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?* Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1987.

Mumtaz, Khawar. "Advocacy for an End to Poverty, Inequality, and Insecurity: Feminist Social Movements in Pakistan." *Gender, Development, and Advocacy.* Eds. Koos Kingman and Caroline Sweetman. Oxford: Oxfam, 2005.

Mumtaz, Khawar., and Yameema Mitha. *Pakistan: An Oxfam Country Profile*. Oxford, UK: Oxfam, 2003.

Munir, Imran. *The Consequences of Fundamentalism on Pakistani Media.* M.A Thesis, School of Communication, Simon Fraser University, 2002.

Munir, Imran. "From Independence to Fundamentalism: Pakistan's Search for Identity." *Critical Asian Studies* 39:4 (2007): 617–633.

Munir, Imran. "The Subaltern Act! Peasant Struggles and Pedagogy in Pakistan." in Cote, Mark Day, Richard J.F. de Peuter, Greig , Eds., Utopian Pedagogy: Radical Experiments Against Neoliberal Globalization, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.

Munir, Justice Mohammad. *Report of the Court of Inquiry into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953.* www.thepersecution.org/dl/report_1953.pdf

Muniruddin, S.M. Zaidi. *History of Journalism in India*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 2005.

"Musharraf Imposes Emergency Rule." *BBC* November 3, 2007.

Musharraf, Pervez. "A Plea for Enlightened Moderation." *The Washington Post*, June 1, 2004 http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A5081-2004May31.html .

Muslim Women's League. "Intellectual Background: Islamic Sources of Information and the Development into Islamic Law." www.mwlusa.org

Muslim World League www.themwl.org

Naber, N. "Muslim First, Arab Second: A Strategic Politics of Race and Gender." *The Muslim World* 95 (2005): 479-495.

Nash, June, ed. *Social Movements: An Anthropological Reader*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005.

Nasr, Seyyed Vali Reza. *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jama'at-i-Islami of Pakistan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

National Commission for Justice and Peace (NCJP). www.ncjppk.org

National Commission on the Status of Women Annual Report, 2007. Islamabad: Aligarh Publishers, 2007.

National Commission on the Status of Women. "Family Laws in Pakistan." *The Impact of Family Laws on the Rights of Divorced Women in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Aligarh Publishers, 2008.

National Commission on the Status of Women. http://www.ncsw.gov.pk/index.php

Nayyar, A. H. "Insensitivity to the Religious Diversity of the Nation." *The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan: Urdu, English, Social Studies and Civics*. Eds. A.H. Nayyar and Ahmad Salim. Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute, (SDPI), 2002 http://www.sdpi.org/archive/nayyar_report.htm

Naz, Ahsan Akhtar. "FM Radio Revolution in Pakistan: A Case Study." *Global Media Journal* 1.1 (2008). http://www.aiou.edu.pk/gmj/artical6.asp

Niazi, Zamir. "All Is Not Lost." *Dawn.* Millennium Edition. Karachi: Dawn Publishers, 2000.

Niazi, Zamir. *The Press in Chains*. Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1987.

Niazi, Zamir. *The Web of Censorship*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Niazi, Zamir. *Unglian Figaar Apni* (*Our Fingers are Bleeding*). Karachi: Marwa Publishers, 2000.

Nizamani, Haider K. *The Roots of Rhetoric: Politics of Nuclear Weapons in India and Pakistan*. Westport, CT.: Praeger, 2000.

Noorani, A.G. "The Meanings of Jihad and Fatwa." *Islam and Jihad: Prejudice versus Reality*. London & New York: Zed, 2002.

"NWFP Officially Renamed as Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa." *One Pakistan News,* April 15, 2010.

Olson, Mancur. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Revised edition. Harvard University Press, 1965.

"170 dead, scores hurt in major Pakistan quake." *USA Today*, Oct. 29, 2008 http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2008-10-28-pakistan-quake_N.htm

Oskar, Verkaaik. *Migrants and Militants: Fun and Urban Violence in Pakistan*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Oskar, Verkaaik. *People of Migrants: Ethnicity, State, and Religion in Karachi*. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994.

Pakistan Awami Tehreek. www.pat.com.pk

"Pakistan: Change in blasphemy laws – welcome, but inadequate." *Rationalist International*. Bulletin # 135 (November 21, 2004). http://www.rationalistinternational.net

Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Ordinance 2002. www.pemra.gov.pk/pemra/images/docs/legislation/Ordinance_2002.pdf

Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority PEMRA Annual Report 2009. www.pemra.gov.pk/pdf/Annual_Report.pdf

Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Report and Ordinance 2002.
http://pemra.gov.pk/pdf/ordinance1.pdf

"Pakistan Leaders Online." http://www.pakistanileaders.com.pk/profile/Anis_HaroonJ

"Pakistan Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers." http://www.pressreference.com/No-
Sa/Pakistan.html

Pakistan Telecom Authority PTA annual report 2008-2009.
http://propakistani.pk/2010/12/02/pta-annual-report-for-2009-2010-download/

"Pakistan: The Ayub Era." http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-9775.html

Pakistan Women Lawyers Association (PAWLA).
www.pawla.sdnpk.org/introduction.htm

"Pakistan's 'Dynamo' in Washington Gains Wide Respect." *The Washington Post*
August 3, 1996.

"Pakistan's Reform of Electoral System Pleases Christians." http://www.zenit.org/article-
3437?l=english

People of India, Ministry of Culture, Government of India, 2007.

Phelps, Jordyn. "Pakistan's Lawyers Movement (2007-2009)." International Centre on
Non-violent Conflict, 2009. http://www.nonviolent-
conflict.org/index.php/movements-and-campaigns/movements-and-campaigns-
summaries?sobi2Task=sobi2Details&catid=21&sobi2Id=30 .

Phongpaichit, Pasuk. *Theories of Social Movements and their Relevance for Thailand*.
Paper for Thailand Research Fund's methi witchai awuso program. August 1999.
www.pioneer.netserv.chula.ac.th/~ppasuk/

Pickerill, Jenny. *New Social Movements, Coalitions, and Religion: Muslim Anti-war
Activists in Britain*. London: Open University Press, 2006.

Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard A. Cloward. *Poor People's Movements: Why They
Succeed, How They Fail*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1977.

"Police Protestors Fight Pitched Battle." *The News* March 17, 2007.

"Police Storm Office of TV Channel: Musharraf Apologises for Raid." *The Dawn* March
17, 2007.

Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act, 2006.
        http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/legislation/2006/wpb.html

"Punjab *Lok Rahs*" http://www.icasc.ca/node/659 .

Qadri, Mustafa. "History repeats itself in Pakistan." *The Guardian* March 13, 2009.
        http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/mar/13/pakistan-zardari-sharif-
        chaudhry

Rafi Peer Theatre Workshop. http://www.brain.net.pk/~rptw/rptw.htm

Ramadan, Tariq. *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University
        Press, 2005.

Rana, Amir. "Jihadi Print Media in Pakistan: An Overview." Pakistan Institute for Peace
        Studies, Oct-Dec. 2008.

Rehman, Abdul. "Lies and Distortions by the Media about Hudood Ordinance." Oct. 21,
        2006 http://www.haqeeqat.org/v1.0/articles/thnb/12.htm

Rehman, I. A. "Enemy Images on Pakistan Television." *Making Enemies, Creating
        Conflict: Pakistan's Crises of State and Society*. Eds. Zia Mian and Iftikhar Ahmad.
        Lahore: Mashal Press, 1997.

Rehman, I. A. "Enemy Images on Pakistan Television."
        http://members.tripod.com/no_nukes_sa/chapter_9.html

Rehman, Javaid. "The Right to Equality and Non-Discrimination and Minorities of
        Pakistan." *The Weaknesses in the International Protection of Minority Rights*. The
        Hague, London, Boston: Kluwer Law International, 2000.

Rehmat, Adnan. "Gagged and Shackled." *Newsline Monthly Magazine* Karachi,
        December, 2007: 77-82. http://rghm.wordpress.com/2007/12/16/community-
        media-selected-clippings-121507/

Rahmat, Adnan. *Murder and Mayhem: The Worst Year Ever for Pakistan Media, Annual
        State of Pakistan Media Report 2007-08*. Islamabad: Intermedia. 2008.
        www.internews.org/pubs/pubs_pakistan.shtm

Rehmat, Adnan. "The Quake-hit North: Shattered State of Media in the North West
        Frontier Province." *Media Law Bulletin* 3.2 (2005).

Research, Resource, and Publication Centre on Women and Media. "Uks Radio Project."
www.uksresearch.com/radioProjects.htm

Riaz, Saqib, and Shahid Hussain. "Islamic Concept of Mass Communication." *Global Media Journal* 2.1 (2009).

Rinnawi, Khalil. *Instant Nationalism: McArabism, al-Jazeera and Transnational Media in the Arab World*. New York: University Press of America, 2006.

Roy, William G. *Reds, Whites, and Blues: Social Movements, Folk Music and Race in the United States*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Raza Rumi, "Bol! Bol!Bol!" ("Speak up! Speak up! Speak up!"). *Himal South Asian* January 2008. http://www.amenews.org/ResistancePoetry.htm

Salam, Abdul Khurshid. *Karvan-i-Sahafat* (Caravan of Journalism). Lahore: Ehtisham Publishers, 1989.

Salim, Ahmad, and A. H. Nayyar, eds. *The Subtle Subversion: 'The State of Curriculum and Textbooks in Pakistan.* Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), 2004.

Salim, Ahmad. "Historical Falsehoods and Inaccuracies." *The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan: Urdu, English, Social Studies and Civics*, Eds. Nayyar, A. H. and Ahmad Salim. Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute, (SDPI), 2002 http://www.sdpi.org/archive/nayyar_report.htm

Samad, Yunas. "In and Out of Power but Not Down and Out: Mohajir Identity Politics." *Pakistan: Nationalism Without a Nation.* Ed. Christophe Jaffrelot. London: Zed, 2002.

Samad, Yunas. "Reflections on Partition: Pakistan Perspective." *Region and Partition: Bengal, Punjab and the Partition of the Subcontinent.* Eds. Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh. London: Oxford University Press, 1999

Sami Uddin, Abida. "Freedom Struggle and Urdu Journalism During the Nineteenth Century." *They Too Fought for India: The Role of Minorities*. Ed. Asghar Ali Engineer. Mumbai: Centre for the Study of Society and Secularism. Gurgaon: Hope India Publication, 2005.

Scott, James. *The Moral Economy of the Peasants: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1976.

"SECRET—Enclosures to Dacca Despatches #13 of August 7, 1951: Coordinated Program for Combating Communism in East Bengal." www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/pakistan/anticommunist7aug1951.htm

Security of Pakistan Act 1952, (XXXV of 1952). Karachi, Government of Pakistan Publication, 1953.

Shabaan, Bouthaina. "Democracy in Arab Eyes." *Daily Asharq alawsat* September 21, 2010.

Shah, Zulfiqar. "Charting the Women's Movement in Sindh." *The Daily News International* July 4, 2010.

Shakir, Naeem. "Women and Religious Minorities under the *Hudood* Laws in Pakistan." Asian Legal Resource Centre, July 2, 2004 www.article2.org/index.php

Shaw, Padmaja. "Radio in India: Problems of Broadcasting and Hope of FM." *Asian Communication Quarterly* 32.4 (2000): 234-239.

Sheikh, Wajih Ahmad, Arslan Rafiq Bhatti, Ziaullah Niazi and Sajjad Shafiq Butt. "It's Now in the People's Court: Justice Iftikhar." *The News* Lahore, May 6, 2007.

Shirkat Gah Handbook, Lahore: *Shirkat Gah* Publications, 2008.

Shirkat Gah Women's Resource Centre. http://www.shirkatgah.org/.

Siddiqa-Agha, Ayesha. "Army Welfare Trust: Vested Khaki Interests and Double Standards of Business Accountability." *The Friday Times* December 14-20, 2001: 3.

Siddique, Salman. "Internet and Terrorism." *The Chowk*. August 25, 2004.

Siddiqui, Aziz. *No Hurrahs for Freedom*. Lahore: Dawn Publishers, 1999.

Silva, Neluka. "Shameless Women: Repression and Resistance in *We the Sinful Women: Contemporary Urdu Feminist Poetry*." *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 3.2 (2003): 28-51.

"Simorgh" http://www.statemaster.com/encyclopedia/Simorgh

Simorgh Women Resources Publication Centre. http://www.net-ngo.org/detailpage.cfm?ngoid=95

"68 Women Burnt in City in 3 Months," *The Daily Times*, April 15, 2009
    http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2009%5C04%5C15%5Cstory_15-
    4-2009_pg13_7.

Snow, David A., Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds. *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004.

Soomro, Ishaque. "Martyrs of MRD 1983." *The Frontier Post*, Peshawar, September 29, 2008.

South Asian Women Writers. http://www.sawnet.org/books/authors.php

Stein, Lorenz von. *The History of the Social Movement in France, 1789-1850*. Ed. and Trans. Kaethe Mengelbergm. New Jersey: Bedminster Press, 1964.

Syed, Anwar Hussain. *Pakistan: Islam, Politics and National Solidarity*. New York: Praeger, 1982.

Talbot, Ian Talbot. "Nationalism, Communal and Ethnic Identities and the Partition of India," *Inventing the Nation: India and Pakistan*. London: Arnold, 2000.

Talbot, Ian Talbot, and Darshan Singh Tatla, eds. *Epicentre of Violence: Partition Voices and Memories from Amritsar.* Delhi: Permanent Black, 2006.

Talbot, Ian, and Shinder Thandi, eds. *People on the Move: Punjabi Colonial, and Post-Colonial Migration.* London: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Talib, Saman. "Pakistan Students' Uses of New Media to Construct a Narrative of Dissent." *South Asian Media Cultures: Audiences, Representations, Contexts*. Ed. Banaji Shakuntala. London: Anthum Press, 2010.

Tan, Tai Yong, and Gyanesh Kudaisya. *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia.* London and New York: Routledge, 2000.

"Tehrik e Niswan (Karachi)." http://www.sacw.net/site17.html

Tehrik-e-Niswan Theatre and Cultural Action Group. Accessed at: http://tehrik-e-niswan.org.pk/default.asp

"The ABC's Of Jihad: Violent Soviet-Era Textbooks Complicate Afghan Education Efforts," *The Washington Post*, March 23, 2002.

Thierstein, Joel, and Yahya R. Kamallpour, eds. *Religion, Law, and Freedom: A Global Perspective*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2000.

"34 Killed, Over 140 Injured in Karachi." *The News* Karachi, May 13, 2007.

Thomas, Amos Owen. *Imagi-nations and Borderless Television: Media, Culture and Politics across Asia*. New Delhi: Sage, 2005.

Thomas, Dorothy Q. "Double Jeopardy: Police Abuse of Women in Pakistan." *Human Rights Watch Report, 1991* www.hrw.org/pakistan

Tilly, Charles. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, UK: Addison-Wesley, 1978.

Tilly, Charles. *Social Movements, 1768-2004.* Boulder, Colorado: Paradigm, 2004.

Toor, Saadia. "The State, Fundamentalism and Civil Society." *Engendering the Nation-State*. Eds. Neelam Hussain, Samiya Mumtaz, and Rubina Saigol. Lahore: *Simorgh* Women's Resource and Publication Centre, 1997.

Torfing, Jacob. *New Theories of Discourse: Laclau, Mouffe, and Zizek.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.

"TV Show Banned." *The Dawn* March 16, 2007.

United Nations Commission on Human Rights. "Pakistan Blasphemy Law." http://www.unhchr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/0/9da54d3f22f184f1802567390039e0d6?Opendocument .

United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF). *Annual Report 2010 - Countries of Particular Concern: Pakistan*. April 29, 2009 http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/category,COI,USCIRF,,PAK,4be2840c20,0.html

United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). "Consultative Status with ECOSOC." http://esa.un.org/coordination/ngo/new/index.asp?page=intro

Vepa, Kushal. "Great Games." Op. ed. *Bharat Rakshak Monitor* **5**:2 (Sept.-Oct. 2002). www.bharat-rakshak.com/MONITOR/ISSUE5-2/index.htm

Verkaaik, Oskar. *Migrants and Militants: Fun and Urban Violence in Pakistan*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Vidhi Films. http://www.vidhifilms.net/index.htm

Walsh, Judith E. *History of Muslim Rule in India*. New York: Infobase Publishing, 2006.

Weaver, Ann. "Protests Sweep Pakistan in Effort to Restore Democracy, Archives of History: Mass movement in Sindh – Every Minute Has a Story to Tell." *Christian Science Monitor* December 18, 2008 http://www.csmonitor.com/search

Weiss, Anita M. "The Historical Debate on Islam and the State in South Asia." *Islamic Reassertion in Pakistan: The Application of Islamic Laws in a Modern State*. Ed. Anita M. Weiss. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1986.

Who Will Cast the First Stone? Dir. Sabiha Sumar and Alauddin Jamal Ahmed. London, UK: Retake Film & Video Collective, 1988. DVD.

Wiktorowicz, Quintan. *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2004.

Williams, Maurice J. "Report on Pakistan for Secretary of State." November 5, 1971 http://therepublicofrumi.com/archives/71us.htm

Witte, Griff. "Musharraf Ends 6-Week Emergency Rule." *The Washington Post Foreign Service*. December 16, 2007. www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/12/15/AR2007121500302.html

"Women of Pakistan." *Jazbah Magazine* www.jazbah.org

Women's Action Forum. "Pakistan Women's Day," *The Daily News International*, Islamabad, February 12, 2004.

"Working Women's Support Centre." http://www.netngo.org/detailpage.cfm?ngoid=374

Wright, Lawrence. "Man Behind Bin Laden: How an Egyptian Doctor Becomes a Master of Terror." *The New Yorker*, September 16, 2002.

Yousuf, Zohra. "Media Watch." *Monthly Herald Magazine*. Karachi, March 2007.

Yusuf, Huma. "Old and New Media: Converging During the Pakistan Emergency (March 2007 - February 2008)." Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Center for Future Civic Media, 2009.

Zaidi, Syed Ali Abbas. "Music, Revolutions and Activism." *The Islamabad Dateline* April 3, 2011 http://plastictearz.wordpress.com/2011/04/04/music-revolutions-activism/ .

Zakaria, Rafia. "JH Represents Failure of Pakistani Feminism." *The Daily Times* April 14, 2007 http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2007\04\14\story_14-4-2007_pg3_2