

Revisiting STUDENT POLITICS in Pakistan

Iqbal Haider Butt

BARGAD



Revisiting Student Politics in Pakistan

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GLOSSARY

AIMSF	All-India Muslim Students Federation
AISC	All-India Students Congress
AISF	All-India Students Federation
ANP	Awami National Party
APMSO	All Pakistan Muhajir Students Organization
ATI	Anjuman Talaba-e-Islam
BSO	Baloch Students Organization
CPP	Communist Party of Pakistan
DSF	Democratic Students Federation
EBDO	Elective Bodies Disqualification Order
GC	Government College
HEC	Higher Education Commission
ICTs	Information and Communication Technologies
ICB	Inter-collegiate Body
ISF	Insaf Students Federation
ISO	Imamia Students Organization
IJT	Islami Jamiat Talaba
JI	Jamaat-e-Islami
JSTM	Jaye Sindh Talaba Mahaz
JTI	Jamiat Talaba-e-Islam
KC	Kinnaird College
LUMS	Lahore University of Management Sciences
MKP	Mazdoor Kissan Party
MNGs	Muslim National Guards
MSF	Muslim Students Federation
NAP	National Awami Party
NSF	National Students Federation
NSO	Nationalist Students Organization
PkSF	Pukhtun Students Federation
PNA	Pakistan National Alliance
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party
PSF	Peoples Students Federation
PTI	Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf
PU	Punjab University
PUNJSU	Punjab Students Union
QAU	Quaid-i-Azam University
RSS	Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh
SAC	Students Action Committee
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
UET	University of Engineering and Technology
USF	University Students Federation
VC	Vice Chancellor

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Sabiha Shaheen
Executive Director
BARGAD

PREFACE

As we write these lines in 2009, it appears that a paradigm shift in thinking of key players of the so-called Pakistani establishment is under way with regard to the rise of religious militancy and its associated terrorist outfits.

We are probably witness to a somewhat delayed realization that the very fabric of our society stands threatened by the growth of such agendas that are rooted not only in an extremist interpretation of Islam but seek sustenance from the grinding poverty, social and economic injustice and general disenfranchisement of people. In absence of any credible alternatives to the status quo in the political arenas, these ingredients tend to become particularly explosive and indeed lead to the kind of militant tendencies we are a witness in to modernist.

The idealism and energy of the youth, in particular, is generally deeply dissatisfied with the pace of change and the patent injustices in societies such as ours.

It is therefore imperative that the youth remain connected and are not alienated to political processes of the country and can find one or more democratic options that embody their aspirations. The absence of such a connect leads invariably to cynicism in demand and often to the support of extremism and violence in others.

If the existing political options appear redundant and not offering hope, the democratic route is to create new options, build new political alignments and identify new slogans.

Pakistani students are confronted with a similar situation. Based on my daily interaction with youth in the age group of 20 to 30 it appears safe to say that the youth are deeply cynical and dissatisfied with the existing political options. They lurch from harboring a deeply hostile and suspicious attitude against the non-Islamic world based on their perception of "foreign conspiracies" against Islam and Pakistan, to desperately seeking an immigrant visa to these very same countries.

This is not to mock at them or belittle the sources of their anger and frustration. They are reacting in the only ways they can. Not having had the chance to develop a rational and consistent approach because of the divorce of students and politics in the past several decades, effectively since the Zia period, they have lost the capacity to think politically. Traditional religious thinking steps in to fill this vacuum of political understanding. The consequences of this depoliticization are spread out across the landscape of this country too vividly to need any elaboration.

“Re-visiting Student Politics in Pakistan” is an impressive and timely effort by BARGAD which acquires additional importance in the light of current situation in Pakistan sketched above.

The demand to lift the ban on student unions now has widespread political support, including that of the parties in power, while administrators and academics are deeply apprehensive of the consequences of unleashing student power divorced from the continuity of political training and tradition.

BARGAD's study provides a comprehensive and insightful study based on field surveys and interviews and a meaningful analysis of the statistics to deeply approach the question of how to balance the needs of nurturing political education while maintaining order and academic discipline in the campuses. Indeed as they point out the primary challenge is not just of activating student politics but is the need for an independent political approach on campuses not led by or blindly following the dictate of different political parties. The real test is to define students' own agendas and values, and attempting to convince their fellows and society at large for a new and better vision based on the values and concepts of their modern world.

BARGAD's study should be of interest not only to those who are occupied with administratively dealing with students at the level of Colleges and Universities but also to all those who wish to see democracy take roots in our society - not just within our statutes but indeed within our souls.

---- S. Khurshid Hasanain
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Student politics has been pivotal to the public visibility of political forces in Pakistan, and an essential communication tool for many mainstream and fringe social movements. Its promise for recruitment and injection of fresh entrants into politics has been a hallmark contribution to the weak political parties and unstable democratic system. It has also provided cases of resource building for individuals and groups outside the domain of traditional sources of political power based on kinship, caste and creed. The political Islamist movements were especially the key beneficiaries with connivance of the martial law regimes to capitalize upon opportunities of the cold war and a proxy war between Soviet Russia and the USA. The rise of campus violence and subsequent ban on student unions, however, broke the link between student organizations and their outside the campus mentors. Now that the lifting of ban on student union is in discussion and principally declared by the government, the student politics faces a huge challenge of justifying its existence not only due to its violent past and the changing political and ideological contexts but because of visible shifts in academic environment and growth of education sector, societal changes, access to new technologies having advances in political communication and the ever-expanding incentives for alternative sources of resource building and activism within the campuses.

After its strong presence in the struggle for independence and other national movements, student politics over time fell prey to a militarist discourse and was blamed for diluting primary mandate of campuses – the quality education.

The nexus of campus-political forces has drastically bettered now. In the current times, there have been socio-political changes and shifts in higher education sector in the recent history of the country that would compel the student politics to revisit its historical course. These are (i) drastic increase of female students, (ii) emerging private universities and higher competition for career placement, (iv) more universities and lesser polarization of students on identity and class divisions, (iii) greater urbanization and media exposure,

and (iv) the end of cold war and weakening of ideological affiliations.

One highlighted factor is the number of female students in campuses. It is envisaged that with enabling environment in representative structures of the universities a great reservoir for peacebuilding and women leadership development is in the making and can be capitalized for peaceful youth action in Pakistan.

STUDENT POLITICS: HISTORICAL CASE OF PAKISTAN

The student politics can be understood through its four milestones and the changes that have occurred in between. These are:

- i. The Pakistan movement
- ii. The uprising of 1968-69
- iii. The Afghan war, and
- iv. The movement against imposition of emergency by President General Musharraf.

The history of student politics is informed by the fact that the student organizations have largely extended aspirations of the political parties and remained dependent on these outside campus forces for their operations.

Adventurism of progressive student movement eventually evaporated over time and the political Islamists radicalized the politics to an extent that they have become out of touch with the contemporary ordinary students.

STUDENT POLITICS: ANALYTICAL CASE OF PAKISTAN

Key changes in the following structures have occurred for the student politics:

- i. The Political Context
- ii. The Academic Environment
- iii. Legacy of the Ideologies and cold war

- iv. The Societal Settings
- v. Resources and Motivation

It is argued that student politics has flourished in absence of effective networks of political parties and under pressure from totalitarian regimes. The international trends also support this contention. This political factor remains relatively same as the past. However the national and international support for consolidating democracy in Pakistan has definitely increased.

It is the academic environment that has phenomenally changed since 1947. These changes can be summarized as: the growth and mushrooming of the universities, the privatization of social services like the education under the Structural Adjustment Programme and the emergence of private institutions, greater autonomy of the institutions, higher competition in job placement, rise in fee structure, changes in examination structures, geographic dispersion of universities, demographic change in youth population, open political communication, female bulge in the universities, higher education reform and the heavy investment on higher education in Pakistan.

Student politics and its greater allies outside the campuses have yet to realize and adjust to the extent of all these changes in the academic sphere and it may be possible that an unprecedented transition towards independent student politics may occur. We may observe the incubation of campus-based activism that affects the larger society, rather than always emanating from political society to the campuses.

Moreover, contemporary students have ceased to solely depend upon holistic and totalitarian ideologies to motivate their activism; rather a new tendency for issue-based action has emerged.

Growing living standards, education, urbanization and industrialization and changes in demography can also have modernizing effects to provide new social foundations for the participation to student politics in Pakistan.

Student politics has been a traditional source of providing resources to the ordinary students for greater social mobility and personal and

professional development. However, there are now various other forms of associational training and incentives, which offer the students alternative structures for resource building and opportunities for upward social mobility.

TESTIMONIES ON STUDENT POLITICS

The present study also contains interviews of 24 past and a few contemporary student activists along with one female journalist commenting upon his student times. The aim is not just to give historical accounts on student politics but to reflect upon the nature of times. The emphasis is upon actual practice of student politics rather than the avowed rhetoric used to entice students then. These interviews can sometimes be confessional. They may also make room for reconciliation among practitioners coming from different ideological strands of the student politics.

Each interviewee has been selected on individual merit, the courage to be open and candid, willingness to question the past, a strong sense of reflection and flexibility to self-criticism. They provide unique information in each example. We hear about intolerance and narrowness of political colleagues, transformation from violent past to peaceful and independent activism, aerial firing by a female student leader, Afghan war, children's political party, success of a third non-aligned force, writer-leaders, founding of a campus-based independent group, unimagined election victory, confessions of extracting booty, staunch agitators, challenging the hegemony, social roots of authoritarianism, inception of private institutions by the student leaders, the influx of funding coming from Afghan jihad, high achievers in student politics and many other anecdotes, testimonies, eye-witness accounts and experience-based analysis that would peep through working of inner circles of student activists and their matters outside the campuses.

Enough material has also been produced in a series of interviews that would build in-depth case study of once an enterprising student organization, the Nationalist Students Organization (NSO), and its eventual demise.

MATRIX ON CHRONOLOGY OF STUDENT POLITICS IN PAKISTAN

A two-part comprehensive and detailed matrix has also been exclusively compiled by the study to minutely record happenings of the student politics in Pakistan. This matrix produces two chronologies of events presenting perspectives of the progressive student movements and the IJT independently.

CONCLUSION

The present study suggests that given diverse factors and changing variables the need to institute representative forms within the governance structures of the universities cannot be set aside. All stakeholders – students, student organizations, political parties, researchers, civil society practitioners and public interest leaders, university administrators, education planners, policy makers and the government functionaries – will have to carefully view the fundamental transition in student politics and also benefit from a developmental perspective, whereby student politics is part of emerging governance issues pertaining to the universities and education administration. An inclusive regulatory mechanism for the student politics would do for transparent and accountable university system, not just the restrictive government orders.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND

After decades of militancy rule and violence, Pakistani student politics has resisted open and democratic cultures of peace irrespective of the country's struggle for and subsequently current transition to a full-fledged democracy. A closer look at the history would reveal that our educational institutions have actually proven predecessors to the religious fundamentalist politics in Pakistan. Composition of the political Islam leadership today across groups is a testimony to this observation. Right from the martial law era in the 1960s, the jargon of extremist student politics had never entered mainstream discourse and community locations until it bounded out of its traditional sanctuary - university campuses - in the 1980s.

The Gen. Zia government in Pakistan, in an attempt to create its constituency - in search of legitimacy and recruitment internally and to garner more patronage for Afghan war externally - started to revise curriculum, purge political opponents and encourage militant student groups, more often politico-religious and ethnic, to physically occupy college and university campuses in the country.

The method to engage student clusters with conflict approaches also involved making violence conceivable; so that it was thinkable and deemed ordinary and inevitable. Every opposition was crushed with heavy hands. Education and media were the main tools by which militarism entered not only at the practical levels but also encroached upon the cognitive and social constructs of the polity's educated inhabitants. Through both instruments, a militarist discourse was facilitated by myth making and enemy making in the name of national interest. To this end, collective violence was motivated and justified, as well as such convictions were instilled that made violence possible in the social, political and religious spheres. This can be witnessed in what we now popularly call a Kalashnikov culture within the campuses.

It was also kept in vigilant surveillance that the students should have lesser opportunities to interact with each other so that the prospects of any student mobilization could be minimized. However, there were some exceptions to the rule; in that healthy activities and leadership development programmes kept persisting in a select few educational institutions that have traditionally been sources of providing professional and bureaucratic elite of the country i.e. Government College, Kinnaird College, and Aitchison College (Lahore), etc.

In short, only those institutions would flourish who formed either secular islands of high pursuit for learning and career seeking or others who imparted religious education for political expediency. The then military regime also encouraged parallel system of Madrassah (religious seminaries) education by administering a formalized zakat (Islamic religious tithe) system.

The Gen. Musharraf government was compelled to reverse the policies of cold war. Perceptions of communism knocked at its doors no more. There was a renewed enthusiasm for focusing more attention and funds to the mainstream (secular) higher education. In 2002, the government promulgated new legislation for higher education (Nov 2002) that vowed to get rid of the past policies. It was based on the report prepared by the task force on higher education in Pakistan (March 2002) set up at the federal ministry of education, government of Pakistan, which clearly enumerated in its mission statement to "*build a tolerant and pluralistic society rooted in the culture of Pakistan*".

The declaration of lifting the ban on student unions by the present government offers an opportunity to revisit the effects of student politics on national polity and devise ways to streamline it in service of peace loving and gender friendly campuses.

1.2. EMERGING TRENDS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Certain trends in the environment of education, especially tertiary, can be aggregated by those who believe in open, discrimination-free and democratic societies.

These factors can be summarized as: (i) drastic increase of female students, (ii) emerging private universities and higher competition for career placement, (iii) more universities and lesser polarization of students on identity and class divisions, (iv) greater urbanization and media exposure, and (v) the end of cold war and weakening of ideological affiliations.

Number of female students in universities and degree-awarding institutions has risen to 178723, of which 162757 were studying at public universities. As compared to 19 universities in 1984 (when student unions were banned), the number of universities has risen to 124 (data cited from the Higher Education Commission). In both cases, the distance learning universities and their students have not been counted.

The official emphasis upon higher education can be further gauged by the comparative figures of public investment. Since the Higher Education Commission (HEC) became active, total spending (recurrent + development) by the HEC grew by 344 percent in real terms between 2001/2002 and 2005/2006¹.

The critical mistake in policy and planning, however, has been to prioritize management issues over the purpose of academic assemblies – to take education as a cooperative learning trip for student development rather than one-way dispersion of knowledge to produce passive recipients. What appears to be highly needed is to redefine the critical potential of universities and higher education institutions and inculcate a peace agenda for them in a manner that also supports on-going academic programmes and student development initiatives.

Girl-students are one such critical mass that could vanguard the peacebuilding efforts in universities. Whereas they can now cherish their recent emergence in national politics, they have yet to win their due share in leadership positions of the universities.

¹ The World Bank, Report No. 37247 - HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY NOTE Pakistan: An Assessment of the Medium-Term Development Framework, June 28, 2006.

An open social agenda which puts premium on greater female participation and leadership is strategically located to unsettle the undemocratic forces in the campuses. It is also a relatively soft entry-point for peacebuilders. The idea to subjugating women is comparatively weaker in the campuses.

The present study is a dedicated and issue-based intervention for exploring avenues of progressive action from developmental perspective and comprehending the past student politics by its practice rather than the normative and ideological assertions.

The narrative of this study directs to the need for peacebuilding and women leadership in educational institutions of Pakistan.

RESEARCH GOAL

- ✓ To combat militarist discourse by articulating a non-violent and developmental agenda for university students in Pakistan

STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

- ✓ To promote peacebuilding and gender equality within educational institutions
- ✓ To bridge information and knowledge gap by historical and discursive review of student politics in Pakistan

1.3. METHODOLOGY AND SCOPE

It's a qualitative study based mainly on intensive mapping of literature, in-depth reading of secondary data and primary data generated by interviews of twenty-four veteran student leaders and four group discussions with the students.

Aim of the mapping of literature was not only to bring forth main patterns of student politics but also to examine approaches of different authors. It was also helpful in presenting local and

international theoretical frameworks where authors on student politics can learn from.

During interviews, we have been discreet to explore details of events with a micro-view to leadership enhancement opportunities that the student politics offered to our interviewees and their counterparts in various periods of time.

Since the study is future-oriented, it has resisted historical narratives except for those of the primary sources and oral testimonies and where cases on national student movement have been prepared.

The study also compiles a comprehensive matrix on student politics in Pakistan. This chronology of events can be a useful reference for glimpsing the historical progress of student politics in Pakistan. This detailed chronology is derived from various sources and presents a complete documentation of events. In that sense, it directs the present author to use history as a reference for our discursive analysis and at the same time to remain faithful to the primary information of our interviewees.

For all practical purposes, the known debate over ban or no ban – on student politics – can be misleading. It takes the essential nature or vice of student politics for granted and throws us to a politics that distracts us from important questions, like:

- q Why does student politics happen?
- q What have been the driving factors and contexts of student politics in Pakistan; whether be political, ideological, academic, structural, societal, demographic or individual?
- q How can we decipher the changing factors over time?
- q Does politics in campuses just means working for political parties?
- q What is the link between education governance and the student representation and politics?

On practical grounds, our preparation for democratic, peaceful and gender-friendly student politics in Pakistan would need unbiased analysis and greater consultation among various stakeholders.

The present study is a deliberated, consulted and articulated response on the nature of student politics in Pakistan. Nevertheless, its scope is clearly demarcated within the geographic limitations of the present-day Pakistan. The student politics of the then East Pakistan is omitted.

The study further focuses upon university politics as a major form of student politics. It covers student politics generated in major universities and tackles student organizations which lay claim to have some permanent structures. In that sense, the student organizations with ad hoc mechanism like different alliances – i.e. Liberal Students Federation, Liberal Students Council, United Students Movement, Black Eagles, etc – and caste-based student bodies and student groups in small cities and towns have not been the focal points of this study.

Moreover, the study indicates the politics and dynamics of ideologies employed by Pakistani student politics rather than probing nature of the holistic ideologies as such.

1.4. BARGAD: PREVIOUS WORK ON STUDENT POLITICS

BARGAD has a special thematic place for student politics. The organization thinks that various forms of student participation and representation to the governance structures of education institutions are necessary for growing youth leadership. They also strengthen democracy in Pakistan and inculcate the values of transparency and accountability in youth right at their doorsteps – the campuses.

BARGAD has organized more than 30 public events, group discussions, dialogues, study circles, interactive film screenings, seminars among students and a TV talk show.

During our first regional dialogue on peace and youth cooperation in December 2003, we also invited representatives from Humboldt University, Berlin to present model and working of students' parliament in Germany, so that their best practices, structures and

procedures can be deliberated in Pakistan.² We have also sought students' opinion on student unions through our website since 2004 when it was first launched.

BARGAD assigns and celebrates certain themes to every year and tries to focus activities on that particular theme. We dedicated 2007 to the theme of student politics and held many activities on the issue.

Moreover, BARGAD has published three special numbers of its quarterly magazine on *Student Politics and Organizations* (2008), *Student Politics* (2006), and *Violence at Campuses* (2001), and two volumes dedicated to review educational policies of Pakistan.

The student politics has remained dormant because of a ban on student unions all these years. Now that the government has decided to resume it, as was always advocated by BARGAD, the organization has been working to set agenda for the student organizations vying for campus representation. For that a rigorous strategy and framework was devised with help from experts in May 2007 when no other group could anticipate a return of the student unions in Pakistan.

Under this strategy, concept of a 15-day course on revisiting student politics was developed to mentor core-group of higher education students every year with an overall goal to link students with social causes with particular reference to peacebuilding and women leadership in campuses. This was later expanded into a detailed outline, which was pre-tested through a survey on students' political perceptions.

However, with the publication of "National Survey on Student Politics, 2008" the organization provided a fresh perspective on students' perceptions on a national scale. This survey has proved to be a highly original account and has affected all stakeholders interested in the issue – the students, educationists, policy makers, researchers, media and the politicians.

² See BARGAD. "Report: First Regional Dialogue on Peace and Youth Cooperation", Gujranwala: BARGAD, 2003.

With a scientifically designed 5 percent sample size of all 23 general education public universities, BARGAD's national survey was hailed as the 'largest ever consultative study on student politics from the perspective of students', 'the ground breaking study' and 'a rare work done after the Hamood-ur-Rehman Commission Report on student problems and issues in 1966'. Not only the national media but also the international media and research community favourably covered and reviewed the national survey. The author was also interviewed both by print and electronic media on several occasions.

The two launching ceremonies of the "National Survey on Student Politics, 2008" further facilitated multi-stakeholder dialogues on the issue. One of the important outcomes was that after its publication many veteran student leaders now national political leaders have come out to publically discuss the student politics of their own times. Many have a changed view now and speak of the independence of student politics from outside politics.

BARGAD also held a first ever national conference of Vice Chancellors on Peacebuilding and Women Leadership Development in Campuses.

It was held on 3-5 March 2009 in Bhurban, Murree. The conference was programed in five inclusive sessions namely, *Amidst Higher Education and Nation Building: Challenges of Youth Radicalization*; *Peacebuilding and Student Politics: Revisiting the Past*; *Women Leadership Development in Campuses*; *Identification & Planning for Action in Campuses*.

The magnitude of the conference was very high and unparalleled since more than 12 worthy Vice Chancellors along with senior and faculty members of different universities from across Pakistan took part therein. They include University of Balochistan, Quetta; University of Peshawar; University of Agriculture Faisalabad; Lahore College for Women University; University of Gujrat; Dow University of Health Sciences Karachi; Kinaird College Lahore, Sardar Bahadur Khan Women University Quetta; University of Central Punjab Lahore; Gomal University D.I. Khan; Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad; The Islamic University of Bahawalpur; CBM Karachi and University of the Punjab Gujranwala Campus. Besides

this august gathering there were chairpersons and deans of different faculties Punjab University Lahore; Sindh University of Jamshoro and University of Sargodha.

The wider consultation on student politics has created an environment that has made possible open and public discussions on the issue right within the universities and higher education structures. Erst while, it was a tabooed subject.

CHAPTER 2: MAPPING THE LITERATURE

Through our mapping of the literature, we found the following major trends on student politics in Pakistan:

- The scholarly literature on politics narrates general contribution of students and “young people” to various national movements but it does not demonstrate youth as a distinct group that is self-conscious of their independent group identity. Research on student politics has been largely done by veteran leaders affiliated with student organizations on ideological grounds; or it is composed of interviews, newspaper and on-line write-ups, oral testimonies, organizational documents and autobiographical accounts of political history. Academic work on the topic is generally unpublished and has been completed to pursue M.A. and Ph.D degrees in various universities of Pakistan.
- Literature on student politics mostly focuses upon the motivational factors – i.e. ideology, belief system and personal appeal – of recruitment to national movements. There is lesser literature on the possibility of developmental approach; in that how the student politics has contributed to enhancing resources for activists and opportunities for social mobility. The socio-political factors and its compatibility with expanding education systems and programming have also been rarely touched in narrative of student politics.
- There have been four milestone mass movements in Pakistan in which students were politically quite active and significantly visible in the public action: (i) the Pakistan movement, (ii) the uprising of 1968-69, (iii) the Afghan war and, and (iv) the movement against imposition of emergency by President General Musharraf.
- History of student politics indicates that it is extension of national or other political parties. It has emanated from larger political context outside the campuses i.e. political parties and the ideological loyalties that they came from,

and played a proxy contest for politicians in the presence of successive military regimes in Pakistan.

- A review of student politics in Pakistan would reveal that democratic and political activism of youth is largely imagined as mass politics, street power and intense uprisings. With the advent of Afghan Jihad, the militant tendencies rose from this politics, where militant student groups acted as mass mobilizers and recruiting agencies of youth for this jihad if not the articulators.
- There are various explanations of students' disinterest in mainstream student politics, for example violence in campuses, ban on student politics, weaker political organizations and lesser affordability of education etc. However, some literature would argue that this signifies aversion of students towards militant form of campus politics rather than rejecting it per se. There are verifiable indications that students approve union activities within campuses but disapprove "politics" [of the past].
- The distinction between perception of student politics and unions among the literate youth can provide us insights about what kind of politics is acceptable to the students and how that's called 'apolitical' by the mainstream political actors in the country.
- With the recent emergence of interest in civic activism, there has been some emphasis on partial national scale on youth's political perceptions and trust in political system.
- The review of milestone movements suggests that the contemporary students are politically behaving quite differently than previous historical examples. There is a stark departure from historical trends. It would compel us to go beyond the historical approaches to comprehend the changing nature of youth political participation in Pakistan and explore interpretations of the change in students' collective behaviour from the socio-political, academic, structural, developmental and psychological factors that might have caused the shift.
- A combination of emerging factors like the demography, media and ICTs, increased urbanization, greater enrolment of women youth especially at the higher education level, the civil society strengthening and the incentives for

political participation are possibly changing political behaviour of the present-day students.

To follow the historical traces of student politics can be a frustrating exercise in our national milieu. The exclusive material on student politics is a rarity. Only one book of a progressive writer (Prof. Aziz-ud-din Ahmad) can be cited as a dedicated publication. The rest of such literature, almost all available, on student politics has been generated by Islamic Jamiat Taaliba and its affiliate individuals and groups mainly to groom the observant cadres.

The academic text is practically shelved in libraries and is unpublished.

In the mainstream literature on politics and history, a few footnotes on student participation and politics in the vast body of historical accounts could make their space; in which the national movements are focus of the studies and the students and their potential commitments the force of such movements. They form part of a greater national identity and are not self-conscious of their distinctiveness as an organized student body.

In these accounts, 'student' and 'youth' is not the subject. Their potential and youthfulness to serve a greater national cause is what interests the authors. We may find documentation of events but no analysis is given on student politics itself.

This argument is especially true for the first three out of four milestone movements when Pakistani students are deemed to be politically active: (i) the Pakistan movement, (ii) the uprising of 1968-69, (iii) the Afghan war, and (iv) the movement against imposition of emergency by President General Musharraf.

In fact, only in the last milestone movement, the most recent one, we have found that students and youth as an independent and highlighted entity have emerged in public discussions. We can see that in analytical terms this course of inquiry began with demographic studies rather than the historical and political literature.

In the first example of Pakistan movement, we have to browse works of authors like Ayesha Jalal (2001), Stephen P. Cohen (2004), K K Aziz, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan (1995), etc. Their narratives shed some light in terms of events and developments on when and where the young people, especially as three organized groups, as the Muslim National Guards, All India Muslim Students Federation and Punjab Muslim Students Federation, mobilized the Muslim population of United India in different localities during their campaign for a separate homeland, Pakistan.³

This mainstream scholarship of Pakistan movement is a classic example of raw mentioning of events when it comes to youth activism in the making of Pakistan and the partition of India.

Ian Talbot (1996) however is an exception, who is deeply conscious of the role that the Muslim National Guards (MNGs) played in Pakistan movement and the historians' neglect of these youth volunteers. He would rather emphasize in a dedicated chapter that these "volunteers were as much a symbolic underpinning of Pakistani 'nationalism' as the new flag and anthem [of Pakistan]."⁴ They demonstrated public participation in the freedom struggle especially in urban areas of northern India. They also provide a bottom-up view of the politics of Muslim League that traditionally was elitist like other contestants. At one point, Salar-i-Azam (Commander in Chief) of the MNGs claim in his autobiography the number of its members was around 300,000 youth only in one province Bengal.

According to Talbot, the fear of the appearance of militant Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) from the Hindu community has some influence upon founding of the National Muslim Guards; as

³ See Khan, Shaukat Hyat. "A Nation that Lost its Soul" Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1995. Jalal, Ayesha. "Self and Sovereignty: Individual and community in South Asian Islam since 1850" Lahore, Pakistan: Sang-E-Meel Publications, 2001. Cohen, Stephen Philip. "The Idea of Pakistan", Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004.

⁴ See details in pp.59-80. Talbot, Ian. "Freedom's Cry: The Popular Dimensions in the Pakistan Movement and Partition Experience in North-West India", Karachi: Oxford University Press: 1996.

the pioneers of MNGs came from the RSS's heartland in Nagpur. The MNGs were involved in propaganda, organization and management of political meetings and relief work activities for the Muslim community. However both the RSS and the MNGs will also be remembered as leading groups of mounting violence and religious militancy during the partition of India.

Secondly: In the post-independence era, students' role is indirectly highlighted in Lal Khan's recent book, launched in 2009, from a trade union and Marxist perspective when he documents the events of 1968-69 and uprising for indicating a 'revolution' in Pakistan.⁵

Thirdly, Afghan Jihad period gives us stark examples of students' role in national politics. This however mixes both procedural and illegitimate activism as compared to other milestone movements whose apparent purpose was peaceful and within the domains of law. The political rallying and propaganda for the Jehada against the Soviet Russia manifested procedural activism, but the actual recruitment, military training and other subversive activities pointed to illegitimate activism for the Jehadi cause with the inception of student and youth groups believing in revolution through armed struggle (jihad).

There is a strand of literature and public statements of important political figures that would assert that students and youth were extensively recruited for the Afghan Jihad campaign and it is regarded as one of the open secrets of national politics hardly challenged by any political commentator. Many eminent personalities like the late Prime Minister Mrs Benazir Bhutto (2008), General Pervez Musharraf (2006), Ambassador Hussain Haqqani (2005), etc., endorse the existence of a campaign for Afghan war within Pakistan.⁶ However there is very little investigation on the details and actual operation of youth recruitment and the political

⁵ Khan, Lal. "Pakistan's Other Story: The 1968-69 Revolution". Lahore: The Struggle Publications, 2008.

⁶ See examples in Bhutto, Benazir. "RECONCILIATION: Islam, Democracy and the West", London: Simon & Schuster, 2008. Musharraf, Pervez. "In the Line of Fire: A Memoir", London: Simon & Schuster, 2006. Haqqani, Hussain. "Pakistan: Between Mosque And Military", Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005.

participation of youth in this campaign. The official versions of Islam i Jama'iat Talaba (IJT), sister organization of the Jama'at-e-Islami, provide us authentic insights about their political support to Afghan Jihad through a series of Jihad conferences. They uphold and take credit for the success of jihad against soviet Russia through political mobilization of youth.⁷

During the same period, secular nationalist student groups also resorted to violent and militant tendencies with massive use of arms and occupation over campuses.

It is the fourth and latest milestone movement, against imposition of emergency rule by General Musharraf, which has really woken the world by student collective action and manifests a student community that has acted in an organized manner for rule of law in Pakistan. It has created formal platforms within and outside campuses. New student organizations like the Students Action Committee, University Students Organization (USO) and Insaf Students Federation (ISF) have been founded. The aged-old monopoly of IJT in the biggest university of Pakistan, The Punjab University, was also broken after a spate of student protest against mishandling of cricketer-turned-politician Inran Khan in November 2007. The present movement is urban, more receptive to mixed gender interactions, non-affiliated with political parties and is extensively using virtual space, web-blogging, electronic messaging and content prary tools of communication.

The scale of the latest movement is debatable as compared to previous examples.

In Pakistani perspective, political participation of youth is practically to speak of student activism. The main characteristic of this activism is its dependence and affiliation with political parties. There have very few independent student organizations. In the four milestone political movements of youth, the non-affiliated activists have surfaced in the latest movement for rule of law in Pakistan.

⁷ See interviews of Chiefs of the IJT (Shabbir Ahmed Khan, Meraj ud din, Ejaz Ahmed, Rashid Nasim, Amir ul Azeem and Seraj ul Haque) in "Jab Woh Nazim-e-Ala Thay", Vol. 3, Lahore: Idara Matbooaat-e-Talaba, edition 3, Jan 2008.

A look at the list of Pakistan's major student organizations would reveal that all these bodies were sister organizations of their mother political parties. In case of hardcore leftist organizations, underground political groups would control the student operations and the affiliation was never publicly owned.

The list of affiliated student organizations include the Muslim Students Federation (MSF), Islam i Jama'iat Talaba (IJT), All Pakistan Student Organization (APSO), Peoples Students Organization (PSO), Inqalabi Mahaz-e-Talaba (MIT), Democratic Students Organization (DSO), National Students Federation (NSF), Nationalist Students Organization (NSO), All Pakistan Mahajir Students Organization (APMSO), Baloch Students Organization (BSO), Anjuman Talaba-e-Islami (ATI), Jama'iat Talaba-e-Islami (JTI), Pukhtun Students Federation (PKSF), Insaf Students Federation (ISF), Jaye Sindh Talaba Mahaz, Sindhi Shagird Tahreek (SST) etc.

The student politics was also divided by an intense ideological struggle between the political Islamists and the left-oriented parties in an over-all environment of cold war. The bulk of literature thus relates student activism to adherence to the ideological ideas and when these commitments are not present now they would automatically call new and politically non-party activism as apolitical.⁸ Their standpoint may now be unacceptable by majority of the students as has been indicated by the National Survey on Student politics, 2008, but it is worth mentioning that both these rightist and leftist activists have been the leading forces of student activism in Pakistan in the post-independence era.

It is nevertheless to the credit of AMSO and BSO that they preceded and caused the formation of their [present] mother political parties. AMSO was founded in June 11, 1978 while the BSO came into being in 1967, both prior to the parties they are now

⁸ See for example, Ahmad, Aziz-uddin. "Pakistan Mein Talaba Tehreek", Lahore: Mashal, 2000, and Tareekh Jamiat Committee. "Jab Woh Nazim-e-Ala Thay" (Vol 1, 2, 3, 4) Lahore: Idara Matbooaat-e-Talaba. [Ahmad in his recent newspaper writings, however, seems to have revised earlier stands expressed in his book.]

politically aligned.⁹ This should however be mentioned that BSO leadership was part and parcel of the National Awami Party (NAP). In fact its founder Dr. Hayee Baloch was elected MNA on the ticket of NAP, while he was still secretary general of the BSO. Likewise in the case of NSO a group of professors conceived the student organization. In any case, if not a mainstream political party, groups of elders were always in the scene even in the case of 'independently' grown student organizations.

Some analysts would also argue that within the overall principles of political-Islamic ideology guided by the teachings of Maulana Maududi, the IJT has acted independently and sometimes led its member party the JI especially in the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto era rather than following.¹⁰ PILDAT's discussion paper also indirectly claims to the same effect for the Gen. Zia regime "it is also believed that the decision was based on reports that anti-government student alliances had gained considerable influence and strength and these could pose a threat to Gen. Zia-ul-Haq's government."¹¹ Perhaps it implies that the IJT differed with the JI policy of collaborating with Gen. Zia and was then part of the anti-government alliance. Salman Abid also supports this theory of partial difference between the IJT and JI during the Gen. Zia's rule.¹² Nevertheless this is everely contested on historical evidence and taken as an effort to condone JI's collaboration with the martial law authorities.

There are two major explanations for dependence of student activism over the political parties: (i) the inception of student politics by the leading political party to facilitate the struggle for

⁹ See Interview with Mir Hasil Bizenjo, Secretary General, National Party.

¹⁰ See pages 57-67 in Nasr, Seyyed Vali Reza. *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jama'at-i Islami of Pakistan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

¹¹ PILDAT, Proposed Revival of Students' Unions in Pakistan: Discussion Paper, Islamabad, Revised: September 2008, p.5.

¹² Abid, Salman. "Talba Siyasat, Siyasi Shaoor or Bhatta Khori kay Dirmiyān", in Monthly Awami Jamhoori Forum. Issue No. 46, pp-22-25 http://www.awamijamhooriforum.org/46thisissue/innerpage.php?type=Art%2011&image_id=1

independence [This is also true for India], and the (ii) control and ban on political leaders through restrictive laws like the Public and Representative Office Disqualification Act (PRODA) in 1949, the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO) in 1960 and the Political Parties Act of 1962 and then the successive undemocratic regimes specifically in Pakistan. The proponents of the latter idea maintain that in the absence of political process, the defunct political leaders chose to show their muscles through student organizations.¹³ This also created a space for street agitation politics. It is no coincidence that throughout the 1950s and till late 1960s only those student organizations in West Pakistan – present day Pakistan – could thrive in campuses which adhered to radical versions of changing the society from their respective rightist and leftist standpoints.

Political parties have capitalized upon showing of muscles, street power and intense uprisings through student politics until the 1990s when the student unions were eventually banned.

In the pre-independence era, the historian Sharif ul Mujahid cites examples between 1937 and 1946, when the fear of student demonstrations deterred many leading provincial chiefs such as Fazlul Haq, Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana and GM. Syed to revolt and challenge the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and played a crucial role in sustaining Jinnah in his singular leadership.¹⁴

Likewise, Gen. Ayub Khan himself accused Maulana Maududi of "creating student troubles" in November 1963 before banning the JI.¹⁵ The events of 1968 are also testimonials to the street power of students and youth. Syed Waqar Nasr (1994) and Javed Hashmi (2005) postulate that the role of agitational politics of the students was extended to so much heights against the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

¹³ Interview with Aamir Riaz, Editor monthly Awami Jamhoori Forum.

¹⁴ Mujahid, Sharif al. "CHAPTERS FROM HISTORY: Students' role in the Pakistan Movement". Daily Dawn, June 30, 2002

¹⁵ Ghulam Ghous, The Jamaat-e-Islami of Pakistan in Ayub Era (1958-69), MPhil Thesis (unpublished), Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, 2001.

regime that they were the real opposition leading mainstream political parties.

With the arrival of Afghan war, a new element of militancy rose to its peaks with open display of arms within campuses.¹⁶ Subsequently the student unions were banned by Martial law notification in 1984. On 1 July, 1992, every student and his parents/guardian were bound by the Supreme Court of Pakistan to give an undertaking at the time of admissions not to “indulge in politics”. Every college and university student in Pakistan has to provide this affidavit till date.

The Supreme Court further banned all student unions on 10 March 1993.

Student organizations have resisted this ban. Nevertheless there is vast support for the ban especially from the educationists’ side who think that student union activities have contributed to violence and militancy and disruption of studies in campuses. In an unprecedented move Vice Chancellors of all public and private universities of Pakistan in a national tele-conference regarded it inappropriate to lift the ban at the present critical situation of the country. They rather supported the growth of societies and associations within campuses. They further accused the unions of being a source of violence and disruption in studies.¹⁷ Some veteran student activists also now approve delinking students with national political parties and violence of the past.¹⁸

Two major surveys on student/ youth politics confirm that students negatively view the influence of outside campus politics. However

¹⁶ Interview with Senator Anisa Zeb Tahirkheili, twice elected vice president of the Peshawar University Students’ Union, and later the founding Secretary General of the Peoples Youth Organization and a Federal Minister.

¹⁷ Daily Dawn, 12 April 2009.

¹⁸ Interviews with Anisa Zeb Tahir Kheili, Fayyaz Baqir and Pervaiz Rashid, and see strong views of Jehangir Badr (now Sect. Gen. PPP) and Khawaja Saad Rafique (MNA PML-N) in Press Release: Discussion on “Educational Institutions and Wings of Political Parties?” in PU, Nov 17, 2008 http://www.pu.edu.pk/press/press_release-17-nov-08.asp

it was found out by the *National Survey on Student Politics, 2008* that aversion of students is towards detachment from campus politics – linkage with political parties, violence, ideologies etc – rather than rejecting it per se. There are verifiable indications that students approve union activities within campuses but disapprove “politics”. That means that they want to engage themselves in essentially political acts but seek to remain outside the influences of formal institutions of government, conventional political actors (i.e. parties), and traditional forms of political behaviour.¹⁹

The formation of new student bodies like the Students Action Committee (SAC), ISF and University Students Federation (USF) during the last three years and their role in the movement against imposition of emergency rule by the General Musharraf government also demonstrates similar effects of a campaign-based politics on issues rather than subscribing to parties, ideologies or violence.

Our review of literature suggests that the latest student uprising is unique in its character as compared to first three examples of the Pakistan movement, the uprising of the 1968-68 and the Afghan Jihad politics. Trends have hugely changed. So the historical approach to understand the student/ youth participation in democracy and politics is likely to fail at explaining the new forms of group cohesion, networking and mobilization of students and youth in Pakistan.

There is a need to revisit the student politics and probe socio-political, academic ideological, societal environments and identify resources and motivation for entering into the student politics and see if these are now emerging in other avenues of student life in campuses as well.

¹⁹ Butt, Iqbal Haider. “National Survey on Student Politics, 2008”, Gujranwala: Bargad, 2008. and Centre for Civic Education (CCE) “Political Participation of Youth in Pakistan”, Undated.

CHAPTER 3: UNDERSTANDING STUDENT POLITICS

3.1. HISTORICAL CASE OF PAKISTAN

Historical case of student politics in Pakistan presents four major culminating points of period when students consistently campaigned and their mass mobilization was strongly felt in the political and public life of the country. These movements are:

- § The Pakistan movement
- § The uprising of 1968-69
- § The Afghan war, and
- § The movement against imposition of emergency by President General Musharraf.

In pre-independence Pakistan, the student politics has been largely driven by national parties and its inception was caused by a movement run outside walls of the campuses, namely the independence movement against the British and formation of Pakistan.

In undivided India, student movements were first shown in the eruption of campus protests against the British Simon Commission (1928), which visited India in connection with addressing the self-government of Indians.

These protests contributed to wider interactions among the students and culminated into the establishment of the All-India Students Federation (AISF) in 1936.

The AISF held a nationalist agenda and was solely dedicated to the idea of independence for India from the British rule. This core agenda of independence consolidated the organization of students under one banner. However, it was segmented by formation of the All-India Students Congress (AISC) on the question of participation in the Second World War. The communist students supported the decision of Soviet Russia to enter into the war, while the socialist

and Gandhian students opposed to join the war. It was ultimately the AISF that led India to Independence.

The Muslim India diverged to other direction and demanded a separate state. This was manifested in formation of the All-India Muslim Students Federation (AIMSF) in 1937. This student body was an affiliated subsidiary of the All-India Muslim League like their AISC counterparts associated with the Indian National Congress. Its goal was a separate homeland for the Muslims which was ultimately achieved in August 1947.

AIMSF's role was so much crucial, according to Sharif-ul-Mujahid²⁰, it practically served as a substitute to the provincial Muslim Leagues, which were ridden by personal and factional feuds among their leaders. AIMSF was a perpetual balancing and pressure group upon the provincial leaders for not crossing the lines and compromising organizational agenda i.e. all movement of party tickets for the 1946 elections. Their significance also rose because Quaid-e-Azam listened to them as he did to no other organized group.

Students were also instrumental in shaping a progressive face to the Muslim League. For example, they staged a demonstration in favour of the abolition of zamindari (absentee landlordism) when the UP League Working Committee was meeting at Allahabad in 1945. They also influenced the Punjab League to draw up a progressive manifesto.

AIMSF was a communication link between Muslim League leadership and the masses.

AIMSF groomed its volunteers by establishing training camps for election campaigning in Aligarh, Dacca, Calcutta, Lahore and Peshawar. Only in Punjab there were over 2000 trained volunteers (1945). The success of civil disobedience movements during early 1947 in Punjab, NWFP and Assam are largely attributed to the AIMSF.²¹ In short, it was the student power on streets that presented them as face of Pakistan movement.

²⁰ Mujahid, Sharif al. "CHAPTERS FROM HISTORY: Students' role in the Pakistan Movement". Daily Dawn, June 30, 2002

²¹ Ibid.

The AM SF achieved its single goal: Pakistan. When it was done and the politicians became authorities in new state the student organization also began to wither away.

The demise of AM SF and its failure to convert into a potent and organized force in the newly born Pakistan strengthens the impression that this body was carved out to facilitate the outreach of politicians who were least interested in democratic potential of the students. With the death of its patron Quaid-e-Azam, the situation for organized students was really choked.

The student movement was undivided in early period of Pakistan until the affects of a cold war introduced new organizations like the Islamic Jama'at Talaba (Dec 1947) first formed as Tanzeem-i-Afkar-i-Islami (1945), and Democratic Students Federation (1950), etc.

Formed under the influence of M alana M aududi and affiliated with the Jam'at-e-Islami family, IJT was rather cornered at the time of its inception; as it along with other political-Islamists had opposed the creation of Pakistan. Moreover, M alana M aududi had adopted an aggressively hostile posture against the leadership of the newly created state. He blamed the Muslim League's leadership for all the problems which the people were facing at that time. In 1948, he expressed his controversial views regarding the allegiance to the new state of Pakistan and legitimacy of participation in the Kashmir war.²²

However despite his public position against the ruling party, M alana M aududi was well in touch with (Deobandi) religious leaders associated with the Muslim League regime. He had reviewed and suggested certain changes to the draft of objective resolution which was sent to him by M alana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani and M alana Zafar Ahmad Usmani while he was in imprisonment in Mitanjail.²³

²² See issues of "Tarajumanul Quran" [May 1947, pp. 64-65; June 1948, pp. 69-79; 11-12 August 1948, pp. 5-12; and June 1948, pp. 60-67] as cited in Ghous, Ghulam (2001), p.4.

²³ "Tazkirah," vol. 3, p.50 as cited in Ghous, Ghulam (2001), p.17.

At the time of formation, the founding fathers of IJT like their elders in the JI were looking into a *Dawa* (preaching) role rather than political. The contest over clarity of roles created fissures within the JI during its famous All Pakistan Convention in Machhi Goth, a village in district Rahim Yar Khan in February 1957. It resulted in the ouster of JI leaders M alana Ahsen Islahi, M alana Abdul Jabbar Ghazi, M alana Abdul Ghaffar Hassan, Sheikh Sultan Hassan and other rebels who adhered to the original idea of *Dawa* and opposed JI's participation to politics.

On the other hand the DSF, the student wing of Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP), capitalized upon the agitation of migrant community youth against the tuition fees, cost of education and lab and hostel facilities, etc, in Karachi. By 1952, it was also present in Lahore, Faisalabad, Rawalpindi and other colleges of Punjab and had swept the student union elections nationally²⁴. It also founded an alliance of elected student unions, the Inter-Collegiate Body (ICB) mainly for student welfare and to resolve the student issues.

The enterprising DSF could have thrived in the moderate environment of educational institutions and presence of progressive educated classes in Pakistan. However its march came to halt when it was banned in 1954 along with its mother party the CPP. The government accused connivance of the CPP leadership with General Akbar Khan in a failed "Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case" in a bid to overthrow the regime. DSF's fortnightly publication the *Students Herald* was also banned.

Many sympathizers assert that this ban was only an excuse under pressure from the 'capitalist world' - practically the US - to officially prohibit and persecute the both communist outfits. They had no formal links with coterie of Gen. Akbar. However the eye-witness revelations made after a lapse of 53 years by senior communist Prof. Khawaja Masud in 2008 have endorsed that the CPP was actually involved in the failed coup.²⁵

²⁴ Ahmed, S. Haroon & Asmi, Saleem. "Student movement revisited", Daily Dawn: Karachi, 5 April 2008.

²⁵ Awami Jamhori Forum. Interview Khawaja Masud, Issue No. 45, pp. 19-31.

The implications of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case have far reaching effects upon progressive student movements—especially those which were inspired by the revolution in Soviet Russia. In the ensuing years they could never recover. They went underground and worked under banners of different mainstream political parties.

The clandestine working of communists made them hostage to paranoia, organizational opacity, narrowness and a collective state of suspicion over everything amidst fears of being infiltrated by the “state agents.” This internal atmosphere also caused rifts upon rifts among the communist groups.

Although DSF came back in the late 1970s but it was in practice only the memory of DSF. The later brands of progressive student movement only adhered to the socialist ideology of China, anti-India campaign and populist radicalism i.e. the NSF, the NSO and the progressive elements of PSF inspired by Sheikh Rashid Ahmed, Senior Vice President of PPP and popularly called the *Bibi-a-Socialism* (Father of Socialism).

Attaching high value to the Calcutta decision of CPI (March 6, 1948) to declare Pakistan ripe for revolution and later the communist plot (Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case) to overthrow the government, analysts like Aamir Riaz²⁶ term it as a turning point of the demise of (pro-USSR) progressive movement in Pakistan.

Rather than positively contributing to the nascent state, the communists over-ambitiously clashed with the establishment and infuriated the political and social structures of the country. This policy of conflicting with the state and even intellectually challenging its legitimacy to exist came under the cold war environment. It was inline with the thinking of Communist Party of India (CPI) and the national leadership of CPP which even imported its top brass from India i.e. Sajjad Zaheer the CPP general secretary and Hassan Nasir the central committee member, etc. Because of the orientation of these leaders, the communists were thought as a risk to the security of the Pakistani state, Annamartains.

²⁶ Interview of Author with Aamir Riaz, 18 Nov 2009.

This view of the communists being creators of their own troubles defies popularly held opinion among the progressive lot that “the ruling elite were unhappy with popularity of the emerging student movement. Moreover, because it had decided to tilt towards the United States and enter into military pacts such as SEATO and CENTO”²⁷

Putting blame only on state repression is also to deny self-questioning. It is the failure of internal analysis and policies and inability to realize organizational limitations. This trend, as a general observation, runs through many examples across political divides and during different eras in Pakistan.

In case of student politics that can also be observed in the inability to devise a politics that is directly linked with education and activities inline with the primary mandate of campuses—the studies and learning.

Another important organization the National Students Federation (NSF) was formed in 1956. Majority practitioners and analysts, including its founders, are convinced it was first created by the regime to counter influence of DSF and the organized communists within campuses. Its earlier leader Hussain Naqi tells that soon it was realized by the establishment that the NSF was also a sore.²⁸

NSF was the key student organization that also led the uprising of late 1968-69. One must however mention that at many occasions both the rightist and leftist student organizations joined hands on the question of opposing dictatorship of Gen. Ayub Khan and his education policies i.e. Sharif Commission Report (1959), university reform through University Act (Nov 1963) and introduction of three years’ graduate degree program (1968).

The uprising of the 1968-69 was sparked by the mishandling of students of Gordon College Rawalpindi by the Custodian authorities while they were returning from their visit to Landi Kot in Khyber

²⁷ Ahmed, S. Haroon & Asmi, Saleem (2008)

²⁸ Interview, The News on Sunday, The News international, 17 June 2007.

Agency. Lal Khan²⁹ has produced details of these events and reproduced dispatches of British diplomats in Pakistan on how the mass agitation erupted. Our interview with Pervaiz Rashid then provincial president of the NSF and himself a student of the Gordon College is also testimony to the inception of uprising.

The late 1960's are important in the sense that this caused proliferation of student politics and organizations. Politics confined to 'drawing room's, as we popularly say, of the elite and street activism by unions affiliated with ideological outfits outboud to the masses. Many new student organizations like the Peoples Students Federation (PSF), Baloch Students Organization (BSO), Pukhtoon Students Federation (PkSF), Anjuman Talaba-e-Islam (ATI), Jamiat Talaba-e-Islam (JTI), Inqalabi Mahaz-e-Talaba (MIT) and Nationalist Students Organization (NSO) came into being in a transition from limited democracy to mass participation of citizens in politics at the national level.

After the Gen. Ayub era, the most significant events of student politics can be summarized as (i) the students' militant role in an Army Operation in the then East Pakistan, and (ii) their leading role to the extent of substitution of the opposition political parties against the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto government.

The IJT formed two militias namely the Al-Sham and Al-Badr to fight along the army to curb secessionist insurgency in East Pakistan. Gen. (Retd) Rao Farman Ali Khan as a primary source maintains that these pro-Pakistan forces were funded through the industrialists and businessmen.³⁰

In the Bhutto era, the opposition was symbolized by the student leaders claim's Javed Hashmi in his autobiography, *Mein Baghi Hoon*. He was then the IJT leader, later co-opted as a federal minister in the cabinet of Gen. Zia – while he was still a student leader – and presently is one of the key figures of Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz).

²⁹ Khan, Lal, "Pakistan's Other Story: The 1968-69 Revolution", pp. 127-134

³⁰ Khan, Gen (R.) Rao Farman Ali. "How Pakistan Got Divided?", Lahore: Jang Publishers.

Bhutto period was a charged era regarding student politics. Progressive politics was divided among provincial areas of influence: NSF in Karachi; SST, SPAF & DSF in interior Sindh; BSO in Balochistan, PkSF in NWFP while NSO in Punjab. On the other hand after 1971, JI and IJT attracted anti-Bhutto sentiments in especially the central Punjab region.

Another major turn to student politics came with the Afghan war. Students and youth were recruited to wage the war and the IJT was an instrument to gain political support for the war. This was also the period of bloody student clashes, qabza groups and total control upon campuses by one group or the other depending upon location.

The government's bid to discredit its democratic opposition and more specifically the PPP resulted in rise of provincial, regional or parochial politics in campuses in which display of fire arms became a routine and violence in campuses a norm.

The rise of AMSO in Karachi, nationalist elements in other parts of the country and organizations like the MSF and IJT in Punjab entangled themselves in a perpetual clash over occupation of campuses.

This violence was qualitatively different from skirmishes between rival students in the previous eras with the advent of sophisticated fire arms. Dr. Kaiser Bengali argues that the onus of responsibility lies upon the authorities that were responsible for internal security, whose duty it was to ensure that illegal arms do not enter the country and do not become available in covert market places in the country. They maintained surveillance activities of anti-establishment student leaders, but failed to notice the creeping proliferation of arms on campuses.³¹

The student unions were subsequently banned by Martial law notification in 1984. It is argued that the ban practically rationalized occupation of student organizations and groups over campuses.

³¹ Butt, Iqbal Haider. "National Survey on Student Politics, 2008", p. 5.

On 1 July, 1992, every student and his parents/ guardian were bound by the Supreme Court of Pakistan to give an undertaking at the time of admissions not to "indulge in politics".

The Supreme Court further banned all student unions on 10 March 1993.

Although the present government has announced to lift the ban on student politics, yet its notification is still pending and by procedural standards the announcement of lifting ban might be a political intent but not an action in perpetuated. The ban on student politics is still operative.

However the legality of lifting a ban is trickier than it seems. If we recall the ban (Interim Order July 1992 and then March 1993) it was imposed by the Supreme Court (Muhammad Ismail Qureshi & others vs M. Owais Qasim, Secretary General Islami Jamiat-i-Talaba Pakistan and 3 others 1993 SCMR 1781). It was a partial and subtle ban. The court did not ban activities related with unions, rather it banned the association of student organizations with organizational set-up of the educational institutions. The court order also permitted union activities and left it to the discretion of educational institutions if they want some kind of union.

So the court practically only banned the 'representative' status of a student organization not union activities as such. The individual institutions can form a student body by this order. That's why (not known popularly but) an official students council has been working since 2001 in the Ghosia University (Dera Ismail Khan).

That means an executive order of the government can lift the ban (on activities), but it will be a limited action unless a new legislation is enacted. BUT

- that has not been done.
- The mid-term framework for Higher Education Commission (HEC) does not cover student unions. This is THE policy document of governing higher education (universities and degree awarding institutions) in Pakistan. That means an amendment will have to be made. Otherwise the government order will create a discrepancy.

- Charters of individual universities will also have to be amended since the ban is procedurally ingrained there.

On political grounds, there are serious reservations on student unions and organizations within the educationists as expressed by the recommendations of the university VCs (2008) and many those national politicians who have student activism background i.e. Jehangir Badr and Khawaja Saad Rafique are strongly in favour of delinking student organizations with political parties.

In an unprecedented move Vice Chancellors of all public and private universities of Pakistan gave a rejoinder to their previous assertions on the student politics (2009). They don't think it appropriate to lift the ban at the present critical situation of the country. They rather support the growth of societies and associations within campuses. They further accuse the student unions of being a source of violence and disruption in studies.³²

The fourth student movement is the latest one in a bid to oppose the imposition of emergency rule by Gen. Pervez Musharraf – ultimately it has gained its objective. R. B. Rais is positively impressed by this movement and "rejects the conventional analysis that the youth is depoliticised and mainly interested in advancing their careers." In his own words:³³

"It is heartening that while the power-elites were still debating how the imposition of martial law in the country would hurt them or create fresh opportunities of co-optation, college and university students along with young media and legal professionals instantly realised the enormity of the act of trashing the constitution and throwing the vast majority of judges of the superior judiciary out of the system. It is perhaps for the first time in the political history of the country that legal and constitutional issues, hitherto a domain of the expert, have entered into the popular imagination with a powerful reminder that what happens in the superior judiciary is a matter of public concern."

³² Daily Dawn, 12 April 2009.

³³ Rais, Rasul B. "Youth of the Nation", Daily Times, November 13, 2007.

This movement started from the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) while making strong presence in FAST University it claimed to have support of students of 15 universities of Lahore under the banner of Students Action Committee (SAC), which was formed in November 2007.

The SAC made five demands in its founding declaration:

- Lifting of Martial Law
- Restoration of the Judiciary to its pre-3rd Nov state
- Restoration of the Constitution to its pre-3rd Nov state
- Removal of curbs on Media Freedom
- Release of Protest Prisoners and dropping of charges against them

These demands have been made after much political upheaval in the country. It is yet to see what will happen next. However, we can safely say that;

- This movement started from the 'elitist' institutions.
- This is urban.
- It is politically non-aligned with any national party
- Apart from protest rallies and agitation, the movement resorted to new modes of political communication. Websites, blogs, web-based discussion forums and lists and mobile text messaging was excessively used by its members to convey their messages in real time. This use of new technologies also shows breaking physical surveillance of the old-style student politics. The effort to physically monitor the students is not possible.
- The movement is supplemented by allies from the Pakistani Diaspora abroad.
- The movement is issue based.

This movement was coincided with uprising in the Punjab University, where the mishandling of cricketer turned politician Imran Khan ignited the majority of students and the hegemony of IJT was broken. Two new student organizations, the University Students Federation (USF) and Insaf Students Federation (ISF)

came into being. It was also supplemented by also a revolt from within the IJT, when a section of its activists joined the ISF.

3.2. ANALYTICAL CASE OF PAKISTAN

Student politics has become a contentious issue in Pakistan. Traditionally, this activism did not meet with the fate of longer periods of dormancy as then national democratic forces had to go through during successive dictatorial rules.

It is argued that this could be because of multiple factors: adolescence, less social responsibilities, enabling academic environment, modernization effects, seemingly powerful patrons outside campus, historical confidence of winning the independence from foreigners, political incentives by the mobilizing agencies, better use of time and skill resources, or motivational factors like the political interest, ideological inclination, belief system and grievance and sense of injustice or the combination of all these that students were a dreaded force amidst fragile democratic structures.

Historical evidence proves that before the ban on student unions much of the street power and larger political assemblies in Pakistan have been attributed to the student politics. After a long lull, the students were again seen on the streets during the lawyers' movement. Nevertheless their organization, thematic training and scale have visibly diluted as compared with previous examples of national movements.

Is this the sign of student apathy or change in socio-political or academic environment that students are not subscribing to the larger political structures?

Not only that, many political leaders who are themselves product of past student politics have publicly joined hands with arch rivals – the educationists – to propose delinking student politics with outside – national – political actors.

Both the major two parties of Pakistan may give a lip service to welcoming student politics but in practice are not ready to own the idea of a vibrant student politics (or its violent past).

WHY SO?

Certainly there are questions that inhabit the political actors to either embrace the student politics or at least candidly talk about it. This portion should consider reasons why to revisiting student politics by all stakeholders need open discussions on this unresolved issue for educational institutions and the society.

3.2.1. THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

The student politics, or in actual its manner for the contemporary campus life,³⁴ in Pakistan has a long history of reliance upon outside political influence and political party linkages. There have been lesser models of independent student organizations or campus-based politics i.e. many girl colleges and rare examples like the Government College Lahore, etc.

Before going further, let us first define the independence of a student organization. I would borrow from Srinate who term that a group is independent if it satisfies the following criterion:³⁵

- Is not a student wing of any established national or regional political party?
- Originally may have started out as a student wing of a political party, but broke free from it.
- Is not funded by any political party.
- The organization's long-term agenda is not controlled or decided by any political party.

³⁴ See "National Survey on Student Politics", where 62.6% students have no opinion about the student politics before ban in 1984. There is a vast area of ambivalent response to the effect that the contemporary students have practically no idea of the student politics. An almost amnesia can be seen on this issue. That would also mean departing from framing the student politics on its historical "political" lines.

³⁵ Srinate Sirnate, Vasundhara. "Prospectus: Independent Student Political Organizations in Northeast India" (Unpublished): University of California, Berkeley. p.8

This campus-society proximity first emanates from the historical inception of student politics by the independence movement, 1947, where students were needed by the All India Muslim League to be organized for the outreach dissemination of the national messages and election campaigns. In that sense the study of inception period of a student movement or organization can shed useful lights upon its following course and linkages with the mainstream political parties. This is also true for all the student organizations, barring the AIMSO and the BSQ whose inception was caused by members of them other parties or groups.

The inception cases of IJT, DSF, NSF, NSQ, PSF, to name a few point to the designs conceived by activists of JI, factions of CPP, The Professors Group and the PPP. These student organizations were not self-grown mushrooms if you like!

Renowned scholar of the student politics Philip Altbach has another explanation to offer. While posing a question on why student politics is more successful in developing countries than the developed states, he suggests that "the absence of proper political institutions makes it easier for students to infiltrate politics and wield political influence and that prior history of participation in national or anti-colonial movements in developing countries means students are taken seriously as political actors. Many universities tend to be located near or in capital cities that makes students more receptive to political ideas and influences their participation."³⁶

In weaker political system the probability of student activists to quickly earn reputation, get media attention or being co-opted by the higher echelons is also higher.

The repressive orders like the EBDO and others in the early 1960s in Pakistan that banned mainstream politicians created vacuum in which students had the greater chances to be personally and collectively visible and offered on the other hand a proxy activism for politicians to disrupt the government or opponents' political aims

³⁶ Altbach, Philip. "Students and Politics" in Lipset (ed.) *Student Politics*, Basic Books 1967.

The fragility of political system in Pakistan remains high despite return to democracy because of weaker political parties and lack of democratic governance and organized civil and political societies.

Student politics is a manifestation of the input functions of democracy. It is additionally confronted with massive changes in academic setting and other factors which will hinder its progress if articulated on historical lines.

3.2.2. THE ACADEMIC ENVIRONMENT

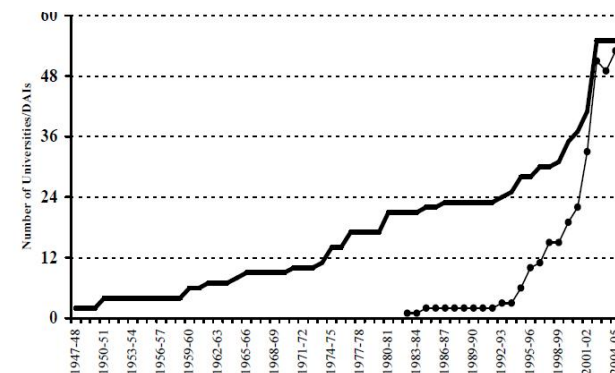
Campus life has a peculiar culture, where the traditions, standards of academic staff, curriculum, policies of the educational institutions significantly influence the way students act.

Students tend to relate to the social and political happenings in the country. With liberalization in media policies and so many electronic outfits in operation and access to the internet, no one can remain aloof with societal and national politics. However the institutional set-up of a campus is a deciding factor to determine what kind of social or political activism of students will prevail. This becomes especially true after the proliferation of educational institutions, greater autonomy to the universities, higher competition for job placement and opening up of new academic programmes in Pakistan.

It is a pre-requisite that we appreciate the nature of educational institutions, especially the universities, to decipher the norms and forms of student politics.

Growth and number of universities could be the first difference that has occurred over three important timelines – (i) 1947: The making of Pakistan, (ii) 1984: Period of first ban on student unions, and (iii) the current times. The number of universities for these three years is 2, 21 and 124 respectively. There has been self-evidently a phenomenal growth and geographic dispersion of universities over the years.

The following graph illustrates growth of the universities and degree awarding institutions in Pakistan³⁷



Two growth components have major implications for the student politics: First, the rise in private institutions, and the second their geographic dispersion outside the bounds of a few bigger cities.

The private institutes have got more autonomy to run their affairs. They are also more liberal in designing their subjects, curriculum, learning methodologies and administrative set-ups. They can quickly respond to various student development programmes and outreach schemes if a demand is there. They tend to be profit-oriented and choose their academic programmes according to the job market demands. That's why the subjects of liberal arts, and humanities and social sciences are generally missing from the list of their degree programmes. A full-fledge general education university in the private sector in Pakistan can be desired but is not deemed financially viable if the practice of private institution is an indicator.

The disciplinary bias for specialized subjects within the private institutions inherently subdues the political consciousness of the students. It has been proven through various studies that liberal arts

³⁷ Higher Education Commission. "Statistical Booklet" p.8.

and social sciences students are more likely to engage in political activities (Abach, 1992). It is no coincidence that the recent student activism in LM S began after the inception of liberal arts and consolidated by law and mass communication programmes as it efficiently offered the students and faculty to interact with the prospective job markets at the one hand, and also positively boosted the reputation of the institution on the other.

Because of higher competition, search for more job placements and institutional credibility the private institutions are expected to expose their students to larger communities outside the campuses and enhance skills of students through outreach programmes and associational work within the campuses. It is by default that they promote associational activism and collective learning and interaction techniques. The experience of a few established institutions like the Government College and Kinaird College has already demonstrated that increased student interactive activities result in lesser radicalization and polarization of students on hard-core political and ideological grounds.

The positive effects of associational activities in campuses have also been jointly realized by VCs of Pakistani universities in a recent tele-conference organized by the Higher Education Commission.

Universities in Pakistan have been the privilege of a few larger cities. However, the recent growth has also dispersed these tertiary education institutions on much larger scale. Universities now are also available in Gujrat, Faisalabad, Sargodha, Gujranwala, Dir, Gilgit, Khuzdar, Masehra etc. Colleges with Masters level programmes have gone even deeper into the diverse geographic landscape of Pakistan. Apart from other outcomes, this would also mean that the ratio of residential vs. the local students will also decrease.

This institutional lay-out is unmatched by the student organizations, whose networks are already limited to their strong pockets or regional clusters. The most fortunate networks have been those which existed in a few bigger cities – even in the heydays of student politics – and would capitalize upon the media focus of these selected cities. But now with the scaling up of geographic locations of the universities and wider media coverage it is more likely that

the representation claim of the student community on national level is harder to validate for a particular student organization.

The university with predominantly a local or neighbouring population has also political implications. It is contrary to the classical imagination of university being cosmopolitan universe of diverse backgrounds coming from nook and crook of the nation. Here the students feel less socially vulnerable to threats and physical surveillance of organized student groups as compared to living in far off bigger cities, or can always fall back upon traditional sources of power in the wake of physical threats. It has been evidently proven by the uprising in Punjab University (2007) against a powerful student organization that a mass of unnamed urban (local) students has more successfully resisted the group as compared to previous such examples in the same university.

There are shifts in the demographic composition of the universities to more urban orientation and ethos of the institutions is changing – also because of the use of ICTs and linking with the world of World Wide Web and multimedia messages.

Even in campuses where the students have traditionally been victims of political repression of hegemonic student group, the communication among like-minded students and friends cannot be effectively checked. They are promptly informed of the campus happenings and can post their own generated videos on websites like the Youtube. The number of political postings on the Youtube only from the Punjab University reaches in hundreds and some have carried very pointed and sensitive views that the mainstream media cannot publish because of the backlash of strike at their offices – as has frequently occurred in the history of student politics.

Because of open channels of communications and the realization of the price that parents pay for their education, students are freer to talk on issues. Furthermore the fee structures and the organization of examinations into semester system compel students to discourage anything that may disrupt their studies. They have the leisure to go for examination once in a year normally. Nor there is much time left for distant extra-curricular activities. It is also not matter of losing

negligible amount of money as it was in past in the Pakistani public universities.

Surely a demanding situation for the 'professional' student leaders or their groups has arisen out of the present tougher academic environment. In the past, they could easily afford the whole-time fees. They would fund their designated cadres and constantly get them admitted to the other departments when first tenure of studies was completed!

Another important shift in the higher education institutions is the growing number of its enrolment. This is uniquely followed by trends of massive enrolment of girl students. They now lag behind boys by just over one percent on a national scale. In many universities they have already outnumbered boys. It is just a matter of 2/3 years at the current rate of year-to-year student enrolment that they are likely to become in university campuses than boys.

The clear visibility of girls in campuses has certainly contributed to more acceptance of the changing role of women by the campus communities. 63.6% students endorse the idea of allotting quota for girls in the future university student unions.³⁸ But are the 'political' minds ready to adjust to the emerging reality? Veteran activists like Ameer-ul-Azeem³⁹ and Salman Abid⁴⁰ proved frustrating apologists on that and obscure the importance of new demography of the universities.

This situation is challenging for the student organizations who have not been accustomed to such a demographic revolution. The review of literature and our interviews with past student leaders indicate that the student politics have hosted a tiny group of women in responsible union positions in whole of the country. They can be counted on fingers.

³⁸ Butt, Iqbal Haider. "National Survey on Student Politics, 2008", P. 41.

³⁹ See author's interview with Ameer-ul-Azeem.

⁴⁰ Abid, Salman. "Talba Siyasat: Siyasi Shoor aur Bhatta Khuri Kay Durmiann", in Monthly Awami Jamhori Forum p. 24.Both support the segregated representation of girl-students.

The presence of greater number of girls would also mean that student politics reconsiders its past resort to violence.

Lastly the emphasis upon higher education and heavy funding for the last many years has rejuvenated the campus activities – both academic and infrastructural. It is however yet to be seen if this vibrancy can be sustained and financed for future as well; as some educationists fear.

To sum up, we can witness that the academia and universities are now feeling real activity and growth around them. They have scaled up to a level that at the current conjecture it is harder for student organizations to catch up with the pace of change. Instead times are running short on them before campus based activism is derived from personal, professional and academic interests and values rather than the political and ideological interests emanating from belief system and settlement dogmatism. This scenario is surely going to hit political leverage of the student organizations which are closely linked with outside political structures.

We are in a transition towards campus consolidation, where student action is stimulated by campus and local issues and pulls from campus to the society.

The equation of activism originated from society to campus may be turned upside down, or that's what we can learn from similar campus condition elsewhere in the world. Even in different scenarios when unrest is led by the traditional student organizations in a growing higher education environment the jargon is borrowed from campus and local education issues. This is not to say that the larger student politics is negative in nature as many educational authorities would regard it. Rather we are talking about autonomy and relevance of the student politics.

This autonomy and independence is closely linked with accountable and transparent system of university governance where students' voice is systematically included at different tier of decision making structures.

3.2.3. LEGACY OF THE IDEOLOGIES AND COLD WAR

Ideologies have stimulated the student politics like nothing in Pakistan in an era of the cold war between the US and the USSR. Now when that period is over, what will provide the motivational force to student activism?

The old leftist forces have virtually ceased to exist in the campuses and the rightist elements are in search of new enemies and meaning to justify their existence. In fact the ideology oriented terminology has altogether become illegible and obsolete for most of the contemporary students.

Ideologies have provided student politics with social belief systems, radical agendas and value-based appeal for common good. They give a sense of greater alignment with international networks and universal brotherhood. The holistic approaches of ideologies are also accessible to the young minds, where they can explain complex phenomenon in a simplistic way through a single lens.

In the absence of data, we should also compare ideologies vs. theories as explanatory tools that have made world views of the students in action. We can assume that with the expansion of disciplines and their applicability the students may tend to use more theories than ideologies. Nevertheless common merit with theories is still a distant idea.

On operational level, ideological orientation in Pakistani student politics has led to a polarization of students which made it easy to absorb energies of the youth in service of international political agendas of the US and the USSR.

On either side of the ideological divide, the first casualty was education and campus-based issues of the students. We can clearly see that student politics' contribution to various national education policies is next to none. From 1950s to the present day, we can record agitational and reactionary politics to denounce policies in rhetorical language but nothing substantial and pro-active articulation was proposed by the proponents of student politics – either from the 'Islamist' or 'Progressive' perspective.

It is also no joke that political-Islamists were the first among beneficiaries of the privatization of education services under the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) during Gen. Zia era. The veteran student leaders affiliated with JI showed much entrepreneurship to run school and college systems and now even own (three) universities. Yet it is ironical that within their institutions, politics is as banned as in public institutions! That explains why people have mistrust over these politicians. When some campus issue is highlighted through a demonstration and necessary media coverage, observers can quickly see that the campus authorities are being blackmailed for some illegal favour.

The flipside of the ideological rhetoric is that it blurs real issues of ordinary students into abstract formulations and opportunistic strategies to gain power and control over resources in campuses.

Historically, the reactionary ideologies have also been used to justify torture, dehumanization and even killing of opponents in our national context. In fact the political Islamists in student politics founded this tragic tendency in the political history of Pakistan by physically tormenting and purging the opponents. Other groups also joined to turn campuses into fiefdoms as veteran student leader and academician Dr. Manzur Ejaz would put it.⁴¹

Sheer violence in the name of different social values and ideological slogans in campuses is the main reason that many people are alarmed to hear the words: "student politics"!

3.2.4. THE SOCIETAL SETTINGS

Growing living standards, education, urbanization and industrialization and changes in demography can have modernizing effects to provide the social foundations for the participation to politics. However, there are theoretical perspectives available that defy an automatic link of socio-economic development with

⁴¹ Ejaz, Dr. Manzur. "WASHINGTON DIARY: Campus fiefdoms". Daily Times: Lahore, 5 December 2007.

political participation and that social process can go to unpredictable directions.

In practical terms there has been absence of literature to decipher the social basis of student politics. So we are unsure to say if students in Karachi as compared to Khuzdar are more democratic or politically active. Likewise, we cannot assume that with out-migration of young population in Pakistan, which is to benefit more the organized student politics, or the reactionary militancy and chaotic radicalization of youth.

The evidence shows that active youth activity visibly have beaten student activism in intensity and scale in urban centres i.e. anti-Danish Riots on Cartoons' controversy (Feb 2007, Lahore).

We can say that student politics and the campuses enjoy relative immunity from societal influences; in that they are organized on meritocracy rather than the kinship, family, caste, creed or colour. Promotion within both is related to individual excellence and merit and the skills to lead.

However, we can potentially assume that prospects of student participation can be maximized by designing matching structures and messages to factors like the urbanization and industrialization and demography. But this will demand much informed analysis and collection of base-line data.

3.2.5. RESOURCES AND MOTIVATION

It is always an interesting but important question as to what kind of a person is more likely to join politics and can have the potential to be an activist or a future leader. Political recruiters are always in search of such typical young cadres who possess certain resources – i.e. time, money, political interest, skills – and motivation to naturally become part of the group.

Other forms of political resources are values, ideology and sense of relative deprivation/ grievance.

Resources and motivation are best barter between individuals and the political groups. They work both ways. On the one hand, politics chooses resourceful and motivated individuals and on the other hand they offer incentives to students to enhance their resources.

Student politics in Pakistan has extensively been dependent upon motivational level of its activists. Right from the Pakistan movement to other milestone movements, motivation has been a primary source of student activism. Sometimes the motivation, as in case of ideological student organizations, rose to the heights of belief system and dogmatism.

The cadre parties even institutionalized the resources and motivation by restricted membership on the basis of incremental selection criteria and promotion through passing various stages of ideological competence in stipulated curricula, observance of organizational principles and practical demonstration of organizational capabilities.

The whole-time staff of such organizations are/ were provided with logistic support and remuneration to fully dedicate themselves to organizational aims and work.

These student organizations also devised on-site training systems to boost ideological understanding, event management skills, and communication capabilities. This surely has acted as incentives for activists who generally came from lower middle income groups. It also provided personal development and leadership opportunities and platforms to ascend in the public life. Many of the present-day national leaders who have a non-elitist familial background have risen to national stature because of their active association with such political groups. Altaf Hussain (ML), Jehangir Badar, Ghulam Abbas, Fauzia Wahab (PPP), Afrasiab Khattak (ANP), Khawaja Saad Rafiq, Ahsan Iqbal, Javed Hashmi, Pervaiz Rashid (MLN), Syed Munawar Hassan, Liaquat Baloch (Jamiat-e-Islami), Huzefa Chaudry (PTI), etc. to name a few.

Education institutions like the Government College and Kinnaird College, Lahore, also earned reputation because of practical skills imparted by diverse associations, societies and clubs in their and the incentives for youth leadership that both have offered.

The latest involvement of LMS students in lawyer's movement and the formation of SAC is another example of students having resources to afford activism on the one hand and on the other hand winning greater prospects in the job market.

The resources-politics linkage can also be examined in the light of physical and spatial limitations for the student groups. Although its importance is downplayed, but it is worth seeing that most of the student organizations have to rely upon funds and spaces rendered by the mother groups. In a study done on youth groups in Lahore, it was found out that not having a proper office space was an important issue that put off the activists.⁴²

Our own interviews with various student leaders revealed that many national level student organizations had no permanent office spaces of their own. In most cases, they operated from the 'party' premises.

Like wise funding for activities has been a perpetual source of creating dependence upon senior political actors.

During times of student unions, the issues of funding and office spaces were tackled with union facilities and resources, but in their absence and lack of enabling institutional environment it has been difficult for the student organizations to run affairs on their own. One of the successes of the latest milestone movement of students against emergency rule is that it has resorted to exploit virtual spaces for its communication and activism on affordable costs.

In changed academic environment, the institutions facilitate their students by enabling environment and providing spaces for social activism, skill-based societal and service-based work within the campuses. The success of vibrant but politically non-aligned associational activities in campuses like GC and KC points to formal patronage and provision of facilities to the bright young students according to their interests in oral and written

⁴² Abbas, Naeem & Khaleeq Anjum. "Youth Networking & Group Cohesion: A Comparative Study of Mainstream and Faith-based Youth Groups in Lahore", (Unpublished) BARGAD: Gujranwala, August 2006. P.27

communication and literary, intellectual or service-oriented pursuits. This has also minimized the risks of indulging in a politics that was deemed 'disruptive'.

Resources and motivation for student politics is form of civic volunteerism model, in which the individuals and groups reciprocate with each other from mutually beneficial actions.

The depth of motivational factors is however unclear. It has been witnessed and conceded by leaders that the idealism of a campus may evaporate when the otherwise hardcore member joins public life. A huge majority of IJT activists don't join the JI after completing their campus life.⁴³

⁴³ See author's interview with Ameer-ul-Azeem

CHAPTER 4: TESTIMONIES ON STUDENT POLITICS

4.1. AMEER-UL-AZEEM

Ameer-ul-Azeem, former Nazim-e-Aa of the Islami Jamiat Talaba (IJT) and presently Ameer Jamaat-e-Islami Lahore, says that the student organizations should seek ideological guidance from political parties but they do not have to become stooges in their hands: Jamaat has progressed because it has been an autonomous organization.

In a wide-ranging interview at office of his advertisement agency, the 50-year-old former chief of IJT during the crucial days of Gen Zia's regime tells that student politics now would not revert to violence and militancy. Today, the situation has improved and a culture of reconciliation and dialogue is taking roots. It is very positive.

Born in 1958 in Islam pura (Krishanagar), Lahore, Ameer-ul-Azeem was inspired by writings of M. Ali Jinnah and involved himself with IJT in 1977. This affiliation persisted for the next ten years during which he became Punjab's Nazim, national secretary general and ultimately the IJT chief. He was also elected President of the Punjab University Student Union in 1984.

He says he is proud of his student activism days. However, he disapproves of biases that hindered even his own colleagues to have dialogue with other groups: "I have always said that neither we are perfect, nor our opponents are always totally wrong. I have been opposed to self-righteousness of those people who use violence, might of an organization and terror rather than arguments to pursue their aims."

Ameer-ul-Azeem mentions that advocate M. Raza Qureshi made mistakes in his arguments during Awaiz Qasbi's (secretary general, IJT) case for lifting ban on student unions, 1993. The court had given a framework. It did not ban student politics.

He further reiterates that Jamaat and Jamaat are not against participation of women in public life:

Without active women, an Islamic society cannot be built. We support participation of women in every walk of life i.e. police, army, media, medicine, teaching and even sports like swimming. However we are opposed to their activities in mixed environment. It is sheer by chance that there has been no woman leader in the main panel of an elected IJT student union. However, in departmental elections they frequently used to represent Jamaat.

More excerpts from Ameer-ul-Azeem's interview are as following:

"Extraction of money by student organizations started after the unions were banned... A wave of violence erupted because of late chief minister of Punjab Ghulam Haider Waryah who wanted entry of Muslim Students Federation (MSF) into the campuses by any means. Such violence is caused by the government's patronage. Otherwise, ideological differences have not resulted in bloody clashes.

"... Afghan Jihad did not affect the student politics in anyway. Many of our fellows became Mujahideen, but they never supported us militarily within the campuses.

"It was not Jamaat-e-Islami rather the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), to which Jamaat was a part that accepted ministerial portfolios in Gen Zia's first cabinet. Ch. Zohoor Elahi was the first one who hastened to take oath in his individual capacity. This naturally created rupture within the PNA. It then decided to join the cabinet... Jamaat not only left the cabinet but also the PNA when Gen Zia did not keep his promise of holding elections within the 90 days. Jamaat has never hobbled with the state machinery and establishment... IJT never liked indirect support of Gen. Zia by the Jamaat which did not want to take risks because of Afghan Jihad. However we thought that the jihad was more pure than and we should participate in the democratic struggle.

"Jamaat did not participate in Afghan jihad because of establishment. We kept distance from offers of contracts and other

perks. On the other hand those people who were apparently against this jihad [of present-day ANP], minted money and earned benefits out of it. Haji Adeel is an example.

“Leftist political organizations have always been going through splits. Our opponents operate seasonally around the student union elections, while Jamia is a well-organized force that has worked methodically and democratically all along these years.

“Actions of small level representatives or sympathizers of IJT sometimes cause undue embarrassment for the organization by using force, but we strictly adhere to a moral code of conduct... we publicly repudiate wrongdoing of a member, as I did in the case of Nazim of the University of Engineering and Technology (UET) Lahore. We took him to task for misbehaving with the Vice Chancellor, even though it was not publicly known.

“In the case of mishandling of Imran Khan by the IJT people in Punjab University I said before media that it was a black spot on the face of Jamia. This statement met with opposition from the Jamia. I said my opinion is that whatever happened with Imran Khan was not a mistake it was a sin. This event earned Jamia bad name not only in the Punjab University but also in the country... Jamia acted against those who were responsible for this event, but to my mind they did not go as far as they should have done. Nazim-e-Aala of IJT should have taken responsibility and resigned.

“Today the situation is different. We are witnessing widespread support for tolerant behaviour and dialogue is growing day by day. Credit mostly goes to them. Now opposing groups have publicly started talking to each other. It is a very positive trend and I hope because of a culture of dialogue we can once again rejuvenate the deteriorated student politics.”

4.2. AMIR JALAL

Amir Jalal champions the cause of new wave of student politics. He heads the University Students Federation (USF) a student organization that was formed during the heat of lawyers' movement against imposition of emergency rule and accentuated during mass

student protests against mishandling of Imran Khan by the IJT workers in Punjab University.

Amir is a PhD candidate and has been General Secretary of the Muslim Students Federation (MSF) at the Government College Faisalabad. He lightly says that he was the only MSF activist in his college not implicated in any criminal offence. One should add that he is also an exceptional student with a MSF background in recent times that would hold a doctorate degree!

Amir is quite technology savvy. It is because of him and his friends that every important event of the university is posted on YouTube and mobile text messaging is extensively used.

Being a PhD student he has been associated with Punjab University for a long time. He thinks that intellect level of students of Punjab University has always been high. If you happen to discuss any national or international issue, they explicitly express their independent opinion and observations. Students are familiar with the fact that Punjab University is the oldest educational institution which has provided commendable leadership to Pakistan.

“However the environment which flourishes and groom students seems missing since the time we joined the institution. Neither the enlightening environment that glows the minds is existent nor can the students freely participate in co-curricular activities.”

“See, this is the age of information and technology; present age students are very well aware about the educational environment of developed countries universities. Now if we lack that environment in our universities then responsible elements for such prevailing state of affairs are certainly not the well-wishers of students.

Amir says in spite of ban on students unions ostensibly, a certain student organization is active since 1984 which utilizes University funds, place its posters, and arrange programmes of its own choice. Such activities are disliked generally by students. This narrow and rigid atmosphere has been breeding its opposition howsoever repressed. Then right after the imposition of emergency on Saturday 2nd Nov 2007, a spontaneous reaction broke out. On University's reopening after weekly holidays a protest was launched on

in position of an emergency rule. PhD candidates along with law college students took this initiative. This stimulated the long suppressed activism in Punjab University.

Arrival of Inran Khan in the University further aggravated the movement of agitation. No sooner Inran Khan arrived in the campus, he was stopped to move further.

Excerpts from Amir's interviews are given as under:

We all, along with some PhD students encountered that endeavor and affirmation resort not to let workers of the IJT to proceed with such wicked action. We jumped over the car and shouted slogans in Inran Khan's favor and against the emergency rule. In the meantime Nazim of the ruler organization jumped over the car and pushed us down. What happened afterwards is an open story."

"An immense reaction followed this incident. University Law College became the centre of protests; and rallies became a daily routine affair. The ruler organization's activists threatened on phone calls to the parents of boys and girls to forgo such activities otherwise they will not be responsible for the consequences. Again, this act had a reverse reaction and students started participating in rallies in a huge number.

"Gradually, students from all the departments in rallies got familiar with each other. It became clear that all schools of thoughts are actively supporting us, and every person is annoyed over undemocratic actions and attitude of a student organization. This situation made us realize that we need a platform where opposition to undemocratic practices will be at top of the manifesto; where owning a different school of thought will not be an issue anymore; and where interests of students and University will be safeguarded with unity. It was proclaimed that students may have different ideologies, they may have different role models; but they should acknowledge two things:

Undemocratic practices and attitudes will not be tolerated at any cost; Interests of students and University can never be compromised

Hence this forum comprises students with different ideologies and schools of thoughts but even then that is protecting the interests of students and not becoming a cause of disunity. We disfavor authoritarian politics, as a student organization has hijacked the whole university since last thirty years. We won't like any other group or student wing to take over the possession! We are against the authoritarian politics and believe in democracy. Democracy is worthless without freedom of opinion and expression and the adherence to human rights.

This philosophy is the motivation behind the formation of University Students Federation and students's support is with us. Our slogan is Non-Violent and Non-Partisan

Neither do we adhere to a pertinent philosophy, political party or religious sect as a group nor do we justify violent politics.

We call upon all political parties that this is the ripe time for them to decide whether political wings of such parties should be present? Or there should be a knowledgeable and contemplative atmosphere in place where all types of politics and political ideologies can be discussed or criticized but there should have no any interference by any political party. This arrangement is suitable both for the University and for the political parties as well. History of Punjab University bears the witness that how a student wing supported by a political party has deteriorated this institution. Now we, the students of Punjab University will not allow that type of politics to be practiced again and will make persistent endeavors to revive the democratic environment in the University.

"IJT only uses the name of Islam. If they had been truly believed in what they say about religion, they could never have hindered Maulana Tariq Jamil to deliver a lecture on Holy Quran. They stopped Maulana because Maulana seemed to fit in their frame of Islam. Maulana Tariq Jamil eventually had to conduct the session in Wifaqi Colony...."

"This organization is equally involved in discriminating and widening the gap between students having rural and urban background. When we came there, we were told it is because of the ruling student organization that thousands of girls are peacefully

studying in the University. Had it not there the girls would have been taken away by the Lahoris. But afterwards when we saw thousands of girls studying in different educational institutions of Lahore then we realized that this organization is habitual to lying just for maintaining its control.

“University teachers are being threatened on phone call that we are talking from Waziristan and if you will not stop annoying our boys then we will attack with suicide bombers.

The ruling student organization invited Wajih-ud-Din Ahmed in University to talk on the teachers who were fired by Govt. s order. Wajih-ud-Din condemned the sacking of teachers. I could not stop myself, stood on my chair and asked Mr Wajih-ud-Din to name the PhD students as well who became the victim of torture in the hands of this organization. I added that we acknowledge that you are in the vanguard of anti-Muslim harassment movement along with this organization, but you must ask them to stop undemocratic practices. They tortured me only because I was distributing pamphlets in the favor of Judges' Restoration. Mr Wajih-ud-Din, you must talk about the atrocities meted out to PhD students.

Afterwards, some teachers from this organization reprimanded me and told me that they have tick marked my name because we distributed the pamphlets outside central mosque.

4.3. ANISA ZEB TAHIRKHELI

Anisa Zeb Tahirkheli has been perhaps one of the most prominent women student leaders in Pakistan. She was twice elected as Vice President of the student union in Peshawar University (1981-82 and 1982-83). She bagged record number of votes in a campus, which also included votes of many affiliated colleges that have now become independent institutions. Later, she became the founding general secretary of Peoples Youth Organization and has held many political and governmental offices on women and youth affairs. Her political portfolio includes being member of the provincial assembly, provincial advisor to the chief minister NWFP, senator and a federal minister.

Hailing originally from a village Khalo near Barot hail district Hari pur (NWFP), her family had to frequently move from one place to another because of his father's career in the Pakistan Army. He retired at the rank of a colonel.

She says that it was the inner strength and proper guidance of his father that has informed her political career all along.

After her Matriculate in 1976 from the Vigar-un-Nisa School Rawalpindi, she got admitted to the Federal Government College for Women in Islamabad and stayed at its boarding house.

According to her, she was intensely moved by prosecution and subsequently hanging of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who symbolized peoples politics and an iconic international stature in the eyes of many youth then.

Female student activists from the Quaid-i-Azam University (QAU) would visit her college and Bhutto's prosecution was the primary point of their discussions. These assemblies led them to a procession in the Mall Chowk, where police baton charged the demonstrators. Young girls from her college and the QAU had to escape through PVC drainages pipes back their hostels.

After Bhutto's hanging she was also an active part of the students who arranged a gai bano nimaz-e-jinaza for the late prime minister at Jinnah College Peshawar.

She was a BSc Honors student of Geology in the Peshawar University, when she was elected to her departmental union. Later in 1981, she was elected vice president of the union. Their main slogan in the elections was that “we will turn this campus into another Larkana.”

These were crucial times when the effects of Afghan war started showing up in the university, with Afghan faces and Jehadi green attire often affiliated with the Hizb-e-Islami and to their brotherly comrades the IJT.

Terror and fears of violence had reached to a point that Ms Tahirkheli had to constantly carry a pistol in her bag while in the campus.

To shun the paranoia of her comrades, this young lady resorted to an innovation that in the succeeding years were to symbolize the worst of student politics (and Afghan war) and beginning of youth militancy in Pakistan. She with the help of her friends from the tribal belt brought a Kalashnikov rifle in the campus and fired many rounds of shots in the air in a public meeting of his student organization, the PSF. It was the first such event when a Kalashnikov was fired in broad daylight in any campus in the country. Not only that. By challenging her opponents she declared from the rostrum during her shooting spree: "we are not afraid of these toys. Even a woman can fire them."

She also recalls one fight where she had to use her pistol from the car to disperse the raging opponents who had assaulted her fellow activists.

Thrills apart, she maintains that student welfare was in focus of their work in the union. They solved hostel residents' problem by increasing number of hostels, improving hygiene and food quality and initiating transportation within the vast campus. Monthly excursion trips for students were arranged. They also worked for the benefits of the university teachers association and the employees association. They helped establishing the Institute of Education and Research. For these and other student welfare issues, she had meetings with officials of the University Grants Commission (UGC) and the secretary education, etc.

Once her union had to publically strike and block the Peshawar-Jamrud Road in February 1981. Girls also joined the demonstrations.

Student welfare, she adds, prompted her union to become part of an all Peshawar body the Students Action Committee (SAC) coalition of elected student unions of educational institutions in the city.

It is to her union's credit that they successfully campaigned for fixing of a minimum of 15 percent quota for girl students in the university admissions other than the merit.

She says: "we were full of feelings against the status quo and thought as if we ruled the world"

Ms Tahirkheli reflects that it was because she was a woman and she was more sensitive to the student welfare issues. Her union supported such endeavours and their student welfare agenda was formally publicized by election manifestos and pamphlets.

Girl students were more politically active within all-women campuses, but they also worked in hands with male counterparts. She herself worked up to 9 PM in the union office. Though it was an unusual thing in the Pukhtun environment, yet it was also because the male colleagues willingly protected and respected hard-working women student activists. Nusrat Attiya and Shahida Malik were other examples of women leadership in the campus in her time.

She concedes that student politics have certainly imparted political training in youth. Many people like Azam Afridi, Man Iftikhar, Afrasiab Khattak and herself are a product of such politics. But the flip side to student politics must also be kept in view. Campuses were regularly closed down and studies disrupted because of student politics, she says. We should gradually move towards introducing student participation in campus affairs. There should be no political party affiliation of student unions. It is better that we introduce the student councils instead of unions. No political party in Pakistan can think affording student politics in already a volatile situation and its uneasy militant past. There should be certain bars on student council's elections i.e. the age limit. And the elected councils should form an all-Pakistan Youth Assembly. This would be the best form to appreciate demands of our future generation.

4.4. DR. ISRAR SHAH

Dr. Israr Shah is member of the central executive committee of the PPP. He has consistently treaded upon the whole itinerary of PPP

since its inception and own childhood. He was student of Islamia High School Bhatti Gate in his native walled city of Lahore, when he joined Children's Peoples Party (CPP) in 1968-9. At the same age he joined his first public procession and joined inside the Governor House. Today, he cannot walk. He lost his two legs in a bomb blast targeted at Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry on 7 July 2008 in Islamabad.

Dr. Mubashir Hassan was the architect of CPP. The children and youth contributed to election campaign in a very scientific and organized manner and on a massive scale. It had branches in all neighbourhood of Lahore. Dr. Shah particularly adores Dr. Hassan's accessible and interesting teaching techniques. He used to make children draw PPP signs and symbols.

He says so far this example of an organized campaign and networking in 1970 is next to none in Pakistan. The whole national units of JI were nominally Lahore's PPPM chilla units.

Dr. Shah was a debater. Political activism in a tender age affected an otherwise brilliant achiever. He could not get admissions to the Government College because of merit. He then opted for the Intermediate College Ravi road. It was situated in the vicinity of his home. The college PSF did not allot him party ticket for the student union. Rejected, he contested the elections and won vice-presidency against candidates of both Jinniat and PSF. He was president the next year (1972-3).

He was part of "Progressive Students Council" (PSC) that was an alliance of elected progressive unions. PSC also included other elected representatives like Zulfiqar Hussain Zulfi, Bakhtiar Bakhti, Farkhanda, Ayub Rana, Nazim Shah, Yaqoob Butt, Dhiyan Khan, Musaa Khan and Irfan Malik.

Bhutto had called an all Pakistan students' convention held in national Stadium Karachi in 1973. Dr. Shah says he has never seen such a massive student assembly in his whole life.

PSF workers beat the President of PU union Javed Hashmi. He was leading a "Bangladesh Nazam" march right at the time of

Islamic summit conference in Lahore (1973). They also volunteered for coordinating preparation for the summit.

According to Dr. Shah, PSF has always been a self-grown phenomenon. It lacks discipline. No organization has groomed it. Weak party leaders have been fearful of the student power and discourage institutional development within the PSF. Its organization is a threat to some vested interests.

Leftist student organizations have been hostile to the PPP. Dr. Shah says they thought Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was a hurdle in the way to revolution. That's why they opposed the PPP at every occasion and were in part of the opposition to Bhutto. However when he was hanged, they came to a realization that they were wrong.

Dr. Shah got admissions to the Veterinary Science College (now university) in 1976 and became general secretary of the student union in 1978. He was later the union president in 1980-81. Despite martial law progressive students won elections everywhere. It was the same year when Anas Ahmed was murdered by IJT in UET. Elected unions of progressive groups formed an alliance called "Lahore Students Front".

During the election campaign (1982), Dr. Shah and Munir Ahmed Khan of Istiqlal Students Federation were abducted while pasting posters on walls of the Islamia College Civil Lines after a round of Lahore marches. Hafiz Salmán Butt and Ejaz Chaudhry took them to in Room No. 40 of the Crescent Hostel of Civil Lines College and kept them captive for 36-40 hours. Tayyab Shaheen was on the watch outside. He was not humiliated though, because of old acquaintance with Hafiz Salmán Butt.

He was once fired upon by Akber-ul-Azam with the silencer put on the pistol. It must have been the first and last firing of an otherwise non-militant IJT leader, Dr. Shah lightly says.

Just before the beginning of March 1981, Dr. Israr Shah was arrested from Law College on 22 March 1981. He was designated joint secretary of the MRP Punjab and in charge of student affairs.

The government had an aggressive crackdown upon the PPP sympathizers and on the other hand IJT had turned campuses into torture cells. Jamiat not only introduced campus violence in the past but were now consolidating their fascist hold on the campuses. It was a dangerous era, Dr. Israr Shah reminisces.

4.5. DR. KAISER BENGALI

Dr. Kaiser Bengali is a renowned economist respected for his poor scholarship. He studied economics at the Karachi University in the 1960s and later taught at the Applied Economics Research Centre, Karachi University for fifteen years from the mid 80s to the 90s. He then worked with the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), Islamabad for five years before he was appointed managing director Social Policy Development Center (SPDC) for another three years. He resigned in January 2005 and is now independently involved with research. He is also the architect of Benazir Bhutto Support Programme.

Dr. Bengali says that he along with his friends published out a weekly newspaper which was completely apolitical.

My college was then an elite institution and student politics was unheard of. Later, when I entered the university, I joined the NSF. There were two groups of the NSF at the time the Kam group and the Rasheed group. I never met either of the two leaders after whom the groups were named. I never even saw them on campuses. They were probably underground at the time.

When I joined the university, Islami Jamiat-i-Talaba had been winning elections since eleven years. The NSF groups used to cooperate with each other just before the elections but kept warring the entire year. In my first university elections to the student union, Altaf Hussain was a candidate of the Kam group, while Najam ul Huda was with the Rasheed group, there was an alliance between the two and I joined them.

There were a lot of foreign students on campuses at the time i.e. from Palestine, Iran, Indonesia, Malaysia, and other Muslim countries. They were entirely a leftist vote bank. Since my English language

skills were good, I was asked to approach these students for campaigning. Just one day prior to voting, I was approached by the Kam group who asked me not to vote for Najam ul Huda but for Altaf Hussain. I was taken by surprise and I told them that this way we could not defeat the Jamiat in a hundred years. We lost the elections very badly and I decided to quit the NSF. I then joined some independent students to form a Liberals Group in 1972. The following year, I contested the elections as their first presidential candidate.

Our aim was to beat the two factions of the NSF and present a viable alternative to the students against Jamiat. We polled around 11,000 votes while the NSF got around 400 votes. Shafi Naqi Jamiat became the president of the union. The NSF disintegrated into about seven factions and was destroyed. Later, in 1974, all leftist liberal groups were united to form a Progressive Front. The Liberals joined them as senior partners. We contested the presidential candidate while they ran for joint secretary. There were some very good people who came together in this process and we won the elections after about thirteen years to break the monopoly of Jamiat. This was 1974-75.

In 1972, there was some evidence but let me tell you of its degree and kind. Once when the NSF and Jamiat fell out with each other, a student of the Akhwan-ul-Muslimeen took off his belt and everyone ran. But yes, the Jamiat had its stock of sticks kept in one corner of the masjid, while the NSF guys went into classroom and broke the chairs to fight with the sticks. We were against this behaviour at all times. There were 60 per cent women students on campuses who did not support any form of violence.

We tried to break this trend when we contested and Shafi Naqi Jamiat won. Jamiat was holding a celebratory function. I went there to congratulate him but I was stopped. Then I told them that I had to congratulate the man and Jamiat called for me to be let through. I think that we broke the cultural barriers and Jamiat girls started voting for us because we were visibly different from the NSF. Then I finished my studies and went abroad. When I returned, I joined the faculty and it seemed wrong to influence student politics. Teacher politics was at very low ebb with no academic issues being raised, so I devoted myself to research.

In my last year on campus as a student, the All Pakistan Majlis Students Federation had started working and they wanted to be part of the Liberals but we refused them because we were already working with the Progressive Alliance. But then I finished my studies and went abroad. Before I left, I could see that the sticks and stones that used to be stacked in the mosque for the Jama'at boys were being replaced by guns. It was the Jama'at and not the AMSO that introduced arms to the campus. Their target was People's Party supporters in the PSF. The first students who were killed were all People's Party supporters.

In my institute, there were twelve people who had returned from abroad after finishing their Masters or the PhD degrees. That was the golden period of Karachi University, which was unique to the history of Pakistani academia. This is a very large number. You cannot call all of them the Left but they were people with clear commitment to social justice. A lot of good work was done at the time in research on regional development.

Even at the time we used to call our centre an island in the Karachi University and the island drowned in the murky waters that overtook campus politics in general. The institute lost its independence and was taken under the syndicate of the university. The centre stopped being a place of excellence. There was political pressure to grade the students, political pressure to include some people in our field surveys. Students started coming armed to the centre. There was firing in the boys' hostels. The violence forced all the good people to leave.

There was an attack on the Applied Economics Research Centre by the Jama'is because we played cricket at the AERC, teachers and students, women too, and the support staff. Jama'at boys came and objected to the women playing with us. We replied that it was in public view but only within the institute's compound, and that it was none of their business. I remember Nuzhat Ahmed who then became director of the institute was our fast bowler. The peon, Rafiq, used to be the match referee. Hafiz Pasha was the director then but when he played poorly, Rafiq always gave him out. It was a great atmosphere. So the Jama'at boys attacked the Centre, the cars of the faculty, and then went to the vice-chancellor's office. He was

not an academic and issued a note against us on his letterhead for the Press. But I must add the violence in Karachi University never directly reached to the teachers, unlike the Punjab University where people like Umar Asghar Khan were beaten up and thrown off campus.

We also had some good vice-chancellors like Dr. Mahmood Hussain and Dr. Saleem uz Zaman Siddiqui, who supported academic work and encouraged hard working teachers. But this ended when Gen. Zia ul Haq removed academics and appointed vice-chancellors of his choice. When Gen. Zia decided to hang Bhutto, he ordered the closure of all colleges and universities. This makes it clear what importance the Pakistani state gives to education. Whereas, in places like Lebanon where civil war raged for thirteen to fourteen years, the American University of Beirut was not shut for a day. In places like Eritrean liberation arm fought for 35 years and managed schools with the military camps because there were young children and families with the soldiers. That is the kind of commitment they had to education.

Teachers maintained some standards till then. A number of teachers were dismissed in the 1980s under ridiculous charges like being a bad influence on the students. The most laughable one was the case on Umar Asghar Khan who was accused of high-jacking a railway engine!

In my view the way the political atmosphere deteriorated in Karachi and the large number of students who were part of the violence, was because there was a ban on student politics. In our times, while we fought with each other, we were also politically trained. After campaigning all day against each other, we would sit together in the evening in the canteen for tea and lassi and poke fun at each other. There was no reason to kill anyone for their views. I am still friends with some of the people from that time. In student union activities, we used to make strategies, hold press conferences, write pamphlets and banners, conduct rallies, and then find the resources to pay for all this as a student. Jama'at always had a lot of money due to the Jama'at support, but we had to work hard to generate resources. That was good leadership and organizational training. I think when this was forcibly stopped, young people became increasingly violent and went into criminal activity. In

in my view the unions should be restored to give back a form to young people.”

4.6. DR. KHURSHID HASANAIN

Dr. Khurshid Hasanain can easily be mistaken for an articulate social scientist with a taste for cultural politics. But in practice he teaches Physics at the Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad. He has seen the demise of National Students Federation (NSF) with whom he was attached during 1971-76 and was elected as General Secretary of the Karachi University Student union.

Dr. Hasanain is related to literary and cultural figures like Khawaja Ahmed Abbass and Saleha Abid Hussain by family lineage.

“I was not a political personality. I was more into debates and literary activities when I was student of D. J. College. In 1971 I got admitted to Karachi University and was inducted into student politics” he says. His family was quite politically sensitive and engaged with the progressive ideas.

He says Radio Pakistan was a very powerful institution then and practically a nursery for progressive recruits. From there the ideological mentors associated with the progressive movement picked bright and young students and entered them into the leftist circles. The students did not know about it until they were quite in!

Students from various institutions participated in the radio programme eBam-e-Talba. A drama festival was also organized by the radio Pakistan but was eventually stopped by the Yahya Khan's martial law regime.

NSF was split into Kamari and Dr. Rashid groups and was affiliated with the NAP (Wali Khan) and NAP (Bhashani) respectively. Kamari Group was strong in the university and the Dr. Rashid had firm presence in city and in the colleges.

Bhutto brought a new format of campuses. The PPP supported PSF groups in a bid to hold campuses. By our time corruption had crept

into the student politics. The leftists had their own idiosyncrasies, but they were regarded for their honesty and commitment.

We did not accept PSF as a genuine political organization. We had backing of literary people. We believed in socialism as a way ahead. Maybe they had some ideological dimension in interior Sindh, but in Karachi it was more of opportunism, a way to get jobs and other incentives.

There was no active hostility between the leftists and the PPP. We had a democratic criticism of the PPP. Our stances were hostile against it. In retrospect, I think problem happened on the senior level – outside the campuses. Mir Ghous Baksh Bizenjio sahib bridged the both parties advising them not to cross lines. Wali Khan did not show immaturity. The NAP was eventually banned by the Bhutto regime.

NSF movement was penetrated by Bhutto intrusion. People got money overnight. Activists were offered jobs. Government did not like potent student force. Honest decent politics was becoming harder. Those who were deeply dedicated to their commitments, felt betrayed.

The NSF had started to diffuse by the mid 1970s. Jamiat filled this vacuum and was organized. It was also supported by known rightists like Ishtiaq Qureshi who became VC of the Karachi University.

Progressive Front and Liberal Front in Karachi University were formed after the NSF started to disintegrate. There were three groups making Progressive Front: The both NSF groups and the liberals. We contested on the elections from this formation.

“Before me Shafi Naqi of IJT was president of the university union. He made Jamiat unpopular with his moral policing of the mixed interactions between boys and girls. Indirectly that became an elections issue.”

“Our panel compensated for our organizational limitations. Sardar Rahem (currently associated with MLN) was our president. He

was from the Liberals Front. He was very soft and impressive like a gentle giant. I was leading achiever in academics.

“Our win gave a boost to the progressive elements Karachi. Once in the union office, we invited many political leaders to speak on the union forums. Debates on controversial political issues were held. The panel in these meetings consisted of students. We were demerits. In one of such events, Syed Munwar Hassan of the JI and former national chief of the IJT also spoke. This was a great show of democratic values by us.”

Dr. Khurshid Hasanain was also made in charge of the student magazine.

Q What about gender equality and discrimination against women in the university?

A Tradition prevailed. Burqa and Purdah were rare. One can say no one actively worked against women. By and large many girls preferred to sit on the backbenches. General cultural milieu was there. There were many student activists and candidates from our side. Lala Rukh Ansari (Rashid Group) was quite active. Nargis Hoodbhoy and Fouzia Wahab were other notable examples. IJT candidates were always boys except for one reserved seat for girls.

Q What about internal feuds of the leftists?

A The leftists shared ideals of a revolution, justice, compassion and the desire to free the world. However, in retrospect I can say that their division was unrealistic and some of the divisive debates were unwarranted. For example the pro-China and pro-Russia debates, internal controversies on the legitimacy of Naxalite movements in India. All such debates had no practical consequences for the progressive movement in Pakistan. We did not do our homework and had myopic views of life.

However the leftist students interacted with each other in Karachi and also with Sindhi speaking students from the interior. NSF (Rashid and Kamari), SNF, PSF (the elements with Reza Rabbani and Hassan Sohail), all had conversations. I once visited Sukkar.

I think internal divisions were practically not ideological in nature. They mostly were personality clashes between the ideological matters. With the passage of time and after losing mass support in the campuses, leftist groups became enclosed, intolerant to each other and totalitarian.

Student organizations dealt with student problems but they were not made elections issue. The elections were not fought on ideological issues.

Our group of NSF opposed the military action in East Pakistan. Some of our friends were severely tortured and have not yet been recovered from trauma. Jamiat disapproved Bangladesh and blamed Bhutto for separation. In our university, Behari students were bitter especially in the Pharmacy department. Its chairperson was himself a Behari by origin.

Muhajir ethos was always there in Karachi. Literally there was no feeling among us that we were living in Sindh, or that Karachi was part of Sindh. The language dispute came out of blow. Generally people were amazed whether it was an issue.

There was division on language issue in NSF. Our group thought we have to be part of Sindhi identity.

Muhajir identity was only shaping up. Altaf Hussain used to come to the campus but he was considered a crank. Muhajir thing had started but it was a social feeling and was not thought politically tangible.

I wrote an article in 1972 on Muhajir identity for them magazine *Kohkan* (edited by Mujahid Bralevi). I argued that nationalism is defined by land. Muhajirs are one linguistic group and wider part of the Sindhi national identity.

Rashid group opposed mass and demanded authenticity for my coinage, “linguistic group”. They would ask from where you have quoted this term. Marx and Lenin have not written on that.

Kohkan was published without getting official declaration. It was banned in 1972. Police also came to our home and told my father that *Kohkan* people were communists.

Q On availability of material on the leftist student politics?

A: Yes, we lack archival resources. That needs continuity, which was none. There was no secretariat of the progressive students. They came under different names and formed new groups upon groups and had splits all the time. It was messy.

4.7. DR. MANZUR EJAZ

Material on student politics in Pakistani newspapers comes along little primary versions and a lot of polemics – pro and against the union ban. It is to the credit of Dr. Manzur Ejaz that he has frequently written and reflected upon his own and friends' experiences in the formative phase of NSQ to which he was a founding member and its first convener. The organization had soon gained popularity in Punjab but gradually died out. Dr. Ejaz is ready to re-examine this special case and through it the intellectual health of our society and the factors that may in future incubate or entomb similar social movements.

So far, there is reluctance in public speech and writing on part of many of his former activist friends who were involved in the making, rise and demise of NSQ.

It is ironical he first learnt about socialism from special number of "Chirag-e-Rah", the official organ of the IJT that had published two volumes on Communism. He was then a college student in Sahiwal. Present-day journalists Sajjad Mir and Mujib-ur-Rehman Shami also originated from this town and were his contemporaries. Mir who later joined the JI used to commemorate Lenin Day. He had also co-translated and compiled a book of Mao Zedong's poems.

According to Dr. Ejaz, NSQ was conceived by the duo of Prof. Aziz-ul-Haq and Prof. Aziz-ud-Din. The former was intellectually inspiring while the latter was a great organizer. In that sense both complemented each other. Added to that, Aziz-ud-Din provided

nucleus to a team of university and college teachers, popularly known as the Prof. Group, the internal structure governing the NSQ.

Dr. Ejaz was primarily inclined towards Aziz-ul-Haq. Both the Professors were pro-Chinese Marxists. On the question of military action in East Pakistan, both went in different directions never to reconcile afterwards. Aziz-ul-Haq was the only pro-Chinese Marxist who publicly opposed the military action.

He says that politics in the PU especially its elections were a big show asking for a lot of input resources. The university was spread over places from Halley and Oriental colleges in the old campus to the departments in new campuses. This implied transportation for mobility and investment on publicity matter. Opponents of the NSQ, the IJT, were generously funded by its mother party the JI. In comparison, "Our activists were resource-less. Resources were simply not there. We could hardly afford to publish 200 cyclostyle copies of our material."

"In the beginning, we could seek resources from our rich friends, who also supported us in physical fights, but that pool dried out as we went into ideological narrowness. Additionally, we were against those political parties like the PPP who could have supported us. The rest did not matter and were smaller groups struggling themselves for survival.

We were Baitagh Sipahy (Swordless Soldiers) of Revolution, which was so near [in our imagination]. It sounds funny now. But then the revolution felt like real and a matter of days or months," Dr. Ejaz reminisces.

"Another limitation of the NSQ cadre and its mentors was their disciplinary orientation. Hardly had someone read the original writings of Marx. They came mainly from the literature background. Their reading was limited to a few pamphlets of Mao Zedong. It was quite convenient.

"The Chinese model was to work with peasants and physically encircle and occupy cities where there should be some acceptance of the [rural] invaders. This line of thinking freed the believers from the need to produce knowledge.

When Dr. Ejaz joined the university an elected Student Council had already been working which also included progressive students like Shahid Nadeem and Faheem Jozi. This was a body of elected class representatives, who would then vote for a university council.

However after the incident of police firing in Polytech Institute Rawalpindi and death of two students, agitation broke out in favour of reviving a directly elected student union. It met with success.

Dr. Ejaz says that in the first elections that NSO contested Rashid Butt won the PU elections as Vice President. He was only successful candidate of NSO in the main panel. However, he and Hafeez Khan the IJT president both exploited their elected positions in unison and proved practically a pair of goons.

In retrospect, he now thinks that the choice of Jehangir Badr over Shahid Nadeem as a presidential candidate was a bad one. Badr was much handicapped in speech and presentation. He was in jail and it seemed he would win. His opponent Hafeez Khan with help of Shaheen Attique ur Rehman, daughter of then Governor Punjab Gen. Attique-ur-Rehman arranged for release of Badr. Once in campus, Badr was well exposed before the students as per calculations of Hafeez Khan.

Wherever he went, we lost. Earlier, Mukhtar Ch. Group deemed quite closer to Mustafa Khar had tried to persuade us allotting ticket to Shahid Nadeem. They had warned against the candidature of Badr," Dr. Ejaz concedes their estimation proved correct.

"In first elections we claim that Badr had won. We think that Principal Law College, Sheikh Inayatullah played the trick and caused NSO a defeat by electoral fraud.

Q What type of students was attracted to the left?

A We all read students who wanted more than the curricula. Quality of the NSO members was very high. With time it deteriorated and those who were a failure in academics also joined the organization. I can name many leaders who were brave people but they were not intellectually inspired by the ideology of the left rather they had

their own contradictions. The dilution of quality members was already in the process. That was the same with Jamia.

In terms of disciplinary orientation, students from the Institute of Education Research (IER) went always against us. Support for the progressive came from the natural sciences students. Law College was in the middle of loyalties.

One of the most striking flip sides to his progressive community of activists, according to Dr. Manzoor Ejaz, was its sectarianism.

He says: We were not generous people. We personalized our opinion and did not let others to differ When we left the NSO members they had a session of tabbaras (cursing) on me in every convention.

Dr. Ejaz thinks that once founders left the NSO it was demise of the group. Its real force pulled out. 1975 was a detrimental year when the entire left was collapsed.

He joined the Philosophy department, PU as a teacher after completing his studies.

On the political front, after leaving the Prof. group, Dr. Ejaz reverted to Prof. Aziz-ul-Haq and the organization inspired by his thought the Young Peoples Front (YPL). He had again to face a rift and left it after the death of Dr. Ejaz.

During his association with the PU as a teacher in Philosophy, his activist impulses also took him to teachers' politics, where he claim to be instrumental to the permanent appointment of 72 adhoc lecturers. He contested for the presidential slot of the lecturers' association in the PU and was defeated by a narrow margin. He still doubts that all of his old friends of NSO and the Prof. group, 25 of them the eligible voters, had voted for him.

Later, he did his doctorate in Economics from the USA where he still lives.

4.8. FAYYAZ BAQIR

Fayyaz Baqir is director of the Akhtar Hameed Khan Research Centre. Prior to this, he has long been associated with the UNDP and retired only last year.

He has been silent on his activist past for decades and is regarded by old comrades as a deserter who eventually was enticed by the self-help development philosophy of Dr. Akhtar Hameed Khan and the spiritual teachings of H. R. Sahib of Golra Sharif.

He entered the PU as student of BA Honours (Economics) in September 1968. After his post-graduation, he joined the South Asian Institute as a research associate in Jan 1974 till September 1974.

He is one of the founding members of the NSO and its second convener. NSO was formed after meeting of selected progressive students from all over Lahore in Nov 1969 in the Lawrence Gardens (now Bagh-i-Jinnah). Some of the participants included people like Imtiaz Alam, Mazur Ejaz, Arif Raja, Shuja-ul-Haque, Muhammad Sami, Zoya Ahmed Fahem Jozi and members of the Punjab Students Union (PUNJSU). They could not reach to a consensus for making a student organization. However the majority opted for such an establishment under the name of NSO. Imtiaz Alam was its chief convener, while Mazur Ejaz was made its convener and Zaman Khan and Fayyaz himself were responsible for the Law College and new campuses respectively.

“NSO wanted to show its presence. We did that by interpreting meeting of a visiting US delegation,” Fayyaz tells. In those days, the US was investing on higher education in Pakistan. New academic programmes were supported. Institute of Education Research (IER), hostels and Student Teachers Centre in the PU were built by support of USAID. There were student exchanges and some American Professions also taught at the department of Administrative Sciences.

The meeting was organized by the (non-elected but official) Students Council of Punjab University. Shahid Mahmood Nadeem was also its member then.

The NSO activists started hurling slogans: “Yankies Go Back”! This was embarrassing for the Students Council and the university administration. Eventually after some deliberation it was decided that the meeting will be allowed to go smoothly and after the guests have finished their speeches the students will have a question and answer session.

“It sounds funny now that in the Q & A session, Idress Khattana concluded with a point that while there are so many blacks in America, why there was no black American in the visiting delegation! Imtiaz Alam asked for a translator. He spoke in Urdu, translated in English, and responded in English, translated in Urdu. That was a scene.”

NSO had drafted 12 aims and objectives. The first one was to “support and assist anti-imperialist forces.” Islam and Nationalism were the two pillars of NSO. The word “Socialism” was replaced by “Islamic Mission” (Islamic Equality). The more radical activists of PUNJSU objected to the use of Islamic terminology and did not join NSO.

Fayyaz Baqir says he had no intention of joining the student politics. He was influenced by Mazur Ejaz, Raja Arif and Prof. Aziz-ud-Din and his own curiosity to enter.

“Right from the beginning suspicions over others and the secrecy in working informed our work. Our attitudes were highly undemocratic. We did not tolerate difference of opinion and analysis and discussion was thought to be futile. Whoever differed, we would say: his line is not correct. He works for the intelligence agencies, etc.” People like Shahid Mahmood Nadeem could not be our part because they questioned.”

NSO activists would spend time working in villages and within trade unions for organizing the poor. The basic thought was that all this work would enable them to confront the Pakistani state one day.

One should have the moral courage now to say, asserts Fayyaz, that no political party the rightist and leftist forces alike had any real analysis of Pakistan. We did not know where the force of Pakistani

people and classes rested? Where we are heading for? Where should we go?"

Even on basic questions there was no elaborate analysis or informed consensus. These included the legitimacy (or illegitimacy) of the creation of Pakistan, the role of religion, whether or not to adopt electoral politics, the mandate and objective of student politics, etc.

"Practically the objective of the student politics was to make own presence loud. The radicals believed students were not a revolutionary force. They serve two purposes: (i) creating cadre and leadership for revolution, and (ii) creating nuisance so that the 'enemy' is entangled in unnecessary wars and difficult fronts."

"Such high, shallow and uniformed was the rhetoric that it actually happened many a time that when media persons asked about demands of a protesting rally of students, they replied: We would tell tomorrow."

"It was more a certain kind of jargon that ruled and was heard everywhere. Terms like 'black laws', 'Na M azoor Na M azoor' were common. Some people should have the moral courage to say that they did not read a single word of the University Ordinance introduced by Ayub Khan but they protested against it!"

Fayyaz maintains that violence in campuses had started by 1969-70. The sticks-carrier arm of the IJT called the Democratic Youth Force publically demonstrated and attacked an office in Niaz Market – Anarkali (Lahore) where they alleged that the Holy Quran was burnt. This episode prompted NSO activists to counter the IJT.

There was a discussion on how violence should be dealt - with force or non-violence? According to Fayyaz, this has been a much underrated internal discussion of the NSQ as it would affect the organization in a big way in future. He maintains that members of the NSQ the professors, were contradictory over it. Their political line was confused. At the one hand they opposed adventurism and violence, they also preached to confront the 'enemy'!

Because of mixed party line, Fayyaz concedes that many a time NSO would deliberately provoke the IJT, block their processions or hurl humiliating slogans before the IJT rallies.

Barakat Ahmed was murdered in April 1974 during the P.U. union elections. Javed Hashmi of IJT was also implicated who was an old acquaintance of Fayyaz from his M.D. days.

In the tradition of self-criticism he now says Hafeez Khan wanted to get ticket of NSO but was opposed and won on IJT's ticket. He also now thinks that Shahid Mahmood Nadeem should have been the presidential candidate instead of Jehangir Badr against the IJT. He was a winning candidate. He says it was a dilemma that we were confused over electoral politics. The popular candidates were opportunists in our view. We were unclear about contesting elections. Our position on the boundaries and objectives of student politics was also confused. We promoted inferior academic achievers. We lacked practicality, moral courage and competencies and had an exaggerated self-image.

In retrospect he thinks the leftists should have adopted ideological, educative and training roles. There is a great need of serious work. We were rather advised not to read books because it was said that knowledge is Bourgeoisie. The pamphlets were proletarian and devoid of substance and serious research. There was ideological rigidity, bias and intolerance among the cadres.

On women's role in the NSO? "There was no female member and activist. We were told to distance away from girls. That would be a distraction from the political work. IJT would propagate against us. No one would accept this now but this was our culture... .. Rubya Makhdoom (currently living in Denmark) and Parveen Zaidi worked for the NSF."

Generally the middle class and urban lower middle class students were with NSQ while Jamiat had the support of students from Halley and Oriental Colleges and rural areas. IJT people would facilitate students especially at the time of admissions and helped other students. It was in line with the rural culture.

“One I can recall across Javed Hashmi during union election campaign and asked about his progress. He lightly said that the bourgeoisie of Halley and Oriental Colleges are with us and the proletariat of fine arts and psychology are with you.”

The NSO had extended its work to Dyal Singh College, Civil Lines College, Government College, Superior Science College, UET and Sargodha (Asif Khan), Faisalabad (Mehboob Khan), Sialkot (Irfan Aziz), Multan (Shamoon Saleem), Shakargarh, Sahiwal (Saqib Saleem), Joharabad (Sardar Saleem), Bahawalnagar and Hafizabad, etc.

The Prof. Group oversaw working of the NSO from their student bureau office on the Ferozepur road, Muslim Town Lahore.

Fayyaz left his research position in the South Asian Institute under pressure. Disgruntled with his mentors, Fayyaz joined the General University (DI Khan) and started reading Das Kapital. Then he returned to Lahore. It was a tranquil existence until Fauzia Rafiq came from Canada in 1979. She claimed to be the regional head of International Spartist Tendency. A pamphlet was written. Fauzia had also made a record of everyone who received this pamphlet. In the pamphlet people were called to attack the police stations. Considering it to be an organized plot the state machinery struck back. Many were picked. However neither Fauzia was arrested nor was her movement curtailed in any way.

Fayyaz Baqir departed the country for next seven years.

4.9. HAFIZ ABDUL KHALIQ

A student of Government College Lahore, 1980-84, Hafiz Abdul Khaliq was part of Ravians Front students union for four years that successfully opposed the Jamiat and the politics of violence. A deeply religious man, Hafiz Khaliq carried his political consciousness into his professional career as a teacher and has paid the price in penalties and penury. Our panel spoke to him about the successful experiment of a students union when everywhere in the country it was failing.

Q What were student unions like in your time?

HK: Government College had an old tradition that we maintained. We did not become part of any political party or allow it to enter union politics and spoil the institutional atmosphere. Our union was a collection of Left students and others who were not part of the Jamiat and we did not allow Jamiat to enter our institutional politics. The best students, the best debaters, became union leaders and the debating society and other cultural societies of GC played a large part in preparing people for this role. That is why we kept winning elections. Jamiat had to change its name to Ravians Jamiat and change its logo from “Allah-o-Akbar” to “courage to know”. Politically conscious people were a sophisticated breed, these students into violence are quite another species.

Q But how was this island possible in those violent times? What because GC is considered an elite institution?

HK: In fact, we had defeated the elite to get into the union. My background is not like that and at the time GC was a college for the best students. It is only in the last two years that the fee structure has made it accessible to the privileged. But that is also because now the institution has to generate its own funds and this is done through heavy tuition fees.

The GC had its own traditions. We were all politically conscious people. I never missed a rally or a procession in town, but the campus did not belong to political parties at the time.

Q How did you resist the Jamiat and its violent politics? How did you survive?

HK: I think our survival was in opposing them. Jamiat tried many times to get us into fights but our resistance was to not take them on. I was also abducted by the Jamiat boys once. But we did not fight. It was not a matter of fear. There were other things to consider. We were not armed, and through violence we did not wish to scare our voters. There was no negative campaigning. We forced the Jamiat to rethink its strategy. They changed their name, their slogan to remain part of student union campaigning. You see, party politics was not successful every time. It was not politics really, but

the behaviour of a qabza group. Besides, everyone in the union of the Ravian Front was not communist. After all, we are all Muslims and we proved that Jama'iat was not the custodian of Islam.

Q Were GC teachers involved in union campaigning and party politics?

HK I am sure they were but the open minded ones stood behind us. There was no interference because we did not allow it to happen, just like now when I am engaged in teachers' politics we do not encourage students to be any part of it.

Q What about union funds? How much was the budget and how was it utilized?

HK What union funds? Money in the student unions is a new phenomenon. We barely managed to survive on our thousand-Rupee monthly stipends from hostel and were always in debt with the hostels. There were enough funds to organize a debate or a cultural function but the Principal operated the funds. This new money comes from the qabza groups and their political patrons.

Q Do you think the experiment of the Ravians Front can be replicated today in other institutions?

HK This is an important question. You see, politics has changed since then and even at the national level, you cannot think of it unless you have black money and arms. This filters down to student union politics too.

Q Does this mean political parties need to be stopped from having student wings?

HK This is not possible, of course. Once ideological warfare begins, the parties step in.

Q Does this mean you support the ban on student unions?

HK No, I do not. I think unions ought to be restored because one party is still allowed union-like activity on campuses. But they have to comprise the best students and remain independent of the qabza

groups of parties who use them for their own ends. Student ought to have independent politics and institutions train them.

Q So you see a role for students in national politics?

HK This is not the point. Students do have a role to play in national politics. This comes naturally. But we were talking of union activity. I think education institutions should not be controlled by vested interest groups.

4.10. ILAYAS NAVEED SHAHZAD

Ilyas Naveed Shahzad belongs to Gujranwala and runs textile business in his hometown. He imparted a fabulous history on 10th Jan 1983 in the union elections of Punjab University, when he was elected General Secretary defeating a renowned student leader Hafiz Salman Butt.

After passing L.L.B examination he got admission in Punjab University in September 1982 and got degrees in political science and history.

When Ilyas stepped into politics, it was the dark age of Gen. Zia's martial law. Former Prime Minister and popular leader Bhutto had been hanged in a so-called judicial trial. Political activities were banned; news papers and magazines had to face unjustified censorship and discriminatory laws against women had been legislated under the garb of Islam. Afghan Jihad had been started in which a few politico-religious parties were extensively getting dollars and weapons he says.

Drugs business was on the peak. Weapons, drugs, and clashes had become hallmarks of our educational institutions. By an order of Governor Punjab some colleges were allotted to MSF while others including Punjab University were given under the virtual control of Islamic Jama'iat Talaba. A complete support by state, and open facilitation in use of weapons virtually transformed educational institutions into hubs of mafia gangs. It was the time that no body could dare to challenge Zia-ul-Haq or his allies. The way his young

leader defied the illegal authority of unfounded powers of that time as is still a quotable example in the history of student politics.

His present brief interview tells us that in spite of the triumph and the student struggle which he spearheaded, there is nothing likely to be followed in the entire episode. He dismisses violence of student politics of his time and emphasizes on the need to review it.

He says that student politics is a ladder by which students become a part of national politics. In order to strengthen or to maintain their position, political parties also indulge in negative activities and ultimately students have to bear the brunt. Therefore students should emphasize on their studies and professional development. A student leader carries twofold responsibilities on his shoulders, to bring about a positive change in society as a Pakistani on one hand, and to build his and his fellows' educational and professional capacity on the other.

"In the past our educational institutions had been involved in negative activities, but in present education system, socio-economic division has crossed the limits. There are rich private schools colleges and universities for privileged class on one side whereas on the other side there are public educational institutes for poor or less privileged segments of the society. Thus the divide must be kept in to consideration when to talk about student politics. Now the student groups formation take place on the basis of political parties which has cast negative repercussions on student lives and educational environment.

"National politics touched its peak in educational institutes in 90s but I think that it was the worst period of student politics. Kalashnikov culture developed and thousands of students spoiled their careers during that period. Simultaneously it is also true that Pakistan got brilliant leadership as well through educational institutions. At present new leadership is not emerging owing to the ban on student politics in educational institutions for a long time. As a result political legacies are being growing and system of political monopoly is on the rise in the country.

"The environment in Punjab University when I entered into as a student was full of fear and terror; even now I feel myself unable to

illustrate that. Jama'iat boys and girls would roam around the campus and were seen placing orders; and no body could dare to defy them. All the students had to live in that system and environment which was created by them. Since I had been a proactive PSF member and had been president at district and province level, I did know a lot about the complexities of student politics.

"Thus I started a movement against Jama'iat and raised my voice for the rights of students. And soon, I got the result, no sooner I became the PSF chairman Punjab University, two of my roommates left me. Besides these total 67 students of Punjab University belonging to Gujranwala abandoned even talking to me. My hostels Nazim at that time had told me in clear words that there is no more our relationship in place because I have to give answers to my high ups about you. . . . All those factors were pinching for me students would by pass their way so as to avoid seeing me and I was under continuous vigilance of the orthodox political organization. I can not express my state of mind, I would walking around a road lonely, and suddenly I would hear the voice of a stranger, "oh poor, he will be dead tomorrow night if he happens to get survived today".

My feeling can only be understood by the students of my age, who have observed that barbaric environment.

"First congregation for Punjab university elections had been scheduled on January 1983, where 27 candidates were contesting for the post of General Secretary. Then it became known that Hafiz Sahn an Butt was contesting the elections from Jama'iat, all contestants left the race. Then the strangers Rubina Ashraf and Hina Butt submitted nomination papers for President and General Secretary. That's why I had to take part in elections. Had my papers not been submitted by them, Hafiz Sahn an Butt would have won the elections without poll.

Whenever there took place any clash, and we announced to come to campus next day, these were only female students who complied with the commitments we ever made. Female students of NCA always got the lead in this respect. Even though we did not divulge that ever, but it was a fact that whenever male students showed their backs, these female students would help us in University, no doubt

that we could not transpire it openly on account of an harassment act but the fact remains that in an environment of terror and fear, politics was only possible by female students.

“Services of Hamid Mir, Faisal and Rubina Ashraf with regard to election campaign cannot be ignored. Rubina Ashraf was University student and a proactive leader at that time. In another incident, Jani girls tortured these female leaders so badly that Rubina and Hamid got severe injuries.

“The question is important in its place that we can find in today's national and provincial assemblies the veteran male student leaders of Punjab University but past women leaders are nowhere. I think that our social values are responsible for this tendency. Most of the time women, after getting married are limited to their family life, no matter how much they may be capable to contribute to national progress.”

Alternative Views from Contemporary Students

Amir Jan is a student of International Relations at the University of Balochistan, Quetta. Despite not being in the actual student politics, his impressions are worth hearing. He says:

“Students are considered builders of a nation. They can revise history if they sincerely and honestly put their efforts into goal and result oriented actions. They have practically caused many revolutions and u-turn changes through-out history: be it French Revolution or the Islamic Revolution of Iran, they have led such massive movements.

As far as lifting the ban on student unions in Pakistan is concerned, it is to the advantage of educational institutions.

Through unions, students become an effective pressure group who halts the hegemonic powers of campus and outside authorities. They also tremendously and passionately help in up-ward growth of educational institutions.

Student unions can ensure that the interests of students and educational institutions will not be neglected and bypassed in the execution of education related decisions and policies. The decision makers are compelled to take unions into confidence and consult them before-hand. This is why student union can greatly and tremendously influence the educational affairs of any state.

Since the ban on student union has been lifted, students have become more

active and they have reactivated their union functions which were halted due to the ban. The campus administrations are now more cautious and while making any decision, they tend to ensure if student interests are not perturbed and disturbed.

However, sad part of the story is that most of student unions are politically-affiliated and are not even utilized for the student and educational purposes.

An ideal role of students unions must focus upon the betterment and reform of their respective institutions. They should also solve problems faced by students through peaceful means.

Student unions must give constructive suggestions and should condemn the action of the campus administration when it is to the disadvantage to the very institution. They must stop hegemonic power of the campus administration.”

Tesuwar Hussain reiterates views like his counterpart from the UOB. He was recently a student of English at the Azad Jammu & Kashmir University, Muzaffarabad. According to his version:

“If we analyze pre-prohibition history before 1983, the lifting of ban on student unions is not appreciable. Although there have been positive effects of the student unions by provision of leadership but it was a reason of the decline of education quality as well.

Following points would substantiate my argument:

Students tend to involve in unwanted and non-disciplinary activities on the behalf of unions;

Students can easily be used by the political parties for their own purpose.

Students are divided in groups. This can surely disturb the academic environment of a campus.

One could observe nature of activities that have unfolded at our educational institutions after lifting of the ban. Many students or so-called student leaders have started conducting campaigns to make panels and to set grounds for upcoming union elections. There have also appeared some reports of violence in some institutions of central Punjab and in NWFP.

Nevertheless, working of student unions can ideally enhance education policies of the country. You can get more minds which are talented enough to contribute to the educational policies formulated by educationalists. The plus point is that unions can add students' prospective to the policies.

There should be documentation to devise rules as well as objectives of the student unions.

The ideal role of unions can be advocating rights of students and their needs and conveying these to the teachers and administration besides developing a creative environment for the growth of scientific and artistic influences.

4.11. KAMRAN KHAN

"I belong to the founding cadre of Insaf Students Federation (ISF). When we exchanged views on ideology of ISF with the mainstream leadership of Tehreek-e-Insaf, they profoundly elaborated their approach over state affairs. We further got opinion of more than two thousand students and consequently we formulated our plan," says Kamran Khan Chief Organizer of the ISF in Punjab University and its central leader.

"Our goal is to realize objectives of Pakistan's creation, our ideology is the ideology of justice and our actions are free from all prejudices. This is the reason that we don't discriminate on the grounds of color, creed or religion rather we hail every one with delight. Any one, who intends to work for the security and development of the country, belongs to us.

We started working in April 2008 and we are hitherto receiving threats to wind up our activities. When we took up the matter to Imran Khan, he said "Continue making addition in your numbers and keep up accelerating your educational capabilities, your opponents will get reversed".

Kamran Khan says that officially ISF's mission is to carry out a struggle, free from all prejudices, for accomplishing the aim of the creation of the country.

Objectives and goals of ISF

- To organize students under ISF for a stable Pakistan
- To achieve distinctions in education; strive for a better educational environment; and to respect the teachers
- To make students responsible and beneficial citizens of Pakistan by character building
- To carry out peaceful struggle for solution of students problems and to strive for institution of Student Union Elections
- To strive to make Pakistan a modern, democratic and welfare state free from political, economic and social exploitation

"Based on the above mentioned Mission, Goals and Objectives registered members of ISF are around 2000 which include around 400 female students. Central Working Committee controls and monitors the central system of ISF whereas University Working Committee regulates ISF's work in Punjab University. ISF duly acknowledges and abides by the rules and regulations of Punjab University," Kamran adds.

He further maintains by citing from the history of student politics that disorders of students in educational institutions and deterioration of educational system were not the reasons behind the ban on student unions rather coming out of students in groups from institutions and becoming symbols of public power for peace and justice and challenging governments over public issues actually caused them measure to take place.

That's why to discourage unity among students over issues of public importance and concern unions were banned and this ban was kept intact by every successive government.

As the current regime raises the slogan of democracy so it lifted ban on student unions for strengthening democratic process. Certainly the results of this step will have positive repercussions on the democratic system of the country.

Kamran says that recent history of Punjab University can be viewed as example to this. A dominant student organization has been utilizing all funds of the PU but because there are now many organizations operative and functional in the campus it has become obligatory for the administration to fairly use funds unlike its past practice.

On linkage with its mother party the PTI, Kamran claims ISF is at full liberty to solely work for student rights and not just to assist Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in national politics.

This has been clearly declared by PTI that no sooner as the ISF would be able to manage and control its own affairs it will be turned into an autonomous organization that will independently formulate and execute its policies for the student rights.

In this way we will work together with Tehreek-e-Insaf but will not spare our time to make TI events successful as other student organizations do. Since we are free from TI we will work solely for student politics and be peaceful because we intend to highlight the traditions of tolerance.

We are of the view that if student unions will remain intact it can not only provide Pakistan with new leadership but also eradicate the monopolistic politics in the country. And besides this students will feel safer and more secure so far as their rights are concerned."

Q What is student politics and why it is important according to ISF?

A Politics has only one meaning solution of problems and representation. Student politics is meant for solving student problems and to ensure their representation. For instance, what are the problems of students?

- Problem regarding admissions
- Problem regarding fees and dues etc
- Problem about accommodation in hostels
- Problems concerning traveling through university buses
- Problems of evening students about facilitation of buses and hostels

Student politics is important to us because development of any country depends upon its politics and educational institutions serve as nursery of this political process. Politics implies for welfare and student politics means welfare of students through which solutions of their problems are sought. It is a matter of dismay that student politics of these days is merely hooliganism. We get ample opportunities to ponder over not only on individual problems but on collective issues as well during student politics which helps students learning to raise voice for their rights and justice.

Q About the problems ISF faces in regard to its working in Punjab University?

A Although the ban on student union is lifted but there is no provision of any facilities for the students so far. We have not been

provided with any place where we can organize our meetings or prepare plans for election campaign. Existing union offices and resources have been already in control of a dominant student organization which is not willing to quit. More than 400 faculty members belong to that dominant student organization and we are kept deprived from many facilities due to them. For example we were about to conduct a press conference, all the preparations were final and suddenly a person from administration came and halted the activity on the ground that no student organization can be allowed to carry out any political activity. On the other hand the dominant student organization arranged an all Pakistan Mphil-e-Mushaira the same day which went successfully mainly due to the cooperation that was rendered by the administration in this connection.

Q Monopoly by one student group. The legacy of the past?

A ISF is trying to conduct various training programmes for capacity building of its volunteers and we have been successful in this regard so far. But at the same time we acknowledge the fact that the dominant student organization is more trained and informed than us. The reason is that they have been maintaining monopoly over university since last 28 years.

University administration must provide equal rights and opportunities to all students so as to end the violence and to create a peaceful environment. Suppose if father of any of our fellows dies and we as a class want to go to their house by University bus and even our department has no objection over that but when we go to university administration they ask whether we have got permission from the Nazim of our hostel?

And if not then go back and come again along with Nazim of your hostel. These are the harsh realities that have disturbed the students for too long. This unjust behavior of university administration has been meted out to students in the past.

Q Any suggestions to the University Administration for holding Union Elections

In the past, circumstances in the PU had been quite different than those prevailing today and evening students were not allowed to take part in elections. Because number of students was 7000 at that time but at present it is more than 26000 which do not include students doing diplomas.

Female student representation in student unions must be at least 30%. If we look into the number of enrolled female students it is 16000. This means they are equal in numbers. On this ground we suggest that male and female quota should be 50%.

University president can be of any gender but there must be one male and one female at positions of president and vice president so as to ensure gender equality.

Evening students should be allowed to take part in elections because they pay double fees. They deserve more than us. But MBA Executive and MPA executive students should not be permitted as they are 35 years of age or more and belong to government or semi-government institutions.

With regard to possession of arms we propose that whosoever is found possessing arms should be immediately struck off from the university.

When more than one organization will operate in university there will certainly be security problems. In this context we propose that university administration should take responsibility of security and no student organization should be held responsible for that as has been the practice of past by the only dominant student organization.

Students of other institutions and volunteers of political parties are often found in Punjab University. In events of clashes the outsiders are more than the university students. To avoid this we suggest that entry of such people should be completely banned in the university and others who come for some purpose must be issued visiting cards; so that the security of students can be ensured.

4.12. KASHIF BUKHARI

When asked, "If you could go back in time would you join student politics again?" Kashif Bukhari responds with an emphatic NO "Not at least the way I was a part then."

Kashif a student leader in his campus days is still very active in trade union. However, he is a changed man. His views on union activism, especially regarding campus politics, have radically altered. He is critical of the student organizations and the manner by which they are associated with political parties.

He says such linkage is inherently manipulative and hierarchical:

"Political parties use students to further their own interests. Students' issues are never highlighted and they end up being exploited by the political parties and waste their precious time. This is a question of saving the educational institutions of Pakistan, even if we have to take some undemocratic decisions."

Recollecting his times he says that both in leftist and rightist student organizations there were vagabonds and Qabza group elements. They were adept at instigating students' emotions and often resorted to physical violence and aggression. Drugs and weapons became common in campuses as a result of student politics. Student activists used to extract "Chunda tax" from restaurants and bus and van owners to financially support their politics.

"I myself have indirectly participated in all these malpractices", he says.

About his inspiration to join student politics, he tells that "during the 1977 elections, when I was in eighth grade, I saw the first political procession of my life. I heard Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to speak in Nasir Bagh (Lahore). I was simply taken by his charisma."

When I went to Islamia College I was pro-Bhutto and an anti-Jamia. Jamia had a stronghold in the college. A coalition of National Students Federation (NSF), Nationalist Students Organization (NSO) and Peoples Students Federation (PSF) was working against the Jamia. However, NSF was relatively more

functional. I joined NSF and was soon nominated its chief organizer.

Q What were the initial challenges you had to face?”

A When members of NSF displayed posters and shouted slogans in the public Jamiat was enraged because they took Islamia College as their Jagir (estate). A few NSF students got into a fight with a large group of 200-300 Jamiat students. A friend of mine was taken to the hostel and physically tortured. As a result of this 5 senior members of the NSF including myself were threatened to leave the college or bear severe consequences. We dared to stand his terror and would visit the college for the next one year, though sporadically. At last, we had to leave. I and other senior members of NSF then enrolled ourselves in Government College of Technology.

“Because of the support for the Afghan war and anti-Bhutto sentiments during Zia’s regime I realized that it was not a good idea to continue under the banner of NSF or PSF. Therefore I joined the Azad (Liberal) group which later came to be known as the Liberal Students Council. I was elected Joint Secretary of the Azad group against the candidate of Jamiat.

As for his major achievements as he informed was that Jamiat ruled over the Government College of Technology and they used very oppressive measures to scare off any of their potential opponents. So to gather support against them and then defeating them in student union elections, not just once but thrice, was undoubtedly our biggest achievement. Another important accomplishment was to unite and organize the student unions of the government colleges of technology in different cities.

While reflecting back he says the teachers played an influential role in student politics.

“In Islamia College the teachers fully supported the Jamiat and in Government College of Technology we had blessings of the Chief Proctor who was a member of the Muslim League and a staunch anti-Jamiat. He rendered his full patronage and co-operation to the Azad group. He definitely got us a lot of swinging votes.”

Q What events do you think led to the decline of student politics then?”

A “In 1981 when Salimullah Tipu hijacked a plane, the Zia regime used this as an excuse to crack down on student activists. There was random picking and imprisonment and brutal torture inflicted on political activists. As a consequence of this students were fear-stricken and this discouraged them from taking part in politics. This was a huge setback to the whole students movement.

In our case, the anti-discrimination reached to its heights in Government College of Technology Lahore when an anti-discrimination protest turned anti-Zia. A fight broke out between students and police, in which a Deputy Superintendent of Police (DSP) was accidentally killed 70 people were caught and 8 were imprisoned and the college was closed down for about 8 months by the government. Military courts punished members of the Azad group.

These events collectively led to the demoralization of student politics in our campus.”

Now that Kashif Bukhari is opposed to his experience of student politics, what is his alternative?

“I think that student unions should be confined to in-house politics, separated from mainstream politics. Student and teacher bodies should sit together in discussion forum and resolve issues. Students should have no association with national or regional political parties. They should rather strengthen their departmental societies and work for educational and student issues.”

4.13. MIR HASIL KHAN BIZENJO

Mir Hasil Khan Bizenzo is the son of Mir Ghous Baksh Bizenzo, the legendary nationalist leader who was respected for his moderation and consensus building. His elder brother Bizen Bizenzo was one of the founding members of the BSO. Himself a former MNA and now senator Mir Hasil got early education in his native village Naath in District Khuzdar and has been involved with student politics since his high school days.

In 1980, he got admissions to the BA Honours in Karachi University and by the time he left the university after post-graduation in Philosophy he was chairman of the United Students Federation (USF) alliance of the progressive students in KU.

When he entered the university, the Progressive Front (KU) had ceased to exist. Not long ago it had won the university election under the presidency of Mustafa Inam.

These were turbulent times for democratic forces in general but invited risks of losing life when it came to campuses. Mir says IJT was practically part of the Zia martial law regime and with greater brutality. They beat opponents and used guns to silence the progressive voices.

According to a factually debatable version of Mir, gun was first used in the campuses in 1981, when IJT workers shot and injured Younas Shad. Jamiat had also formed its militant squads under the title of "Thunder Squad". Saif ud Din and Hafiz Saman Butt led this militant group respectively in KU (Karachi) and PU (Lahore). All this done with support from the government and intelligence agencies, he adds.

Jamiat even banned entry of progressive students in the KU. In this condition it was hard to confront IJT single handedly. They had money, arms and blessings of the whole government and university machinery.

The progressive students formed a United Students Federation (USF) in 1982. Mir Hasil was made its first chairman.

IJT went so far in its regressive drive that they spilled oil on sitting places; so that students could not interact with each other.

Since there was no politics in the larger society, political parties were banned and campuses were brimmed with action, people looked towards student politics.

The USF made coalitions with partners outside the campuses. It made effective bridges with labour unions that were totally in the hands of progressive and liberal elements.

Politics revolved around ideologies. Tends of different Marxist and Islamist schools were groomed in the campuses. Students had the tendency to read books and discuss matters.

Campuses were the only places where martial law was challenged in a big way, says Mir Hasil: that lively politics was hindered and the authorities encouraged violence in campuses to counter the democratic effects. When martial law government felt they could not check student politics they promoted violence. People on both sides of IJT and the progressives were killed, but not a single person was ever arrested nor any student rusticated. Martial Law Administrators had the discretion to appoint the university vice chancellors.

About girls' role in student politics in the KU, Mir emphatically affirmed that they were quite active rather they were intellectually stronger as compared with progressive boys. They were even present in the top leadership. Sabira Bano (now in Holland doing research on gender), Afshan Jamal (now daily Dawn) and Samina Choonana (now journalist and editor) are some examples.

"On social level, there was no purdah. You could see hardly one percent girls, maybe less, clad in purdah. There were politically active girl groups. Affairs were not hidden and publically owned with responsibility. There was lesser religiosity."

"Teachers used to be bold and active. Philosophy teacher Dr. Zafar Arif was once sought explanation from the governor for infecting students with his political views.

He responded by saying that "I am a teacher. My thoughts are to instigate the students not to make them sleep"

The university teachers had a strike against IJT.

"There was so much interaction and participation that we knew addresses of all the students. We were quite well versed even in

international politics. I was arrested in KU on the question of Israeli attacks on Sabira and Shatila camps of the Palestinians. On the contrary, I was recently told by a teacher friend of mine that these are strange times. The boys are busy in applying henna on girls' hands. That is the level of activity nowadays. Zia ul Haq destroyed the whole political culture.

We are also inclusive. We regularly organized events like sham-e-ghari ban and Milad," says Mir.

"It is untrue that student activists did not care for student issues. One petition was to waive fees. There were always problems of admissions, classrooms or other infrastructure, and books and curriculum that we addressed and agitated over.

"Before 1980, no student knew about sectarianism. No one simply would pay heed to these identities.

"There were no anti-state elements among the progressive students. All our campaign was anti-amyinist law. So they were misguided and Zia invented the equation of being anti-amyinist with those of being anti-pakistan and anti-God. This image is construction of the undemocratic forces in Pakistan.

Mir Hasil maintains that IJT violence and torture reached to its peak. Parents were scared and rightfully were concerned over future of their children. Politically motivated students did not use drugs. They came in the presence of political vacuum... Then AMSO came with the IJT through comparable use of violence.

"In 1984, when the student unions were banned the progressive students had already won elections in the NED Engineering University and Urdu college. A win in KU was possible. However our colleague Shaukat Chema originally from Sadiqabad, was murdered by the IJT. Elections were halted. The progressive students had to briefly keep the polling staff in custody for fears of own safety and security.

"Then paramilitary forces invaded the campus and there was ban on unions. For three months we agitated along with the IJT against the ban. I am unsure if they were sincere about this agitation.

About BSO Mir Hasil says that NSF was the only progressive organization in the 1960s. When PPP emerged on the scene NSF was already split and most of its leadership joined the PPP. This caused the formation of BSO, PKSF, Jaye Sindh Mahaz.

"BSO was a pocket organization of the NAP. Ban on NAP, ousting its government and military action in Balochistan in 1973 stimulated massive support for the BSO. In the literate classes of 70s and 80s you will never find a single person who has not been affiliated with BSO in some capacity. Even the Punjabi students residing in Balochistan were associated with the organization.

"One of the successes of the BSO can be attributed to its democratic posture then and holding of annual elections. That heyday is over now. Nevertheless BSO still is the biggest student organization in Balochistan. It is split into three groups namely Hajar, Azad and Aman and are affiliated with three nationalist parties.

"BSO has also led national coalitions of the progressive student movement in Pakistan through the Pakistan Progressive Students Alliance (PPSA).

Razzaq Bhugti was its first chairman. He was beaten in KU during a convention when Liaquat Baloch was the IJT chief. In response, Liaquat Baloch met with the same fate when he visited the University of Balochistan, Quetta.

"This incorrect impression has been created since the era of Gen. Ayub Khan that Balochis want independence. Their anti-establishment politics is taken as anti-Punjab.

Even Bhutto consolidated this impression by the military action and trying 300 people in Hyderabad Tribunal Case. Thousands were arrested then. Gen Zia was more efficient in putting Punjab vs. the rest provinces.

Mir Hasil concludes by saying that union politics is healthy for leadership development. University students have the right to choose their political loyalties and affiliate themselves with political parties. Without parties, there can be no politics. Infact, the

university administration that is part of the establishment want their unhindered rule over campuses; so that no one can hold them accountable.

“A code of conduct was signed by the student organizations in 1983. There are already bars and conditions for contesting the union elections.

According to Mir Hasil, student politics is neither a problem nor linkage with the political parties is. Non-students and professional leaders are a real problem He further says there is no need for allocating student union positions for the girl students.

4.14. MUHAMMAD YOUSAF

Muhammad Yousaf a student of Government College University, Lahore. His thoughts on student politics and unions reflect one of the best articulation and analysis even when you choose to differ with him. He says that:

“The recent decision of the newly elected head of government to lift ban on students unions has prompted furious debate inside and outside the educational institutions on the costs and benefits of unions.

Before embarking upon the pluses and minuses of this decision, there is a dire need to resolve the confusion between student unions and the political organizations. Whereas student unions are those which work within the institutions without any affiliation with any political party, organizations like Peoples Students Federation (P.S.F) or Muslim Students Federation (M.S.F) work for their political parties in the institutions and their main task is to build opinion in favour of their respective political parties.

However, in the present case both the unions and political organizations have got permission to work.

The basic character of a student union is to facilitate students in terms of administration and to become a link between students and the campus authorities. Political organizations have a different role

to play which has been explained in the earlier lines. Now comes the real question that whether student politics should be allowed or not.

I think that it should be allowed because in present circumstances no person can escape the effect of politics unless s/he is insane!

The first argument in this connection is that politics is essential to democratic training of the students. Until and unless, those who are going to lead the country in the future are not trained for democracy, it can not effectively work.

Democracy is not just a matter of holding periodical elections but it is a process through which people are trained to respond to group situations. For example in case of victory you have to accommodate various groups and to aggregate their interests in the best of your capability. In instance of defeat, you will have to show respect to the mandate of the victor and to pursue the peaceful transition.

It is also a process through which people are taught to respect the views of others and not to impose their opinions in a dogmatic manner.

Which community needs these basic things more than the students?

The regular chance to stand in the elections will automatically bring above mentioned qualities out in the students.

Many great leaders are the products of student politics. Moreover, students have played significant role in major historical developments like the Bolshevik and Iranian revolutions. A discreet reading will reveal historic part played by the students in overthrowing tyrannical regimes of their states. There will be a negligible number of people who may disagree, but why it is that the question of lifting ban on students unions is being so hotly debated in our country?

This is because of the violence and militancy which have permeated in the student politics of Pakistan.

Many people have developed a misperception that the student politics is a breeding ground of violence. This is not the case. As such, campus violence is not the product of any democratic government; it is the artifact of a ruthless dictator, who under the garb of Islamisation created an organization which was used for other purposes.

Gangs of fundamentalist students were used to curb any tendency which was opposed to the Martial law regime. In fact, the ban on student unions imposed 24 years ago during that black era gave free hand to a particular fanatic organization. The government itself provided the organization with ample means and conditions to extract its purposes. In that period violence was virtually legalized for that student organization against any other group.

The perpetuation of ban on student unions by the subsequent governments was also the brainchild of a few feudal lords who wanted to continue their dominance on politics. They still do not want that leadership should emerge from the grassroots level.

Violence in student politics is also sometimes exaggerated by those who want to divert attention of the people from the real issues. Moreover if the finger of a person is infected it does not mean that his hand should be cut down or he should be killed. Sporadic violence also takes place during the national elections but does it mean that elections should be altogether banned or not held? Recent mainstream elections were largely peaceful because of the fact that people were conscious about threats of violence. Similarly if student politics is allowed at the campuses without any hindrance, the level of consciousness among the students will rise to that extent that they themselves will not allow any violence to take place in the educational institutions and this problem will die its own death.

Students are the primary stakeholders of any educational policy adopted by the government. It is only student politics through which influence can be exerted on the government for the formation of favorable policies. For instance, the biggest challenge faced by the students of our country is the aggressive privatization of the educational institutions over the years. After privatization it becomes extremely difficult for an average family to afford education for its children, especially in a country like Pakistan

where people have to confront multiple challenges and subsistence has become economically difficult. It is only through student politics that government can be forced to check this tendency of privatizing public institutions.

One must not forget that it was the active role of students in the movement of 1968-1969, which earned them a lot of facilities including fare of 25 paise for traveling throughout Pakistan.

In my institution student politics was also prohibited due to the official ban. But now it is being seriously worked out that how student union should be reinstituted. However, the role of various societies in Government College University (GCU) offers a very good model for the student unions. Every one is inducted in the societies on egalitarian bases and no special identity preferences like province or caste are taken into consideration. Along with these facilities there is a rule that anyone who resorts to physical violence is subject to immediate expulsion from the university. This rule undoubtedly applies to everyone without any discrimination. But it is also a fact that students have to sometimes suffer at the hands of a few authoritative individuals in the administration due to absence of student politics.

If the student politics is allowed at the campus without creating any hurdle in its way, the law of immediate expulsion from the university in case of physical violence will be accepted by everyone in the greater interest of both the university and the students. This will inculcate the real values of civil society in the students and student unions will start to make their way forward to the model ideal role which they should play.

The basic role of the student unions is to serve the students and to facilitate them in the best possible manner. However their foremost important responsibility is to realize that the primary purpose of anyone coming to the educational institution is to learn more and more.

Students must be allowed to take part in the political activities within the prescribed limits. In the same vein, they have to realize that with their right to join any political party they must use their conscience and not blindly become a tool in the hands of political

parties. However, as I have argued earlier, the basic job of the student union is to realize that students come to the educational institution to learn. No political activity should be allowed which in any way impinge the process of learning and study of the students.

Members of letters in the leadership of political parties can be invited to have interactive talks with the students and give them lectures on various topics of multiple interests. Apart from this, eminent scholars must be regularly invited to the university to provide the students with food for thought. It must constantly be imparted in the minds of students that student politics is not the name of adventurism; rather it is a process of their learning. By going through this process they can serve the country in various capacities. All this will not only contribute to creating a democratic state but also a democratic society.”

4.15. NAHEEDA MEHBOOB ELAHI

Women's role in university union politics was negligible rather almost none. The environment was not conducive for them,” says Naheeda Mehboob Elahi a practicing lawyer and the former deputy attorney general of Pakistan, who once contested for the position of Joint Secretary in the Law College, Punjab University, in 1983.

Before joining the Law College, she was elected Sports President in the Federal Government College, Wah Cantt.

IJT had a monopoly over the PU campus, which also included physical control over all affairs of the university and repute for creating terror.

“Professional” student leaders like Barra Jawwad, Chohta Jawwad, Hafiz Salman and M. Ishaque etc. called the shot when they were notorious for clearing all hindrances in their way and shifting among different degree programmes.

In a repressive environment, about 15 like-minded students including Ms Elahi decided to form a panel to contest the university election. “I think that given the situation, the formation of our panel and to contest the election was itself a great thing and a daring act.”

This group included Mian Abdul Qadoos, Farah, Farhat, Nabahat Sheereen, etc. They established a forum called “Students’ Alliance”.

People were scared and students had no rights. The university facilities were being used at the will of one political group. Ordinary students could do nothing about it and had to compromise: “we also initially met secretly sometimes at a friend’s home or in a hotel until we came out”. They took part in the Law College union elections and were defeated. However, the main university elections proved unprecedented. Their candidate for General Secretary’s position Ilyas Naveed Shahzad won against Hafiz Salman Butt. It was an amazing result. However, the firing started and the IJT declared that Shahzad will not be allowed to sit in the union office. That they proved afterwards!

Students’ Alliance was politically non-aligned. It was an effort to raise equal rights and opportunity for the PU students. Election Manifesto was also published by the group, which was laden with moral appeal for the student rights, slogans and agitated poetry.

Nabahat Sheereen was the most focal representative and a greater orator from the group. Sympathizers and opponents alike would come to listen to her fiery speeches delivered in a standardized Urdu. She was a journalism student. After the campus days were over, she joined radio Pakistan and now-a-days lives in UK.

The elections were not a costly affair. The expenses for printing posters and stickers were borne mainly by rich students like Mian Qadoos and one who belonged to family of the owners of Taj Campus. Otherwise there were handwritten play cards and dependence upon the public speeches which cost nothing.

Public meetings were held in front of compounds of the Law College and Main Canteen in New Campus and Fine Arts department in the old campus.

While conceding that everyone may have affiliation with a political party, she personally feels that student unions should perform welfare work. There should be political training but not at the cost

of studies, which is the primary mandate of students. Education and learning should not be disturbed or compromised at any cost.

“In our days, the main issue evolved around which political group one was affiliated. It was totally absurd. Things related with education should have been discussed and debated. You see there were many people who could not afford education, but the activists kept on raising slogans about the green or red Asia,” asserts M/s Elahi.

4.16. PERVAIZ RASHID

Senator Pervaz Rashid argues that it was a perfect combination of an authoritarian state and society faced by the youth of late 1960s: (i) father in law (ii) military regime, and (iii) Gen. Ayub Khan in the country. Fatin al-Jinnah's defeat had also angered youth and the myth of Ayub Khan's invincibility was broken by the 1965 war. People started thinking can this man be our defender: Our nation is brave, the army is audacious but Ayub Khan is coward.

Senator Rashid puts his words like a laboratory scientist self-conscious of the risks and profundity of his formulations and invites reflection all the time in a soft-spoken delivery of speech. It was pleasant surprise for a man who was provincial president of the NSF during turbulent movement of the 1968-69 when youthful sentiments reigned high and spoke loud, and definitely reeked of dogmatism; in his case the Marxism.

He is also a rare example of an old Marxist guard who aligned himself with the Sharif Brothers of ML generally deemed conservative and sympathized with the rightists. Twice exiled abroad during the Gen Zia's period and then Gen Pervaz Musharraf's era, he is a close advisor of the Sharif Brothers and practically directs political war-psyche operations and image building and media strategies for his leaders. [A one-time associate lightly says that closed-door advisory and behind-the-scenes strategy making comes so naturally for him; as it is what his mentors from Tufail Abbasi (underground) communist party were at best in!]

Senator Rashid suggests to closely watching the working of controlled societies while having a look at the student politics. In

both the trends subscribe to extremism, intolerance of others and the dissent, substance-less rhetoric and narrow-mindedness.

The martial laws have further contributed to restrict a culture of open debates. He says that during his activism time the speeches and images were full of jingoism. For example the NSF workers had a pet slogan of ‘Samraj ka Kabaristan: Pakistan’. The opponents would also try to beat in loudness and bloodiness of their campaign slogans.

He thinks that political parties should not enter into campuses. They have a role to enhance political sensitivity and consciousness of the students but beyond that it would negatively affect the students' pursuit for learning. There should be no bar upon students to express themselves. However those who lament over the end of an ideological era, debates and trade unions forget that things change. It does not mean that the process of social change has come to a halt.

He concedes that there were a few women leaders in the student movement like Anjira Elahi and Ghazala Rehman. The teachers had great influence and would mentor their students by character building and even ideological training. Prof. Khawaja M. Asood was one such iconic figure for progressive youth in Rawalpindi.. It is however untrue that the NSF activists were lesser students. Rather there were high achievers among their ranks who could think, communicate and organize and lead in a formidable environment for student politics.

One is indebted to Senator Pervaz Rashid for pointing out a much understated variable of the actual practice of student politics – the funding resources. He attributes the relatively stronger activism of NSF than its other progressive counterparts to the financial strength of its mother party headed by Tufail Abbasi which because of long-stay in the PIA trade movement could afford to support more activities of the affiliated organizations.

Much more ideologies have to speak on other mundane issues of the everyday practice of student politics rather than just dissecting ‘the great game’ [of cold war] and global conspiracies. Senator Rashid certainly does that – very neatly!

4.17. PROF. AZIZ-UD-DIN AHMAD

Leftist intellectual and writer, Professor Azizuddin was actively engaged in politics as a student in FC College Lahore in 1952. Later, as a teacher at Islamia College, Lahore, in 1959, and from 1966 to 1976 he taught English Literature at the Punjab University. At the University, he formed the Nationalist Students Organization.

He is author of many books including the celebrated work on student politics, titled "Pakistan Mein Talaba Tehreek" (2000). It still remains a reference book with thoroughly researched text on student politics from historical perspective.

Professor Azizuddin is an avid supporter of political consciousness amongst students and believes that it is not politics but state supported violence that is responsible for destroying the academic atmosphere in campuses.

Q What was student politics like in your times?

A When Pakistan was formed, there were two established political parties and their student wings: Jamaat-i-Islami student organization, Islami Jamaat-i-Talaba (IJT), and the Democratic Students Federation (DSF) affiliated with the Communist Party of Pakistan.

Initially, in the 50s, Jamaat-i-Islami was not into electoral politics and its student wing was into academic activities and study circles for ideological training. In 1956 Malana Mahmood decided to enter active politics. That was a change in line. The main focus of the student wing, the IJT, was to defuse the influence of the Left parties and stem the popularity of new ideas like Arab nationalism that was slowly gaining ground all over the world.

As for the Communist Party, its student wing was politically active in the 50s in Karachi, Rawalpindi, and Lahore to some extent. The CP believed that in third world countries students formed the educated classes and had a role to play in the struggle against

imperialism. In the 50s, there were still many countries in Arab Africa, East Europe, and the Far East that were under colonial rule. The Portuguese till the 60s colonized even Goa, in India. The British were far sighted and believed in some reform and a peaceful transfer to home rule, while the French and the Dutch didn't allow political parties in their colonies. The struggle of the colonies against foreign armies was then called national liberation movements and all of us were very inspired by them.

In the third world, trade unions were weak and the peasant was weak, so freedom movements everywhere were joined in by the students who had a historical responsibility and were the educated and informed part of society. This was in evidence everywhere. Indonesia, Vietnam, African countries.

Q What were the unions like?

A Azizuddin: In Karachi in the fifties, because of the refugee settlement, resources were strained and that was a problem for young people studying in colleges and the university. The Communist Party was most active in that city especially among the students, in the Democratic Students Federation, and raised academic issues like the international recognition of the medical degree of Dow Medical College.

In Lahore, college unions were debating societies and cultural activities. The middle class colleges like Aitchison and Government College never became politicized, it was only lower middle class colleges like the Dyal Singh, MAO Islamia and the Law College. The students' agitation against Ayub was mostly about the education policy. Only later did it take the turn of an anti military movement in 1962-63. The university became politicized much later, in 1966-67, when Jamaat won the elections and formed a union.

Only in East Pakistan, there was a students' movement for nationality rights, the right to a separate language, and soon. Sheikh Mujib was a student leader at the time. There student politics started soon after partition, in 1952-53.

Q How did student politics change in Bhutto's time?

Azi zuddin: In 1968, Bhutto rose as a phenomenon. In Sindh, among the students, DSF was considered a major-dominated party. Young people were attracted towards the nationalist movement of Mir Syed and Rasul Bux Palijo. This was the same in Balochistan. Among the Pakhtuns, the nationalists were overtaken by Bhutto's popularity.

Q: How come even during Bhutto, the campuses were pro Right?

Azi zuddin: Those in the opposition pretty evenly matched Jama'at's influence. It was when the Americans put their money into the IER department, the Institute of Education Research, to support the Jama'at that 300 block votes would go in favour of the Jama'at union and gain a clear margin on the others. You must remember that at the time there were a lot of foreign students on our campuses.. a lot of Bengali students, a large presence of Palestinians, anti-Shah Iranian students, South Africans.. boys from the Gulf states... and they were all politically very sharp. All of this was anti Jama'at vote, Left plus the People's Party. There was a united front, not all anti Jama'at element was Left.

At the time Jama'at-i-Islami was only interested in taking over the Punjab University. It was a residential university, seven thousand students of whom three thousand were boarders. They sent a lot of over age, twenty-five year older boys who were their whole time, to take part in the elections. They supported them financially and legally in case of trouble and looked after their families when they went to jail. During union elections, the Jama'at was present on campuses in support of Jama'at candidates.

Q: What about the differences between the People's Students Federation and the leftist students?

Azi zuddin: Left students always wanted united fronts while the PSF wanted to make leaders and contest known people. The Bhutto government never struck out against the Jama'at. In fact, they played on the back foot. When the first student supporter of the Left Barkaat was murdered in 1973, the Leftist students wanted it investigated but Bhutto covered it all up because he was in dialogue with M. A. M. Maudoodi. He felt the PSF was closer to the Jama'at than the Left element. In the 1979 student body elections, the

People's party disowned their own candidates because they were getting too radical.

Q: What roles did the teachers play in campus politics?

Azi zuddin: To break the influence of the Right who disallowed all free thought, debate, and mixing of people on campus, it was important for liberal teachers to offer resistance.

Q: What about their academic commitment? Do you see that campus primed?

Azi zuddin: You see, unless there is debate in the universities you cannot hope to raise the consciousness of students or improve academic standards. There can be disagreement over ideas but there needs to be debate. The Jama'at always opposed this and M. A. M. Maudoodi even went so far as to say that we would pull out the tongue of those who call themselves socialist. It is violence that stopped all debate on our campuses and from being a battleground of ideas they became literal battlefields with armed gangs killing opponents.

Q: What causes do you attribute to the disintegration of the academia?

Azi zuddin: The issue is very simple. There was no violence on the scale before Gen. Ziaul Haq. Isolated incidents did occur, yes, but not anything like an action on campuses. Gen. Ziaul Haq was very conscious of the role students played in opposing and overturning Ayub. Also, in 1983, the popular rural and urban movement against him was phenomenal with agricultural workers courting arrests in support of for journalists. Small villages had to be bombed to put the fear of God in others who wished to resist the General. So, in the Punjab it was the Jama'at-i-Islami and later the MSF that were murdered in the image of the general and terror was unleashed on campuses. In Karachi, it was the MSF. Terror had to be introduced amongst the middle classes. State sponsored violence came to the campuses for the first time in the history of the country.

Q: What do you say about the presence of student wings of political parties on campuses? Does that not bring to campuses the violence of national politics?

Azi Zuddin: You cannot stop it. In any democratic society, you cannot stop people from having political affiliations on and off campus. It has not been done anywhere in the world, not even in Europe. For instance, labour is big amongst the university students, or a dozen Marxian groups all vying for influence. It would be cynical to expect that to be stopped. But violence has to be curbed.

Q But political parties pour funds into their student wings..

Azi Zuddin: It is for the students, then, to resist it and maintain some measure of autonomy.

Q Does politics not ruin students' careers?

Azi Zuddin: I can speak for people from the Left who did not lose their careers. In fact, all the people went into other professions and became the leading lights. Look at the doctors in Karachi's Pakistan Medical Association; look at the leading journalists, the liberal element in the bureaucracy, and even in mainstream politics. There were a few whole time activists that political parties retained for ideological work or as part of vigilante wings, but the Left never had that kind of money to keep full time activists.

Q Do you see yourself as an educationist or as an activist?

Azi Zuddin: As an educationist with a commitment to liberal ideas, where research can take uncomfortable issues and challenge ingrained ideas. I see the university as a place for the battle of ideas where everyone has right to question things and to preach it and discuss it and talk about it and spread it. As teachers we encouraged students to take up research theses on the student movement on the labour movement and so on. To this day, they remain the best references for this kind of work.

What student unions must not do

Excerpts from an Article by Prof. Azizuddin Ahmad (Daily The Nation, 8 May 2008)

"As the student unions are revived the government needs to formulate a code of conduct to ensure that campuses do not turn into battlefields once again. Within days of the lifting of ban on the student unions, there was an exchange

of firing in a Lahore college between two rival factions of student organizations. The government has to take urgent measures to ensure that incidents of the sort do not take place.

Use of force under any pretext has to be banned on the campuses. Any organisation resorting to strong arm tactics must be declared unfit to contest student union elections. Student unions are meant to encourage debate and discussion. No one therefore should be allowed to create hindrance in the way of the peaceful propagation of ideas.

In order to ensure that campuses do not turn into strongholds of bigotry and intolerance, organizations spreading hatred on the basis of religion or sect have also to be debarred from the student union elections. No self-proclaimed defender of religion should be allowed to force his own interpretation of Islam on others and to stop others from expressing their views. It is understandable that political parties should have adherents among the students. These parties would however do well not to monopolise the campuses turning them into no-go-areas for their opponents. The treatment meted out to Imran Khan at Punjab University indicates that the trend still persists and has to be rooted out.

Unions are meant for common students whose primary aim is to study and participation in the affairs of the student unions is only a part time activity. Professional student leaders who join an educational institution only to take part in union activities or provide muscle power to a particular student organization have therefore to be debarred from seeking admission.

As long as they are there, common students will be at disadvantage.

Unions must not interfere in the working of the administration either. They should not be allowed to use their clout to get students admitted in violation of rules or play a role in the appointment of the faculty. As is the case of the members of the assemblies, elected officials the student unions too start seeking what they consider their privileges. In both cases governance is the sufferer."

Q What about the elections when Fatima Jinnah was contesting Ayub Khan, the General? What sort of student involvement was evident?

Azi Zuddin: I was the teacher in charge of the Islamia College union and used to go to the jails to ask for their release. It was quite spontaneous. Students were actively in favour of Fatima Jinnah, especially in Karachi, where lower middle class colleges and the university were quite volatile. Ayub Khan had changed the capital from Karachi to Islamabad, Gauhara Ayub opened doors to Pakhtun migration to the city, and other nationalities started entering the services. This broke the monopoly of Karachi and added some fuel



to the fire directed against Ayub. In Lahore, the student's agitation was not very strong. Hindi was more active and Gordon College was the storm center for the anti Ayub movement.

Q What about union funds? How was it generated and spent?

Azizuddin: Funds were collected from the students for public debates. It was a small sum used to hold intercollegiate debates. Sometimes students were invited to other cities to participate in contests and the college paid for their travel through those funds. But it was a small sum for basic maintenance.

4.18. PROF. IBNE HASSAN

Prof. Ibne Hassan teaches English in a Gujranwala college. Originally from Kasur, he has earned wide respect for a career that is about to end after decades' long service in developing students and their language skills and literary tastes. When you see him in person you are likely to be distracted by his apparent quietness and obsession with discreet monitoring of English grammar. You would perhaps never imagine that he was a vibrant student leader in the Government College Lahore; chief organizer of the NSO and one of the founding fathers of the Ravians' Front.

The Ravians' Front is a model student organization which is showcased for its campus based politics, independence from political party affiliation and peaceful non-agitational activism amidst the serene environment of GC's high achievers.

Ibne Hassan got admissions in the Government College (GC) Lahore in 1970. He was exposed to the Marxist politics through his association with activists like Wilayat Ali Khan and Wajid Aslam and reading of Peking Review.

He says pro-China socialists and Prof. Group of the left dominated those days. Jamiat-e-Islami by then had a limited role in Lahore. They would open libraries within Madrasas under different names, mostly Anjuman-e-Fidayeen-e-Islam and distributed their literature. They especially targeted selected activists and bright students.

"I was in third year when some students of GC met with M. Alana M. Aoudi. He was an aging person and had physically weakened by then but got livened up when I put him a question: "Sham sheer kay binna Islam mahin aa sakta"

"Jamiat people tried to convert us but having failed in that they resorted to violence. That was the start of a strategy of violence and intimidation of the opponents. They started using force," he adds.

Lahore in those days was a dynamic city with discussions aplenty in its different parts. Green Hotel (Deen Building) and Butt Hotel (Nisbet Road) were the main sitting places for the left-wing students....

Shuja and Manzoor Ejaz spearheaded NSO then. Nazim of GC IJT, Abdul Rehman Advocate (Okara) IJT Nazim GC was a married man and was financially supported by his organization, while in the neighboring Law College Raja Zulfikar Ali Zouq was Nazim. He was also a paid worker.

Raja Anwer provided physical force to the leftist students. They would beat IJT students in the old campus, while IJT did the same in the new campus. Another student leader Zafaryab was very aggressive and had contacts with local goons. He had established groups like "The Vulgars" and "Students Own Power (SOP)" before he joined the discipline of NSO.

Mdatab Butt, Saqib Nisar, Faisal Saleh Hayat (Chairman), Babur Yaqoob, Shaukat Najmi and Nazim Husnain were with the GC NSO.

"There were 12 booklets of NSO on different ideological issues for political education of the cadre. We used to have study circles and ideological discussions.

Ibne Hassan thinks that many a student organizations are not political or ideological, they are criminals by their actions.

"School teachers politics was dominated by the Jamiat-i-Islami affiliated people, but practically it was interest-based..... It was Mukhtar Chohan of Kot Nura, Ghakkar (district Gujranwala), who

has been the real force behind defeating JI-sympathizers within the lectures/ professors.

He says that there were a very few women in student politics. Within its leadership, it was almost none.

Ibne Hassan founded the Ravians Front in 1973-4 with his friend activist Tauqeer.

4.19. SAEED SALEEMI

Today, Mr Saeed Saleemi is a member of the Jamaat-i-Islami. In his student days, he was part of the Islamic Jamaat Talaba, a leader and union member at the Punjab University, but despite his abiding loyalties, Mr Saleemi is critical of party policies, particularly after the Afghan Jihad money poured into its coffers. He has played a reformist role in the student wing.

Q Can you give a brief history of your academic career?

SS: In 1971, after passing Matric in Sargodha, I took admission in I. Com. I went to Faisalabad for B. Com. Then, from 1981 to 83, I was in the Punjab University for M. BA.

Q When did you get actively involved in student politics?

SS: I became associated with the Islamic Jamaat-i-Talaba from intermediate onwards and took part in union elections in Sargodha to become general secretary of the college union. Later, in Faisalabad, too I was involved in union activity where I was asked to play a role in the Jamaat's organization. At the time Liaqat Baloch was the Punjab President of IJT. There was not too much work in Faisalabad but I worked hard to build the unit there and two years later, by the time I left for Lahore, there were six workers, 22 supporters, an office, and a cycle, which was considered a lot in those days.

Q How was Lahore different from the other cities in terms of student activism?

SS: Those were hard times. Zia ul Haq was in power and Bhutto had not been hanged yet. There was a delay in the admissions, then Bhutto was hanged, educational institutions remained closed for some time. I was member Nazim of IJT Lahore because apparently there had been an accident due to which several IJT members were under inquiry. A student leader of the opposite camp, Annullah, had been murdered in FC College apparently because of an intimacy with Jamaat boys. It could have been a personal thing since he was from a landlord family of Rahim Yar Khan and was quite an aggressive sort of person. But Liaqat Baloch, in his capacity as Punjab president of Jamaat, suspended the membership of Hafiz Sahib Butt, Moinuddin Rashid, Masood Ahmed and others during an inquiry concerning their murder.

Q Were internal inquiries common to the IJT?

SS: I have been Nazim of the university and I know how hard the task is. You barely get enough sleep. Every month there is an ijlās, a meeting in which members lay bare their criticism of the Nazim. Liaqat Baloch had a cool temperament but he resigned twice, or tried to, because of the harsh criticism when he was in the Punjab University union. I think the organization of Jamaat continues to be successful because of this system of self-appraisal.

Q Did anyone in the Jamaat resent your appointment as Nazim since you were not from the city cadre?

SS: They had no choice. No one challenged the decisions of the Jamaat. Besides, we won in many colleges in Lahore during my time there than ever before.

Q Was this not due to State support to Jamaat at the time? Bhutto was dead but his influence had to be contained and then there was the war in Afghanistan? Do you attribute these factors to the phenomenal success of the IJT in those years?

SS: State support has its pluses and its minuses. Till General Gilani was Governor of the Punjab, Zia ul Haq could feel safe about his martial regime because Gilani had a past and he had stopped popular movements like the MRD from taking off in the Punjab. He

was wary of the power students yielded and their anti state activism , so he promoted the rise of anti Jan iat groups.

Q This is the time when the greatest amount of arms drugs came into student politics accompanied by random violence?

SS: As for armed violence, the credit for introducing that to student politics goes to some of the big landlords in the People's Party, especially Mustafa Khar, who worked with the Police department to supply arms to students of the PSF. The second reason for this new phenomenon was the presence of non-students on campuses. In Jan iat, this was not the case and we knew that student politics ended when you left the institution. The People's Party had several armed terrorists in PSF who were not students like Foka "Terror", Arshad Awan, Ghulam Abbas, and others. These people would come on campuses, spread terror, and leave. They did nothing to improve the administration of the university.

No one offered us the Punjab University union on a platter. If you remember, in 1969, when Jan iat candidate Usman Ghani won as president of the union, he was asked to hand in his resignation after a gang of Left wing students trapped him on Old Campus. The students were from the NSQ I believe.

Q Do you support the involvement of national political parties in student unions?

SS: I don't see the harm in it. The parties can train students ideologically but then regarding activism and funding they should be on their own.

Q You don't think that students are used by the parties to swell their rallies or to force bhatta on shopkeepers, transporters et cetera?

SS: As for bhatta, this was not the work of either the PSF or the IJT but began with the formation of the Muslim Student Federation who were supporters of Ziaul Haq. Several presidents of the MSF were not students but gangsters who began this business of collecting bhatta from wagon drivers.

Q Were founders of the MSF not former Jan iat members and leaders?

SS: Yes, they were people who were thrown out of Jan iat for breach of discipline.

Q Were arms brought into Jan iat in the name of the students' participation in the Afghan War?

SS: Arms were always present in this country. When I became a nazim of the university, I campaigned against the presence of arms on campuses. I was attacked by a Left wing group one night as I was studying for an MBA examination along with a few students. Although I begged them to let go of my fellow students and settle scores only with me they beat us up real bad. Then we were dragged to another room of the hostel for display.

Q But how was this possible when you had the support of Gen. Ziaul Haq?

SS: This was the work of Ali Zulfikar. They used to get on board the university bus from Ichhra and tear off the badges of any Jan iat supporter and slap them around. We spoke to the administration but they took no action against them. Students were afraid to stand up to the harassment. So we took matters in our own hands but the police arrested them. Then, in the PIA plane hijacking all these people were released from prison. Some of them came into power in Benazir Bhutto's first government. One of them became a minister in government. One day, as I was crossing a main road, a car stopped near me and this man stepped out who had come from my hostel a long time ago and beaten me up. He said he wanted to apologize to me for the wrong he did me in the past. I knew we would have given him a hiding had we trapped him at the time so it was the same I told him we could let it go.

Q Do you think the party used these people?

SS: Well, both things. They were such firebrands and then there are always powerful people around who would use them.

Q You have been associated with student politics for a long time. What sort of rules and regulations do you think are needed to ensure healthy student activism?

SS: Well, first student unions need to be restored. Regulations need to be made and adhered to, and the age limit of students needs to be determined. We suggested that the age limit be fixed at 26 years and anyone pursuing a second MA is not considered eligible to stand for elections. This was suggested in 1975-76.

Q But everyone knows this has not been the case.

SS: It is true, the regulations were relaxed to accommodate poor students who had nowhere to go. But this has also been done for friends and it is not right, no matter who does it.

Q The standards of research and education have gradually declined over the years in the Punjab University. As a student's body, did you ever address such issues?

SS: It is not students but teachers who are responsible for this. There have been some outstanding teachers of both Right and Left leaning. High Energy Physics had a Dr. Salim had Right wing sympathies and did a lot of work in his department and at least seven to eight doctorates were awarded in his time. His own research articles were published in journals abroad. But not everyone had that kind of motivation. There are departments like Punjabi, Islamic Studies, and IER where PhDs are awarded very easily and low standards are maintained. So much so, that students of Islamic Studies can't read Arabic. I took up these issues in the budget speech as union president in my time.

Q What sort of influence did teacher's political leanings have on student politics?

SS: A very dangerous effect. Whether of Left or right, a teacher should keep his own leaning out of the job of teaching. I have given the example of Dr. Salim, there was also Mujeeb A Sheikh, who was Left leaning in his beliefs but a very good teacher who never let his ideas change his behaviour towards students. A teacher may

give professional or even ideological training to the students, but he cannot become partisan.

Q What about union funds? What sort of access does the union have to funds?

SS: We had access to three or four lakh and a wagon, one room, and staff. In my time we celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the Punjab University for which a large outlay of funds was made and we used it in various ways. (Excerpts from magazine Mehr published on the occasion are included in this issue of Bargad).

Q Did the Afghan war also bring in funds for students of the Jamia?

SS: Yes they did, but in my view this had a lot of bad effects too. Before some money came in, Jamia was committed to simplicity in everything. We would hold public meetings in the masjid after prayers, and often go to sleep there if it got late. We couldn't dream of the luxury that came with the Afghan war, not that I know of pilferage but it did spoil the austere habits of ideological people. We couldn't even dream of entering places like Pearl Continental Hotel but when Gulbadin Hekmatyar was being feted, we held the reception in the PC. We had cars, and money poured in, it affected all of us. Not everyone has a character as strong as Qazi Hussain Ahmed. And the Afghans were not sincere, I feel. First they exploited the Soviet Union, now they use the Americans. They carry satellite telephones and deal in dollars.

I often ask myself, what were our intellectuals thinking when they opposed the Soviet Union? We thought we were fighting communism but because of their destruction America has become an all-powerful to rule the world as it wishes. We have destroyed the balance.

Q Do you think ideological politics is possible in these conditions?

SS: I have told you how I see the decline in Right politics, but I cannot understand the Left. All their intellectuals joined pro American NGOs.

Q How would you comment on all the private institutions started by Jamiat and Jamiat members where the issue of Islam and an eastern code of behaviour were not made the issue. Also, these private institutions did not allow student unions or the influence of Jamiat in the least. It is believed that the Jamiat teachers had to gain by making the standards of education in public institutions dimly low?

SS: Let me explain how this happened. A number of students could not get admission in Hailey College. I discussed the matter with the Vice Chancellor who told me that the teachers were not willing to take evening classes, so the first private college came into being. The Jinnah Islami College of Commerce that was affiliated with the University. Then three years later came Scholars College. Then the Punjab College of Commerce, two years later.

Q Did you think of regulating this work through byelaws?

SS: We thought private institutions are self regulated by the buyers of education who pay large fees for it. If the education standard falls, people will head elsewhere.

4.20. SOFIA SABIR

The government's recent decision to lift ban on student unions might be due, but has been taken without giving enough thinking which the issue really deserves. These bodies have practically become tools to party politics and are badly used by politicians. That's the core message of a veteran student leader, M sSofia Sabir whose landmark rise to student politics in 1977 still baffles many in the political sphere.

M sSabir contested as candidate for the Joint Secretary's slot in Punjab University (PU) and was defeated by only one vote.

More inspiring part of her story was a conscious decision to join the opposition "Student Alliance" in PU a coalition of the then leftists and merged by the dominant student group Islami Jamiat Tulba

(IJT) in every possible way including character assassination, she recollects.

She says when she consented to be on the main panel, a person met her father and advised to withdraw her candidature because "the leftists are morally corrupt people and they kidnap girls for pleasure."

Her father could not get the point and asked why she should not contest the elections. He visited university campuses and met with administration of her department (Persian) to convey to them the warnings received by rival group.

M sSofia recalls that prominent opposition members were harassed. Especially the female activists were subject to different pressures. For example, opponents would write false letters to parents of those girls who were active against their politics. In these letters, they were portrayed as threatened by moral standards. A few could stand such intimidation.

There were sometimes people clad in chaddars and would reveal arms when you passed by them, M sSofia adds.

She maintains that there was no discrimination against girls in her camp. Nor they were attached to any political party as a group, unlike the opponents who were playing in the hands of their mother party outside the campus.

Per se, M sSofia today is not opposed to the idea of student politics but its links with political parties is a vice according to her. She would rather lament over lack of political training of the present-day students.

She still practices her PU political training and represents the Pakistan Lecturers and Professors Association (PLA) in ANW A College where she teaches Persian as an Assistant Professor.

"I am curious about the upside of student politics," says M sSofia Sabir. "But such politics have to be delinked with political parties and violence and should trumpet education and social causes that include girls in leadership roles as well."

4.21. ZAFAR IQBAL MIRZA (ZIM)

With a long career in English journalism, Zafar Iqbal Mirza, or ZIM the acronym he is known by, studied at Government College from 1952 to 1958. He then worked at the Civil & Military Gazette, The Pakistan Times, The Muslim, Viewpoint, till 1984 when he joined Dawn where he retired as a Resident Editor. He still writes his weekly column.

According to ZIM:

"I studied in Government College from 1952 to 1958. In my time, the atmosphere in the college was very pleasant, there was no question of students creating a ruckus. Students used to study hard and play hard and there was a dramatic society too. In my time there was a play in my time, Arsenic and Old Lace. They played it again this year. Semis like the Government College has run out of ideas. Then, Ravi, the college magazine was of a very high standard. Our teachers not only helped us learn from our environment but also concentrated on character building. They gave us things to think about and provocative debate topics like "The skirt is a more practical dress than the Sari".

I was neither very good at studies, nor was I interested in extra curricular activities. One reason for not wanting to study was my teachers. For instance, Bhatti Sahib who then taught English Literature. He tried his best for us never to read Shakespeare, Milton and others, and if it had not been for my own interest in the subject and the fact of my father's superb library, I would certainly have succumbed to Bhatti's teaching.

There were union elections in my time but I shied away from such activity. Many students were really taken up by it but there was no link between union elections and political parties. I used to go round to other institutions as well, like the Punjab University, and there too there was a pleasant enough atmosphere with respect for teachers and strict maintenance of discipline. It was a different age. By 1960, it was evident that political parties had started interfering in students' politics. Three years since Gen. Ayub was in office, and the atmosphere had started deteriorating which was due entirely to the rise of the Islami Jamaat-i-Talaba whose leaders started

influencing admissions. Had they been stopped then, things would not have gone very far. Students with Left sympathies never behaved in this way. They were generally the best students and maintained academic quality. Only the best among them became student leaders. This was the time when Faiz Sahib was greatly popular and anyone who had the privilege of knowing him and was influenced by his politics, could not be ill mannered or uncultured. Even in their activism, students never let go of the most cultured tradition and their most polite manners.

We had some foreign teachers, too, a lady who taught French and a gentleman from New Zealand who taught Math.

The best thing about the Government College was its grounds, The Oval. Often, I would check out a good book from the library and carry it to the Oval to read. It was fashionable then to read about socialism and Marxism. To prove your mettle, you had to be familiar with the names of some of Marx's works. Everyone spoke about him but very few people had read him. I tried my hand at Das Kapital and survived the first 26 pages. It was all too technical for me but I understood the central idea revolved around surplus value. You could not understand Marx without following some economics. There were lots of new ideas in the discipline of economics but the Marxists would stick to their set of ideas. Some of teachers were Marxist too. My father was a hafiz of Das Kapital but I never tried to read him.

I will never forget the day in 1972 when Bhutto Sahib, the President of the country, came to the New Campus to address a seminar on imperialism. In my time Hussain Naqi stood up and asked him a perky question about his own involvement in imperialist policy. People from the security ran towards him, including the DSP, but Bhutto called out for him to left alone, that he was a friend.

They were charged times, and all over the world, students were engaged in political expression. In Pakistan too, student leaders could easily collect twenty thousand people. Left students were generally People's Party supporters or part of independent progressive groups. They were generally a spirited lot, given to reciting poetry and breaking into song, or just light banter. There were puns for everyone. Not the sort of people who thought about

beating anyone up for his ideas. No doubt, Bhutto had some Islamic Jamiat Talaba activists arrested, but they instigated it.

From Neela Gamhad to all over the Mall, the Jamiat put up posters against him. When he drove past the Mall Road, they took off their slippers and held them up in their hands. They prodded him to take action against them. You know I have never been a Bhutto supporter but this is what I saw happening.

The kind of violence that ensued on campus in the mid 80s perpetrated by the Islamic Jamiat-i-Talaba and the Muslim Students Federation could not have been imagined earlier. In my time, Left and Right sympathizers talked to each other and disagreed with each other, but there was no question of it turning violent and insulting a teacher could not even be imagined.

In my view political parties should not student wings, whether it is the People's Party or the Jamiat-i-Islami. This was the case before partition, but it was not right then and it is not correct now.

This does not mean that students should have no political consciousness, and that they should know nothing about the experiments in statehood in other parts of the world. Only that political parties, whether ruling or in opposition, should not be allowed to influence student unions. If students practice oppositional politics, the state will come down hard on them.

About the Government College, I am certain, if I am any good today it is not because of Government College but despite it. Even if I had not studied there I would have pursued the same career. The people the college produced in the 50s are in the administration now and you are witness to the state of the country. So you can gauge what sort of brilliance the college produced. I think there has to be something within you to take to an educational institution.

(Translated from an interview in Urdu by Samina Choonara)

4.22. ZAHID ISLAM

Lahore-based Zahid Islam currently runs an NGO. He started his student activism in 1967 from Jinnah Islamic College Sialkot. His two relatives were affiliated with IJT and respectively were presidents of the Law College (Punjab University) and King Edwards Medical College unions.

He used to travel daily from his town Daska to Sialkot where in his college there was no ideological politics among the students, rather the students were divided on urban and rural lines.

Zahid contested the union elections and won as its joint secretary. Though he had established himself as a leader but it took his focus from the studies. Despite having first class in the previous academic history, he failed in the FSC exam in the subject of Physics. That infuriated his parents. He returned to Lahore. He got admissions to the MAO College, where failed candidates with one supplementary exam could also enroll.

This is period of the 1968 movement against Gen. Ayub Khan. Iftikhar Ahmed (currently Geo TV), and Javed Noshahi were his class fellows. Zafaryab Ahmed did not study but frequently was present around. He was very close to Iftikhar and general secretary of his organization Independent Students League which was practically a circle of not more than 4/5 friends.

Zahid says their friend Iftikhar contested for the presidency in union elections against Tariq Banaday of the IJT. In those days the candidates stood independently. They had no collective panel in MAO College.

During his involvement with the election campaign and student politics, he was approached by Prof. Ali Akhali Memon who belonged to the Jamiat Uloom-e-Islami and was a follower of Maulana Ubaid Ullah Sindhi – a progressive religious scholar from Deoband school of thought.

After a college strike, he was arrested with his friends – Iftikhar Ahmed, Javed Noshahi and Ejaz Saifi. He says it was no political issue that ignited the students. MAO college students had a tradition

of strikes, agitation and road blocking on the mere excuse of a reason! Only Saifi was aligned with a political group and was president of the student organization, Naw-e-Talaba. This group was supported by some college teachers. Arsalan Mir also formed Punjab Student Union in MAO College. So Zahid was amidst the company of ideologically diverse people. He joined JTI under influence of Prof. Khalid Mahmood and was made its Central Information Secretary.

After sometime his mentor asked him to leave the Moulvis' and join PPP. He established a PPP office in his neighbourhood as General Secretary and then was made Secretary of the PPP's first labour bureau. Gulzar Chaudhry was its president but he was not a political person. Zahid was then also promoted as member of PPP Executive Council of Lahore.

His first real encounter with the hardcore left came through meeting with Prof. Khalid Mahmood, a core member of the Prof. Group which was led by Prof. Aziz-ud-din Ahmad. Other members of the group included Prof. Ijaz ul Hassan, Dr. Hamid Hassan Kazilbash, Pervaiz Vandal, Fareeha Zafar, Dr. Nawaz, etc.

Zahid got admissions to BA Honours (Economics) in the PU in 1971. He joined the NSQ which was open front and student wing of the Prof. Group.

He says during the first elections of Jehangir Badr (now PPP) in the PU. In tiaz Alam (now journalist) the NSO chief kicked the Ballot boxes and took them away. He was arrested for 9 months. Fayyaz Baqir persuaded Mazur Ejaz to work for the Mazoor Kissan Party instead of their mentors the Prof. Group. This honeymoon was soon over. Mazur Ejaz prepared a charge sheet against Baqir and instead was himself ousted. Baqir was made Convener of the NSQ.

Zahid claims Prof. Group gained mass recognition especially among the labour unions because of him and that he formed Matalidda Mazdoor Mazhar along with many trade unions in Lahore. People like Tariq Latif, Zaman Khan and Khawaja Tariq Masood joined the Prof. Group on his perusal, he adds.

Prof. Group had formed three governing bodies, (i) Labour Bureau, (ii) Student Bureau, and (iii) Peasant Bureau to oversee the working of three front organizations including the NSO.

Zahid alleges that the Prof. Group worked in clandestine way. They were not democratic and were running three front organizations with secret set-ups. There was a difference in the structures of front politics and actual internal operation. The leaders of the fronts did not call the shots. They were puppets in the hands of the core group of professors. Zahid himself was part of the student and labour bureaus.

On front level, Fayyaz Baqir was president of NSO and Munawer Hayat its general secretary. Then the tenure of Munawer Hayat and Pervaiz Enayat Malik ended after wards Asghar Ali Shirazi became the NSO chief.

Zahid says that undemocratic environment in Prof. Group led first to splitting of the group and then gradually its dismemberment. Tariq Latif, Zaman Khan, Tariq Masood, Malik Abdul Qayyum, Iftikhar Shahid and Mian Jehangir left the group.

We ran the NSO for one and half years after the first split in NSO. The Prof. Group had effectively made its presence in students and labour of Punjab. But the ideologues and those actually running its affairs were narrow minded according to Zahid. There were good prospects that leftist students of many shades could make an alliance. They collectively held a public rally in favour of Vietnam after thorough consultation on how to jointly organize the event. It proved disastrous because pro-Chinese activist Hassan Baqir on behest of senior leaders (of Prof. Group) started hurling slogans against Soviet Russia to whom they popularly regarded as a "Social Imperialist" country. Basit Mir struck this agitator with stick of the banner and then there was a scuffle between Pro-China and Pro-Russia students. Even when there was no ideological division on these lines with other groups the senior mentors of Prof. Group would hinder greater alliances among left minded activists, accuses Zahid.

He attributes such narrowness and sectarian approach of the ideologues to the underground and undemocratic culture of the

leftist organizations. Such was the secrecy that it was revealed later the Prof. Group had a nine-member central committee to run the front organizations. These things hurt those who were on the field and suddenly realized they were controlled by a secret society of old guards.

Zahid Islam particularly carries sense of betrayal over handling of the Barakat murder case. Barakat the NSO convener of Islamia College Civil Lines was killed during night of the PU elections in the old campus. The main accused were Javed Hashmi (currently MLN), Rana Nazar-ur-Rehman, Noman Butt and Hafeez Khan the IJT leaders. Zahid was made complainant by the Prof. Group and presented before the court. Aitzaz Ahsen registered the FIR. He was very junior lawyer then.

Zahid says he did not know what would follow afterwards. The accused were powerful. Hashmi was attacked and IJT delegations pressurized his family to withdraw the case. He singlehandedly had to go through regular and lengthy proceedings in the police state. His group did not support him helms.

Zahid says that murder of popular labour leader Abdul Rehman also reflected sectarian mindset of the leftist leaders and their ideological infighting.

According to Zahid, the NSO actively persisted from 1970 to 1974. He joined the second revolt and left the Prof. Group. Later he joined Mazdoor Kissan Party (MKP), which he says shared many things with the Prof. group including the underground politics.

4.23. ZUBAIR JAN

Zubair Jan writes short stories in Punjabi and teaches English in Lahore. Once a progressive student activist in Islamia College Civil Lines, he eventually turned to cultural politics and works now for the promotion of Punjabi language and literature. According to his version, the leftist leaders of his times were not intellectually strong.

The NSO was very popular in his college. Arshed Butt was the elected president there. The NSO won elections from 1972 to 1977

in the civil lines college. But then there was a split and the college organization was divided into Arshed Butt and Mian Jahangir groups. Both contested from different panels in the college in 1978. They were defeated and would never recover again. That was a great fall!

IJT disrupted one of the NSO meetings held in the college. Presided by Arshed Butt, it was also attended by chief organizer of NSO Masoom Abidi (later journalist). Abidi was beaten, says Zubair Jan. He himself was thrashed. Arshed Butt took out his pistol, which was the only weapon available with NSO in the college.

Islamia College Railway Road was also in grip of the NSO. This revolutionary fervour remained till 1975, tells Jan.

Zubair Jan emphatically says that teachers had a strong influence upon student politics. He views it was only because of the teachers that progressive leftist politics had begun. Safdar Mian and Prof. Amin Mughal had immensely affected students. They also paid the price and were punished by the martial law government for their leftist leanings.

In Islamia College Civil Lines, ideological loyalties of teachers were no secret. Teachers like Prof. Minhaj, Anwer Adeeb promoted progressive thoughts, while Sheikh Rafiq led the Janmat-oriented faculty.

"There were open ideological debates and lectures by scholars. Ahmed Bashir and Prof. Amin Mughal also participated in a few public debates in the college NSO used to publish a regular newsletter as well. Many of the student leaders of the 1968-69 movement had been disillusioned with the PPP regime and resorted to drugs," Jan adds.

When Gen. Zia-ul-Haq came into power, Afrasia magazine edited and owned by Abdul Qadir Hassan published a list of 139 teachers of Punjab who were reprimanded for their 'communist' thoughts and activities. The government had a crackdown upon these teachers. They were transferred to far off places. Some of them were imprisoned as well, while a few physically beaten by IJT in the P.U. ... This repression badly reversed teacher-student

interactions of the 1970s. Fears of being punished and manhandled prevailed in whole this era. It was the darkest period of our national life.”

Zubair says student politics had nothing to do with educational issues. The activism revolved around revolution and ideological issues. However the campuses brimmed with student activities: debates, rallies, meetings, pamphlets and discussions etc.

4.24. ZUBAIR YOUSAF

Zubair Yousaf is a photographer and audio-visual recordist by profession. He was information secretary of the Democratic Students Federation (DSF) in Punjab when it resurfaced in 1980s in Gen. Zia period after previous ban on the organization and its mother party the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) in 1954.

He started his activism from the form of Federation of Punjab Students (FPS), which was a tiny progressive group.

Zubair particularly characterizes the Gen. Zia period as beginning of the end of student pluralism and diversity in campuses. He says: “it isolated the youth and divided them. Today no student from Beacon House system can interact with someone who has studied in a public school in Bhaati gate.”

“Establishment has always been stronger than the political elements. The left was a response to its stronghold.”

He says that the progressive student movement was non-violent: “We used to relate ourselves with Marxist literature, screened films and had discussions without fights.”

As for the closed and underground nature of DSF activities in Punjab, he says we had no choice. The regime was bent upon suppressing people. The choice was only to save oneself from being physically eliminated.

Cherishing the activist days, he says that there was no social isolation. There was volunteerism in youth and personal dreams were modest. This is missing today.

By 1986-76, the DSF had formed its groups in Lahore in the PU, UET, GC, Dyal Singh College, MAO College, Islamia College Railway Road and Islamia College Civil Lines. However the split in the mother party CPP caused a devastating impact upon the reorganized groups. They had to hide their identities under different open organizations in various campuses.

In the resumed student union elections in 1989, vice presidential candidate of the anti-IJT alliance Naela Qadri came from the DSF and many others in UET contested elections under the banner of Quaid-i-Azam Students Federation (QSF).

CONCLUSION

Revisiting student politics not only entails looking at political and democratic history of Pakistan, but it should also be an important part of relocating governance policies of higher education. This is especially relevant after competition in social services like education has taken place. A total public control has given way to the growth of private educational institutions. In the current scenario, it is imperative that the education planners make room for multi-stakeholder involvement with the system. This can be done by reforming the strictly hierarchical bodies and by instituting inclusive regulatory mechanism in the education sector.

Student politics is an arena that has the promise to make higher education governance work for more democracy, transparency and accountability.

Student politics and representation have increased resources for many young people who could not have thrived on the basis of kinship, caste or creed. This role may now be shared by other skill development programmes and associational work in the education institutions, but the need to organized student forums – political, social or skill-based – will remain the same. This will positively affect the efficient working of the universities in a competitive educational world.

Historically, student politics in Pakistan was consolidated due to weaker political parties and fragile democratic system like many counterparts in the developing world. That conditions are what remain so. That's why many analysts believe that political parties have an excessive desire for a revival of the student politics amid fears of burning out of recruitment base. This might be true but not so far for the key mainstream political parties, which have been reluctant to own the revivalist agenda apparently due to security reasons, heated student polarization and apprehension of student militancy. No one can afford more battle zones.

Even when a worst security scenario is neutralized, there is so much activity going on for the ordinary students within tight schedule, demanding exam system and heavy education costs. On sectoral

level, the growth has been immense, enrolment many fold and locations of the institutions diversified as compared to 1984 when student unions were banned. It is hard to imagine that structures and networks of the current student organizations can match the size of the sector on a national scale. Gone are times when less than a hundred students in selected bigger cities like Karachi, Lahore or Rawalpindi could create national scenes.

In the current scenario, the students have to be mobilized on local – campus – basis. In that sense, paranoia within educationists about the striking power of student politics gain little grounds and subscribe to the political suspicions that the university officials seek unhindered 'administrative' controls rather than planned and inclusive governance structures.

The ban on student unions or its lifting is not the question. How to ensure smooth representation of students and their potential to hold universities accountable and transparent is at the core of present times. For that larger consultation and preparation is due. We have seen that the enthusiastic democratic government in 1989 had to reverse its hasty decision to lift ban on student unions because they were not well-prepared.

Rhetoric on both sides of the divide and winning applause from audience is one thing but actually proposing viable structures, system and norms for student representation within the governance structures is another scenario that demands willingness to talk to each other and seriously! To that end a multi-stakeholder engagement is needed to thrash out details of how student politics have come forward in a changing time.

The Indian case in regulating the student representation can be exemplary. It is also easily readable by our education planners because of proximity of similar legacy in governance structures of higher education.

The Indian student politics has been facing the same allegations with much severity as it is witnessed in Pakistan. One of the most 'ideological' states Kerala was the staunchest opponents of the student politics and had imposed a ban on unions. The stalemate persisted until the Lyngdoh Committee Report (2006) came out.

after a thorough consultative process with diverse stakeholders. The important lessons are that (i) undertake SCIENTIFIC AND INFORMED REVIEW of situation, (ii) have CONSULTATIONS WITH ALL STAKEHOLDERS and prepare them for possible scenarios for future ownership of the policies, and (iii) propose TANGIBLE RECOMMENDATIONS.

Our experience has shown that vague codes of conduct have been adopted and in the absence of political will and ownership these could not be implemented.

All stakeholders – students, student organizations, political parties, researchers, civil society practitioners and public interest leaders, university administrators, education planners, policy makers and the government functionaries – will have to carefully view the fundamental transition that is in process in the academic environment and have implications for future student politics.

Tangibility of policies on two key issues – (i) peace and (ii) women participation – in campuses can provide due leverage for another representation of students. The former calls for zero tolerance against violence and the latter demands commitment to human development in Pakistan. But this has to have minutely detailed out rules of business in campuses, not just broader policy frameworks or vaguely put normative assertions which can be conveniently interpreted, especially when facing group pressures or blackmailing.

Although the present study has been particularly concerned with student politics, but it has also examined different contexts in which politics in general is consolidated, weakened or changes its forms. We have used campuses to signify a politics which is in search of its specific location, sectoral interests and specialized mandate. It is envisaged that transition to an independent and campus-based politics can be realized with due planning, public-private partnership and instituting an inclusive multi-stakeholder mechanism within the structures of higher education.

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ANNEX 1: MATRIX OF STUDENT POLITICS IN PAKISTAN⁴⁴

1.1. CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE PROGRESSIVE PERSPECTIVE

1.1.1. INCEPTION OF STUDENT POLITICS IN SOUTH ASIA

<i>Item</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Date(s)</i>	<i>Category</i>
Monstrous protest against the partition of Bengal	Peoples' meetings in Bengal and voice of anthems like Band-e-Matam	1905-1911	Protest and agitation
Ibid	Hindustani students made a strike in King Edward Medical College	1905	Ibid
All India Muslim League	Formation	1905	Organization
Ibid	Year of Qatal-i-Ah	1906	Protest and agitation
Land Requisition Bill	Slogans of Khalsa college students against the Lt. Governor Sir Charles Revaz's visit to Anarsar	March 1907	Ibid
Tehrik-I-Hijrat	Migration of students to Kabul	1914	Protest
Rowlett Act	Firing at the procession of students in Lahore	1919	Violence
Hindustani Communist Party	Formation at Tashkent	1920	Organization
Nujawan Bharat Sabha	Formation	1926	Ibid

⁴⁴ Compiled from Ahmad, Aziz-uddin. “Pakistan Mein Talaba Tehreek”, Lahore: Mashal, 2000 & Tareekh Jamiat Committee. “Jab Woh Nazim-e-Ala Thay” (Vol 1, 2, 3, 4) Lahore: Idara Matbooaate-Talaba.

Ibid	Lahore students conference	1927	Organization
Nujwan Bharat Sabha with kairti Kisan Party	Unification	1928	Ibid
Simon Commission	Killing of Police officer Mr. Sandras by workers of Socialist Republican Army	1928	Violence
Inter-collegiate Muslim Brotherhood	Formation	1930	Organization
Lahore conspiracy case	Death sentence to Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sikh Dev	Oct 1930	Violence
All India Students Federation	Formation at Lucknow	1936	Organization
All India Muslim Students Federation	Convention at Calcutta	Dec 1937	Ibid
Muslim Students Federation	Formation at Lucknow	Jan 1937	Ibid
Sindh Students Conference	Formation	April 1938	Ibid
Second All India Students Conference	Conference in Lahore	Nov 1938	Ibid
Women student Committee	Formation	1940	Ibid
All India Students Federation	Meeting at Patna	1941	Ibid
Muslim Students Federation	Pakistan Conference in Lahore	2 March 1941	Ibid
Muslim Students Federation	Conference in Lyllpur	5 July 1941	Ibid
Baluchistan Muslim Students Federation	Formation	May 1943	Ibid

Punjab Muslim Students Federation	Annual Meeting in Lahore	1944	Ibid
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1.1.2. INCEPTION OF STUDENT POLITICS IN PAKISTAN

Item	Event	Date(s)	Category
Muslim League	Formation in Gopal Ganj area	1939	Organization
East Pakistan Muslim Students League	Formation	January 1948	Organization
Students League	Voice against the language issue	March 1948	Protest
East Bengal Muslim Awami League	Formation	June 1949	Organization
	Speech of Khwaja Nazimuddin in favour of national language	27 January 1952	Ibid
	Protest of Dhakka students against Urdu as national language	30 January 1952	Protest and agitation
Youth League	Against the language issue, Killing of three students (celebration of Martyr day)	21 February 1952	Ibid

1.1.3. EARLIER PERIOD OF STUDENT POLITICS IN SINDH

Item	Event	Date(s)	Category
Sindh Muslim students Federation	Sindhi students would oppose the separation of Karachi from Sindh	30 Jan 1948	Protest
Ibid	Karachi Day	20 Feb 1948	Ibid
	Against the use of Sindhi language in Karachi educational institutions	1949	Ibid

Democratic Students Federation	Formation and protest call in DOW Medical College	1952	Organization
Ibid	2 day DSF Council Meeting	11-12 Oct 1952	Quality education
Ibid	Inauguration of Student Herald		Ibid
Inter Collegiate Body	Formation		Organization
Ibid	Mutalib Day	7 July 1953	Protest and agitation
Ibid	Killing of 7 students and 112 wounded	8 January	Violence
Ibid	Strike call	9 January	Protest
Ibid	Celebration of Martyrs day by EPSU EPSL and MSF	10 January	Ibid
Ibid	Restrictions were imposed upon the PSO	1954	Ibid
Ibid	Against One unit and celebration of Sindh Day	1954	Protest
National Students Federation	Formation	1956	Organization
Ibid	Protest by NSF against the British seizure of Suez canal	Oct 1956	Protest and agitation

1.1.4. EARLIER PERIOD OF STUDENT POLITICS IN PUNJAB

Item	Event	Date(s)	Category
Islami Jamaat	Formation	Dec 1947	Organization
DSF	Formation	1949	Ibid
Ibid	Publication of poster by DSF against the Shah of Iran	1951	Protest

Punjab Students Front	Formation	1952	Organization
Ibid	Procession of Lahore students against the Food policy of Prime Minister	1952	Protest
Ibid	Procession of Lahore students against the British seizure of Suez canal	1956	Protest and agitation
Ibid	Against the imperialist powers and killing of Congo PM . Petra's Luumba	1961	Protest
Ibid	Against the 3 year degree course and university ordinance and killing of student (Abdul Majid)	1968	Protest, agitation and violence

1.1.5. STUDENT MOVEMENT IN GEN. AYUB ERA

Item	Event	Date(s)	Category
Govt. Order	Restrictions upon the student organizations due to Martial law	Jan 1959	
NSF	Formation at Dhakka	1960	Organization
	Protest against the education policy in Dhakka	June 1961	Protest
	To turn the meeting of Federal Minister's Fazal-ul-Qadir by the students	1 August 1961	Protest and agitation
	To oppose the report of Education commission	17 August 1961	Protest
	Strike in educational institutions of East Pakistan	21 August 1961	Quality education and protest

	Against the imperialist powers and killing of Congo PM . Petra's Lu Lu ba	1961	Protest
	Exclusion of 12 students from the Karachi university due to opposition to 3 year programme	1962	
	Arrest of Husain Shaheed Shur wardi	Jan 1962	
	Strike by the students of Dhakka university against the presidential system , arrest of 200 students	15 March 1962	Protest and agitation
	Police firing in Jaisur and killing of driver	17 Sep 1962	Protest, violence
	Morning procession by the students against the police firing in Jaisur	18 Sep 1962	Protest and agitation
	Jabalpur incident in India and killing of Muslims	Feb 1962	Protest
	Female students took a procession the Martial law sentences to the student leaders and police wounded 55 students	April 1962	Violence
Movement against university ordinance	Annulment of university ordinance and arrest of students and attack upon the office of Vice chancellor	4 Nov 1963	Protest, violence
	As a result of firing about 12 students and 4 police officials were wounded	5 Nov 1963	Violence

	Intercollegiate body in Lyallpur and one police official wounded as a result of conflict	6 Nov 1963	Ibid
	Student procession in Rawalpindi and imposition of 144 and arrest of 20 students	5 Nov 1963	Protest
	Closure of Punjab university till 7 November and its linked colleges till 20	9 Nov 1963	Ibid
	Closure of Govt. Poly Technical institute	10 Nov 1963	Ibid
	Rustication of students from the King Edward Medical College due of University ordinance	1964	Ibid
All Parties Action Committee	Formation	6 Oct 1964	Protest
	Procession of APAC students and killing of a student as a result of police firing	8 Dec 1964	Violence
	Strike in Pakistan due to killing of Nasim shaheed and killing of another student in Peshawar	11 Dec 1964	Ibid
	Students protest against Tashkent Declaration, police firing upon student procession and killing of 4 students	13 Jan 1966	Ibid
	Anti Ayub movement and killing of a student in Rawalpindi	7 Nov 1968	Ibid
	Anti Ayub movement and killing of 2 students in Rawalpindi	9 Nov 1968	Ibid

	Anti Ayub movement and killing of a student in Noshera	10 Nov 1968	Ibid
All Pakistan Students Action Committee	Formation	Dec 1968	Organization
	Black day	1 Jan 1969	Protest
	Conflict between police and students, wounded 100 and arrested 34 students	8 Jan 1969	Violence
	Killing of one student in Dhakka	20 Jan 1969	Ibid
	Police wounded two students in Rawalpindi	20 Jan 1969	Ibid
	Performing of funeral prayer of killed person in Dhakka in which former chief justice of Dhakka also participated. Police opened fire and wounded many students	21 Jan 1969	Ibid

1.1.6. STUDENT MOVEMENT IN GEN. YAHYA KHAN ERA

Item	Event	Date(s)	Category
EPSL	Formation		Organization
Swadhin Shikshatrik Bangladesh	Manifesto of Independence	6 June 1969	
Conflict of Hyderabad Commissioner with the V. C of Sindh University	Arrest of 207 students and use of tear gas	6 March 1969	Protest
Transfer of teachers	Procession of students in Hyderabad, hunger strike	8-11 Nov 1969	Protest and agitation

Bahawalpur	Formation	7 Feb 1970	Organization
Mulhaz	Formation		
Tulba Majlis	To demand for the provincial status to Bahawalpur	27 Feb 1970	Agitation
Muhajir Punjabi Pathan Mulhaz	Dismissal of Vice Chancellor, burning of cinemas, 3 hotels, 6 vehicles and office of APP	19 Jan 1971	Protest and agitation, violence
Establishment of Al-Badr	Formation	23 May 1971	Organization
Socialist Nationalist Party	Formation	1972	Ibid
Closure of educational institutions in Dhakka	Slogans of "Jai Bangla"	1 March 1973	Protest
Military action against the students of Dhakka university	Killing of many students and teachers	25 March 1973	Violence
Election issue	Killing of student by firing in Punjab university	1973	Ibid

1.1.7. THE BHUTTO PERIOD

Item	Event	Date(s)	Category
Sindh Students Cultural Organization	Formation	1967	Organization

	“Bangladesh Nam azoor Tehrik” (Bangladesh) by the Islami Jamiat Students and killing of a student by police firing	Dec 1972	Protest and violence
Peoples Students Federation (PSF)	Formation	1973	Organization
	Killing of Barkat Ali in Lahore	1972	Violence
	Killing of Hanif Barkat in Lahore	1973	Violence
	Killing of Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai and charges against the students	3 Dec 1973	Violence
	Anti Administration by the Islami Jamiat Students	May 1974	Agitation
	All Sindh convention of SAPAF at Noshero Feroz	8 April 1974	Organization
All Pakistan Mujahid Students organization (AMSO)	Formation	1974	Organization
	Killing of Sher Pao in Peshawar university	3 Feb 1975	Violence
	Insurrection upon National Awami Party (NAP)	11 Feb 1975	
	Attack upon the vehicle of federal minister, Abdul Hafiz Peerzada in Sindh university		
Sindhi Shagird Tehrik	Formation	1977	Organization

1.1.8. THE GEN. ZIA ERA

<i>Event</i>	<i>Date(s)</i>	<i>Category</i>
Transfer of 139 progressive teachers in Punjab	1978	
Firing by Jamiat upon the elected officials of union in the Karachi university and wounded 16 male and 2 female students	12 Aug 1979	Violence
Killing of QSF worker by Jamiat students	1980	Violence
Hijacking of PIA plane	1981	
Killing of two students in Agricultural university Faisalabad	1982	Violence
To agitate for the establishment of women university by Jamiat	1982	
To put restrictions upon the unions in the educational institutions	1984	
Killing of 2 Jamiat students in Lahore	1985	Violence
Police firing upon the jamiat students and jamiat students tried to burn the Punjab assembly and burnt the administrative block of university	1985	Ibid
Control of Black Eagles over the Superior College in Lahore and killing of one student		Ibid
Clashes in DOW Medical college, Sindh Medical College and Karachi university	1986	Ibid
Killing of Jamiat and PSF students in Karachi university	1986	Ibid
To stop restrictions upon the student unions	1988	Peace
Kidnap of a driver by MSF workers	March 1988	Violence
To arrest the PSF President on the charges of police encounter	March 1988	Ibid
Killing of Abid Chaudhary MSF leader	June 1991	Ibid

5.1.9. RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

Item	Event	Date(s)	Category
Islāmī Jamiat Talba	Formation	21 Dec 1947	Organization, ideology
ATI	Formation	19 Jan 1968	Ideology
	Annual meeting	1968	Organization
ISO	Formation	1972	Organization, ideology
	Kidnap of a driver by MSF workers	March 1988	Violence
	To arrest the PSF President on the charges of police encounter	March 1988	Ibid
	Killing of Abid Chaudary a MSF leader	June 1991	Ibid
	Collection of Funds for the welfare of Shia community	1998	Organization

1.2. CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE IJT PERSPECTIVE

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Zafar Ullah Khan

Event	Date(s)	Category
Formation of Tanzeem-ul-Islami	1945	Organization
3 days Meeting	21-23 Dec 1947	Ibid
Tehrik against Compulsory Government service in the hospitals for the medical doctors		Education

Publishing of Students' Voice		Organization
Publication of Cyclostyle newsletter (Students' Voice) from King Edward Medical College		Ibid

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Dr. Muhammad Nasim (1950-51)

Event	Date(s)	Category
Formation of Jamiat	1945	Organization
Weekly meetings	21-23 Dec 1947	Ibid
Protest against the forced job of doctors in the hospitals		Education
Publishing of Students' Voice		Organization
Publication of Cyclostyle news from King Edward Medical College		Ibid

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Khurram Jah Murad (1951-52)

Event	Date(s)	Category
Planning through questionnaire at Gandhi garden		Organization
Weekly gatherings		Ibid
Establishment of offices at 23 Alf Astarichon Road Karachi, Bait-ul karam and Kausar House at Dhakka		Ibid
Annual meeting in Karachi	1950	Ibid
Annual Meeting of Jamiat in Karachi in which changes were made in the preamble of Jamiat constitution	Nov 1952	Ibid
Annual meeting in Karachi	1953	Ibid

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Dr. Israr Ahmad (Nov 1952- March 1953)

Event	Date(s)	Category
Visits to Gujranwala, Sialkot, Faisalabad, Sargodha, Sahiwal, Multan etc.	Feb 1952	Organization
Provincial gathering at Barkat Ali	Feb 1952	Ibid
Tehrik-I-khatam-e-Nabuwat	1953	Protest

Qadiani issue: Distribution of M alana M aludi's pamphlet	1953	Ibid
Training conferences at M dressah High School Ichhra		Organization
conferences were held at Multan, Faisalabad and Lahore to counter the penetration of Socialist 'propaganda'		Ideology

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Murad Ali Shah (1953-54)

Event	Date(s)	Category
First Annual gathering at Karachi	1952	Organization
Office at 88 M adlad Road Lahore		Ibid
Tehrik khatm-e-Nabuvvat		Protest

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Prof Khurshid Ahmad (1953-55)

Event	Date(s)	Category
Cyclostyle bulletin	1951	Organization
Establishment of Jama'at media	1952	Ibid
Compulsory Bangla language	1952	Organization
An open letter to the Prime Minister	1953	Ibid
Introduction of study circle	1954	Ibid
International Assembly of Muslim Youth inaugurated by PM Bogra	1954	Ideology
Publication of article named as "Why oppression on Muslim Brotherhood"		
Publication of "Communism Defeated in Moscow"	1955	Ideology
Visit to East Pakistan	1956-57	Organization

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Hussain Khan (Oct 1955- Dec 1956)

Event	Date(s)	Category
Visit to East Pakistan lecture at Barisal College to propagate the Islamic ideology and counter the liberal tendencies.	1956	Ideology
Resignation due to performance of Jama'at duties in East Pakistan	1957	Protest
A hostel for the poor students		

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Ihsar-i-Alam (Dec 1956 Oct 1958, Oct 1958-Dec 1962)

Event	Date(s)	Category
Defeat of Jama'at in the union election of Urdu college due to opposition of female students	1952	Organization
Approval of the 1956 constitution and publishing the pictures of Jama'at students in the newspapers	29 Feb 1956	Ibid
Seizure of Suez canal by British, France and Israel and Jama'at protest	1956	Protest

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Sheikh Mehboob Ali (Dec 1962-64)

Event	Date(s)	Category
Formation of "Inter-collegiate Body"	1957	Organization
11 Annual gathering of Jama'at	10-13 Oct 1958	Ibid
Publication of "What is to be done?"	Sep 1958	Ideology
Formation of "Hyasi" in HIA	962	Organization
Weekly training camp of Jama'at at Multan	3-8 July 1963	Ibid
Training camp of Jama'at at Tando M ulhim al Khan	3-5 Aug 1963	Ibid
Training camp of Jama'at at Quetta	9-11 Aug 1963	Ibid
Training camp of Jama'at at Abbotabad and conflict with SP	22 July 1963	Ibid
Condemnation of University Ordinance Committee	July 1963	Protest
Regional Conference in East Pakistan	Dec 1963	Organization
Demand of Islamic university by Jama'at Talba Arabia	1 Jan 1964	Protest
Publication of cyclostyle "Him Qadam"	16 July 1964	Organization
Celebration of Books' Week		Student Welfare

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Syed Munnawar Hasan (1964-67)

Event	Date(s)	Category
Formation of NSF	1958	organization
Formation of Students circle	1960	organization
Publication of “Students Problems of Pakistan”		Peace
Arrest of Jamaat leader at Dhacca	3 Jan 1963	Protest
Celebration of “Weekly Islamic educational System”	1965	Quality education
Movement against the musical festivals in educational institutions	Dec 1966	Agitation
Struggler against Tashkent declaration	Jan 1966	Protest
Mohil-i-Qarat at Nashtar Park in Karachi	3 Jan 1967	Protest
Proposals to “National Bureau of Curricular and Syllabus”	1967	Quality education
Killing of Jamaat worker	March 1967	Violence

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Dr. Muhammad Kamal (1967-69)

Event	Date(s)	Category
Weekly Training camp in Lahore	June 1962	Organization
Against University Ordinance, arrested students	1964	Protest
Annual meeting of Jamaat	Nov 1967	Organization
Announcement for the general Secretary of Jamaat and introduced the term “Al-in-ul-Amn”	July 1968	Idid
Round table Conference in Rawalpindi and declaration of “Tehrik Bedari Talba” against Ayub	1969	Protest
Killing of well known worker Abdul Malik	15 Aug 1969	Violence
Formation of Islamic Jamaat Talibat in Multan	21 Sep 1961	Organization
Killing of well known worker Abu Muhammad Jahangir	1971	Violence

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Mati-ul-Rehman Nizami (1969-71)

Event	Date(s)	Category
Imposition of Martial law in Pakistan	1969	Protest
NIPA invited students to discuss the issues of teachers and students in Pakistan	2 Aug 1969	Students welfare
Victory of Jamaat in the union elections of Punjab university	1970	
Destruction of the furniture, mirrors and vans in the house of vice chancellor's house in Punjab university	31 Jan 1970	Violence
Formation of Muslim Chatri Sanghia	1970	Organization
20 th Annual meeting of in Multan	1-4 Oct 1971	Idid

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Tasnim Alam Manzar (3 Oct 1971- 15 Sep 1972)

Event	Date(s)	Category
Last Nazim-i-Ala of United Pakistan		
Publication of report in annual meeting of Jamaat at Multan according to it, about 1 thousand workers were killed	Oct 1971	violence
Killing of Jamaat workers in the Indo Pak War of 1971	22 Nov 1971	
Denial of Yahya resignation in the Central cabinet meeting of Jamaat	17 Dec 1971	

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Zafar Jamal Baloch (8 Oct 1972 – 20 Oct 1975)

Event	Date(s)	Category
21 annual meeting of Jamaat in Karachi	5-7 Oct 1972	Organization
Kidnap of ladies of Syed family and tries to bring them to the Governor House of Punjab		Protest
Anti Bangladesh movement	10 Dec 1972	Idid
Defeat of Jamaat in the union election in Peshawar	1974	
Khatm-i-Nabuwat movement	1974	Protest

Meeting with the Chief Minister of Punjab	June 1974	Organization
Publication of <i>Jamiat News and Views</i> at Q.C.s.m.m. in Lahore	1974	

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Abdul Malik Mujahid (20 Oct 1975-26 Oct 1977)

Event	Date(s)	Category
Inauguration of “Industrial Mada”		Students welfare
Screening drama “Talm-i-Balgan”		Education
Invited Neil Armstrong in the European function	July 1969	Ibid
Introduction of “Students Week”		Student Welfare
Exclusion of Israel from Asian Students Association	1975	
Jamiat person as Chairman of Asian Students Association	1975	Organization
Telephonic talks with Col. Faruq, the killer of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	Nov 1975	
Appointment in the film censor board		
Arrest of the office bearers of Punjab university students union	Oct 1976	

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Liaqat Baloch (24 Oct 1977-11 Oct 1979)

Event	Date(s)	Category
Arrest of participants and Jamiat leaders in the ceremony of Qaid-e-Sal	1976	Agitation
Unopposed success in the union election of Punjab university	Dec 1976	Organization
Killing of 42 students on streets of Lahore	9 April 1977	Violence
Taliba convention in Lahore		Organization
Imposition of Martial law by Bhutto in Lahore, Karachi and Hyderabad	21 April 1977	
Imposition of Martial law in Pakistan	5 July 1977	
25 annual meeting of Jamiat	Oct 1977	Organization

Demanded to get education in the native languages	May 1978	Quality education
Wrote to Imam Khumaini's confidante to Punjab University	Jan 1979	
Burning of student bus service depot as a result of death sentence to Mr Bhutto	24 March 1979	Violence

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Shabir Ahmad Khan (29 Oct 1979-15 Oct 1982)

Event	Date(s)	Category
Start of Tehrik Khatami-Nabuwat movement from NW.F.P.	1974	Protest
Meeting with Gen. Zia	July 1977	
Students rally by Jamiat in NW.F.P.	21-23 July 1979	Protest
Provincial gathering in which important persons exchanged the visits to Kabul	1980	Ideology
Jihad-e-Afghan Conference in Engineering University of Karachi	1980	Violence
An International Conference named as “Solution of Kashmir Problem—Islamic revolution” in Sri Nagar.	1980	Ideology
Arrest of Nazim and General Sect. of Jamiat		
Killing of Danish Gani	1980	Ibid
Killing of Karachi university Students union's speaker Hafiz M. Aslam	1980	Ibid
A group of 20-25 workers went to Afghanistan to participate in Jihad from NW.F.P.	1980	Ibid
Start of “Tehrik Bedari Millat” for the cause of Afghan Jihad	1980	Ibid
Attack on the office of Daily “Jang”	1981	Ibid
Killing of Jamiat member Akram Goraya	23 Sep 1981	Ibid
Destruction of the Jamiat office	Feb 1984	Ibid
All Pakistan Jamiat Nazim's campaign in Punjab University	3-5 Feb 1985	Organization
Hijacking of the H.A. plane		

Destruction of the Jamia office by PSF	Feb 1989	Violence
Use of poisonous gas by Saddam Hussain in Iraqi Kurdistan and reaction of Jamia		Protest

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Meraj-ud-din (15 Oct 1982-20 Aug 1984)

<i>Event</i>	<i>Date(s)</i>	<i>Category</i>
Celebration of “Ym-i-Shaukat-ul-Islam”	31 May 1980	
Participated in the election of Students Union		Organization
Formation of Jamia in Rawla Kot		Organization
Killing of Nazir Sirhandi in Hyderabad		Violence
Success of Jamia in the Universities of Punjab	1983	
Killing of student and restrictions were imposed upon the unions in NW.F.P.	April 1983	Violence
Defeat of Jamia in the Universities of Punjab	1984	
Success of Jamia in the Karachi University	Jan 1984	
Restrictions were imposed upon the unions in Punjab by Martial law Administrator General Chulm Gilani.	9 Feb 1984	

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Ijaz Ahmad Chaudhary

(Acted for 28 days after Meraj-ud-din)

<i>Event</i>	<i>Date(s)</i>	<i>Category</i>
Arrest of 28 persons, hot exchange of words with the SSP		Agitation

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Rashid Nasim (1984-86)

<i>Event</i>	<i>Date(s)</i>	<i>Category</i>
Restrictions upon the students unions in NW.F.P. and in Punjab	Feb 1984	
Arrest of Meraj-ud-din and sentence of beating by whip to him		Protest

Beating of Aftab-ud-din Quraishi	1981	Violence
Holding of Jihad Conference		Ideology
Killing of Hafiz M. Aslam	26 Feb 81	Violence
Annual meeting of Jamia (transferred from Hyderabad to Lahore)		
Introduction of extra-curricular activities like debates, judicial tournaments	1985-86	Student Welfare
Mass media department		
Training camp at Khanas Pur (Murree)		Organization
Killing of two students in Engineering University of Lahore		Violence
Publication of a book named as “Al-Badr”		Ideology
Celebration of “Hafta Tamiri-i-Akhlaq”		
Introduction of Merit Scholarship	1985-86	Students welfare

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Ameer-ul-Azeem

<i>Event</i>	<i>Date(s)</i>	<i>Category</i>
Killing of two Jamia workers by the firing of Shaheen Force in Engineering University of Lahore	28 Oct 1986	Violence
Announcement of Long March from Lahore to Islamabad and arrest of workers	3 March 1987	Protest
Launching of campaigns on Education System Reforms Anti Western Culture campaign, 4-Point Education Campaign, Employment Campaign, Campaign for Peace and Student Rights Campaign		Organization
Benazir Bhutto allows functioning the students unions	Dec 1988	
Killing of Aslam Fatiana in Punjab Medical College Faisalabad		Violence
Killing of M. Zubair Khan in King Edward Medical College Lahore		Ibid
Killing of Tariq Javaid in Nashtar Medical College Multan		Ibid
Killing of Amir Saeed in Karachi		Ibid

IJT Nazim-e-Ala: Siraj-ul-Haq (22 Oct 1988-19 Oct 1991)

Event	Date(s)	Category
Celebration of “Hafta Tamir Akhlaq” Institute of Career Planning		Ideology Students welfare
Killing of Jamiat official Sohail Hanif in Lahore		Violence
Celebration of “Free education and providing employment year”	1989	Education
Celebration of “Hafta Islah-i- Nazim Talin ”		Ideology
Introduction of Matryrs Jamiat Mat Scholarship”		Ibid
Start of “America Muradabad Movement”		Protest
Arrest of Jamiat workers at the arrival of Rajiv Gandhi to Islamabad, Pakistan “Anti-Inqilab Rally”		Protest
Killing of Murtaza Jamiat Nazim	17 Aug 89	Violence
To show the film in Engineering University Taxila and Killing of Jamiat Rafique M. Iqbal		Ibid
Killing of Sohail Hanif in Lahore	16 Sep 1989	Ibid
Killing of Tahir Javaid in Science College Wahdat Road Lahore		Ibid
Killing of M. Ayub Khan in Kohistan	24 Dec 89	Ibid
Killing of Sheikh M. Naem in Faisalabad	6 March 90	Ibid
Killing of Anjad Ali Dogar in Bhawalpur	10 Ramadan 1990	Ibid
Killing of Sheikh Nadem	June 1990	Ibid
Killing of Ahsan Ulah in Karachi	5 Aug 1991	Ibid
Killing of Shaukat ali in Govt. College of Technology Karachi	6 Ramadan 1989	Ibid
Killing of Saad bin Saha in Karachi University	23 Feb 1991	Ibid
Killing of Amir Abbas in Karachi	23 Feb. 91	Ibid
Killing of Faisal bin Najam	24 Feb. 91	Ibid

Killing of Anjad Ulah in Karachi	24 Feb. 91	Ibid
Killing of Alem -ud-din Quraishi in Karachi	1 April 91	Ibid
Killing of M. Numan in Karachi	1 April 91	Ibid

ANNEX 2: REVIEWS AND COMMENTS ON REVISITING STUDENT POLITICS IN PAKISTAN

I have glanced through contents of “Revisiting Student Politics in Pakistan” and find the effort objectively oriented with laudable input of relevant reference and keen analysis of primary data.

We certainly need to balance between the noble objectives behind the student unions by obtaining best practices from Pakistani and foreign universities and the pernicious aspects of student politics arising mainly from manipulated condition on the campuses by the hidden hands during long periods of illegitimate and unconstitutional rule.

---- Mazharul Haq Siddiqui S.I., Vice Chancellor
University of Sindh – Jamshoro

1. The present study is a future oriented qualitative analysis based on intensive literature and interviews of more than twenty prominent student leaders and activists. This study also gives a comprehensive matrix on student politics in Pakistan. Student politics in Pakistan has extensively been dependent upon the motivational activities in terms of ideological, racial, and sectarian bifurcations or mutual group grievances leading to torture and sheer violence.
2. It is commendable on the part of BARGAD who has organized numerous public events, group discussion, dialogues, study circles and seminars among the students, the prominent educationist and various vice chancellors of the public and private sector universities. The consultation of BARGAD with numerous figures on student politics has created an environment to discuss the issue within the universities and higher education commission.

IUB assessment

3. Keeping in view our experience with the student at private and public sector levels, we do not feel any necessity of giving opportunity to the student unions.
4. Declaration of lifting of ban on student union will ultimately create problem for teachers and taught inside and outside the campuses. Present experience shows that those institutions were successful in providing excellent education to the students which were successful in keeping their campuses calm and quiet.
5. Student unions, if allowed, will interfere in the working of administration as they usually try to do. They admit their so-called organizational / criminal fellows in their domain. In Pakistani society, the student organizations are neither political nor ideological but they are for power & clout making. All student group formations are on political / ideological basis and all of us have seen the negative repercussions of such activities in educational premises.

---- Prof. Dr. M. Latif Mirza, Acting Vice Chancellor
The Islamia University (IUB) – Bahawalpur

I went through draft study “Revisiting Student Politics in Pakistan” written by Iqbal Haider Butt. It is a good piece of work to learn about the case of student politics in Pakistan.

Chapter four is very especially interesting. The testimonies and interviews of student leaders open eyes to the effect as to how students have been used by political and religious forces.

The reality must be published. It reveals that everybody works and worked on foreign agendas. However, if we depend on ourselves and be able to find right people and become right as well and try to get rid of hypocrisy, we could have obtained best political leadership from our educational institutions.

Finally, I would say that educational institutions must be protected from all political interferences particularly from the political / Islamist parties; so that no more extremists like Taliban brand are produced.

---- Prof. Dr. Muhammad Ehsan Malik, Director General
University of the Punjab, Gujranwala Campus

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