ETHNIC NATIONALISM & POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT; A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN (1973-2000)

By

Yasmin Roofi

Supervisors

Dr. Syed Khawaja Alqama

Dr. Ayaz Muhammad

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCES & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
BAHAUDDIN ZAKARIA UNIVERSITY MULTAN
ETHNIC NATIONALISM & POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT; A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN (1973-2000)

By

Yasmin Roofi

Supervisors

Dr. Syed Khawaja Alqama

Dr. Ayaz Muhammad

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCES & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
BAHAUDDIN ZAKARIA UNIVERSITY MULTAN
### TABLE of CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>CONTENT</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>List of Abbreviation</strong></td>
<td>vi-vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>List of Tables</strong></td>
<td>Vi-ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Acknowledgement</strong></td>
<td>x-xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>CHAPTER NO. 1</strong></td>
<td>1-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Significance</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Hypothesis</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Organization of Study</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>CHAPTER NO. 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Nationalism</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1</td>
<td>Origin of Nationalism</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Ethnic Nationalism</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Political Development</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>CHAPTER NO. 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>N.W.F.P</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### CHAPTER NO. 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Ethnicity and Democracy in Post Partition Era</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.1</td>
<td>Ascendency of Ethnicity in Sindh</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.2</td>
<td>Centre Sindh Controversy and Capital Issue</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.3</td>
<td>Constitution Making and Centre Province Relation</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.4</td>
<td>Objective Resolution</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.5</td>
<td>Language Controversy and Bengali Nationalism</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.6</td>
<td>Second report of the BPC</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.7</td>
<td>One Unit and Provincial Concerns</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Military, Authoritarianism and Ethnicization</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Centralization, Dominance or Ethnic Nationalism</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Election 1970 and Separation of East Pakistan</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHAPTER NO. 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Democracy, Centralization and Ethnic Nationalism</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1</td>
<td>Bhutto and Balochistan Crisis</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.2</td>
<td>Language Controversy in Sindh</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.3</td>
<td>Ascendancy of Ethnicity and Military Regime</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.4</td>
<td>Civilian Era Revisits, Democratization and Ethnic Nationalism</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.5</td>
<td>Nawaz Era (I)</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.6</td>
<td>Benazir Era (II)</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.7</td>
<td>Nawaz Era (II)</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.8</td>
<td>End of Civilian Rule</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Provincial Concerns or Ethnic Conflict</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1</td>
<td>Punjabization of Military</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.2</td>
<td>Issue of Representation</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.3</td>
<td>Economic Concerns</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Heterogeneity and Intra Provincial Complexities</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1</td>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2</td>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.4</td>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Political and Ethnic Elites and dilemma of Ethnicity</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER NO. 6**

| 6.1    | Findings | 181 |
| 6.2    | Recommendations | 182 |
| 6.3    | Sources | 184 |
| 6.4    | Appendix One | 199 |
| 6.5    | Appendix Two | 200 |
### List of Abbreviations:

1. **ACGR**  
   Annual Compound Growth Rate

2. **AGG**  
   Agent to Governor General

3. **AIML**  
   All India Muslim League

4. **ANP**  
   Awami National Party

5. **ATC**  
   Anti-Terrorism Courts

6. **BNM**  
   Balochistan National Movement

7. **BNP**  
   Balochistan National Party

8. **BPS**  
   Basic Pay Scale

9. **GD**  
   Gross Domestic Product

10. **HQM**  
    Hazara Qaumi Movement

11. **IJI**  
    Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad (Islamic Democratic Alliance)

12. **INC**  
    Indian National Congress

13. **JWP**  
    Jamhoori Watan Party

14. **NAP**  
    National Awami Party

15. **PCO**  
    Provisional Constitutional Order

16. **PKMAP**  
    Pakhtoon Khawa Milli Awami Party

17. **PML (N)**  
    Pakistan Mulsim League (Nawaz group)

18. **PONM**  
    Pakistan Oppressed National Moment

19. **PPP**  
    Pakistan People’s Party

20. **PPPP**  
    Pakistan People’s Party Parliamentarian

21. **SAT**  
    Sindh Awami Tehrik

22. **SBPF**  
    Sindhi, Baloch, Pushtoon Front
23. SNA  Sindh National Alliance
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER NO. 4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Allocation of Seats as in BPC Report</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Distribution of Central Government’s Revenue Expenditures 1947-48 and 1960-61</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Per capita GDP in East and West Pakistan at 1959/60 Constant Prices.</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>East and West Pakistan representation in CSP, 1959-67</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>East Pakistan’s Representation in the Armed Forces in 1964.</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Election Results of National Assembly 1970.</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER NO. 5</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>National Assembly Election Results 1988</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>National Assembly Election Results 1990</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>National Assembly Election Results 1993</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>National Assembly Election Results 1997</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Percentage of Ethnic Groups in Army in Pre-Partition Era</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Percentage of Ethnic Groups in Pakistan Army</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>Presentation of Provinces in Federal Unified Posts.</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>Provincial Share of Employees in Services under Federally Control Autonomous and Semi Autonomous Corporations</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>Province Wise Natural Gas Production</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.10</td>
<td>Province Wise Gas Consumption</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.11</td>
<td>Province Wise Crude Oil Production 1996-2001</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>Largest and Second Largest Ethnic Group in all Districts of the</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.13</td>
<td>Largest and Second Largest Ethnic Group in all Districts of the</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>Largest and Second Largest Ethnic Group in all Districts of the Punjab</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.15</td>
<td>Largest and Second Largest Ethnic Group in all Districts of the Sindh</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It is a source of immense pleasure for me to write an acknowledgement. It gives me an opportunity to pay my gratitude to all those who made my work easier for me and helped me reach my goal. First of all, I would like to thank Allah Almighty for giving me the patience and the determination that is required for undertaking such a tremendous task.

I am grateful to my supervisor Dr. Syed Khawaja Alqama for being a source of inspiration and wisdom. Undoubtedly, this thesis would not have been completed without his cooperation. He guided me at every stage of my research and encouraged all my efforts while keeping my work on the right track. Words cannot express my gratitude towards him. I also owe my thanks to Dr. Muhammad Ayaz, Chairman, Department of Political Science and International Relations for his guidance and help as a second supervisor. I am extremely fortunate to have such experienced people to aid me in this grueling process.

My thanks are due to, my employing institution, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur for study leave to accomplish my work. I am also grateful to my Chairperson, Dr. Razia Mussarat for her cooperation and support during my research.

How can I be so ungrateful as to not mention the financial assistance provided to me by the Higher Education Commission of the Government of Pakistan. I greatly appreciate their efforts in promoting research activity in Pakistan.
Finally, I would like to thank the countless people who in some way or the other contributed to my work. Their contribution, no matter how small, carries weight. Last but not the least, this acknowledgement would be incomplete without mentioning the help and moral support of my family especially my Mother and my Father. I apologize to my children Zulnoorain and Qurat-ul-ain for the time I spent buried away in books and was not able to give them my full attention.
Dedicated to My Parents

&

My Country
ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the reciprocal relationship between ethnic nationalism and political development in Pakistan. The nineteenth century was marked by the rise of the concept of nationalism and as a result many new states emerged on the World map by the end of the Second World War. The end of the twentieth century witnessed the resurgence of ethnicity in the world. Ethnicity is a phenomenon and when it provides bases for nationalism, it is called ethnic nationalism. The origin of ethnicity is primordial but its political manifestation is constructed. Ethnic nationalism is commonly associated with political development. Though there are many aspects of political development but from 1970s onward, democracy has taken a front seat and countries are being studied and analyzed in terms of democratic development. The last decade of the twentieth century established the supremacy of democracy and fall of communist empire proved that democracy is the most desirable form of government in the world. But many countries particularly developing states are suffering from the dilemma of political and democratic instability and many scholars are of the view that ethnic conflict is a major cause of this democratic crisis. But this fact can not be ignored that relationship between ethnic nationalism and political development is reciprocal and ethnicity can not be viewed as a negatively. No country in the World can claim to be homogeneous but despite of that, many developed countries are successfully able to sustain a democratic system. So it becomes pertinent to analyze the issue of political under development in ethnically diverse countries.

Pakistan is a country plural in character. Even before partition, the Muslim majority areas of Sub-Continent were not ethnically homogenous and there were ethnic loyalties triggering ethnic based movements in those areas during the independence struggle. The decentralized future
frame work presented by Muslim League was more appealing to these provinces and regions as compare to All India National Congress and finally Pakistan came in to existence. Even after partition, the dilemma of ethnic conflict could not be resolved. Pakistan experienced different constitutions and many times its political process had been derailed. After losing its eastern part, the country is still confronting with the issue of identity crisis. Democracy could not establish its roots and Pakistan stands at the crossroad in search of a stable state. Centralized politics is making the issue more problematic. Provincial concerns are intensifying and complex relationship of democracy and ethnic nationalism remains unresolved. This is an attempt to find out the root cause of the problem in search of real democratic political system.
CHAPTER NO. 1

INTRODUCTION

The 19th century was marked by the rise of the concept of nationalism which gave birth to many nations and states in the world, particularly, in Asian and African Continent. Similarly, the second half of the 20th century witnessed the emergence of ethnic national movements. Many scholars of Political Science and International Politics were of the view that end of the Cold War and globalization would end the interstate rivalries and world would become a place to live. But the two last decades proved even more fatal as interstate rivalries were transformed into intrastate conflicts.

It is evident that no state is immune from diversity and Walker Conner in his study conducted in 1972 concluded that there were only 12 states at that time which could claim to be homogenous. The world is advancing towards democracy and we, according to Huntington are passing through the ‘third wave of democratization’ which seems to be an “end of the history.” There is a fear that we can lose the ability to sustain a democratic future just when it has become a global agenda and appears to be in our grasp.

Nationalism is a state of mind, an act of conscious to be one which can occur due to different reasons. Though there is a plethora of meanings of this concept and manifestations of nationalism and ethnicity are widespread and complex, but there is also a very large and contradictory literature of different political scientists, sociologist, philosophers and historians in this field. Despite all this disagreement they all are agreed on one point that either primordial or instrumental and constructed; the concept of nationalism provides a base to unify people as well as it has disintegration ability to distinguish them from others. Ethnicity is a phenomenon which
The origin of ethnicity is primordial but its political manifestation is constructed. When ethnicity is politicized and provides bases for nationalism it is a called ethnic nationalism. The forms of nationalism are many but ‘liberal nationalism’ and ‘ethnic nationalism’ caught attention and popularity over a period of time among Western scholars. Nationalism is commonly linked with development. After the Second World War it became a favorite subject of political scientists to study the politics of newly independent countries who achieved freedom from Colonialism in the name of nationalism. These countries adopted the democratic models constructed by their Colonial rulers but very soon they started having problems and most of them reverted to authoritarian or military regimes. The urge to study and analyze the reasons of failure of democracy in the Third World countries led the scholars to study the field of development and by the 1970s the concept of political development was established. Though there are many aspects of political development but from 1970s onward, democracy has taken a front seat and countries are being studied and analyzed in terms of democratic development. The last decade of twentieth century established the supremacy of democracy and fall of communist empire proved that democracy is the most desirable form of government in the world. There may be different definitions of democracy but all are agreed that it is a system which provides people an opportunity to participate in decision making matters. As Huntington says that “democracy means at a minimum people choose their rulers and that more broadly they participate in government in other way.” So it becomes clear that democracy is a system to provide people an opportunity to rule themselves. In a country having ethnic diversity like Pakistan it becomes more important to establish a democratic government to satisfy the diverse interests of conflicting ethnic communities.
Pakistan came into existence on 14, August 1947. It was comprised of Muslim Majority areas of Sub Continent. After partition, it inherited regions and areas which were economically poor and ethnically diverse. There were already strong sentiments in these regions to keep their identity intact. They joined hands with Muslims League as they were hoping to establish a system where they can survive while retaining their distinct identity without the domination of any other ethnic community. The Government of India Act 1935 was modified and adopted as an Interim Constitution and Constituent Assembly started the task to formulate a constitution for this newly independent country. The sudden death of the founder of the nation and delay in constitution making aggravated the situation in the country. It became problematic to accommodate different interests as all provinces in Pakistan were not equal in terms of area, population, economic resources and ethnic diversity. The only solution was to accommodate them in a system while providing maximum autonomy. But unfortunately, this could not happen due to certain factors and democratic process was reversed in 1958. The first and second military regimes resulted in separation of Eastern Wing of the country. A civilian era of Mr. Bhutto was also marked with centralization of power. The Constitution of 1973 though approved unanimously could not provide political and fiscal autonomy to provinces. The provincial concerns and ethnic interests were not accommodated in this period which brought these ethnic elites to demand confederation or autonomy. Third Martial Law imposed in 1977 in the country stirred the ethnic interests and ethnic nationalism was on the rise during Zia regime. After this military and quasi military phase, the four civilian governments brought a new era of compromises and power sharing in Pakistan and these governments though dismissed undemocratically proved that democracy is the only option which can bring the country out of its multiple quagmires. But even though the issue of ethnic conflict is unresolved and new identities
are also claiming share in political process. Pakistan’s rulers have remained reluctant to accept plurality in the country and ethnic heterogeneity and cultural pluralism were viewed as threat to the whole country. Our elites and decision makers tried again and again to crush ethnic, linguistic and religious differences rather to recognize and accommodate them.

1.1 Significance

The significance of this research is twofold. It is an established fact that ethnic conflict poses a threat to intra state political system and at the same time it may be a potential threat to interstate peace and harmony. One study shows that during 1945 to 1999 about 3.33 million people died in 25 interstate wars and median of war during that period was not more than three months. During the same period 16.2 million people died in 127 intra state conflicts which most of them were on going in 1999.\(^1\) It is pertinent to mention that after the Second World War the humanity is suffering more by low intensity intra state ethnic conflicts rather than interstate disputes. The reasons of resurgence of ethnic nationalism are many. The end of ideological tussle in the world and globalization agenda of democracy is also a reason. As democracy has the power to unify divergent interests and at the same time introduction of democracy initially produces ethnic consciousness which can be accommodated through a participatory system. The absence of sharing of power or discontinuity of system again produces ethnic rivalries in a multi ethnic society.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, it is important to recognize that Pakistan being an ethnically diverse state has faced and is still facing the dilemma of national identity and ethnicity. It is often quoted that ethnicity has become problematic in Pakistan and poses serious

\(^1\) James D. Fearon and David D. Latin, *Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War*, American Political Science Review, vol. 970, No 1, February 2003, Stanford University, USA.
threat to its integrity and stability because undemocratic regimes intensify ethnic dilemma. Military rules and centralization of power has created sense of deprivation among provinces and demands for maximum political and fiscal autonomy are increasing. Different studies have been carried out so far to understand the problematic quagmire but those either dealt with the rise or fall of ethno national movements as Tahir Amin’s research on the rise and fall of ethnic movements in Pakistan or uneven development in the country especially focusing on a single province like Khawaja Alqama’s work on Bengali elite perception, Inayatullah Baloch on Baloch nationalism or Sarah Ansari on Sindh question. Adeel khan’s work deals with ethnic dilemma in Pakistan but it is a short study which analyzes the ethnic problem in general. Therefore, a fresh look is required to analyze and fully comprehend the problematic reciprocal relationship between ethnic nationalism and political development.

1.2 Methodology

The study is investigated by employing both normative as well as analytical methods of research to give a comprehensive analysis of the issue of ethnic nationalism and its relationship with political development. Primary and secondary, both sources are used for this study. The primary data comprises of interviews and discussions with journalists, academicians and politicians. The interviews have been conducted in English, Urdu, Saraiki and Punjabi. These interviews were the only direct source to collect the views of elites in Pakistan. Public opinion is measured through the results of general elections in Pakistan held during the period specified for this research. Primary source documents of results and statistical figures published by different departments of Government of Pakistan like Election Commission, Population Census
Organization, Statistical Bureau and proceeding of National Assembly of Pakistan are also included. Secondary data includes books, articles and newspapers.

1.3 Hypothesis

Pakistan is a multilingual and multiethnic state which is struggling to solve its identity crisis. Democracy could not establish its roots in this country and there is a common perception that ethnicity is a problem which does not permit democracy to flourish. But it is not always true. There is definitely a reciprocal relationship between ethnicity and political development. Following hypotheses are set to carry out our research.

- Pakistan is a multi ethnic multi lingual country.
- Ethnicity plays a vital role in politics of the county.
- The relationship between ethnic nationalism and political development is reciprocal.
- Pakistan inherited regions and areas with deep rooted ethnic loyalties.
- Authoritarian regimes and centralization of power has played a pivotal role in sharpening the ethnic conflict in Pakistan.

1.4 Organization of Study

The research has been designed to test the above mentioned hypotheses. For this purpose, the dissertation is segmented into six chapters. Chapter one is an introduction to the research. Second chapter comprehends the theoretical aspects of the topic. The chapter is further divided in to four parts. First part examines the concept, definitions and history of nationalism while the second one deals with meanings, definitions and origin of ethnicity. The third part determines the concept of ethnic nationalism. Fourth part of this chapter analyzes the plethora of concepts about political development to establish a relationship between these two variables. The chapter three is comprised by a historical and analytical review to trace out the roots of ethnicity in pre partition era of Pakistan. This chapter provides a deep insight of ethnic loyalties and interests in Muslim Majority provinces of Sub Continent. Fourth chapter is a long and detailed analysis
which describes the process of political development in post partition era. This chapter is divided into three parts. First part analyzes the process of democratization, constitution making and ethnic conflict from 1947-1958 and part second deals with Ayub era to examining the authoritarian regime, centralization of power and its impact on Pakistan politics in relation to ethnic communities. Third part is the continuation of the same authoritarian rule which was a product of centralized state system. Chapter five is an analytical examination of the process of reciprocal relationship of ethnicity and democracy highlighting the provincial concerns and demands regarding political and fiscal autonomy. This chapter is further segmented in four parts. Part one is an investigation of centre province relations and the state of democracy in Pakistan. Second part provides an overview of the provincial concerns and evaluates centre-province relations highlighting the areas of conflict. Third part examines the heterogeneous character of its federating units to determine the reciprocal relationship between ethnic nationalism and political development. Part fourth of this chapter is based on opinion and interviews of leading political leaders of almost all major and nationalist political parties except the religious parties. This section sums up the issue highlighting the real difference of opinion of these political decision makers. Sixth chapter is the conclusion of the research in the form of findings and suggestions which may open new avenues for researchers and provide guide line to the policy makers to resolve ethnic conflicts in Pakistan.
CHAPTER NO. 2

ETHNIC NATIONALISM AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The late 19th century witnessed the emergence of the concept of nationalism which changed the world map in 20th century. Ethnic nationalism got currency by the end of the Cold War and interstate conflict was replaced by intrastate conflict. Nationalism is often linked with political development and reciprocal relationship of these two concepts is emphasized by most of the scholars. It is also argued that under developed and undemocratic countries are more prone to ethnic conflict. To understand the concept of ethnic nationalism and its relation to political development, it is required to analyze both of the concepts separately to set a working relationship between these two variables. This chapter provides a theoretical review and is segmented into four parts. Part first defines the concept of nationalism and second part deals with ethnicity to have a better understanding of ethnic nationalism which is defined in part three of this chapter. Part fourth analyses the concept of political development leading us to formulate and investigate the main hypothesis.

2.1 Nationalism

Though the concept of nationalism is not new but still there is no consensus among scholars about the meanings and definitions of nationalism. This ambiguity and confusion is not only with the concept of nationalism but most concepts in social sciences have plurality of meanings. This fact is universally admitted and that’s why John Hall declared “as the historical record is diverse so too must be our concepts”. ¹ Benedict Anderson also accepted this reality by saying that, “Nation, Nationality, Nationalism, all have proved notoriously difficult to define, let

alone to analyze.”\(^2\) Hugh Seton-Watson more realistically admitted that “I am driven to the conclusion that no scientific definition of the nation can be devised; yet the phenomenon has existed and exists”\(^3\). But despite all these definitional problems the concept of nationalism has been defined in a different of ways by political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists and historians. Carlton Hayes, one of the pioneers in the study of nationalism, emphasized the political and emotional nature of nationalism when he said that nationalism is “a condition of mind in which loyalty to the ideal or to the fact of one’s national state is superior to all other loyalties and of which pride in one’s nationality and belief in its intrinsic excellence and its ‘mission’ are integral parts.”\(^4\)

The same kind of emotional or sentimental nature of nationalism was stressed by Hans Kohn when he wrote that, “Nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness.”\(^5\) Arguing that nationalism as a group consciousness is a psychological and sociological fact, Kohn pointed out that in our complex modern civilization, the number of groups to which an individual may belong has greatly increased, nevertheless, with in these pluralistic, and conflicting kinds of group consciousness there is generally one which is recognized by man as the supreme loyalty.\(^6\) This supreme group is the nation and one’s consciousness for and loyalty to this group is nationalism. Boyd Shafer also accepted nationalism as a sentiment or emotion that binds a group of people with a real or imagined historical experience and common aspirations to live as a separate and distinct group.\(^7\) According to the

\(^6\) Ibid, p.8.
Encyclopedia of Nationalism, “Nationalism is an ideology promoting nationhood, a strong sense of collective identity and solidarity among a wide population (also called nation) on the basis of their common language, culture, heritage, religion or citizenship in a state”.8 International encyclopedia of the social sciences defines,” Nationalism is a political creed that underlies cohesion of modern societies and legitimizes their claim to authority. Nationalism centers the supreme loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the people upon the nation state, either existing or desired”.9

Tom Nairn says, “Nationalism is the pathology of modern developmental history, as inescapable as “neurosis in the individual, with much the same essential ambiguity, attaching to it, a similar built-in-capacity for decent in to dementia, rooted in the dilemmas of helplessness thrust upon most of the world (equivalent of infantilism for societies) and largely incurable”.10

Karl Deutsch, the American political scientist represents the school of thought which sees nations and nationalism as the product of modernization and social mobilization. He is of the opinion that nationalism accompanies “the growth of markets, industries and towns and eventually of literacy and mass communication.”11 He defines that there is a state of mind by which “national messages, memories and images receive a preferred status in social communication and a greater weight in the making of decisions.”12 In Deutsch’s opinion, a nationalist devotes greater attention to those messages which carry specific symbols of nationality, or which originate from a specific nationalism as, “national source.”13

---

12 Ibid. p. 39.
Michael Hector in his book, Internal Colonialism, the Celtic Fringe in British National Development (1536-1966), like Deutsch also puts forward the view that interaction will result in commonality and ethnic homogenization.\textsuperscript{14} He is of the opinion that modernization and increased contacts between ethnic groups within a state will not necessarily bring ethnic unity. But it can just as likely lead to ethnic conflict. This is because the inequalities between the regions in a country will leave the core region dominant creating a sense of inferiority and marginalization in the peripheral areas. The reaction to this in the peripheral region will be hostility to the core, and if these regions are also nation in character, this may take the form of ethnic nationalism.\textsuperscript{15}

Ernest Gellner in his book “Nation and Nationalism” represents fundamentally economic reasons for the rise of nationalism. He stresses the primacy of material conditions in shaping political thought and social change. \textsuperscript{16} He says that “Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness; it invents nations where they do not exist.”\textsuperscript{17} Gellner’s point of view is that nationalism is primarily a political principle which joins political and the national units together.\textsuperscript{18} In his opinion, nationalism as a sentiment or as a movement can be defined in terms of this principle. Nationalist sentiment is feeling of anger aroused by the violation of this principle, or the feelings of satisfaction aroused by its fulfillment, a nationalist movement is one actuated by a sentiment of this kind.\textsuperscript{19} So nationalism, according to Gellner is a kind of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{15} Gemes G. Kellas, \textit{The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity}, op.cit., pp.39-40.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ibid, p.41.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
psychological bond which has political goal to form a separate autonomous, or independent political community.\textsuperscript{20}

Benedict Anderson’s Book, “Imagined communities; reflection on the origin and spread of nationalism”, is another major contribution to the study of nationalism.\textsuperscript{21} In this book, Anderson says that nation is an imagined community. He also criticizes Gellner and says that he assimilates ‘invention’ to ‘fabrication’ and ‘falsity’ rather than to imagining and creation.\textsuperscript{22} According to Anderson all communities larger than primordial villages or face to face contact are imagined and these communities are imagined because the members of each community even the smallest one feel themselves to be a part of one nation without knowing each other. And it is imagined as a sovereign because concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely hierarchical dynastic realm. But it is important to remember that Communities are imagined, but not imaginary.\textsuperscript{23}

Anthony D. Smith shares the primordial school of thought and focuses on ethnicity as a precursor of nationalism. He defines nationalism as “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a group deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential ‘nation’”.\textsuperscript{24} Smith thinks that nation is a ‘named community which possess the same history and culture and has unified territory, economy, mass education system and common legal rights. His belief is that nationalism often seeks to create, the nation;

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{21} Games, G. Kellas, \textit{The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity}, opcit, p.45
\textsuperscript{22} Benedict Anderson, \textit{Imagined Communities}, op.cit, p.3.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, p.5.
even if it pretends that the nation already exists.\textsuperscript{25} So for Smith, ‘nationalism is more than a collective sentiment or discourses which combine an ideology with a potential movement with clear goals of national autonomy, unity and identity. He says that, ‘to this end, nationalism posits a nation that is continuous, developing over time, and rooted in a specific terrain. And nationalism’s importance lies in its ability to provide a blue print of nation hood for aspiring ethnics.'\textsuperscript{26} At the end, Smith described the concept in the following way;

1. “The world is divided into nations, each with its own character, history and destiny.
2. The nation is the source of all political power
3. An individual’s primary loyalty must be to her or his nation
4. To be free, individuals must realize themselves in the nation.
5. All nations must have maximum autonomy and self expression.
6. A world of peace and justice requires free nations.”\textsuperscript{27}

The Marxist tradition is explicitly internationalist in its orientation. It tries to understand the phenomena of nationalism with the view to overcome its challenger to the emerging proletarian internationalism envisioned by its founders.\textsuperscript{28} For the Marxists, nationalism is related primarily to the economic bases.\textsuperscript{29}

Marx and Engels did not present a coherent and systematic theory on nationalism because it was not their primary concern.\textsuperscript{30} Their point of view was that nationalism is an ideology of capitalist class, which was historically necessary prerequisite for the establishment of capitalist order. They were of the opinion that purpose of nationalism was to integrate various localities

\textsuperscript{26} A.D Smith, \textit{The Antiquity of Nations}, op.cit., p. 23.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid, p. 245.
\textsuperscript{29} Joseph Stalin, \textit{Marxism and the Nationalist Question}, Moscow, F.L.P.H, 1947, p.15.
under one nation at one particular historical stage.\textsuperscript{31} They claimed that national difference would disappear and national difference and antagonism would vanish owing to the development of the bourgeoisie.\textsuperscript{32} Unfortunately, Marx and Engels did not write extensively about the nationalist question. This task was performed by Lenin and Stalin who developed a theoretical framework to deal with the complexities of the national question. Lenin refined and elaborated the original Marxist position and he finally became convinced that Marxism and nationalism cannot go together. But he started taking interest in national question in 1913 because of international situation and emergence of nationalist movements. At this stage, he admitted the importance of nationalism but he had similar views that nationalism would disappear with the maturing of capitalism. Throughout the world, the period of final victory of capitalism over feudalism has been linked with national movements. The economic basis of these movements is the fact that in order to achieve complete victory for commodity production, the bourgeoisie must capture the home market, must have speaking the same language, and all obstacles to the development of this language and to its consolidation in literature must be removed.\textsuperscript{33} But Stalin, chairman of the commissariat for nationalities elaborated the nation as a “historically evolved stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory economic life, psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.”\textsuperscript{34}

In Sub Continent, Allama Iqbal was the leading Muslim figure that got attracted towards the concept of nationalism. He was probably the only leading figure in the Sub-Continent who put the whole issue to a serious consideration and it became a subject of his poetry and thought.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{34} Joseph Stalin, \textit{Marxism and the Nationalist Questions}, opcit., p.15.
His examination was fairly extensive and he criticized the whole ideological structure of nationalism both from the religious as well as from the political angles.\footnote{Parveen Shaukat Ali, \textit{The Political Philosophy of Iqbal}, Lahore, United Publishers, 1978, p.194.} Before he proceeded to Europe for higher studies, Iqbal was an ardent nationalist and his poetry reflected his sentiments of a staunch nationalist. In 1908, when he returned from Europe after completing his higher education, he started criticizing nationalism. His opinion was that he had reached to the conclusion after studying early writings of the Europeans scholars that it was the basic scheme of Western Imperialism to dismember the unity of the Muslim world by popularizing territorial nationalism among its various components.\footnote{S.A.V. Moeeni (ed.), \textit{Maqalat-i-Iqbal}, Lahore, 1963, p. 222.} Iqbal was convinced that nationalism is ‘poisonous’ for the modern civilization. It would be pertinent to point out that change in Iqbal’s philosophy was not entirely motivated by his faith in Muslim Universalism. He criticized this ideology even on secular grounds. His point of view was that nationalism narrows down the sphere of human loyalties. According to him, it is a source of endless conflict among men.\footnote{Parveen Shaukat Ali, op.cit., p. 200.} This was the reason that he rejected the concept of nationalism and advocated the cause of Muslim Universalism and Millat. Iqbal believed that Islam is non-territorial in its character and its aim is to furnish a model for the final combination of humanity by drawing its adherents from a variety of mutually repellent races, and then transforming this in to a people possessing self consciousness of their own.\footnote{Mohammad Iqbal, \textit{The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam}, Lahore, S.M. Ashraf & Sons, 1944, p.169.}

It is necessary to explain that few critics of Iqbal points out the inconsistency and contradiction in his idea of pan Islamism or Millat. Their point of view is that if he was an ardent supporter of Muslim Universalism and anti nationalism then why did he advocate the idea
to partition the Sub Continent into two separate states for Muslims and Hindus. Iqbal was also against the abolition of the Turkish Khilafat by Kamal-Ata-Turk. He was of the belief that Muslims of the World belong to one Millat, and with in that Millat a room is left for geographical units to flourish. But at some later stage, they have to be merged in the supra-geographical Millat.39

2.1.1. Origin of Nationalism

There are two different schools of thought on the origin of nationalism. One group of scholars is called ‘Primordialists’ and second one is ‘Modernists.’ The latter one thinks that nationalism is an invention of twentieth century40 and spread of nationalism on a global scale is a result of Europeanization and modernization of non-western and pre-modern societies. As a phenomenon of modern European history, the rise of nationalism is clearly linked with the origin of popular sovereignty; the theory of government by the active “consent of the governed”, the growth of secularism, the lessening of the older religious, tribal or feudal loyalties; and the spread of urbanization, industrialization and improved communication.41

The former school of thought rejects this idea of modernists. Their point of view is that nationalism is not the new concept but it pre dated before the modern era. Anthony Smith says if “we accept this idea of modernists, does that mean that there was a nation in the history before the rise of nationalism in the modern era”?42 Primordialists are of the opinion that we can not over look the fact that the concept of nation, like those of ethnic have a long history of usage prior to its specific, modern ‘nation’ was used to designate geographical subdivisions of medieval church councils and universities and in Greek and Latin vernacular European

39 Ibid.
42 For detail see, Anthony D. Smith, The Antiquity of Nations, op.cit.
languages in Middle ages and early modern epoch, including in translations of the Bible.

Layman tower’s opinion is that “major parts of the mix of ideas that come together to become nationalism can be traced back to the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries.”

Isaiah Berlin says, “Consciousness of national identity may be as old as consciousness itself. But nationalism unlike tribal feeling or xenophobia, to which it is related but with which it is not identical, seems scarcely to have existed in ancient or classical times.”

After analyzing the concept of these two schools of thought, we come up to conclusion that sentiments or emotions like nationalism originated as a dense of the locality, region, or nation against an external power. The first likely example come from the conflicts in the late middle ages between various cities and nations and the papacy but it wasn’t until the eighteenth century, first in Germany and later in France, that a coherent doctrine of nationalism developed.

Even the work of German philosopher Herder (1774) did not begin to enter into general linguistic usage until the mid nineteenth century. But then with in one hundred years (1815-1920), nationalism completely transformed the political map of Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe; and since 1947 it has fulfilled the same revolutionary function in remaking the political configuration of Asia and Africa.

2.2. Ethnicity

The last decades of twentieth century are marked by the rise of the concept of ethnicity at global level. The concept of Ethnicity which was considered a primordial concept acquired a

---

46 Ibid, p.16.
front position in social, political and academic circles rather than to fade away. The “End of History” it seems, turn out to have ushered in the era of ethnicity.\textsuperscript{49} Whether we look at the Balkans, Chechnya, Nagorno-Karabakh, Central Africa or Northern Ireland and Euskadi (The Basque country), some of the most emotionally charged and seemingly intractable political disputes appear to be ‘ethnic’ in origin.\textsuperscript{50}

Ethnicity seems to be a new term and its first appearance is in the Oxford Dictionary in 1972.\textsuperscript{51} But the consensus is that it appeared as a term in the social sciences only in the mid 20th century. Lloyd Warmer used the term in 1941 and David Reisman in 1953. The first appearance of the term ethnicity in the Oxford English dictionary is as late as the 1970s.\textsuperscript{52} However ethnic identity, ethnic nationalism and ethnic conflict are definitely not new phenomena. As Milton J. Esman is of the view, “From the dawn of the history, communities organized on putative common descent, culture and destiny have co-existed, contested and clashed”.\textsuperscript{53} Peri Pamir also shares the same views with Esman regarding the origin of ethnicity.\textsuperscript{54} So it becomes clear that ethnicity dates back to primordial era.

The word ‘ethnic’ is itself derived from the ancient Greek word ‘ethnikos’ meaning a ‘pagan or a ‘heathen’. To ethnic means ‘foreigners’ and the term found its way in to description of non-chosen people, outsiders.\textsuperscript{55} It was used in this sense in English from the mid 14th century when it gradually began to refer to ‘racial’ characteristics. In the united states, ethnic

\textsuperscript{50} David Maccrone, \textit{The Sociology of Nationalism}, London. Rutledge, 2000, p.22.
\textsuperscript{52} David Maccrone, \textit{The Sociology of Nationalism}, op. cit., p.24.
came to be used around the Second World War as a polite term referring to Jews, Italians, Irish and other people considering inferior to the dominant group of largely British descent. Since the 1960s, ethnicity and ethnic group have become issue words although as Ronald Cohen has remarked, few of those who use the term bother to define them.\textsuperscript{56} By the last decade of 20\textsuperscript{th} century it became clear in the world that with the termination of the East-West ideological battle, ethnic politics and conflict has become more pervasive.\textsuperscript{57}

Ethnicity is a resilient feature of numerous societies throughout the world. Max Weber says that only few societies can claim to be homogenous, even when they proclaim themselves to be.\textsuperscript{58} Walker Connor in his study points out that in 1972, out of a total of 132 states only 12 (9.1\%) could be viewed as ethnically homogenous. While another 25 (18.9\%) states consisted of one main ethnic group which accounted for more than 90\% of the total population. In 31 states (23.5\%), however, the single largest ethnic group found only 50-74 \% of the population and in 39 states (29.5\%) no one ethnic group accounted for even half of the population of the state.\textsuperscript{59}

With the entrance of new states in to the system, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and in the aftermath of continuing decolonization in the African Continent since the seventies, the picture would not have altered in terms of the trend.\textsuperscript{60} Thirty five, out of the thirty seven major conflicts in the world in 1991 were internal in nature and most of them, from Sri Lanka to Northern Ireland could possibly be described as ethnic conflict.\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{56} Thomas Hylland Erickren, op.cit.
\textsuperscript{61} Thomas Hylland Ericksen, op. cit.
In addition to violent ethnic movements, there are also many important non-violent ethnic movements such as Quebec movement in Canada.\textsuperscript{62} So it has become clear that ethnic conflict is a worldwide phenomenon.\textsuperscript{63} According to Horowitz, “ethnicity is, of course a recurrent phenomenon and its shifting contexts make it some time more and some time less prominent.”\textsuperscript{64} The significance of ethnic phenomena at world level now pushes us to make its actual concept clear. But the problem is that there is a disagreement among leading scholars of the filed on how to define the term ‘Ethnicity.’

According to the dictionary of Social Sciences, “Ethnic as an adjective is often used interchangeably with religious social, national, cultural and sub-cultural”.\textsuperscript{65} Joel Krieger says, “As a phenomenon associated with contacts between cultural-linguistic communal groups with in societies, ethnicity is characterized by cultural prejudice and social discrimination. Under lived these characteristics are the feelings of pride in the group, common consciousness and identity of the group, and exclusiveness and identity of the group, and exclusiveness of its members. It is a phenomenon linked directly or indirectly to forms affiliation and identification built around ties of real or punitive kinship.”\textsuperscript{66}

Paul Brass defines ethnicity as, “ethnic community is objectively distinct from their neighbors, subjectively self conscious of their distinctness, and lying claims to status and recognition either as a superior group or as a group at least equal to other group”.\textsuperscript{67} Brass defines ethnic groups with in three definitional parameters. First parameter is in term of objectives

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{63} Donald L. Horowitz, \textit{Ethnic Groups in Conflict}, California, University of California Press, 1983, p.3.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid, p.4.
attributes, some distinguishing cultural, religious or linguistic features that separates one group from another. Second one is in terms of feelings which arises subjective self-consciousness in a particular group. Third parameter in relation to behavior is that how ethnic groups behave or do not behave with other groups, since cultural and other distinctions really come to the fare in one group’s interaction with other group.  

F.J. Foltz describes the four characteristics which distinguish different ethnic groups. The first characteristic is biological. The members of a group develop common physical characteristics by drawing upon a particular genetic pool. The next two characteristics cultural and linguistics are more important than the first one where the ethnic groups share a distinctive value system and language. The last one is structural which means the ethnic group may evolve an identity by developing a particular type of ‘joint relations’ differing from the way others organize their social role.

Max Weber defines that a group is an ethnic group when its members have a common subjective belief in their common descent and there are certain physical similarities or they have common belief of customs or both. He also describes that because of memories of colonization and migration they think that they are one. Weber adds significantly that it does not matter whether an objective blood relationship exists among them or not. So according to him, ethnicity is an imagined rather to be an actual bond.

---

68 Ibid.
69 For details see, W.J Foltz, Ethnicity and Conflict, in Bell & Freeman (eds.) Ethnicity and Nation Building; International and Comparative Perspective, California, Sage Publications, 1974, Chapter. 8.
According to Rothschild, “Ethnicity is the plastic, variegated and originally ascriptive trait that in certain historical and socio-economic circumstances is readily politicized.” Greely defines ethnic group, “as a collectivity based on presumed common origin, which shapes to same extent the attitude and behavior of who share that origin and with which certain people may freely choose to identify at certain times of their times.” According to R.A. Schermerhorn, “an ethnic group is a collectivity existing within a larger society, having real or fictional common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past and cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements, defined as the epitome of their peoplehood.”

Walker Conner defines that ethnicity involves a sense of common ancestry, language, religion and culture and that all these attributes forge a sufficiently close ‘psychological bond’ of shared ethnic identity to form a nation.” James G. Kellas says that ethnicity is the state of being ethnic, or belonging to an ethnic group. Ethnic politics in contrast is largely concerned with the protection of interests for members of the group within the existing state with no claim for ‘territorial homeland’, Nationalism focuses on ‘national self determination’ or self rule in a national territory. Shireen M. Mazari Says, that, ethnic identity uses cultural and/or linguistic symbols at a basic level and which provides internal cohesion and differentiate an ethnic group from other groups. For her, ethnicity is an alternative form of social organization to class formation.

---

74 Walker Conner, op. cit, p. 2.  
75 Gemes G. Kellas, op. cit., p. 5.  
76 Ibid, p.6.  
77 Shireen M. Mazari, Ethnicity and Political Process; The Pakistani Experience, op.cit., p.2.
The above mentioned discussion reflects that literature on the concept of ethnicity is voluminous. And this availability of different point of views pushed Crawford young to identify two schools of thought; one is the Primordialist and the other the Instrumentalist. The Primordialist like Geertz called “the cultural givens assumed blood ties, race, language, region, religion and custom as the heart of the ethnic matter.” Ethnic attachments are among several that appear ‘natural’ for individuals, being rooted in the non-rational foundations of personality. Instrumentalists focus upon competition and interaction their stress is on the situational and circumstantial nature of ethnic solidarity. They consider ethnicity as a weapon in the pursuit of collective advantages.

Despite all this disagreement about definitions and origin of ethnicity, a number of characteristics are generally recognized as hallmark. It is quite possible that all of them will not be present in every case, but many will be included in a group, such as the same or similar geographic origin, language, religion, foods, traditions, folklore, music and residential patterns. The other characteristics may be as special political concerns, attachment to home land and institutions or a consciousness of kind or a sense of distinctness from others.

2.3. Ethnic Nationalism
It is a common belief among the scholars of nationalism that ethnicity is closely linked with nationalism. For example, Walker Conner labeled his collection of essays as “ethno-nationalism.” He justifies his action by saying that there is no difference if nationalism is used in

---

78 Tahir Amin, op.cit., p. 27.
79 Ibid.
81 Ibid.
82 Tahir Amin, op.cit. *Ethno National Movements of Pakistan; Domestic and International*, p. 27.
its pristine sense.  

Leah Green comments, ‘In ethnic nationalism, nationality becomes a synonym of ‘ethnicity’ and national identity is often perceived as a reflection or awareness of passion of ‘primordial’ or inherited characteristics, components of ethnicity such as language, custom, territorial affiliation and physical type.’ According to K. Wolf ‘ethnicity is an inalienable component of nationalism because ethnicity provides an important source of personal and group identity before modern nation appear. After formation of a modern national, ethnic attachments grow into ethnic nationalism.’

Richard G. Fox, ethnic nationalism can be defined as the occurrence of political or quasi-political groups where organizing principle, mobilization of adherents, appeals for redress of presumed inequalities are based on separate ethnic identity within a given culture. Such ethnic political movements are currently found in many of the most industrially advanced nations of the world. The Acadian revival Quebec separatist movement in Canada; the Welsh and Scottish nationalist agitation in Britain; the Samish movement in Norway; the Breton, Corsican, Occitan and Alsatian autonomists in France, Basque in Spain; and Cajun revival and Amerindian movement in the United States. For Raymond Hall, the differences between ethnicity and nationalism are merely matters of timing. He writes that before the impact of European organization on non-European people, they were ethnic minorities. These groups, which remained autonomous from the newer, larger political states, were transformed to “national

---

84 Walker Connor, *Ethno Nationalism; The Quest for Understanding*, op.cit., p. xi.
87 Ibid, p.3.
88 Ibid.
minorities.” Anthony D. Smith is of the opinion that ethnic nationalism “refers to nationalism with nations.” That is to say that ethnic nationalism appears after the formation of a modern nation. The term highlights the relation between ethnicity and nationalism, which is neglected in the classical studies of nationalism represented by the works of Emerson (1960), Deutsch (1969), Kohn (1944), and Hayes (1931).

Ethnicity provides a base for ethnic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism is a politicized form of ethnicity. It is really difficult to demarcate nationalism and ethnic nationalism. One way of differentiating nationalism with ethnic nationalism is to understand the difference between the two. Ethnic nationalism is rooted in the core attribute of common ancestry, going through different stages when it struggles for full independence or gain a territory on which it has control. Thus ethnic nationalism is a particular form of nationalism. Joseph Rothschild has described six different stages through which ethnicity transforms itself into ethnic nationalism. According to him, the first stage is ethnic awareness when people start to become aware of their shared identity. Ethnic self awareness or ethnic identity is subjective feeling in some respect. Ethnic consciousness is a variable and not evenly distributed among all members. Usually ethnic elite may either for strengthening their position or some time for group interest try to stimulate ethnic awareness. There are different internal and external factions involved creating ethnic awakening. The internal factors include common religion, language, common race, shared history and collective organization. Among external factions are social relationship with ethnic

90 Anthony D. Smith, Theories of Nationalism, op.cit., p.216.
91 Ibid.
93 For detail, see Rothschild, op.cit., p. 251.
groups, inter ethnic relationship, transnational linkages of ethnic group and nature and structure of political system. Second stage of ethnicity is ‘self evaluation’. There is very thin difference between these two stages and sometimes both stages can occur simultaneously. A group engages in self evaluation by three different ways. Some time an ethnic group may evaluate itself with reference to its past position or self-evaluation may be in terms of other groups in society. Thirdly, an ethnic group can evaluate its situation by using the distribution of power and resources. Third stage in the development of ethnicity is demands for equality which becomes the first stage of ethnic nationalism. When an ethnic group is aware of this position and starts making demands from political system, it enters arena of ethnic nationalism. After this comes the stage of demands for political autonomy. If their perceived grievances and deprivations are not satisfied, an ethnic group may demand political autonomy. This demand may include many other demands like changing the political system, redistribution of powers and resources, creating new units etc. Fifth stage is ‘bluff secession’. It mean when demands of ethnic group regarding political autonomy one not accepted, they may adopt to threat the power holders to secede. This is a stage of confrontation and it may result into intense ethnic polarization. Last stage in development of ethnicity is ‘secession’ which is the last stage of ethnic nationalism. An ethnic group has to take many things into account before taking the decision of secession. These include the geographical location of ethnic group in a given area, the native and relationship of the mother state or larger political community, sentiments and reaction of international community.

We can say that ethnic nationalism starts from a pre-existent homogenous entity, a recognizable unit. Ethnicity become a form of nationalism/ or sub nationalism when it assumes a political (or territorial) dimension that challenges the status quo, and in some cases, the

---

legitimacy and stability of the state in question by becoming a catalyst for interior, or inter-state conflict. The primary concern of ethnic nationalism is to ensure the survival of the group’s cultural identity that entails the political survival of the group and the physical protection of its members.

2.4. Political Development

The entire history of mankind is an impressive record of development. From very primitive conditions the caravan of civilization has moved step by step on the high road of religious, material, social and political advancement. Although there have been long periods of stagnation but on the whole the momentum of progress has been continuous. Since the end of World War II and the emergence of a large number of new nations, the term development, however has assumed new meaning and significance. The new states have been labeled as underdeveloped or developing.

The field of political development was established in the late 1950s and early 1960s by a group of American scholars which opened a new era of comparative politics in the United States. A Social Sciences Research Council (SSRC) was established in 1954 to study and evaluate the status of social sciences and issues and problems of newly independent countries of the Third World. This council established certain sub committees and particularly a Committee on Comparative politics started working. This committee was chaired successively by Gabriel Almond and Lucian Pye and it quickly turned its attention to the politics of newly independent non western states. By the 1960s, the committee had settled on the term political development to

---

identify its area of concern. Another reason of the success of this sub committee was the secured funding for a number of related initiatives.\(^97\)

Political development is a complicated and vague term and there is no consensus among scholars about the meaning and definition of political development. According to Encyclopedia of Nationalism, development has several aspects; economic growth (mainly through industrialization), political restructuring (improving administrative effectiveness and democratic participation), and socio-cultural modernization (which some do, and others do not, equate with modernization).\(^98\) Development rarely happens spontaneously, but today it is a political process usually organized by states. That political process some times is called nation building in newly independent countries.\(^99\) According to the above discussion, it can be concluded that political development is political restructuring, state building, nation building and political participation. Almond and Powell introduced a new concept and pointed to five main capabilities of the political system.\(^100\) The first capability is called ‘Extractive capability by which the political system acquires ability to draw material and human resources from its environment. The ‘regulative capability’ refers to its control over the behavior of individuals and groups. The third one is distributive capability which means ability of the system to allocate goods, services, honor, status, and other kind of opportunities in society. The fourth capability was ‘symbolic’ meaning the system’s effectiveness is martial ling such outputs as the display of flags, military ceremony and national anthems. Last was responsive capability, describing the relationship with

\(^{97}\) Ibid, p. 35.


\(^{99}\) Ibid.

in the political system between inputs and outputs as a whole.\textsuperscript{101} According to Almond and Powell, political development is the response of the political system to change in its societies or international environment and in particular, “the response of the system to the challenges of state building, nation building, participation and distribution. The three criteria of political development were held to be; structural differentiation, sub system autonomy, and cultural secularization”.\textsuperscript{102}

Organski describes political development as a ‘process which has to pass through several stages. The first stage is the politics of ‘primitive unification’ in which a nation’s bonds of unity are very thin. Rulers and ruled are separated by a yawning distance of indifference and participation of the latter in national decision which have a bearing on their life is almost non-existent. The second stage is ‘politics of industrialization’ in which the masses in general are integrated in to a nation. To move from ‘politics of primitive unification’ to ‘politics of industrialization’ developing nations have options to choose one of three western models i.e. democratic, communist, and fascists which they can use to overcome problems of transition.\textsuperscript{103} The third stage relates to the ‘politics of national welfare’ in which government’s role is reversed from its second stage. Now the primary responsibility of the government is national welfare rather to protect the capitalist. National welfare would need defense of common people against the economic and political power accumulated by the industrialists. The last stage is ‘politics of abundance’ a stage which according to Organski, no nation in the world had achieved yet, although the United States and rich European countries are reaching very close to

\textsuperscript{101} Ibid.
this stage.\textsuperscript{104} So it is pertinent to point out here that Organski relates political development to the economic development and describes national integration and economic development as the indicators of political development. But it is interesting to note that he mentions three different kinds of forms of government at the second stage but then only talks about democracies. La Palombara also thinks that economic development is a pre-requisite of political development when he says. “I might say that I strongly believe that it is more than historical coincidence that economic liberalism preceded the emergence of political liberalism in the west.”\textsuperscript{105} Then he relates economic development and political democracy to Bureaucracy saying that economic development and political democracy are unlikely to emerge unless the bureaucracies of the new states make quite deliberate efforts to encourage the flourishing of private sector.\textsuperscript{106}

Lucian Pye takes political development in terms of democracy. He says, “At the same time our analysis suggests a ray of hope for people who do not have faith in the power of democracy, for we have noted that advance in the direction of more democratic practices can produce strength. The advantages do not lie with totalitarian or authoritarian methods. The more political development occurs, the more advantages of democracy will apparent.”\textsuperscript{107} Pye has described ten distinct aspects in which the term was used in the literature. He says that political development can be viewed as a pre requisite of economic development. It means that economically developed countries become politically developed and this theory of development acquired much currency in academic circles. According to second aspect industrial development is actually political development. The reason might be that after industrial revolution European

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid, p.15. 
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid, pp. 3-33. 
\textsuperscript{107} Lucian Pye, \textit{Aspects of Political Development}, Boston, Little Broun Series, 1966, pp. 87-88.
countries started a new political journey and became politically developed. Pye also considered political modernization as political development. Those scholars who have worked on this aspect think that modernization is actually political development. During late 1950s and 1960s, the concept of modernization and development was overlapped and both of the concepts were used interchangeably. But after this difference became visible political development has been described in terms of nation building and then development of legal and administrative institutions. Mass mobilization and participation was used as another face of political development. The seventh aspect which Pye has listed is stability and orderly change. And last one which became the most prominent and popular aspect is democracy.  

But after this Huntington suggested that one should go one step further. He said that “If there are ten definitions of political development, then there are ten too many and the concept is, in all likely hood, superfluous and dysfunctional”.  

A decade later Riggs reviewed the history of the concept and presented 65 different usages. Following the same tradition a study of 26 countries derived 49 tentative propositions from the following ten theoretical dimensions; political culture; regime legitimacy and effectiveness; historical development (in particular the colonial experience); class structure and the degree of inequality; national structure (ethnic, racial, regional, and religious cleavages); state structure; centralization and strength (including the state’s role in the economy the role of autonomous voluntary associations and press,

---


109 Samuel P. Huntington, *The Change to Change*, op.cit., p. 40

liberalism and the role of armed forces); political and constitutional structures (parties, electoral system, judiciary); political leadership; development performance; and international factor.  

James S. Coleman also used Pye’s categorization in his discussion and suggested the notion of ‘Developmental syndrome’ consisting of three major subsuming principles; differentiations, equality and capacity. Coleman says, “Our conception of political development process is a continuous interaction among the processes of structural differentiation, the imperatives of equality, and the integrative, responsive, and adaptive capacity of political system. The interaction of these three dimensions constitutes what we have termed the “development syndrome”.

By differentiation, he means the process of progressive reparation and specialization of roles, institutional spheres, and association in societies undergoing modernization. Coleman defines equality as national citizenship, universalistic legal order, and achievement norms. Capacity means an integrative, adaptive and innovative capacity. It is a capacity not only to overcome the divisions and manage the tensions created by increased differentiation, but to respond to or contain the participatory and distributive demands generated by imperative of equality. It includes in addition the power constantly to create new and enhanced capacity to plan, implement, and manipulate new change as part of the process of achieving new goals.

112 Ibid, p.75.
113 Universal Citizenship (equality in distribution claims and participants rights and duties.), the prevalence of universalistic norms in government relations with the citizenry (equality in legal privileges and deprivations), and the predominance of achievement criteria (the psychic equality of opportunity) in recruitment and allocation to political and bureaucratic roles.
114 Universal Citizenship, Equality in Distribution Claims and Participants Rights and Duties, cit., p.77.
115 Ibid, pp. 78-79.
In the 1960s, the literature of political development was overlapped by the term ‘Modernization’, and mostly these two terms were used interchangeably. 117 Though the two have a different intellectual ancestry, through a process of redefinition of objectives as well as conceptual and methodological convergence, they have come close to each other in substantive meaning. 118 First, they refer to the states of societies. Theorists of modernization distinguish between traditional and modernized societies. Development theorists, on the other hand, speak of underdeveloped developing, and developed societies. Second, both of them articulate a set of goals in the sense that the ideal of modernization or development provides an agenda for action. Third, both of the concepts refer to a process movement from tradition to modernity or from underdeveloped to development. 119 Samuel P. Huntington has identified nine characteristics of the modernization process which are generally agreed upon by scholars. These characteristics are applicable equally to the process of development. 120

1. “Modernization, and by implication development is a revolutionary process.
2. The process of both modernization and development are complex and multidimensional. They involve a series of cognitive, behavioral and institutional modifications and restructuring.
3. Both are systemic processes. Variation in one dimension produces important co variations in other dimensions.
4. They are global process. Ideas and techniques are diffused from the centre of originations in other dimensions.
5. They are lengthy process. Time is important in both modernization and development.
6. They are phased process. Historical experiences indicate that the movement towards the goals of modernization and development takes place through identifiable phase and sub-phases

119 Ibid.
120 Samuel P. Huntington, The Change to Change, op.cit., p.40.
7. They are homogenous process. As modernization and development move to advanced stages differences between national societies are narrowed and ultimately a stage is reached when the universal imperative of modern ideas and institutions prevail, leading to a point at which the various societies are so homogenized as to be capable of forming a world’s state.

8. Both are irreversible processes. There is no going back from modernization and development although there may be occasional upsets and temporary breakdowns.

9. They are progressive processes. Modernization and development are inevitable as well as desirable. In the long run, they contribute to human well-being both culturally and materially.”

The term Modernization has been defined in a variety of ways by scholars. According to Dankwart A. Rustow, The process of Modernization is comprised of many specific changes denoting, “rapidly widening control over nature through closer cooperation among men”. It includes all the specific changes such as industrialization.121 Cyril E. Black also associates modernization as the Process by which societies have been and are transformed under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution.122

According to James S. Coleman, political modernization refers to those processes of differentiation of political structures and secularization of political culture which enhances the capability, the effectiveness and efficiency of performance of a political system. He says that the interaction characteristics of a traditional polity are predominantly ascriptive, particularistic, and diffused and a modern polity is predominantly achievement oriented universalities, and specific. Coleman views political modernization as the process of “movement from the traditional pole to modern pole of the continuum.”123 But a fully self conscious break between modernization and development arguably came in 1965 when an article “Political Development and Political

---

123 James S. Coleman, Modernization; Political Aspects, op.cit., pp. 395-396.
Decay” of Samuel P. Huntington was published.\textsuperscript{124} Huntington claimed that was useful to distinguish political development from modernization and to identify political development with the institutionalization of political organizations and procedures.\textsuperscript{125} Because according to him, identification of modernization with development limited too drastically the applicability of the concept of political development.\textsuperscript{126}

Another sharp break between modernization and development is explained by Remigio E. Agpalo. He clearly describes the very thin difference between these two concepts. According to him, modernization, development and civilization are social process that can be distinguished from one another. Modernization is a term from political sociology, but development and civilization are better viewed as terms from political philosophy. According to him, the iron logic of modernization is to bring about authoritarianism in the third worlds, and even in the first world. He views modernization as a process of “change from minimum to maximum level of rationalization of authority, national integration, and popular participation.” Remigio mentions that political development is the higher end of humanity, “a process of change from lack to full flowering and fruition of the rule of law, civility and social justice”.\textsuperscript{127} After analysing the above discussion, it is quite clear now that political modernization and political development are two different terms.

By the end of 1960s, the concept of political development and approaches based upon it were falling out of favor, and criteria eventually began to build. The reason for this lapse is not hard to find. Riggs says that decline of the popularity among scholars of the word ‘political

\textsuperscript{125} Ibid, p.386.
\textsuperscript{126} Samuel P. Huntington, \textit{Change to Change}, op.cit., p. 301.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid, pp. 84-85.
development’ can be traced back to the time when the Ford Foundation’s support for research on it ceased.\textsuperscript{128} Final grant expired in 1971 and from 1974 at least there was a dramatic fall in the number of new publications. There were also problems with the concept of political development in its own terms. Howard J. Wiarda explains another reason of this fall which he calls generational factor. He says that the political development literature was largely written and advocated by one generation of scholars in United States. By the end of 1960s that generation was beginning to pass in favor of a younger generation who were critical of their forebears or who simply had other ideas.\textsuperscript{129}

This eventually led scholars to wish to abandon development. Even, Huntington, the very ardent protagonist of development called the concept ‘superfluous’ and ‘dysfunctional’.\textsuperscript{130} But by the 1970s the concept of democratization got trend,\textsuperscript{131} and major protagonists of political development saw a strong revival of the concept of political development in the late 1980s and 1990s,\textsuperscript{132} in it and relationship between democracy and development was emphasized in ways that proved too simple.\textsuperscript{133} Wiarda is of the opinion that while there is no “necessary automatic or causative relationship between development and democracy” as some early developmentalists themselves pointed out, but we can not ignore the “tendencies, correlations and long term relationship.”\textsuperscript{134} This is true that the specific language of political development has largely receded but the fact can not be ignored that from the late 1980s many of underlying assumptions

\textsuperscript{128} F. Riggs, op. cit., p. 313.  
\textsuperscript{130} Samuel P. Huntington, \textit{The Change to Change}, op.cit., p. 303.  
\textsuperscript{131} Howard J. Wiarda, \textit{Rethinking Political Development; A Look Back Ward Over Thirty Years and A Look Ahead}, op.cit.  
\textsuperscript{132} Paul Cammack, \textit{Capitalism and Democracy in the Third World, the Doctrine for Political Development}, op.cit., p.30.  
\textsuperscript{133} Howard J. Wiarda, op.cit.  
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid.
and expectations regarding political development have resurfaced in the expanding literature on
democratization. Wiarda explains the reasons of this revival as following;

The first and foremost reason, according to him, is that scholars have prior experience with
development. Discussion no longer needs to be focused entirely at the conceptual and theoretical
level as they were to a large extent in the 1960s. Protagonists of development theory say that
they know now what development is, what are unsuccessful strategies and what are successful
ones. It has become quite evident that political development is now being viewed as democracy,
security, open markets, social modernization, stable institutions and peaceful, moderate change,
all the elements that Lipset, Rostow, Pye and other early developmentalists posited as necessary.

The fact can not be denied that in early 1990s a remarkable transformation occurred at global
level. The world started to overthrowing the bureaucratic authoritarian, static or Marxist- Lennist
regimes. Democracy became an agenda of globalization and it was overwhelmingly welcomed in
Asia, Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Latin America. Public opinion surveys in Latin America
indicate that over 90 percent of the population in virtually every country favors democracy.
Though the measures are inexact, few of us can doubt that revolution of every profound
dimension in favor of democracy has begun to sweep the world. By this time, the regimes based
upon the major explanatory models of corporatism, Marxism, bureaucratic authoritarianism
have either been discredited and/or over thrown as well. The demise or discrediting of the older
‘models’ along with the resurgence of democracy have given rise to the sentiment that may be
the develop mentalist paradigm had and has something to recommend it after all.135 Huntington
also made a turn towards democratization when he wrote his famous book “The Third Wave of

---

135 For details, Samuel P. Huntington, The Third Wave of Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century, 
Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century.”\(^{136}\) He writes that first wave can be traced back to the late eighteenth century, beginning with the American and French Revolutions when European countries and America became democratic. The second wave according to Huntington came in the wake of Second World War when African and Asian countries adopted democratic models after independence. The third wave originated in the overthrow of military regimes in the Southern Mediterranean, in Portugal and Greece in 1971 and Spain in 1976,\(^{137}\) and sweeping across Southern and Eastern Europe and, to varying degrees most regions of the Third World. The latest wave of democratization that increased the proportion of countries in the world with some form of democratic government from 28 percent in 1974 to 61 percent in 1998 has included remarkable changes in the Third World.\(^{138}\) However, the strength of democratization here has varied, with the strongest felt in Latin America. Asia too has experienced significant democratization. Sub Saharan Africa has lagged behind with relatively weak attempts to democratize. The Middle East has seen very little efforts to democratize.\(^{139}\)

Francis Fukuyama, in his famous article, The End of History, remarks on the consensus which seems to have emerged worldwide on the legitimacy of liberal democracy in contrast to other bases of governments. He concludes that liberal democracy may constitute the ‘end point’ of mankind’s ideological evolution and the final form of government. His subsequent book the “End of History and the Last Man”\(^{140}\) seeks to demonstrate that despite daily political setbacks and widespread pessimist events during the last quarter of the twentieth century have made clear

\(^{136}\) Vicky Randall & Robin Theobald, Political Change and Under Development; A Critical Introduction to Third World Politics, op.cit., p. 38.
\(^{138}\) Ibid.
\(^{140}\) Ibid, pp.73-75.
that there is indeed a coherent and directional history or development of mankind tending towards liberal democracy. Now we are in a new era of vast social and political changes and quite remarkable transition to democracy is obvious. These changes have made development approach look better.

All the above discussion concludes that nationalism is a phenomenon. When the base of nationalism is ethnic, it is called ethnic nationalism. There are different forms and kinds of nationalism but liberal and ethnic nationalism are more popular. Ethnic nationalism has resurfaced during the last few decades, consequently, many groups and communities are making their appearance by claiming their distinctive status. This fact cannot be denied that nationalism is linked with political development and reciprocal relationship between the both of the concepts is established. Though there are different aspects of political development but democracy has got desirable position particularly from the last few decades. Despite of this resurgence of democratization process in the Third World, the democracy is still faced with certain challenges in these countries and ethnic dilemma is the most important one.
CHAPTER NO. 3

REGIONAL ETHNIC LOYALTIES IN MUSLIM MAJORITY PROVINCES (PRE PARTITION ERA)

Pakistan is an ethnically and linguistically complex state\(^1\) and roots of ethnic dilemma of this country can be traced back in the history of Indian Sub-Continent. The second half of the 19\(^{th}\) century not only gave birth to the Indian nationalism but it also stirred the ethnic and regional loyalties in the Sub Continent. These ethnic communities were demanding for autonomous, and in some cases sovereign status. Tahir Amin says that these “movements emerged against the political policies of Colonial state and assumed the character of ethno-national movements espousing goals, bordering on autonomy secession continuum”\(^2\). These ethnic sentiments even prevailed after partition and issue of ethnicity became problematic. This chapter analyses the pre partition ethnic and regional loyalties of Muslim Majority areas to have a better understanding of the causes of ethnic dilemma and political development in Pakistan.

The movement for Pakistan was largely started in the areas outside the regions now comprising Pakistan even up to the middle 1940s.\(^3\) As Ayesha Jalal says, that “by 1944, when Wavell, the new viceroy reminded India that the Cripps offer was still open, Jinnah was still trying to bring the ministries and assemblies in the majority provinces into line.”\(^4\) The Muslims in the Minority Areas of the Sub Continent were economically better off and literacy rate was high as compare to Muslims living in Majority Provinces. For example, the total strength of Muslims in Uttar Pradesh was 14.11 percent of the total population but they occupied 41.3

---


percent executive and 24 percent judicial posts. In Central Province the Muslims strength was 4.06 percent of the population but their share in executive posts was as high as 28 percent.\(^5\) This educational and economic superiority could not eliminate the fear to be dominated by the majority population and this factor played a role to provide them an opportunity to take a lead in Muslim politics. This was the reason that the Muslim League leadership came mostly from Muslim Minority provinces. For example, the three permanent presidents of Muslim League, Sir Agha Khan, Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and Mohammad Ali Jinnah were from Bombay and Uttar Pradesh.\(^6\) The dominance of Muslim Minority Provinces in Muslim League is also evident by the fact that no session of Muslim League was ever held in N.W.F.P. and the score of meetings in Sindh province was almost one sixth of the UP’s total meetings while the most important Muslim majority province, Punjab scored equal sessions to Bombay city.\(^7\)

The leadership of All India Muslim League was well aware of the fact that the main objective of the party, to be the only representative of the Muslims of Sub Continent, could not be achieved without the support of the Muslim Majority areas. So they devised a comprehensive strategy to strengthen their roots in the Muslim Majority areas and finally it emerged victorious. Muhammad Waseem is of the opinion that “Muslim League entered in Muslims Majority provinces in two phases.” According to him the first strategy was to seek an understanding with the ethnic or regional based political forces, like the Unionist Party is Punjab, Krishak Praja Party in Bengal and unexpectedly Congress in Sindh. Secondly, it launched a movement for

---


\(^6\) Bombay won the sessional presidency of the League 20 times as against 25 for the rest of India. Only 5 out of 33 members of the Muslim League nominated at its 1906 session at Karachi belonged to future Pakistan areas.

mass mobilization to secure support of masses in these provinces. So it is very important to understand and carefully analyze the role of Muslim Majority provinces during Pakistan Movement with special reference to ethnic based movements in these areas.

3.1 Balochistan

Balochistan was chief commissioner’s province governed by the Agent to the Governor General (AGG) of India. The certain areas of Balochistan came under British influence by the treatise. In 1854, the British entered in to an agreement with Nasir Khan II, the ruler of Kalat, which was subsequently renewed and affirmed in another treaty in 1876, in which the British rulers once again committed with the signatories to respect the independence of these areas. The Muslims of this province comprised almost 91 percent of the total population. The province was ethnically heterogeneous and six main languages, Baluchi, Pushtu, Sindhi, Bruhi, Lahnda and Persian were spoken in Balochistan. Its six districts were under the control of the British agent and surrounding to province were the tribal areas of Marri and Bugti and states of Kalat, Kharan, Makran and Lasbela. The Balochistan was economically and politically, the most backward region of Muslim India and according to Ian Talbot, “this province was not even able to sustain itself and relied heavily on Central Government loans of around 60 lacs rupees by the early 1940s”. Besides economic dependence, the political situation of Balochistan was also different from other regions of Indian Sub-Continent because “democratic principles and reforms initiated by British rulers were not introduced in Baluchistan. For instance, the Quetta Municipal

---

10 Total population was 868,617 in 1944. For details see, Ian Talbot, p.119.
11 Ibid, p.117.
Committee, the highest public representative body in the province was not elected.”

There was no public platform available to represent the viewpoint of the Muslims of Baluchistan. Almost all forms of reforms which over the years, since the turn of the century were introduced in other parts of India were also denied in that province. Balochistan had a loose administrative structure before the creation of Pakistan. The Pushto speaking areas of Balochistan such as Zhob, Loralai, and Chaman districts bordering Afghanistan were under the control of British or tribal administration. The Baloch Sardars formally gave their allegiance to the British Raj, but they were free and independent in their political purposes and even ran their own private system. The British Political agent was responsible for overall administration of this conglomeration of territories but they adopted a policy of minimum interference which was called Sundeman system after the name of Robert Sundeman who was the one to plan this political set up in that area.

From the end of First World War, the Baloch nationalists increased the efforts to achieve unity among the people and create an independent Balochistan. Inayatullah Baluch classifies those in to two categories. He terms the first group as revolutionaries who were led by Misri Khan Baloch, one of the leaders of the Marri-Khetram uprising in 1917. This group of Baloch nationalists preferred to migrate from Balochistan to Soviet Union and get support against British imperialism. The second group, according to Inayatullah, is called the constitutionalists. These were educated Balochis having middle class back ground and followed the style of the

---

17 Ibid.
Indian nationalists.\textsuperscript{19} It was this group which organized the Anjuman-e-Ittehad-Balochan in 1920, an under ground political organization which was later on called the Kalat State National Party. The leaders of this group were Yousaf Ali Magsi, and Abdul Aziz Kurd (A son of Kalat State official).\textsuperscript{20} First organized political party in Balochistan was Kalat State National Party. This party, commonly known as ‘National Party’ was launched in February 1937 with the same objectives like Anjuman-e-Ittehad-Balochan. The leaders of the Kalat State National Party like Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Gull Khan Nasir, Abdul Aziz Kurd and most of others were by temperament and practice more impressed by Abul Kalam Azad and others who supported a secular federal united India.\textsuperscript{21} In July 1939, this party was declared illegal and its activities were banned but it continued to work as a clandestine organization even inside the Kalat state.\textsuperscript{22}

Balochistan was very important to the Muslim League’s demand of Pakistan. That is the reason it was included in all Pakistan’s schemes from Muhammad Iqbal’s All India Muslim League Presidential address in December 1930 to onward. Quaid-e-Azam also included democratic reforms for Balochistan in his famous ‘fourteen points’ of 1928.\textsuperscript{23} Since then, the Muslim league took this issue in every meeting, but till that time, Muslim League was not established in the province. The pioneer of Pakistan Movement in Balochistan was Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan Aziz Magsi. He was greatly influenced by the idea of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan,

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{19} Many Newspapers were published to awaken the consciousness among Baloch like Azad. For details see Inayatullah Baloch, \textit{The Problem of Greater Balochistan; A study of Baloch Nationalism}, Stuttgart stmer verlag Wiesbaden, 1987.
\bibitem{21} National Party was in favor of an independent Balochistan. It was against Sardari system and had a support from educated class. The party accepted Kalat Government and declared it as a national government. It also announced to cooperate with Kalat Government on the basis of Baloch nationalism. For details, see Taj Mohammad Berjees, op.cit., pp. 207-223 and Mehtab Ali Shah, op.cit., pp, 92-94.
\bibitem{22} Taj Mohammad Berjees, \textit{Baloch Nationalism; Its Origin and Development}, op.cit., p.226.
\bibitem{23} Muhammad Ali Jinnah visited Quetta twice. Once in 1943 and second time in 1945. For details see, Ian Talbot, \textit{Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement, the Growth of the Muslim League in North-West and North-East India 1937-47}, op.cit., p.117.
\end{thebibliography}
Allama Iqbal and other Prominent Muslim Leaguers. He was the one to organize first All India Baloch Conference at Jacobabad on 29th December 1932 introducing Islamic political ideas in Balochistan. Qazi Isa was the person chosen by Quaid-e-Azam to launch Pakistan Movement in Balochistan. He organized Muslim League in the province and in September 1939, Balochistan Provincial League was permitted to be affiliated to All India Muslim League.

The Muslim League was trying to broaden its sphere of influence in the province but with the prospect of British withdrawal coming closer, the National Party and other nationalist organizations joined Khan of Kalat to seek independence for Balochistan. A mission led by Mr. Cripps was sent to Sub Continent in March 1946 by the British government to negotiate with Indians regarding the future of Sub Continent. Even at that time, the Khan of Kalat approached the mission and discussed the future of his state in the scheme of independence. He submitted a memorandum to Cripps mission to restore its pre 1876 status by regaining its full independence all over Kalat territories which were held or leased by British rulers. Another memorandum signed by the Baloch Sardars of Marri and Bugti areas, like Sardar Doda Khan Marri and Sardar Mohammad Akbar Khan was sent to the British government demanding to join Khanate.

In the early months of 1947, when the British government was planning to give independence to the Indian Sub Continent, the Khan of Kalat filed a strong legal case for independence, arguing that Kalat enjoyed a legal status like Nepal based on direct treaty relations with England. The Khan claimed that the state was not bound to deal with the British Indian Government as was the case with the other “princely or native states” of the Sub-

25 Ibid, pp.120-122.
28 Ibid, pp. 143-144.
Continent. Sardar Khan Baluch, the Secretary-e-Khas to the Khan of Kalat wrote, “To began with the question of a unified and freed Baluch race, the question of greater Baluchistan is inevitable”. But the situation took a different turn in directly administrated British Balochistan in June 1947 when the tribal leaders and municipal authorities in British Balochistan were given the right to decide the future of the area. They finally opted to join Pakistan. Most of the Baloch Sardars also decided to join Pakistan. The Nawab of Lasbella, ethnically Sindhi Tribal Chief opted for Pakistan. He was followed by the chiefs of Kharan and Makran states. The Khan of Kalat himself, as Mehtab Ali Shah writes, “wanted a higher price for acceding to Pakistan”. He was to retain his special status in Pakistan.

3.2 Bengal

Bengal was a key Muslim Majority province in India. More than half of its population was Muslim. But they were mostly poor and backward as compare to Hindus. Before the British rule in this region, the Bengalis were in a better position economically and politically but after the British occupation they lost their status. As in 1867, the Muslims occupied 11.7 percent of government jobs but twenty years later their share was less than 7 percent. In 1913, the Muslims having more than fifty percent of population in Bengal had only ten percent of prestigious jobs. Only in Beckergunge District, Muslim with 64.8 percent of population owned

33 Ibid.
34 Muslims were in majority in eastern districts of Bengal.
35 Muslim population was 52.74% and Hindus were 44.80%. For details, report of Public Service Commission 1912, vol.1, Calcutta 1917, p.191 quoted in David Page, *Prelude to Partition, The Indian Muslims and the Imperial System of Control 1920-1932*, op.cit., p.8.
less than 10 percent estates and paid less than 9 percent of the total land revenue.\textsuperscript{36} In colleges, Muslim students were only 5 percent of the total number of students. The reasons of this backwardness, as Dr. Khawaja Alqama writes, are

2. Reluctance of Muslim community to learn English as they considered it an alien language.
3. For Muslims, education meant religious education.”\textsuperscript{37}

Because of the causes mentioned above, the Muslims lagged behind in every sphere of life and finally, they realized their mistake and this fear of domination by Hindus enabled them politically more conscious to take a lead in Muslim Politics of Sub Continent. As Iftikhar H. Malik writes that Bengal was culturally and ethnically homogenous but there were sharp economic disparities in the province. The Bengali Muslims were “under the domination of Hindu zamindars (landlords) or administration, and both groups Bhadralok and Ashraf were trying to secure economic, political and administrative influence for their communities.”\textsuperscript{38} The partition of Bengal provided them an opportunity to become masters of their own fate. But the annulment of this partition was a shock for them. They were totally disclaimed towards congress and seeds of discontentment were sown in their minds. As Bengalis were politically more conscious and mature and first Indian independence war was fought in Plassey in 1757\textsuperscript{39} so Bengal took a lead in Muslim politics and All India Muslim league was founded in 1906 in Dhaka.\textsuperscript{40} There was no other local political party formed in Bengal till the Muslim League become ineffective on the issue of Simon commission. In 1929, two organization were formed, Bengal Muslim council

\textsuperscript{37} Khawaja Alqama, \textit{Bengali Elite Perception of Pakistan; The Road to Disillusionment, Uneven Development or Ethnicity}, Karachi, Royal Book Company, 1997, p.27.
\textsuperscript{40} Khawaja Alqama, \textit{Bengali Elite Perception of Pakistan; The Road to Disillusionment, Uneven Development or Ethnicity}, op.cit., p.64.
Association and Bengal Proja Party.\textsuperscript{41} Muslim League did very well in Bengal as compare to other Muslim majority provinces in the 1937 elections. As the party could secure only one seat in Punjab and did not get any in Sindh and NWFP. In Bengal, Muslim League got 39 out of 82 seats. So, it won three seats more than Krishak Proja Party and was able to form a coalition government\textsuperscript{42} with the support of independents and Nawab of Dhaka also joined and it is interesting to note that Muslim League got victory in the Urban constituencies of west Bengal while Krishak Proja Party won in the Eastern districts.\textsuperscript{43} But then Haq was in trouble and he had to secure Muslim League's support so he offered 4 out of six posts in government to Muslim League. By 1938, Muslim League became popular in Bengal. But there were inter party rivalries in Muslim League like rifts between Khawaja Nazimuddin and Suhrwardy.\textsuperscript{44} In spite of all this, party did well in the Election of 1946\textsuperscript{45} and polled heavily as Muslim league won all six Muslim seats from Bengal for Central Legislature Council. As far as the Bengal Assembly was concerned, it got over whelming victory by securing 115 of the Muslim seats.\textsuperscript{46}

But during the last phase of Pakistan movement, a different attitude came forward by Bengal and leaders of Muslim League were divided in to two groups. One was called divisionists and other Unionists. Leaders like Nurul Amin, Speaker of Bengal Assembly and Abdul Ghulam, minister of civil supplies and Nawab of Dhaka were ready for partition of Bengal, East Bengal for Pakistan and West for India. But others like Hussain Shaheed Suhrwardy, Kiran Shankar Roy and Sarat Chandar Bose were arguing for united, independent Bengal.

\textsuperscript{41} Shila Sen, \textit{Muslim Politics in Bengal 1937-1947}, Delhi, Impex India, p.35.
\textsuperscript{42} Dr. Syed Jaffar Ahmed, \textit{The Bengal Trio, Fazlul Haq, Suhrawardy, Nazimuddin}, Daily Dawn, Lahore, December 30, 2006, p.34.
\textsuperscript{43} When Bengal was partitioned in 1947, West Bengal went into Indian possession and Pakistan got East Bengal.
\textsuperscript{44} Ian Talbot, \textit{Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement, the Growth of the Muslim League in North-West and North-East India 1937-47}, op.cit., pp. 69-77.
\textsuperscript{45} But most of Muslim Leaguers were members of ex-Krishik Proja Party.
Their point of view was that Bengal and Assam should be kept together because they had common linguistics similarities, traditions and distinctive culture.\textsuperscript{47} Even Suhrwardy was resisting adding word ‘Centre’ in the Lahore Resolution in 1940. According to him Bengal was not ready to accept any Central command.\textsuperscript{48} But Suhrwardy was not able to achieve his purpose and it was decided that East Bengal would be a part of Pakistan. His last minute move to keep Bengal intact, independent and sovereign did not succeed. So it is clear that though Muslim League was in ministry at that time in Bengal but some of its members were wishing to get independence outside Pakistan and India.

3.3 N.W.F.P.

The British took over the governance of N.W.F.P as part of Ranjit Singh’s dominions when they annexed the Punjab in 1849. It was therefore, ruled from Lahore till 1901,\textsuperscript{49} when Lord Curzon decided to separate the frontier districts from the rest of the Punjab and make them in to one administrative province ruled by a chief commissioners.\textsuperscript{50} In 1932, it was given the status of a Governor’s province.\textsuperscript{51}N.W.F.P was divided in to six settled districts and five tribal agencies, Malakand, Khyber, Khurram, North Wazirstan and South Wazirstan.\textsuperscript{52}N.W.F.P contained a higher percentage of Muslims more than any other province in India.\textsuperscript{53} The main ethnic division was between the Pushtoons and other groups. The Pushtoons were 37 percent, Hindus and Sikhs 8 percent, while non Pushtoon Muslims formed 55 percent of the total

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{47} Ibid, pp. 179–180.
\item \textsuperscript{48} Malik Ikram Ali, \textit{Muslim League Session 1940 and the Lahore Resolution}, Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1990, p.280.
\item \textsuperscript{49} Tariq Rahman, \textit{Language and Politics in Pakistan} (3\textsuperscript{rd} impression), Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2003, p.136.
\item \textsuperscript{50} Mehtab Ali Shah, \textit{The Foreign Policy of Pakistan, Ethnic Impacts on Diplomacy (1971-1994)}, op.cit., p.159.
\item \textsuperscript{51} Tariq Rehman says that NWFP was given the status of a separate province in 1932 and according to Mehtab Ali Shah in 1935.
\item \textsuperscript{52} Tahir Amin, \textit{Ethno National Movements of Pakistan, Domestic and International Factor}, op.cit., p.63.
\item \textsuperscript{53} Ian Talbot, \textit{Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement, the Growth of the Muslim League in North-West and North-East India 1937-47}, op.cit., p.1.
\end{itemize}
The Pushtoons and Muslim non Pushtoons were not evenly distributed throughout the province. Though, the Pushtoo speaking population was less than two fifth percent of the total population but they were its ascendant ethnic group and they wielded political and social power in the province.\(^5^5\)

In N.W.F.P the political movement started in the third decade of the 20\(^{th}\) century by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who organized Khudai Khidmat gar (Red shirt Movement) as a social movement in 1928-1929.\(^5^6\) Khan Abdul Ghaffar was pro Congress and supported its policies. From Disobedient Movement in 1931-1932, the Red Shirts joined hands with Congress and supported all its policies in the region.\(^5^7\) The frontier Muslim League had been formed as early as 1912. Its organization was drawn from the educated population of Peshawar yet it.

With the announcement of British withdrawal from Sub Continent, Khudai Khidmatgars started re-thinking their own future, and organized campaign for an autonomous Pakistan.\(^5^8\) When the British Government decided to leave the Sub-Continent and announced its plan on 3\(^{rd}\) June 1947 to transfer power in to Indian hands, it was recommended by them to hold a referendum in NWFP on the issue of joining Hindustan or Pakistan.\(^5^9\) But when Congress accepted the 3\(^{rd}\) June plan, (to hold a referendum in NWFP on the basis of whether they want to

\(^{5^4}\) Ibid, p.2.

\(^{5^5}\) Ibid, p.3, Pushto speaking population was in clear majority in Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu while in Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan, predominantly Muslim population was non Pushtoon. This was to leave important political consequences during this period of the Pakistan Movement. From the beginning, they had favored a united India but when it became clear that partition is inevitable, Frontier nationalists started demanding autonomous country.


\(^{5^8}\) Yet it passed little influence in Frontier politics during the years 1937-39. It labored under the handicap of being unable to secure support in the politically crucial rural pushto speaking region.

join India or Pakistan) Ghaffar Khan felt betrayed and regarded it as an act of treachery. There might be the reason that Ghaffar Khan’s alliance with the All India Congress was mainly by his belief that Congress could never have popular support in a province that had the biggest percentage of Muslims than of any province in India, and would have to depend on his support.\textsuperscript{60} The Muslim League wanted a referendum in the NWFP on the question of whether the people of the province want to join Pakistan’s Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan’s Constituent Assembly.\textsuperscript{61} The Congress accepted the League’s demand but Ghaffar Khan boycotted the referendum saying that if it was to be held at all it should be a referendum on the question of “Pakhtunistan” or Pakistan.\textsuperscript{62}

In 1947, British government announced its plan to partition Sub Continent and offered to hold a plebiscite in N.W.F.P. Khan Brothers rejected this idea on the plea that the frontier should be treated at par with other provinces where the wishes of the people were ascertained through the provincial assemblies. This demand was rejected by the British Government. They gave a plea on the ground that the provincial assemblies of\textsuperscript{63} Sindh and Punjab reflected the wishes of the people but doubts had arisen in case of the Frontier, where the Pakistan movement had gained far greater support since the provincial elections.\textsuperscript{64} On May 1, 1947, congress agreed to the partition of India and on 2 June the Plan was announced. The Congress working committee met on June 3rd to approve it. It was a great shock for Ghaffar Khan. He was stunned. He said that NWFP would regard this as an act of treachery if Congress threw the Khudai Khidmatgars to

\textsuperscript{60} Adeel Khan, \textit{Politics of Identity, Ethnic Nationalism and State in Pakistan}, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2005, p.94.
\textsuperscript{62} Pakhtunistan was initially defined as a state for pushtoons but after the creation of Pakistan, the stance of its protagonists was changed that a loose federation was acceptable for nationalist.
\textsuperscript{64} On April 28, Mountbatten visited province to assess the situation personally and he was convinced that situation had radically changed since the last elections and he decided to hold the plebiscite.
the molvies. He said “we stood by you and had undergone great sacrifices for attaining freedom, but you have deserted us.” Then he added “Now India has disowned us, why should we referendum on Hindustan v/s Pakistan. Let it be on Pakistan versus Pakistan”.  

Ghaffar Khan boycotted the referendum but the results were in favor of Pakistan and NWFP formally became a part of new Muslim State. 

3.4 Punjab: 

Punjab was an important province of United India during British era which dominated in all fronts during the two World Wars. Punjab was the last important region which was annexed by the British. This left an important impact on socio-economic character of Punjab. Its 50.6 percent population was Muslim according to the Census of 1921. There were 35.7 percent Hindus and 12.1 percent Sikhs in the province. The Muslims were in majority in North Western parts of the province but they were mostly inhabitants of rural areas. Only 10 percent Muslim population was settled in urban areas of Punjab. As Ayesha Jalal writes that Punjab being a Muslim majority area and strategically situated, was important to the Muslim League’s Central Leadership. Muhammad Ali Jinnah called it the corner stone of Muslim Home Land and its inclusion was indispensible to the creation of a new state. As Ian Talbot says, “if Punjabi

---

66 Tariq Rehman, Language and Politics in Pakistan, op.cit., p.192. 
67 According to Dr. Pritam Singh, Punjab was not the last region annexed by British but Jhansi, Nagpur and Hyderabad were annexed in 1853 and Awadh in 1856. For details, Pritam, Singh, Federalism, Nationalism and Development; India and Punjab Economy, London, Routledge, 2008, P.183. 
69 Ibid, p. 4. 
71 Ibid.
Muslims have not supported the Muslim League, Pakistan could never have come into existence”.

Punjab was under the rule of Unionist Party which was a cross communal alliance of Muslim, Hindus and Sikhs. As Punjab was an agrarian region and interests of landed class were well protected by the Unionists. This party had its base in rural Punjab and was dominated by feudals such as Tiwanas, Mumdots and Daultanas. Muslim League was not in a position in Punjab to win without making adjustments with Unionists. Dr. Muhammad Waseem writes that the Muslim members of this party were a challenge for Muslim League. Because this region was vital for Muslim League demand for Pakistan so Muhammad Ali Jinnah tried to bring these political grouping under the banner of Muslim League but he was refused by Mian Fazl-i-Hussain and Jinnah was so disappointed that he left Punjab by saying that he would never come back again as it was a hope less place. Even Punjab Muslim League under the leadership of Sir Muhammad Shafi opposed Muhammad Ali Jinnha over the issue of Simon Commission and Sir Shafi parted his way. It was another setback for central command of Muslim League. There were two reasons of the success of Muslim League in Punjab. The first reason was death of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain in 1936 which removed the last hurdle and Mohammad Ali Jinnah was successful to bring Punjab in to his control. Sikandar Hayat the successor of Fazl-i-Hussain signed an agreement with Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1937 known as Sikandar Jinnah Pact. The objective of signing this Pact was to keep Muslim League’s influence out of Punjab but actually it provided

---

72 Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement, the Growth of the Muslim League in North-West and North-East India 1937-47*, op.cit., p.82.
73 Unionist Party was founded by Maian Fazl-i-Hussain and Chotu Ram in 1923.
75 Muhammad Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, op.cit, p. 6.7
77 Ayesha, Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman*, op.cit., p. 84.
an opportunity to penetrate in the province. This was a time when Allama Muhammad Iqbal was appointed as a new President of Punjab Muslim League.\textsuperscript{78} Another reason which became a cause of Muslim League’s success in Punjab during war period was that as Punjab being the biggest recruitment centre for British Indian Army in United India and with the 60 percent strength in army officers and 70 percent in other ranks was directly affected by the Second World War.\textsuperscript{79} A large number of Punjabi soldiers died during the War and many returned handicapped and even were not allotted agricultural lands in the canal colonies.\textsuperscript{80} It created a sense of uneasiness in Punjab and as Unionists were helping the British government so their popularity started to decline which helped Muslim League to make foot hold in the province and finally Mohammad Ali Jinnah was able to have an understanding with Sikandar Hayat and annual session of Muslim League was held in Lahore, Punjab in March 1940 where historic resolution was passed demanding a separate country for Muslims of Sub-Continent based on two Nation Theory.\textsuperscript{81}

Even in 1942, the Sikander Hayat was trying to probe the possibility of a deal with the congress. But finally Muslim League was successful in election of 1946 while securing 75 seats against the Unionist who captured only 13 seats.\textsuperscript{82}

3.5 Sindh

Sindh is the southern province of Pakistan which was conquered in 1843\textsuperscript{83} by Sir Charles Napier. Four Year after its annexation, it lost its independent status and became a part of

\textsuperscript{78} Muhammad Waseem, \textit{Politics and the State in Pakistan}, op.cit., pp. 67-68.

\textsuperscript{79} Tahir Amin, \textit{Ethno National Movements of Pakistan, Domestic and International Factors}, op.cit., p.76.


\textsuperscript{81} It means that Muslims and Hindus were two separate nations and they should have separate states of their own.

\textsuperscript{82} Muhammad Waseem, \textit{Politics and the State in Pakistan}, op.cit., p. 68.

\textsuperscript{83} Tariq Rahman, \textit{Language and Politics in Pakistan}, op.cit., p.102.
Bombay presidency. But before this, Sindh was an independent sovereign state under the Talpurs who had resisted against British rule and wanted to get independence. Majority population of the province was Muslim and their strength was in rural areas. Hindus constituted 27 percent but they were mostly settled in urban areas of the province. So 64 percent of the urban population was Hindus. Karachi contained equal number of Hindus and Muslims in 1920 but due to trade and commercial activities the Hindu population increased. Though the Muslims were 70 percent of the total population, but their economic and political conditions were not better. As Sarah Ansari writes that Sindhi Muslims were poor and literacy rate was low which restricted their entry in state employment sector. In 1895, there was no Muslim magistrate in Sindh. Even in 1947 there was only Muslim official in Sindh Secretariat. As compared to Muslims, Hindus share was 80 percent in higher rank of judiciary. This was the reason that they held only 34 seats out of the total 60 in the assembly. Sindh was a multilingual province whose thirty percent population came from other areas and spoke different languages. As Sarah Ansari says that it “had been a centre of immigration from other areas and during inter-Wars period the city of Karachi was crowded by Gujratis and even Gujrati became a lingua Franca of the city”.

According to Census of 1941, twenty three percent of the Muslim population was Baluchis who migrated from Balochistan to Sindh.  

---

87 Sarah Ansari, op.cit., p.34.  
89 Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement, the Growth of the Muslim League in North-West and North-East India 1937-47*, op.cit., p.35.  
90 Languages in Sindh were Sindhi, Balochi, Punjabi, Gujrati and etc.  
92 Ian Talbot, op.cit., p.35.
Though Sindh was a part of Bombay presidency but it was a peripheral region of Bombay. From 1917 onward there emerged a movement for provincial autonomy (to separate Sindh from Bombay presidency) and there was slogan of Sindh for Sindhis or “Sindhu Desh” during this period. This is interesting to note that this demand was first raised not by Sindhi Muslims but from a Karachi based economically well off Hindu trader and politician Harchandra Vishindas in 1913.

Initially Congress was in favor of separation of Sindh from Bombay presidency but in 1924, it backed out. From 1925 onward, the separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency came on the agenda of All India Muslim League and after this it has been a part of all schemes of Muslim League. The reason of this demand is quite obvious because Sindh being a Muslim majority province was an important region in terms of population and economic resources after Punjab. But till 1937, though Muslim League was present in the province but its organization and popular support was very weak and party was not able to secure a single seat on its ticket in 1937 elections. But as Muslim League was aware of its importance so it changed its policy from 1938 to onward to muster popular support in the area. Muslim League had compromised with Hindu independent Union called Nationalist Party and Bandeh Ali as Chief Minister. It also realized that it was not possible to win without the support of the masses and those power holders like Peers, Feudals and Syeds, who were very influential particularly in the rural

94 Sarah Ansari, Life after Partition, Migration, Community, and Strife in Sindh (1947-1962, op.cit., p.35.
96 Tahir Amin, Ethno National Movements of Pakistan, Domestic and International Factors, opcit., p.70.
97 Ian Talbot, Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement, the Growth of the Muslim League in North-West and North-East India 1937-47, op.cit., p.38.
98 Ibid.
99 There were many parties in Sindh like Sidh Azad Party of Abdul Majid Sindhi, Sindh Muslim Party of Ghulam Hussain Hidatat ullah except Congress, Ayesha Jalal,op.cit.,, p.28.
100 Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi was the one to reorganize Muslim League in Sindh after 1937.
population of the area.\textsuperscript{101} Muslim League recognized this fact in its Annual Report of 1943-44. “We should require years to create political consciousness among Muslim masses in the province, where on account of long distances, scattered villages, illiteracy and local influence; it is rather difficult to easily approach the people”.\textsuperscript{102} Muslim League as a party had to work hard in this province to win the hearts of people and this was the result of League's efforts that it secured 99 percent of Muslim seats in the election of 1946.\textsuperscript{103}

But it did not mean that Sindhi leaders were ardent supporters of Muslim League. Like G.M. Syed, President of Sindh Muslim League who just joined the party in 1938, was an ardent supporter of provincial autonomy. He had conflict with the party on the issue of agrarian reforms and parted his ways in 1945\textsuperscript{104} and became a supporter of independent Sindh. His point of view was that Congress and Muslim League had over ambitious attitudes and Sindh should be left on its own. But Muslim League was on the move in Sindh after 1940 of its aggressive campaign for Pakistan which bore fruits in 1943 when Sindh Assembly passed a resolution for independent national states for the Muslim majority areas by twenty four votes against three.\textsuperscript{105} But Allah Baksh, a supporter and member of all India Congress was not included in it.\textsuperscript{106} Ghulam Hussain, the Chief Minister of Sindh was also opposed to Lahore Resolution. He criticized the Muslim League's policies and labeled it a highly unitary and dictatorial party. When Cabinet Mission was

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{101} See for details Adeel Khan and Muhammad Waseem.
\textsuperscript{102} Annual Report of Sindh Provincial Muslim League SHC, 1943-4.4
\textsuperscript{103} Tahir Amin, \textit{Ethno National Movements of Pakistan, Domestic and International Factors}, op.cit., p.74.
\textsuperscript{104} Tahir Amin, opcit., p.70.
\textsuperscript{105} It was said in the resolution that no constitution shall be acceptable that will place Muslims under a Central Government accounted by another nation. Proceeding of the said legislation Assembly, official report, vol. Xvii, No.6, 3 March 1943 pp 17-43, Ayesha jalal, op.cit., p.110.
\end{flushleft}
considering the future constitutional formula in 1946, he asked the Mission on 4\textsuperscript{th} April to keep All India politics away from provinces particularly Sindh.\textsuperscript{107}

After carefully analyzing the pre partition situation in Muslim Majority Provinces it is clear that strong ethnic based orientation and sentiments were present and political elites of these Muslim majority areas were conscious to retain their separate identity and were not ready to accept any constitutional formula which might bring them under central command. Even there were elements within Muslim League who were reluctant to sign the draft resolution put forward by Sikander Hayat. And many political elites reacted differently and there were voices against it at the stage. Sindh and NWFP were not in favor to be in a zone with Punjab. So the Resolution contained word that constituent units would be autonomous and sovereign.\textsuperscript{108} The purpose of this act was to remove the fear of domination of and centralization of these provinces. Then the question arises as David Page writes in “Prelude to Partition”\textsuperscript{109} that what brought these conflicting interests and diverse identities to join the scheme of Pakistan. It was definitely the Charisma of Mohammad Ali Jinnah that Muslim League though poorly organized and internally divided was able to win the support of these Muslim Majority provinces. The second reason is more convincing as compare to first one. Actually regional elites did not accept the centralized agenda of all India Congress and League’s future scheme of Pakistan was more appealing and convincing to them which were clearly exhibited in Lahore Resolution 1940. In this Resolution, it was clearly mentioned that geographically contagious units of Muslims Majority areas should be constituted with such territorial readjustments in to zones as many as may be necessary. It becomes clear after analyzing the pre partition condition and politics of Muslims Majority areas

\textsuperscript{107} Ayesha Jalal,op.cit.,p.180.
\textsuperscript{108} For details of Lahore Resolution, see Appendix No. One.
\textsuperscript{109} David Page, \textit{Prelude to Partition}, op.cit., p. ix.
that ethnic and regional elites had a dominant role in local politics and there was a desire to retain their autonomy in the future constitutional arrangements. Muslim League offered them this opportunity in Lahore Resolution 1940 and they were hoping a political system providing them maximum political autonomy.
CHAPTER NO. 4

ETHNICITY AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN 1947-1973

Pakistan came into existence on 14\textsuperscript{th} August, 1947. Since its inception the country started efforts of rehabilitation and nation building. The main problems were settlement of refugees and constitution making. It has been discussed in the previous chapter that all Muslims of India had been demanding self rule from the British Government. Muslim League, the only major party of Muslims in the Sub Continent fought a long struggle to achieve its destination. Muslims were in majority in Bengal, Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Balochistan. Muslim League was initially established by the Muslims of Minority provinces and it had to go a long way to find its roots in majority provinces. There were already strong ethnic based parties particularly in Punjab and NWFP where Unionists and Red Shirts were in strong hold. The Muslim League’s idea of future Pakistan as envisaged in Lahore Resolution of 1940 was more appealing to Muslim Majority Provinces as it provided a scheme of autonomous and sovereign units as compare to Congress which believed on a centralized system of government. Muslim League few years after passing the Lahore Resolution changed the word ‘states’ in a meeting in 1946. But till that time, the movement of Pakistan was in full swing and finally the Muslims of Sub Continent were able to achieve a country of their own. The task ahead for Muslim League was not easy. It had to fulfill the demands and wishes of the people and face certain hardships. This chapter is a detailed study of the process of political development and rise of ethnic conflict in Pakistan from post partition period to break up of the country. The chapter provides an analytical examination to understand the dilemma of failure of democracy and find its reciprocal relationship with the ethnic plurality in Pakistan.
All those areas and regions of the Sub Continent which comprised Pakistan were mostly backwards and under developed. It is already discussed in the previous chapter that Balochistan, NWFP, Eastern Bengal and Southern parts of Punjab were less developed, less educated, economically poor and ethnically diverse. So Pakistan had to face daunted problems since its inception.\(^1\) As Professor Francis Robinson says that Pakistan inherited two things at the time of partition of Sub-Continent, The first one was cultivated agricultural land and the second, a trained and strong army.\(^2\) According to Paul Titus, though “Pakistan inherited developed military and administrative institutions but its political institutions were less developed and less representative”.\(^3\)

Muhammad Waseem writes that “provinces and areas that comprised Pakistan were under developed in terms of representative character of their legislatures and assemblies.”\(^4\) Like in Punjab Provincial Assembly, the official members were more than non officials in British Rule as compare to Calcutta, Bombay and Utter Pardesh. The Punjab was annexed by British after one century as compare to other regions of Sub Continent and British rulers relied mostly on bureaucracy to run the system. NWFP became separate province in 1901 and Sindh was separated from Bombay in 1930, only 11 years before independence. As far as Balochistan is concerned, it got status of a province twenty three years after independences. So these areas had

---


\(^2\)An interview with Professor Francis Robinson, Department of History, University of Royal Holloway, Surrey, U.K., in Multan, Pakistan.

\(^3\)Paul Titus, op.cit, p.755.

little political experience which could not establish democratic institutions and culture in Pakistan.\(^5\)

Sarkar and Chattopadhey describe two crucial problems which Pakistan had to face since its inception. The first problem was the geographical separation of the two wings of country and the second was lack of political unity in the new state.\(^6\) It has been discussed in the last chapter that these areas were ethnically diverse and ethnic and regional elements were even actively in favor of a separate or autonomous state of their own. So it is evident that the main issue for decision makers was to create consensus to accommodate these divergent interest in the country which was only possible by taking serious efforts to ensure unity through a participatory democracy as was assured in the Lahore Resolution of 1940. But unfortunately the dream did not come true. Pakistan went through a series of political crises, constitutional instability, Martial Law regimes and eventually separation of her Eastern Wing.

In the early years of independence, majority ruling party Muslim League could not take political measures which were necessary for democratic development. There are many reasons of this failure of Muslim League. The foremost was to frame the constitution, (as we know the Government of India Act 1935 was implemented as an interim constitution with some modifications) and establish democratic institutions. This was a gigantic task and required skill, patience and democratic spirit, but Muslim League could not be able to accommodate diverging interests. Tahir Amin describes three weaknesses which were inherited by Pakistan during independence movement and which affected the later political and constitutional developments

---

5 Ibid.
in Pakistan. The most important weakness was that Muslim League did not have any future agenda on what kind of nation is to be built. The educated middle class was deeply divided rather to build a secular nation state on the western style or to construct an Islamic state. A small minority wanted to establish socialist system in the country. Second weakness according to him was that Muslim League did not devise any effective mechanism for satisfying regional claims within the party like issue of centralization of power in the organizational structure of the Muslim League and the issue of language was also unresolved. Third weakness was the lack of organizational structure. Tahir Amin says that Muslim League emerged as a party shortly before the creation of Pakistan and became a movement for independence for the Muslims of Sub Continent. It started to organize itself as a political party as late as 1940s, almost two decades after All India Congress. The Party depended on Charismatic leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Even after the partition, it did not make any efforts to organize itself and in the absence of National Elections party lost its popularity. Particularly in Sindh, Balochistan and N.W.F.P, its organization was very weak. It relied on some factors of traditional and landed elites and most of them had their own regional aspirations. The need for the Muslim League was to transform its anti Colonial separatist nationalism to Pakistani nationalism and to work as a political party. This was a gigantic task but it was complicated by two factors. First, the Muslim majority provinces did not unqualified support for the Muslim League. Second Muslim League’s weak organization

---

9 Ibid, p. 68.
and Muhammad Ali Jinnah’s death soon after the partition could not develop a mature political culture required for management of diverse ethnic interests.\textsuperscript{10}

4.1. Ethnicity and Democracy in Post Partition Era

As it has been discussed in the third chapter that Red Shirts in NWFP under the Leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan were not in favor to join Pakistan and they had demanded to the British Government to declare NWFP an independent country called Pashtoonistan. Ghaffar khan was of the view that Pashtoons are a separate nation and Pashtoonistan was initially defined as an independent state for Pashtoons. After independence, he changed his stance from demanding independence to political autonomy. On 4th September 1947, he said that he would “accept a loose confederation of the six settled districts of the North West Frontier Province with Pakistan which may wish to join the new state of their free will”. He suggested that Federal Government should have three powers of defense, external affairs and communication and rest of the powers should be given to the confederating units.\textsuperscript{11}

After the creation of Pakistan, Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo of Balochistan accepted to have friendly relations with Pakistan in the form of confederation. As Selig Harrison quotes that Bizenjo said that he did not “want to create hurdles for the newly elected state and was ready to co operate with the Central Government if it respected the autonomy and sovereignty of Baloch people.” He expressed his desire that Central Government of Pakistan should retain the powers of defense, external affairs and communications. He also reiterated his will not to be amalgamated with Pakistan. At the same time he threatened the central government that this co operation would be conditional and if their demands were not met then every Baloch would start

\textsuperscript{11} D.G. Tandulkar, Abdul Ghaffar Khan; Faith is a Battle, Bombay, Popular Parakashan, 1967, pp. 439-451.
fighting for their freedom. This was a clear message that Balochis were looking forward to a political system where they could enjoy maximum autonomy. It was not difficult to provide maximum provincial autonomy to units where they would be able to take care of their own matters. It is evident that Baloch leaders showed a sign of change in their stance as Bizenjo, who before the partition was advocating for an independent Balochistan, but after independence he showed his willingness to accept the political system providing maximum autonomy for units in a democratic set up. But this did not happen and situation started deteriorating in Balochistan as in April 1948, the Pakistan army entered in Kalat and forced the Khan of Kalat to sign the treaty of accession. This action furiated Khan’s Brother Abdul Karim Khan who declared an armed revolt against Central Government of Pakistan. He was also seeking to get support from Afghanistan but Bizenjo and Khan of Kalat did not favor his idea and finally Abdul Karim was arrested.

During 1947 to 1955, the Balochistan enjoyed the same status as during the Colonial Period. Mohammad Ali Jinnah wanted to start reforms in Balochistan and he had the idea to reach an arrangement with Baloch leaders before framing the constitution of Pakistan. He expressed his desire to put the people responsible and be a part of responsibilities in the administration. He constituted a Governor General Advisory Council in Balochistan until the promulgation of a constitution. It was a nominated body and its responsibility was to examine all plans for future economic, political and social schemes to submit to Governor General. In the same way after the death of Quaid-e-Azam, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan announced the

---

15 Ibid, p. 56.
government intention to bring reforms in Balochistan and a reform committee was setup for the purpose. The Committee presented its report in November 17, 1951, to Constituent Assembly and recommended to form Balochistan a Governor’s Province without disturbing the existing Sardari System. But no action was taken by government and five months after the submission of report in April 12, 1952, Central Government rather took a decision against the report and merged four states of kalat, Makran, Kharan and Las Bela into the “Balochistan State Union (BSU)”.

4.1.1. Ascendancy of Ethnicity in Sindh

Sindh was a province where Muslim league had a Ministry at the time of partition. Sindh Muslim league passed a resolution in favor of a separate state for Muslims of Sub Continent. It was a multi ethnic province with a majority of Muslims population. The Partition of Sub continent was followed by a great migration from both sides of the borders. Majority of Muslim population was already living in those areas comprising Pakistan. Out of one billion Muslims in Sub Continent sixty million were to live in Pakistan and seventeen million Muslims moved from Muslim Minority provinces and Eastern Punjab to Pakistan. Almost 73 percent of Punjabi migrants were settled in West Punjab and did not find any difficulty in assimilation in west Punjab as they shared language and culture with the local population. The small number

---

17 Ibid, p. 152.
20 But according to Bennet Jones, there is no reliable figure for the number of people who fled Pakistan during and after partition. Ayub Khan in his auto biography *Friends Not Master* has given an estimate of 9 million migrants coming to Pakistan. For details, see Owen Bennett Jones, *Pakistan; Eye of the Storm*, Lahore, Vanguard Books, 2002, p.93.
of Urdu Speakers who settled in Punjab was in dispersed groups and local community easily accepted them.\(^{22}\)

But the case of Sindh was totally different. The demographic change in the province was dramatic. The province received only 20\(^{23}\) of immigrants. Most of them were from Muslim Minority Provinces as United Province, Bihar, Central Province, and Hyderabad Deccan\(^{24}\). They were settled in urban areas of Sindh, majority in Karachi and Hyderabad because they filled the vacuum of Hindu population who were from business or commercial class and moved to India as a result of partition.\(^{25}\) This demographic change accelerated the urban rural divide in Sindh Province. By 1951, the total number of refugees in Sindh was 540,000 by whom 64 percent were urban and 38 percent of the population was rural.\(^{26}\) Initially the immigrants found no difficulty and they were welcomed by local community\(^{27}\) but it became an issue in Pakistani politics with the passage of time when a gulf was widened between Sindhis and non Sindhis due to number of reasons.

\section*{4.1.2. Centre Sindh Controversy and Capital Issue}

The first dispute occurred between Central Government and Sindh Provincial Government over the declaration of Karachi as a Capital on 27 July, 1948 which affected future relationship of Mohajirs and Sindhis. Ayub Kehoro, the chief minister of Sindh was against the decision of separation of Karachi as a capital and openly opposed it. G.M. Syed regarded

\begin{itemize}
  \item \(^{23}\) Stephen Cohen, \textit{The Idea of Pakistan}, op.cit., p. 211.
  \item \(^{24}\) Afak Hayder, \textit{The Mohajirs in Sindh; A Critical Essay in Contemporary Problems of Pakistan}, op.cit., p.110.
  \item \(^{27}\) Afak Hayder, op.cit, p.110.
\end{itemize}
separation of Karachi from the province as a colonization of Sindh by Mohajars.\textsuperscript{28} Karachi was an industrialized city, a centre of all trade and commercial activities so its separation was taken as a conspiracy against Sindhis. On the other side, Jinnah's point of view was that it was already decided even before the Partition so he would keep the Sindh government to keep its promise.\textsuperscript{29} Another factor which created tension during early period was the fear of Sindhi population that they are being out numbered with the arrival of non Sindhis because there were 87 percent Sindhis in the province and this numbers was reduced to 67 percent by 1951.\textsuperscript{30} In Karachi, Urdu Speakers were 58 percent and Sindhis only 14 percent of the total population. In Hyderabad, Urdu Speaking population reached by 66 percent.\textsuperscript{31} The seeds of mistrust and conflict between Sindhis and non Sindhis were sown in 1950s and early 1960s, when One Unit Scheme was implemented. Major rift came when Ayub Khan granted agricultural land to senior military and civil bureaucrats who were mostly Punjabis, Mohajirs and Pathan as there were in hold in civil military bureaucracy, There was the time when local Sindhis felt being ‘Red Indianized’ in their home land.\textsuperscript{32}

4.1.3. Constitution Making and Centre Province Relations

The first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was composed of 74 members. Initially there were 64 members which were a part of Central Constituent Assembly in undivided India. The states of Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Balochistan and Tribal areas were given additional seats which raised its membership.

\textsuperscript{28} Owen Bennet Jones, \textit{Pakistan; Eye of the Storm}, op.cit., p.114.
\textsuperscript{29} Choudhry Muhammad Ali, \textit{The Emergence of Pakistan} (4\textsuperscript{th} impression), Lahore, Research Society of Pakistan, 1983, p.332.
\textsuperscript{31} Tariq Rehman, \textit{Language and Politics in Pakistan} (3\textsuperscript{rd} impression), Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2003, p.111.
The Government of India Act 1935 was adopted as an interim constitution to run the system of the country. This constitution provided a federal system with parliamentary form of government. The Federation was composed of four provinces, Bengal, Punjab, Sindh and NWFP. There were also included Balochistan and any other areas which might be included in the federation in future. As country was declared federation so powers were divided in the interim constitution to fulfill the requirements of a federation. There were three lists of powers described in the interim constitution but more weightage was given to the central government. There was another clause which made Centre more powerful. This was the proclamation of emergency in the country. In case of this proclamation, the Federal Legislature was supposed to acquire all powers of provincial legislature even mentioned in the provincial list. This proclamation was supposed to stay up to six months and it was totally in the jurisdiction of governor general. Under section 92A, the governor general could have declared emergency. This clause definitely was a provision to put limitations on provincial autonomy. This power was exercised by Governor General in Pakistan repeatedly and constitutional machinery was suspended and central authority was imposed in Punjab, Sindh and East Bengal many times.33

4.1.4. Objective Resolution

A step forward in the constitution making was objective resolution which was passed on 12 March, 1949 by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. This resolution was presented by Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and its purpose was to lay the foundations of constitution making. A committee was also set up by the Assembly to draft the proposal of the constitution in light of Objective Resolution. This committee was called Basic Principle’s Committee (BPC)

and it established three sub committees. First report of Basic Principle Committee was submitted in December 1952. The report of Committee was not complete and it did not describe the composition and size of the lower house, the House of People but it mentioned that House of Units would provide equal representation to all units of the Federation. Another clause of committee was to declare Urdu a national language. This was an interim report but it created political uproar particularly in East Bengal. The Bengalis felt that if accepted, the report would reduce Bengalis numerical majority into a minority. Bengali reaction on this report was well organized. A committee of Action for Democratic Federation was formed in the first week of October 1950. This committee drafted an alternative constitutional proposal for Pakistan. As Khawaja Alqama writes that Bengali Muslims Leaguers were in a state of confusion as they did not want to annoy their Bengali people and at the same time they had to cooperate with the Central Government of Liaquat Ali Khan. “They expressed their views against the report but with caution because they were in no mood to rock the already fragile boat of their party.”

They urged the Prime Minister to reconsider this report.

After the strong opposition, Basic Principles Committee started to reconsider it. Government’s decision to withdraw the report was a triumph for the Bengalis. In the meantime, Pakistan’s politics took a tragic turn by the assassination of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan on October 16, 1951. Liaquat Ali Khan was a close associate of Mohammad Ali Jinnah and was respected in the party and government circles. His death proved another setback in Pakistan’s constitutional and political history. Khawaja Nazimuddin, the Governor General became Prime

---

34 Subcommittee on federal and provincial distribution of powers, subcommittee on franchise, subcommittee on the judiciary,
35 For details see, part III chapter second of Basic Principles Committee report.
37 G.W. Choudhary, Democracy in Pakistan, opcit., p.39.
Minister immediately after his assassination. He was a man of great political experience and belonged to East Pakistan. So there were hopes that he would accomplish the task of constitution making and nation building.  

4.1.5. Language Controversy and Bengali Nationalism

The language played a very important role in Pakistan movement. It also left an impact on post independence politics. The first controversy occurred between different communities over the issue of language and Centre Province relations were soured when Urdu was declared national language. It stirred anxiety among Bengalis and finally Muslim League was deserted in East Pakistan. The declaration of Urdu as a National Language also proved a crucial factor to strengthen Bengali Nationalism. Before partition the language of masses in East Pakistan was Bengali but political elites preferred Urdu. On the issue of language, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali khan said in March 1948, “Pakistan is a Muslim state and it must have its own lingua franca, the language of the Muslim nation…….. it is necessary for a nation to have one language and that language can only be Urdu and no other language.” As estimates show that in 1951 Urdu was the mother language of 3.7 percent of Pakistanis. In West Pakistan, 7.5 percent population was Urdu speaking and as far as Sindh was concerned, it was the language of 20 percent of the total population. And as in the early years of Pakistan the bureaucracy was mostly from Urdu speaking community, so it became the language of privileged class, and local languages could not get importance. That was the reason that other communities felt deprived and marginalized. Central Government also played a role to strength separatist elements by centralizing power. For

41 Feroz Ahmad, *Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan*, op.cit., p.49.
42 Ibid, p.50.
example when Muslim League was defeated in by Elections in March 1949, the Dhaka Provincial Government did not hold any elections for provincial assembly and thirty four seats were vacant in Bengal Assembly till 1954.\textsuperscript{43} This move was definitely against the democratic norms and it was clear that Central Government was not willing to respect opposition in the country. Khawaja Alqama writes that Jinnah despite being a powerful Governor General did not impose his decision to declare Urdu a national language and he left this issue to be decided in the Constituent Assembly and reality is that Bengalis were in Majority in Assembly at that time and Muslim League had enjoyed monopoly till 1953.\textsuperscript{44}

4.1.6. Second Report of the BPC

Second report of the Basic Principles Committee was presented in the Constituent Assembly on 22 December 1952. According to that draft, the parliament was bicameral with a lower house consisting of members from the two wings on population basis and upper house equally representing the units. The seats were divided as Punjab 27, Sindh 8, NWFP 6, and Tribal Areas 5. Bahawalpur and Khair Pur states got 4 and two seats respectively. Balochistan and Balochi states were allocated 2 seats to each and Capital was allocated 4 seats.\textsuperscript{45} House of people was to consist of four hundred members, two hundred to Eastern Wing and two hundred to Western Wing. The seats of West Pakistan were allocated as below.

\textsuperscript{43} Muhammad Waseem, \textit{Politics and State in Pakistan}, op.cit., p.256.
\textsuperscript{44} Khawaja Alqama, \textit{Bengali Elite Perceptions of Pakistan; The Road to Disillusionment, Uneven Development or Ethnicity?}, op.cit.,p.139.
\textsuperscript{45} G.W. Chaudhary, op.cit., p. 73.
Table No. 4.1
Allocation of Seats as in BPC Report 1952

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province Name</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Province Name</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Khair Pur</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Balochistan states</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This draft created parity between the both of the wings but this time the reaction came from Punjab. The main opposition was of the opinion that constitutional formula would establish permanent domination of one province. Punjab was demanding the representation in the lower house on the basis of population. But other provinces in West Pakistan were agreed on this allocation. A dead lock occurred over the issue of representation and process of constitution formulation was delayed. In the meantime, situation took a new turn and Anti Ahmadi Movement created law and order disturbances. Government had to call Army to restore the situation and this was the first time when military got involved in the civilian affairs. This event left two drastic impacts on the political history of Pakistan. The first step was the military involvement in political matters and second dissolution of representative government by head of the state as, ministary of Khawaja Nazimuddin was dismissed by Ghulam Mohammad on April 17th on the grounds that Ministry had been unable to cope with the deteriorating situation the country. This decision of Governor General came in only few days after the Assembly passed the budget which was a clear indication that government of Khawaja Nazimuddin enjoyed support in the Constituent Assembly. The new man came in was Mohammad Ali Bogra.

46 Ibid, p.73.
4.1.7. One Unit and Provincial Concerns

The Central Government called a meeting of provincial chief ministers in Karachi in October 1954 to consider the unification of West Pakistan scheme. The main idea behind the scheme was to solve the issue of parity among two wings of the country to overcome the hurdles in the way of constitution making. On November 22, 1954 Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra proposed this plan in second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. According to One Unit formula, provinces of Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, Balochistan, six Princely States, Frontier areas and special tribal areas were to merge into One Unit which was called West Pakistan. The One Unit was designed to create parity between two wings of Pakistan to solve the issue of representation in the future constitution but it proved a ‘crushing blow’ to the demands of provincial autonomy by smaller provinces. These provinces were already demanding maximum political autonomy as promised in the historic Lahore Resolution. As this idea was considered a ‘brain child ‘of Punjabi politician Mumtaz Daultana, so it was considered a move of Punjab to establish dominance over other provinces and East Pakistan took it as a denial of its numerical strength. This act was not welcomed by other provinces and they took it as an act to eliminate their identity. It intensified the rifts and grievances among smaller provinces and severe reaction came in the front in Baluchistan, Sindh and NWFP. Abdul Sattar Peerzada, Chief Minister of Sindh opposed this plan and called a meeting with other Sindhi leaders to discuss the issue. All of them rejected One Unit plan and conveyed their decision to the Central Government. As Sarah Ansari writes that though Peerzada was already trying to preserve provincial status of Sindh in 1954 and as a Chief Minster 74 members of Provincial Assembly supported his plan. In the

---

49 Iftikhar H. Malik, State and Civil Society in Pakistan, op.cit., p.206.
51 Yunus Samad, A Nation in Turmoil; Nationalism and Ethnicity in Pakistan (1937-1958), op.cit., p.194.
52 The main leaders were G.M Syed, Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, and Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur.
meantime, Governor Nawab Mamdot replaced him by Ayub Khuro. Interestingly, Khuro’s disqualification by PRODA was just ended. Sindh Muslim League was also against the Merger of province. Sindh Awami Mahaz of G.M. Syed also demanded maximum autonomy but Khuro53 was able to pass the resolution in favor of One Unit on 11 December, 1954 by 100 to 4 votes in favor. 54

In Balochistan, the khan of kalat, Quetta municipality and some tribal chiefs initially agreed to the plan but nationalist leadership rejected it and called it a conspiracy against Baloch autonomy55 Princes Adbul Karim who was released from prison demanded a unified Balochistan province. 56 This clearly shows the flexibility in his attitude from independent Balochistan to Balochistan province in Federation of Pakistan but central government did not care the will and wishes of Baloch people and act was implemented. After this, the situation deteriorated in the area and Central Government had to send troops in kalat to arrest Abdul karim. So eventually a guerrilla war was started in Balochistan. 57

NWFP also rejected this scheme and its chief minister criticized it. Though Punjab was charged by other provinces in this regard but the reality is that Chief Minister of Punjab Feroz Khan Noon was against this scheme. 58 But the Central Government did not pay any concern to the demands of the people and grievances were intensified. As Iftikhar H. Malik says that “the

53 Ayub khuro was the chief minister of Sindh when he opposed separation of Karachi from Sindh in 1947 and this time his behavior was different.
54 Sarah Ansari, op.cit., p. 15.
56 Sleiq Harrison, In Afghanistan’s Shadow, Baluch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations, op.cit., p. 27.
57 H. P. Chottopadhayay, op.cit, p. 887.
58 Iftikhar H. Malik, State and Civil Society in Pakistan, opcit., p. 206.
official preference for a unitary, centralist state through maintenance of India Act 1935 and One Unit scheme created deep feeling of alienation among smaller provinces”.

The role of Bureaucracy even can not be denied in the ethnic dilemma of Pakistan. Bureaucracy became very influential and powerful during the early years of Pakistan. In the absence of stable political system and mature political leadership bureaucracy started to take interest in political affairs. Like military the bureaucracy was an organized and trained institution during Colonial Period. Chaudhary Muhammad Ali was the powerful Secretary General in Pakistan from 1947 to 1951. Ghulam Muhammad and Iskandar Mirza were top bureaucrats who captured political power from 1951to 1956. The elected Politicians were dependent on local bureaucracy for various kinds of patronage.

4.2. Military, Authoritarianism and Ethnicization

On October 8, 1958 Ayub Khan, the C-in-C of Pakistan army imposed first country wide Martial Law and removed Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon. Few days after, he installed himself as a President of Pakistan by removing Sikander Mirza.

Army started to take interest in civilian affairs soon after independence and young military officers made an attempt to over throw the government of Liaquat Ali Khan which was quashed by army chief Ayub Khan. This was the first time when military was exposed to governmental affairs. Second time when military got an opportunity to directly participate in governmental affairs was appointment of Ayub Khan as a defense minister even holding the title of Chief of Army Staff. Ayub Khan before taking power was of the view that military should stay away from politics. He issued an order to urge army to keep out of politics in January 1951.

59 Ibid.
60 Manzoor Ahmed and Khalida Ghaus, Pakistan, Prospect and Perception, op.cit., p. 19.
He said “we are the servants of Pakistan and as such servants of any party that the people put in power.” Then a time came when he himself took the reign of the country and imposed first country wide Martial Law\textsuperscript{61} even though the military was involved indirectly before the coup d’état of October 1958.\textsuperscript{62}

Ayub regime presented the culmination of the process of the ascendency of the military as a paramount force in Pakistan which had begun in the mid 1950s.\textsuperscript{63} After consolidating his power, Ayub Khan declared that his ultimate goal was to establish democracy in Pakistan but the kind of democracy the people could understand. He tried to find out methods to legitimize his regime. He tried to give an impression that army was not interested in Politics but it was the deteriorating situation of the country which forced military to save the country. First of all he introduced measures to eradicate corruption, black marketing, smuggling and other social evils like that. The second step was to ensure measures for economic development, industrialization and better standard of living of the masses. Third and last method was to trace out a political and constitutional frame work for country. Ayub Khan started to take initiative to fulfill his agenda of program. He fixed prices of consuming goods, tightened security at border to check smuggling. The economic conditions of East Pakistan were aggravated by illegal possession of foreign exchanges. Military authorities ordered to surrender the foreign exchange and total 40.6 million rupees were collected during this period. Rs. 240 million as a tax and 1340 million hidden wealth was detected. Military government also established large number of screening committees. On the recommendation of these committees; actions were taken against 1662 corrupt officials on the charges of misconduct and corruption. Total 823 officers were dismissed or compulsory

\textsuperscript{62} Iskandar Mirza, President of Pakistan was former Army Man and Civil Servant.
\textsuperscript{63} Feroz Ahmed, \textit{Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan}, op.cit, pp. 103-104.
retried. Rank of the 194 officers was reduced. 475 officers were denied from increment and warnings were issued to 162 officers. Another step was taken by Ayub Khan Government against politician and two orders called, Public Officers disqualification order (PODO), and Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO) were issued in 1959.

Ayub Khan appointed a Constitution Commission on 17<sup>th</sup> February, 1960 under the chairman ship of Justice Shahabuddin. The main responsibility assigned to Commission was to examine the failure of parliamentary form of government in Pakistan and to determine the nature and causes of its failure. The Commission also had to formulate the principles and recommendation for the new constitution of Pakistan. The Commission started its work in April 1960 and nine thousand copies of questionnaire were printed in English. Nineteen hundred copies of this questionnaire were translated in Urdu and Bengali and distributed directly to various organizations and prominent members of the public. It is important to note that this Commission was a nominated body by Chief Martial Law Administrator and even at that time the other provinces were neglected by not translating the questionnaire in their local languages to provide them an opportunity to participate in constitutional matter. The most important reason is that constitution provides foundations to the state and it should be drafted according to the will and wishes of the people and satisfy all its federating units. This was possible only through an elected body comprising of the public representative or otherwise the opinion was possible to be collected through referendum. Commission tried to have an access to the people and it was notified in the press that anyone interested to reply can apply for a questionnaire directly to the commission office at Lahore or to the office of local deputy commissioner. Total 16510 copies were sent to civil bureaucracy and 4,382 copies were issued directly by the Constitution

---

Commission. According to the results of Commission, 6269 replies were received.\textsuperscript{65} Commission also toured in East and West Pakistan and interviewed 565 persons in all. In its report, Commission identified different reasons of the failure of parliamentary system of government in Pakistan. Dr. Safdar Mahmood says that these causes can be grouped together with regard to the nature as follows:

1. “Lack of proper elections and defects in the late constitution.
2. Undue interference by the Heads of the State with ministers and political parties and by the Central Government with the functioning of the government in the provinces.
3. Lack of leadership resulting in lack of well organized and disciplined parties, the lack of character in the politicians and their undue interference in the administration.”\textsuperscript{66}

Commission also criticized the indirectly elected Constituent Assembly and delay in general elections. After analyzing the causes of failure of parliamentary form of government in Pakistan Commission submitted its report to the Central Government. The Constitution Commission recommended that only 21.3 percent respondents were in favor of parliamentary system in Pakistan and 29.3 percent wanted this system to be reformed. According to Commission 47.40 percent were in favor of presidential form of government. That was the reason commission recommended presidential form of government suitable for Pakistan. But it proposed the office of vice president along with system of checks and balances as adopted in American Constitution. Constitution Commission also proposed that President and vice president should not be from the same province to provide representation of both wings of the country. The federal system of government was proposed most suitable for a country like Pakistan. And 65.6\% of respondent were in favor of that system as compare to 34.5\% who favored

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid, p. 364.
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid, p. 367.
unitary system.\textsuperscript{67} One Unit was also favored by 88.4 percent people. Constitution Commission also rejected the view of weak centre as it according to commission was not in the benefit of the country and the same time commission rejected the official view presented by a delegation of Ayub Khan to assign extra powers to centre. Commission was of the view that it was in the best of the country to distribute powers among centre and provinces and assign three lists of powers federal, provincial and concurrent. Another suggestion given by commission to secure the safeguards of federation was to have bicameral legislative. But commission did not recommend equal powers to Senate and gave the power on money bills to National Assembly.\textsuperscript{68}

This report was submitted to President Ayub Khan in May 1961 who reviewed it and finalized in his cabinet meeting. Cabinet appointed a subcommittee under the chairman ship of Manzoor Qadir, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. This report was also examined by an administrative committee comprising Cabinet Secretary, the Additional Secretaries of East and West Pakistan. Finally, the proposals were reviewed in a conference of governors held in Rawalpindi from 24 to 31 October 1961. And finally the constitution was promulgated. This was purely a one man’s constitution and at all stages of its drafting only nominated persons were involved and there was no public participation.\textsuperscript{69} The constitution was highly centralized in character. Many recommendations of the Constitution Commission were ignored. According to the Constitution of 1962, President and National Assembly were supposed to be elected through indirect elections comprising of an electoral college of 80,000 B.D members. Another requisite of federal system is bicameral legislature which was also missing in the constitution. A country plural in character and having more than five ethnic groups in a country demanding full

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid, For details, ch. iv.
\textsuperscript{68} For details, report of Constitution Commission, ch. iv.
\textsuperscript{69} G. W. Choudhry, \textit{Democracy in Pakistan}, op.cit, p. 178.
autonomy was being run by undemocratically elected unicameral legislature.\textsuperscript{70} As far as the distribution of powers was concerned, Constitution of Ayub Khan provided only one list of Federal Powers and 49 items were on the list. Particularly most crucial powers were given to the central government. There were also provisions of emergency which increased the powers of the centre. Actually Ayub Khan was in favor of a strong centre and did not like the notion of provincial autonomy. The constitution he drafted was highly centralized in character which was not welcomed by political and ethnic elites of Pakistan. Another feature of the Constitution of 1962 which clearly exhibited his ambitions was that constitution did not mention the role of political parties. Political parties play a very vital role in democracy. They are the main agents of interest aggregation in the democratic political system. After the severe reaction and pressure from political circles, the clause was incorporated in the constitution by making an amendment. But despite of this, the performance of political parties remained very low in the presence of B.D. members. Muhammad Waseem comments that “the particular frame work grossly hampered the growth of electoral democracy in Pakistan.”\textsuperscript{71} Ayub Khan was so rigid in his views regarding a centralized political system that he even in his last speech emphasized that it was in the best interest of the country to have a strong centre.\textsuperscript{72}

4.3. **Centralization, Domination or Ethnic Nationalism**

East Pakistan felt a sense of deprivation and marginalization and kept complaining against it. Their point of view was that they had been exploited by western wing as they were not getting enough shares in economic resources. Even in the report of Constitution Commission, it was stated that there were grievances among East Pakistanis regarding the allocation of financial

\textsuperscript{70} See Article of the constitution of 1962 for details.
\textsuperscript{71} Muhammad Waseem, *Politics and State in Pakistan*, op.cit., p.20.
\textsuperscript{72} Bennet Owen Jones, *Pakistan; Eye of the Storm*, op.cit., p.110.
resources. According to Commission report, East Pakistanis provided information to the members of Commission that in 1948-49 and 1949-50, 8 crore 21 lacs were allocated to East Pakistan as against 13 crore given to West Pakistan and East Pakistan did not draw the allocated amount whereas West Pakistan utilized about 11 crore of her share. In 1950-51, 1951-52 and 1952-53, East Pakistan utilized all amount given to them but in 1953-54, 1954-55 and 1955-56, the Eastern Wing utilized its 50 percent share. In 1956-57, while 20 crore and 69 lacs were sanctioned but East Pakistan drew only 8 crore 47 lacs. In 1957-58, the amount utilized was little but higher. They blamed Central Government in delaying the financial sanctions in order to prevent the province utilizing the allocated amount. But the main reason was suggested that ministers were incapable to design schemes for utilizing of these amounts. It was also mentioned that development of North Bengal was badly neglected by the ruling party. The people of North Bengal even demanded to establish a separate province with the separate Governor. The table below shows the distribution of Central Governments revenue expenditures among East and West Pakistan.

---

73 For details, report of Constitution Commission, ch. iv.
TABLE NO. 4.2


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>E. Pakistan Rs.</th>
<th>E. Pakistan % of total</th>
<th>W. Pakistan Rs.</th>
<th>W. Pakistan % of total</th>
<th>Unallocatable Rs.</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revenue expenditure</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>995</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>including working expenses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of commercial department</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue expenditure</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1138</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>including working</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expenses of commercial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>department</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above shows that total revenue expenditures of commercial departments of West Pakistan were 45 percent as compare to East Pakistan which received 86 Crore. This amount was only 12 percent of the total revenue expenditures. It is a point to be noted that 43 percent of the revenue expenditures were not allocable. This is a clear indication that a province with majority population was receiving less money as compare to Western Wing. Another disparity reflected between East and West Wing was in per capita income which was an indication of economic marginalization of East Pakistan. The table below shows disparity of per capita income between East and West Pakistan.

---

The table above very clearly reveals that disparity of per capita income between East and West Pakistan rose from 32 percent to 61 percent during 1950-60 to 1969-70. While the difference between the years 1964-65 to 1969-70 was 26 percent. This table describes the true picture of income disparity between both wings of the country. The following table shows the representation of East and West Pakistan in Central Superior Services.

---

**TABLE NO. 4.3**

*Per capita GDP in East and West Pakistan (1959/60) Constant Prices in Rs.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Per capita GDP East</th>
<th>Per capita GDP West</th>
<th>East-West Disparity Ratio</th>
<th>Disparity index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1959-60</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-64</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

TABLE NO. 4.4

East and West Pakistan Representation in CSP (1959-67)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total no. of officers</th>
<th>W.Pakistan total</th>
<th>W.Pakistan % of total</th>
<th>E.Pakistan total</th>
<th>E.Pakistan % of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>67.7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>41.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The under representation of East Pakistan was not only economic but the figures show that East Pakistan did not have required representation in Central Superior Services. As the above table shows that total number of CSP Officers from East Pakistan was less than West Pakistan though the population of Eastern Wing was more than West Pakistan. Even in Armed Forces the representation of East Pakistanis was very less. Many demands were placed by political leaders of East Pakistan but no concrete measures were taken to bridge the gap. The table below indicates the under representation of the East Pakistan in Armed Forces in the year of 1964.

---

TABLE NO. 4.5

Representation of East Pakistan in the Armed Forces (1964)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The army</th>
<th>Percent of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Junior Commissioned Ranks</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Other Ranks</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Air Force

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Warrant Officers</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Other Ranks</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Navy

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Branch Officers</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chief Petty Officers</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Petty Officers</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Leading Seamen and below</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The under representation of East Pakistanis in the Armed Forces was even evident. The above table describes that no efforts were made to overcome these imbalances between East and West Wings of the country like no quota system was introduced. The feelings in East Pakistan were intensifying but no efforts were made to change the situation. Another point is important to understand that East Pakistan got more share in economic resources during Ayub period as compare to Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, a Bengali Prime Minister. Under the third five year plan (1965-1970), total expenditures were 52 billion US dollars and East Pakistan got 27 billion as compare to 25 billion allocated to West Pakistan. But East Pakistanis were more satisfied with Suhrawardy. This is clear indication that their concern was with power sharing and it was not important for them that what was being done. Their concern was that who was doing it. It is clear that provincial autonomy was the only solution of ethnic diversity in Pakistan.

---

West Pakistan had been denying the charges of political and economic domination leveled against her. In 1955 Constituent Assembly debate, Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani claimed that Bengal contributed only 17 percent to national revenue but its expenditures were much more than it. In response to this Mr. A.H Deldar Ahmed from East Pakistan said that though 17 percent income was coming from Eastern Wing but many businessmen of East Bengal like Dada, Ispahani and Adamjee had their offices in Karachi and income tax department was considering this money from West Pakistan\footnote{Ibid, p.11.} and same way the imports were coming to Karachi and then sent to East Pakistan for which import duty was realized in Karachi. And important point was that nobody challenged this statement by Mr. Deldar.

4.4. Election 1970 and Separation of East Pakistan

Ayub regime marked with centralization of power and authority faced open defiance after Simla Agreement culminating in violent agitation against law enforcing agencies. The anti Ayub movement started from a scuffle between police and students in Rawalpindi and it sparked all over the country in no time. Within few weeks, both wings of the country were burning with violence. Ayub was sick and government was being run by inner cabinet on Ayub Khan. Initially Ayub Khan decided to pacify the public anger by holding round table conference with politicians. He agreed to remove emergency powers imposed after 1965 war and to release the political prisoners including Shiekh Mujib-ur- Rehman detained under the charges of Agartala Conspiracy Case. He even accepted the demand to revive parliamentary form of government and direct elections but all his efforts proved fruitless and he could not bring all political leaders on board particularly Bhutto from West Pakistan and Bhashani from East Pakistan. Awami League
after conference presented its own amendment to accept his Six Points formula which was not acceptable to the leaders of West Pakistan. The situation deteriorated very quickly. Though Ayub Khan showed courage to admit the failure of his devised system but he could not control the situation and finally had to transfer power to the Chief of Army Staff. It is pertinent to mention that despite showing democratic gestures during the last months of his regime, he even ended up with a un- democratic decision to transfer the reign to the military.

On assuming power, Yahya Khan in a broad cast address to nations promised to hold free and fair elections in the country on adult franchise rights and frame a constitution by elected representative. On 28 March 1970, he issued Legal Frame Work Order and fulfilled the popular demand of the political elites to abolish One Unit. All provinces of West Pakistan got their autonomous status back. Legal Frame Work Order also defined the number of seats allocated to provinces for new elections. According to this National Assembly would consist of 313 members whom 300 would be elected to fill general seats. Total 13 seats were reserved for women. East Pakistan according to its numerical strength was allocated the 162 seats as compare to Punjab which was given only 82 general seats. Sindh province received 27and NWFP 18 general seats. The share of Balochistan was only 4 general seats because of its population. Women seats were allocated as 7 to East Pakistan, 3 to Punjab and Sindh. Only one seat was given to NWFP and Balochistan. Tribal areas were allocated 7 general seats. After the final announcement of elections political activities were started from First of January 1970. Total 24 political parties and group participated in the elections. Main contenders were Awami League in East Pakistan.

---

80 The Six Points included a federation based on Lahore Resolution of 1940, giving only two powers to the central government, two separate currencies and fiscal policies and separate militia for both of the provinces.
and PPP in West Pakistan. The table below shows the results of National Assembly Elections in 1970.

Table No. 4.6

Election Results of National Assembly (1970)\(^{82}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>East Pakistan</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Balochistan</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Awami League</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council Muslim League</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahle-Sunnat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaat-i-Islami</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qayyum Muslim League</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention Muslim League</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Democratic Party</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Awami Party</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The general elections produced new political configuration and three power centers emerged. Awami League got absolute majority in East Pakistan by securing 160 general seats. Pakistan Peoples Party of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto emerged as a majority party in Punjab and Sindh. National Awami Party and Jumiat-ul-Islam got victory in NWFP and Balochistan. Awami League won elections on six point agenda. Post poll situation started deteriorate. Yahya Khan was hopeful that agreement among political parties would be achieved. But deadlock continued. Bhutto was also stuck in the post poll situation. He got victory in different constituents ranging from middle class farmers of Punjab to professionals and landed elites from Sindh to industrial workers in Karachi. He was under pressure from divergent social and economic interests. And

---

even within PPP he had to face differences.\textsuperscript{83} According to Ayesha Jalal, both Mujib and Bhutto “were not in a position to make generous concessions that were required to circumvent the calculations of military regime.” Mujib was asking to accept his six point agenda before the first session of National Assembly. The law and order situation in East Pakistan was getting worst day by day and Yahya Khan decided to send troops in East Pakistan.\textsuperscript{84} No concrete political efforts were made on his behalf to pacify the East Pakistanis. Military action even fueled the situation and Pakistan had to loose her Eastern part.

Pakistan since her inception has faced certain problems but identity crisis remained the important one. Pakistan inherited regions and provinces with ethnic and cultural diversity. A pre partition promise of Muslim League to provide maximum autonomy to units was a hope for different regional and ethnic elements that their diverse interests could be satisfied. But after independence, the dream did not come true. The centralized and undemocratic regimes triggered ethnic conflict and Pakistani nationalism was dominated by ethnic nationalism which eventually was ended up with the disintegration of country.


\textsuperscript{84} Ibid.
CHAPTER NO. 5

DEMOCRACY AND ETHNIC NATIONALISM
ETHNICITY VERSES CENTRALIZATION

Pakistan is a multilingual multiethnic state in search of a stable democratic political system. The problem in Pakistan is twofold. The country inherited multilingual and multiethnic regions in 1947 after the partition of Indian Sub Continent. Even after independence the demand of all its constituent units has been provincial autonomy to retain their identity. But unfortunately the kind of participatory democratic political system required for the accommodation of these divergent interests could not be evolved in Pakistan. Centre province relations have been skewed throughout her political history. Heterogeneity in provinces even intensifies the dilemma as ethnic character of all its provinces is plural and inter ethnic strife complicates the political situation. This chapter is an analytical examination of the dilemma of ethnic nationalism and political development to determine the reciprocal relationship of these two concepts in Pakistani politics. The chapter is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the state of democracy examining the issue of ethnicity and political development in the country. The second part provides an overview of the provincial ethnic concerns and evaluates centre-province relations highlighting the areas of conflict. The third part examines the heterogeneous character of its federating units to determine the complexities of ethnic conflict which affects the national political process as well. Part four of this chapter is based on opinions and interviews of leading political leaders of almost all major and nationalist political parties except the religious parties. This section sums up the issues highlighting the real difference of opinion of these policy makers.
5.1 Democracy, Centralization and Ethnic Nationalism

The separation of Eastern wing of Pakistan in 1971 brought the country at the cross roads. Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto assumed the power of truncated Pakistan at that crucial time. He had to face the gigantic dilemma of not only rebuilding the image of his country after the separation of East Pakistan, but also had to meet the challenge of divergent interests and demands of provinces for maximum political and fiscal autonomy. Four provinces of the country were representing the different interests. PPP was having influence in Sindh and Punjab but it did not have any meaningful representation in NWFP and Baluchistan. Bhutto’s first priority was to bring the country out of the gloomy situation and restore her image at an international level after the separation of East Pakistan. The second task was to create a consensus and frame a constitution. As PPP was not in majority in NWFP and Balochistan, therefore Bhutto signed the Tripartite Accord with NAP and JUI, the parties who secured largest number of seats in the said provinces respectively. This accord was signed on March 06, 1972, according to which these parties agreed to give vote of confidence to the government of Pakistan People’s Party for continuation of Civil Martial Law till August 14, 1972.¹ According to the Tripartite Accord, PPP accepted NAP and JUI as the majority parties in NWFP and Balochistan and it was settled that the Central Government had a right to appoint Governors in the provinces till the implementation of a permanent constitution. But by way of compromise the Central Government would, during interim period, appoint governors in consultation with majority parties². It is clear from the accord that after implementation of Interim Constitution, the Central Government was supposed

²Ibid, p. 4.
to appoint governors with the consultation of chief ministers. It was also agreed by the parties to lift Martial Law on August 14, 1972. This agreement was welcomed by opposition leaders and the Chief of National Awami Party, Khan Abdul Wali Khan called it a “constructive direction to the political affairs of the country”. He also declared that this accord was the best for the interest, integrity and solidarity of the country.

After bringing parties on board and singing agreement with NAP and JUI, Bhutto was in a position to lift Martial Law and implement an interim constitution on 21 April 1972. He also consolidated his position by implementing the permanent Constitution of 1973. The constitutional draft was presented in the National Assembly on 30 December 1972. The opposition parties formed the United Democratic Front to pressurize the government to accept their demands. Their demands were to include more Islamic provisions, to limit the government’s emergency powers, lower the voting age, and increase the powers of the Senate. The opposition also tried to convince Bhutto to provide maximum provincial autonomy. They even argued for equality of powers between both of the houses. They claimed that Senate being the representative of Units should have equal powers to protect the interests of smaller provinces. There were also news circulating for a loose confederation providing only defense and foreign affairs to the Central Government. The United Front boycotted the session of the National Assembly on 24 March 1973. Mr. Bhutto started negotiations the next morning and both parties reached an agreement only few minutes before the session of assembly on 10 April. Finally, the Constitution was passed without any opposition. As Hamid Khan writes that “it is

---

3 Ibid P. 4.
interesting to note that how major controversial issues were settled.” Though Bhutto was successful in achieving his goal to formulate the permanent Constitution but still he had to accept the demand of the opposition parties to abolish Concurrent List and provide greater political autonomy to the provinces within ten years.\(^7\)

The Constitution of 1973 was federal in character and the powers were divided between centre and provinces. Federal List was a detailed one consisting of two parts. Part one had fifty nine items and part two had eight items only. Second List was of concurrent powers which obtained forty seven items. Federal and Provincial, both of the governments were authorized to formulate laws but law of the Federal Assembly was supreme in case of contradiction between the laws of the two governments. It is significant to remember that opposition parties accepted this division of powers only for a limited time period.\(^8\) But this compromise did not last long and very soon, the signs of rifts and disagreements were shown between PPP Central Government and NAP and JUI coalition government in Balochistan and NWFP respectively. Both of the governments of Pakistan People’s Party and NAP-JUI were in the state of mistrust and started accusing each other. Actually their accord was a result of political necessity rather than an ideological affinity which created certain hurdles in the way of political development. Another important reason of disagreement between the PPP and the NAP-JUI coalition, as Inayatullah Baloch says, “was the delay of appointment of new provincial governors acceptable to the Baloch Nationalists.” It created doubts about the future of the agreement\(^9\) and widened the gulf between the political partners. Meanwhile the NAP decision not to accept the actions and orders

---

\(^7\) Begum Nasim Wali Khan quoted that Wali Khan used to say that Bhutto agreed to remove Concurrent list of the Constitution with in eight years but Abdul Hafeez Peerpzada said that time limit was for ten years.

\(^8\) For details see fourth schedule of the Constitution of 1973.

of the previous governors appointed by the PPP also fueled the situation. Resultantly, compromise between Central Government and provincial parties was broken.

5.1.1. Bhutto and Balochistan Crisis:

Balochistan proved a serious problem for Bhutto administration. Balochis had been demanding independence even before the partition of 1947. As it has been mentioned in the second chapter that the Khan of Kalat State tried to convince British rulers to treat the State at par with Nepal and give an independent status but his demand was rejected by the British government.\footnote{For details, see second chapter of this dissertation.} Even after independence of Pakistan, Balochistan was not successful to achieve the status of a full fledge province for twenty three years. It was first time on the 1st of July, 1970 when after the annulment of One Unit; the administrative divisions of Quetta and Kalat were merged to form a province.\footnote{Aijaz Ahmed, The National Question in Baluchistan in Regional Imbalances and National Question in Pakistan (ed.), S. Akbar Zaidi, Lahore, Vanguard Books, 1992, p.193.} So the experience of self-rule, when decision making was in their own hands was limited for Balochis. And in the mean while the military action in Balochistan deteriorated the situation.\footnote{Shahid Kardar, Polarization in the Region and Prospects for Integration in Regional Imbalances and National Question, op.cit., p. 31.}

Soon after the implementation of the Constitution of 1973, the Bhutto Government had problems in Balochistan and a military action was started by the Central Government. On February 08, 1973, Pakistan Army was sent in Balochistan and the Interior Minister, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan gave a statement that this action had been taken to prevent a clash between the Laskhar of Bizenjo-Mengal tribes and the residents of Las Bela District.\footnote{Syed Iqbal Ahamd (Lt. Col.), Balochistan; Its Strategic Importance, Karachi, Royal Book Company, 1992, p. 16.} Few days after this military action, the Central Government of PPP dismissed the duly elected government of Attaullah
Mengal on 12, February 1973. NAP was banned\textsuperscript{14}, its leaders were arrested and Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti was sworn in as the new governor of the province.\textsuperscript{15} He supported the military action and disbanded Mengal’s tribal Lashkar. He also congratulated the Army men to save the country at that crucial time.\textsuperscript{16} After the dismissal of NAP government the Situation deteriorated and the Central Government had to send more troops. The Central Government leveled three allegations in a White Paper against the Provincial Government in favor of this military action. The first allegation was called the ‘London Plan’ according to which the Leaders of the accused parties were to meet Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman in London and their plan was to disintegrate Pakistan into many States. Second allegation was that a consignment of Russian Arms was found from the Iraqi Embassy and it was said that these weapons were for NAP to stage insurgency for the liberation movement in the province of Balochistan. The third point on which the Central Government had an objection was that there were clashes between Mengal and Jamot tribes and provincial government was not able to cope with the deteriorating law and order situation in the Province.\textsuperscript{17} But NAP did not accept this stand.\textsuperscript{18} NAP and other Baloch nationalist parties were of the opinion that it was a conspiracy of the Central Government with the help of Nawab Akbar Bugti to take control of the province.\textsuperscript{19} They also claimed that the federal government initiated disturbances in Quetta, Lasbella and Pat Feeder since March 1973 and as the Mengal government was very successfully was dealing with these attempts so the central government sent army without the consent of the provincial government. The military action deteriorated the situation not only in Baluchistan but the NWFP government of Mufti Muhammad also resigned

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{14} After NAP was banned it got a new face and National Democratic Party was founded by Sher Baz Khan Mazari and remnants of NAP. Wali Khan joined this Party in 1978 after he was released from the Jail.
\textsuperscript{18} Iraqi Government declared that these arms were meant for Western Balochistan in Iran.
\textsuperscript{19} Inayat Ullah Baloch, \textit{The Baloch Question in Pakistan and the Right of Self Determination}, op.cit., pp.362-363.
\end{flushleft}
as they were the coalition partner with NAP in Balochistan. The government of Akbar Bugti even could not stay and few months later the power was given to Mir Ahmad Yar Baloch, the Khan of Kalat. He reiterated his faith in the solidarity and integrity of Pakistan. It is interesting to note that Khan of Kalat had been advocating for independence of Balochistan in the past but this time he was in collaboration with the central forces in favor of a strong centre. All these efforts of the Central Government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto could not control the situation and in the meantime, the PPP Government announced an ordinance to abolish the Sardari System in the province which created more uproar.\textsuperscript{20} And this democratic experience in Balochistan was short lived. Democratic political culture and institutions could not have been mature in this region as after few months it had to face military action, dismissal of elected government, and governor rule. As Mushtaq Ahamd writes that, “NAP and JUI were not against democracy. They only revolted against the federal interference in provincial matters.”\textsuperscript{21} In this tussle, the Federal Government had an edge of it and dismissed the two Provincial Governments and setup a government of its own choice which did not enjoy a majority. Here it is important to point out that politically and democratically elected government has the capacity to manage sensitive issues as the issue of language was resolved by NAP in Baluchistan and NWFP and they declared Urdu as an official language rather than Balochi or Pashto.

5.1.2 Language Controversy in Sindh

Language has always played a vital role in Pakistani politics even before and after partition. Language riots were resided in the Sub-Continent after the rise of Urdu Hindi controversy. After partition, language conflict was developed between Bengalis and West

\textsuperscript{20} A.B. Awan, \textit{Baluchistan; Historical and Political Process}, opcit., p. 279.

Pakistan on the declaration of Urdu as a national language. This controversy again got momentum when during Bhutto regime, a Sindhi language bill was presented in the Sindh Provincial Assembly in July 1972. This move made Sindh a conflict prone province. The purpose of this move was to restore the status of Sindhi language which it enjoyed since 1951. But Urdu speaking community was not ready to accept it other than a bilingual province. Their point of view was that declaring Sindhi an official language would deprive them of their legitimate rights. The situation took a violent turn and the government had to call the army in the province to maintain law and order. Finally Prime Minister Bhutto had to intervene by giving a compromise formula and both of the languages were given official status in the province.

This was the time when NAP and JUI were in coalition government in Baluchistan and NWFP and they adopted Urdu as an official language of the provinces though NAP had been a great champion of language rights but for political purposes in a multi ethnic province to avoid confrontation, they adopted Urdu as an official language. Actually, they knew that declaration of Pashto as an official language in NWFP would annoy the Hindko speaking community. And the same case was with Balochistan where Blochi language would be unacceptable for Pashtoons and Brahvi people. So a political compromise was worked out by the elected representatives of the two provinces. This politics of compromise was only possible in a democratic set up.

After consolidating his party rule for five years, Bhutto decided to hold early elections in the country. This decision left huge impacts on Pakistan’s political history. National Assembly of Pakistan was due to expire on 14 August, 1977, but Bhutto dissolved the Assembly on January 10, 1977 and announced the dates of March 7, 1977, and March 10, 1977 for national and

24 Feroz Ahmad, *Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan*, op.cit., p.42.
provincial assemblies elections.\textsuperscript{25} Perhaps Bhutto was confident enough to take that decision of early elections because he was sure of his success or it was a wrong judgment.

5.1.3. Ascendancy of Ethnicity and Military Regime

The results of elections led to the anti Bhutto campaign of PNA. That was an urban based campaign which paralyzed the major cities of Pakistan and finally paved the way for another military intervention. The Martial Law was imposed by General Zia-ul-Haq, C-in-C of Pakistan army and country was once again the victim of authoritarian regime only after a short span of democratic experience. Zia only one week before the coup, d’état gave his views that army should keep distance from politics and while addressing cadets in Kohat said that military should be loyal to the civilian government. After over throwing the government, he published a White Paper of five volumes against Bhutto translated in twenty two languages\textsuperscript{26}. During Zia Era, ethnic loyalties started to intensify. On one hand, old ethnic communities were demanding for their due rights and at the same time this regime saw the emergence of a new ethnic identity called “Mohajir” in Sindh. Zia-ul-Haq adopted a policy of divide and rule which opened the doors of ethnic and sectarian politics in Pakistan and it had an impact in the Pakistani politics in the coming years. His policy to suppress democratic principles and institutions paved the way to ethnic rivalries and ethnic based parties like MQM and Sindh Baloch Pakhtoon Front (SBPF) is a clear example of it.\textsuperscript{27} And undemocratic rule and centralization of powers intensified the ethnic dilemma in the country. According to C. G. P. Rakistis, “ethnic identification replaced the


Pakistani nation as a symbol of emotional loyalty, “Pakistan was at its worst time when nationalism was bruised, people turned to earlier tendencies and the state was triumphant in its ascendency over its own people and institutions.”

Iftikhar Malik says, “in Sindh, with ethnic and sub regional conflict became more violent in late 1970s and many feudals like Magsi, the Unars and Daharis from Nawab Shah created their own private armies.” Shereen Mazari writes, “in Sindh, with ethnic and sub regional conflict became more violent in late 1970s and many feudals like Magsi, the Unars and Daharis from Nawab Shah created their own private armies”. According to her, the tradition of private forces was not new in Sindh as Hur and Sarwari Jamaats had already established their forces under the leadership of Pir Pagara and Pir of Hala respectively. No matter, Zia-ul-Haq himself declared to erase all kind of ethnic loyalties by breaking provincial geographical boundaries to make fifty three small provinces. On one hand, he was talking about eliminating ethnic based interests and on the other side; he was the one to encourage ethnic sentiments and ethnic elites in the country. Zia had contacts with G. M. Syed and gave special visits and treatment to him though Syed had been against military establishment in history but anti Bhutto factor brought these two opposite poles together and G.M. Syed’s refusal to join MRD is a manifestation of this compromise.

Even before this, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo in 1980 demanded that federating units should have a right of secession if military takes control of the country. This is the right which is given to constituent units in confederation. In 1981, Atta Ullah Mengal said that he was having close contacts with Sindhi Nationalists and they had been interested in consulting with the Sindhi to

---

32 MRD, Movement for Restoration of Democracy, was formed by Nusrat Bhutto, wife of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1981 and Plejo, a Sindhi nationalist also joined it.
33 Jan Mahmood, Essays on Baloch National Struggle in Pakistan; Emergence, Dimensions, Repercussions, Quetta, Gosha-e-Adab, 1988, p. 414.
explore a possible federation.\textsuperscript{34} So it was clear from this statement that Mengal was trying to sort of working solution of a federation but after four years he established Sindh Bloch Pankhton Front in April 1985.\textsuperscript{35} The Leaders of this Front Atta Ullah Mengal and Mumtaz Bhutto, former chief Ministers and Abdul Hafeez Peerzada\textsuperscript{36} former Federal Minister were the persons who had been a part of National Politics in Pakistan. But it was the undemocratic non-participatory and centralized government of Zia-ul-Haq which brought them to demand for a confederation.

MQM emerged during Zia regime to protect the interests of ‘Mohajirs’ and it opened a new era in Pakistan politics and particularly in the politics of Sindh. The word Mohajir was used for the first time by Pir Ilahi Bakhsh on September 17, 1947 for those people who came from India and the first political party which used this word was ‘Mohajir, Punjabi, Pakhtun Mahaz (MPPM) in 1960s for non Sindhis\textsuperscript{37}. In 1987, MQM and Mohajir Ittehad Tehrik formed a committee to define the term ‘Mohajir.’ According to that committee, Punjabis from East Punjab were excluded but Gujratis even some of them living in Karachi from pre partition era were considered ‘Mohajirs’\textsuperscript{38}. Altaf Hussain defined that Mohajir is one who speaks some Urdu, and belongs to middle class urban community.\textsuperscript{39} Though Mohajirs mostly are Urdu speaking but MQM includes Gujratis who came from undivided Sub Continent.\textsuperscript{40} After the emergence of Mohajir ethnic identity, initially MQM claimed a place for Urdu speaking by dividing Sindh in

\textsuperscript{34} Sleig S. Harrison, \textit{Ethnicity and Political Stalemate in Pakistan}, in Regional Imbalances, op.cit., p.237.
\textsuperscript{35} The Daily \textit{Dawn}, April 19, 1985.
\textsuperscript{36} In 1984 Mengal, Mumtaz Bhutto and Peerzada established a Party in London called Sindh Baloch National Front. But next year they expanded their area to NWFP and Pashtoons were also included.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid, p. 163.
\textsuperscript{39} An interview of the Scholar with Haider Abbas Rizvi, Member of National Assembly and Deputy Parliamentary leader of MQM.
\textsuperscript{40} Monthly \textit{Herald}, Karachi, June, 1996, p. 163.
two parts and a controversy started in Sindh giving rise to ethnicity in the politics of Pakistan. But MQM, at the time of its formation gave a nine point agenda in its charter according to which only Sindhis and Mohajirs were real Shindis and they should have a right to vote and have business licenses. Another demand was to accept Mohajirs as the fifth nationality of Pakistan.

The absolute authoritarian regime of Zia-ul-Haq continued from 1977 to 1985. In the meantime the demands for establishment of democracy were mounting and political parties under the banner of MRD started their struggle to bring the country back on the democratic path. MRD was established in February 1981 and it included Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam, Tehrik-i-Istaqlal, and Pakistan People’s Party. In the mean time Zia made certain changes in the Constitution which left deep consequences in the coming years in Pakistani politics. The drastic step was the inclusion of clause (b) in Article 58 of the Constitution. On the night between 24 and 25 March, 1981, Zia issued Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) and acquired the powers which enabled the president to take decisions with his own discretion. The next step was, for him to announce an agenda of his own choice for the future of Pakistan. He went for Referendum to legitimize his regime. After securing his position in the referendum, Zia announced non party base elections which proved an act to aggravate the situation and intensify ethnic grievances. The non party base politics provided an opportunity to ethnic and regional based elements to capture the political landscape. It was a deliberate act on behalf of a military ruler to derail the political and democratic development in Pakistan. This Assembly ratified all amendments in the Constitution and a semi civilian government started to work under the umbrella of military. As soon as Prime Minister Junejo started to assert his position, he was sacked by Zia-ul-Haq and

---

new elections were announced. In the mean time, his death in a plane crash changed the political scenario in the country and the care taker president Ghulam Ishaq Khan held new elections.

### 5.1.4. Civilian Era Revisits, Democratization and Ethnic Nationalism

After the death of Zia-ul-Haq, an era of democracy started in Pakistan. Elections were held and Pakistan People’s Party emerged as the single largest party in the Centre. The table below presents the election results of National Assembly 1988.

**TABLE NO. 5.1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No</th>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Total Seats Secured</th>
<th>Total Votes secured</th>
<th>% of Total Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>7546561</td>
<td>45.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>IJI</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>5908742</td>
<td>26.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>JUI (F)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>360526</td>
<td>3.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>PAI</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>859713</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>859713</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>BNA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>71058</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>NPP (Khar)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>97990</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>PDP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>80473</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>JUI (Darkhawsti)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>44964</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>381961</td>
<td>19.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>204</strong></td>
<td><strong>19591265</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to election results, PPP got 93, IJI 54 and JUI 7 seats in National Assembly. There were 40 independents including 13 members of MQM who fought election as independent candidates. The politics of Sind saw the emergence of MQM as a regional power in Sindh. This party secured 13 seats for National Assembly and 26 in Sindh Provincial Assembly. Though PPP emerged as the largest party but over all elections produced divided verdict and PPP still

---

43 Elections were declared to be void by Election Commission in NA-16, Mansehra-III, and proceedings terminated due to death of contesting candidate in NA-21, Sawat-I and NA-62, Faisalabad-VI.
required 11 seats to form the government. So it had to enter in to alliance with ethnic based parties. In NWFP, no party was in a majority. Out of 80 general seats, IJI won 28 seats and PPP secured 22 seats. ANP was the third winner with 13 seats. So Peoples Party entered into alliance with Awami National Party and Sherpao became the Chief Minister.

In Balochistan, the situation was more complex as no party was in majority. Jamiat-ul Islam (Fazlul Rehman group) won 11 seats and Balochistan National Alliance got 10 seats. IJI was number three by winning 8 seats only. Interestingly, Mir Zafrullah Khan Jamali of IJI was elected as the Chief Minister with the casting vote of the speaker as the votes polled in favor and against him were equal. The situation in Balochistan was so complicated that Balochistan Assembly was dismissed on the request of Chief Minister Jamali44 because he feared to be defeated in vote of confidence.

The Punjab proved a great challenge for Benazir government. When IJI was in power, Nawaz Sharif the chief minister of Punjab had a direct controversy with the Central Government. This was for the first time that Punjab Provincial Government came in direct clash with the Centre. Pakistan People’s Party was in a position to form Ministry in Sindh. 1988 elections established the grip of PPP in rural areas while MQM captured the urban centers of Karachi, Hyderabad and Sakkur. According to Muhammad Waseem,"Sindhi nationalist parties were routed away as these parties did not secure any seat even though nationalist parties were in alliance under the banner of “Sindh National Alliance”.45 The government of PPP had to face many problems in dealing with issues at the centre and at the same time in provinces. The PPP alliances with regional and ethnic based parties proved short lived. PPP government signed a

 pact with MQM in 1988 after winning elections. MQM presented a 25 points agenda of demand as the basis of dialogue. The most important and controversial demands were 25 years residence limit for a domicile of Karachi, repatriation of Biharis and quota system for Sindh. Most of MQM demands were incorporated in to accord by PPP. Korejo says that it becomes clear by looking in to 57 clauses of the list of demands that actually PPP was trying to pacify MQM because some of the demands were very controversial and it was not possible for PPP to fulfill all of them. Syed Vali Reza Nasr writes that Benazir could not get successful as she had to accede to the demands of ethnic based parties that were unacceptable to her. For example in Sindh, PPP alliance would not work out as PPP was trying to satisfy the two opposite type of interests of Sindhi nationalists and Mohajir community. There were two areas of contention between both the parties. First was to repatriate Biharis from Bangladesh and second to dissolve the Placement Bureau designed to recruit candidates in to civil service. Some of the demands were so tough for PPP to accept and Benazir government cancelled the plan to repatriate Biharis and continued to recruit party members in civil service who were mostly Sindhis. So the situation got worst and the province erupted in to violence. The co-operation between PPP and MQM was broken because MQM was of the opinion that PPP would never accommodate their interests. After parting their ways from PPP, MQM joined hands with IJI and formed Combined Opposition Parties (COP) in Parliament. And finally with the support of MQM, Islami Jamhoori Ittehad was in a position to table a move of no confidence against Benazir Bhutto.

48 Syed Vali Reza, Democracy and the Crisis of Governability in Pakistan, op. cit, p,528.
50 It was reported that MQM signed a secret agreement with IJI in September 1989, For details see Syed Vali Reza, op.cit, p-528.
51 Daily Dawn, November, 2, 1989, The no confidence resolution was submitted to the National Assembly on 24
But this resolution could not get the support of majority and was defeated by 107-124 votes in the National Assembly.52

This era of Benazir Bhutto was marked by struggle for strengthening position, managing affairs and tussle between the head of government and the head of state. Another feature was the role of military in the political affairs of the country. Army was back to barracks but it did not pull out from politics and a term ‘Troika’53 was coined during this period. As Adeel Khan writes that “traditional enmity between Mohajirs and Sindhis could already permit the alliance to be free.”54 Another reason of PPP failure to tackle the situation was its organizational weakness. Because PPP during Zia era adopted oppositional agenda and did not pay any attention to its manifesto or drawing a future agenda to cope with the new realities of the changing domestic and international environment.55 As PPP did not enjoy the required majority to form the governments in provinces so it had to enter into alliance with other regional and ethnic based parties. But this agreement proved short lived. In her first term of rule, Benazir had to face a lot of problems. She could not tackle them because during a short time period she had been trying to adjust with her partners and on the other side she did not enjoy very good relations with the President and the Army Chief. The President was very powerful as he was having the sword of article 58-2(b) of the Constitution of 1973. Army was out of direct politics but their influence did not decrease. And finally the government of Benazir Bhutto was dismissed by Ghulam Ishaq Khan and new elections were announced.

52 October 1989 and voting date was fixed on Ist November 1989 by speaker of National Assembly.
53 Troika means three power heads in country, Prime Minister, President and Chief of Army Staff.
55 For details see Syed Vali Reza, Democracy and the Crisis of Governability in Pakistan, op.cit., pp. 529-531.
5.1.5. Nawaz’s Era (Ist Term)

After the dismissal of Benazir Government and dissolution of National Assembly on 6 August 1990 by applying article 58-2 (B) of the Constitution, Ghulam Ishaq Khan appointed a care taker government and Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi was appointed as a care taker Prime Minister. Order of the dissolution of National Assembly was challenged before Lahore High Court. A full bench of the court decided the President was justified in forming the opinion that government was not being carried out in accordance with the provisions of the constitution under Article 148 (3) of the constitution in protecting the Province of Sindh against internal disturbances. The judgment of Lahore High Court was challenged before the Supreme Court of Pakistan but the court upheld the decision of Lahore High Court. New elections were held as scheduled and IJI won by securing 106 seats of National Assembly. The table below shows the election results of National Assembly 1990.56

TABLE NO. 5.2

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (1990)57

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No</th>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Total Seats Secured</th>
<th>Total Votes secured</th>
<th>% of Total Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>IJI</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>7908513</td>
<td>51.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>PDA</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7795218</td>
<td>21.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>HPG (MQM)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1172525</td>
<td>7.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>JUI (F)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>62214</td>
<td>2.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>356160</td>
<td>2.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>JUP (Norani)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>310953</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>127287</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>JWP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>129431</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>PKMAP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>73635</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>INDEPENDENT</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2179956</td>
<td>10.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>207</td>
<td>21163911</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

56 Total 27 political parties and political alliances participated in election but only 9 political parties and alliances secured seats. The rest of the parties did not win even a single seat.
In the elections of 1990, 46 parties participated. Though IJI contested election as a party it was a coalition of 9 parties which were mostly religious or ethnic base.\(^{58}\) IJI got success in Punjab. In other provinces it did not perform well. In NWFP it won 33 seats out of 80, in Balochistan 7 out of 41, in Sindh it could secure only 6 seats out of 100. After elections, though IJI was in majority but it had to enter into alliances with other parties in provinces like PKMAP in Balochistan, ANP in NWFP and MQM in Sindh.\(^{59}\) The Pakistan Democratic Alliance which was led by PPP got 45 seats and emerged second largest block in the National Assembly. During this era, the politics of Sindh saw dramatic events. Jam Sadiq of Jamhoori Tahreek started to protest against the deteriorating law and order situation in the province. Palejo started long march against Kalabagh Dam and repatriation of Baharis from Bangladesh. Both the leaders were Sindhi Nationalists but they had different agendas. Nawaz Sharif started an operation called ‘Clean Up’ on 2 July 1992, and Pakistan Army entered in the province. At this time MQM was in cooperation with IJI in Sindh and this issue became a point of rift between the two coalition partners.\(^{60}\)

Nawaz Sharif had tension with the army chief and particularly on the issue of Sindh crisis. PML (N) was in alliance with MQM. This time MQM was internally divided and both the factions were having violent clashes in Karachi. It was alleged that army intelligence played a role in the division of MQM and was helping Haqiqi group against Altaf Hussain’s group of MQM.\(^{61}\) Law and order situation was deteriorating and government had to seek help from military. The army took a swift action and as Shuja Janjua claims that army took significant step

\(^{58}\) It is interesting to note that during this period of IJI government, a proposal came forward by Nawaz Sharif to ban all ethnic and sectarian parties.


\(^{60}\) *Daily Dawn*, 3\(^{rd}\) July, 1992.

to suppress terrorism. But this action created serious problems for the government. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was of the opinion that army was doing it deliberately to weaken the alliance.\textsuperscript{62}

During early 1990s, the political situation was stable in Balochistan. The Provincial Government of Chief Minister Meer Taj Muhammad Khan Jamali in Balochistan was a grand coalition and there was a visible ethnic division among members. Another change came in the provincial politics of Balochistan when families of Marri Tribes who had gone to Afghanistan during 1973-1977 started to come back.\textsuperscript{63} Nawaz Sharif in his first term faced confrontation with the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Initially, they enjoyed cordial relations but differences occurred over the issue of appointing a Chief of Army Staff when after the death of Asif Nawaz, a new Chief was to be appointed. Ghulam Ishaq Khan appointed Abdul Waheed Kakar by his own choice even without consulting or informing the Prime Minister. Nawaz Sharif wanted a C-in-C of his own choice. The disagreement reached a point of no return and the President dissolved the National Assembly. Another reason was that Nawaz Sharif wanted to repeal the Eighth Amendment to restore the powers of Prime Minister in the Constitution of 1973 which would have curtailed the powers of the President. On 18 April 1993, Ghulam Ishaq Khan in his speech leveled allegations on Nawaz government of maltreatment.\textsuperscript{64} This order of the President was challenged in the Lahore High Court by the Speaker of National Assembly, Mr. Gohar Ayub. Nawaz Sharif challenged this action in Supreme Court under the Article 184 (3) of the constitution of Pakistan. The Supreme Court gave a verdict in favor of Prime Minister by a

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid, p. 454.
\textsuperscript{63} Monthly \textit{Herald}, Karachi, September 1991, p.68.
\textsuperscript{64} Daily \textit{Nawaiwaqat}, 19 April, 1993.
majority of ten to one on May, 26, 1993 and National Assembly was restored. The dramatic confrontation between Ishaq Khan and Nawaz Sharif was ended on July 18, 1993. The Prime Minister advised dissolution of the National Assembly and then resigned. The president passed the order of dissolution and stepped down. Wasim Sajjad, the Chairman of the Senate, took the charge as acting President and Moeen Qureshi, a retired bureaucrat from the World Bank, was appointed caretaker Prime Minister. He was a surprise entry into Pakistani politics which was going through a critical phase. The new elections were held on 6 October 1993.

5.1.6 Benazir’s Era, II Term

According to the election results of 1993, Pakistan People’s Party emerged as the largest winning party by securing 86 General Seats. The table below shows the election results of National Assembly 1993.

---

TABLE NO. 5.3
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (1993) 66

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No</th>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Total Seats Secured</th>
<th>Total Votes secured</th>
<th>% of Total Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>335094</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BNM (Hayee)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>47648</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>BNM (Mengal)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45228</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>IJM</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>483007</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>JWP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>54607</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>216937</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>NDA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>64713</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>48932</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>PLF</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>681157</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>PKMAP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>97541</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>PKQP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>54144</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>PML (Junejo)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>781652</td>
<td>3.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>PML (N)</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>8123244</td>
<td>39.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>7819624</td>
<td>38.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>SMALLER Parties</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>107979</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>INDEPENDENT</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1488193</td>
<td>7.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>206 67</td>
<td>20449700</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to these election results though PPP got majority of seats in the National Assembly but party secured less votes polled in the elections. After formation of government Benazir played very safely this time and tried to establish good relations with Army Chief and Judiciary. Though Miss Bhutto was trying to establish her position and was comparatively successful as compared to her last term but ethnic conflict in Sindh, her home province proved fatal for her government. In a year, 2095 people were killed in ethnic violence in Karachi. MQM gave 19 strike calls in one year and economy was in tatters. 68 The rifts between MQM and PPP depended on the issue of postponement of elections of local bodies. MQM was of the view that government had denied the democratic rules and procedure and was afraid of its popularity.

67 Amin Faheem from PPP was elected unopposed from NA-167, Hyderabad-1.
system of Pakistan but the issue was highlighted because mostly problems in the country are social and economic but by mistake these are taken as ethnic problems." Even at this time news were published that MQM was demanding a separate province for Mohajirs and Altaf Hussain, Chief of MQM, talked about changing the geography of the province.

5.1.7 Nawaz Sharif (II Era):

After the dismissal of the second government of Benazir Bhutto, the same charges were leveled against her by the President Farooq Leghari, as had been in the past. General elections for the new assembly were scheduled on 3 February, 1997 and the Pakistan Muslim League (N) secured highest number of seats. The table below shows the election results of National Assembly 1997.

### TABLE NO. 5.4

**NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (1997)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No</th>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Total Seats Secured</th>
<th>Total Votes secured</th>
<th>% of Total Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>383296</td>
<td>4.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BNP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>125440</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>HPG</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>764212</td>
<td>5.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>JUI (F)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>327683</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>JWP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>66128</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>82581</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>PML (N)</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>8844816</td>
<td>66.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4215505</td>
<td>8.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>PPP (S.B.)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>378867</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2682116</td>
<td>10.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>207</td>
<td>17870644</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

69 Feroz Ahmad, *Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan*, op.cit., p.164.
This time Nawaz Sharif got 2/3 majority in National Assembly. The first step of Nawaz Government was to repel the 8th amendment and restore the powers of the elected Prime Minister. The other opposition parties were also in favor of this move so National Assembly passed 13th amendment which repelled 8th amendment restoring the powers of prime minister given by the original Constitution of 1973. Muslim League (N) secured majority in Punjab and it went in to coalition with ANP and MQM in NWFP and Sindh respectively. The party also supported BNP Mengel in Balochistan. In the first session of National Assembly on February 17, 1997; Asfand Yar Wali of ANP assured the Nawaz government of full co-operation. And Azam Hoti of ANP became the main proposer of Rafiq Tarar, who was the candidate of PML (N) for Presidency. ANP was initially in favor of nominating Wasim Sajjad, Chairman of Senate for the Presidency and in return wanted the Chairmanship of Senate for Ajmal Khattak. This proposal was not acceptable to PML(N) and they appointed Rafiq Tarar, a close friend of Nawaz Sharif. This decision to appoint Rafiq Tarar as president exhibited the domination of Punjab which was not in the interest of Federation like Pakistan which already had issue of ethnic domination and exploitation and it created a sense of deprivation among smaller provinces. It would have been better to appoint a President from smaller provinces to create good will and sense of power sharing among the federating units. Nawaz Sharif commented at that time that it was not a question of smaller or bigger provinces. It was about country and nation and these are the national issue which should be the concern of the entire nation. So people and provinces should put aside these considerations. But actually ANP supported PML (N) in the centre to get support in return over the issue of renaming of the NWFP and Kalabagh Dam. But during the

73 Shahbaz Sharif gave an impression that President would be from smaller Provinces.
early period of Nawaz government the relations between coalition partners started to become tense because of disagreement over different issues.

ANP and MPL (N) alliance came to an end on 25 February 1998, after nine years of cooperation over the issue of Pakhtunkhwa. But Chief Minister Sardar Mehtab Ali Abbasi, a Muslim Leaguer, saved the Provincial Government through independent MPAs. After this breakup, Ajmal Khattak of ANP started contacts with PPP which became a source of worries for PML (N) in the centre. Government tried to negotiate with ANP but it did not work out. Renaming of the province was a question of survival for ANP because they got votes in the elections on this issue but PML (N) was not in a position to accept it because non Pushto areas called “Hazara” were against it and they threatened to start a move against this action, and this area was a strong support base of PML (N) which it did not want to lose. ANP claimed that an agreement was signed between ANP and MPL (N), according to which MPL (N) was supposed to support the move of renaming, and a copy of this agreement was with the Chief Minister Sardar Mehtab Ahmed Khan Abbasi, but PML (N) did not accept this claim. So ANP passed a resolution unanimously in November to rename the province. Actually ANP at this stage could not do anything except to pass resolution as PPP started smart move and filed two resolutions in the Provincial Assembly. One was to rename the province and other was annexation of tribal areas in to NWFP. So ANP was not in a position to ignore this issue as it was a question of survival for the party. But the passing of the resolution sparked tension and anxiety in the province as Hazara Qaumi Movement (HQM) started agitation against this move of ANP government and

---

75 Monthly Herald, Karachi, June, 1999, p.68.
78 PPP members gave full support to ANP but members of PML (N) were abstained.
clashes took place between these groups in Abbot Abad. The other three cities, D.I.Khan, Peshawar and Kohat were also against this move as there was 40% non pashto population in these areas.\(^{80}\) ANP also passed another resolution on December 11, 1997 to annex FATA in to NWFP. It also created problems in the province and the situation became tense.\(^{81}\) These moves were not acceptable to Pakistan Muslim League (N) as the party had a majority in non Pashtoon areas which it did not want to lose. So, all initiatives to resolve differences through negotiations failed between the two parties and PML (N) on 25 February, 1998 conveyed to ANP clearly not to support the issue of renaming of the province as Pakhtoonkhawa.\(^{82}\)

On 17 October, 1998, a very tragic development occurred in the politics of Sindh when Hakim Saeed was murdered in Karachi.\(^ {83}\) MQM was accused of and disturbances erupted in the whole province. At this stage, Central Government took a step which was against the democratic principles and caused serious consequences. It was to terminate the Provincial Government, suspend Sindh Provincial Assembly and impose governor rule.\(^ {84}\) A state of emergency was declared in the province and Nawaz government appointed Mr. Ghaus Ali Shah as Prime Minister’s advisor to Sindh affairs. Even though MQM and PPP had majority in the Provincial Assembly, the Central Government took the stand that law and order situation had deteriorated in the province and Provincial Government was unable to control the situation.\(^ {85}\) Central Government further defended its action by stating that the action of the Federal Government was under the Article 232 (c) of the constitution of 1973,\(^ {86}\) a right to choose the way how to run the

---

\(^{80}\) Ibid, p. 59.
\(^{81}\) Daily *Dawn*, December 12, 1997.
\(^{83}\) Daily *Dawn*, October 18, 1998.
\(^{86}\) Article 232 (c), Constitution of Pakistan, 1973.
provincial matters in a period of uncertainty of situation. Inspector General Police and other officials were directed to follow Ghaus Ali Shah.

Political situation in Balochistan also showed the signs of deep stress in 1998 as there was a rift between the Central Government and Provincial Government of Akhtar Mengal. Though initially PML (N) tried to support Mengal Government but then they backed out and Mengal had to leave to give an opportunity to Jam Jamali.  

Another tussle was between the government and judiciary which created serious problems for Nawaz Government. Prime Minister had a conflict with Chief Justice who held Nawaz Sharif in contempt of court for derogatory language against judiciary and finally the chief justice had to resign which largely was an undemocratic move in a democratic country. The first half of the year of 1999 showed signs of dissatisfaction with the Central Government. The opposition came mainly from ethnic based parties and their main objection was centralization of power. Nawaz Sharif during his second tenure was successful to amend the Constitution and repel Article 58-2 (B). He also passed a bill to check floor crossing to control the change of political loyalties. But he did not provide the required demand of smaller provinces for provincial autonomy by deleting the Concurrent List of powers in the Constitution of 1973. He had issues with provincial governments and all three provinces had been demanding provincial autonomy. He also did not enjoy very good relations with Army. Nawaz Sharif could not develop a working relationship with almost all Army Chiefs and there had been rifts between him and Mirza Aslam Beg, Asif Nawaz Janjua and Waheed Kakar. He also had problems with

---

89 Like ANP in NWFP, BNP in Balochistan and MQM in Sindh withdrew their support from PML (N).
Jahangir Karamat and eventually Army Chief had to resign. But clear friction appeared between the Civil and Military Leadership over the issue of Kargil which led to the fall of Nawaz Government.

The ten years of elected democratic government rule proved the fact that democracy has the ability to find the solution of diverse interests and bring ethnic based elements into the mainstream. It was also clear that if ethnic or regional parties are given due share in power, the differences can be managed. Like BNP, ANP, MQM and other parties worked with a Punjabi Prime Minister which was a big achievement within a short time period. Even though, this process was interrupted four times through the power given to the president by a military dictator and finally by direct military rule. One more point is to understand that these parties joined national government to protect their rights and interest and to promote their identity rather to be eliminated and whenever their demands were not fulfilled, they withdrew. So Federal Government needs to understand the fact that maximum provincial autonomy and a power sharing system of government is the only solution to many of our ethnic problems. During 11 years of civilian rule, democratic system remained under stress but at the same time political problems that surfaced during this period were the problems of ethnic interests versus centralization of powers. Those at the Centre were trying to concentrate greater powers and ethnic communities were demanding maximum provincial autonomy. This is not something new in democracy. Initially democracy has to face problems because dissent voices are heard at the initial level but once things get settled ethnicity comes in to working relationship. But it requires continuity of democratic process where all units and ethnic communities share power while retaining their identity.

90 For detail, see Chapter III of the dissertation.
5.1.8. End of Civilian Rule:

On the 12th of October 1999, the country witnessed for the fourth time in political history, the imposition of Martial Law. After assuming power, Pervez Musharraf issued Provisional Constitutional Order and former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was put behind the bars. Many political parties and their Leaders welcomed the Martial Law regime and Ajmal Khattak, the President of ANP was the first politician to meet Musharraf. He also proposed to the President to setup a council for reconciliation which would bring the likeminded forces on a plate form to create consensus.91

5.2 Provincial Concerns or Ethnic Conflict

After analyzing the process of democratic development in Pakistan, it is important to analyze the main areas of concern between Centre and Federating Units which are considered most of the time as ethnic conflict or provincialism. Actually the purpose of this section is to find out the main cause which intensifies the ethnic conflict and inter province or Centre-Province relations become soured. One important issue is related to military role in political affairs in Pakistan.

5.2.1. Punjabization of Military

Army is a strong and well organized institution in Pakistan. Pakistan has been under military rule four times in its political history and total period of military rule is longer than the civilian era. The role of army in civilian affairs is commonly criticized and its role, as Saeed

Shafqat says,” is not desirable.”\(^9\) The Military has also contributed to aggravate the ethnic grievances in Pakistan. There are two reasons of this. The first one is that Military is the largest employer in the country with 550,000 personnel in Pakistan. The total strength of Air Force is 45,000. Navy as compared to other wings of Pakistan Army is the smallest department and it has only 25000 personnel.\(^9\) Another reason is regarding the representation of Punjab in Army. Pakistan Army has been predominantly Punjabi and second dominant ethnic community is Pashtoon with near exclusion to Sindhis and Balochis. This creates a feeling of hatred among smaller ethnic communities. As a result, when military is directly in power, centre province relations (which have commonly been sourced over the issue of political autonomy) become more strained because the centralized Martial rule is considered as the domination of Punjab over other provinces.

The Punjabi dominance in army has its roots in the pre partition era.\(^9\) During the Colonial period, Punjab remained the major recruitment center and Punjabis were the most favorite of British Rulers. The British were of the opinion that Punjabis and Pashtoons were the martial races so Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Attock in Punjab, and Kohat and Mardan in NWFP became the main recruitment areas and provided three fourth of the total number of recruits. In 1947, when the Sub Continent partitioned, army was the most trained and organized institution inherited by Pakistan. No regular Bengali Army Units were formed during British period.\(^9\) The table below shows the number of personnel recruited from Muslims Majority Provinces during the period of First and Second World War.

---


\(^9\) Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Sword: Pakistan, its Army and the Wars Within*, op.cit., p.3.

\(^9\) Ibid.
TABLE NO. 5.5

Percentage of Ethnic Groups in Army in Pre-Partition Era

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>77.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashtoon</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochi</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bengali representation in army was even reduced after partition because of migration of non-Muslim Bengalis to India. In 1947, total number of East Pakistanis in Army was only one percent. Though the Government of Pakistan tried to change this policy but it did not produce the desired results because no concrete efforts were made to increase Sindhi, Bengali and Balochi strength in army. For example, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan formed a committee to find consensus and suggest methods to convince Bengali population to join army. In 1948, Chief Minister of Bengal presented a list of demands on behalf of his province. The most important of all the demands was to increase the share of East Pakistan in military. It was clearly mentioned in the list that Bengalis must had a fair and proper share in the Armed Forces of Pakistan. But this demand was turned down by Liaquat Ali Khan declaring it parochial. In 1959, the Chief Martial Law Administrator Ayub Khan reduced the physical standard to encourage East Pakistanis in army. The Pakistan Army raised two battalions of the new East Bengal Regiment (EBR) and by 1968, four Bengali regiments were formed. The Bengali Units were organizationally significant because they were the only units in army who belonged to a single province. Other units in army were combined from different areas of West Pakistan. After separation of East Pakistan, all

---

units of Pakistan Army became integrated and a quota was fixed for several regions. But even then Punjab being the largest populated province of Pakistan remained the dominant ethnic group in military. The table below shows the percentage of different ethnic communities in Pakistan Army

**TABLE NO. 5.6**

**Percentage of Ethnic Groups in Pakistan Army**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the province</th>
<th>Ethnic % 1970s</th>
<th>Ethnic %1990s</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashtoon</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhajir</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochi, Sindhi, Kashmiri</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above describes the representation of ethnic communities in Pakistan Army from 1970s to 1990s. It also provides a comparative analysis of ethnic share in the army according to which the representation of Punjab was decreased by two percent while Sindhi and Balochi share was increased during that time period. But despite all efforts, these ethnic communities remained under-represented as compared to their population strength.

**5.2.2. Issue of Representation in Federal Services**

Another area of concern between the Centre and provinces remained the representation in federal services. There is a common perception from smaller provinces that they are marginalized and under representative in Central Superior Services. The issue of representation in federal services becomes even more pertinent due to lack of commercial and industrial

---

activities. The second reason of the centre-province and inter-provinces conflict is the influential and powerful character of Pakistani bureaucracy. The instability and discontinuity in democratic political process in Pakistan provides an opportunity to the civil service to play a significant role in decision making. All these factors become a bone of contention and the imbalance share of ethnic communities makes the situation worse.

**TABLE NO. 5.7**

**REPRESENTATION OF PROVINCES IN FEDERAL UNIFIED POSTS, (1989)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BPS</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>22</th>
<th>21</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Officers</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>60.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh (Rural)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh (Urban)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.W.F.P</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As it has been shown in the above table that in grade 22 and 21 of Federal Civil Services, all officers belonged to Punjab without any representation from other three provinces. As far as grade 20 is concerned, the only marginalized area was Urban Sindh. In grade 19, NWFP has a greater share as compared to Sindh and grade 18 again shows that Punjab enjoyed high percentage in Civil Services. This creates a sense of deprivation and marginalization among provinces because in the absence of democratic political system, the importance and involvement of bureaucracy increases manifold. The following table indicates domicile vise representation of employees under the administrative control of the Federal Government.

---

The table above exhibits the percentage of employees in services under the control of Federal Government. According to the data provided by Statistics Department, the Punjab is under represented. As compared to Punjab, the representation of Sindh province is more than the population percentage. But the majority of Sindh employees are from urban areas and share of rural Sindh is not significant. NWFP and Balochistan are the marginalized provinces according to the data given in the above table. As Federal Government is mostly represented by Punjab and urban residents of Sindh, it creates uneasiness among provinces. Sindh was the only province which was affected demographically by partition. About one million Hindus from urban areas of Sindh, who were mostly involved in trade and commercial activities, left the province. This vacuum was filled by Urdu speaking Community. At the time of dissolution of One Unit, it was

---

estimated that out of 184 postings of Deputy Inspector General Police, during 1955 to 1970, only 53 were Sindhis, and out of 150 postings of Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner, only 41 were Sindhis.\footnote{Feroz Ahmad, \textit{Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan}, op. cit., p.75.}

Sindh represents a very different situation. As rural population of Sindh is composed of Sindhis and Muhajars are in majority in urban areas. Urban representation creates a gulf between these two ethnic communities. Balochis claim that their representation is even less than the statistical figures shown, as mostly non Balochis settled in Balochistan are recruited on the provincial domicile. The reason of this marginality is not only the recruitment policy of Federal Government. It is also a result of economic and social deprivation of these areas. Mostly peripheral areas are economically poor and socially backward. This backwardness and marginalization go hand in hand.

\textbf{5.2.3. Economic Concerns}

The other contest between the Federal government and Provinces has been regarding economic autonomy. Provinces keep demanding to have their due share in federal revenues. This makes the centre province relations more strained and inter provinces grievances also become complicated. For example, Balochistan is a province rich in natural resources including Natural Gas, Uranium, Copper and Oil. The province produces 36 percent of gas produced in Pakistan but they consume only a very small portion of it. Their claim is that they are getting only 12 percent of gas royalties.\footnote{Selig S. Harrison, \textit{Pakistan’s Baloch Insurgency}, \url{http://www.balochvoice.com/articles_editorials_local_papers/articles/Pakistan_Baloch_} accessed on 4-22-2008, 3:34 p.m.} The tables below show the production and consumption of four provinces of Pakistan during 1990s.
TABLE NO. 5.9
Province Wise Natural Gas Production 1996-2001 (cubic feet)\textsuperscript{105}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>51,979</td>
<td>43,953</td>
<td>52,1145</td>
<td>45,486</td>
<td>65,633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>334,561</td>
<td>336,599</td>
<td>332,250</td>
<td>393,376</td>
<td>422,432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>311,219</td>
<td>319,157</td>
<td>359847</td>
<td>370,501</td>
<td>387,368</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above reveals the figures of gas production in Pakistan from 1996 to 2001. According to the data mentioned in the table above, the Sindh province was the main producer of natural gas in the country during the specified period. As far as the consumption of gas is concerned, the situation is reversed.

TABLE NO. 5.10
Province Wise Gas Consumers (1997-2001)\textsuperscript{106}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>1997</th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>1,366,699</td>
<td>1,446,551</td>
<td>1,540,899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>29,843</td>
<td>30,680</td>
<td>32,021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>2,610</td>
<td>2,157</td>
<td>2,194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,399,152</td>
<td>1,479,388</td>
<td>1,575,104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>1,165,086</td>
<td>1,256,853</td>
<td>1,323,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>14,822</td>
<td>15,678</td>
<td>16,618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>1,901</td>
<td>1,937</td>
<td>2,008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,181,809</td>
<td>1,274,468</td>
<td>1,341,626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>168,446</td>
<td>186,450</td>
<td>200,505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>6,019</td>
<td>6,551</td>
<td>6,848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>174,619</td>
<td>193,160</td>
<td>207,496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>89,283</td>
<td>95,910</td>
<td>106,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>1,867</td>
<td>1,891</td>
<td>1,953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>91,220</td>
<td>97,879</td>
<td>108,493</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{105}Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Energy Year Book 2002, Hydro Carbon Development Institute of Pakistan, Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources, Islamabad, January 2003, p.45.

\textsuperscript{106}Ibid, p.53.
The table above indicates the figures of sector wise gas consumption in Pakistan. According to the table, the figures of gas consumption in Punjab are higher than other provinces and this issue is usually exploited by ethnic elites of Balochistan. But the fact is that all provinces are rich in different resources. For example, the Punjab is the largest producer of agricultural products. At the same time, Punjab and Sindh are the provinces to contribute in crude oil production in Pakistan.

TABLE NO. 5.11

Province Wise Crude Oil Production 1996-2001 (US Barrel)\textsuperscript{107}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>8,154,304</td>
<td>7,931,728</td>
<td>7,363,949</td>
<td>7,660,012</td>
<td>7,382,593</td>
<td>-0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>13,116,168</td>
<td>12,611,446</td>
<td>12,621,728</td>
<td>12,734,592</td>
<td>13,701,028</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21,270,472</td>
<td>20,543,174</td>
<td>19,985,677</td>
<td>20,394,604</td>
<td>21,083,621</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above describes the province wise Crude oil production and its Annual Compound Growth Rate (ACGR) in Pakistan. According to the table, the Punjab and Sindh province are the main producers of crude oil in Pakistan during the years 1996-1997 to 2000-2001. As far as the coal is concerned, the Sindh again takes a lead as the province is the largest producer of coal while Punjab is at the second position. NWFP is rich in hydro power generation and many Pashtoon elites have the same complaints of not having due royalty of the power generation. Baloch people claim that British rulers deliberately tried to keep Balochistan economically under developed. According to Balochistan Economic Report 2006, which includes all data from 1972-1973 to 2005, the economic situation in Balochistan is very bleak. As the report says that growth rate in Punjab was four times, Sindh 3.6 times, NWFP 3.6 times and Balochistan is at the lowest with 2.7 times. According to World Bank, Balochistan has the

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid, pp. 13-15.
weakest growth rate and the province is lagging behind the rest of Pakistan. Its per capita income is less than all other provinces. The report said that Balochistan ranked lowest on the horizontal axis in 1980-82 being the poorest province. It was also at the lowest rank on the vertical axis because of a weak growth performance. Its GDP growth rate was one percent different from other provinces in the past but poverty is increasing day by day. Balochistan is a province with worst social indicators. It scores lowest in 10 key indicators of education, literacy, health, water and sanitation. Balochistan is a resources rich area. Its gas production in 1994-1995 was 355 billion cubic feet which accounted 56 percent of the total production in Pakistan. A decade later it produced 336 billion cubic feet gas and its contribution was 25 % of the total production in Pakistan. As the gas resources are depleting in the province and only one third of the known gas resources are left in Sui, the province has only 45% of known gas resources in the province. This creates a fear and sense of deprivation among Balochis.108

Another demand by smaller provinces is to redistribute NFC Award. The current criteria are to divide the divisible pool on the basis of population. But smaller provinces had been demanding to find the new basis of distribution of divisible pool. Constitution of 1973109 provided to setup a National Finance Commission after every five years to award distribution of Centre Province revenue. The first NFC Award was held in 1974 which fixed the share of centre province divisible pool as 20:80. The 80% of provincial share was further to be divided among four provinces on the basis of population. Second NFC Award was determined after sixteen years in 1990. In this award few more taxes were included indivisible pool (excise duty on sugar and tobacco). But Centre- Province share remained the same. Taxes included in pool were income tax, general sales tax, wealth tax, capital gain and custom duty. Custom duty was first

time included in 1997, in the era of a democratically elected government. In 1991 award, custom
duty was with the Federal Government. Resource royalty is collected by the federal Government
and distributed to the provinces based on independent agreement. In 1997 award, ratio of Centre
Province distribution was changed from 80.20 percent to 63.37.\textsuperscript{110} Most tax receipts are collected
from Punjab and Sindh though custom duties are collected from Karachi port. Mostly of the
pooled taxes are collected from Sindh Province. Punjab contributes 25 percent of the pooled
taxes while the ratio of Sindh is 65 percent. The actual reason of this is that mostly custom duties
are collected at Karachi port on those items which are further sent to other parts of the country.
The percentage of NWFP is seven while Balochistan contributes three percent of the total
taxes\textsuperscript{111}.

5.3. Heterogeneity and Intra Provincial Complexities

Pakistan is a heterogeneous country with a total population of 132, 352,279.\textsuperscript{112} This
diversity and ethnic heterogeneity was inherited at the time of independence in 1947. There were
five major ethnic groups at the time of independence. Urdu was declared national language but
regional languages had their dominance in their respective areas. As in Bengal, the elite language
was Urdu but majority spoke Bengali. The same case was in Sindh where language of majority
was Sindhi. NWFP was Pashtu speaking but there were Hindko speakers in a sufficient
number\textsuperscript{113} and different languages were spoken in different regions of Balochistan. Even after

\textsuperscript{111} S. Akbar Zaidi, Issues in Pakistan Economy (2\textsuperscript{nd} ed.), Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 203-205.
\textsuperscript{112} Daily Pakistan Times, Lahore, April 25, 2009.
\textsuperscript{113} These population figures are according to National Census 1998. The Rural Population is 89, 315, 875 and
Urban Population is 43, 036, and 404. Population of Administrative Units, Population Census Organization,
\textsuperscript{113} Gur Harpal Singh, Region and Partition; Bengal, Punjab and Partition of Sub Continent, op.cit., p. 380.
separation of East Pakistan, the number of ethnic communities tended to increase rather than decrease. In early 1980s, Pakistan saw the rise of two ethnic communities ‘Mohajir’ and ‘Saraiki’. Heterogeneity of the country becomes even more complicated as four provinces of Pakistan do not have homogenous population and one area is claimed by more than one ethnic community. This section provides a demographic analysis to understand the intra provincial ethnic diversity in Pakistan which will help us to trace out the ethnic dilemma in the country.

5.3.1. Balochistan

Balochistan is the most diverse province of the country. According to National Census of 1998, the population of Balochistan province is 6,565,885 million, which is only 4.5 percent of the total population of the country. The Balochis and Brahvis are 54.76 percent altogether. If the Brahvis are separately counted, then the actual number of Balochi speaking population is less than that. The second largest ethnic group is Pashtoon which constitutes 29.64% of the total population of the province and 15.6 percent are other languages like Sindhi, Punjabi, Saraiki and Hazara.

Balochistan even at the time of independence was not a homogenous province. Balochi speakers were in majority only in Kharan, Makran, Sibi and Chaghi. The Pashtoons dominated in Quetta, Pishin, Zhob and Lora Lai districts. The second largest ethnic group in Quetta, Pishin and Loralai was Punjabi speaking. Then there were Sindhi Speaking people mostly settled in Lasbela.

---

114 Please see the map of Pakistan in Appendix one.
116 Ibid.
According to 1951 Census, 29 percent of Kalat population spoke Sindhi and then there were Brahvis.\footnote{118}{Aijaz Ahmed, \textit{The National Question in Balochistan, in Regional Imbalances and the National Question}, op.cit., p.194.}

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{Largest and second largest ethnic group in all districts of the Balochistan\footnote{119}{The data is collected and compiled from District Census Reports 1998, published by Population Census Organization Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad.}}
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|l|c|l|c|}
\hline
District Name & Total Population & D.E.G. & \% of D.E.G & 2\textsuperscript{nd} E.G. & \%2nd D.E.G \\
\hline
Awaran & 118173 & Balochi & 99.72 & Other & 0.094 \\
Bolan & 288056 & Balochi & 58.02 & Sindhi & 17.70 \\
Barkhan & 103545 & Balochi & 74.74 & Other & 23.2 \\
Chagai & 202564 & Balochi & 93.64 & Pashto & 3.14 \\
Dera Bugti & 181310 & Balochi & 95.81 & Punjabi & 1.19 \\
Gwadar & 185498 & Balochi & 97.77 & Punjabi & 0.81 \\
Jafar Abad & 432817 & Balochi & 62.25 & Sindhi & 23.62 \\
Jhal Magsi & 109941 & Balochi & 68.80 & Saraiki & 8.22 \\
Kalat & 237834 & Balochi & 98.56 & Sindhi & 0.52 \\
Kech & 413204 & Balochi & 99.15 & Punjabi & 0.33 \\
Khuzdar & 417466 & Balochi & 96.69 & Punjabi & 1.026 \\
Killa Abdullah & 370269 & Pashtu & 97.44 & Balochi & 1.62 \\
Killa Saifulah & 193553 & Pashtu & 99.21 & Urdu & 0.33 \\
Kohlu & 99846 & Balochi & 91.22 & Pashto & 6.63 \\
Lasbela & 312695 & Balochi & 64.99 & Sindhi & 23.95 \\
Lora Lai & 297555 & Pashtu & 92.04 & Balochi & 3.42 \\
Mastung & 164645 & Balochi & 80.11 & Other & 11.46 \\
Musa Khel & 134056 & Pashtu & 78.91 & Balochi & 13.59 \\
Nasir Abad & 245896 & Balochi & 54.93 & Sindhi & 30.49 \\
Panjgur & 234051 & Balochi & 99.56 & Punjabi & 0.14 \\
Pishin & 367183 & Pashtu & 99.20 & Urdu & 0.19 \\
Quetta & 759941 & Pashtu & 92.97 & Balochi & 27.6 \\
Sibi & 180398 & Pashtu & 44.32 & Balochi & 28.6 \\
Ziarat & 33340 & Pashtu & 99.52 & Punjabi & 0.13 \\
Zhob & 275142 & Pashtu & 96.82 & Saraiki & 1.27 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}
The table above shows the detailed study of ethnic composition in all districts of Balochistan. Brahvi was not listed as a separate language though it is the oldest language of the Province. Pashtoons and Balochis are settled in Balochistan on territorial basis, like from Quetta to the North are Pashtoons and to South are Balochis. Balochis are in majority in seventeen districts and nine districts are Pashtoon dominated.\textsuperscript{120} Quetta is a heterogeneous city where the largest ethnic group is Pashtoon with only 29.97 percent of the total population. While the second largest ethnic group Balochi is 27.6 percent, only 2.91 percent less than the Pashtoons. Another district is Sibi where the difference between total number of Pashtoon and Baloch community is less significant and Pashtoons despite being the largest group are only 44.32 percent. The Sibi District has boundary with Sindh and Southern Punjab and many ethnic Pashtoons speak Sindhi language in this district. Brahvis are mostly settled in Kalat,\textsuperscript{121} Chagia, Khuzdar and Kharan.\textsuperscript{122} The Hazara community is Persian speaking and they are mostly settled in Quetta.

Balochis are also settled in Punjab and Sindh. There are more Balochis in Sindh and Punjab as compared to Balochistan\textsuperscript{123} but their spoken language is either Saraiki or Sindhi. Some Baloch Leaders do not consider them Balochi.\textsuperscript{124} Their point of view is that they are either

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{120} Data compiled by the Scholar from Districts Census Reports of Balochistan, Population Census Organization, Islamabad, Government of Pakistan. \\
\textsuperscript{121} Inam ul Haq Kausar,\textit{ Pakistan Movement and Baluchistan}, Quetta, Seerat Academy Balochistan, 1999, p. 3. \\
\textsuperscript{122} Brahvi was not listed as a separate language in 1998 census but according to statistics of 1981, the Brahvis are mostly settled in these districts. \\
\textsuperscript{123} Dr. Noor-ul-Haq,\textit{ Baluchistan, Disturbance, Causes and Responses}, IPRI, Volume IV, 2, Summer 2006, Islamabad. \\
\textsuperscript{124} Abdul Hayee Baloch said in an interview with the scholar that Baloch living in other provinces are not Balochis.
\end{flushleft}
Punjabi or Sindhi as they hold domicile of that province. There is a clear contradiction in their views as they do not consider other ethnic groups living in Balochistan as Balochis.

Besides this ethnic diversity in Balochistan, a sense of uneasiness also persists among Pushtoon and Baloch communities. Even there are ethnic rivalries between Baloch and Pashtoon political parties on certain key issues. For example, when President Ghulam Ishaq Khan appointed Sardar Gull Muhammad Khan Jogeza as the Governor of Balochistan, the move was openly criticized and opposed by Baloch population. They took it as an action of the Central Government against Baloch people, like Abdul Hayee Baloch, the President of Balochistan National Movement (BNM),Mohiuddin from Jamhoori Watan Party (JWI), Khan of Kalat Mir Dadua and his brother openly condemned the appointment of Pashtoon Governor. Another incident also reflects the polarization between Baloch and Pashtoon community. A college was supposed to be built in Mastung, a Baloch area by a donor agency but in 1991, a team of experts suggested change of the place to a popular Pashtoon area of Bostan. It created trouble between two communities. As Paul Titus and Nina Swindler write that Balochis do not like the Pashtoon historic claim over Bolan Pass or Sibi but Pashtoons want Pashtoon areas to be included in a separate province. Pakhtoon Khawa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) claims to be the champion of Pashtoon rights in Balochistan. Their point of view is that they are living in an unnatural province under the domination of the Centre and Baloch at the same time.

---

126 Abdul Hayee Baloch in an interview with the scholar did not admit that there are any differences between Baloch and Pashtoon communities in Balochistan. His point of view was that Pashtoon are their Brothers.
127 Chief of JWP Nawab Akbar Bugti sent a congratulatory message to Governor. It also shows that political parties do not follow party manifesto and discipline and behavior of their leaders is based on their personal connection.
consider Balochistan a multi lingual and multinational province where Pashtoons are the victim of Baloch interests. They want division of Balochistan, either a separate new province for Pashtoons or a merger with NWFP or greater Pukhtoonistan. At the same time they are not against the demands of Hazara People for a separate province. But ANP is much rigid over this issue of Hazara province. On the other side, Balochis claim that there is no real conflict between Baloch and Pashtoon community. Their point of view is that Pashtoons are their brothers and this is a conspiracy against them. They believe that a new constitution will resolve many ethnic issues in the country.

5.3.2. NWFP

NWPF is the third largest province of the country with total population of 17,743,645. The Pashtoons are the largest ethnic group which is almost 73.9% of the total population of the province according to the national Census 1998. The second largest ethnic group is Hindko. According to 1981, they were almost 20.43 percent of the total population of province but 2.4 percent of the total population of the country. The Hindko was not listed as a separate language in the national census 1998.

NWFP is dominated by Pashto speakers and before the creation of Pakistan, NAP was a popular and dominant party in NWFP but it had majority only in four out of six settled districts of the Province. Hindko was regarded as a dialect of Punjabi but in 1981 it was registered as a

130 An Interview of the Scholar with Dr. Said Alam Gul, Provincial Chief of PKMAP, NWFP.
131 Interview of the scholar with various political Leaders.
132 An interview with Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch, The President of National Party of Balochistan.
separate language. According to Census figure of 1981, Hindko speaking people were 2.4% of the total population of the country but they were 18.1% of the total population of NWFP.\textsuperscript{135}

TABLE NO. 5.13

Largest and second largest ethnic group in all districts of the NWFP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District Name</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>D.E. G.</th>
<th>% of D.E.G</th>
<th>2\textsuperscript{nd} E.G.</th>
<th>%2nd D.E.G</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abbot Abad</td>
<td>880666</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>94.24</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bannu</td>
<td>677346</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>98.31</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bat Gram</td>
<td>307278</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>81.65</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>17.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buner</td>
<td>506048</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>96.60</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Char Sadda</td>
<td>102264</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>99.43</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitral</td>
<td>318689</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>96.03</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. Khan</td>
<td>852995</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>72.46</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hangu</td>
<td>314529</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>98.84</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hari Pur</td>
<td>692228</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>88.54</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>8.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karak</td>
<td>430796</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>99.73</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohat</td>
<td>562644</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>77.53</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>17.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohistan</td>
<td>472520</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>95.99</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>3.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakki Marwat</td>
<td>490025</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Dir</td>
<td>717649</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>99.34</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mala Kand</td>
<td>452291</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>98.19</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansehra</td>
<td>1152836</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>26.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mardan</td>
<td>4160100</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>98.44</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowshera</td>
<td>874373</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>90.89</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peshwar</td>
<td>2019118</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>85.62</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shangla</td>
<td>434563</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>95.42</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swabi</td>
<td>1026804</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>96.39</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swat</td>
<td>1257602</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>92.95</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tank</td>
<td>238216</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>80.31</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>18.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Dir</td>
<td>575858</td>
<td>Pashtu</td>
<td>92.46</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above describes that in NWFP, out of total 24 districts, Pashtoons are in majority in 18 districts. In Mansehra, Haripur and Abbotabad, Hindko speaking population is in majority. D.I. Khan is dominantly Saraiki speaking with 72.46 percent and Pashto is the second\textsuperscript{135} Ibid, p. 217.
language of only 22 percent people. Despite being a Pushto dominated population, there are certain pockets of Hindko speaking areas in the province like Mansehra, Kohat, Bannu, Haripur and Peshawar city. Christopher Shackle says that Hindko speaking are in four principal areas of NWFP. These are the Central cities of Peshawar, Kohat, outlying districts of Dera Ismail Khan and Hazara. Shackle considered Hindko of Dera Ismail Khan as the Northern variety of the Saraiki.

The Pashtoons have been demanding to change the name of the province from NWFP to Pakhtunkhawa. As it has been discussed earlier, that Provincial Assembly of NWFP has passed many resolutions to rename the province. Their claim is that all other provinces of Pakistan are recognized by the name of their majority ethnic group so the Pashtoons also have the right to change the name of this province where they are in majority. Awami National Party (ANP) is a strong proponent of this cause. But the Hindko speakers do not admit this claim and there is a strong resentment among Hindko population and they have started their political moves to protect their identity. They do not accept the claim of ANP that Hindko is a dialect of Pashto. They claim Hindko as a separate language. Dr. Adnan Gul, President of Gandhara Hindko Board is of the opinion that Hindko is as old as four thousand years and it is separate from Pashto in every sense. He does not accept the statistics in the Census of 1981 about the total number of Hindko speaking people. Adnan Gul claims that total number of Hindko population is more than 40 percent of the province and their demand is that Hindko should be listed as a separate language in national Census. He includes Mansehra, Abbotabad, Haripur, and Peshawar city.

136 Districts Census Reports of these Districts clearly show the multi lingual character of these areas.
138 An interview with Begum Nasim Wali Khan, former Provincial President of ANP.
Nowshera, Kohat and D.I. Khan in Hindko speaking areas. Hindko speaking community is not ready to accept the change in the name of the province unless it is in consultation with them. Their proposal is that the province should be given a neutral name as Abbasain, Khaber or Ghandhara.¹³⁹

5.3.3. Punjab

Punjabis represent the largest ethnic group in Pakistan. The total population of Punjab is 73,621,290 million,¹⁴⁰ which is almost 55.62 percent of the total population of the country. Punjab is a multi lingual province. The dominant ethnic group is Punjabi with 75.23 percent of the total population of the province. The second largest ethnic group Saraiki is 17.36 percent. The table below shows the details of largest and second largest ethnic group in all districts of the Punjab.

¹³⁹ An interview of scholar with Dr. Adnan Gul, President of Gandhara Hindko Board, op.cit.
TABLE NO. 5.14

Largest and second largest ethnic group in all districts of the Punjab

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District Name</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>D.E.G.</th>
<th>% of D.E.G</th>
<th>2nd E.G.</th>
<th>% 2nd D.E.G</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attock</td>
<td>1274935</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>87.14</td>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>8.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>2433091</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>65.15</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>28.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahawal Nagar</td>
<td>2061447</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>94.61</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>3.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhakkar</td>
<td>1051456</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>72.99</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>17.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakwal</td>
<td>1083725</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>97.69</td>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.G.Khan</td>
<td>1643118</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>80.25</td>
<td>Balochi</td>
<td>14.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faisal Abad</td>
<td>5429547</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>97.47</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrat</td>
<td>2048008</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>98.04</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujranwala</td>
<td>3400940</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>97.03</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hafiz Abad</td>
<td>382980</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>98.66</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehlum</td>
<td>936957</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>96.58</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhang</td>
<td>2834545</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>95.85</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>3.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasur</td>
<td>2375875</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>6.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khanewal</td>
<td>2068490</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>81.20</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>7.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khusab</td>
<td>905711</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>6318745</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>86.18</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>10.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layyah</td>
<td>1120951</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>62.25</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>32.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodhran</td>
<td>1172000</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>69.01</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>18.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandi Bahuddin</td>
<td>1160552</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>96.97</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>2.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mianwali</td>
<td>1056620</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>74.17</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>3116851</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>60.67</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>21.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzaffar Grah</td>
<td>2615903</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>86.83</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>7.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narowal</td>
<td>1265097</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>98.02</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okara</td>
<td>2232992</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>95.71</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>3.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pak Patan</td>
<td>1286680</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>95.87</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>3.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahim Yar Khan</td>
<td>3141053</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>62.62</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>27.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajan Pur</td>
<td>1103618</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>75.72</td>
<td>Balochi</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawal Pindi</td>
<td>3363911</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>83.89</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>7.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahi Wal</td>
<td>1843194</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>98.07</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sargodha</td>
<td>2665979</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>93.28</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>5.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheikopura</td>
<td>3321029</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sial Kot</td>
<td>2723481</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>97.11</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toba Tek Singh</td>
<td>1621593</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>98.59</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehari</td>
<td>2090416</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>82.85</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>11.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

141The data is collected and compiled from District Census Reports published by Population Census Organization, Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1998.
The table above shows the detailed demographic study of all districts of Punjab. The Punjabi is the language of majority in twenty five districts in Punjab. The spoken dialect of Punjabi in northern districts of Rawalpindi, Jehlum and Chakwal is pothohari. Saraiki is the dominant language in nine districts only but Punjabi speakers are in substantial number in these districts. As in Multan and Bahawalpur, the Punjabis are 21.63 and 28.39 percent respectively. The largest number of Saraiki speakers are in Bhakkar, D.I. Khan, Muzaffar Garh and Rajan Pur. Mostly writers claim that the province of Punjab demographically, can be divided into three zones. The first is Upper and Northern Punjab comprising of Rawalpindi, Jehlum and Chakwal districts. This area is called the Pothohar region.\textsuperscript{142} From district of Sialkot to Lahore, certain districts are called Central Punjab which is the most populous and influential part of Pakistan. Southern Districts are from the extreme South, bordering Sindh and Balochistan up to Multan and these districts are predominantly Saraiki speaking areas.\textsuperscript{143} According to Christopher Shackle, historically three different types of languages prevailed in the area of Punjab which he defined as formal standard languages used primarily for writing. These were Sanskrit, Persian, Urdu and English. His point of view was that Punjabi has three major groups of spoken dialects, Central Punjabi group, the Saraiki group of South Western area of the Province below salt range centered in the cities of Multan and Bahawalpur and Hindko group of North West of Punjab. He also mentioned the Photohari dialect of Rawalpindi area lying between Hindko in Central Punjabi Group.\textsuperscript{144} This study shows that Shackle considered Saraiki as a dialect of Punjabi. Grierson, in the linguistic survey of India, writes that language spoken in the West of Jehlum to Bahawalnagar is Southern Landha. Landha is Punjabi word for West, and Hindko and Potohari

\textsuperscript{143} Ibid, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{144} Christopher Shackle, opcit, p. 316.
are northern Landha. Gankovskhy also considered Saraiki as a dialect of Punjabi. He argued that from 15th century onward, the term Punjabi was used as generic name for Lahori, Multani, Pothwari, Bahawalpuri and other western as well as eastern dialects.

Saraiki is a language of South Punjab which is also spoken in few areas of Sindh and Balochistan. During the Colonial era, Saraiki in the South was considered as a dialect of Sindhi. Riasti, Multani, Landha and other dialects were included in Punjabi. The same practice continued till 1981 and it was for the first time during Zia era when Saraiki was listed as a separate language. According to Census report of 1981, Saraikis are 9.8% of the total population of Pakistan and 14.9% of the total population of Punjab province respectively.

The population of Punjab is ethnically heterogeneous and this diversity is intensifying political and ethnic issues. Southern parts of Punjab are demanding separate province. Saraiki movement was started in 1960 when first time a move was launched to divide Punjab. Shafqat Tanveer Mirza writes that first time the slogan of local and non local was raised in Multan in 1962 elections by Sajjad Qureshi, who took on Frooq Sheikh, a Punjabi speaking from Chiniot. Sajjad Qureshi raised the point that Multani is a separate language. The word Saraiki was not in vogue in those days. He also claims that certain bureaucrats in Ayub period, who were very close to him, like Qudrat Ullah Shahab, supported Multani as a separate language. According to Shafqat Tanvir Mirza, another early protagonist of Saraiki province was senior irrigation

145 Christopher Shackle, ibid, p. 317.
146 Ibid, p. 7.
Engineer Syed Noor Ali Zaman Haidri.\textsuperscript{150} It was in 1971, Bahawalpur Suba Mahaz movement after the dissolution of One Unit got momentum. Riaz Hashmi formed in 1973, Saraiki Suba Mahaz, the first political organization in Bahawalpur. In 1975, All Pakistan Saraiki Conference was held to promote the cause of Saraiki language. In 1975, the Lawyers of Lahore High Court belonging to Saraiki speaking areas joined this movement and a Saraiki forum was established by Taj Langah, a Lawyer of Multan.\textsuperscript{151} On 6\textsuperscript{th} of April, 1984, Saraiki Suba Mahaz was established which latter in April 1989 was changed into Pakistan Saraiki Party. This was the first time in Zia regime when Saraiki was listed as a separate language. But even there a contradiction exists within the groups demanding the division of the province. As the southern Districts are predominantly Saraiki but there is a split among Saraiki Nationalists on the issue of Saraiki Province. Bahawalpur province movement is getting strength and their demand is that Rahim Yar Khan to Bahawalnagar including Bahawalpur should be declared a separate province. The protagonists demand that Bahawalpur State was merged into One Unit in 1955. At that time, the government had stipulated that the princely state would revert to its original status. The demographic study of these districts shows that there is substantial number of Punjabi speaking communities in these areas. As in Bahawalpur the Punjabi is the language of one third population. In Rahim Yar Khan, the ratio of Punjabi speaking is more than one third. As far as Bahawalnagar is concerned, the Punjabis are in majority.

Another demand is to create a Saraiki province but if it happens it will definitely affect the other provinces where certain ethnic communities will demand the same right. Begum

\textsuperscript{150} Tariq Rehman in his book \textit{Language and Politics in Pakistan} also shares the same point. For details see, page no. 180.
Nasim Wali Khan of ANP opposed the idea of the division of Punjab. She was of the opinion that division of Punjab would leave an impact in Hindko speaking areas in NWFP and they would resist to create a Hindko province. She also commented that the division of Punjab means that Punjabis would get additional number of seats in Senate (upper House).

5.3.4. Sindh

Demographically, Sindh is a heterogeneous Province. The total population of the Sindh Province, according to the national Census of 1998 is 30,439,893 million. The Sindhis are 59.73 percent of the total population of the province. The second largest ethnic community is Mohajir with 21.05 percent of the province. At the third number are Punjabis who are 6.99 percent of total population of the province. The Table below shows the percentage of largest ethnic group and second largest ethnic group in different districts of the Sindh Province.
Table No. 5.15

Largest and second largest ethnic group in all districts of the Sindh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District Name</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>D.E. G.</th>
<th>% of D.E.G</th>
<th>2nd D.E.G</th>
<th>% 2nd D.E.G</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Badin</td>
<td>1136044</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>89.81</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>3.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadu</td>
<td>253309</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>98.22</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghotki</td>
<td>970549</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>92.29</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>3.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>2891488</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>59.60</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>29.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacobabad</td>
<td>1425572</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>94.13</td>
<td>Balochi</td>
<td>3.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karachi (Central)</td>
<td>2277931</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>73.56</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>8.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karachi (East)</td>
<td>2746014</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>64.74</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karachi (Malir)</td>
<td>981412</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>25.07</td>
<td>Pushto</td>
<td>20.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karachi (South)</td>
<td>1745038</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>25.65</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>24.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karachi (West)</td>
<td>2105923</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>39.63</td>
<td>Pushto</td>
<td>24.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khair Pur</td>
<td>1546587</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>93.85</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>3.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larkana</td>
<td>1927066</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>98.07</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirpur Khas</td>
<td>905935</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>61.07</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>18.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naushahrou Feroz</td>
<td>1087571</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>88.42</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>5.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawab Shah</td>
<td>1071533</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>79.25</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>8.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanghar</td>
<td>1453028</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>77.08</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>10.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shikar Pur</td>
<td>880438</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>95.76</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakkhur</td>
<td>908373</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>74.06</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>13.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tharparkar</td>
<td>914291</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thatta</td>
<td>1113194</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>98.65</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ummer Kot</td>
<td>663095</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>89.7</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>5.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above reveals the ethnic diversity in Sindh Province. Though the largest ethnic community in the province is Sindhis and they are in majority in sixteen districts but Urdu speakers are settled in four important districts of the province. They are also second largest ethnic community in nine districts of the province. Though in Hyderabad, the Sindhis are in majority but they are settled in the urban area of the district. The tussle between these two communities has its roots since the partition when the advent of Urdu speaking Mohajirs not only changed the demographic structure of Sindh particularly in urban areas but it also

---

152 The data is collected and compiled from District Census Reports published by Population Census Organization, Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1998.
accelerated the urban rural divide as majority of Muhajirs were settled in urban areas. It has been described in the previous chapter, that the first rift occurred between Provincial Government of Sindh and the Centre on the separation of Karachi as a capital area. The seeds of mistrust were sown in late 1950s and early 1960s which came to the full bloom in 1970s and early 1980s. The decade of 1990s was the worst one in the history of ethnic conflict in the province. Despite this, the ethnic based parties except MQM did not win public support and people always voted for pro federation Pakistan People’s Party. MQM has a strong hold in urban areas of Karachi and Hyderabad.

The above study of demographic situation in Pakistan clearly reveals the plural character of her provinces. Though one community is in majority in certain areas but there is enough number of people from other ethnic groups which make a region more heterogeneous. So it becomes clear that new configuration of provinces is not the only solution. It may trigger ethnic conflict in some cases particularly in Sindh Province, Quetta city or Hindko speaking areas of NWFP and Southern Punjab. The main issue is to satisfy the needs of divergent interests which is only possible through a participatory system and providing maximum political and fiscal autonomy and Democracy, of course, is the only solution which has the capability to address all the problems mentioned above.

5.4. Political Elites and Ethnic Nationalism

According to Abner Cohen, “elites are the persons who occupy commanding positions in some important sphere of life and who share a variety of interests arising from similarities of training,

---

experience, public duties and way of life.” The elites may be of different types, social, religious, and political. The political elites comprise the power holder of a body politics. They include leadership and social formation out of which leadership typically emerges. The political elites play a very vital role in any political system. They formulate opinions, articulate diverse interests of masses and aggregate their demands while participating in decision making process. While performing these functions, they leave an enduring impact on the performance of the political system. Particularly, in a developing political system having a history of social, political and linguistic stratification, their role is highly crucial. This section is based on the opinions and views of national and ethnic political elites in Pakistan to have a better understanding of the issue and analyze the real differences among them. These views are collected through structured interviews. Total seventeen questions were asked regarding the different key issues in politics in Pakistan. The answers provide the point of view of different elites and political parties so their answers are produced as it is.

**Question No. 1**

Is Pakistan a multilingual and multinational country?

**Abdual Majeed Khan Kanju**: Certainly, it is. There is no doubt in it. Bengali, Punjabi, Saraiki, Sindhi, Pashtoon and Balochi were the six nations in this region before separation of East Pakistan and now five nations exist in this country.

**Ayaz Meer**: Look; Pakistan is a multilingual and multiethnic state but it is not a multi-national one. There can be different nationalities in one nation and Sindhi, Balochi, Punjabi, Pashtoon and Muhajirs all are nationalities.

---

Begum Naseem Wali Khan: Definitely, Pakistan is a multi lingual and multinational state. There are five nationalities in Pakistan, Pashtoons, Punjabis, Sindhis, Saraiks and Balochis. The Muhajars are not a nation or nationality because they come from different regions and different back grounds.

Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch: Pakistan is a multi ethnic and multinational state. There are five nationalities, Punjabis, Sindhis, Balochis, Pathans and Saraiks. All ethnic communities are settled on their places.

Dr. Said Alam: Of course; there is no doubt in it. There are five nations in Pakistan; Pashtoon, Balochi, Saraiki, Punjabi and Sindhi. These nations existed even before partition. At that time they were a part of India then the geography of the country was changed but nations remained the same.

Haider Abbas Rizvi: There is a difference between nation and nationality. There are many nationalities in Pakistan but they form one nation. Saraiki, Punjabi, Sindhi,Pashtoon, Balochi and Muhajir are all nationalities. I do not agree with this perception that Muhajirs are not nationality. Muhajirs are living in Sindh from the last three generations so they now belong to this land. They live here and they are buried here. They earn here and they spend here. So they fulfill all requirements of a nationality.

Iqbal khattak: No, Pakistan is not a multinational state. We are one nation. As we hold one passport.

Makhdoom Amin Faheem: Pakistan is not a multinational state. It is a multi-ethnic and multilingual state.
Muhammad Riaz: Yes; Pakistan is a multiethnic and multinational state. There are five nationalities like Sindhi, Balochi, Pashtoon, Punjabi and Saraiki. All of these are nationalities but not nations.

Nawabzada Wazir Jogezai: Pakistan is a multiethnic state. We are one nation. The main aim for the creation of Pakistan was to become a nation. Even they were Bengali, Punjabi, Balochi, Pashtoon, Sindhi and Saraiki.

Sana Ullah Baloch: Pakistan is a multiethnic and multinational state. There are five ethnic nationalities in Pakistan, Balochis, Punjabis, Sindhi, Pashtoons and Saraikis. I am not excluding Mohajars but by definition, a nationality should have its own geographical territory, and MQM does not fit in this formula. But no doubt they are political power in Pakistan.

Shafqat Tanveer Mirza: Pakistan is a multilingual and multiethnic country. Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi and Pathan are different ethnic communities.

Syed Fakhar Imam: Pakistan is a multi lingual and multinational state.

Question No. 2

How ethnicity has become problematic in Pakistani Politics?

Abdual Majeed Khan Kanju: The British rulers deliberately adopted a policy of communal divide in Sub Continent which became a cause of ethnic crisis after partition. And so, even after the partition these nations did not enjoy autonomy in Pakistan.

Ayaz Meer: Ethnicity has become problematic as a reaction against aggressive policies and also due to undemocratic military rule.
**Begum Naseem Wali Khan:** It is not ethnicity which has become a problem. The problem is that we do not acknowledge the facts. Pakistan is a multinational state comprised of different nations though they have given up their status of different nations. They are now nationalities. This fact must be acknowledged and ethnic nationalities should have their due share in power.

**Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch:** Ethnicity is not a problem. The problem is that public mandate in Pakistan is not accepted. What happened after 1970 elections? Bengali people voted for Awami League on six point agenda but public verdict was denied and as a result, Bengal was separated. Different communities voted for different parties due to their manifesto. It is the objective of elections. I was the youngest member of Assembly at that time in Dhaka. When Yahya Khan postponed National Assembly session, people stood up and revolted. People were shouting louder than the gun was shooting.

**Dr. Said Alam:** Ethnicity is a wrong word. I object on it. It is not a problem. It is a phenomenon. Everyone has a right to promote his language, culture and participate in political process.

**Haider Abbas Rizvi:** Yes, ethnicity or ethnic nationalism has become problematic in Pakistan. But it can be managed and solved. If everyone gets his due share, this problem can be solved. Like we see, in America many different communities are living happily for a better future and better life. Uneven economic development creates problems. Otherwise there is no conflict between ethnic communities.

**Iqbal khattak:** Ethnic nationalism is not a problem. Problem in Pakistan is poor governance.

**Makhdoom Amin Faheem:** We have already faced the problem of ethnicity. We should learn a lesson from the history.
Muhammad Riaz: The real problem is resource allocation and the political system which creates conflict among ethnic communities.

Nawabzada Wazir Jogezi: Generally, we are all responsible but particularly Establishment and political leaders who support military regimes. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and Wali Khan were the best democrats but even they supported Zia-ul-Haq, when they were in coalition with PNA. Even PPP did not oppose Musharaf’s Martial Law in the opposition of Nawaz Sharif.

Sana Ullah Baloch: It is not a source of conflict. Our system is against the ethnic identity. That sense of fear becomes a source of conflict. Establishment tries to merge ethnic identities into Pakistani identity very aggressively. The problem is the System and the Establishment. Baloch suffered a lot due to suppression. The concept of Establishment is changed now. Now economic interests are attached and they are part of establishment like top feudals, media tycoons and multinational.

Shafqat Tanveer Mirza: Ethnicity became problematic because of uneven economic development but Punjabis are not responsible.

Syed Fakhar Imam: The roots of the ethnic problem lie in the pre partition era. Pakistan inherited disproportionate balance of population at the time of Partition which changed the power center in country. This disproportionate balance of population brought different ethnic communities in to conflict and as a result ethnicity became problematic.

Question No. 3

How can ‘Ethnic Nationalism’ subvert ‘Political Development’?
Abdual Majeed Khan Kanju: No answer.

Ayaz Meer: Ethnic nationalism has the power to create hurdles in the process of political development. For instance, we could not solve the issue of our national language. Pakistan cannot afford to have many national languages but these local and regional languages should be given due importance.

Begum Naseem Wali Khan: No Answer.

Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch: No Answer.

Dr. Said Alam: No, Ethnic Nationalism did not subvert political development. The undemocratic regimes are responsible of the rise of ethnic conflict in Pakistan.

Haider Abbas Rizvi: Yes, it did.

Iqbal khattak: No, ethnicity is not a problem. It is bad governance and lack of distribution of resources which creates problems. Like in 1992, NWFP government and WAPDA had a conflict over the issues of tariff on Hydal Power. So it was not an ethnic conflict. It was a demand of share in resources.

Makhdoom Amin Faheem: No Answer.

Muhammad Riaz: Uneven development creates problems and ethnic communities come into conflict.

Nawabzada Wazir Jogezi: We had already lost one part of our country. Sixty years is not a long period in nation’s history. Bureaucracy and military made many mistakes in the past and Pakistan had to suffer the ethnic conflict.
Sana Ullah Baloch: It is very simple. The Central Government will have to change their behavior and mind set. They cannot solve problems through power. Pakistan is not an only multi ethnic state in the world. In other states, governments do not try to suppress their identity. It is not impossible to change the system.

Shafqat Tanveer Mirza: Yes, there are many issues which have been raised by ethnic political elites to exploit the situation.

Syed Fakhar Imam: At the time of partition, Pakistan had to face many challenges. The British government divided Punjab and Bengal. This formula was not used for any other province. Power center was not located in Muslims majority provinces. Bureaucratic power was in the hands of migrated people from UP, Orissa and Bihar. From the day one it was a challenge to relocate these people. So ethnicity became crucial at that time.

Question No. 4

Why did constitution making become problematic in the early years of independence?

Abdul Majeed Khan Kanju: Pakistan was a multinational country but these facts were deliberately denied and ethnic nations were not equally represented.

Ayaz Meer: The Colonial era left a deep impact on Pakistani politics. The Muslim League was not an organized party like the Congress and unfortunately, Pakistan did not inherit leaders of high caliber except Jinnah. The early and sudden death of Jinnah was a great loss for the country which, thus, affected the constitution making process in the early years in Pakistan.
Begum Naseem Wali Khan: The real problem was that after independence certain nationalities were not recognized and they did not get a due share. The government did not give proper recognition to all communities and the civil military establishment was behind the constitutional crisis in Pakistan.

Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch: No Answer.

Dr. Said Alam: During early post partition era, our political leadership did not belong to the areas comprising Pakistan. They tried to eliminate identity of other nations and Pakistan became a colony of Punjabi and Muhajirs. They did not recognize the right of national autonomy for all nations. So, it created hurdles in the process of constitution making.

Haider Abbas Rizvi: Bengali’s were not given their due political and economic share. Civil military bureaucracy also played a role in the delay of constitution making in Pakistan.

Iqbal khattak: It was again bad governance and civil military bureaucracy, which played a role to undermine democracy.

Makhdoom Amin Faheem: Because Quaid-e-Azam died soon after partition and Liauqat Ali Khan was also assassinated. Military and bureaucracy also played a role, which became a hurdle in constitution making.

Muhammad Riaz: The Muslim League was a mass movement in undivided India. It did not develop itself into a political party and after partition it could not perform its function properly. The decision making power was in the hands of Feudal and Capitalist class and they were not interested in power sharing.
Nawabzada Wazir Jogezai: Establishment broke the political structure. If the political structure is weak, the nation cannot become strong. Bureaucracy, military and democratic governments did not work well and constitution making became problematic.

Sana Ullah Baloch: Because the system and establishment did not recognize the reality. Ethnic communities were not given equal representation.

Shafqat Tanveer Mirza: No Answer.

Syed Fakhar Imam: Constitution making became problematic because of civil military bureaucracy and initial disputes between India and Pakistan.

Question No. 5

Which factor, in your opinion, is responsible for the rise of ‘Bengali Nationalism’?

Abdul Majeed Khan Kanju: The Bengalis were in majority but they were not given their due status which created a conflict between Eastern and western wing in Pakistan.

Ayaz Meer: We did not give due importance to the Bengali language. Religion was used as a tool to bulldoze the local identities and this became a factor for the rise of Bengali Nationalism.

Begum Naseem Wali Khan: The Establishment is responsible for all problems. The military and bureaucracy are a part of that Establishment and it is comprised of all provinces. Lack of political autonomy was responsible for the rise of Bengali Nationalism.

Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch: The Establishment, civil military bureaucracy and opportunists politicians are responsible for the rise of ethnic conflict in Pakistan.
Dr. Said Alam: Bengal was not given a due representation and their numerical strength was not acknowledged. National autonomy based on Lahore Resolution was not provided to Bengalis and other ethnic nations in Pakistan. It created a sense of deprivation among them.

Haider Abbas Rizvi: There is a nexus of civil military bureaucracy and politicians. They represent only two percent of the total population but hold all resources of the country. They are actually responsible for the rise of ethnic conflict in Pakistan.

Iqbal khattak: It was again bad governance and civil military bureaucracy which had played a role to undermine democracy.

Makhdoom Amin Faheem: Civil military bureaucracy played a role and the political system did not work smoothly and we lost our eastern part of the country.

Muhammad Riaz: The majority of Bengalis belonged to middle class. But the leadership in West Pakistan comprised of feudal and landlords who were afraid of sharing the power with Bengalis. Therefore, when the Bengalis were not represented they started to think about their separate identity.

Nawabzada Wazir Jogezai: Bad governance and lack of participation are responsible for the rise of Bengali Nationalism in Pakistan.

Sana Ullah Baloch: The Establishment, of course. The Establishment does not only mean civil military bureaucracy. The top peoples in different fields of life are included in Establishment.
**Shafqat Tanveer Mirza:** In post Partition Era, majority of our political leadership came from feudal class. They were against agricultural reforms. But Bangalis were against the feudal System. Civil Military Bureaucracy also played a role.

**Syed Fakhar Imam:** An undemocratic regime and attitude became a source of rise of Bengali Nationalism. To me, Bengal was partitioned the day when Ayub khan took over in Pakistan. No economic allocation can be a substitute of power sharing.

**Question No. 6**

Was the breakup of East Pakistan a failure of Muslim/Pakistani Nationalism?

**Abdul Majeed Khan Kanju:** No answer.

**Ayaz Meer:** I don’t think so.

**Begum Naseem Wali Khan:** Pakistani Nationalism means the recognition of all communities.

**Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch:** Pakistan is a federation and all ethnic identities comprise Pakistan. Balochi, Saraiki, Pashtoon, Sindhi, Punjabi are five nationalities in Pakistan. Muhajirs are not a nationality.

**Dr. Said Alam:** Pakistan is a country comprising of five different nations each having its own national identity.

**Haider Abbas Rizvi:** No Answer.

**Iqbal khattak:** No, it was because lack of distribution of resources.

**Makhdoom Amin Faheem:** No Answer.
**Muhammad Riaz:** No answer.

**Nawabzada Wazir Jogezi:** No Answer.

**Sana Ullah Baloch:** No Answer.

**Shafqat Tanveer Mirza:** No Answer.

**Syed Fakhar Imam:** When Pakistan failed to establish a working democratic parliamentary system ethnic nationalism emerged like Sindhi Nationalism, Bengali Nationalism, Mohajir Nationalism and Saraiki Nationalism.

**Question No. 7**

Which form of government is most suitable for Pakistan?

**Abdul Majeed Khan Kanju:** A democratic, federal system is suitable for Pakistan. The powers of the centre should be reserved. The central government should have three powers, Defense, Foreign Affairs and Currency. All communities should receive equal representation in the central services.

**Ayaz Meer:** A democratic federal system is the only option.

**Begum Naseem Wali Khan:** A parliamentary democracy and federation with maximum political autonomy is the only option.

**Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch:** A federation, but Pakistan does not fulfill all requirement of a federation. The centre should be given only three powers, defense, foreign affairs and
communication. Rest of the power should be vested in the provinces. Central Legislature should be bicameral with equal powers for both of the houses.

**Dr. Said Alam:** Federation is the only form of government in the world which has capacity to solve all problems, through negotiations and argument. And it is the only way through which issues can be resolved in Pakistan.

**Haider Abbas Rizvi:** Pakistan has experienced a federal system but not a democratic federal system because democracy means an evolved and participatory democracy.

**Iqbal khattak:** Democracy, of course in the only option.

**Makhdoom Amin Faheem:** Parliamentary democracy and a federation is most suitable for Pakistan.

**Muhammad Riaz:** Federalism is the only form of government which can work in this country.

**Nawabzada Wazir Jogezi:** Federal Democratic and Parliamentary form of government is suitable for Pakistan.

**Sana Ullah Baloch:** I am in favor of Federation. If there is no space for us in federation, then we should have a right of self determination. The units should have a right to decide that they want to remain with Pakistan or want to leave the Federation.

**Shafqat Tanveer Mirza:** A Federal democratic System is definitely most suitable for Pakistan because it can accommodate all ethnic communities in Pakistan.

**Syed Fakhar Imam:** Democracy is the only option we should take.
Question No. 8

Is ‘Democracy’ a pre-requisite for ‘Political Development’?

**Abdul Majeed Khan Kanju:** Only true democracy based on equal representation of all nations in Pakistan is a pre-requisite for political development.

**Ayaz Meer:** Yes, of course. Democracy is the only form of government we can choose to solve all our issues.

**Begum Naseem Wali Khan:** Yes, democracy is the only system which can provide equal representation to all units. Provincial autonomy is the true democracy.

**Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch:** Democracy means giving powers to the units. If provinces are given their due rights, the country will be politically developed.

**Dr. Said Alam:** Yes, of course. We cannot develop a country without democracy.

**Haider Abbas Rizvi:** Yes, but Pakistan did not experience a true democracy. Our political system is dominated by feudals. MQM is the first Party who represents middle and lower class.

**Iqbal khattak:** Yes, democracy can solve the ethnic problems. But only true democracy has an ability to solve the issues.

**Makhdoom Amin Faheem:** Yes.

**Muhammad Riaz:** Yes, of course. However, democracy means giving proper share in power to all ethnic communities.
Nawabzada Wazir Jogezi: Democracy is the best form of government. It is definitely a pre-requisite of political development.

Sana Ullah Baloch: Pakistani democracy cannot solve the problem. It is only true democracy. True democracy means real and true participation. Pakistan has majoritarian democracy. Multi-ethnic states need participatory and Consociational Democracy.

Shafqat Tanveer Mirza: Of course, democracy has capacity to develop a country like Pakistan.

Syed Fakhar Imam: Yes, democracy is a pre-requisite for political development.

Question No. 9

Do you think that the Constitution of 1973 is the best option to meet the demands of provincial autonomy?

Abdul Majeed Khan Kanju: The Constitution of 1973 is no more. A new constituent assembly is required to formulate a new constitution. All five nations should have equal representation in that assembly.

Ayaz Meer: Yes. Pakistan should provide provincial autonomy to all its federating units. Centralization is not a solution.

Begum Naseem Wali Khan: We are following the same constitution but it should be restored in its original form. At the time when the constitution was formulated, the situation in the Pakistan was at its worst. The country was bifurcated and even then NAP objected on certain articles of the constitution. Mr. Bhutto had promised to give provincial autonomy after 8 years. However,
Peerzada used to say that the promise was actually of ten years. It was also said that Bhutto had promised to abolish the Concurrent list.

**Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch:** Our party does not recognize the Constitution of 1973. It is dead. A new constituent assembly based on equal representation of all communities should be elected to formulate a new constitution.

**Dr. Said Alam:** The Constitution of 1973 is out dated. It is not a federal constitution. So it does not fulfill all the requirements of a federal country. We are in favor of a new constitution formulated by a new and elected constituent Assembly. All five nations should have equal representation in that constituent assembly. And the new constitution should provide equal, autonomous and sovereign status to all the five nations in Pakistan under a federal system.

**Haider Abbas Rizvi:** Constitution of 1973 is centralized. There was no documented proof at the time of its implementation that Concurrent List would be abolished after ten years. This constitution is not according to the will and expectations of the masses. There are two ways to change it. Either a new constituent assembly is established to design a new constitution or the existing one is amended to provide maximum political and fiscal autonomy according to the Lahore Resolution presented in 1940.

**Iqbal khattak:** Yes, the Constitution of 1973 was drafted unanimously by elected political leaders. It can meet all the demands of provincial autonomy if implemented in its original form. ANP owns 1973 constitution and because of this they left PONM. Or it can be amended with the consent of four provinces.
**Makhdoom Amin Faheem:** Constitution of 1973 is the best option and it has all provisions of provincial autonomy.

**Muhammad Riaz:** Yes, this constitution can fulfill all the requirements if implemented fully in its original form. It has capacity to provide maximum financial and administrative autonomy to all federating units.

**Nawazbada Wazir Jogezi:** Constitution of 1973 was drafted unanimously by all political parties. It can provide political autonomy. The only thing is that the system should work.

**Sana Ullah Baloch:** The Constitution of 1973 is dead. It is inflexible. Constitution should be restructured. If a constitution cannot protect itself, how can it protect the rights of nationalities? Constitution is the only bond between all ethnic communities otherwise what relationship between us is. It is a social contract between communities.

**Shafqat Tanveer Mirza:** The Provincial autonomy is already mentioned in the Constitution of 1973 and it can meet the requirement of provincial autonomy. We do not need to change the constitution right now.

**Syed Fakhar Imam:** Yes, we have 1973 Constitution which was drafted by all political parties.

**Question No. 10**

Is the present geographical structure of Pakistan, a cause of conflict?

**Abdul Majeed Khan Kanju:** Yes. We are under the domination of the Punjab. You will have to restructure the boundaries. I will talk about the creation of saraikistan which would include all
areas from Rahimyar Khan to Bahawalnagar and Dera Ghazi Khan to Okara. The other provinces have a right to decide about the restructuring of their boundaries.

Ayaz Meer: Our provinces are already based on language. The southern Punjab is not deprived. It is feudalism which is creating the problems.

Begum Naseem Wali Khan: It is not the existing geographical structure of Pakistan which is the cause of conflict. Rather the main reason is that provinces and nationalities are not given equal representation.

Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch: We do not accept these provincial boundaries. Saraiki people should have their own province.

Dr. Said Alam: Definitely. Provinces should be redrawn on the ethnic lines. The five nations have a right to have their own separate provinces. Pashtoon are divided into Balochistan, NWFP and FATA. Pashtoon areas of Balochistan should have a right to join either Pakhtoonkhawa or be a separate Province. FATA can join Pakhtoonkhwa or they can retain their separate identity if they want.

Haider Abbas Rizvi: A cause of conflict is not the geographical structure. It is the political system.

Iqbal khattak: It is good for administrative purposes to redraw the provincial boundaries. New provinces should be established.
Makhdoom Amin Faheem: First of all, I am opposed to this. We should work with the present geographical boundaries. The parliament can decide it later with the consent of elected representative of people.

Muhammad Riaz: Yes, it is. The reason is that Colonial Powers in Sub Continent divided one lingual group into many different units. So, provinces should be redrawn on ethnic lines.

Nawabzada Wazir Jogezi: No Answer.

Sana Ullah Baloch: Present geographical structure is definitely not according to the ethnic composition of country and it should be changed. But real problem is recognition of ethnic identities.

Shafqat Tanveer Mirza: why should we redraw the boundaries? Punjab is the only homogenous Province in Pakistan. There is one single language in Punjab called Punjabi. All others are different dialects of Punjabi. Other Provinces are heterogeneous. And if we divide one province it will open a Pandora box.

Syed Fakhar Imam: No, I would say that state of mind of establishment is responsible. Legitimate government can solve all kind of problems. Lack of legitimacy and discontinuity of political system is the main handicap in the process of political development.

Question No. 11

If yes, then can the breakup of the present geographical structure solve the problems of ‘Ethnic Conflict and Political Development’?
Abdul Majeed Khan Kanju: Yes, the breakup of present geographical structure and political autonomy is the only solution.

Ayaz Meer: No answer.

Begum Naseem Wali Khan: The change in provincial boundaries cannot solve the problems. The problems can be solved by drawing geographical boundaries on ethnic lines. FATA should be included in Pakhtoonkhwa but these areas are not ready for it. Hazaras are Pahstoon. They should stay in NWFP because Hazarjat is not a nationality. Sindh is a cosmopolitan province. It should not be divided.

Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch: New provincial structure and maximum provincial autonomy is required in Pakistan.

Dr. Said Alam: Why not, these provinces would be multiethnic or multilingual. They will solve their own problems.

Haider Abbas Rizvi: Unless Senate is empowered in Pakistan; new provinces cannot solve the problem. Senate represents the federating units. It should have more powers. After providing maximum provincial autonomy the new provinces can be demarcated. We must keep in our minds that all provinces are multilingual.

Iqbal khattak: No answer.

Makhdoom Amin Faheem: I am against to change the existing provincial boundary. It can open a Pandora box.
Muhammad Riaz: Yes, of course. The Punjab should be divided into three provinces, Potohar, Central Punjab and Saraiki province. NWFP and Sindh can be divided into two provinces each. The Pashtoon areas of Balochistan can either join FATA or NWFP. This restructuring cannot solve all problems alone. It should be accompanied with change in the political system. Agricultural reforms and provincial autonomy is also required to solve the problems.

Nawabzada Wazir Jogezai: There is no harm to restructure the existing provincial boundaries but this was easy in the initial years after independence of Pakistan. Now it is difficult. Two third majority in Parliament is required to amend the constitution. A leader like the caliber of Benazir Bhutto can only do this.

Sana Ullah Baloch: There should be re-demarcation of boundaries of provinces according to the cultural and historical basis. The Saraiki are different nationality. They should have their own province. Balochistan can be divided in to two provinces. Pashtoons can join Pakhtoonkhawa. The Baloch have no problem with Pashtoons. Balochi and Brahvi are the same. Brahvi is not a language. It is a dialect. Balochi is very rich language. But I am against many small provinces.

Shafqat Tanveer Mirza: The issue is not redrawing the boundaries of existing provinces. The change in the system is required.

Syed Fakhar Imam: No, I am not the one who thinks to change the present configuration. In my opinion the present geographical configuration can meet all demands of ethnic communities in Pakistan.

Question No. 12

Do you think that ethnicity plays a vital role in Pakistani politics?
Abdul Majeed Khan Kanju: Yes. There is no doubt in it.

Ayaz Meer: Yes.

Begum Naseem Wali Khan: The role of ethnicity is very important in politics especially in a county like Pakistan. If ethnic communities do not get their due share in a federation then there is a conflict which creates problems.

Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch: The role of ethnicity is very important. All ethnic communities are a part of this political system.

Dr. Said Alam: Ethnicity is a natural phenomenon. It is not a negative thing. We should recognize its importance.

Haider Abbas Rizvi: Yes, ethnicity plays a very important role in Pakistani politics.

Iqbal khattak: Ethnicity can play a role if political system does not meet the demands of provinces.

Makhdoom Amin Faheem: No Answer.

Muhammad Raiz: Yes, it does.

Nawabzada Wazir Jogezi: Yes, it does.

Sana Ullah Baloch: Ethnicity is very vital for any society. It should be acknowledged.

Shafqat Tanveer Mirza: Yes, it does.
**Syed Fakhar Imam:** It plays a role but it is not the only one. Major role is played by civil society, media, students, bureaucracy and interest groups.

**Question No. 13**

If yes, then why regional/ethnic based political parties have not been able to acquire a dominant position in their own provinces vis-à-vis main stream parties?

**Abdul Majeed Khan Kanju:** We are under the domination of our Punjabi brothers. We are passing through a crucial stage.

**Ayaz Meer:** No answer.

**Begum Naseem Wali Khan:** Regional and ethnic parties are performing their role. ANP is established in NWFP.

**Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch:** The regional parties are working in their provinces. But free and fair elections are not held in Pakistan. In elections of 1973 peoples gave votes to different parties.

**Dr. Said Alam:** All ethnic or regional parties are performing their role. But they are not given recognition.

**Haider Abbas Rizvi:** Nationalist parties are divided. There are almost ten nationalist political parties in Balochistan. Every party is represented by a tribal chief. Marris, Bugtis, and Mengals have their own political parties. In Sindh, PPP is the largest political party so nationalist Sindhi political parties could not get success.

**Iqbal khattak:** No answer.
Makhdoom Amin Faheem: No Answer.

Muhammad Riaz: No answer.

Nawabzada Wazir Jogezi: In the presence of national parties it is difficult for regional and ethnic based parties to win.

Sana Ullah Baloch: The regional and ethnic parties in provinces are performing very well. Establishment does not let the political parties work. The government of BNP was suppressed by the Establishment.

Shafqat Tanveer Mirza: No Answer.

Syed Fakhar Imam: BNP is playing a role in its respective area. PPP has roots in Sindh, Punjab and Frontier. Muslim league has hold in Punjab. In the presence of major political parties, the role of smaller parties is diminished.

Question No. 14

How can the role of military be minimized in Pakistani politics?

Abdul Majeed Khan Kanju: By providing equal representation to all nations in the army.

Ayaz Meer: The only way is to establish democratic institutions and provide provincial autonomy.

Begum Naseem Wali Khan: The role of military can be minimized by having joint cooperation among politicians and political parties. Muslim League (N) and PPP are doing a good job by cooperating with each other.
Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch: The political system should provide provincial autonomy to units. And when political system will work effectively, the role of military would be minimized.

Dr. Said Alam: Democracy and national autonomy is the only way.

Haider Abbas Rizvi: An evolved and participatory democracy can minimize the role of military in Pakistan.

Iqbal khattak: Military intervention can be minimized by creating general awareness through media.

Makhdoom Amin Faheem: Political leaders can minimize the role of military.

Muhammad Riaz: The role of the military can be minimized by strengthening the political system.

Nawabzada Wazir Jogezi: I wish to eliminate the role of military in politics but it is not possible. We can minimize the role of military by good governance.

Sana Ullah Baloch: Military does not want the change. If ethnic communities will not be guaranteed how they will feel secure. The military role can be minimized only by changing the political system.

Shafqat Tanveer Mirza: The role of Military can be minimized by institutionalizing the political parties in Pakistan. Unfortunately no political leaders are interested in it. They welcome Military Rulers to suppress their opponents.

Syed Fakhar Imam: Military can only be contained by people and establishing democratic institutions. If government will work effectively, people will not accept military rule. Why don’t
they come out in USA, UK, and Canada? Because there is a fear that people will come out and resist. We need to create consciousness in the minds of the masses as they are the real stakeholders.

**Question No. 15**

How can we strengthen ‘Democracy’ in Pakistan?

**Abdul Majeed Khan Kanju:** Democracy means to recognize the equal rights of all ethnic nations.

**Ayaz Meer:** Pakistan enjoys democracy to some extent. Our society is not restricted. Otherwise it would not have been possible to have open discourse.

**Begum Naseem Wali Khan:** We can strengthen democracy by providing political autonomy to provinces and creating joint cooperation among political parties.

**Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch:** No Answer.

**Dr. Said Alam:** Democracy can be strengthened by giving due share of representation to all nations in Pakistan.

**Haider Abbas Rizvi:** There is only one way to strengthen democracy in Pakistan and that is to provide due share to every ethnic community. Provincial political and fiscal autonomy is required for democracy.

**Iqbal Khattak:** We can strengthen democracy by creating awareness and giving provincial autonomy to Provinces.
Makhdoom Amin Faheem: let the process work. Democratic political system would be strengthened with the passage of time.

Muhammad Riaz: Political parties can play a role in establishing democracy in Pakistan. Unfortunately, however, these political parties are not organized on democratic lines to do so.

Nawabzada Wazir Jogezi: Democracy can be strengthened through regular elections because election is a process of elimination and all non democratic elements would be out automatically.

Sana Ullah Baloch: We are in favor of a Federation but all ethnic identities should have a right of self-determination. There should be a bicameral legislature. Senate should have more powers. National Assembly should be a debating forum and Senate should be the only decision making body.

Shafqat Tanveer Mirza: Without a change in social and cultural system, it is not possible to strengthen democracy in Pakistan.

Syed Fakhar Imam: Democracy can be strengthened through democratic practice and rule of law.

Question No. 16

Can the system of confederation work especially after the breakup of Soviet Union?

Abdul Majeed Khan Kanju: We need a federal system similar to that which exists in America.

Ayaz Meer: Federation; of course.
Begum Naseem Wali Khan: A Federation is the only system which can work in Pakistan. The ANP is in favor of Federation. Pakhtoonkhawa Mili Awami Party also favors the federation but federation means provincial autonomy. Centre should be given only four powers like defense, foreign affairs, currency and communication.

Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch: No Answer.

Dr. Said Alam: Federation is between different nations in one country. Confederation is a system between different countries. But we live in one country so a federation is the only option.

Haider Abbas Rizvi: Pakistan is a multilingual country. A federation can solve all political problems in Pakistan.

Iqbal khattak: Federation, of course.

Makhdoom Amin Faheem: Definitely, Federation is the best option for Pakistan.

Muhammad Riaz: No answer.

Nawabzada Wazir Jogezi: I believe in a federation and provincial autonomy is required for such a system to work. The Central government should have control over key areas such as defense, foreign affair, currency and communication. The residuary powers should be given to provinces.

Sana Ullah Baloch: We are in favor of a federation but all ethnic identities should have a right of self-determination. The best way is to have a bicameral legislature. The Senate should have more powers. The National Assembly should be a debating forum and the Senate should be the only decision making body.
Shafqat Tanveer Mirza: Federation of course.

Syed Fakhar Imam: What is Confederation? I believe in Federation

Question No. 17

How do you look at the future of Pakistan?

Abdul Majeed Khan Kanju: We are at a very crucial stage right now. If the facts are not recognized, then the ethnic communities will try to find new alignments.

Ayaz Meer: We are caught up in a vicious circle. We cannot predict anything right now but are lucky enough that we survived from anarchy. Our society is strained and stressed but it has not broken down. We need to develop a national approach towards all problems.

Begum Naseem Wali Khan: Pakistan should exist. But the future can be viewed in terms of the past and the present. We can pray for our country.

Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch: Near future depends upon existence of all nationalities. If centre will not recognize our rights, the Balochis will fight for them.

Dr. Said Alam: Pakistan is at the cross roads. If the army stops intervention in politics then all matters would be resolved automatically otherwise this country would cease to exist.

Haider Abbas Rizvi: Our future depends upon Pakistan. We, the Muhajirs, migrated from India to live in Pakistan.

Iqbal khattak: Pakistan can survive in any circumstances. India, Sri Lanka, Nepal all have insurgencies but they still exist. And if they can, so can we.
Makhdoom Amin Faheem: The future of Pakistan is bright. Pakistan will prosper. God will bless Pakistan.

Muhammad Riaz: Pakistan is a post feudal and a pre-capitalist state. Its future depends on well designed strategies and a change in the system.

Nawabzada Wazir Jogezi: If law and order is maintained, the people are not against the country. You have to develop the future of this nation with certain sacrifices.

Sana Ullah Baloch: The future is getting worse day by day. We need to change the mind set of the establishment.

Shafqat Tanveer Mirza: We can accept anything unpredictable in Pakistan. No doubt the situation has deteriorated in the past but it can change at any time.

Syed Fakhar Imam: Pakistan is a viable state. We have a very young population. We have had the opportunity but too often have failed to live up to the expectation of our people. Political elites, military, bureaucracy and civil society in Pakistan need to think about what Pakistan can do in the next 20 years. We need to define a paradigm. A legitimate government should start to evolve a process to involve different people to think about to formulate future strategies.

Analysis

The answers and opinions of political elites interviewed from major national political parties and regional nationalist parties are very important to verify the hypothesis of this research. The analysis clearly reveals the policies of these elites and/or their parties which play a very significant role in national or provincial politics. All the interviewees agree that Pakistan is an
ethnically plural state. They also share their opinion that ethnicity plays a vital role in Pakistani politics but it is a natural phenomenon in a multi lingual- multi ethnic state. All respondent believe that roots of ethnic dilemma in Pakistan go back to pre-partition history as Pakistan inherited regions and areas with different ethnic complexities. In their opinion, the ethnicity is not a problem in Pakistan but it comes in conflict when the powers are centralized and diversity is not recognized by decision makers. The breakup of East Pakistan is an example of these realities. As far as system of government is concerned, there is consensus that democracy is the only option to solve ethnic problems in Pakistan. In their views, democracy has capacity to accommodate divergent interests but undemocratic regimes intensify ethnic conflict. All of them are of the view that military interference played a vital role to aggravate the ethnic conflict in Pakistan. It is often propagated that few ethnic based parties are not in favor of a federation in Pakistan but all the elites responded in favor of a federal form of government though there is difference of opinion on the distribution of powers between the central government and federating units. The only disagreement is on the issue of reconfiguration of provincial boundaries. Few minor political parties with a narrow vote bank are demanding the new re- configuration but it can be worked out in parliament through elected representatives. After analyzing these answers, it is concluded that certain key issues in country which create a wide gulf are merely matter of interests. Pakistan is ethnically heterogeneous state but ethnicity is a phenomenon which should not be taken negatively. Reciprocal relationship between ethnic nationalism and political development is established. Ethnicity becomes problematic when demands and concerns of different ethnic communities are not addressed. So political and democratic inclusion of different ethnic groups, not the exclusion is the only option to bring the
country out of this quagmire and democracy has a capacity to solve problems which is only possible through power sharing and the continuity of the political system.
CHAPTER NO. 6

CONCLUSION

Pakistan’s constitutional history is full of surprises and undemocratic practices. The country since its inception is in search of a stable democratic political system. Though many factors are considered responsible but ethnicity is viewed as a major cause of its political under development. Pakistan inherited regions and areas with different ethnic loyalties but urge to safeguard their interests while retaining their identity as promised in the Lahore Resolution, 1940 brought them together to demand a separate homeland. The Muslim League’s decentralized future scheme was more appealing to them as compared to centralized Hindu dominated system of government by All India Congress. After its independence, Pakistan adopted the Government of India Act 1935 as an Interim Constitution with certain modifications. This act was drafted and implemented by British Colonial Rulers. It was a centralized constitution which provided more powers to the central government as compared to federating units. After creation of the state of Pakistan, the decision makers declared to formulate a new constitution of their own. But unfortunately the Constituent Assembly considering the constitutional matters was not directly elected. Members of Pakistan’s first Constituent Assembly were elected in 1946 in United India by the members of provincial assemblies. At the time of partition these Muslims members became the members of first Constitution making body. After the dissolution of this first Assembly, the second Constituent Assembly was also elected in an indirect way as there were no direct elections held. Finally when constitution was drafted after almost nine years it could not long last. Political conflict and chaos created during the period 1947-58 gave the armed forces an
opportunity to intervene in the country. Army had already been involved in political affairs and finally on 8 October, 1958, first Martial Law was imposed by General Ayub Khan, the C-in-C of Pakistan Army. The Constitution was abrogated and he introduced a new version of democracy called “Basic Democracies” which was his own invention. The system of “Basic Democracies” provided an indirect hierarchical system of elections where masses were involved only at a preliminary stage. Ayub Khan also constituted a Commission under the chairmanship of Justice Shahabuddin to draft the new constitution. The final report of Constitution Commission recommended presidential form of government and suggested that President should be elected through direct elections. Commission also suggested a bicameral legislature to provide equal representation to federating units and create parity among all provinces. The office of vice president was proposed and it was recommended by the Commission that vice president and president should not belong to the same province because it was a solution to check the domination of one province over the other. Ayub Khan did not accept all the recommendations of this Commission particularly which were a pre requisite for a presidential system. So the third time Constitution of Pakistan was not prepared by elected representatives. Ayub Constitution also had to go after anti Ayub movement which resulted in another Martial Law. Yahya Khan after taking over the reign of government in 1969 announced Legal Frame Work Order (LFO) and made certain changes for holding first General Elections. First time General Elections were held in Pakistan after twenty three years of her independence. The political situation in Pakistan particularly, in Eastern Wing remained tense during elections which further worsened after election results. According to the results, Awami League emerged as the single largest party in East Pakistan with the manifesto based on Six Points. The Six Points formula of Awami League was actually a demand for a loose federation or a kind of confederation. The second party which
won majority of seats in West Pakistan particularly Punjab and Sindh was PPP with the agenda of Islamic Socialism. PPP manifesto was to provide bread, clothes and shelter to every one which was a popular and convincing slogan for the people of a poor country like Pakistan. The results of General Elections stirred anxiety as both of the major parties were not ready to accommodate each other and therefore issue of autonomy could not be resolved. This crisis eventually, resulted in the separation of Eastern Wing after a military action taken by Yahya Khan, intransigent behavior of Bhutto and Mujib along with foreign intervention. Now the responsibility of new Pakistan was on the shoulders of Mr. Bhutto who took the office of President and Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator. He started the task of constitution making with other parties particularly, NAP and JUI, which won victory in Balochistan and NWFP. He was successful in creating consensus to draft a constitution which was promulgated on 14th August 1973. The constitution was of Federal nature providing powers to provinces but these powers were curtailed under the Concurrent List which had to last for another ten years. It meant that federating units had to wait for ten more years to achieve maximum political autonomy. Before the completion of the term ten years, Bhutto was removed from the office by another military coup in July 1977 by Zia-ul-Haq. Concurrent List was extended for next ten years by Zia and it is still a part of the constitution. Even the four elected governments from 1988 to 1999 including the Second term of Nawaz Sharif with two third majority in National Assembly failed to resolve the issue. The political instability and authoritarian and military regimes intensified ethnic conflict in the country. Certain interests of different ethnic communities promised in the constitution remained unsatisfied and centralized policies of federal government aggravated the situation. That is the reason that ethnic based regional parties do not trust the Constitution of 1973. Though some of them like ANP, and MQM are in favor to keep
the constitution but insist on doing away with the Concurrent list. The other smaller parties now operating under the banner of PONM do not accept this Constitution. They are demanding to hold new elections for a new constituent assembly where all federating units should have an equal representation and draft a new constitution giving minimum powers to the Centre. But the reality is that these parties do not have a mass appeal. All major parties like PPPP, PML (N) and PML (Q) do not express any dissatisfaction with the Constitution. Existing provincial boundaries are another point which is often raised by nationalists. It is argued that smaller provinces have been under the domination of Centre and Punjab at the same time. Even before separation of East Pakistan the question of parity had been a source of conflict between eastern and western wing of Pakistan. The Bengalis demanded representation according to its numerical strength which was rejected by the Centre and other provinces. After 1973, the domination of Punjab is the central points in all political debates of ethnic based parties. There is a demand to divide Punjab in to two or three province but the creation of Saraiki province is the main demand. The federal parties like PPP and Pakistan Muslim League (N) do not favor this division. Their point of view is that reconfiguration will open a Pandora Box which will create chaos and instability. As there are other ethnic communities which can raise demands for the new provinces like Hindko people in NWFP who are becoming politically more vibrant and conscious and they have staged their protests against renaming the province. Though ANP favors division of Punjab but they are not willing to accept division of NWFP. The same is the case with Balochistan where Baloch and Pashtoon are two dominant ethnic communities in certain areas. Pashtoons under the banner of PKMAP are supporting to divide Balochistan in to two provinces. Their agenda is that either Pashtoon Balochistan should be an independent province or it should be included in Pakhtoonkhwa. But Baloch will definitely not agree and resistance would intensify the
intercommunity conflict. The same case is with Sindh where relationship between Mohajars and Sindhis is already tense and any such division can trigger conflict. Another proposal is to divide Pakistan in different ethnic based provinces which are neither supported by major parties nor by the nationalists. And Heterogeneous character of provinces makes this division more complicated. All of these demands are raised to satisfy the provincial demands for maximum political and fiscal autonomy. But actually the division of existing provinces cannot solve the problem. Real problem is power sharing. Mostly political leaders and political parties have little differences over nature of political system, form of government and distribution of powers and discussion with many political elites have confirmed it. If these demands are met and divergent interests are satisfied, issue would be resolved automatically. Otherwise it can be resolved through consensus building in parliament. It is time for the ruling elites to realize that people have to travel long distances to reach to the provincial capital for administrative purposes. Decentralization will solve this problem. The main issue is continuity of political system which can be achieved through practice. Unfortunately democratic process in Pakistan has been interrupted four times and country had to live under long Martial rule which intensified ethnic conflict. Ethnicity is not a problem but it becomes problematic when ethnic communities are not recognized. Pakistan needs to regularize political process by minimizing the role of civil military establishments. This task can be accomplished by creating political awareness, consensus among politician and satisfying the provincial demands of political autonomy through political process.

Though the constitution of 1973 is seen as an agreed document but today nationalist parties in Pakistan do not accept it and want to change it. In discussion with different PONM Leaders they have demanded for the new constitution in Pakistan. But these parties do not have popular mass
support and could not win more than couple of seats in elections or even they were not able to announce their candidates against other major parties.

Another demand is to divide the country into different ethnic based provinces. The logic behind it is to decentralize powers among smaller units which will solve the ethnic problems. But this is going to open a Pandora box, for example the division of Sindh in to different ethnic based provinces is not acceptable to Sindhis at any cost. Because they are afraid of that they would be marginalized numerically and will be deprived of from two important cities, Karachi and Hyderabad where Urdu speaking community is in majority. If Hindko speaking areas of Abbotabad, Hari Pur, Peshawar City and Dera Ismail Khan (few areas) are declared separate province, the Pashtoons under the banner of ANP would never accept it. In the same way the division of Balochistan, either into two or there provinces is not acceptable to Balochis. Though there is less discussion about the division of other provinces, but the division of Punjab, the biggest province will definitely leave an impact on other provinces. It may remove the fear perception of smaller provinces but at the same time this would consequently intensify the ethnic conflict in other provinces rather than solve it. As far as decentralization is concerned, there is a need to provide maximum political and fiscal autonomy to satisfy the needs of the existing provinces.

**Findings**

- Pakistan is a multi lingual and multi ethnic state.
- Ethnicity plays a vital role in Politics in Pakistan
- There is a reciprocal relationship between ethnic nationalism and political development.
• Ethnic Nationalism is a dependent variable.

• Undemocratic regimes and centralization of power are the major factors which have contributed to the rise of ethnic nationalism.

• All provinces are heterogeneous in character and there are certain issues in intra provincial politics.

• Reconfiguration of provincial boundaries cannot solve the problem.

Recommendations

• Maximum political autonomy should be granted and maintained.

• Fiscal autonomy is also required to redress the provincial concerns.

• Democracy can be established by creating consensus among parties and it is possible through continuity of democratic process.

• Constitutional change through an elected parliament is required to redress the ethnic concerns.

• Role of military can be minimized by establishing democratic institutions.

• Reconfiguration of provincial boundaries can be made after decentralization of powers.

• Ethnic identity should not be perceived as a threat to integrity of Pakistan.

• Development of democracy should be given priority to avoid the backlash of uneven economic development.

It is quite appropriate to conclude by quoting Dr. Khawaja Alqama in this context that “inclusion and not exclusion of ethnic groups within the national political structure is the key to unity of a multi ethnic country. They may fight at certain times for advocating their own particular ethnic
interests, yet they should never lose faith in each other's capabilities of tolerance, mutual understanding and compromise which is possible only in a strong democratic political set-up."

---

1 Khawaja Alqama, *Bengali Elite Perceptions of Pakistan; The Road to Disillusionment, Un Even Development or Ethnicity?*, Karachi, Royal Book Company, 1997, pp.298-299.
4. Fahim, Makhdoom Amin, Former Vice Chairman, Federal Minister, PPPP, Islamabad, 09-06-2008.
5. Gull, Dr. Adnan, Vice Chairman Gandhara Hindko Board, Peshawar, 09-03-2008.
6. Imam, Syed Fakhar, Former Speaker National Assembly, Member Central Executive Committee PPPP, Multan, 30-05-2008.
7. Jogizai, Nawabzada Wazir, Former Deputy Speaker National Assembly, Member of PPPP, Islamabad, 30-07-2008.
PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENTS:

11. All India Muslim League, Resolution of the All India Muslim League from December 1938 to March 1940, Published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.
SECONDARY SOURCES

ARTICLES (JOURNAL)


**ARTICLES (ELECTRONIC)**


4. Hussain, Asaf, *Ethnicity, National Identity and Praetorianism*, the Case for Pakistan, Asian Survey, vol. 16, No. 10, October, 1976, [http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0004-4687%28197610%3A16%3C984%3AEI%23%20AENIAPT%2C0.0.0.0%203B2-H](http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0004-4687%28197610%3A16%3C984%3AEI%23%20AENIAPT%2C0.0.0.0%203B2-H), Accessed on 26.03.08, 9.15 a.m.


   [http://links.jstor.org/sici?si...299%282007,03,51.p.m.](http://links.jstor.org/sici?si...299%282007,03,51.p.m.)


   [http://links.jstor.org/sici?si...1%282008,03,41.05p.m.](http://links.jstor.org/sici?si...1%282008,03,41.05p.m.)


**BOOKS**


78. Lenin, Vladimir, Question of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalists, Moscow, Progress publishers, 1953.
86. Mahmood, Dr. Safdar, Constitutional Foundations of Pakistan, Lahore, United Publishers, 1975.


122. Tandulkar, D. G. *Abdul Ghaffar Khan; Faith is a Battle*, Bombay, Popular Parakashan, 1967.


**ENCYCLOPEDIAS**


**NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES**


2. The Daily Dawn, Lahore.

3. The Daily Nawa-i-Waqat, Lahore.

4. The Daily Pakistan Times, Lahore.
APPENDIX 2

Text of Resolution passed at 27th Annual Session of All India Muslim League held at Lahore on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of March 1940.

Resolution No. 1 (1940)

“While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolution dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October 1939, and 3rd of February 1940 on the constitutional issue, this Session of the All India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October, 1939 made by the Victory on behalf of His Majesty’s Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935, is various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered de novo and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute “Independent Status” in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

The adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specially provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other
minorities for the protection of their religious cultural, economic, political administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This Session further authorities the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defense, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

Proposed by-The Hon’ble Moulvi A.K. Fazlul Haque Premier of Bengal.

Seconded by-Chodhari Khaliquzzaman Saheb, M.L.A. (U.P.)


- Sadar Aurangzeb Khan Sahab, M.L.A (N.W.F. Province)
- Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon M.L.A (Central.)
- K.B. Nawab Ismail Khan Saheb, M.L.C. (Behar.)
- Qazi Mohammad Isa Khan Saheb, President of Baluchistan Provincial Muslim Leageu.

Supported by- Abdul Hameed Khan Saheb, M.L.A. (Madras.)

- I.I.Chundrigar Sehab, M.L.A. (Bombay)
- Syed Abdur Rauf Shah Saheb, M.L.A. (C.P.)
- Dr. Mohammad Alum, M.L.A. (Punjab)
- Syed ZakirAli Saheb, (U.P.)
- Maulana Abdul Hamid Saheb Qadri, (U.P.)
(Carried unanimously).