UNEQUAL DEVELOPMENT IN A PERIPHERAL CAPITALIST STATE: A CASE STUDY OF KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA PROVINCE OF PAKISTAN (1947-1977)

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ABSTRACT

My thesis explores the problem of unequal development within the federation of Pakistan with reference to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province from August 1947 to July 1977. In the development paradigm regionalism/provincialism is considered as a petty bourgeois phenomenon; my thesis refutes this viewpoint and considers the problematic of regionalism as inherent in capital logic. Maximization of profit engenders centralization of capital and concentration of resources thereby creating the dualism of core and periphery. The process of capital accumulation generates the contradiction of development and underdevelopment, Centre and periphery, core and hinterland. Development at the centre/core perpetuates underdevelopment in the periphery/hinterland. Poverty in the periphery is neither the poverty of natural resources nor the poverty of human resources; it is the enigma of capitalist growth.

The problematic of core/periphery, centre/hinterland gains extra significance due to federal status of Pakistan where both the centre and the provinces derive power from the Constitution and neither one is subordinate to each other unlike a unitary state. My study however, unravels a different process, the State uses constitutional jurisdiction to legitimize power accumulation. In order to maintain hegemony over the civil society the state centralizes power, moreover this concentration of power is essential to fulfill accumulation and reproduction of capital as well. To do so the factors of production are mobilized to the areas with maximum return; as a consequence labour, capital and raw material from peripheral provinces is invested in the core regions.

The state Legitimizes capital accumulation by concentrating political power in the centre through the Constitution, relegating the provinces to a subsidiary role. The second source of legitimation by the state is the academic and religious institutions as well as communication media (the ideological apparatuses). Besides the ideological institutions the state seeks support from the military, police, bureaucracy (repressive/coercive apparatuses) as well as landlords and bourgeoisie owning the means of production. Finally, hegemony is maintained by reorganizing the power bloc, hurting individual capitals in the process but protecting the total capital. My research is an holistic analysis of Unequal development in its historical, political and economic dimensions unraveling the Centre/Periphery problematic within the Federation of Pakistan with reference to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province.
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CHAPTER – I

METHOD OF INQUIRY AND EXPOSITION

Our attempt in this thesis is to analyze the problematic of regionalism / nationalism in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan during the thirty years since independence, 1947–77. The problematic both in its theoretical and empirical form has been approached in a variety of ways. The most popular and common mode of explanation has been within the realm of modernization theory. The regional/national question within this approach is considered as an institutional problem (weakness of the political parties, the army, and bureaucracy) or a problem of poverty (rich nations / poor nations). Modernization theory adopts ‘structural – functional’ approach in analyzing the regional / national question which makes the analysis a-historical restricting it to social and political realm, the super structural phenomenon.¹

Our analysis differs from the above one. It is an historical materialist interpretation of the regional / national question. The materialist conception of history is explained by M. Cornforth as:

“The general theory of the motive, force and laws of social change … consisting of several interconnected propositions, which together may be said to constitute a general law of social development …. (1) in order to carry on production people must enter into relations of production… (2) people enter into relations of production, and so associate in an economic organization, independent of any conscious decision but corresponding to the character of their productive forces. (3) social institutions, and with them prevailing system of ideas, will then arise corresponding to the economic structure of society…. The theory thus postulates a law of interdependence between production, the relations of production, and the social supper structure of institutions and ideas.”²

We have attempted to explain the problematic as dialectic of structure and superstructure within a capitalist social formation.³ As a result there is no one ‘cause’ singled out for the regional / national problematic but a multiple of factors presented in their historical context as an explanation of the problematic. Moreover, our analysis differs from the structural/functional approach by distinguishing appearances from reality explaining not only the ‘apparent’ but also the ‘essential’ or the ‘real’ reasons contributing

¹ David Easton’s cybernetic model is a good example of this approach, David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life. New York: John Wiley, 1965, Chapter 2.
³ By dialectics we mean, “A way of viewing things as moments in their own development in, with, and through other things… the study of problems which concentrates on looking for relationships, not only between different entities but between the same one in times, past, present and future”. B. Ollman, Alienation. London: Cambridge University Press, 197, p. 52.
to internal colonialism. The focus on the real or essential problems does not mean that appearance is false or not real but that it explains only one moment or one part of that reality; whereas our mode of inquiry attempts to explain different moments of a whole emphasizing the essence of the problem in totality; as B. Ollman puts it:

“Actually, essence includes appearance but transcends it in every direction in which what is apparent acquires its importance… it is a matter of extending the ties between the entities conceived of as internally related to one another”.

Such a methodology is dialectical interaction between the concrete and the abstract and vice versa, it relates the abstract philosophical ideas to the real historical process. It is a synthesis of the abstract and concrete so that theoretical concepts or categories reflect the actual historical development. Our mode of exposition is such that the same thing or entity is presented from different angles and apparently disparate ones as identical. This is because in reality entities are connected as essential elements in each other’s relations. Paul Sweezy calls this as method of ‘successive approximations’. This relational concept of reality enables us to overcome the duality of cause-effect, fact-value and nature-society. Ours is therefore a holistic approach.

Our primary difference with ahistorical functional analysis is based on a different methodology in the mode of inquiry and exposition arising from our understanding of ‘laws of motion’ and the ‘history of capital’. This helps us in explaining the movement of capital in different historical epochs and the form it takes in different social formations. The real or formal subsumption of labour under capital is significant, not only because it reveals the laws of motion of capital but more so because it presents a maze of complexities in the social relations of a social formation at a specific conjuncture. The importance of capital logic is, therefore, not in providing categories for economic analysis but in providing political categories for analyzing social relations. This view is aptly summarized by John Holloway and Sol Piciotto:

“It is clear that Capital is in no way an attempt to examine ‘the economy in isolation; still less does it constitute the economic ‘into an autonomous and specific object of science’. It is an historical materialist critique of the forms of political economy which attempts to show the social relations which are

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5 E. Mandel explains the relationship between the abstract and the concrete as follow, “progression from the abstract to the concrete is necessarily preceded… by a progression from the concrete to the abstract. For the abstract itself is already a result of a previous work of analysis which has sought to separate the concrete into its ‘determinant relations.” E. Mandel, *Late Capitalism*. London: New Left Book, 1975, p. 14.
concealed by, and give rise to, those forms. It follows that a study of the political must not be an attempt to develop some autonomous ‘political science which attempts to decipher the political categories as forms of social relations…. Logically, therefore, the German debate, which is concerned with the analysis of the form of the political, draws its inspiration less from Marx’s overtly political writings than from Capital and the Grundrisse. And this does not stem from a position of economic determinism but, on the contrary, from a view which sees in Capital not an economic analysis but a materialist critique of the economic form. Just as the social relations of the capitalist mode of production have given rise to the economic form and the categories of political economy, so they have given rise to the political investigation of the relation between the economic and the political begins not by asking in what way the ‘economic base’ determines the ‘political superstructure’ but by asking: what is it about social relations in bourgeois society that makes them appear in separate forms as economic relation and political relations?”

Before presenting our conceptual framework which sees political and economic categories as internally related, or in other words, before the exposition of the logic of capital which necessitates the separateness between the political and the economic categories by the pluralists, we will briefly present their (pluralists’) view of the state, society, elites and modernization.

Pluralists view the state as over and above the society. It is a neutral arbiter and arena for bargaining interests. In order to avoid manipulation of an individual by an unrepresentative state, political power is acquired by the representatives of the people through regular elections. Legitimacy for the political system is thus attained through the electoral process but its maintenance can be guaranteed if “the citizens use their political resources scarcely at all”. Since the majority of the people are apathetic and indifferent, issues of significance are articulated by the interest groups as a result of which the most talented and the skilled individuals acquire the most valuable and scarce positions. Within the pluralists’ perspective, there is no single power elite, but plurality of elites, social economic and political. They all have equal and autonomous power R. A. Dahl’s (1961) study of three issues in New Haven and Banefild’s (1961) study of six issues in Chicago were an attempt to show the diversity of elites, the plurality of interests and

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10 R. A. Dahl, *Who Governs?* New Haven, Hale UP, 1961, pp. 276-77. Legitimacy according to S. M. Lipset is “value internalization…. It involves the capacity of a political system to engender and maintain the belief that the existing political institutions are the most appropriate or proper ones for the society”. S. M. Lipset, *Political Man.* New York: Doubleday, 1960, pp. 64-80.
consequently the diffusion of power in a democratic political system. R.A. Dahl is, however, quite explicit in the fundamental interest of democratic stability. According to him:

“What we ordinarily describe as democratic politics is merely the chaff. It is the surface manifestation, representing superficial conflicts. Prior to politics, beneath it, enveloping it, restricting it, conditioning it, is the underlying consensus on policy that usually exists in the society among a predominant portion of politically active members..... It is then a democracy of the politically active which is a tiny proportion of the electorate.”

For a democratic political system to develop, a rational bureaucratic structure is required. There are, however, certain prerequisites for a traditional society to evolve into a modern political system. K.W. Deutsch enumerates industrialization, urbanization and communication through mass media as necessary elements for political participations.

S.M. Lipset also lists more or less the same conditions for a democratic political system, i.e. a) capitalist economy, b) secular political culture, and c) high political participation. These conditions would not only enhance political participation in the third world states, but also increase their economic growth and lead them to a ‘take off’ stage which will result in their “normal and relatively automatic growth.” The problem that most modernization theorists find in the analysis of the third world states is the role of the traditional people who have a low ‘need for achievement’, or who lack “empathy” (the inability of the traditional man to see himself in different roles). The path to modernization and national integration in these societies thus depends upon the elites, who have “an advanced modern education and are in possession of modern intellectual culture”. E. Shils considered the indigenous elites to play the role of modernizers as intellectual politicians or ruling political elite, whereas L. Pye considered successful nation-building dependent on bureaucracies staffed by psychologically secure individuals. M. Janowitz attributed the role of political development in the third world to the military due to its “internal structure, organizational skill, professional and political

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20 Ibid., p. 90.
ideology as well as internal cohesion”.

What is common amongst the modernization theorists is their belief that the traditional societies, yet in their early stage of development, will finally catch up with the first world through their elites and the adoption of capitalist economy as well as secular political culture. A.G. Frank aptly summarizes the limitations of the modernization approach as follows:

“a) The “developmentalist” view of seeing the economic development as a succession of capitalist stages, b) the “diffusionist” view that secular culture of capitalist development is necessary for development, c) the “psychological” approach to development, d) the “Import substitution” model as being a generator of economic development and, e) that underdevelopment is “original” or “traditional” state of affairs.”

The experience of some of the third world states that accepted the modernization approach was a bitter one. The adoption of a capitalist economy led to ‘underdevelopment’ rather than ‘development’ and the rule by ‘modern’ bureaucrats and army officials resulted in disintegration rather than national integration (case in point is Pakistan). It is for these very reasons that we rejected the modernization approach in our analysis and used instead an historical materialist and dialectical explanation of the problem of development, underdevelopment and unequal development. This mode of analysis enables us to understand the laws of motion and history of capital in the colonial and postcolonial area of Pakistan. Moreover, it helps us to identify features specific to the area constituting Pakistan due to its integration in the world economy.

ii. Modes of Production

To develop our thesis of unequal development within capitalist social formation, we have to first establish whether or not our specific area of concern, i.e. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, was undergoing capitalist transformation at the time of its integration in the British Empire in 1901. Since our analysis starts from 1901 onward, we will not be concerned with the pre-colonial social formation nor will we be concerned with other parts of India which were integrated in the Empire in 1757 after the Battle of Plassey. Our analysis reveals that the KPK under the colonial rule developed a capitalist economy, though the subsumption of labour i.e. the relations of production had changed without changing the production process. Hamza Alavi outlines five conditions distinguishing capitalist mode of production (CMP) from feudal mode of production (FMP); these are (i)

22 M. Janowitz, Military in the Political Development of New Nations. The University of Chicago Press, 1964
Free labour, (ii) economic coercion/exploitation of the dispossessed labour, (iii) separation of the economic (class) power from the political (state) power, (iv) generalized commodity production and (v) extended reproduction of capital. However, as we are dealing with a colonial empire which initiated capitalist economy, thus the cycle of capitalist production in the colony was completed through its linkage with the core area. The organic composition of capital (increase in constant capital, machines over variable capital, human labour) increased in the core area which is real subsumption of labour whereas in the colony it was only formal subsumption of labour which meant that the social relation changed without actually changing the production process. Under the formal subsumption of labour, ‘absolute surplus’ value is extracted through lengthening of the day whereas real subsumption of labour increase the organic composition of capital and ‘relative surplus value’ is extracted through intensification of labour. Formal subsumption of labour under capital:

“is the general form of every capitalist process of production. At the same time, however, it can be found as a particular form alongside the specifically capitalist mode of production in its developed form, because although the latter entails the former, the converse does not necessarily obtain.”

The distinction between the particular form of the CMP and the specifically CMP is that the latter revolutionizes the actual mode of labour and the real nature of the process whereas the former takes over an existing labour process and without changing the actual labour process extracts surplus value by making work longer and extending its duration. A distinction between the specifically CMP or the real subsumption of labour under capital and the pre-capitalist modes of production is that the former is purely a financial relationship between the worker who sells his labour power and the capitalist who appropriates the surplus labour. “In consequence the process of exploitation is stripped of every patriarchal, political or even religious cloak… the relations of production themselves create a new relation of supremacy and subordination”. However, for a CMP free labour and extraction of surplus value are not the only conditions; other conditions are generalized commodity production and reproduction of capital, i.e. extraction of surplus value through generalized commodity production for accumulation of capital. Having made the distinction between a particular form of CMP through formal subsumption of

25 K. Marx, Capital I. New York: Vintage, 1976, p. 1025. “If the production of absolute surplus-value was the material expression of the formal subsumption of labour under capital, then the production of relative surplus-value may be viewed as its real subsumption”, Ibid.
26 Ibid., p. 1019, emphasis in original.
27 Ibid., p. 1027, emphasis in original.
labour and specifically CMP due to real subsumption of labour, we will in the following pages identify the distinguishing features of the FMP and the CMP. This will be done to establish a basis for our categorization of the KPK as a CMP under the colonial period although it was a particular form of CMP in which the existing labour process was brought under capitalist production without revolutionizing it.

The debate over CMP and feudal mode of production (FMP) started with Frank-Laclau argument.28 Ernest Laclau considers Frank’s mistake in designating Latin America as capitalist due to its incorporation in the world economy thus associating CMP with exchange or circulation rather than change in social relations process of production.29 Whereas according to Laclau despite Latin America’s integration in the world economy it remained feudal because economic surplus was privately appropriated, labour force was subject to extra economic coercion and property in the means of production remained in the hands of the direct producer.30 However similar but more rigorous critique than that of Frank and Laclau is undertaken by J. Bannaji who explains MP based on the laws of motion, as opposed to mode of exploitation, wage labour or extraction of surplus value.31 Surplus value extracted in simple commodity production by free worker based on commercial relations in the world market is “for the sake of superfluity, for luxury consumption” of the aristocracy according to Bannaji; this is a criterion of FMP where production and exchange of commodities takes place for expanding consumption of land lords.32

To categorize colonial social formation as neither feudal nor capitalist but one in which different modes of production are articulated with one of them being the dominant one is espoused by different theorists. P.P. Rey describes these social formations as one in which pre-capitalist MP is conserved and dissolved for the benefit of the metropole. According to him, in the colonies pre-capitalist social structures were reinforced, thus feudalism is the dominant MP in the colonial social formation characterized by several MPs.33 In the context of articulation of the MP, U. Patnaik considers India dominated by feudalism,34 whereas P. Chattopadhya points to the determining role of capitalism.35

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32 *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31
For our analysis of the modes of production we rely upon H. Alavi’s criteria of distinguishing CMP from FMP as mentioned in footnote 24 of this chapter and the fine distinction emphasized between formal and real subsumption of labour which distinguishes colonial capitalism from capitalism in the metropole. The assessment of colonial capitalism cannot be done in isolation from the metropole because two of the conditions of the CMP i.e. generalized commodity production and extended reproduction of capital takes place in the metropole through increase in the organic (living labour) composition of capital which is real subsumption of labour (extraction of intensified surplus value); whereas in the colony formal subsumption of labour (extraction of surplus value through lengthening of the day) take place because of the availability of free labour, separation of economic (class) power from political (state) power and economic coercion of the dispossessed labour. Thus change in the social relations in the colony takes place through the introduction of the CMP without changing the production process.36

The distinguishing categories of the CMP as outlined by Hamza Alavi and the earlier distinctions made between the formal and real subsumption of labour under capital with specific reference to the KPK enables us to categorize that social formation as a particular form of CMP. The British by abolishing the system of ‘wesh’ (redistribution of land)37 and introducing instead the jagirdari system (permanent private ownership of land) created a class of landowners (jagirdars). This also created a class of landless labourers free to sell their labour power. Furthermore, the landowners (zamindars/jagirdars) were dispossessed of their political power by the abolition of the jirga system (village tribal councils). The political power rested with the state, the linchpin of the administration was the Deputy Commissioner. These changes abolished the self-sufficient village community by integrating it in the world economy, surplus value was realized in the market and generalized commodity production took place for the extended reproduction of capital. However, due to the KPK’s position as a peripheral region, extended reproduction of capital and generalized commodity production took place through its linkage with the metropolitan economy, i.e. rise in organic composition of capital took place in the metropole. Having established the development of CMP within the KPK social formation,

37 Azmat Hayat Khan, The Durand Line: Its Geo-Strategic Importance. 2000, Peshawar: University of Peshawar, Area Study Centre, p. 34. “The Pathans are great believers in equality among individuals and among members of the tribe...The emphasis on equality is also reflected through one of their old customs of Vesh (the redistribution of the tribal land every thirty years), which prevented any tribesman from getting too powerful and from exploiting his neighbors.”
we will now undertake an exposition of the unequal development within CMP, defining the concepts of ‘development’, ‘underdevelopment’ and ‘unequal development’.
iii. Development, Underdevelopment and Unequal Development

By ‘development’ we mean the cycle of extended reproduction existing within the nation or region without ‘external’ linkage. By ‘underdevelopment’ we mean the extraction of surplus value and its investment outside the nation or region so that the rise in the organic composition of capital takes place outside the indigenous area (of surplus extraction). In this case extended reproduction takes place through ‘extraction’ linkage, i.e. production of means of production in department I, (capital goods) takes place outside of the region; whereas simple reproduction in department II (production of luxury and consumption goods) takes place in the peripheral region. ‘Unequal development’ encompasses international or intra-national economy which completes the cycle of extended reproduction but where some nations or regions achieve increasing rise in organic composition of capital, (i.e. production of capital goods) and other regions or nations are restricted to production of consumer and luxury goods.\(^{38}\)

These definitions establish development/underdevelopment and unequal development within the process of production in the capitalist system. Outlining some of the characteristic features of the capitalist system will enable us to trace unequal development as an inherent feature of capitalism. Capitalism, as we mentioned earlier, is a system of production of commodities for a market so that surplus value may be realized and partially reinvested for accumulation purposes.

Production of commodities in primitive societies was restricted to use-value, although commodities they had exchange value, but it was an exchange to have money for buying other goods, so the exchange was for individual consumption and not for the market. The mode of operation was C-M-C, commodity-money – commodity. The situation changed under mercantilism, where the exchange value of commodities was created for the market. Profit was made by the merchants / traders in the process of circulation or exchange and not in production as in CMP. The mode of operation was M-C-\(\Delta\)M, money buying commodities and selling them at a profit (\(\Delta\)).\(^{39}\)

In the capitalist system profit is made in the production process, the mode of operation is C+V+S, constant capital (already existing value, machines, building, etc.) + variable capital (value of labour) + surplus value (new value created by labour power). It

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\(^{38}\) The distinction between simple reproduction and extended reproduction, i.e. production in the department I and department II, is made by K. Marx, *Capital. II*, New York: International Publishers, 1967, pp. 64-82, 392-433.

is this new value which is appropriated by the capitalist as profit.\textsuperscript{40} The new value may be created through the lengthening of the day (absolute surplus value) or through intensification of labour (relative surplus value). To increase the rate of surplus value, the capitalist revolutionizes the means of production so that the organic composition of capital increases which means that ratio of variable capital to constant capital becomes smaller.\textsuperscript{41} As surplus value is created by ‘living’ labour, increase in constant capital (dead labour) leads to the tendency of the average rate of profit to fall.\textsuperscript{42} To avoid this tendency the capitalist seeks foreign markets for the reproduction of capital by acquiring cheap labour and raw material as well as realization of capital through export of commodities.\textsuperscript{43} Concentration and centralization of capital which culminates in Monopoly capital is necessary not only for the realization of surplus value (seeking markets for export of commodities) but also for the reproduction of capital (buying cheap labour and raw material). Accumulation or extended reproduction is inherent in capitalism; capitalism must therefore create and realize surplus value to continuously reproduce itself.

Centralization and concentration of capital is thus essential for accumulation.\textsuperscript{44} “The theory of accumulation on world scale”, according to S. Amin, is “the theory of relations between the center and the periphery… with three structural features, (1) unevenness of productivity as between sectors, (2) disarticulation of the economic system, and (3) domination from outside”.\textsuperscript{45} Thus, integration of the periphery in the world economy, according to him, is “development of underdevelopment”.\textsuperscript{46} This phenomenon (development of underdevelopment) is typical of center/periphery relations in CMP, “While at the centre the capitalist mode of production tends to become exclusive, the same is not true of the periphery…(because of)… the distortion toward export activities (extraversion)…. the subsequent pattern of industrialization through import substitution…. the distortion in the periphery toward light branches of activity, together with the employment of modern production techniques in these branches…(and)… analysis of the strategies of foreign monopolies in the underdeveloped countries.”\textsuperscript{47}

The notion of development and underdevelopment in the periphery was rigorously analyzed by dependency theorists. Andre Gunder Frank initiated the notion of

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., pp. 307-338.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., pp. 772-781.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., pp. 232-241.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., pp. 200-03.
underdevelopment of the periphery due to its integration in the world market. Bill Warren criticized the concept of underdevelopment of the periphery, by referring to capitalist industrialization, increase in the growth rate and rise of gross domestic product of some of the third world countries which according to him “lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the post-war period has witnessed not merely a change in the character of these inegalitarian relationships but a significant and continuing reduction in the inequality as well”. Furthermore, Bill Warren suggested that “the prospects for successful capitalist economic development (implying industrialization) of a significant number of major underdeveloped countries are quite good”.

Our analysis of Pakistan reveals a situation quite contrary to the one suggested by Bill Warren; instead of reduction of inequities, we witnessed an increase in inequalities, nationally and internationally. Though Pakistan had one of the highest rates of growth, approximately 9% in the 1960s, there was a decline in the income and consumption of the people in ‘absolute’ terms. Internationally, Pakistan was embroiled in a debt trap with the major aid donor countries. The rapid increase of industrialization was moreover not successful capitalist development in terms of “representing the highest form of commodity production” as B. Warren puts it, because production in department i.e. production of the means of production, was restricted to the metropole which in the case of Pakistan was the United States. Amongst the advanced countries Pakistan developed closest economic ties with the United States after Liaqat Ali Khan’s Premiership in 1949. Viewing the situation in the light of our analysis, even Cardoso’s explanation of “dependency and development” is untenable. He is correct in pointing out the relationship of ‘dependency; between developed and new nations but his linking of ‘development’ with ‘industrialization’ is not acceptable because these industries are mainly export-oriented, light industries (consumer good), dependent on foreign technology and aid with ownership by multinational

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50 Ibid., p. 10.
51 Ibid., p. 3. He defines successful capitalist development as “that development which provides the appropriate economic, social and political conditions for the continuing reproduction of capital, as a social system representing the highest form of commodity production” p. 4.
corporations completing the cycle of extended reproduction through external/foreign linkage.53

Our definition of development and underdevelopment disassociates industrialization from development in the periphery. However, our explanation of the relationship between the centre and the peripheral states within the context of industrial capital takes us beyond the ‘unequal exchange’ in the phase of commercial capital. Our concern with the centre/periphery relations goes further than the profit made in the circulation where commodities from the peripheral states are paid in less than their value in exchange for commodities from the advance countries. A. Emmanuel established unequal relations between the developed and underdeveloped countries in the distribution sector. According to him,

“It is ultimately nothing but the law of distribution of the productive forces among different activities and of the distribution of the product in a society of independent owners (claimants)…. Exploitation is not a fact of production but of appropriation.”54

Primitive accumulation to which A, Emmanuel refers is not the only or the dominant mode of relation (not exploitation which is only in the production processes of dispossessed labour) between the centre and the periphery. Relations between the advanced and the peripheral states are not based entirely on exchange between agricultural goods (from the periphery) for industrial goods (from the advanced countries) because some of the peripheral states are highly industrialized. This, however, does not mean that ‘unequal’ relationship has changed but simply implies that our analysis explains the relations of ‘exploitation’ in the process of production where surplus value is extracted from the dispossessed labour. ‘Unequal’ relations within and between the states according to our explanation is based on restricting the production in the peripheral regions to department II and completing the cycle of reproduction of capital in the core regions.

Unequal relation is not only an international phenomenon but very much an intra national problem as well. Since the ultimate objective within a CMP is maximization of profit, division of labour and specialization in production create core and peripheral regions within the states. Just as concentration and centralization of capital are inherent in

53 For industrialization in the third world within the context of dependency and underdevelopment see, H. Radice (Ed.), International Firms and Modern Imperialism, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1975, Part One and Four. In case of Pakistan, the role of multinational corporations is insignificant but the dependence and the extraversion of the economy was based on ‘tied’ aid, i.e. financial aid was tied to the import of technology from the aid donor country at times at a very high price.
CMP, so is internal colonialism. However, this relation is once again not based on ‘unequal exchange’ of agricultural goods for industrial goods but one in which the cycle of reproduction is completed in different regions. In such a situation the dominant class exploits the peripheral regions with the assistance of the state. As our analysis reveals, industrial production in the KPK was restricted to primary goods and a minimal production of intermediate goods, there was no capital goods industry (Part III, Chapter VII, Section I). Furthermore, there was export of labour (Chapter VI, Section II) as well as raw material (Chapter VII, Section I) from the KPK to the core areas of the Punjab and Karachi. Rural and urban sectors were also undergoing the process of underdevelopment. The rate of urbanization in the KPK declined sharply in the post-colonial period, except for the district of Mardan (Part III, Chapter VII, Section II) and the Green Revolution was virtually restricted to Punjab (Chapter VI, Section I). The state plays a crucial role in this process of development of underdevelopment because it is concerned with the reproduction of social capital. Through its policies the state and obviously the dominant class ensures the mobilization of the forces of production to the areas with high capital/labour ratio. Such a policy is in congruence with the basic objective of maximization of profit through increased productivity. The state of Pakistan formulated specific policies to assist the production and the reproduction of the capital. The nature and the function of the state are explained in the following pages.

iv. Nature and the Role of the State

Role of the state is one of ‘relation,’ relation between contradictory phenomenon; capital and labour, social capital and individual capital, public and private life, general and particular interests, political and civil society. It is the essence of these dualities which makes the state, but above all it is “the form of organization which the bourgeois necessarily adopts both for internal and external purposes, for the mutual guarantee of their property and interest”.57

The state power depends not merely on individual “will” or “rights” but on the mode of production which is prevalent in the society. The division of labour and private property forms the real basis of the state.58 By adopting a democratic form (periodic elections), the state presents an illusion of being a representative of the people but this is a

57 Ibid., p. 80.
58 Ibid., p. 81.
myth as H. Draper puts it because “more democracy is merely ‘political’ democracy which
stops with governmental forms and does not extend to the ‘social question; to the
democratization of the socio-economic life’”.\(^{59}\)

The role of the state in a CMP can be defined as legitimation of capital accumulation. This is done with state intervention in the economy for assisting in the reproduction and legitimation of capital. Legitimation is undertaken through periodic elections so as to assure the survival of the bourgeoisie, the capitalist system and the state itself. These two functions of the state can be categorized following A. Gramsci as (a) interventionist, and (b) ethical.\(^{60}\) We will first explain the ethical / philosophical and cultural role of state and then proceed to its interventionist role.

In defining the moral or cultural role of the state, A.Gramsci emphasizes the ideological functions more than the coercive aspects of the state. It is the schools, church/mosques, media, political parties which generate hegemony over the civil society.\(^ {61}\)

According to Gramsci:

“The concept of an ethical state or cultural state is of philosophical and intellectual origin for it refers rather to the autonomous, educative and moral activity of the secular state. The most reasonable and concrete thing about the ethical state is that one of its most important functions is to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level, a level (or type) which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces for development and hence to the interest of the ruling classes.”\(^{62}\)

To dominate the civil society the state educates the people with ideas which correspond to ideas upheld by the dominant class, it does through political parties, newspapers, journals, television, radio and academic institutions. The apparent or superficial differences between the parties and the different mediums of communication are acceptable as long as they are within the frame of reference identified by the state without contradicting the fundamental basis of the state and society. Presence of such non-antagonistic differences adds to the illusion of the state being a democratic one. The function of ‘educating’ the society through ideological state apparatuses is succinctly explained by R. Miliband:

“The various agencies of political persuasion (political parties, church, pressure groups)... despite the diversity of forms and idioms their language may assume, they must be seen as engaged, together with the state, in a combined and formidable enterprise of conservative indoctrination. That enterprise however is

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made immeasurably more formidable by the help it receives from other agencies of 'political socialization; namely the mass media and education.”

The state in eliciting consent engenders this consent. The cultural or ideological mediums of the state legitimize the hegemony of the dominant class by generating conformity to prevailing ideas. It is during crisis in hegemony when no one fraction of the dominant class can claim hegemony in the power bloc that the role of coercive state apparatuses, bureaucracy, police, military gains significance. Deflection from their ‘normal’ functions e.g. administrative functions in the case of the bureaucracy, the law and order situation in case of police, and the defense function in the case of the military and intervention in the ‘political’ realm reflects internal contradictions within the dominant class and dissatisfaction of the popular class with the dominant class.

We are here concerned with the function of these coercive apparatuses and not with the class character of these apparatuses which will be dealt with later.

Bureaucratic or military intervention in the politics or the acquisition of state power by these groups does not threaten the interests of the capitalist class or the system; in fact it ensures their survival. However, in reorganizing the power bloc the interest of certain fractions of the dominant class may be affected but that may be for the long-term survival of the capitalist system itself. As R. Miliband puts it,

“The state’s ‘interference’ with that power is not in ‘fundamental opposition’ to the interests of property, it is…. mainly as a result of popular pressure, to take action against certain property rights and capitalist prerogatives…. Governments may be solely concerned with the better running of ‘the economy’…. For what is being improved is a capitalist economy, and this ensures that whoever may or may not gain, capitalist interests are least likely to lose.”

Bureaucracy does not have class power and therefore it does not constitute a social force. It is simply a ‘social category’ with certain attributes: (a) serves as a supporting class for the dominant class in political order, (b) it represents the ideology of power fetishism in economic order. The bureaucracy, however, can constitute a social force if it acquires a role of its own in political action in a concrete situation. This could result due to (a) the relative autonomy of the bureaucracy from the dominant class, (b) disorganization

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of the dominant class, (c) legitimacy that bureaucracy has as a state apparatus, and finally (d) links with the petty bourgeoisie.67

Military intervention in the political realm can also be described in more or less similar vein as that of bureaucracy. Military also enjoys its relative autonomy from the dominant class; it has links with the petty bourgeoisie and intervenes as a result of the crisis in hegemony.68 However, what differentiates military intervention and dictatorship from that of bureaucratic rule is the depth and severity of the internal contradictions in the armed forces. The middle and lower ranks have strong links with the popular class whereas the top echelons of the armed forces have links with the petty bourgeoisie and assist in the reproduction of the dominant class. Moreover, the military can does use the effective slogan of nationalism and the defense of the country as a tool for perpetuating its own rule.69

In the case of Pakistan, as explained in (Part IV, Chapter VIII), the military bureaucratic intervention in politics took place due to the abovementioned conditions; crisis in hegemony, power fetishism of the military and the bureaucracy in looking up to the state for creating law and order, and seeking economic benefits through acquiring state power. The support for military / bureaucratic intervention is obtained through its links with the petty bourgeoisie. As a governing class the military and the bureaucracy act as a supporting agent for the dominant strata.

Having defined the need and the functions of the ideological and coercive state apparatuses, the Miliband / Poulantzas debate on the role of the state needs some explanation. Miliband’s position is considered as an ‘instrumental’ one, defining state as an instrument of the bourgeoisie simply following the dictates of the capitalist class;70 whereas poulantzas takes a ‘structuralist’ position where the state acts relatively autonomously from the bourgeois/landed class although serving its long term interests.71 Despite the significance of the debate contributing to Marxist theory, for us the debate is a false one. The two characteristics of the state are not mutually exclusive; the relative autonomy of the state provides it ideological and coercive power to ensure the survival of the capitalist system and the capitalist class without risking its legitimacy. This argument

69 Ibid., pp. 112-18.
is derived from the logic of capital and enables us to explain state intervention in the economy for the reproduction of total social capital.

In classical capitalism or laissez-faire economy, market forces determine the law of demand and supply, i.e. the exchange value of the commodity; the state is thus outside the sphere of economy. However, with the development of monopoly capital, continuous reproduction of the capital and capitalist class requires the support of the state; the reasons being as Paul Mattick puts it,\(^2\) (i) increasing centralization of capital thus ‘creating’ demand and supply instead of being ‘determined’ by it, (ii) rise in unemployment due to increase in organic composition of capital, the rise of constant capital (machines) over variable capital (human labour), (iii) realization problem which necessitates seeking of foreign market due to over production of commodities, (iv) importing cheap raw material and cheap labour without depressing the wages at home in advanced capitalist countries to avoid the tendency of the falling rate of profit and finally (v) support for expanding infrastructure with investment in unprofitable sectors for accumulation of capital.\(^3\)

It is essential to distinguish between ‘individual’ capitals and ‘total social capital’. Elimination or expropriation of individual capitals is inherent in capitalist logic due to the centralization of capital; but to avoid the extinction or expropriation of ‘total social capital’ through crisis in capitalism, the state according to J.O'Connor performs the welfare/warfare function.\(^4\) The welfare functions undertaken apparently for public good include the building of schools, parks, roads/bridges; whereas the warfare functions support the development of research and technology, aid for defense purposes and acquiring of foreign markets. There are two dimension of these function. The welfare function of the state is restricted to the national economy whereas the warfare function extends the role of the state to the international arena. Accumulation on a world scale has enhanced the role of the state rather than diminished it. The Internationalization of capital has increased the need for state support in acquiring markets and maintaining internal security.\(^5\)

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\(^2\) Some of the factors outlined here indicating the contradictions in capitalist accumulation and ultimately its crisis have been dealt with by Paul Mattick, *Marx and Keynes: The Limits of the Mixed Economy*. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1969, Chapter 6-10.


Enhancing the role of the state in the public sector in order to subsidize the private sector in a mixed economy is the so-called Keynesian revolution. We are not concerned with the limits of mixed economy or the contradictions of the Keynesianism. Our efforts were geared to show that the state intervention in the economy may eliminate individual capital/capitalists but does not threaten private capital in fact assists it in the reproduction of total social capital. Part two of our thesis deals with the Legitimation function or (in Gramsci’s terminology, the Philosophical function) of the state of Pakistan. Our analysis of the three constitutions (1956, 1962 and 1973) in chapter three reflects centralization of political, economic and administrative power in the state of Pakistan. The intervention of the state in these spheres has, therefore, constitutional guarantees and protection. Chapter four explains the relatively autonomous power of the state in structuring and restructuring the power bloc. Chapter five addresses extensive use of ideological and repressive state apparatuses in streamlining the politics of the KPK.

v. The Dominant Class and the Governing Class

Finally the last section of our introduction deals with the classes which benefit from support of the state in the reproduction of social capital through intervention in public and private sector (politics and economics). We will be dealing only with the dominant class and its agents, the new petty bourgeoisie who as members of the state apparatuses assist in the reproduction of the dominant class thereby engendering unequal development.

Classes are formed and deformed in the process of class struggle with the determining factor of structural relationship in relations of production. However economic division of labour is not the only factor, social division of labour based on political and ideological domination and subordination of capital is a significant factor as well. The political and ideological relations are just as significant in determining class membership

76 The Contradiction in Keynes’ General Theory have been aptly summarized by E. E. Hale. According to him, “Keynes did not solve the basic contradiction in the capitalist economy; the logical conclusion of his theory is total government planning of investment. In the beginning roads, schools, power dams, etc. are objects of public investment, but there is no end, for government investment will still be needed after all necessary roads, schools, and dams are built. A further conclusion of Keynesian theory is nationalization of the banking system, when the rate of interest has sunk zero… when the marginal efficiency of capital has reached zero, there will be no capitalist class. Keynes tries to remedy capitalism, but his remedies kill the patient a little at time…. When the government takes one step, people will discover that government can create employment; (government) will be under constant pressure to take further steps”. E. E. Hale, “Some Implications of Keynes’ General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money”. Review of Radical Political Economics, Vol. 8, No. 4, Winter 1976, p. 31. Also relevant are Chapters 12-14, in P. Mattick, 1969 and Chapter 2 and 9 in J.O’ Connor 1973.
as the structural determination of relations of production. It is in the process of class struggle that class positions are crystallized, especially in case of the contradictory class, the petty bourgeoisie or the middle class. Dual relations are involved in the production process first is the relationship of productive forces, relations of men with the objects and means of labour; and secondly the relation of men with other men. It thus leads to two class positions in fact there are only two, the dominant one which belongs to the bourgeoisie who are owners and possessors of the means of production and a subordinate one of the working class, dispossessed of the means of production and producers of surplus value.

The bourgeoisie with the decision-making authority in the production process are formal and legal owners of the forces of production; which include the directors and high-level executives. Besides bourgeoisie also includes those who possess and control (without owning) the physical means of production because they dominate the labour by executing the decision or policies of the bourgeoisie. Upper and middle level managers as well as the supervisors are, therefore, included amongst the bourgeoisie. This (separation of ownership and possession) is a distinction specific to monopoly capital which, due to the enlargement and diversity of production (spatially and technically), does not have direct control over the production process. In case of competitive capitalism, the owner also controlled and directed the production process. Another difference of monopoly capital is the merger of industrial and banking capital which results in the emergence of finance capital. The development of monopoly capital does not mean that competitive capital has been eliminated; it only indicates the existence of competitive capital besides and in subordination to monopoly capital. Monopoly capital is a fraction of dominant class; the other segments are commercial capital, and manufacturing capital. All these fractions of dominant class form the power bloc in which one of them takes over the hegemonic role depending upon the specific conjuncture. The dominant class is not necessarily the governing class, the governing class could belong to the new petty bourgeoisie and may

77 We are here not ascribing to a position where a class can be defined only when it gains consciousness or becomes class for itself. A position ascribed to Lukac and one taken by A. Prezworski, “The Process of Class Formation”, Mimeo, University of Chicago, 1976.
78 N. Poulantzas distinguishes working class from wage earners by distinguishing productive and unproductive workers. He defines working class as productive labour, labour which produces surplus value. N. Poulantzas, *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism*. London: NLB, 1975, p. 211.
80 Finance capital does not mean money capital or banking capital but refers to the merger of industrial and banking capital. It is the interpenetration of the industrial and banking capital which leads to finance capital. N. Poulantzas, *Ibid.*, p. 110.
include the upper strata of the coercive and ideological state apparatuses. The dominant class may join the governing class but that is not essential for its survival or reproduction. Classes other than the dominant class may constitute the governing class but just as long as they support and reproduce the class owning and controlling the means of production, the acquisition of state power is not necessary for the dominant class. As our analysis is restricted to a peripheral state, a distinction needs to be made between the comprador bourgeoisie and the domestic bourgeoisie. Comprador bourgeoisie is a strata which cannot carry out the accumulation process without the assistance of the international capital. The interest of the comprador bourgeoisie is therefore, subservient to international capital; whereas the domestic bourgeoisie is in a position of dependence but not subservient to international capital. The relationship between the two is one of conflict and coordination, not of direct domination and subordination. In the case of Pakistan we will characterize the dominant class as the domestic bourgeoisie with international linkage. The domestic bourgeoisie could reproduce itself without significant constraints from the international capital. The crisis in hegemony was due to the contradictions within the dominant class rather than between the domestic bourgeoisie and the international bourgeoisie as explained in chapter nine.

The other strata of the dominant class, besides the domestic bourgeoisie are the landlords and the rich peasants. The bourgeoisie is identified by ownership of industrial, commercial or money capital whereas the landlords and rich peasants are defined in terms of their ownership of the land. These two strata’s of the dominant class are not as distinct as we are trying to make for the sake of exposition, in fact, the landlords and rich peasants are at the same time industrialists, bankers, merchants and traders as well.82

The landlords are distinguished from the rich peasants on the extent of their landholdings and the labour process undertaken. The landlords have holdings above one hundred acres,83 they employ hired labour and do not work themselves.84 Although these are the characteristics of absentee landlords living as rentiers but that is not the case as our analysis shows. The landlords do not (or only partially) spend the surplus value in conspicuous consumption, they use wage labour and invest surplus value in commodity production. The landholdings of rich peasants range between twenty-five and hundred

82 Ibid., p. 148, fn. 24.
acres. They work themselves but also employ hired labour, their produce is used for consumption and investment for accumulation purposes.

Both these strata are represented in the state apparatuses and have thus been part of the governing class. Within the dominant class they have been the hegemonic fraction in the power bloc at different conjunctures (Part IV, Chapter IX, deals with the structuring & restructuring of the power bloc).

The next class that we will deal with is the new petty bourgeoisie. The analysis of this class is undertaken to demystify the myth of regionalism/nationalism as petty bourgeois phenomena. We will explain in (Part IV, Chapter VIII that petty bourgeoisie may equal nationalism/regionalism but nationalism/regionalism does not equal the petty bourgeoisie.

The main characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie is that it is neither the owner of the means of production nor producer of surplus value therefore it is neither the exploiter nor the exploited. It is a class which earns wages by performing unproductive mental labour, its domination of labour is due to access to knowledge but at the same time it is dominated by capital through unpaid labour time. The length of training and the amount of wage fund that has been invested in the training distinguishes various strata of the petty bourgeoisie. This (specialization process) creates a distinction between the experts and technocrat on the one land and the lower level supervisors and on the other secretaries. The technical division of labour along with the social division of labour differentiates the new petty bourgeoisie from the working class and the bourgeoisie.

The significant features of the petty bourgeois or the middle class are: i) focus on knowledge and training and emphasis on discipline, law and order, (rationalization of society), ii) seeking career and upward mobility (individualism), iii) exploitation through wages/salary iv) control of the state (power fetishism) which enables them to act as an arbiter between different classes. These characteristics of the petty bourgeoisie makes

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86 I am grateful to Dr. Hamza Alavi for emphasizing this distinction while discussing the initial draft of this thesis, Manchester, February 1980.
87 For these reason G. Carchedi defines the new petty bourgeoisie as the contradictory class. G. Carchedi, “On the economic identification of the New Middle Class”, Economy and Society, 1975 (a), Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 1-86.
90 Ibid. pp. 290-292.
the state as the main locus of power for the petty bourgeoisie. The class position which the petty bourgeoisie takes after acquiring state power makes it an ‘agent’ of capital and as a bearer’ of capital it assists in the reproduction of the dominant class.91 The class position and class origin of the petty bourgeoisie are distinctively separated when it forms the governing class; (Part IV, Chapter VIII is an exposition of the governing class in case of Pakistan).

Our attempt in defining concepts like modes of production, development, underdevelopment, unequal development, the nature and the role of the state as well as an analysis of the governing class and the dominant class was to understand the essential basis of internal colonialism in Pakistan. In undertaking the concrete analysis of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, linkages between the abstract and the concrete, the theoretical and the empirical analysis may have been blurred at times. We have nevertheless tried to show through our exposition of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa that unequal development is inherent in a CMP. Underdevelopment of the KPK was, therefore, a logical and historical outcome of that process.

91 Ibid., pp. 282-284.
CHAPTER – II

AREA AND THE PEOPLE

“Frontiers are the chief anxiety of nearly every frontier office in the civilized world, and are subject of four out of five political treaties or conventions that are now concluded… Frontier policy is of the first practical importance and has a more profound effect upon the peace or welfare of nations than any other factor.”

The geographical location and the political process of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) had a distinctive role which made its development different than the other provinces of the subcontinent. A part of this distinction was that the KPK was the ‘weakest link’ in the British Empire.2

The KPK is situated between 31 and 36 degrees north latitude and between 69 and 74 degrees east longitude. The total length of the province is 408 miles and the total breadth 279 miles, the total area is approximately 39,000 sq. miles. To its north is the Hindu Kush whereas Balochistan and Dera Ghazi Khan district of the Punjab are in the south, Kashmir and Punjab is to its east and Afghanistan is to its west. Except for district of Hazara and a part of Kohistan area which are cis-Indus, the rest of the province is trans-Indus.3

The province has a dual boundary, administrative and a political one. The administrative boundary separates the settled districts from the tribal territory, whereas the political boundary separates Afghanistan from Pakistan. The political boundary is the Durand line which lies “some twenty-three miles south of Pillar XII, which is erected on the Sarikol Range of Pamir, (here) lies the beginning of the North West Frontier….near Mintaka Pass….the junction of the three empires” (Russian, China and Afghanistan).4 The Durand line serves not only as international frontier between Afghanistan and Pakistan but also dividing line within Pakistan between tribal area and the settled districts; the tribal area lies between the Durand line and the settled districts. There are five political/tribal agencies, the Malakand, the Khyber, the Kurram, North and South Waziristan, covering an

2 The province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was created in 1901 but was centrally administered through the government of Punjab. This status of Chief Commissioner’s province was changed in December 1931, when it was granted independent provincial status. In 1955, the province was merged in the “One Unit” scheme of West-Pakistan, but then re-emerged in 1971 with the reinstitution of the four provinces.
area of 25,500 sq. miles. The five districts of Peshawar, Hazara, Kohat, Banuu and Dera Ismail Khan constitute an area of 13,419 sq. miles.5

Politically and geographically Arnold Keppel describes independent tribes and settled districts as two clasping hands together and interlacing fingers, the knuckles of the right hand forming the five settled districts and the phalanges designating independent tribes.6

The people inhabiting the KPK are generally referred to as the Pakhtuns. The origin of the Pakhtuns is traced back to the Aryan occupiers of the region, with mingling of the Greeks, Persians, Turks and Mongols over the years.7 They appears first as ‘Afghans’ although ‘Pakhtuns’ and Afghans are interchangeable but Afghan is a name generally applied to all the nationals of Afghanistan, whereas Pakhtun is the name of people living south east of the Durand line with Pakhto as their language. Pakhto is a cast Iranian language distinct from Urdu and Persian, the hard version Pakhto or Pakhtun is used in the north, whereas the softer Kundari dialect of Pushto or Pushtun is used in the south.

The tribes can be put in two groups; the group with a strong Turkic cast; and the group with predominantly Iranian influence. Each of the three great branches of the race traces their origin to a son of Kais, the thirty seventh lineal descendant of Saul of Israel.8 The Sarbani Pathans, which include the Durrani, Ghore Khel, Khakha Khel, Shinowari, Yousafzai, Mohammadzai and Mohmands claim descent from Sarban. The Ghilzai Pathans, among which are the clans of the Sulaiman Khel and the Aka Khel are the descendents of Baitan. The Ghurghusht Pathans, such as the Afridis, Khattaks, Wazirs, Mahsude, Dauris, Juris, Jajis and Bangash are the descendents of Ghurghusht.9

These tribes are located in different areas of the Frontier region.10 In the extreme north of the province dwell the non-Pakhtun Chitralis, south of Chitral, between eastern borders of Hazara and the Mohmand tribal area, lie the independent tracts of Dir, Swat, Bajaur and Buner, inhabited by the Yousafzais. To the south of Peshawar live the Mohmands, around the Khyber and to the south of Tirah dwell the Afridis. The southern

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9 Ibid., pp. 7-24, Also see Imperial Gazetteer, Op.cit., pp. 7-16.
10 Colin Davies attributes certain ethnic characteristics to the tribes located in different areas of the region. He nevertheless accepts that due to migratory nomadic life of the tribes no clear ethnic differences can be construed in migratory and nomadic life. C. C. Davies, The Problem of the North West Frontier, 1902-1908. London: Cambridge UP, 1932, pp. 37-57.
valleys of Tirah are inhabited by heterogeneous tribes, collectively known as the Orakzais and between the Kurram and the Gomal lies Waziristan, inhabited by four tribes, the Darwesh Khels, the Mahsuds, the Dawaris and the Bhittanis. From Bannu to Kohat and along the Indus as far north as Akora in the Peshawar district dwell the Khattaks.

Though there are differences among them these tribes e.g. Afridis are considered the most independent, democratic and warlike, whereas Khattaks are thought to be industrious, hardworking, engaged in agricultural pursuits; there is one common factor to all tribes. Their adherence to the Pakhtun code of honour, called the Pakhtunwali comprises of three principles: Melmestia i.e. generous hospitality, Nanawatai i.e. refuge for fugitives and Badal, the law of revenge, these are the governing principles of Pakhtun life. The code of honour engenders a love of personal freedom, aptly described by James Elliot,

“First and foremost the Pathan was a hard man reared in a hard school, his life is dominated by the law of Badal or retaliations, one of the three principle maxims of Pakhtunwali secondly he was fiercely independent. Hard though his life might be, he sought no other, the blessings of civilization had no message for him, He not only asked, he demanded to be left alone… the fight for independence, a case which had a sure and universal appeal, something that transcended the petty frontiers of tribal jealousy. And that was why they were so dangerous.”

The tribal code was sustained juridically through the Jirga system and economically by following the principle of Wesh. Under the Jirga system, justice was dispensed by the elected elders of the tribe in accordance with the Pakhtun code. In the economy, through the principle of Wesh the annual distribution of property among the tribe was carried out to avoid the dominance of one or more individuals. As a result, the Malik or the tribal chief was mere figurehead. It must have been all these factors combined which evoked W. Barton to note that “In fact the political climate of the Frontier is healthier for the delicate plant of democracy than elsewhere in India.”

ii. The Great Game: Integration of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the Indian Subcontinent

Gandhara, “the garden land” appears in history as part of the Persian Empire in the sixth century B.C. It included the districts of Peshawar and Mardan, part of Kohat, the Mohmand area, Swat, Bajaur and Buner. Its capital was at Purushapura (Peshawar). The Mughals ruled over the area for two hundred and fifty years after Mahmud of Ghazni and Mahmud Ghauri. The death of Aurangzeb in 1701 ended the Mughal rule and the beginning of the rule of Nadir Shah Abdali and Ahmad Shah Abdali, both of the Sadozi family. Their rule ended in 1818 when Dost Mohammad, of the Mohummadzai family, took over the throne in Kabul in 1826, and sent viceroys to Peshawar. In 1823, the Sikhs, after having conquered Punjab, attacked Peshawar and took possession of it. However they allowed the Duranni Sardars to remain as their viceroys. By 1849 the British had taken over the direct authority of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa from the Sikhs.15

The single most important factor for the integration of the KPK in the British Empire was to check the “Russian menace”. The significance of this factor was outlined in 1899 by Colonel Algernon Durand:

“Russia is expanding her influence in Central Asia. Central Asia is now hers. That her soldiers and the ablest of them consequently believe in the possibility of conquering India, no one who has had the chance of studying the question can doubt. Her diplomats may not consider it task number one to be undertaken… they are fairly busy elsewhere… nonetheless do her tentacles creep cautiously forward towards our Indian frontier. Today, it is Pamirs, tomorrow it will be Chinese Turkistan or part of Persia, which is quietly swallowed.”16

In order to stop the Russian expansion towards the south, a scientific frontier needed to be outlined between the British, the Russian and the Persian empires, the KPK turned out to be the meeting ground of these three empires.17 The KPK has been well provided geographically with strong defense. The river Indus serves as the first line of defenses, then the rugged mountains and territory between the Indus and Afghanistan provides a strong second line of defense; but there are also important mountain passes which serve as the gateway to India for Central Asians. The five passes are the Chitral, the Khyber Pass, the Kurram valley, the Gomal valley and the Khojak Bolan pass through

16 A. Durand, The Making of a Frontier. London: J. Murray, 1899, p. 17. Colonel Algernon Durand was British Agent at Gilgit (1889-1894), Military Secretary to the Viceroy of India (1894-1899), and the architect of the famous Durand Line (1901).
Quetta. The tribal territory lying between the Indus and Afghanistan containing these historic passes was the key to the strategic defense of India.

After the annexation of Sind in 1843 and the Punjab in 1849, the British were faced with the problem of a frontier in the North West. For fifty two years, between 1849 and 1901 when the Durand line was finally demarcated, the British experimented with three different policies. The “Forward policy” upheld by the Sind administrators who supported the occupation of Quetta, Kandhar, Kabul and Heart. The “Close door policy” was espoused by the Punjab administrators, who favoured the idea of a frontier running along the foot of the hills. Between these two policies were the periods called “masterly inactivity” when the aggressive tactics would change to a mere presence of the British Resident or the British administrator without interfering in the internal affairs of the area.

Since the KPK was the meeting ground of the three empires, a frontier had to be demarcated and maintained with the support of the local inhabitants. As a result, the British were faced with a dual problem, first the international problem of countering the Russians and secondly, the internal problem of administration. It was the second problem that the supporters of the Closed Door policy did not want the British government to assume responsibility for an area which it could not administer as an integral part of its domain. The reasons for having a frontier at the foot of the hills were clearly outlined by Lord John Lawrence:

“(1) The policy of a forward movement in Afghanistan (by the occupation of Quetta and Heart) in order to check the Russian progress in Central Asia is not desirable. It would alienate the Afghans and would lead to war with Afghanistan. But it is difficult to invade, conquer and hold Afghanistan. The physical points of the country are wonderfully strong. Every hillside is a natural fortress, every defile a vantage ground in which to assail an enemy. In such a region a large invading army would be starved, and a small one would be destroyed.
(2) The best policy is to have a strong, independent Afghanistan as a buffer state. This can best be done by leaving the Afghans to themselves. Whatever nation interferes in any way with their affairs becomes an object of distrust and dislike to them. Hence a policy of neutrality towards Afghanistan is desirable.
(3) If England and Russia are to meet in a deadly struggle in Asia, then our proper position would be below the great range of mountains which bound our Indian Empire in the North West. The further Russia has to meet us from her resources, the more exhausting must be her efforts, and the greater will be our facilities for resistance.
(4) It may be said that if Russia were to advance by degrees towards our frontier, she would purchase the services of the hill tribes and enlist them against us. But when the day for such efforts shall arrive, we shall be able to outbid Russia with the hill tribes. If necessary, English gold could be made to tell as well as Russian.
(5) The best mode of preparing against an invasion of India from the west by a European enemy is to strengthen ourselves within India itself, and our best place for finally resisting it is in our north-west frontier. By advancing beyond that frontier we would only be playing the game of our enemies. If Russia meditated invasion and understood the true merits of the question, there would be nothing
she could desire more than “that we should quit our vantage ground on the Indus and entangle ourselves in Central Asia.”

The arguments for the Closed Door policy were deemed correct later on. The policy, however, was not accepted until 1901 when a boundary line was finally carved in the areas suggested by the exponents of the policy. Until 1901, the British, following the Forward policy, continued to entangle themselves in Afghanistan, despite heavy financial and human loss. The supporters of Forward policy espoused the extension of the international boundary westward and northward as far as possible besides introducing changes in the area through both education and force of arms, allowing them to exercise full sovereignty over the whole area. According to the proponents of the “Sind School”, there were two passes into the Indian empire from the north-west through Bolan and the Khyber. The Khyber area was more difficult, its inhabitants could not be trusted, the distance from the center of command and administration was greater and a British garrison was already placed in Peshawar. The first step to conquering Afghanistan was the closure of the Bolan Pass by placing a British garrison there. This could enable the British force to operate on the flank and rear of any enemy attempting to proceed towards the Khyber as well as enable the British forces to reach Heart before an invading army could arrive at Kabul. This was to be the bastion of the front attack according to the Forward Policy.

The Forward Policy of the British instead of neutralizing Afghanistan forced Afghanistan to seek Russian support. The First and Second Afghan wars were the result of the British policy to make Kabul the international frontier of the British Empire. The Russian fear had increased since 1801 especially after the French-Russian agreement in 1809, according to the peace of Tilsit, territories of East India were to be divided between these two powers; the attack on Russia was therefore to be made by land rather than the sea from the North-Western provinces of India. To avoid this, Lord Minto sent mission to Ranjit Singh, the Amir of Sindh and the Shah of Persia. Mountstuart Elphinston, the head of the British mission in Afghanistan found the country torn by strike. Shah Shuja, the Amir of Kabul and a friend of the British was helpless and finally flew from Kabul to India to live as an unwelcome guest at Ranjit Singh’s court. After Shah Shuja, Dost Mohammad came to power in Afghanistan in 1808; he refused to allow the British

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18 Lord John Lawrence’s letter to the Government of India, October 21, 1858, I.O.L Mss Eur F 90, Lord Lawrence was the Viceroy of India from 1864-69, Emphasis original.
19 One of the most vigorous proponents of the Forward Policy was Colonel Robert Sandeman, see his biography by T. H. Thornton, Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman, His Life and Work on our Indian Frontier. London: John Murray, 1859, Appendix I & II. Also Richard I. Bruce, The Forward Policy and its Results or Thirty Five Years Work Amongst the Tribes on our North West of India. London: Longmans, 1900, Ch. II & XVI.
ambassador to stay at Kabul. Lord Auckland, to avenge this, decided to place the deposed Shah Shuja on Kabul’s throne once again, and thus started the first Afghan war.

The bone of contention in the First Afghan War (1839/40) was the control over Herat. The Shah of Persia with Russian assistance besieged Herat. Dost Muhammad with the British help, wanted to secure Heart but he also wanted British assurances on his eastern borders against the Sikhs, and the return of Peshawar and the Frontier districts to Afghanistan. On refusal of any such assurances, Dost Mohammad turned to the Russians for assistance and security on the eastern as well as the western borders. Faced with this situation, Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India, on October 1, 1938 announced an alliance between British India, the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja, the deposed Amir of Kabul. On April 25, 1839 the British army entered Kabul, Dost Mohammad fled, Shah Shuja was enthroned in Kabul and an official British mission was established at his court.

The Afghans resented the return of a defeated ruler on Kabul’s throne. In 1840 rebellion was raised all over Afghanistan and by January 1841, the British and Shah Shuja were completely driven from the country. After two years of anarchy Dost Mohammad returned as the Amir of Kabul in January 1843. For the next twenty years there was status quo between the Russians and the British in Afghanistan. Neither the Russians nor the British made overt moves against Afghanistan. British resident was not accepted by Dost Mohammad at his court throughout his reign. It was a period of “Masterly Inactivity” by the British administration.

Lull in the struggle for Central Asia came to an end with the death of Dost Mohammad in 1863, and the succession of his son Sher Ali. With the coming to power of Benjamin Disreli in Britain, the conservative secretary of state Lord Salisbury insisted on having a British resident at the Afghan court. Refusal by Sher Ali led to the declaration of the Second Afghan War on October 22, 1878 by the British government. The result was the surrender of Yakub Khan (son of Sher Ali) and the Treaty of Gandamak in May 1879. However, in 1880 Amir Abdur Rahman became the king of Kabul and once again the British were faced with a tough Afghan administration. The Second Afghan war like the first one proved that the British could successfully attack Afghanistan but could not


21 Lord Lansdowne’s letter to Lord Kimberley, August 23, 1892. Lansdowne’s Papers, Mss Eur D 558, file No. 41. I.O.L. Lord Lansdowne was the Viceroy of India 1888-1894, Lord Kimberley was the Secretary of State, 1882-1886, & 1892-94.
maintain their power for long. The success and advantages of the Forward Policy were finally being questioned.\textsuperscript{22}

The two Afghan wars with heavy financial and human loss made it imperative for the British government to outline a clearly defined frontier. By the treaty of Gandamak in 1879, the Amir of Afghanistan had renounced his claim over the Khyber Pass and the Kurram valley as far as Sibi and Pishin in Balochistan. As a result of this treaty, the British government was in a better bargaining position. Thus in 1849 the Durand line was accepted as the boundary line between British India and Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{23} The Durand line begins at the South of Khyber, Passes through Tirah in the West following Safed-Koh. It then passes the peaks of the Sikkaram mountain and runs on to Piewar Kotal at the head of Kurram valley. Southwards, it turns south of the Gomal, enters Balochistan along the northern watershed of the Zhob valley and turns into New Chaman. The Frontier aggregating about 1200 miles ends at Koh-i-Malik Siah of the Persian frontier. The boundary line between the British Empire and Afghanistan dividing the Pakhtun nation according to Amir Abdur Rahman was signed under tremendous British pressure, \textsuperscript{24} He disliked the division of the Pakhuns but was no match for the Imperial force, the British government however succeeded in carving a precise frontier for themselves.

\textbf{iii. Local Administration}

Internationally, the outlining of the “New Frontier” legalized the control of the British government over the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Internally, however, the legitimacy for the British rule over the KPK had yet to be obtained from the frontier tribes. This was essential for the defense of India against an invasion across the North West Frontier, and it was felt that it would be better to do so with the cooperation or at least the goodwill of the inhabitants rather than their resentment.\textsuperscript{25}

The cooperation of the Pakhtuns was not easy to obtain, although Robert Sandeman’s policy of gradual civilization of the Baloch tribes through peaceful penetration was successful in Balochistan; the same results of the Forward Policy could not be attained in the KPK. The difference emanated from the distinctions in the Pakhtun and the Baloch tribal structure.

\textsuperscript{22}Lord Kimberley’s letter to Campbell- Bannerman, October 7, 1892. Campbell Bannerman Papers, Add. MSS 41221, ff. 102-4, British Museum. Campbell Bannerman was the Secretary of War in Gladestone's ministry.
\textsuperscript{23} Parliamentary Paper, North-West Frontier, 1896, L/Parl/C8037, File No. 7, I.O.L.
\textsuperscript{24} The Pakhtun Question. Hove Sussex: Key Press, n.d., p. 36.
\textsuperscript{25} Mr. Dundus, “The Problem of Watch and Ward of the NWFP”; L/P/S/12/3263. No. 23, file 99.
“The Pathans are great believers in equality among individuals and among members of the tribe. Everyone in the Pathan society has the opportunity to rise to the leadership of the tribe. But the chief or the Malik is regarded by them only as a delegate for tribal purposes, with a little authority, “But in no other respect superior to the humblest radical of them all”. This inordinate pride is one of the marked characteristics of the Pathans.”

The Pakhtun tribes are far more cohesive and united as compared to the Balochs. The Pakhtuns are also extremely warlike and independent unlike the Balochs. For the Pakhtuns the tribal chief is a nominal figurehead whereas for the Balochs, the real authority is vested in the chief which makes it easier for the administration to work with. Above all, the level of political consciousness is much higher among the Pakhtuns than the Balochs. In terms of military defense, the KPK resulted in the heaviest British casualty and in terms of local administration; it was termed as a “Powder Magazine.”

The administration of the KPK was, therefore, to be different from the other areas of British India. Instead of aggressively integrating the area into the British system of administration, the strategy pursued was to change the Pakhtun customs and tradition to suit the local administration. The cooperation of the local inhabitants was to be achieved by direct and indirect inducements. The direct inducements of regular annual rewards and the indirect ones of employment in the militia forces, access to British India, etc or punishment by cutting off the pay of the Maliks, the Khassadar or blockades.

These methods of rewards or punishments had their impact on the local administration. Although the British Judicial system was not imposed on the KPK and Jirga system continued to work. The legal system was nevertheless twisted to favour the administration. First, instead of elected members, the Jirga members were to be nominated by the Deputy Commissioners. Secondly, the decision of the Jirga was to be recommendatory rather than mandatory. It was the Deputy Commissioner’s discretion to accept or reject the decision. Furthermore, the Deputy Commissioner could change the composition of the Jirga for the same case in order to acquire a verdict suitable for the administration. The Frontier Crimes Regulation was the principal element in the British administration.

27 Lord Linlithgow Papers, Miss Eur D 696/3, pp. 1-3. Also J.W. Spain, “Political Problems of a Borderland”, mimeo, Department of Philosophy, Florida State University, 1975, p. 17.
28 Due to the unique international and internal situation, John Simon referred to the NWFP as “the powder Magazine” and therefore, “the inherent right of a man to smoke a cigarette must necessarily be curtailed if he lives in a powder magazine. “The Simon Commission Report”, 1930, p. 192, quoted in The Frontier Tragedy, Lahore, Rippon Press, n.d., p. 7.
29 Memorandum by his Excellency Viceroy Linlithgow on Frontier Policy, L/P & S/12/4089, File 3486, pp. 1-10.
30 L/P & S/12/3265, No 23 File 99, Ext. 5437, p. 5.
Tribal policy of trans-frontier control. The breadth and vigour with which the Frontier Crimes Regulation was applied is reflected in Section 21, which provides that:

“In the event of any Frontier tribe or any section or members of such tribe, acting in a hostile or unfriendly manner towards persons residing in British India, the Deputy Commissioner may, with previous sanction of the commissioner, by order in writing direct:

a) The seizure, wherever they may be found, of all or any of the members of such tribe, and of all or any property belonging to them or any one of them,
b) the detention in safe custody of any person or property so seized and,
c) the confiscation of any such property and may with the like sanction, by public proclamation,
d) debar all or any members of the tribe from all access into British India and,
e) prohibit all or any persons within the limit of British India from all intercourse of communication of any kind or kinds, with such tribe or any section or members thereof.”31

These changes in the judicial system were called the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR). Since the objective and the composition of the Jirga was completely altered in the manner that instead of the Jirga it was the Deputy Commissioner who held the ultimate power, the Pakhtuns, therefore, referred to the Frontier Crimes Regulations as the “Black laws.”

The history of Jirga system & the distinction between the Jirga as it existed in the tribal areas and the one constituted by the British government is clearly elucidated by Pir Bakhsh Khan:

“The history of the administration of justice can be conveniently studies in the bright pages of history of this country. As far as India is concerned, we see that there is the illustrious Ashokan period… the system of Jirga was quite unknown to the dynasty of Asoka. After this we come to the period of Chandra Gupta. In that period too, one fails to find the rudiments of this system. After this, we come down to the Mughal period, in that period the administration of justice was done through the Qazis who were subservient to the courts of the judicial officers called Sardars. So far as Mughal era is concerned, you cannot quote a single instance of this Jirga system… Again we come down to the Sikh period … Even in that period you cannot find either the Jirga system or the administration of justice done on the lines of the F.C.R. “it is only in the tribal areas that you will find this institution of the Jirga system… the only law prevalent in those areas is the customs of that particular area. There are no settled laws, courts of law or statute books. This system of Jirga was foreign to us and was brought to our country through the tribal territory and was applied to the five settled districts. A system which was quite foreign to us and was thrust upon us.”32

It was not only that the Jirga system was alien to the judicial system of the five settled districts, but the very nature and structure of the Jirga was changed by the British

31 Parsons Paper, Mss Eur D 696/7, No. 6. Major A.E.B. Parsons was a member of the Frontier Regulation Enquiry Committee, 1931.
32 Pir Bakhsh Khan, NWFP LAD, 22 March 1933, pp. 549-550, also Mr. Khuda Bakhsh Bijarani, Searchlights on Baloches and Balochistan, Quetta, Gosha-e-Adab, 1974, pp. 305-317, author was the Chief Justice of Balochistan High Court until May 1981.
administration as compared to the Jirga that existed in the tribal areas. Pir Bakhsh Khan goes on to explain the difference.

“They (tribes) have their elders who command a certain amount of influence in a particular area. These jirga members are not appointed by any particular power. They are appointed by the people themselves who are in a way elected though such elections are not held by ballot. They are elected by the people according to their goodwill. In our case (settled districts) the council of elders is constituted by your own sweet will. The people are not consulted... the government does not in any way hold itself responsible to the people in nominating the members of the Jirga in disposing of a civil case the D.C and the council of Elders are not bound by any substantive law or rules of procedure. They can disregard the law of limitation and may decide contrary to the provisions of the personal law of the parties. The decree passed by the D.C. is not open to appeal.. The regulation empowers the D.C, when he thinks it expedient to exclude the jurisdiction of an ordinary criminal court and to commit the accused for trial to the council of Elders. In arriving at a finding on the question of the guilt or innocence of the accused, the Councils are wholly independent of rules of evidence or procedure. They can act on heresy and belief expressed on oath.. This will show that the cannons of ordinary law have been totally ignored... That legal right has been totally denied to the accused persons. The right of appearance or representation through a Counsel is also denied to them. There is absolutely no provision for appeal... The tribunal is not bound by the regulation to keep any record of its proceedings... This is gist of F.C.R... It must be wiped away. We regard ourselves as part and parcel of India. As such we want to be governed by the ordinary law.”33

Financial rewards given in the form of money (Lungi or Muajib) or property (Jagir) were an inducement to elicit support of the tribes. Lungi was given to an individual, usually the Malik, (the Chief of the tribe) monthly or annually and Muajib was given to a Khel or a tribe as a unit. It was not only a financial reward but also recognition of the services of the tribe. The tribesmen on the other hand thought of it as a tax or toll received from the foreigners or travelers in their land. However, the increase or decrease in the reward or its suspension was used by the administration to get the required services from the tribes.34

Malik or Khan (the Chief) and Mullah (the Priest) were the principle instruments of influencing the tribes. It was through them that the British succeeded in obtaining the cooperation of the Pakhtuns and gradually enlisted them in the military and the police services. However, the enrolment of the Pakhtuns in the militia services was not so much out of good will towards the tribesmen as it was to avoid locking up British troops in the areas of no advantage. The policy was to gradually withdraw the regular troops from the

33 Pir Bakhsh Khan, NWFP LAD, 22 March 1933, pp. 551-553.
34 NWFP Governor’s Reports, L/P & J/5/224 D. O. No. GH II. The list of Inam Khors (annual Jagir holders) is given district and Tehsil wise in NWFP LAD, 3 November 1938, pp. 24-61.
“Forward Areas” and to replace them by scouts. As a result new security forces composed of the Pakhtuns were created. The Waziris, Muhsuds and Mohamands were the main tribes to be enlisted as the scouts, Khassadars and members of the Frontier Constabulary and Chigas (pursuit parties). 

Above all was the recognition and importance given by the administration to the Maliks, Khans (chiefs), and Mullahs (priests). From nominal figureheads, they were transformed into real trustees. Their appointment to Jirgas and grants of jagirs and mujibs added to their importance in the tribe and the area. A propertied class with definite interests was being created to support the administration. The role of the Khan and the Mullah under the British rule is well described by Abdul Ghani Khan,

“These two hundred years the British have bribed and corrupted him (Pathan). They bought up his Priests and Khans and Faqirs. The sole role of the political department of India under British was to try to teach the hawks of Khyber the wretched ways of crow and vulture. It deduced the lowest and the greediest of the tribe and gave them importance and bought influence for them. All influence in the tribes belonged to the Khan and the Priest, one is the lord of this world, the other claims the lordship of the next. The political service supplied the tribes with divine looking priests, who put on the uniform of Allah’s (Gods) servants to serve the devil. The British succeeded beautifully.”

The direct and indirect inducements provided by the administration to elicit local support did to some extent have the desired outcome. The negative aspect of this approach was that although juridically the area was brought under British control, constitutionally it was denied all political reforms introduced in other areas of British India. The irony of the situation was that on one hand, being separated from Afghanistan, the KPK could not avail itself of the radical reforms introduced by Amir Amanullah Khan, whereas on the other hand, the British considered the area too sensitive politically and important strategically to treat it like the other provinces. Due to its unique situation, the KPK was denied the western political institutions and at the same time had its own indigenous institutions distorted.

Despite monetary incentives and alteration of local institutions to suit the government policies, it was difficult to maintain law & order. The economic pressure (as

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35 The Frontier Committee”, set up to examine the problem of the defense of the NWFP, Chairman, Maj-General F.S.S. Tucker, L/P & S/12/4543, No. 29873.
37 Abdul Ghani Khan, The Pathans: A Sketch. Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1958, pp. 49-50, Abdul Ghani Khan was the eldest son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Leader of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement.
39 Sir George Cunningham, “Reforms in the NWFP of India” MSS Eur D 670/28. Sir George Cunningham was the Governor of the NWFP, 1937-46.
explained in the next section) on the people was so much that civil disobedience movement was spreading in the province. As George Cunningham put it, “we can all remember instances where by means of intimidation, picketing, by refusal to pay revenues or taxes or other dues or even by organized and violent opposition to government, certain section of society have made it only too clear that the law, in conditions which were not within the purview of those who framed it, is no longer sufficient for our purpose.”

The government consequently imposed The Public Tranquility Act which empowered the executive with extraordinary powers. The Honorary magistrates and Deputy Superintendent of police were given unlimited powers, under clause 23 of the Public Tranquility Act:

“Where it appears to the to the local government that inhabitants of any area are concerned in the commission of offences or other acts which are prejudicial maintenance of law and order or to the public revenues… the local government may.. impose a collective fine on the inhabitants of that area.”

It was a very strong provision enabling the man on the spot (honorable Magistrates and DSPS) to punish the whole community for the act of a single individual. This act was the very negation of democratic process or even the principles of jurisprudence and constitutional law. The Act was constituted without consulting the legislature or public opinion, secondly it gave the executive unlimited powers without any check or even the right to appeal in a court of law; thirdly the Act was to curtail the Civil Disobedience Movement through the use of force without analyzing the real reason of agitation i.e. the economic plight of the Zamindars and the public. The warning note against such repressive measures was made public by Pir Bakhsh Khan:

“Sir, the plight of the Zamindar is before us. We have not done any substantial thing in that regard. We have not done any thing for the education of the people. Yes we have done one thing and that one thing is the Tranquility Bill.. the name Tranquility is no more than a misnomer… I should again quote the historic words of the late Secretary of State for India that after having created a desert you cannot call it a garden and give it the designation of good government. A similar remark was made by the greatest Viceroy of India and the greatest living Englishman, Lord Irwin…

It will be regrettable that a Bill which may be called a public killing bill or cut throat bill… should not be even circulated for opinion… with the aid of your military forces you may hold the movement in check for sometime, but it is impossible for you to crush the spirit that is agitating the public mind today. The remedy which you proposed is not effective … you have not even made a correct diagnosis of the disease yet. The real disease is that of unemployment. It is unemployment that has caused the present consternation and the political

40 George Cunningham (Home member) *NWFP LAD*, 10 October 1932, p. 80.
41 Khan Abdul Ghaffiar Khan, *NWFP LAD*, 24 October 1932, p. 666. emphasis mine.
awakening … the pages of history will teach you what causes are responsible for revolution and wars and what are the best methods to avoid them.”

The government had to undertake certain measures to fulfill the Imperial policy, the Forward policy of integrating the tribal areas and the Closed Door policy of stabilizing and controlling the local administration. To fulfill these obligations the expenditure on coercive forces (i.e. the army, the Frontier Constabulary, the regular police and the additional police) increased tremendously. The forward policy was costing the government heavy expenses and was still not successful. Similarly the additional police had to be created with a strength of 9824 at an expenditure of Rs. 62,38,000 to carry out work which the regular police or the Frontier Constabulary could not undertake like the supervision and security of roads, railways, bridges, vulnerable points, aliens and internal security.

Even the regular police had to be increased and strengthened; consequently the expenditure increased every year in this department. In the year 1932-33, the expenditure of this department stood at Rs 30,55,000, in 1933-34 it increased to Rs 31,48,000 and in 1936-37 it was Rs 32,05,000 by 1937-38 the figure stood at Rs 34,56,000. It was the most top heavy department in the province. The increase in the coercive department meant decrease and neglect of beneficent department like health, education, agriculture and industry, which compounded the economic misery of the people and pushed them to join the civil disobedience movement. To control the movement through force without alleviating unemployment or reducing the burden on Zamindars was the weakest point of the imperial policy. The following section will provide some idea of the economic condition of the people and their reasons for joining the civil disobedience movement which provided ample justification for the use of force and repressive measures to the British administration.

43 Abdur Rashid Khan: “During the last thirty years or so the Government has been spending crores and crores of rupees on campaigns into transborder area. Aeroplanes even today are hovering over the heads of these transborder people. After all they are human beings…if they are exposed to constant attacks, intrusions into their lands, the natural reaction is that they make encroachments on the people of Dera Ismail Khan & Banuu (the entire loss incurred by the people of Bannu and D.I. Khan since the starting of the Waziristan operation in 1937 came to about Rs. 2,43,000). It is the political department which deals with them (transborder tribes) and if anything harmful is done by them to the people in the cis-border areas, the government of the India should be liable to pay the damages…. There are some people who are really of the opinion that it is the wish of the Political Department and in order to justify the huge expenses of crores and crores of rupees from the Indian exchequer, they initiate all this.”
44 Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan, (Chief Minister), *NWFP LAD*, 18 March 1934, p. 38.
iv. The Economy

It was in 1901 that the KPK acquired the status of a Chief Commissioner’s province on the recommendation of Algernon Durand. It continued to be under the control of the Governor of Punjab till 1931 when it was granted the status of an independent province. Implicit in the creation of the province was the need for better and firmer control over the Pakhtuns and the transborder tribes. The economic implications of an independent status were severe due to its limited resources being diverted to general administration and law and order enforcement. The benefits of an autonomous region in social uplift schemes like health and education were negligible, in fact the general condition of the majority of the people who happened to be agriculturists deteriorated due to the exorbitant land revenue extracted through force by the sale of property or personal possessions.

The two most important issues affecting the Frontier’s economy during the imperial rule were subvention from the central government and the remission of land revenue. Subvention was an essential component of the Subjects Committee or Haig Committee constituted in May 1931 to study the deficit nature of the province and the maintenance of an independent status. Subvention of Rs 1,46,00,000 (one crore forty six lakhs) rising each year by Rs 4,00,000 (four lakhs) from the central government to the NWFP was recommended by Haig Committee. This recommendation was based on two premises: first, independent status was being granted for political reasons not as a result of public demand; second, the Frontier’s resources could not fulfill the essential requisites of an autonomous region as pointed out by the Haig Committee:

“It must be remembered that the Province was called into existence not as the result of any such popular demand for a separate administration… but for reasons of imperial policy dictated by what were considered to be the essentials of a sound system of Frontier control. The creation of the new province was a matter of no political interest for its inhabitants. It is true that in 1922 when the Bray Committee held its enquiry prevailing opinning was in favour of retaining the separate existence of the province. This, however, does not affect the point that the province was constituted on grounds of general Frontier policy, for which the Central government was responsible and is still maintained on the same ground…”

Moreover the report clearly specified the financial obligations of the center towards the KPK:

“It is the first principle of a democratic and responsible Government that the burden of finding the resources for development should fall on the Ministry, and we feel it would impair that sense of responsibility if the provincial Government

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were to look constantly to the Central Government for augmenting its resources and so helping it to develop the departments under its control. We feel it necessary to state both these principles at the very outset so that in the coming constitution the people of the province and particularly the Ministry, will have a clear idea where they stand in relation to the budget arrangement for the province."

In calculating this subvention the Haig Committee allowed various charges to be included in the provincial budget. The charges were admitted to be central such as the cost of the construction of roads of military importance in the settled districts, Frontier remissions and Jagirs, political pensions and military rewards and the charges of the upper Swat canal in the transborder area. The inclusion of these items in the provincial budget obviously swell the figure of subvention and it looked as if the centre was paying for the purely provincial subjects, which was not the case as explained by the Haig report. It was also recommended that some departments of the local administration should be included in subvention so that they could be brought at for with departments in the adjoining province of the Punjab, not only were these departments not included in subvention but even the lowest figure of subvention Rs 1,17,00,000 was cut down to Rs 1,00,00,000 (one crore) for a period of three years instead of five years as recommended by the Committee. According to Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum, who was a minister and a member of the Haig Committee, “this cut is without any reason or justification. This to my mind is not fair to a province, which has been performing Imperial duties; the least that the people could expect and should expect is that their beneficent departments should be brought to the same level with Punjab.”

The situation in the KPK did not improve as a result of the reformed constitution of 1931. As the estimates of the financial year 1932/33, which was the first budget of the reformed constitution show, the province was running a deficit of Rs 21,00,000 (21 lakhs) which is a huge amount considering that the total revenue receipts for the province were Rs 66,00,000 (and not Rs 71,00,000 as the Haig Committee estimated) whereas the expenditure amounted to Rs 1,17,00,000 with a subvention of Rs 1,00,000 the deficit came

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49 *NWFP Legislative Assembly Debates*, The Manager: Peshawar, 18 October 1932, p. 323. The reduction in subvention was felt more because expenditure in England was not included in Haig report whereas this expenditure came to Rs. 62,22,000 (Sixty-two Lakhs, Twenty-two Thousand). Pir Bakhsh, *NWFP Legislative Assembly Debates*, The Manager: Peshawar, 21 September 1937, p. 283.
50 Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan, *NWFP LAD*, 18 October 1932, p. 323.
to Rs. 21,00,000. Consequently there was a considerable decrease under the headings of education and the medical department.

It was acutely felt that the people of the KPK had not benefited by becoming an integral part of the British Empire. The despair and frustration was an outcome of huge financial and human loss suffered by the KPK people in the process of integrating the tribal areas and yet there was considerable deterioration rather than enhancement in the economy and the society of the area. There was a rapid decline in the welfare of the people due to the neglect of beneficent departments. Like health, education, sanitation, agriculture. The situation is well explained by Pir Bakhsh Khan:

“...There is a huge increases on the side of expenditure of the coercive departments at the cost of the beneficent departments... under the Head “education” the figure was Rs 2,003 for 1930-31 while in the year 1931-32 that is after the promulgation of the reforms the figure stands at the 1,890 and under the head “medical” you will find that it came to Rs. 590. Public health which started with Rs 105 in 1926-27 was reduced to Rs 100 in the year 1931-32. Similarly “Agriculture” had also to undergo the same difficulty. This I believe devotes that there has been a steady fall on the expenditure side in the case of beneficent department.”

The emphasis was more on law and order than on development of the province, the expenditure on police during 1931-32 was Rs 34,00,000, which was half the revenue of the province. Although the police budget was slightly reduced during 1932/33, the total estimate including the cost of additional force came to about Rs 28,00,000 (28 lakhs) which was still the heaviest item of the budget. As Malik Khuda Bakhsh put it:

“The only thing which predominates the whole atmosphere of the budget is the maintenance of law and order... if you are going to maintain law and order without removing the causes, the root causes of the present situation, you will go on repeating the process which you are following till eternity and even till doom’s day, you will never achieve the desired end... remove the causes, do not cure the disease by treating the symptoms... what is the root cause? It has been said that man does not live by bread alone, but it is equally true that he cannot live without bread. Had the province got any help from the government as far as

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As Abdul Ghafoor Khan put it, “we see that the beneficent departments have been absolutely ignored. No provision has been made for the uplift of the people, for schools, for technical education, for agriculture, for sanitation, health and all other beneficent departments. NWFP Legislative Assembly Debates, The Manager, Peshawar, 21 May 1932, p.135.

53 NWFP LAD, 10 March 1934, pp. 236-237. The situation remained the same till the eve of independence, even in 1945, the finance minister Abdur Rab Nishter admitted that, “the government of the NWFP has so far been managing the affairs of this province within the present income mainly for the reason that normal development of the beneficent departments has not been taken in hand for want of funds.” NWFP LAD, 12 March 1945, p. 30.

this budget is concerned to solve the problem of bread, the problem could have been solved.”

The agricultural sector was hit the hardest for numerous reasons, first the land revenue was much higher than the capacity of the farmers to pay, thereby affecting their incentive and resulting in low production. Secondly, this sector was also neglected by the government. No budgetary allocations were made for either research in this field or provision of assistance to the farmers. Thirdly, the conditions were made worse due to the existing system of Patwaris, Kanongoes, and moneylenders. Patwaris and Kanongoes would not give the requisite Kharaba’ (remission of land revenue on wasteland), adding to the burden of the farmers; similarly the moneylenders had entrapped the agriculturists in a vicious network of debt trap. Finally, due to worldwide recession, the price of agricultural commodities had fallen thereby adding to the existing slump.

One issue which is particularly noticeable in the pre-independence period is the constant demand for remission in land revenue. A resolution was passed to this effect in the very first Assembly of the KPK demanding 50% remission in land revenue and “Abiyana” (water charges). The resolution was not put into effect by the Government, it was, therefore, noticed that constant pressure was put on the Government by the majority of the members of the provincial legislature in subsequent years for implementing the same demand. Remission in land revenue was an important factor for the KPK economy because the majority of the population was agriculturist and with few exceptions all of them were small or petty farmers who were unable to pay the existing rate of revenue. There were two reasons for their inability to pay the revenue. First, the revenue was assessed on land irrespective of landholding, whether it was one acre, one Jarib or 50,000 Jaribs: Thus a petty landowner was taxed on the same basis as a feudal landlord. Secondly, revenue was fixed on the basis of the prices of grains. This was done during the world war when the prices were considerably higher, after that the prices fell sharply but the rate of revenue remained the same. The condition of the farmers had become so deplorable that they were giving up agriculture and taking up business because in business tax was levied on the savings of a thousand rupees whereas a zamindar are had to pay the

56 Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahim Khan Kundi, NWFP LAD, 12 October 1932, p. 176.
57 Khan Mohammad Afzal Khan, NWFP LAD, 25 March 1939, p. 704. Also Khan Amin Jan Khan, NWFP LAD, 13 March 1947, p.43 “the present method of assessment of land revenue be substituted by assessment on income from land on sliding scale basis”.
revenue even if he could not save a penny. The condition of farmers is well depicted by Khan Abdur Rahim Khan Kundi:

“The Zamindars were unable even to pay the revenue based on the assessment of 1895-96…. The enhancement of the land revenue and the decrease in the income of the people acted as a fuel, and the movement (Khudai Khidmatgar) got such a strength… the recent collection of revenue has reduced the Zamindars to a state, the description of which makes one’s hair stand. I have seen with my own eyes proud Pathans who have surrendered the ornaments of their wives and daughters without fixing any price whatsoever in payment of the land revenue in the presence of thousands of men in order to save their honour. Do you think it is not worse than death for a Pathan that the ornaments of his wife, the furniture of his house and his cattle be publicly auctioned in the public market?”

To make matters worse, in addition to the high rate of land revenue was the high rate of interest charged by the by the moneylenders. The financial matters got complicated primarily due to the illiteracy and ignorance of the agriculturists. Moreover the British, with the imposition of the law of England were labouring under the delusion that the people of India were as advanced and educated as those of England which put the ignorant Zamindar under a lot of trouble. The contract Act and Evidence Act assumed that both the parties (the farmer and the moneylender) were knowledgeable about the terms of the loan, which in actual fact was not the case. Finally the moneylender who was only interested in charging high interest and not the repayment of loans would use the above mentioned Acts to dispossess the farmer of his property and acquire it himself. The collective debt owned by five districts in 1934 came to about Rs 1,50,00,000 (one & half crore) calculated on 1% interest rate whereas in actual fact the charge was 2%. In case of individual farmers a debtor had paid Rs 2,700 as in interest in 40 years time while the principal of Rs 360 was still not paid. The reasons for the “Introduction of the Punjab moneylenders Bill” in the KPK and “Rescue of Agriculturalists from the village money-lenders”, was succinctly presented by Maulvi Nur Bakhsh:

“The British Courts have made him (agriculturist) absolutely weak because before the advent of British rule here, there were not many moneylenders… These people when they first made their appearance in the villages had no property. Nor had they any money to advance to the villagers. Gradually they became rich and started money landing. They did so because they knew that they could easily realize their money through the British courts. First attachment orders and then warrant for arrests were issued and this brought the poor zamindar to ruin… In advancing money to an agriculturist, their chief object is to get him entangled to such an extent, that he may not be able to disengage himself from their clutches for a generation. One the prey is caught in the meshes, a simple loan of Rs 100, goes up to a few thousand. The method is simple.

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60 NWFP LAD, 12 October 1932, p. 180.
61 Maulvi Nur Bakhsh, NWFP LAD, 13 March 1934, p. 310.
62 Qazi Attaullah Khan, NWFP LAD, 15 Nov 1938, p. 745.
63 NWFP LAD, 9 Nov. 1933, pp. 193-203 & NWFP LAD, 13 March 1934, pp. 307-311, respectively.
zamindar keeps no account and the moneylender never acknowledges what he realizes… Generally the moneylender gets the poor zamindar to affix his thumb impression on the on the agreement or on his account books and then files a suit for the realization of the amount. It is contended in courts that the agreement was made by the zamindar after great deliberation and that a decree for the amount should be passed against him. The fact, however, is that the zamindar never knows what the real agreement is, as he is illiterate. It is these circumstances which keep the zamindar and his descendents in debt… There are facts written by Mr Thorburn, Mr. Darling, Mr. Calbert and other Englishmen in their books.”

The legal and financial clauses of the government were quite stringent on the zamindars as explained above and the few provisions giving relief were also denied to them. The obstruction in providing relief to the zamindars was a result of the conflicting interests of the zamindar and jagirdars (feudal/large landowner). The jagirdars in connivance with the tehsildars, the Patwari and Kanongoes would refuse to grant the requisite ‘Khareba” or allow the proper jamabandis. The Kharaba was granted to the zamindar for a particular piece of land if there was no harvest on it. The revenue on the Kharaba would be paid by the Jagirdar and he was also supposed to help the Zamindar in improving the land. Consequently the Jagirdar would try through the revenue officer to minimize the Kharaba in which case the zamindar had to pay the revenue which was by no means compatible with his income. Moreover the wrongful entries in the land records by the Patwaris were the basis of all irregularities, frivolous ruinous litigation resulting in the poverty of the Zamindar. The Kanongoes who were to check the Jamabandis and help in the administration of justice would take their toll from every villager through the help of a labmbardar or a big Zamindar thus enforcing the virtual system of Begar (unpaid labour). The condition of the zamindar/agriculturist/tenants was, as Khan Bahadur Ghulam Haider Khan put it, “(of) poverty, humiliation, utter disgrace and various other troubles… the zamindars have to bear the burden of taxation like the land revenue, “abiana”, (water tax), “nagha” (unpaid labour), income tax, Haisiyat Tax & licence fee besides paying compound interest on loans.”

It was the poor and petty farmers in the KPK who felt the burden of the heavy land revenue & other taxes unlike large landholder of some of the other provinces e.g. Bihar,

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65 *NWFP LAD*, 18 October 1932, pp. 297-313.
66 Malik Khuda Bakhsh, *NWFP LAD*, 17 March 1933, pp 270-281. According to Malik Khuda Bakhsh, “They (revenue officials) are sucking our blood. The revenue officials have conducted themselves in such a way as to make the zamindar believe that it is either their natural right or their legal right and if he does not pay a Kanungo, Patwari or any other revenue officer when he comes on tour, he will be put to great trouble.” p. 271.
67 *NWFP LAD*, 9 Nov 1933, pp. 194-195.
Bengal, United provinces & Central provinces of India. In the KPK for a total of twenty seven lakhs (27,00,000) landholders, the average per holding of cultivated land came to about two acres, which constitutes a petty farmer.\textsuperscript{68} A considerable number of these petty farmers were dispossessed of their land due to their inability to pay the land revenue.\textsuperscript{69} These lands/Jagirs were consequently distributed amongst a group of individuals either as Nar Inam (award for gallantry in the war) or as zamindar inam (award for services to the government as tribal/village chief) or for their contribution to the war fund.\textsuperscript{70}

Another difference between the land revenue system of the KPK and some of the other provinces was that in those provinces land revenue under the permanent settlement was fixed whereas in the KPK revenue was linked to the price of grains and the assessment was done during the world war with a high price index. The farmers had to pay very high revenue especially after the war when the prices dropped sharply due to recession and slump.

The third factor affecting the farmers in the KPK was the policy regarding water distribution within the province and with the other provinces. Some of the best land in the province was rendered barren due to change in the direction of the water channels, according to Pir Bakhsh Khan.

“The condition of the farmers is deplorable. Khalil Momand area is worst hit in the province. In the history of the province it was known for the production of cotton and rice, not just in the province but outside as well, but now it is lying barren because its water is channeled to Peshawar cantonment to irrigate big gardens and orchards in Peshawar…. Similarly Hazara and Dera Ismail Khans face water shortage problem… Bara Water has been taken away by the military and unless civil disobedience is done in this respect we will not get that water back. This water is outside provincial jurisdiction.”\textsuperscript{71}

The inter-regional distribution of water from the Indus River was also creating difficulties for the Frontier farmers. The KPK as the upper riparian state had the primary right to the use of Indus water; the Sind and the Punjab, however, by digging canals out of Indus river were affecting the availability of water in the KPK. It was a matter of

\textsuperscript{68}Abdur Rab Nishtar, \textit{NWFP LAD}, 15 Nov 1938, p. 741.
\textsuperscript{69} Pir Bakhsh Khan, \textit{NWFP LAD}, 25 March 1939, p. 712, “land revenue is collected mercilessly, the farmers, have to sell their land to pay the revenue and when they cannot pay, they are locked up in cells which are more like black holes. Jails are full of such people/defaulters (land revenue was Rs 7 per jareeb) my translation.
\textsuperscript{70} Nawazzada Allah Nawaz Khan, “There are people amongst us who for their own selfish interests sacrificed their brothers, leave alone Rajas, Landlord, Aristocrats who are traitors. The National war fund was founded for which the revenue officials collected thousands and Lakhs of rupees from the poor and needy whereas titles, awards, lands and Inams were given to Rajas, Nawabs. These Nawabs & Rajas forced the poor and hungry to join the army and then received 20, 30, 40 or 50 Murrabe of land from the government as Inam” \textit{NWFP LAD}, 24 March 1945, p. 192 my translation.
\textsuperscript{71} Pir Bakhsh Khan, \textit{NWFP LAD}, 25 March 1939, p. 712, 717, my translation.
The construction of the Sukkur Barrage and the Thall canal utilized the Indus water far in excess to their share. The KPK had to bear a double burden because of this; first was the role of water and second, the financial cost of raising the level of the bed. The magnanimity or indifference of the then KPK government to this important issue was to affect the provincial economy drastically, the simplistic attitude of the then chief minister towards this important economic legal issue is incomprehensible; according to him “there is enough water in river Indus to feed everyone from beginning to the end”.

Coupled with the lack of water availability was the twin problem of hydro-electric power. The KPK government was paying heavy financial cost for generating electricity yet it was of no use to the KPK (except the army cantonments) in fact the Punjab was the actual beneficiary of these schemes. The actual cost and the interest (which was more than the actual cost) was depleting the already limited resources of the KPK. The construction of lower Swat canal was completed in 1884-85 at the cost of Rs. 61,23,025 and the interest paid to the central government till the end of 1931-32 was Rs. 81,45,283. The construction of the upper Swat canal was completed in 1917-18 at the cost of Rs 2,11,09,281 and interest paid by the local government to the central government from the date of advance to the year 1931-32 was Rs. 1,34,20,288 and the Malakand Hydro-electric scheme was to cost Rs. 42 lakhs (42,00,000), the cost and interest were once again a charge on provincial

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73 Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan, “Parliament Act has been passed concerning the Sukkur Barrage according to which the rights of Sindh government, are protected… Rs. 70 crore (70,00,00,000) have been spent on Sukkur Barrage and 70% of this investment is of an English firm whose biggest shareholder was Lord Iloyd who was at that time the Governor of Bombay when Sindh was still a part of Bombay. He was a very good friend and right hand man of Mr. Churchill… As far as the Parliament Act is concerned no one can change it but it is very essential that we demand from the Punjab government that when the head of the Thal canal is completed and the river is stopped at Kalabagh that Punjab government will pay for raising the bed of Paharpur canal (in NWP) or diverting the river”. NWFP LAD, 28 March 1945, p. 307-08 my translation.
74 Dr. Khan Sahib (Chief Minister), NWFP LAD, 28 March 1945, p.309. The resolution of the NWFP Assembly to the provincial government to appoint a subcommittee to find out the fact that no injustice is done to the people of the Frontier province so far as the distribution of the water of River Indus is concerned”, was withdrawn on the request of the Chief Minister, Dr. Khan Sahib.
revenue. Considering the deficit economy of the province, such a bug scheme could not be justified as K. Abdul Ghaffar Khan explained:

“There is nothing to support the statement that the hydro-electric Scheme will in any way be beneficial to the rural public. If an agriculturist cannot buy seeds for sowing, how is he going to pay for electric energy? I submit that the hope of agriculturalists being able to pay is out of question… It will give lighting to the cantonments, to those who are rich & who can afford it and possibly to a few big Khans in the rural area. “(Moreover) these canals were not meant for the purpose of providing the population with irrigation, but its main purpose was to help the central government politically and imperially… paragraph and of the completion report of the lower Swat canal does to show that its immediate object was to help the central government… If it was meant to help all the provinces of India, why should it be made a charge only on the revenues of this province, any why should it not be borne by the central government.”

The creation of the KPK as an independent province for political reasons and introducing schemes for defense and imperial purposes was tantamount to mortgaging the provinces. The hardships that the people of the province had to undergo to fulfill the heavy financial expenditure were of no advantage to them. The benefits of the huge hydro electric schemes in the KPK were reaped by the other provinces as mentioned by Asadullah Khan. “Our province had hydro-electric power but the Punjab is utilizing its benefits, Wah, the district in Punjab is benefiting from it whereas Dera Ismail Khan, Banuu and Kohat have been denied the benefits of its provincial resources.” Moreover due to the nascent economy job opportunities were very limited in the province and whatever employment opportunities were available, were filled by non-KPK people, according to Nawab Mohammad Zaffar Khan.

“I met Chief Minister of Punjab to get employment for a relative of mine and I was told that a man from Sarhad (NWFP) cannot be employed in Punjab. I am surprised that the people of the NWFP are so incapable that they cannot be hired in Punjab whereas Punjabis are hired in the NWFP. Whenever there is a vacancy in the NWFP, a Punjabi is hired where should the people of Frontier go. It is a small province consisting of six districts and people of Punjab are hired here… This Assembly should pass resolution concerning the treatment meted out to the people of this province and send it to his Excellency the Viceroy.”

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76 K. Abdul Ghafur Khan, *NWFP LAD*, 9 March 1934, p. 201 & March 10, 1934, p. 228-29. Paragraph 8 of the Completion Report of the Lower Swat canal read as follows: “In forwarding this Revised Estimates to the Government of India, the local government observed that although the canal was not likely to prove remunerative its completion was strongly recommended on other grounds. It was pointed out that the construction of the canal had always been advocated for reasons which were more political than economical, and on the ground that nothing would afford the British government greater strength or better security for peace in the Peshawar valley than the execution of such schemes of irrigation.” *Ibid.*
77 K.S. Asadullah Jan, *NWFP LAD*, 17 March 1947, p. 188. “our main problems is water availability, there is no scheme for irrigation in this plan, we do not even have drinking water in Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu, there is water in our area but no attention is being paid to it, no scheme is proposed for it”, *Ibid.*, p. 182.
78 Nawab Mohammad Zaffar Khan, *NWFP LAD*, 20 March 1944, pp. 75, 76.
To consider the KPK as a "powder magazine" can be well understood in view of socio-economic conditions prevailing in the province. The huge expenses on schemes which were primarily for the purposes of the central government were added on to the provincial budget e.g. the construction of road, canals, bridges, dams and the allocation of inams (awards), jagirs (lands), increase in the expenditure on police and creation of the additional police. These expenses increased the financial burden on the Frontier people in the form of various taxes, heavy land revenue and neglect of beneficent departments like health, education, sanitation and agriculture. The increase in revenue between (1901 to 1930, during, 1901 general collection of revenue from Peshawar district was Rs 18,24,122 whereas during 1922-30 increase was 150% double that amount i.e Rs. 46,97,463. Principal increase was in direct revenue from canals (use of water) it increased from Rs, 4,49,000 in 1901-02 to Rs. 17,09,540 during 1929-30 also increased exorbitantly from Rs. 49,886 in 1901-02 to Rs 6,12,374 during 1929-30 the situation was a difficult one, on the one hand increased taxation was leading the people towards civil disobedience and on the other hand the government had to impose new ordinances like Public Tranquility Act to maintain law and order. The whole atmosphere was thus filled with hostility between the government and the people.

v. **Constitutional Development**

The KPK was created in 1901 but it was under the control of the Chief Commissioner until 1931. It was in 1931 that the KPK attained the status of a Governor's province, until then all the reforms introduced in the rest of India were denied to the KPK. We will briefly refer to the constitutional process that was evolving in the rest of India.80

In 1909 **Morley-Minto Reforms** were introduced in India, according to these reforms the official majority in the provincial councils was abandoned, the Indian legislative council was enlarged and it was empowered to discuss the budget and to propose resolutions. These reforms failed miserably to meet the demands of the Indian nationalists. In 1919 the **Montague-Chelmsford Reforms** were introduced. These reforms introduced some sort of provincial autonomy through the system of Diarchy’, according to which vital subjects like law and order were ‘reserved’ to the control of the Governor who was responsible to the Secretary of State and Parliament, whereas ‘transferred’ subjects

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were given over to Indian Ministers responsible to their Provincial legislature. Central legislative council was converted into a bi-cameral legislature directly elected for the most part.81

Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 and Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 were not extended to the KPK. The unique situation of the KPK was attributed to its external relations with Afghanistan and internal conflicts among the tribes and their resentment against the British. The Pakhtun’s disenchantment with the administration of the exclusion of their province from the reforms was well perceived by the Chief Commissioner of the province. The exclusion of the area from the constitutional reforms was nevertheless justified in the following manner:

“The NWFP should not expect to jump straight to the full political position as those of advanced provinces, because other provinces have been through a period of political education in their former legislative Councils and that there are special conditions in this province which require special treatment. Difficulties in this province are external and internal. Externally, the future of the Frontier depends on friendly relations with Afghanistan. Concerning this internal situation, I have taken steps to discourage political meetings and political propaganda. Amongst excitable people as live in this province, a meeting that begins quietly may end in deplorable incidents, e.g. in other parts of India people merely talked of Hijrat (Migration), in this province people sold off everything and went off on that deplorable pilgrimage. For this reason, I have excluded from this province, politicians whose activities here could only have served and awakened forces which they would themselves have been powerless to control.”82

Pitted against this attitude, the attainment of the Governor’s status for the KPK and consequently the extension of the Government of India Act of 1935 to the KPK, was considered a great victory. The extension of reforms to the KPK after 1931 was the result of numerous efforts, political and constitutional. Politically, the formation of the Khdai Khidmatgar (KK) movement as well as the creation of the Muslim League (ML) in the Frontier was of vital importance. Constitutionally, the recommendations, of the Simon Commission, Denny Bray’s Committee and the representation of the Frontier by Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum in the Round Table Conferences changed the course of events in the Frontier.

The efforts of the Pakhtuns in the KPK as well as the changing political climate in India led to the appointment of the North West Frontier Enquiry Committee in 1922 under Sir Dennys Bray, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. The Committee was to

82 Hamilton Grants Papers, Mss Eur 660/25, pp. 1-8. Hamilton Grant was the Chief Commissioner of the KPK, 1919-1921.
deal with three issues! a) relations between the Punjab and the Frontier, b) relations between the settled districts and the tribes, c) reforms within the Frontier. With regards to the first issue, the Committee upheld the decision of keeping the Frontier as a separate province. This decision was an outcome of 91.6% Muslim population of the area in favour of a separate province as opposed to 7.9% Hindus who desired re-amalgamation with the Punjab. In regard to the second issue, the committee asserted the doctrine of inseparability of the tracts and the districts and in reference to the reforms, it recommended that the KPK be made a Governor’s province and that the executive should consists of the Governor and two ministers. The findings of the Committee were upheld except for the last one. It was in the Round Table Conference in November 1930 that the demand for Governor’s status and provincial autonomy was championed by a prominent Frontier political leader, Sir Sahbzada Abdul Qayyum. The subcommittee No.5 of the Round Table Conference in November 1930 made a number of recommendations concerning the KPK.

a) The executive should consist of a governor assisted by two ministers drawn from non-official members, at least one of whom should be elected.

b) The legislature should be unicameral with power to legislate on provincial subject.

c) Out of a total membership of forty in the provincial council, nominated members should not be more than fourteen and out of these fourteen, the number of officials should be between six to eight.

The policy statement by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, at the conclusion of the first session of the Indian Round Table Conference, on 19 January 1931 accepted the main principles of granting the status of Governor’s province and providing a certain measure of provincial autonomy. The policy, however, was not implemented till The Subject Committee under Mr. H.B.G. Haig submitted its report in July 1931. The Report classified subject between the centre and the province and the subvention required from the Central revenue. According to Mr. H.B.G. Haiq, (i) subjects that were central throughout India should be central in the NWFP, tribal territories should be central. (ii) Law and order, roads in settled districts, Frontier remissions to be provincial. (iii) Watch and Ward, Jagirs and military grants and rewards, roads and buildings of military

83 Report of the North West Enquiry Committee and Minutes of Dissent by Mr. I. Rangachariar and Mr. N. M. Somarth. Delhi: Government of Central Press, 1924, pp. 28-30.

importance to be retained by the Centre. Following these recommendations, the KPK was finally granted the status of Governor’s province in December 1931.

This status required the introduction of the system of Dyarchy as in the other provinces. The KPK was given a forty man council consisting of twenty eight elected representatives, out of which twenty-two were Muslims, five Hindus and one Sikh, six appointed officials and six appointed non-officials. The Chief Commissioner, who became the Governor, appointed two ministers, one official and the other elected, who attended the council but did not serve at his will. These reforms were quite headway for the KPK but as dyarchy was being criticized in the rest of India; it received more or less similar criticism in the KPK. The leading political party of the KPK, the Khudai Khidmatgar refused to participate in the reforms unless full provincial autonomy was granted. It was not until 1935 when provincial autonomy gained momentum under the Government of India Act, 1935.

The Act of 1935 is significant in the history of India because for the first time Federal form of government was devolved in India and some sort of provincial autonomy was granted. The Act gains significance for Pakistan because the federal aspect of all the three constitutions (1956, 1962 and 1973) was judged by their makers and political analysts in comparison to the Act of 1935.

The Act comprised fourteen parts and ten schedules. Part two dealt with the Federation and part three with the province. The Central / Provincial distribution of powers was outlined in the seventh schedule. The Federal list had fifty nine items including defense, currency, communication, education, custom duties, corporation tax and income tax. The Provincial list consisted of fifty four items including public order, police, local government, public health and sanitation, agriculture, and land revenue. The Concurrent list was divided into two parts with part one having twenty five items and part two, eleven items. It was in regard to part two of the Concurrent list that the Federation could direct a province for executing any Act of the Federal legislature which was related to a matter specified in part two of the list (Article 126, clause 2).

Although the Act of 1935 granted provincial autonomy, it was limited to a great extent by the extraordinary power vested in the Governor of the province as well as central interference. The Governor General had the discretion to direct the Governor of any province to discharge as his ‘agent’ any function in relation to the tribal areas, defense, external affairs or ecclesiastical affairs (Article 123). The Governor General, acting at his

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85 Ibid., pp. 324-357, 369-376.
discretion, also had the power to issue orders to the Governor of a province for the purpose of preventing any grave menace to the peace or tranquility of India or any part thereof (Article 126, clause 5). The Federal government, according to article 126 clause 3 and 4 could also direct a province for the construction and maintenance of communication of military importance.

The Linchpin of power in the Province was the Governor. Almost all the powers of the Governor were to be exercised at his discretion or on his individual judgment (Art.54). The very use of or discretionary power or exercise of individual judgment in any matter was to be decided by the Governor in his discretion (Art.54). The Governor and not he Chief Minister was to preside over the Council of Ministers (Article 50). The ministers, chosen, summoned and sworn by the Governor at his discretion were to hold office during his pleasure (Article 50). Additional powers were provided under Article 52 specified as “special responsibilities”. Any intervention by the Governor in the administration could be justified on grounds of these special responsibilities, most important of which were the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquility of the province or any part thereof, and securing of the peace and good government of partially excluded area. Article 92 provided the Governor the legislative powers for the (partially) excluded areas. The Governor also had the authority to promulgate ordinances at any time, even when the provincial legislature was in session (Art. 89). Such ordinances were operative for six months and could be extended for a further period of six months.

Extensive powers granted to the Governor restricted the autonomy of the provinces. Similarly, the nature and the scope of federalism was affected due to the unlimited powers of the Governor General yet constitutional progress did unleash the forces of nationalism in India. Even the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1935 is attributed by R. Coupland, to the fierce and compelling nationalism of the Indians, rather than the natural evolution of representative government over a period of time as it happened in Britain and North America.86

vi. Political Process

Although the congress was established in 1885 and the Muslim league in 1906, both political parties were peripheral to the situation in the KPK until the 1930s. The KPK branch of the Muslim league was not established until 1937; whereas the Congress never

had a KPK branch though the Khudai Khidmatgar party of the KPK was considered to be affiliated to it.

The 1930’s was a period of great turmoil, disturbances and civil disobedience in the Indian subcontinent. It was during this period that the KPK identified itself politically with the rest of India. The civil disobedience movement of 1930 led to a wave of revolts in the KPK. The reaction of the British administration was so brutal that the Khilafat committee summed it up as, *The Frontier Tragedy: An Account of the Inhuman Act of Repression and Terrorism, Blockades, Loot, Incendiaryism and Massacres, through which the people of the NWFP have had to go during the present disturbances.* 87 Nationalist favour that had engulfed the whole of India left the administration with two options, either to suppress all political demands through the use of force or to settle them constitutionally. The immediate policy was the use of force. In the KPK the main target of the British administration were the members of the Khudai Kidmatgar (servants of God) party, their leaders were arrested and exiled from the region, whereas the rank and file were subjected to the injustices of the police. 88 Political climate had nevertheless set a pattern for the Pakhtuns to follow.

The prominent Pakhtun leader, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Chief of the Khudai Khidmatgar (KK) party had since the early 1920’s started to organize the Pakhtuns for a collective struggle against the alien rule, as opposed to the sporadic uprisings of the tribes. The ground work for political organization was under way with the foundation of *Anjuman-i-Islah-e-Aghania* (Committee for the educational and social uplift of the Afghans, Pakhtuns). By 1926, The *Pakhtun Jirga* (the Afghan Youth League) was established. However, the need for a more vital organization was felt, and in 1929, the Khudai Khidmatgar Party was established.

KK party started as a social organization to educate the Pakhtuns and eliminate inequalities within the Pakhtun society. However, since these objectives could not be achieved without confronting the administration, KK assumed the Political role of fighting for independence. Independence was nevertheless a means for the attainment of its ultimate objective, a just society. According to Abdul Ghaffar Khan, “once independence was achieved, the Kamins (poor peasants) would be equal with the Khans; there would be no difference between the rich and the poor.” 89 The party thus reflected class divisions within the Pakhtun society. The majority of the members were artisans and tenants, even

the Khans who identified themselves which the KK were small landholders, as result of what the KK assumed the character of an organization of the poor and needier class. Daily manual work was mandatory for the members of the KK. As far as the strategy for independence was concerned, “non-violent” means were to be adopted.90

The similarity in tactics (non-violent means) for achieving independence between Congress (The Hindu nationalist party) and the KK was used by the Muslim league party to due the KK “an appendage of the Congress” and K. A. Ghaffar Khan “a renegade to Islam.”91 The administration for seeing severe consequences due to the political and social platform of the KK dubbed K. A. Ghaffar a “fanatic”.92 The role of the KK in the KPK and its opposition by the administration and the big Khans of the area set in motion the coalition of the big Khans under the Muslim league and its patronage by the British administration.93

The KPK branch of the Muslim league was established in September 1937 in Abbottabad.94 The main impetus for the establishment of the Muslim league in the KPK was the outcome of the legislative election of February 1937 and the resounding success of the Khudai-Kidmatgar party. Despite the KK success at the polls, the party did not accept the Governor’s offer to form a ministry immediately. Sir Sahibzada Abdul Quyyum Khan was then asked to form a coalition Government of non KK members of the legislative assembly. The administration wielded its power to ensure the unity of the non-KK coalition.95 Sahibzada Quyyum’s ministry, nevertheless, had to resign on 3rd September 1937, after the passing of a non confidence motion. Dr. Khan Sahib, the younger brother of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, formed a ministry on 7 September, which included two members of the KK party and one independent member.

The success of the KK at the polls and in the Assembly was threatening not only to the administration but also to the big Khans of the area. The Muslim League was thus quite successful in weaning these big Khans on its side. The Muslim league provided a

90Ibid, p. 93.
92O. Caroe, L/P & J/5/224. DO NO GH 53, p. 1. O. Caroe was the Governor of the KPK, 1946-47.
93According to George Cunningham, “The Imperial trade off of official patronage for khan support had lost its rationale in the 1920s, when the influence of the major khans began to wane. The old story of the government depending on khans is not true, vice versa now. Maffey’s attempt to put the clock back and bolster khans at the expense of everyone else was responsible for Red Shirt Agitation of 1930-31”, MSS EUR D 670/17, File No. 19, p. 100
95Sir George Cunningham instructed high-ranking officials to lobby for Sahibzada Abdul Quyyum and told the members of the subordinate services, “any official who did not help the ministerial party was being disloyal to me.” Sir George Cunningham’s Diary, 22 March 1937. Quoted in Stephen Ritternberg, “India’s NWFP, 1901-1947,” PhD. dissertation, Columbia University (Political Science), 1977, p. 234.
leeway to the big landlords to counteract the socialist program of the KK, especially after they formed government and started implementing some of their policies. According to G. Cunningham,

“The Congress attitude toward the Khans was also largely the cause of the revival of the Muslim league, at the expense of Congress …. When some of the anti Khan-measures were taking shape, it was clear that the Muslim league was becoming popular among the Khanate, even among those old-fashioned Khans who had hitherto hardly known the name of league. They saw in it their main bulwark against the attacks of the Congress.”96

Since the Muslim league did not have a clear cut program its agenda revolved around religious communalism, the slogan of, “Islam is in danger” was used to discredit the KK as the party of the Hindu-dominated Congress. Mullahs (priests) were considered as the best proponents of this policy. The Khaksar party, which was a purely Muslim organization was galvanized to greater activity and was to become the local branch of the Muslim league.97 The Chief Secretary of the KPK, A. D. Dundas, noted the same trend,”

The Muslim league is arousing interest in the province even among old fashioned Khans and Khaksar organization may become local branch of the Muslim league.98

However, the Muslim league failed on both accounts in the KPK. It could succeed neither in its anti-Hindu nor in the anti-Congress propaganda. “The success of the KK party which was vehemently described by the M.L. as the party of Hindus, non-believers, won both the elections in the KPK in the pre-partition India, (1937, 1946). There are different explanations of this phenomenon. S. Rittenberg attributes this to Pakhtun ethnocentrism. According to him,

“Central to the (Muslim) league’s difficulties in the Frontier provinces was its reliance upon an ideology of religious communalism. Although Islam was an integral part of the Pakhtun’s way of life, their identification with the broader Muslim community was ordinarily overshadowed by their feelings of ethnic separateness. Since their differences with other Muslim were more important than their common faith in defining them as unique people, Pakhtuns favoured the Frontier Congress which appealed to their ethnic feelings over the league which spoke in Communal idiom.”99

It seems that S. Rittenberg has exaggerated the aspect of ethnicity in Pakhtun politics. It would be interesting to know how he would explain the Unionist party’s anti-

96 G. Cunningham Papers, MSS Eur D 670/17, File No.19, p. 7.
97 Sir G. Cunningham Summarized the position of M.L. in the KPK, “Sir A. Quyyum is contemplating an organization of Muslims on communal lines as the only means of opposing the Congress. Khaksar organization, purely Muslim, is being galvanized to greater activity. Local meeting held in support of Muslim League particularly in Abbottabad where A. Ghaffar Khan was referred to as “Kafir” (non believer). Anti-Congress propaganda is being spread in Peshawar by Mullahs.”L/P & J/5/211. September 6, 1937
98 L. P. & J/5/211, October 23, 1937.
league policy in the Punjab and Fazlu Haq’s anti-league policy in the Bengal.\textsuperscript{100} They were also Muslim majority provinces and followed anti-Muslim league policies until 1946. A more scientific tenable/convincing/accurate explanation would be that the Muslim league’s communal politics had greater appeal in Muslim minority provinces where Hindu domination was very ominous.\textsuperscript{101} It was also members of these provinces, i.e. Untied and Central provinces of India, who initiated the establishment of the Muslim league and held dominant positions in the party hierarchy. In the KPK, on the other hand, the non-Muslim population was very tiny. By districts it was 4.95% in Hazara, 6.74% in Peshawar, 8.55% in Kohat, 12.07% in Bannu and 14% in Dera Ismail Khan.\textsuperscript{102} To the Pakhtuns, therefore, the idea of being dominated by the Hindus was simply laughable. There was no communal problem. The KPK was a Muslim majority area and, therefore, the idea of Hindu domination was inconceivable.\textsuperscript{103}

The M.L. also failed to invoke anti Congress propaganda in the KPK. The efforts of the M.L. to condemn the KK as an appendage of Congress were clearly dispelled by the Governor of the KPK.

“Red Shirts is preserving autonomous and absolute independence from Congress. That any support or allegiance accorded to Congress party by the Red Shirts will take directions from Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Red Shirts take directions from no one else. To ensure this procedure, he appointed his nephew Rab Nawaz as Command-in-Chief of the Red Shirts, thereby providing a further insulator against Congress interference. In this connection, a general tendency is noticeable in ministerial circles to avoid interference by the Congress executive in provincial ministries. Mention was made at the Premier’s Conference in Bombay of the appointment of a committee of inter-provincial cooperation and coordination to ensure uniformity of policy among Congress governments. Dr. K. Sahib, however, stressed the inadvisability of interference by the All India Congress Committee in provincial administration, there was considerable support of his view. Abdul Ghaffar for his part, has not attended recent meetings of Congress Committee, and has of recent become far more parochial in his activities. This attitude has alarmed Mr. Gandhi, it is said that Red Shirts, with Muslim ministers will break away from the Congress within a year.”\textsuperscript{104}

If there was any affiliation between the KK and the Congress, it was because the Congress also had as its first priority the policy of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. Tactically, it was considered a superior strategy to align with the Congress for a joint

\textsuperscript{102} Census of India, 1941, Part I, pp. 187, 201.
\textsuperscript{103} G. Cunningham, MSS Eur D 670/17, File No. 19, p. 36.
\textsuperscript{104} G. Cunningham, L/P & J/5/212, Report No. 10 & 11, May/June 1938.
struggle for freedom and independence.\footnote{Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, \textit{My Life and Struggle}. Delhi: Orient Paperback, 1969 (b), pp.130-143. Khan Ali Gul Khan, President of Frontier Congress Committee expressed this view unambiguously in an interview to the press, “If the Hindus, in an independent India, really want to dominate the Muslims, then we will fight the Hindus. But first we must unite with them to fight the British,” \textit{The Tribune}. Lahore: May 9, 1942.} Besides, alliance with the Congress took place only after the M.L. refused the offer of cooperation by the KK.\footnote{D. G. Tendulkar, \textit{Abdul Ghaffar Khan}. Bombay: Popular Prakshan, 1967, p. 75.} To the Pakhtuns, the tactical alliance between the KK and the Congress was clearly to achieve the first stage of the struggle, i.e. a bourgeois democratic revolution. The more important stage was the second one, the attainment of democratic socialism. The KK had contested elections clearly outlining these two stages of struggle. The political platform was firstly anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist.\footnote{Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, \textit{Op.cit.}, pp. 130-145. For details see S. Rittenberg, \textit{Op.cit.}, Ch. III & IV.} Secondly, it was anti-feudal and anti-capitalist.\footnote{A. Ghaffar Khan, \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 98-107. S. Rittenberg. \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 233-245.} The first part was manifested in the KK agitation of 1930, its civil disobedience movement of 1931-33 and its alliance with the Congress. The second part of the party manifesto was implemented to some extent during Dr. K. Sahib’s ministry.

Some of the measures taken by the KK ministry were as follows:

After coming into power, some of the major issues dealt with by the KK ministry were those of social reform. The ministry first abolished the position of Honorary Magistrates.\footnote{\textit{NWFP Legislative Assembly Report}, V/9/3899, Vol. 2, No. 16.} These were positions through which the administration invested a select group of non officials, mainly Khans, with judicial powers. The autocracy of the Khans was thus bolstered by infesting them with juridical power besides the economic control that they had in their area. Crime had increased in the area tremendously because cases were always delayed for Ghaur (reflection).\footnote{\textit{NWFP Legislative Assembly Report}, V/9/3981, Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 700-734.} “Nanbati Chaukidar” (night watchmen) were next in line to be abolished.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, V/9/3899, Vol. 2, No. 16.} It was another instrument of manipulation by the dominant village Khan, who would turn the watchmen into an unpaid personal retainer. In land revenue administration, the ministry abolished the position of Zaildoars and Lambardars (revenue collecting officers).\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 154.} These were intermediaries employed for collecting land revenue and passing it on to the government. These were the most abused positions, because these intermediaries, by virtue of their position, exacted too much from the poor farmers. The KK government also abolished Zamindari imams, (revenue remissions) given in return for a variety of services.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 154.} The government also passed the
Agricultural Debtors Relief Bill, which gave the middle and small farmers relief from indebtedness to moneylenders by canceling all loans incurred by agriculturalists and discharged tenant’s rent arrears to their landlords;\textsuperscript{114} furthermore the government established the state ownership of warehouses.\textsuperscript{115} This was done to relieve the middle and small peasants from the exorbitant rents paid for the storage of goods.

There were also policies outlined for the improvement of education, irrigation and industry in the region. It was all done with a view to improving the economic condition in the area which was the heart of the Frontier problem. It was considered by the Ministry that if economic development was to take place in the region, the heart of the problem would be solved. It was lack of economic development, which according to the KK ministry had turned the KPK into a police state.\textsuperscript{116}

These reforms, though modest in themselves, were nevertheless remarkable considering the constraints under which the ministry had to work. The policies of the KK ministry proved to the Pakhtuns the close approximation between the political programme and performance of the KK party. The 1946 elections were to once again provide the KK with a resounding victory. The success of the KK in 1946 election was a very serious blow to the M.L, politically it was a very significant period since the movement for independence was gaining momentum and the M.L. had claimed to be the sole representative of the Muslims of the subcontinent. However, elections in the KPK established the uniqueness of the region, to have a non M.L. government. The results also affected the progress of constitutional development on purely communal basis. Although ultimately the Islamic State of Pakistan was created, the Frontier was a sore point in Congress-M.L. discussions from February 1946-August 1947.

Immediately after the elections, on 24 March the Cabinet mission arrived in India to provide a scheme for independence. The mission proposed to divide India into three zones, A, B and C, these zones were to have all powers except foreign affairs, defense and communication, which were to be the domain of the central government. This arrangement was to continue for ten years, after which the three zones constituting all the provinces would be reconvened to write a constitution based on the same arrangement, or the provinces could opt out of the zone in which they were placed or opt out of the federation if they liked. The grouping of the provinces was on a communal basis, Zone A was

\begin{footnotes}
\item[114] \textit{Ibid.}, V/9/3920, Vol. 4, April 1938.
\end{footnotes}
constituted of the Hindu majority areas of Madras, Bombay, Orissa, Bihar, Utter Pradesh and the Central province. Zone B constituted Muslim majority provinces of the West Punjab, NWFP and Sind and Zone C constituted Muslim majority provinces of the East Bengal and Assam.\footnote{“Statement by the Cabinet Mission to India and His Excellency the Viceroy”, 16 May 1946 in Sir Maurice Gwyer and A. Appadorai, \textit{Op.cit.}, Volume II, pp. 577-586.}

Congress rejected the Cabinet mission plan essentially because of the division of the provinces on communal lines and which after ten years could lead to an independent Islamic state. Moreover, the powers granted to the centre were very limited. The Congress thus rejected it as a loose Confederation.\footnote{For the Congress view, see “The Resolution of the Congress Working Committee” of 24 May 1946, \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 591-593.} The Muslim League, on the other hand, had accepted the proposal because the arrangement of the provinces could finally lead to the idea of Muslim states of western and eastern parts of India, as outlined in the Lahore Resolution.\footnote{“Resolution passed by the Council of the All India Muslim League” 6 June 1946, \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 600-602.} However, the rejection of the proposals by the Congress evidently proved the inflexibility of the Congress thereby leading to the rejection of the proposal by the M.L. as well which led to the demand for an independent Muslim state.\footnote{“Resolutions of the Council of the All India Muslim League, 29 July 1946, \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 618-621.}

The leader of the KK objected to the Cabinet Mission Plan for grouping KPK on communal basis. Instead of being forced into any one of the zones as outlined by the plan, Abdul Ghaffar Khan demanded an independent Pakhtunistan.\footnote{A. Ghaffar Khan, \textit{Op.cit.}, 1969 (b), pp. 149, 167.} The idea of an independent Pakhtun State was not palatable to the British government. According to the Viceroy Lord Mountbatten’s proposal for the interim government, the KPK was not to be given an option of becoming an independent province because the grant of independence would encourage irredentist ideas in Afghanistan.\footnote{L/P & J/10/79, File No. 6/2/4.} The British policy towards the KPK was to hold a referendum, and if the result was in favour of Pakistan, then there was to be no mention of elections, otherwise, elections were to be held and the new provincial assembly was to decide the fate of the province.

It was clear that the administration did not trust the KK government. Efforts were to be launched by the M.L. supported by the administration, to hold the referendum. The interference of the administration in the political struggles of the area had become so blatant that the Governor of the province, Olaf Caroe, had to admit the accusations of the KK party,

“Yesterdays paper shows that Abdul Ghaffar Khan, having charged my officers, and by implication myself, last October, with planning murder, now accuses me
of planning civil war and of organizing demonstration in Peshawar on April 28 (1947).”

The Referendum was to decide whether the KPK would join Hindustan or Pakistan. The idea of a referendum, according to Abdul Ghaffar Khan did not make sense, since the Pakhtuns were not given the option of an independent state. There was no reason for the Pakhtuns to join Hindustan; it was, therefore, obvious that they would vote for Pakistan. However, the KK to show its displeasure, decided to boycott the referendum.

With the boycott of the referendum by the KK and the efforts of the administration and the M.L. the result of the referendum could be predicted quite certainly. The viceroy had made it very clear that he “does not wish any reference to be made to the election being held if the referendum is in favour of Pakistan.” The Governor of the KPK had positively responded to this suggestion by indicating his interest in the referendum result,

“I was greatly interested in the referendum proposal and think it a better scheme than an election as a first step. There is no doubt that the controls will enable the government in office to do something to sway the vote in their favour.”

The result of referendum was overwhelmingly in favour of Pakistan. With the boycott of the KK only 51% of the electorate voted; According to the KPK Governor’s report of July 23, 1947, the result was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i) Total electorate</th>
<th>572798</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii) Total votes for Hindustan, 501% of electorate</td>
<td>2874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii) Total votes for Pakistan, 50.49% of electorate</td>
<td>289244</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The KPK thus joined Pakistan, Dr. Khan Sahib’s ministry was dismissed and the M.L. ministry under Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan was formed on 22 August 1947.

vii. Conclusion

This chapter puts forth some of the major issues of the KPK. Some of the themes which are developed in this chapter would be recurring in the later chapters.

First, it was explained that the KPK was not a part of South Asia till 1901. It was only after the intervention of the British government that the KPK was made into a separate province of the Indian Subcontinent. Until then, ethnically, geographically, politically, it was considered a part of Central Asia through its linkage with Afghanistan.

125 L/P & J/10/79, File No. 6/2/4.
126 L/P & J/5/224. DO NO GH 53.
The difficulty that the British and later the government of Pakistan has had with this province could be attributed to its distinctively separate world view.

Secondly, the British could never entirely subdue this area, although with superior defense forces they managed to rule the settled areas; still this continued to be a problem area for the British as is it for the Pakistan government. The Pakhtun tribal structure, through its process of electing the Malik, deciding the cases by Jirga and rotation of property through ‘Wesh’, imbued democratic characteristics. Besides, the Pakhtun tribes were far more cohesive, organized and independent, and that made them resist the centralized authority of the alien rulers, especially if it was opposed to the democratic structure of the Pakhtun society.

Thirdly, the Pakhtuns are basically devout Muslim, but their religion practice is simple and consists of basic rituals like saying prayers and fasting. Religion does not interfere in their public life, and in no way affects their political decisions. It is very much a way of life but not a political ideology. Probably this is the best explanation of their complex political tradition. They are devout Muslims and yet they elected non-Muslim league governments in 1937 and 1946. The majority party (KK) was elected on the basis of a socialist platform and was affiliated with Congress (a Hindu organization) for the achievement of those objectives, thus defying the Islamic ideology of the Muslim league.

Fourthly, due to its strategic importance and unique political tradition, whatever development took place in the area was for military purposes; construction of bridges, building of roads or recruitment of Pakhuns in the militia were strictly for strategic purposes. Programs of social uplift were completely ignored, and no attention was paid to industrial, agricultural or educational development. The area was to face a similar attitude by the Pakistan government though perhaps to a lesser degree.

Fifthly, geographical approximately to Afghanistan and political affinity for an egalitarian society made the KPK an arena for political manipulation of the government. Local institutions were distorted to suit the administration’s policies. The Jirga system was transformed into a manipulative tool of the Deputy Commissioner. The Frontier Crimes Regulation was more a tool of injustice rather than justice. Muajibs and Jagirs were granted to tribal chiefs for gaining tribal support. Mullahas (priests) were given Inams and recognition to propagate the administration’s policies. The end result of all this was a distortion of the indigenous institutions.

Finally, the unlimited powers granted to the Governor gave him virtual control of the province. Central interference in the province, the Governor’s discretionary powers
and their control over the administration made provincial ministries a façade than anything else. This centralization of authority was later to be adopted by the Pakistan government as the best instrument for streamlining the politics of the KPK.
CHAPTER – III

THE CONSTITUTIONS

INTRODUCTION

Constitution is the fundamental law of the land. It outlines basic principles of governance for the state and the society, the fact that Pakistan did not have a constitution for nine years is clear manifestation of the fact that there was no law to observe in governing. The turbulent history of Pakistan is replete with vagaries of events epitomizing the interests of self seeking coterie of politicians, overly trained bureaucrats and security obsessed generals. The first decade may be termed as obsession with ethnography, the distance between East and West Pakistan as well as linguistic and cultural differences with the added complexity of population weightage of East Pakistan more than four provinces of West Pakistan. The Basic Principles Committee Report designed to outline the framework of the constitution turned out to be “Bengali-Punjabi Crisis Report.” However the dilemma of representation continued to intrigue the political system even after the post partition period of Pakistan once again with enigma of one province dominating the rest of the three federating units of Pakistan. It may well be termed once again as Punjab versus rest of Pakistan.

The trend was somewhat alarming due to the creation of the Sindhi-Balochi-Pakhtun Front (SBP Front). The four members of the SBP Front Principles Committee being prominent politicians represented these provinces, Hafeez Pirzada and Mumtaz Bhutto from Sindh; Sardar Attaulalh Mengal from Balochistan and Afzal Bangash from the KPK. The primary objective of the Front was to acquire the rights of these provinces within the ‘Confederation’ of Pakistan. The protection of provincial rights within a confederation according to the Front was essential considering the past and present treatment of the less developed provinces. The reaction of the dominant class from the dominant province of Punjab was once again of outright condemnation without diagnosing

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2 The Muslim, Islamabad, 19 April, 1985, p. I.
3 Ibid., “SBP’s one point programme calls for Confederational structure in Pakistan. The four constituent units, through voluntary participation and as equal partner must now form a confederation, in which only such powers rest in the federal entity as are expressly conferred on it. There must be total decentralization of authority. It deems a strong centre as completely alien to the real concept of Pakistan and intolerable in a Confederational structure. The Front claims that the dominant province of Punjab had” failed to protect and preserve the Federation” and ensure fair treatment of the smaller provinces, thereby forcing them into individual struggle”.

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the background of the problem. The Central-Provincial tension needs to be understood in an historical context considering the pervading ideology of statism in Pakistan. Mohammad Asghar Khan provides an incisive explanation of Statism in the country.

“The story of Pakistan is the story of ambitious and adventurist Generals denying the people their rights and blocking with monotonous regularity, any effort on their part to run their affairs through their chosen representatives… The other reason of a more fundamental nature is the role played by the big landlords in the social and political life of the country. This class has always blocked progress and represents a vested interest which has always sided with autocratic and reactionary regimes. It has backed every government, in or about to come to power. It is the king’s party which has stood between progress and the impoverished people of the country.”

It was all done under the façade of national security and national integration, an idea forcefully thrust on the people with distinct identities as clearly mentioned in Outlines of a Federal Constitution for Pakistan:

“The essential features for a unitary system of constitution are not fulfilled by Pakistan, where diversity rather than uniformity reigns in all the major aspects of national life: multiplicity of languages, inequality of economic and social standards, differences between privileged and underprivileged regions. If a unitary system were imposed under such circumstances, it would work only as an open or veiled dictatorship, abandoning or falsifying democratic procedures…..It is a special merit of the federal system that it harmonises differences, dissimilarities and divergences, enabling disparate groups, to live side by side in a symbiosis of mutual benefit. Given the same conditions, the unitary system tends to make cleavages and gulfs wider. The unitary Constitution is an expression of already existing unity in the major aspects of national life it cannot produce unity where it is absent.”

Fully cognizant of adversity of centripetal forces Bhutto’s personalized penchant for complete control led to eviction and resignation of democratic forces within PPP. Centralization had become the modus operandi, “his (Bhutto’s) inability to either establish democratic traditions of constitutionalism and federalism …(and) in pursuit of his political strategy of complete control over the federal and provincial governments….sidetracking the constitutional imperatives, the Bhutto regime applied coercive tactics to deal with regional aspirations.” A state which represents and is supported by the dominant forces has to acquire legitimacy for carrying on its interests. The legitimation function is

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4 Mustafa Khar, The Muslim, Islamabad, April 28, 1985, p. 8. He described the Front as a disgrace to Punjab.
performed by holding elections and acquiring constitutional guarantees. The supreme law of the land, the Constitution, has performed two functions so far, first it gave public sanctity to the state i.e. legitimized its existence and secondly it ensured the continuation of the accumulation process through excessive centralization. Although the state derives its strength from the Constitution, yet at the same time the Constitution becomes a manipulative tool of different regimes as Hal Drapper puts it:

“The dichotomy between the law of the Constitutions and its actual practice reveals the limits of the fundamental rights and the unlimited power of the executive… The situation thus creates a deadly antagonism between the law of the Constitution and the constitution of the law, the latter reducing the former to mere moonshine.”

This is called “Democratic Swindle” by Hal Draper where “Mere Democracy” is merely political democracy, democracy which stops at governmental forms and does not extend to “social question”, democratization of socio-economic life. In case of Pakistan manipulation of the Constitutions was obvious where different regimes and Constitutions were made and unmade in accordance with the wishes of the hegemonic forces from the dominant province of Punjab. Whenever the interests of the hegemonic group were threatened the elected governments were toppled and Constitutions abrogated or put in abeyance. Consequently, elections would be held to legitimize unconstitutional governments and Constitutions made to strengthen the already powerful executives. The short, turbulent and traumatic history of Pakistan has been aptly presented by Ralph Braibanti, an expert on the administrative structure of Pakistan:-

“1) Pakistan is unique in having had four constitutions in a quarter of a century. 2) No other new state has rearranged the crucial relationship of space, power and culture four times, from five provinces to two… then again to five provinces and, with the secession of East Pakistan, to four provinces. 3) No other state outside the Communist system has tried to depart from the colonial heritage of local government and the global suasion of community development theory by devising a structure-Basic democracies… 4) Pakistan was also the major exemplar of an effort to sedate the participation explosion while building institutional capability… 5) Nor has any other new state changed its basic structure of government from a parliamentary to a presidential system, then returned to a parliamentary form and simultaneously adjusted to a bicameral legislative system. 6) As though these major changes in policy and power were not enough, there was a long period in which both the legislative and political party processes were suspended. 7) These changes occurred within the context of two (three) periods of marital law, three wars with India including the only successful war of secession among the new states in the post independence period. 8) Further, few nations… have had such a massive infusion of

10 Ibid., p. 120.
technological and economic aid from the United States or allied themselves in foreign policy so closely with that country.”

The broad policy objectives and frequent interventions in the political process as outlined by R. Braibanti had the underlying basis of perpetuating class hegemony. Immense power acquired by the state apparatuses through the three Constitutions was a blatant negation of the provincial rights. Concentration of power becomes all the more blatant considering that Pakistan professes to be a federal state; “a form of government which emphasizes the desire by the regional or provincial governments to maintain their independent governments coordinating with but independent of the federal state.” As an attempt to maintain unity in diversity was thwarted by concentrating power in the centre and more so in the head of the government, Pakistan’s fundamental law based on these characteristics easily lends itself to the description of an ‘exceptional’ state as explained by Poulantzas:

“In exceptional state form, law no longer regulates “arbitrariness” reigns. It has no “system” for predicting its transformations, particularly evident is the “will” of the leader. As such the law is no longer the limit; virtually everything falls within the scope of the state intervention.

The role of the political parties is either shifted onto other ideological state apparatuses, or even to branches of the repressive state apparatuses, or replaced by one particular party. The electoral system quite simply ensures a certain circulation of power among the power bloc with the state apparatuses and through the political parties.

Moreover in the exceptional state, the executive prevails over the legislative but going beyond the juridical level, the differences in the relationship between the executive and the legislative essentially coincide, organizing its hegemony in the parliament. Further, “a measure of bureaucratization” takes places, meaning that the state apparatus is dominated by its “own internal ideology”.

Above all, the exceptional state is characterized by “Centralization of power.” Power is so organized to allow the exceptional state to play the specific interventionist role, and thereby reorganize the class hegemony.”

Our analysis of the 1956, 1962 and 1973 Constitutions reveals that in the struggle between the basic rights of the people and the class privileges of the dominant class, it was the latter that was guaranteed. This guarantee was provided by the state through concentration of the financial, legislative, and juridical powers in the executive, in fact in the head of the government. We will examine some of the articles of the 1956, 1962 and 1973 constitutions dealing with the central-provincial relations. It will be revealed in our

analysis that the central government maintained an upper hand in the financial, administrative and juridical spheres thus relegating the provincial governments to the level of local governments. Our analysis of the three constitutions shows that the intervention of the state in the provincial domain was legitimized in the three constitutions. Despite the differences in the forms of governments instituted by each Constitution, Parliamentary (1956, 1973) and Presidential (1962), the central / provincial division of powers remained fundamentally the same. The centre was given financial, executive, legislative and administrative dominance over the provinces. In all the three Constitutions the main sources of revenue… trade, commerce, industry, natural resources like oil, gas, minerals, water and power development were entrusted to the central government. The provincial executive was to be responsible to the centre through the Governor, who was the “agent” of the head of the state. Central intervention was, however, more frequently pursued under the pretext of “preventing any grave menace to the peace or tranquility or economic life of Pakistan or any part thereof”, a clause found in all the three constitutions. In case of conflict between the central and the provincial law, central law was to prevail. Whether or not a provision was within the domain of the centre or the province was to be decided by the Central legislature itself (Article 133 of 1962 constitution), instead of the Supreme Court. The history of the Supreme Court of Pakistan further illuminates the juridical protection given to the federal state. In the administrative domain, civil servants held key positions in the provinces and although working for the provinces they were above and beyond provincial jurisdiction. Above all, the central government could in the last resort invoke emergency powers, suspend provincial governments and take over direct control of the provincial administration. This was a clause once again consistently present in all the three constitutions and one of the best means for central intervention in the provincial affairs. Despite the declaration of the three Constitutions on a federal form of government, supremacy of law, impartiality of the Supreme Court, guarantees of the fundamental of power in the federal state; the provincial governments were mere extensions of the federal administration, working more like municipal committees than autonomous and relatively independent provincial governments. What Ronald Watts had to say about the first two Constitutions is equally true of the 1973 Constitution, according to him:

“From the beginning, the Central government was assigned extensive legislative and executive authority and during the time when the interim constitution was in operation, the Central Assembly freely used its unilateral power of the constitutional amendment to add to its legislative and financial powers… There was also persistent intervention by the
Central government in Provincial affairs through its employment of Governors as its agents, its control over joint higher Services common to both levels of government and its frequent resort to Emergency powers to suspend Provincial governments.\textsuperscript{14}

1. **1956 CONSTITUTION**

The first constitution of Pakistan came into force on March 23, 1956 after nine years of independence. Although there were complex problems in framing of a consensual document yet framers of the constitution cannot be totally absolved of their responsibility, Dr. Safdar Mahmood critically analyzes the issue:

“Liaquat Ali Khan cannot escape the criticism that there was a waste of time and neglect on his part in the process of framing the constitution. ….no amount of administrative preoccupation could justify the neglect to which constitution making was subjected. Moreover during his regime of four and a half years he even failed to prepare the basic framework of the future constitution.”\textsuperscript{15}

The 1956 Constitution replacing but incorporating most of the Government of India Act of 1935 therefore followed the colonial tradition; it was thus neither democratic nor federal in the true sense. It lasted only for two and half years. The authority that was pivotal and who moved from the post of Governor General to be the first President under the 1956 Constitution had declared his preference for “controlled democracy with an executive appointed for a fixed term and not dependent for its existence on a shifting and uncertain parliamentary majority which was the best form of polity to aim at.”\textsuperscript{16} The Federal structure provided by the 1956 constitution was more or less similar to the Government of India Act of 1935, the similarities between the two have been dealt with at length by Keith Callard (1957)\textsuperscript{17} and G.W. Chowdhry (1959).\textsuperscript{18} The power of the central and provincial governments in the constitution were outlined in three lists, the federal list with 30 items, the provincial list with 94 items and the concurrent list with 19 items. The increase in the number of items on the provincial list over that of the Government of India Act of 1935 did not mean an increase in the power of provinces; twenty provincial taxes

were listed separately. The provincial list in the government of India Act of 1935 had 55 items.\textsuperscript{19}

The extent of the federal-provincial laws was defined in Article 105. The power of the Parliament was extended to the whole or any part of Pakistan and the power of a provincial legislature limited to the whole of the province or any part thereof. Article 106 gave the Parliament exclusive power to make laws in the federal list which included defense, currency, citizenship, foreign and inter-provincial trade and commerce, insurance and corporations set up by the federation, industries owned wholly or partially by the federation, postal services and all forms of telecommunications, minerals, oil and natural gas. The provincial list included public order, administration of justice, police, agriculture, local government, education, public health and sanitation, and railways. The areas of extensive public expenditure, health, education, law and order were given to provincial governments but the provinces were hampered by lack of financial resources. The major sources of revenue were given to the centre and it was provided that the proceeds of the centre taxes had to be shared with the provinces. The provincial sources of revenue were extremely limited e.g. taxes on agricultural income, agricultural land, excise on alcohol and drugs, electricity tax, taxes on vehicles, luxuries, tolls. For the NWFP, these sources provided about 15\% of its revenue. The reminder of the revenue of the provinces would come from Central grants and shared taxes. The major sources of income were left to the Centre whereas major expenditures were administered by the provinces.

The provinces, therefore, had to plan their expenditure in the light of what they would receive from the Centre. A National Economic Council was to be established according to Article 199 of the Constitution with five central and six provincial ministers with the Prime Minister as the Chairman. The council was to survey the state of economy and prepare plans for financial, commercial and economic policy. In formulating such plans, “the council was to aim at ensuring that uniform standards are attained in the economic development of all the parts of the country.”\textsuperscript{(emphasis mine)}

Another provision important for Centre-provincial relations was Article 129 according to which, in case of a dispute arising between the centre and the province or two provinces, other than disputes within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, such a dispute was to be referred to a tribunal appointed by the Chief Justice and its report was to be forwarded to the President so that he could make an order giving effect to its provisions. The domination of the centre was made all the more effective by the nature of the

administrative system within the provinces but controlled by the centre. The federal government was required to protect each province against ‘internal disturbance’ and to ensure ‘that the government of every province was carried on in accordance with the provision of the Constitution’ according to Article 125. Furthermore, the government of a province had to ensure compliance with all the Acts of parliament and was to use its own authority so as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive authority of the federation. For the purpose of obtaining compliance with these provisions, the federal government could issue directions to the provincial administration. Furthermore provincial action could also be controlled by centre in any question involving ‘any grave menace to the peace or tranquility or economic life of Pakistan, or any part thereof’ (Article 126). A more explicit power of giving directions occurred in the provisions governing the proclamation of a state of financial emergency. This could be proclaimed by the President after consultation with the Governors, if it seemed that ‘the financial stability or credit of Pakistan or any part therefore, is threatened, such a proclamation empowered the central government to give orders on economic matters to the provincial authorities (Article 194). Furthermore, a provincial government in dispute with a member of the civil service of Pakistan was handicapped because members of the civil service of Pakistan were given special protection under Article 181 of the Constitution to prevent disciplinary action being taken against them by the provincial government. It strengthened the powers of the central government, since the important departments in the provincial governments were under the control of the Central Superior Personnel (CSPs).

The demarcation of powers between the federal and the provincial government in the 1956 constitution had strong similarities with Government of India Act of 1935. According to G.W. Chowdhry, “the federal structure under the new constitution is similar in many respects to that provided under the Government of India Act of 1935, which for the first time introduced a federal constitution in undivided India.”²⁰ It is unfortunate that federalism in Pakistan is still judged by some on the basis of the Government of India Act of 1935, not realizing that, that was an Act imposed upon a colony by the colonizers, whereas the Constitution of Pakistan is for a post colonial state of an independent federation. Any concession to the provinces is, therefore, considered an act of great magnanimity on the part of the central government. The 1956 constitutions, following the Act of 1935, maintained the domination of the centre over the provinces; Keith Callard,

after analyzing the federal structure in the 1956 Constitution, correctly points out “that with the distribution of legislative power and financial resources, the central government has been in a position to dominate the provinces.” Describing the period between 1947-58 as ‘mockery of Constitutionalism and Federalism’, Khalid Maluka pertinently refers to 1956 Constitution as a “centrist document which provided the ruling elite at the Centre with wide range of discretionary powers to damage the federal system….making the Centre all powerful, reducing the federating units to mere extensions rather than autonomous and co-coordinative partners. His assessment of the first decade of Pakistan as defiance of constitutionalism and federalism is substantiated not only for the first decade and 1956 Constitution but also for the next decade and 1962 Constitution by Safdar Mahmood:

“The Constitution of 1956 was chiefly based on the India Act of 1935. Though it envisaged Parliamentary form of Government, it did not combine the form and spirit of the system, and created a conflict between the President and the Prime Minister. In contrast to it, the Constitution of 1962 introduced the Presidential of Government. It vested dictatorial powers in the President and made him all powerful. The National Assembly had limited role. The ministers were appointed and dismissed by the President who could even dissolve the National Legislature.”

**FEDERAL –PROVINCIAL RELATIONS IN THE 1962 CONSTITUTION**

The 1962 Constitution gave the country a Presidential form of government. It was a unique experiment in federations of the world to have a Presidential federal system with a unicameral legislature. The prominent feature of the 1962 Constitution was a strong executive and its cornerstone was the Presidency. ‘The Presidential system under the new Constitution’, according to G. W. Chowdhry, ‘has a superficial resemblance to the American system, but it is General De Gaulle’s fifth Republic that offers a closer parallel. Its emphasis is, no doubt, as in France, on the strong executive. The essence of the central-provincial relations is well captured by K. B. Sayeed. According to him:

“It would be difficult to describe Pakistani federalism as even quasi-federal because one can see that the central government is not only strong in its own right but can lay down policy even in matters which have been allotted to the provinces. The provinces are expected to function as mere administrative agencies very much like local governments in a unitary state. The Governors are mere agents of the President in the sense that they are appointed directly by him. In the matter of appointment of ministers and their relationship with their

provincial assemblies, they have to function under the instructions of the President.\textsuperscript{25}

The 1962 Constitution lacked essential characteristics of federalism. According to Article 133, for instance, the responsibility of deciding whether a legislature, central or provincial, had the power under this constitution to make a law is that of the central legislature itself and the validity of a law cannot be called in question on the ground that the legislature by which it was made had no power to make the law. The supremacy accorded to the central legislature under this article debarred the judiciary from acting as an umpire in case of a dispute between the centre and the provincial legislature. There was only one list of subjects of national importance; all other subjects were left to the provinces. The federal list which included 49 items including defense, external affairs, inter-provincial trade and commerce, national economic planning and national economic coordination, currency, foreign exchange, central banking insurance, minerals oil and natural gas, industry owned wholly or partially by the central government or by a corporation set up by the centre, preventive detention for reasons connected with defense, external affairs and the security of Pakistan. Moreover, the central government under Article 13 could ignore the third schedule (including central powers) and legislate on any matter not stated in the schedule. Although there was no concurrent list the priority of central legislative powers over provincial powers was laid out in Article 131, clause 2, according to which, in case of conflict between the central and provincial law, the latter must give way to the central law. The administrative relation between the centre and province were outlined in Article 135 and 136. According to Article 135, the executive authority of the central government extends to all matters with respect to which the central legislature has exclusive power to make laws. It was further stipulated under clause (1) of Article 131 that where a law made by the Central legislature in a provincial subject and if the law provided that it should be administrated by the Central government, the Central executive authority could be extended to the execution of that law. The Central legislature was also given the power of interference in provincial matters according to article 74 clause 2 which stipulated that in the case of conflict between governor and the provincial assembly, the matter shall be referred to the National assembly.

As far as the financial matters were concerned the centre-provincial relations were more or less the same as in the 1956 constitution. The sources of revenue for the centre were the same as that of 1956 constitution with its power to levy custom duties, excise

\textsuperscript{25} K. B. Sayeed, \textit{The Political System of Pakistan}. Oxford, 1967, p. III.
duties, corporation taxes, taxes on income other than agricultural income, taxes on capital value of assets, on sales and purchases. The arrangement changed somewhat with regard to the allocation of the proceeds of taxes and duties collected and administered by the central government to the provinces.

“(i) 50% of the income tax, including corporation tax, as compared to 50% of income tax excluding corporation tax. (ii) 60% of the sales tax as against 50% in the previous constitution. (iii) Under the previous constitution, 50% of the excise duties on tobacco, tea and betel nuts was allocated to the provinces. It was raised to 60%. (iv) A more significant change was with respect to export duties on jute and cotton. Under the new arrangement 100% of the export duties on jute and cotton would go to the provinces as compared to 60% of the export duties on jute allotted to East Pakistan under the previous arrangement.”

The basis of allocation was also changed. According to the 1956 Constitution, income tax and excise duties were distributed in the ratio of 55% West and 45% East Pakistan and sales tax on the basis of population. The new basis of allocation was that as regards sales tax, 70% was on the basis of population and 30% on the basis of incidence. i.e. on the point of collection. Furthermore, according to Article 145, the National Economic Council was to be set up to review the overall economic development of Pakistan and eradication of regional disparities. The highly Centralized Federal System envisaged in 1962 Constitution could hardly inspire confidence and nationalism amongst the neglected regions, as Hamid Khan puts it:

“The Ayub was convinced that only a Presidential form of government could ensure Pakistan’s unity and hence there could be no tempering with this feature of the constitution. He felt that all the powers of state should be concentrated in the hands of President who alone could guarantee unity, integrity and solidarity of the state of Pakistan.”

Regional disparities accentuated during the Decade of Development and the Green Revolution, the problem of provincial autonomy was brushed aside under “galling centralization and a colonial style of executive authority…..such centralization negated the concept and practice of the federal principle in Pakistan.” He declared controlled democracy of 1962 Constitution as ‘Façade of Autocracy’.

**FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL RELATION IN THE 1973 CONSTITUTION**

The 1973 Constitution reverted to a Parliamentary form of government as in the 1956 Constitution. The federal-provincial relations were also on more or less the same
pattern as in the 1956 constitution. The dominance of the Central government was obvious once again. The enigma of balancing the parliamentary and federal principle continued to thwart the Republic of Pakistan where the executive was responsible to the elected chamber based on population.\textsuperscript{29} Prior to 1971 East Pakistan had majority surpassing the four provinces of West Pakistan which was cut down by ‘Parity’ formula loosing East Pakistan in the process of overcoming its majority, such a federation is termed as Bicommunal federation where two federating units are pitted against each other as West Pakistan was created into a unitary province to cut down East Pakistan majority; such federations are deemed to fail like Czechoslovakia and Pakistan.\textsuperscript{30} Whereas since 1971 in West Pakistan one province of Punjab dominates the rest of the three provinces thus undermining the genuine demand of provincial autonomy under a federal system by the underdeveloped provinces. Professor Ronald Watts declared Pakistan to be one of the most centralized federations of the world.\textsuperscript{31}

The 1973 constitution declared Pakistan to be a Federal Republic, known to be the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The 1973 Constitution once again tried to combine federal and parliamentary principles; it was a hybrid of two principles ending in ‘Executive Federalism: A Logical Dynamic of Parliamentary Federalism’.\textsuperscript{32} The Federal-provincial relations were demarcated under Article 70, clause 6 in the fourth schedule of the constitution. The powers were divided in two lists, the Federal list and the Concurrent list. Subjects not enumerated in either of the two lists were left to the provinces as residuary powers. The Federal list was divided in two parts: part one had 59 subjects and part two had 8 subjects whereas the concurrent list had 47 subjects. The National Assembly alone was sovereign in part 11 of the federal list and Concurrent list whereas the National Assembly and the Senate had sovereign power over part 1 of the Federal list. It was Part 11 of the federal list which was the main source of contention between the centre and the provinces, in order to reduce disagreements over this part of the federal list a council of common interests was created consisting of four federal ministers and the Chief Minister of each province with the Prime Minister as its Chairman (Article 135).

\textsuperscript{29} For an insightful analysis see Ivo D. Duchacek, \textit{Comparative Federalism: Constitutional Government in Theory and Practice}. 1987, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, is significant in analyzing unitary and federal states, Part II, pp. 111-310.
\textsuperscript{31} Ronald Watts ‘Federalism Discussion Paper No 8, 8 April 2002, p.18 Fiscal centralization was obvious with provincial ‘own resources’ as low as 30 percent leaving provinces highly dependent on Federal grants out of divisible pool, comparing it with other federations with provincial own resources as high as: Australia 59.3%, India 60.6%, USA 70.4%, Canada 80.2%, Malaysia 82.1%).
\textsuperscript{32} Ronald Watts, “Executive Federalism: A Comparative Analysis”, 1989, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen’s University, Kingston, Ontario.
The Council of Common Interest (CCI) was created to reconcile the differences between the centre and provinces over the control of the provincial revenue sources. The membership of council was, however, such that the majority decision of the council could hardly redress the grievances of a province represented by one man out of a total of nine members. Amirzada Khan correctly pointed out frivolity of the council:

“The council of common interests according to NAP provides no remedy because there will be only one or two Chief Ministers from one or two provinces in a committee of nine including four federal ministers and Chief Ministers of other two provinces with Prime Minister as the Chairman. The joint decision of committee will hardly satisfy the aggrieved province represented by one man”.33

The opposition severely criticized part 11 of the Federal list; Part 11 gave complete financial control to the central government resources like “mineral, oil and natural gas, water and power development, development of industries, where development under federal control is declared by federal law to be expedient in the public interest” was granted to the Central government. The creation of CCI to deal with part 11 of the federal legislative list was the problematic area of parliamentary and federal principles, The contradiction between the parliamentary and federal principles embodied in the current article 154(1) can be resolved only if it is altered to recognize that it is an area ultimately of exclusive federal authority and that therefore the role of the Council must be in reality consultative and advisory.34 The power of the provinces was further restricted by Article 151, clause 2 and 3 relating to inter-provincial trade where the parliament had and provincial governments did not have the power regarding the import or export of goods from or to the provinces. Article 148 restricted the executive authority of every province to be so exercised as to secure compliance with federal law. Furthermore, the “executive authority of the federation was extended to the province for the purpose of preventing any grave menace to the peace or tranquility or economic life of Pakistan or any part thereof,” (Article148, clause 4). This section was invoked for dismissing the government of Balochistan in February 1973.35 Moreover under clause 3 of Article 148, the executive authority of the federation could be extended to a province for the construction and maintenance of the means of communication declared in the direction to be of national or

33 Amirzada Khan, National Assembly of Pakistan, Constitutions Making Debates, February 22, 1973, pp. 216-221. Similar views were echoed by Ronald Watts “Council of Common Interests is unique among federations in being both in articles 154(4) and (5) and articles 155(5) subject ultimately to directions from the legislature of only one order of government, a clearly unitary provision. These unique arrangements have produced a lack of trust and confidence on the part of the Provinces in the Council as a collaborative body because its procedures and decisions can be dominated by the Federal Government and because it is subject to binding Parliamentary direction. ‘Federalism Discussion Paper No 5,’ 19 March 2002, p. 4.

strategic importance. Military operations in Balochistan on 22 May 1973 were initiated under this clause. Moreover in case of inconsistency between the federal and the provincial law, the federal law was to prevail according to article 143. Article 146 provided the federal government the power to entrust such functions to the provinces as it deemed necessary. The Governor was to be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister as outlined in Article 101 and would function as his agent, according to Article 145. The inability of a number of individuals to perform this function of an “agent” resulted in frequent appointments and dismissals (transfer or retirement) of the Governors.\textsuperscript{36} Powers of the federal executive were further enhanced under Article 232, according to which “the President could declare Emergency” and which according to the third amendment could continue unless revoked by an adverse vote in the Parliament. According to Article 233, Fundamental rights in Article 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 24 would remain suspended during the Emergency. The first amendment further curtailed the Fundamental rights by imposing “any reasonable restriction in the interest of the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan where the federal government declares that any political party has been formed or is operating in a manner prejudicial to the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan”. The amendment was passed within three months of the dismissal of the Balochistan government and resignation of the KPK government and invoked nine months later to ban the National Awami Party. Another fundamental right (Article 10) was severely curtailed by the third amendment, according to which the federal executive was exempted from any time limit on preventive detention for “any person who acts in a manner prejudicial to the integrity, security, or defense of Pakistan or indulge in anti-national activities.” No person could be detained for more than eight months in a year or twelve months in two years according to the original article.

While referring to the general thrust of the 1973 Constitution in the National Assembly of Pakistan, Mian Mohammad Ali Kasuri, former law minister, under Z.A. Bhutto and later a member of the opposition, expressed his views vehemently and fervently,

> Let me tell everyone here, no Constitution can be kept alive with the bayonets of the army… look at the consequences of a strong government where is East Pakistan today… because we are in anxiety to keep all parts of this country together, we are not prepared to understand the problems of this country, the situation as it exists in this country. Every Balochi is ‘Ghaddar’ (traitor), every

\textsuperscript{35} White paper on Balochistan Government. Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 19 October 1974, pp. 4-6.  
\textsuperscript{36} Lawrence Ziring, “Pakistan: A Political Perspective” 
Such extreme view expressed by the initial architect of the 1973 Constitution against centralized tyranny reflects the need for comparative analysis of federal functioning. Muslim league being a party created for initiating struggle for provincial autonomy for Muslim majority areas was expected to be cognizant of unity in diversity, respecting distinct identities of cultural, linguistic and ethnic groups. The concept of federalism resolving the problem of representation on the basis of population or states was confronted in Philadelphia Convention in 1787, the deadlock was resolved by Connecticut Compromise with two equally powerful chambers, one chamber representing population through direct election and the other representing states elected by state legislature initially and later through direct election to avoid overriding smaller states by larger states. The Senate in the US is more powerful than the House of Representatives as in Switzerland but in parliamentary federations the second chamber is not as powerful, however Australian Senate and German Bundesrat have been sufficiently empowered.38 The Senate in the 1973 Constitution is one of the weakest of the parliamentary federal second chambers under article (91 and 95). It is totally excluded from even commenting on money bills under article 73(1). This weakness of the Senate becomes glaring in light of domination by one house (Punjab) in the lower house on the basis of population (57%) and majority (50%) in case of joint sitting of the Assembly and the Senate. This reflects overriding influence of Parliamentary principle rather than Federal principle in consonance with Unitary states. Such a weak Senate is hardly a representative of provinces in the Parliament jeopardizing provincial interests of smaller provinces in population, such Federalism may consequently be described as ‘Executive Federalism.’39 The need however as Richard Simeon points out is for Collaborative Federalism focusing on heterogeneity along with homogeneity; unity in diversity within the state and society.40

Conclusion

Excessive concentration of powers in the Centre in the three Constitutions, according to the architects of the Constitution was an essential requirement for national integration and national interest. The result, however, was different from the one intended.

Excessive centralization led to the disintegration of Pakistan in 1971 and overthrow of the People’s Party Government in July 1977 due to the crisis in Balochistan and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In a Federation and particularly a new one where trust and confidence between the regions and the centre needs to be developed, such an excessive concentration of power in the centre obviously betrayed the confidence of the provinces and particularly of the less developed regions. Moreover, it was not simply a matter of Constitutions but the practice that went into the making and implementation of those Constitutions which enhanced the regional tensions. Frequent use of the Emergency powers, arbitrary use of the economic clauses, and complete disregard for even the smallest degree of provincial jurisdiction led to crisis after crisis in the national and provincial politics. We can therefore, safely concur with Manzoor-ud-Din Ahmad that “… in Pakistan, federal experiments have miserably failed to contain the opposing forces of regionalism and nationalism… during the past thirty (60) years, Pakistan’s federal system has failed to achieve its balance because it has been torn asunder by the polarities of extreme centralization and (therefore) peripheralization”.41

The tendency of “coup-gemony” (as Mr. Bhutto called it) in the political system of Pakistan is an indication of a much deeper problem. The struggle between different factions of the dominant group and their successful attempt in acquiring political, economic and social power through the state for their own interest was the prime target of the disgruntled regions. Frequent interventions by the army and bureaucracy in the politic system for safeguarding their own interests and reorganizing the power bloc accordingly hampered the political and social system to disinterest of the people of Pakistan. The Constitutions, instead of guaranteeing fundamental rights of the people and / or maintaining central-provincial balance, perpetuated the hegemony of the dominant forces. M.S. Kapista in his introduction to The Three Constitutions of Pakistan refers to this basic issue.

“The eventful history of Pakistan’s constitutional development is at the same time a history of its socio-economic and state-political development. The framing of Pakistan’s fundamental law was constantly and directly affected by all the more or less significant political changes in the country connected with changes in the alignment of class forces… or the struggle between the various groupings in the ruling camp…”

People wanted a constitution that would consolidate state independence and provide conditions for achieving economic independence and carrying out pressing social and political reforms that would guarantee democratic rights and secure an independent foreign policy. On the other hand, the dominant

bourgeoisie landowner groupings primarily sought the constitutional consolidation of their class privileges.42

Unequal development can in this sense be considered a constitutional problem in so far as the Constitutions allowed the usurpation of provincial sources of revenue for the perpetuations of class and regional hegemony. The conflagration of the hegemonic group in terms of class power and elite power of army and bureaucracy stemming from one province dominating in the National Assembly affected power sharing between the centre and the province to the detriment of the lesser developed provinces. In essence, therefore, unequal development turned out to be more of ethnic problem rather than a constitutional problem, Constitutions themselves were manipulative tools of the dominant forces as our analysis so far has revealed. Professor Dr Ronald Watts while commenting upon Neelofer Faridullah’s conceptual framework based on relationship between the state and society in Pakistan, identifying the importance of the distribution of powers in a Federation while reviewing the pathological history of the centralized distribution of powers under the Pakistan Constitutions of 1956, 1962 and 1973 points to the importance of devolution as a means to achieving unity within diversity; according to R L Watts:

“It is important to recognize the importance of the interactive relationship between the state and society, as some authors (including myself) have noted. Federalism is not only a function of constitutions but more fundamentally of societies. It is in the mutual interaction between constitutions, political practice and society that the true understanding of the dynamics of federalism is to be found. Thus, for a federal system to be effective and sustainable, the degree of centralization embodied in the constitution must be appropriate to the balance of unity and diversity with society. I have offered to Dr. Fareedullah some comments about details and the appended diagrams, but in my view the general rationale for greater devolution within Pakistan that is offered is appropriate.”43

The provisions of the Constitution (18th and 19th amendments) Act, 2010 undertaken by the present government was an attempt to undo the 8th and 17th amendments which had mutilated the constitution of 1973 condoning intervention in the political system. These amendments, the 18th and 19th deal with the Concurrent Legislative List, the fourth schedule of the constitution.44 Although it’s headway in the right direction to adopt a genuine federal structure in the country by improving the relations between the centre and the provinces, the amendments however do not deal with the substance of the text dealt with in the above chapter.

CHAPTER – IV

FEDERAL POLITICS

INTRODUCTION

There are two functions of a peripheral capitalist post-colonial State:

i. As an integrated unit of the world economy it has to accumulate capital to ensure the reproduction of the system as a whole.

ii. To reproduce the total capital the state has to ensure the reproduction of individual capitalists.

In a state like Pakistan where the domestic bourgeoisie was non-existent at the time of independence, the state had to undertake the primary function of creating a capitalist class. It did so through industrial, trade and agricultural policies as explained in chapter six and seven. In order to create a system and perpetuate it, the state had to maintain its dominance over the provinces and the popular class (the majority of impoverished). Moreover, control over principal sources of revenue was retained by the Centre and allocation and distribution was done in accordance with the underlying policy of maintaining the hegemony of the dominant and governing class. Power fetishism of the state has been described by Hamza Alavi as ‘statism, according to him, “statism has become a dominant element in the ideology of developmentalism, the ideology of capitalist development of the third world”.’¹

Statism denotes the overarching power of the governing class and its relatively autonomous role in structuring and restructuring the hegemonic group. The governing class is not an instrument of the dominant class and yet at times it is helpless in the face of class power, e.g. in the case of farm mechanization the planning commission and the bureaucracy opposed it but the landlords nevertheless achieved their objective of tractorisation and displacement of share croppers. The state power is thus influenced by class power to some degree in its principles of policy, “the ruling elite, (military and bureaucracy), in this case, at any rate, is helpless in the face of the class power of landlords.”² The governing class which was dominated by the military and the bureaucracy for the thirty years was a distinct entity. Although the dominant class had a fair representation in the ruling group it was only during the Bhutto regime that there was complete collusion of state power and the class power (of landlords). Statism, which has

² Ibid., p. 15.
been the dominant ideology in Pakistan, has engendered unequal development by enhancing the class-power of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. In this chapter we will analyze the structuring and restructuring of the governing class for the specific purpose of pursuing the interest of the dominant class from Punjab and Karachi. It will be revealed that the governing class was unconstitutionally changed (toppled) whenever the interests of the dominant class threatened or even when the interest of the military and bureaucracy were effected as was the case during Bhutto’s regime. Protection of class interest was a paramount objective of the state as opposed to the national interest.

1. PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS (1947–58)

After the coming into being Pakistan’s ruling party (Muslim league) and the hegemonic group from Punjab and Karachi had to make policies outlining the fundamental principles of the state. This could be done by making a constitution and holding a general national election. Both these significant undertakings were delayed considerably. The first general ‘indirect’ national election was held fifteen years after independence in April / May 1962, although provincial elections had been held quite early in Sind during 1949, in the NWFP during 1952 and in East Pakistan during 1954. The general election even after 15 years was not held on the basis of universal democratic principles of direct adult franchise, instead an electoral college of 80,000 basic democrats indirectly elected the members of National assembly. Each basic democrat represented constituency of 15,000 votes. The first Constitution of Pakistan came into being nine years after independence, in October 1956. The long delay in fulfilling the most important duties of the state is in itself an indication of the tenuous position of the political system in Pakistan. The delay in holding of the general election and the situation in Sind, East Pakistan and the NWFP clearly suggested that the Punjabi and Urdu speaking hegemony was resented in these provinces and a constitution with at least some provincial autonomy would alone be acceptable. The aversion of the hegemonic group to these conditions was the reason for delaying the adoption of the first constitution up to 1956 and abandoning it with in two years through the imposition of martial law in October 1958. The general election was obviously not held till the martial law regime was well entrenched and had devised a new system of elections to safeguard the interest of the dominant forces.

The principal question faced by the governing group was about the nature of the state and polices governing it. Pakistan was created on the basis of ‘two nation theory’ emphasizing the distinct identity of the Hindus and Muslims necessitating the creation of a
separate Muslim state. After independence Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah unequivocally declared Pakistan to be a secular state, according to him.

“You may belong to any religion or cast or creed that has nothing to do with the business of state……we are starting with this fundamental principal that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state. ….now, I think we should keep that in front of us Hindu would therefore cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the state.”

It seems that Islam according to Mohammad Ali Jinnah was an important rallying point for the Muslims of undivided India but once the Muslim homeland was created, political force and momentum derived from Islam was not to impinge upon the working of the state or government. There is no evidence that the Muslim league despite its determination in creating a Muslim state had any blueprint for creating an ‘Islamic’ state rather than just a Muslim majority state to protect the rights and privileges of the Muslims. The fundamentalist Muslim party, the Jamat-i-Islami, had out rightly rejected the idea of an Islamic state even before independence. Islam, according to its chief, Abul Ala Maududi was a universal religion and, therefore, the concept of nationalism or nationalities was contrary to Islamic principles. Creating Pakistan and then changing it to an Islamic state was according to Abul Ala Maududi “no more true than that a lemon tree could at maturity bear mangoes”. The efficacy of Islam according to the Muslim League was not over with the creation of Pakistan, Islam had to be fully integrated in the political, social and economic system of Pakistan. As Hamza Alavi puts it:

“In Pakistan the ruling, predominantly Punjab, bureaucratic military oligarchy has taken over and put to its own particular use the slogans of Muslim nationalism, the slogans of the movement one whose’ strength Pakistan was brought into being. It extols the virtue of “Islamic solidarity” and denounces linguistic or regional opposition movements as divisive provincialism. In this way, since the creation of Pakistan, the nature and political role of Muslim nationalism and the significance of its slogans have flourished under privileged Muslim educated middle classes in India, who were numerically small and educationally less advanced than those of the Hindus. The creation of Pakistan, the separate homeland of the Muslim, was the fulfillment of that case. Therefore, after the state of Pakistan had been created the raison d’etre of that movement ceased to exits. At that point the Muslim League, the principal organization of the movement, disintegrated. The surviving factions which appropriated the mantle of the Muslim League, then began to propagate its ideology on behalf of the privileged groups, especially the Punjab oligarchies, in opposition to regional challenges. The ideology of Islamic Unity was now employed to deny the


4 Abul Ala Maududi, The Process of Islamic Revolution, (an address delivered at Aligarh Muslim University), Pathankot, 1947, pp. 17–18.
validity of the claims and demands of the less privileged groups the Bengalis, Sindhis Pathans and Balochis for recognition of their distinct identity.”

It is thus unraveled that after Quaid’s death, declaration of Pakistan being a secular state was ignored by the Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan and the principle of an Islamic state was invoked once again. Pakistan was to build the life of the Muslims in accordance with the tenets of Islam according to Liaqat Ali Khan:

“Pakistan was founded because the Muslims of this sub-continent wanted to build up their lives in accordance with the teachings and traditions of Islam because they wanted to demonstrate to the world that Islam provides a panacea to the many diseases which have crept into the life of humanity today.”

The death of Quaid-i-Azam who was a symbol of strength, dedication and unswerving loyalty, left the Muslim League leadership in disarray. In the absence of a popular leader and growing opposition to the Muslim League policies, Islam was considered the only binding force in the nation particularly in the face of increasing dissatisfaction of the people. The pattern of government had, therefore crystallized in the form of an Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Islam was declared to be the state religion in all the three Constitutions and the head of the state was to be none other than a Muslim as prescribed in the three constitutions. It would be pertinent to point out that while Islamisation of the ‘Ummah’ (nation) was going on the economic and social power of the hegemonic groups was increasing at a rapid rate. The political and social forces behind the Islamisation process according to V. N. Moskalenko were as follows:

“The clash of interests of various social forces was reflected in the fierce struggle. The exploiters of Punjab (and Karachi) who were ruling the country in an economic and political respect carried out a policy throughout the entire period of the existence of Pakistan of discrimination in respect to the minorities of West Pakistan and the population of East Bengal. Political parties which expressed an interest of the Punjab landowners and the upper bourgeoisie (both predominantly) Muslim League members needed an ideological weapon which would justify this policy. The “two nation theory” and the principle of an Islamic unity of the nation was this weapon.”

The waning influence of the Muslim League and stiff opposition to its policies was proved in the 1954 provincial election of East Pakistan where the Muslim League won

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8 Article 41 of the 1973 Constitution, article 9 of the 1962 Constitution and article 32 of the 1956 Constitution.
only ten out of 309 seats, East Bengal the bastion of Muslim League where it was initiated under Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk had been alienated from the main stream politics of Pakistan. This, however, did not sensitize the Muslim League to the issues of regional disparities, lopsided economic development; delay in general elections and absence of a Constitution. Instead there was an ongoing struggle within the Muslim League and the hegemonic group for acquiring state power. The principles and policies of the politicians and the national political parties and the Republican party were subservient to the ultimate objective of acquiring and maintaining power positions despite increasing alienation of the masses of less developed provinces.

There were eight different governments in the first nine years i.e. during 1947-58. From August 1947 to September 1948 the supreme authority of the Governor-General was held by the Quaid-i-Azam. After his death in September the supreme power shifted to the office of the Prime Minister held by Liaquat Ali Khan. He was a powerful man but his authority was not unchallenged. His influence on foreign policies was imminent and he gave it a definite direction in alliance with the United State of America. In national affairs friction developed between the centre and the provinces and also within the army during his rule. Moreover, he was reluctant and unable to formulate a Constitution for the country.

After Liaqat Ali Khan was shot dead in September 1951, Khawaja Nazimuddin stepped down from the office of the Governor-General to become the Prime Minister, Ghulam Mohammad a civil servant was nominated the Governor-General, Nazimuddin’s government continued till April 1953. From then emerged an era of disruption, religious riots, and power struggle between the Governor-General and the Prime Minister. On April 16, 1953 Khawaja Nazimuddin was dismissed and replaced by another bureaucrat Mohammad Ali Bogra, recalled from his post of Ambassador to Washington and subsequently sent back to the same post in August 1955. This period was marked by intense rivalry within the Muslim League, until March 1954 the Muslim League controlled the Constituent Assembly and each of the four provincial assemblies. The elections in east Bengal drastically changed the situation by decisively rejecting the Muslim League and replacing it with the United Front whose President Fazlur Rahman was a vocal exponent of Provincial autonomy and challenged the Muslim League position as the spokesman of the nation. Moreover, struggle between the Governor-General and the Prime Minister regarding the powers of the Governor-General resulted in an enactment of law in September 1954 by the Constituent Assembly curtailing the powers of the Governor-
General. The Governor-General sharply reacted to this enactment by dismissing the Constituent Assembly within a month, in October 1954. The period between 1954 to July 1955 was one of constitutional emergency.

A new assembly was indirectly elected and Iskander Mirza a retired Army General assumed the powers of Governor-General while Chowdhry Mohammad Ali replaced Mohammad Ali Bogra as the Prime Minister, then followed a brief period of rapid constitutional action. First, the four provinces of West-Pakistan were united in One Unit, and then the Constitution was prepared and enacted. Although the country got its first Constitution after nine years, that in no way decreased the political strife. From September 1956 to October 1958 under Governor-General Iskander Mirza, there were four Prime Ministers, maneuverings continued till the army took over ushering in ten years of military rule.\(^\text{10}\)

The most significant conclusion to be drawn about the first eleven years of Pakistan is that the principles of party politics and constitutional constraints were completely missing from the political system. Instead, the political arena was beset with selfish motives for financial and political elevation of some individuals. Switching parties, breaking promises, providing or withdrawing financial support were all too common:

“\text{The political history of Pakistan in the first decade of its independent existence was characterized by extreme complexity and tension. Constant changes in governments at the capital and the provinces, martial law, party splits, continuous changes in the party composition of legislative organs, intrigues, machinations, unprincipled comprises made by the political parties and refusal to abide by these compromises at the first opportunity, corruption in the government …. All of this was quite the common thing for Pakistan.”}\(^\text{11}\)

The Muslim League was the majority party both at the Centre and the Provincial level at least till 1954 therefore central/provincial relations were more or less intertwined.\(^\text{12}\) The leading political figures participated at both levels of the government, it was possible to combine membership of both federal and provincial legislatures, and many important provincial ministers participated actively in central affairs.\(^\text{13}\)

Power fetishism of this small group of influential leaders was so strong that their presence was certain either in the central or in provincial government. In case of the


NWFP, Khan Abdul Quyyum, Chief Minister of the NWFP from 1947-53, left the provincial scene for a central portfolio under Mohammad Ali Bogra. Similarly Dr. Khan Sahib, whose government in the NWFP was dismissed by Quaid-i-Azam in August 1947, was included in the federal cabinet by Mohammad Ali Bogra and Chowdhry Mohammad Ali; and was finally made the Chief Minister of West-Pakistan under ‘One Unit’ in October 1955. Jaffar Shah Mian, education Minister of the NWFP during 1947-51 was included in four federal cabinets from September 1956 to October 1958.

In the case of Sind, the most prominent figure and thrice Chief Minister of the province, M. A. Khuro was also in the federal cabinet of Feroz Khan Noon. Abdus Sattar Pirzada was in the federal cabinet from 1947-53, during 1953-54, he was the Chief Minister of the province and then included in the federal cabinet once again from March 1956- September 1956. Similarly, Yousaf Haroon, Chief Minister of Sind from 1949-50, was in I. I. Chundrigar’s cabinet. In the case of Punjab the two prominent figures, Mumtaz Daultana and Feroz Khan Noon were eminent in provincial and federal government. Mumtaz Daultana, Chief Minister of Punjab, from March 1951-April 1953 was later to become a part of I:1 Chundrigar’s cabinet in 1957, concomitantly, Feroz Khan Noon moved from his Chief Ministership of the province (1953-55) to the federal cabinet during 1956-57 culminating in his Prime-Ministership in 1957 until the military coup in October 1958.

Retaining positions of such prominence in different cabinets and at different times indicates the influence of a small hegemonic group on the national and provincial politics. It also reflects that in order to acquire and maintain power positions this group undermined some of the basic issues of National and Provincial significances and displayed tremendous capacity in changing their views. Dr. Khan Sahib, once a vocal exponent of Pakhtun identity, discredited the whole idea by becoming the Chief Minister of unified West Pakistan under ‘One Unit’. Khan Abdul Quyyum Kham, a strong champion of the Khudai Khidmatgar (KK) movement until 1946, was its arch enemy in 1947, Jaffar Shah Mian, one of the founder members of the Anjuman-e-Afghania and a leading member of the K.K. movement aligned himself with the Muslim League in 1948. Arbab Sikander Khan Khalil and Samin Jan Khan, strong supporters of the Muslim League in Pre-partition India, were in the opposite camp in the post-partition period.

In Punjab, the Khan of Mamdot, after having lost support of the provincial Muslim League to Mumtaz Daultana, successfully won election as a Jinnah Awami League candidate. He later joined the Republican Party and was included in Dr. Khan Sahib’s
cabinet. Abdus Sattar Pirzada, an arch-opponent of ‘One Unit’, was disillusioned when the Sind assembly which had opposed the ‘One Unit’ by 74 to 36 during his Chief Ministership supported the same scheme under M. A. Khuro by 100 to 4 in less then two months time. The most glaring example of dwindling loyalties was the defeat of the Muslim League by the Republican Party in 1956. Lack of conviction and party Loyalty was most acutely felt in the case of Khawaja Nazimuddin’s dismissal as the Prime Minister, he was also the president of the Muslim League. However, with his replacement by Mohammad Ali Bogra as the Prime Minister, the Muslim League also dismissed Nazimuddin and chose Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra as its new President. It was the policy of the Muslim League to combine party offices with government positions so as to enable the Muslim League to influence the national and provincial politics.14

The most significant feature of the first decade of parliamentary politics in Pakistan was the exceptional and almost grotesque betrayal of party principles and loyalties. The loyalty of the political leaders was only to themselves and in serving their own interests, joining the opposition or creating a new party in order to be a part of the governing group was the single most important principle of politics.15 Although there was struggle within the hegemonic group for state power, the policy of the Muslim League for controlling state power at all costs was in the interest of the hegemonic group as a whole. Punjabi landlords and the bourgeoisie of Karachi benefited from the Muslim League control of the central and provincial governments. It was Punjab alone which had shifted its total loyalties form the Unionist party to the Muslim League whereas in the other provinces there was strong opposition to the Muslim League. The confidence of the Muslim League and Punjabi politicians was shattered with the landslide victory of the United Front in east Bengal. It was a long time before the seriousness of the situation was realized. For the time being the problem of East Pakistan had been taken care of by creating parity between East and West Pakistan under the hegemony of Punjab through the creation of ‘One Unit’ of West Pakistan thus making West Pakistan at par with East Pakistan, despite East Pakistan’s majority.

The Parliamentary politics of the first decade not only bewildered the people of Pakistan, disillusioned the less populous provinces of West Pakistan, discriminated against East Pakistan, but above all it called for its own demise by inviting the military to the political arena.


The difference between the first phase and the second was both real and peripheral. It was peripheral in the sense that the basic issues not only remained unsolved rather became more deeply entrenched. On top of the list was the hegemony of the Punjabi and Urdu speaking landlord bourgeoisie group, the problem of provincial autonomy and regional disparity. Then there was the issue of inequitable distribution of land and capital and the growth of the twenty-two families and of course the lingering problem of coercion and corruption by the state apparatus. The difference was at the same time at least in terms of stability of the regime. There was one regime for ten years, it ruled for the first four years as a martial law force and later as a Basic Democracy by holding indirect elections in 1962 and 1965 but was toppled in 1969 before the third election. This was in sharp contrast to the first phase with eight different governments during eleven years. It may have been Ayub Khan’s firm control over the political process which prompted Herbert Feldman to refer to the military rule as a Revolution in Pakistan.\(^\text{16}\) He had second thoughts about the revolutionary regime by 1972 when civil war in Pakistan resulted in the separation of East Pakistan and chaos in West Pakistan.\(^\text{17}\)

The immediate objective of the martial law was rehabilitation of the civil and constitutional organs of the state. These institutions, according to Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, had lost sense of purposes and public governance due to misuse and exploitation and could only recover their effectiveness within a constitutional framework under the protection of Martial Law. The long-term objectives were the introduction of economic and social reforms for eradicating imbalance in the society,\(^\text{18}\) by introducing a form of government in accordance to the abilities and interests of the Pakistani people. Indirect form of guided democracy ushered in through the 1962 Constitution was the only suitable form of government for Pakistan according to Mohammad Ayub Khan:

> “Our people are most uneducated and our politicians not so scrupulous. Unfettered democracy can, therefore, prove dangerous. We therefore, have to have counter checks. It would be advisable, therefore, to enable people to elect a college of people in each sub-Unit, who in turn, elect members for the provincial and central legislature. This indicates that the legislature finds the cabinet whose actions are controlled by the Governor, who in turn, is controlled by the Head of


the State (President), in certain circumstances, the Governor having the power to remove ministers or ministries.19

The new form of guided democracy did not generate enough enthusiasm in the public nor did it enlist effective popular support for Ayub Khan’s regime despite winning the 1962 elections. The reasons for this were many: first he had disqualified all prominent politicians from contesting election through EBDO (Election Board Disqualification Ordinance), secondly he had banned all old political parties, though Fatima Jinnah by creating a new party, Jinnah Muslim League through the amalgamation of five political parties, put up a tough opposition. Thirdly Ayub depended upon and elicited the support of the military and the bureaucracy, even after converting the military rule into a civil government he had greater confidence in the military and the bureaucracy than the political stratum he was leading:

“In fact, his dependence on the conventional bureaucracy and mechanics of social mobilization stimulated fragmentation and alienation. His thinking that government meant administration and that politics was to be eliminated rather than understood, all contributed to his downfall.”20

To avoid repeating the mistakes of the first decade particularly the instability of the regime, Ayub Khan introduced a system of government suited to the temperament of the country in-order to make Pakistan a sound, solid and cohesive nation”.21 The system of basic democracy was to elicit support for the convention Muslim League (Ayub Khan’s Party) in the rural areas. The people were to participate in local affairs through the creation of the local (union) council, although participation was to be restricted to the basic democrats who had the electoral rights. Political participation of the Basic democrats was not at provincial or national level but limited to a union (cluster of two or three villages) with prime responsibility of electing Municipal or Thana members. By localizing and suppressing socio-political issues, the regime hoped to prevent polarization of opinion on national issue. Basic democracy was to serve as a training ground for the future leaders by increasing gradual responsibility and participation from the Union council up to the Division council.

Structurally the Basic democracy was pyramidal, it was a four tiered institution. At the bottom of the structure was the union council whose members were elected on the basis of adult franchise. Union councilors in turn elected half the members of the Municipal Committee or Thana Council, the other half was constituted by government

19 Ibid., pp. 188–189.
officials nominated by the Deputy Commissioner. The Assistant commissioner was the
ex-officio chairman of the municipal committee. The next tier was the district council with
half officials and half representatives elected by the municipal committee members with
Deputy Commissioner as the ex office chairman. Similarly the highest tier was the
Divisional Council with membership ratio in the same proportion as the District Council
the commissioner was the ex-officio chairman of the Divisional Council. Basic democrats
were elected for a five year term and were forty thousand in each wing.

Although the system of Basic democracies was created to legitimize the regime,
yet in recruiting support the regime depended more on government officials than on basic
democrats. The different tiers of the basic democracies were linked not through their own
political hierarchy but through administrative hierarchy. The works programme money
was channeled through administrators and not through the Politicians. There were no
horizontal links between the different tiers of the Basic democracies of East and West
Pakistan. The Basic democracies were thus more like government agencies and the overall
effect was more alienating rather than integrating.\footnote{Rounaq Jahan, \textit{Pakistan: Failure in National Integration}. N.Y: Colombia UP, 1972, p. 117.}

The contribution of the civil-military bureaucracy to the political success of Ayub
Khan was commendable but more so was the support of landlords and industrialists; he
succeeded in gaining the support of the convention Muslim League on whose platform he
fought the 1962 election. The amalgamation of the Council Muslim League, the National
Awami party, the Awami League, the Jamat-i-Islami and the Nizam Islam party, as the
combined opposition party, offered tough competition under the leadership of Miss Fatima
Jinnah. The opposition, however, could not succeed in the face of the combined effort of
the bureaucracy, police and Convention Muslim League influential. As a result, Ayub
Khan succeeded in getting 63\% of the total votes cast in the 1962 election.\footnote{Khalid-Bin-Sayeed, \textit{The Political System of Pakistan}. Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1967, p. 221.} The political
and social background of the successful candidates reveals that only 12\% of them had any
previous party affiliation and about 15\% of the seats were uncontested.\footnote{Karl Von Vorys, \textit{Political Development in Pakistan}. New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1965, p. 201.} The main reason
for this was that political parties were banned at the time of the introduction of Basic
Democracy and most of the familiar politicians were disqualified from contesting elections
under the Elective Bodies Disqualification Ordinance (EBDO) 1959. The class
background of the successful candidates was familiar; they were mostly landlords, lawyers
and businessmen. In West Pakistan about 400 of them were big landlords and in East

\footnote{Ayub Khan, \textit{Op.cit.}, p. 207.}

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Pakistan the average income of a Basic democrat was Rs. 4,000 (when the per capita income was not more than Rs. 200). Class and social background was a significant factor in the election of the candidates.

“Pir (religious head), Qazi (jurist), Mir (chief of clan), Nawabs (descendents, aristocrats), were the chief contenders. Furthermore, formal negotiations for votes in terms of money or future favours were of critical importance.”

Moreover, as in the earlier phase the presidential Cabinets were occupied by the members of the hegemonic group. Class configuration of the cabinet members reveals that the landlords, industrialists, army generals and bureaucrats were at the helm of affairs; from the NWFP the cabinet members were Ghulam Farooque (industrialist), Nawab Abdul Ghafoor Khan of Hoti (feudal Lord), from Sind it included Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (feudal lord), Yusuf Haroon (industrialist) and from Punjab cabinet members were Malik Amir Mohammad Khan (feudal lord), M. Burki (army general).

Since our emphasis is on West Pakistan, it should suffice to mention that in East Pakistan, political unrest was curbed by accepting the resignation of Governor Ghulam Farooque and appointing in his place Momen Khan, whose iron rule and political repression resulted in the burning of his effigy in 1968. In West Pakistan, disillusionment with Ayub Khan was initially due to his overzealous attitude towards ‘One Unit’. In his determination to preserve this structure, he adopted methods more repressive than his predecessors. These methods ranged from hounding political rivals from one jail to another, closure of all the newspapers opposing ‘One Unit’ and the suppression of Public discussion through the use of section 144, down to political excesses which were never subject to inquiry. No one could have served the interest of ‘One Unit’ better than the Nawab of Kalabagh, Governor of West Pakistan. Under his rule atrocious crimes were committed and went unpunished, political murders were multiplied and never traced. In some cases opposition would be charged with sedition under Pakistan penal code as was the case with some prominent Baluch Leaders, Mir Ghaus Baksh Bizengo was sentenced to fourteen years imprisonment and Attaullah Mengal’s case dragged on for six years, Journals like Outlook and Civil and Military Gazette, which were critical of the regime, were banned. The National Press trust was created to combat opposition and inform the nation about the achievements of the government.

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The methods employed by Mohammad Ayub Khan enabled him to rule for ten years which is an excellent example of the collusion of landlords, bourgeoisie, civil and military bureaucracy to reproduce a dominant group under a stable governing stratum. The stability of the regime and tremendous industrial and agricultural growth was nevertheless achieved at a great price, just as the regime started with a martial law, it ended with a martial law as well. Turmoil simmering under the apparent stability of the regime erupted so violently that by the time the nation recovered from the tempest, half of the country had been lost. But this was not the only price paid for the years of army rule. The power fetishism of the military and bureaucracy resulted in toppling the civilian government in July 1977 and imposition of yet another Martial Law. However, the overthrow of the Ayub regime in 1969 and the independence of Bangladesh in 1971 brought a new sense of urgency in the political government of (West) Pakistan. Internationally it had to regain the confidence of the world community and nationally it had to boost the morale of the people by launching a process of political activities. The period of five years (December 1971 to July 1977) was rather short to achieve either of these two objectives. It nevertheless revealed complexities of the nation anxious to maintain political momentum and yet hampered by Overdeveloped State apparatuses ready to intervene if their status was threatened.

3. PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS (1971–77)

Transition from military rule to a civilian government was an arduous process. Certain social forces were so deeply entrenched in the political and economic system of the country that they refused to accept the changing situation and realistically face the coming storm. It took more than three years to transfer power to an elected government after Ayub Khan’s resignation. The long ordeal was a necessary requisite for the Martial Law authorities to assess the transformation in the society and to come to grips with it by installing a representative government not too harmful to their interest.

Disenchantment of the people with Ayub’s regime was quite apparent by the mid-sixties. The regime’s emphasis on growth first, distribution later and spillover effect after takeoff stage was having adverse effects on the people in terms of higher costs, higher prices and low wages.28

The concentration of economic power in the twenty two families, though boldly and honestly admitted by the Chairman of the Planning Commission of Pakistan, was, however not startling news in April 1968. By then the tide had already turned against the dominant group. The people wanted a clean break from a regime that had nurtured the army, the bureaucracy, landlords and the bourgeoisie. The proposal by Ayub Khan for around Table Conference with political leaders was, therefore, rejected and Ayub Khan had to resign handing over power to the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, General Mohammad Yahya Khan.29

To hold general election as soon as law and order was restored was the assurance given by the Chief Martial Law Administrator in his first address to the nation, however; it took more than two years before the general elections could be held. Since the government wanted the most favoured political party (the Muslim League) to come to power, it delayed elections so that the Muslim League could mend fences with the people. The final result of the election in December 1970 was a shattering blow to the martial law authorities as well as some political leaders in West Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman’s Awami League won 167 seats out of 169 in East Pakistan in the National Assembly. The Pakistan People’s Party won 64 out of 82 seats in Punjab and 18 out of 28 seats in Karachi along with 5 women’s seats. In Baluchistan the National Awami Party (Wali group) won 3 out of 4 seats, in the NWP, the Pakistan Muslim league won 7, Jamiat-Ulema-i-Islam won 6 and National Awami Party won 4 seats.30

The absolute majority of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman conferred on him the responsibility of convening the National Assembly. Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman, in order to have a dialogue with the political leaders of West Pakistan, called a meeting of the members of the National Assembly in Dacca on March 15, 1971. This invitation for constitutional talks in Dacca was unacceptable to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto who as the Chairman of the PPP controlled the majority in West Pakistan. He refused to participate in the constitutional talks in Dacca and warned other West Pakistani leaders against this. The warning was aimed particularly at the NAP members who were eager to participate in the constitutional talk, threatening them to buy one-way ticket if they went to Dacca.31 This

31 Wali Khan, “In the 1970 election we were confronted with this problem of one province having overall majority over the remaining federating units of the whole state.... This led to the two wings of the country being pitted against each other. The first difficulty arose when some difference of opinion seems to have arisen between Sheikh Mujibur Rahman of the Awami League and Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the Chairman of the People’s Party wherein a stage came when they (PPP) said that we will not go to that (Dacca) constituent
was the first showdown between the dominant Punjabi and Sindhi landlord/bourgeoisie group and the less privileged units of East Pakistan, Baluchistan and the NWFP.

The reasons for Mr. Bhutto’s refusal to participate in the constitutional talks were multifarious. The fundamental reason according to Mr. Bhutto was the danger of secession by the majority province (of East Pakistan). This assumption, according to him, was derived from the six-point programme on the basis of which Awami League had won the election.32

The Central/Provincial relations had been a contentious issue since the birth of Pakistan, the Awami League had contested elections primarily on the issue of Provincial autonomy. In its six points programme the Awami League had given the central government power over defense foreign affairs, currency and communications, the rest of the powers were delegated to the provinces. The provincial autonomy espoused by the Awami League was according to the PPP an attempt at secession although Mr. Bhutto later reiterated that the People’s Party had agreed on five and a half points of the Awami League.33

The apprehensions of Mr. Bhutto concerning the Awami League added to the army’s distrust of Sheikh Mujib. Thus Dacca witnessed on the 15 March a bloodbath instead of constitutional talks. This was the last straw. The message was clear to the East Pakistanis, despite winning a majority in the elections on a declared programme, the Punjabi and Sindhi landlords and bourgeoisie could not let their interest be affected by allowing the Awami Leaguers, the majority party, to take over the state power. The Bengalis struggled for their self-defense in the wake of the army’s onslaught and yet another dimension was added to the civil war by Indian’s assistance to the Awami Leaguers. The course was irretrievable and in the end the Bengalis got what they had probably never thought of, Independence of Bangladesh.34

Assembly…. And, those who go from West Pakistan will have to take a one-way ticket, those who go will see that their legs are broken”. The National Assembly of Pakistan constitution making Debates, March 5, 1973, pp. 619-621.


34 The fact that the Awami Leaguers were pushed into civil war and driven to independence by the landed/bourgeoisie politicians of West Pakistan in connivance with army was a point thoroughly discussed in the National Assembly of Pakistan. For the events between March 7 and December 1971 see, The National Assembly of Pakistan: Constitution making Debates, Karachi, The Manager, July 14, 1972, pp. 669-679; and February 19, 1973, pp. 110-121. Following statement by Abdul Wali Khan provides some insight in the cessation activities: “We had one province which had numerical superiority, majority over all the provinces put together. The problem was there, East Pakistan was 54 percent, more than West Pakistan’s four provinces put together. Now that was the problem which we tried to solve…. When we offered parity
The task of the PPP after the independence of East Pakistan and acquiring state power in (West) Pakistan in December 1971 was a horrendous one. First and foremost it had to regain the confidence of the people who were demoralized and doubtful of the intentions of some of the political leaders due to the independence of Bangladesh. The second most important task was the fulfillment of election promises, which could be done most authentically by framing a Constitution. Thirdly Mr. Bhutto wanted the reorientation of the foreign policy, emphasizing links with the Third World and particularly with the Muslim bloc.

The task of Constitution-making was complete by April 1973 and all political parties had signed the document by October 1973. The delays and deliberations in the process of making the Constitution were primarily due to the differences of views between the NAP (the opposition party) and the PPP (the majority party) concerning the issue of provincial autonomy. The NAP wanted provincial autonomy particularly in the economic field, whereas the PPP viewed the matter differently. Finally control over financial, commercial and industrial sectors was given to the Central government under Part II of the schedule in Federal list 1 of the Constitution, once again undermining the desire of the Frontier people to control their own resources as reflected in NAP’s demand. The final draft of the constitution was nevertheless unanimously approved. The concentration of powers specifically fiscal in the Centre by the Z.A. Bhutto despite being an ethnic Sindhi reflects collusion of feudal landlords and bourgeoisie as the hegemonic class rather than significance of ethnicity. Secondly the PPP grabbed majority vote in the Punjab, between the two wings, when they had to surrender four or five percent of their majority in order to came to some sort of constitutional settlement with West-Pakistan. Then, party of the two wings immediately brought the two wings in direct confrontation with each other, the interests of East against West and West against East. Anyhow, when they realized that this was depriving the majority of East Pakistan or this confrontation of East and West Pakistan culminated in the 1970 elections in a position that the entire East Pakistan stood up as one man against this so-called exploitation, political and economic for one party and the position emerged that East Pakistan voted solidly for one party and the position emerged that East Pakistan the Awami League Party had an overwhelming majority in the Constituent Assembly. Again we were confronted with the problem of how to solve it. Now several solutions were offered: two Constituent Assemblies were offered: two Prime Minister were offered. I was in Dacca when this proposal came. We tried to get in touch with the Awami League leadership asking for their comments. And their reply was significant. They said on the basis of six points we were demanding provincial autonomy but on the basis of these proposals we are getting complete independence and why should we not grab that with our both hands particularly when the proposal is coming from West Pakistan. Now, that was one way of solving the problem.”

centralization of powers was in the interest of the dominant region Punjab as well as majority of the governing class belonging to that province.

The PPP after the passage of unanimous Constitution moved on to fulfillment of election promises by undertaking certain reforms. It began with the nationalization of some industries and banks and placing a ceiling on land-holdings up to 150 acres irrigated and 300 acres non-irrigated land. Private educational institutions were also nationalized and pay scales of the teaching staff were raised. A minimum wage was fixed for the industrial labour though health and social welfare benefits were not included in fundamental rights.36

The administrative set up was also reshuffled. Bhutto introduced the system of lateral entry according to which any one up to forty years of age (and not twenty five as had been the case) could take the central superior services (CSS) examination to improve their grade or to enter the CSS. The top hierarchy of the armed forces was also done away with. Moreover the post of Commander-in-Chief of the army, navy and the air force was eliminated and instead the Prime-Minister became the Commander-in-Chief of the three forces. The armed forces were thus brought under civilian control.

In foreign affairs Mr. Bhutto’s first trip abroad was to India. It resulted in the ‘Simla Accord’ and the return of 90,000 Pakistani prisoners of war captured in East Pakistan.37 Then he undertook a whirlwind tour of the Muslim bloc and held the first Islamic Conference of the Heads of state of Muslim Countries in Lahore in February 1973. This was the first step towards strengthening the ties with the third world.38 The most important aspect of Mr. Bhutto’s foreign policy after attempting the unification of the Muslim bloc was the desire of acquiring nuclear power. He had clearly stated that the Pakistanis would acquire nuclear power.39 This was the stumbling bloc of his foreign policy. The United States of America, Canada and France refused to give Pakistan the nuclear processing plant for plutonium.

This debacle in the foreign policy was not the only sore point of Bhutto’s administration. There was trouble brewing within the nation. The opposition parties were resentful of the powers of the Prime Minister, the bureaucracy and the armed forces were feeling the pinch of the reforms. The Frontier and Baluchistan governments were

36 Syed Rasul Raza, Z. A. Bhutto Architect of New Pakistan. 1976, Ch. III Land Reforms, Ch. IV Industrial Reforms Era of Nationalisation & Ch. VI Labour Reforms.
dismissed and marital law was imposed; there were language and communal riots in Punjab and Sind.40

The PPP had won the majority in Punjab and Sind. It had acquired 119 seats out of 180 in Punjab and 30 seats out of 60 in Sind. It was, therefore, relatively easy to control those two provinces as compared to the Frontier or Baluchistan where the PPP had negligible influence. There was no PPP representation in Baluchistan and in the NWFP it had one member who was elected in alliance with the NAP. The tension between the center and the provinces was, therefore, intense in these two provinces. The incident in Lasbella where the Balochis agitated against the non-Balochi residents led to the dismissal of the Baluchistan government.41

The NWFP government resigned in protest. Thus martial law was imposed in both these provinces and subsequently a PPP government was installed in the NWFP. Then there was an arms haul in the Iraqi embassy in Islamabad which was attributed to the NAP. This incident received wide media coverage, “arms haul from the Iraqi Embassy was used by the Federal Government not only to ban the NAP but to discredit it as seditious and secessionist”.42 Soon after this, Asfandyar Wali was implicated in the assassination of Hayat Mohammad Sherpao, although the charge like many others was never proved.43 The situation was grave in those two provinces but it was no less in Punjab and Sind.

In Sind the changes in government were not as frequent as in the other provinces, and the replacement of Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi by Mumtaz Ali Bhutto as the Governor of the province was a permanent one. However, language riots between the Sindhis and the Urdu-speaking community of Karachi which led to the acceptance of Sindhi as the provincial language epitomized the tension between the two sections of Sind. In Punjab the situation was still more difficult. The communal riot against the Ahmadiya sect was the beginning of the problem. It resulted in the declaration of Ahmadi’s as non-Muslim by

41 Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo, “The government should not involve army into politics, the results of such an involvement are going to be disastrous, look what happened to Iskander Mirza, same could happen to President Bhutto. The Army was sent in Lasbella district when there was no need for it. A clash had taken place in a Tehsil (smallest unit of local administration) between the government inspired miscreants sent by the minister of interior and the local militia. The government of Baluchistan had taken care of the incident but still the army was sent in to find a pretext to dismiss the Baluchistan government and impose President Rule. The government of Baluchistan, which has two thirds majority in the house was dismissed because we objected to autocratic powers entrusted to the Prime Minister in the Constitution”, The National Assembly of Pakistan, Constitution Making Debates, March 1, 1973, pp. 552-556 (my translation).
the Government of Pakistan and then there was the police strike for higher wages. It was followed by a strike of journalists for lifting the censorship laws which was supported by the provincial bar association. The back and forth transfer of Ghulam Mustapha Khar and Haneef Rana as the Governor of the province was another indication of the power struggle at a different level. Besides these provincial maladies there was the common occurrence of political murders. There were about thirty five political murders and about one thousand people died in different riots. The use of force became a frequent occurrence and the regime depended heavily on the police, the federal security force (FSF) and the armed guard of the PPP to suppress political gatherings and eliminate the opposition:

“The Federal Security force was used ruthlessly to bully and intimidate the opposition. Ostensibly created to help the law enforcing agencies, it was used primarily for suppressing political opposition to the government and to break up political meetings. The role that people’s party’s muscles, the people’s Guards, were unable to perform was entrusted to the FSF.”

The excessive use of force, marginal impact of reforms and Bhutto’s personality provided a fertile ground for the opposition. In the general elections in March 1977, the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), constituted by nine political parties, capitalized on the above-mentioned factors. The government on the other hand referred to the successful completion of the Constitution, the implementation of the reforms, the export of Pakistan labour to the Middle East and its friendly relations with the Muslim countries. The PPP won the 1977 election, taking 155 seats out of a total of 192 seats of the National Assembly (108 in Punjab and Federal Area, 32 in Sind, 8 in the KPK and 7 in Baluchistan); whereas the PNA succeeded in getting only 36 Seats (17 in KPK, 11 in Sind and 8 in Punjab and Federal Area, none in Baluchistan), Qayyum Muslim League did not win a single seat.

The PNA’s claim of government rigging the elections was confined to a few constituencies. The conflict over the disputed seats was resolved by an agreement to hold by elections in the disputed constituencies. The matter, however, remained unresolved due to an army coup on the night of 4th July 1977. It was probably the best and last opportunity
for the army to intervene before the by elections could be held and grievances of the PNA redressed.

Different theories can be applied to the relatively short duration of the civilian regime and the imposition of the martial law. The most pertinent one seems to be the one which emphasized the ‘Overdeveloped’ nature of the coercive state apparatus, as compared to the ideological state apparatuses, thus enabling the army and the bureaucracy to intervene in politics at their convenience. The relative ease and efficiency with which the bloodless coup took place in July 1977 lends itself to yet another explanation i.e. the class character of the civilian and military rule. Jose Nun in his analysis of South America ascribes the acquiescence of the people to the military rule as a result of middle class character of the majority of the army officers.

This could be true to some extent of the majority of third-world countries and particularly Pakistan where the majority of commissioned officers belong to the rural middle class.

One of the drawbacks of Bhutto’s rule was the complete control of feudal landlords at the end of his regime. The PPP had won elections on the basis of three principles, “Islam is our faith, socialism is our Economy and Democracy is our Policy”. However after acquiring state power, democracy gave way to dictatorship, and socialism was replaced by feudal authoritarianism. Moreover his own class character was a part of explanation of contradictions in his personality and politics. As Ghazi Salahuddin puts it:

“Mr. Bhutto’s class character has been too much with him. He has behaved like a “Wadera” (feudal lord), particularly to those of his enemies who have been his former friends. For all his skill as a politician, his sense of history, his grasp of complex social forces it was the “Wadera” in him that seemed to take over in the end.”

47 Hamza Alavi, “The apparatus of state established by the imperialist power had a dual role i.e. not only to maintain the institutional framework for the extension of capitalist economic relationships which might raise a political challenge to imperial rule. But independence and the end of direct control by the imperial power, has created a unique historical situation, the phenomenon of a state apparatus more highly developed than the ability of indigenous classes to control it.” In Pakistan the supremacy of the bureaucracy and the military apparatus of the state and its relatively independent role can be perceived more clearly in “The army and Bureaucracy in Pakistan Politics” in Dr. Anwar Abdul-Malik (Ed.) Armee Dans la Nation, 1975, S.N.E.D Algier, p. 65 (emphasis nine).


His policies and politics were also affected by this tradition: The ultimate end was the perpetuation of Mr. Bhutto’s power, absolute and unquestioned, and the glorification of his image. “The great leader, the supreme leader, the undisputed leader” and to that end all instruments of state power and all the resources at the command of the government and the party were to be directed.  

Mr. Bhutto was not unique in concentrating all power in his person and office. To blame him for this would mean ignoring the short history of Pakistan which was studded with the same phenomenon. Mr. Bhutto was merely carrying on a tradition in so far as concentration of power was concerned. The primary difference between him and the previous regimes was that the earlier governments were quite vocal about their authority whereas Mr. Bhutto always denied and mystified it.  

Mr. Bhutto’s rule and his downfall revealed certain fundamental features of Pakistani politics. It brought forth the antagonism between the civilian government, the army and the bureaucracy.  

Moreover it revealed disenchantment of the people with absolute authority. The primary reason for Bhutto’s fall from grace was concentration of power not so much in the Centre but in the Constitutional Head of the State whether it was President or the Prime Minister. It was also clear how the supreme position was misused and exploited by its holder. The tradition of complete conformity to the ruling power had not only been upheld but cherished and encouraged by the leader of the nation. Immunity to differences of opinions, neglect of distinct nationalities, ignorance of vast regional economic disparities and firm belief in the use of force has been the tragedy of the nation and failure in the working of federalism. If politicians cannot work democratically, the military feels more competent to carry on a dictatorship, and that has been the political history of Pakistan.  

Conclusion

The ten regimes that we analyzed in this chapter clearly manifested that the “will” of the ruler was the supreme law. Although social forces shape the movement of history, the significance of the “individual will” can never be discounted. Thirty years history of the Federal governments of Pakistan presents in its most crystallized form, the contradiction between the power holder and the events in its most antagonistic form. Every ruler who came to power manipulated events for his own interest and yet in the end he was the victim of those very situations that he had created. Overthrowing regimes and

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establishing new ones was an indicator that the regimes did not have a strong basis, their legitimacy could, therefore be frequently challenged or supported by repressive state apparatuses. Our analysis of the eight regimes in the first eleven years and two elected, one indirectly (1958-68) and the other directly (1971-77) unraveled the dwindling support for their policies. The essential feature of all the ten regimes was concentration of power in the Head of the State (1962) or in the Head of the Government (1956, 1973), in fact the head of State/Government became a law unto himself. The dominant ideology of the ruling party the Muslim League during 1947-58, the Convention Muslim league from 1958-68 and the Pakistan People’s Party during 1971-77 permeated every facet of the state. Ideological state apparatuses, particularly the media were instrumental in propagating the policies of the ruling party from 1958 onwards. The National Press Trust ensured conformity to the ruling ideas. In exceptional situations, as in Pakistan since its inception, the ideological state apparatuses had a relatively minor role as compared to the repressive apparatuses. Legitimacy was sought more by ever increasing dependence on the police, bureaucracy, military, Frontier constabulary, militia and paramilitary forces. Strengthening of coercive state apparatuses for maintaining law and order at the expense of social and economic development unequivocally provided the military and bureaucracy the interventionist role at the critical junctures. Furthermore, with the changes of the regimes, the power bloc was reorganized accordingly, different fractions of this group shifting back and forth between the Center and the Provinces. The provinces, during this process were kept in the mainstream by enabling the party in power at the Center to form the government in the provinces as well (excluding East Pakistan after 1954 and the KPK for a short duration of nine months, May 1972-February 1973). For thirteen years (1956-1969), however, there was no such thing as Federal/Provincial relations in West Pakistan, since four provinces of the West Pakistan were amalgamated in ‘One Unit’. In short, concentration of Power in the Central government was the modus operandi in Pakistan from 1947 onwards.
CHAPTER – V

PROVINCIAL POLITICS OF THE KPK

INTRODUCTION

Thirty years of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa policies from 1947-77 were embedded with frustration and dissatisfaction due to the policies of the Federal governments. It was a considerably long period of subservience by the KPK, politically, economically and socially under ‘Punjab hegemony’. The unequal relationship between the different regions of Pakistan affected not only the KPK but also the state as a whole. The first rude awakening due to the policies of internal colonialism appeared during the late sixties and resulted in the separation of East Pakistan as an independent state of Bangladesh. The concentration of economic and political power in Karachi and Punjab and the dominance of these units were being felt just as strongly by the smaller provinces of West Pakistan as by East Pakistan. The lack of development, or in fact under-development of the KPK was confirming the fears of some of her leaders regarding the benefit of the KPK’s integration in Pakistan, whereas rapid industrial development in Pakistan was viewed by the Muslim League leaders as beneficial not only for Pakistan but for the KPK as well; according to them KPK as a part of the larger whole gained from the national policies. Internal colonialism could presumably be justified in the larger interest of the nation.

The national politics of Pakistan during the same period witnessed some changes, power bloc at the Center changed. Though the differences between the different regimes was not as sharp or clear to account for a break or setting up of a different trend in the politics of Pakistan, there was one fundamental difference between the first twenty five years and the last five years; the regime during the last five years (1972-1977) was the only democratically elected regime. The other governments ruled either under martial law authority were indirectly elected or were simply nominated. In the three phases of national politics that we have outlined, the first phase (1947-58) of parliamentary politics was

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1 Interview of the author with Yahya Jan, (Member Provincial Assembly) December, 1974. Peshawar. The Khudai-Khidmatgars were apprehensive about development or progress under the Muslim League. First and foremost because they (Muslim League) did not have any concrete socio-economic policy, but considering the members of Muslim League governing body their policies according to Yahya Jan could be viewed as detrimental to the general welfare of the Pukhtuns.

2 Interview of the author with Yusuf Khattak (Member National Assembly and Federal Minister), December 1974 Peshawar. The better standard of living of the Pakistani middle class in relation to its Indian counterpart was emphatically pointed out by Yusuf Khattak. However, he did not mention the decline in the per capita income and consumption of the Pakistanis in absolute terms since independence.
dominated by the civil bureaucracy, the next phase (1958-69) of presidential politics was dominated by the army; the last phase (1972-77) was the only representative period in the history of Pakistan. From 1956 onwards, the army was so deeply entrenched in the politics that in July 1977 the overthrow of the representative government by the army was not a surprising event. What was surprising, however, was the acquiescence of the people.

Is so far as the relations between the Centre and the Provinces are concerned, the under-developed provinces resented the hegemony of Punjabi landlords and Urdu speaking bourgeoisie. The defeat of the Muslim League party in the KPK before independence was the first indication of the disapproval by the people of KPK of the Muslim League ambivalent policies in confronting the imperialist forces and petty bourgeois approach to the issues and problems of the Muslims in the subcontinent. Later, opposition to the ‘One Unit’ scheme specified the KPKs resentment over Punjab’s hegemony and finally, the results of the first general election in 1970 revealed entrenched regionalism in the country. There was no national party as such by 1970. The Awami League had won the majority in East Pakistan without winning a single seat in any other province. The National Awami Party won majority in Baluchistan and the KPK and a single seat in East Pakistan none in Punjab or Sindh, similarly the Pakistan People’s Party won majority in Punjab and Sindh and no seat in East Pakistan or Baluchistan. It won a single seat in the NWFP with cooperation of the NAP who withdrew its candidate in favour of the PPP to defeat the ML candidate. The policies of the fifties and the sixties had affected the national fiber so deeply that the nationalities had become gravely conscious of their rights. The issue of the seventies had to be the regionalism or nationalities question.

The politics of the KPK during the post-independence period can be distinguished in two phases, (a) politics of the KPK as a region, 1947-55 and 1972-77 and (b) politics of ‘One Unit’ when the KPK lost its constitutional position as a distinct province due to its amalgamation in ‘One Unit’ of West Pakistan. Thus in the politics of KPK we find a vacuum of fourteen years from 1955-69. This was the most tragic period of KPK history, and it was in Pakistan that the KPK lost its identity which even the colonial power had recognized. It can be concluded without exaggeration that the “mystification” of the KPK took place during this period.

Politically during the first eight years of the post-independence period the KPK was under the dominance of the Muslim League. The Chief Minister Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan ruled for the initial seven years with an iron hand, he was the most ferocious Chief Minister, and with him in the KPK, the Central government did not need anyone else. He
was the most ardent supporter of centralization, as a result despite its separate identity, the KPK under Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan did not claim a fair share of its resource; in fact it gave them away. With the induction of Abdul Qayyum Khan in the Federal cabinet in April 1953, Sardar Abdur Rashid (retired Inspector General of Police) assumed the role of the Chief Minister; he was replaced by Sardar Bahadur Khan (the elder brother of M. Ayub Khan) in July 1955.

During the ‘One-Unit’ period, the KPK was represented in federal politics through its leaders; the most prominent among them were Dr. Khan Sahib, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Sardar Abdur Rashid, Mian Jaffar Shah, Nawab Mohammad Ali Khan of Hoti and Nawab Abdul Ghaffur Khan of Toru. Their role in the Federal cabinets devolved on them national responsibility, at times at the cost of Provincial interests. This however, was the era of national integration and cohesion, which unfortunately had disastrous consequences for the nation in 1971.

In 1969, with the dissolution of ‘One Unit’, the KPK regained its separate identity but it was not until May 1972 that the provincial government in the KPK was installed. The coalition government of the NAP and the JUI (Jamiat Ulema Islam) continued for about nine months till its resignation in February 1973. This led to the Presidential rule for one years, the United Front (UF) government was formed in the NWFP under Inayatullah Gandapur in May 1974. The UF government was dismissed in February 1975 and Governor’s rule was imposed as a result of Hayat Mohammad Sherpao’s assassination. Sherpao had been the leader of the KPK branch of the PPP. In May 1975 the third provincial government was formed by the PPP under the leadership of its provincial Chief Nasrullah Khan Khattak. Since the Federal (PPP) government had finally succeeded in installing a people’s party government in the province, this government continued until, the overthrow of the PPP and the imposition of Martial Law in July 1977.

The significant feature of all the three phases in provincial politics was dominance Central government. In the ‘One-Unit’ period the KPK could not demand control over its resources due to the high-handedness of the Chief Minister, whereas in the other two phases the Centre had the leverage of the constitutional powers particularly in the political and economic spheres.

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3 Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan (Chief Minister), NWFP Legislative Assembly Debates (LAD), The Manager, Peshawar. 17 March 1948 Page 60. To assist Central Revenues during early stages of establishment of Pakistan as an independent country the province recently agreed to permit the Centre to collect this tax for a period of 2 years on condition that the Centre will pay to the provinces certain amount in lieu of the taxes which they might otherwise have collected under their proposal.
1. THE MUSLIM LEAGUE ERA (1947–1955)

The Muslim League had acquired Pakistan on the basis of the two-nation theory outlining the differences between the Hindus and the Muslim. However, in areas with predominantly Muslim population the real question facing the political parties was not the dominance of the Hindus but the economic and political policies to be pursued in the independent state. In this regard the Muslim League had no specific plans and such issues according to its top cadre were to be decided after acquiring a separate state, whereas the Khudai Khidmatgar movement had proposed specific political and economic reforms in the province. It was due to its political programme that the KK won the majority in the 1937 and 1946 elections. The demand for a separate homeland had in the meanwhile gripped the Muslims all over the subcontinent and in 1947 all the Muslim majority provinces voted in favour of Pakistan, the KPK joined Pakistan through a referendum. It was a Muslim majority area with the Khudai Khidmatgar government although the leader of the Khudai Khidmatgars had scoffed at the idea of a referendum, as there was no question of joining a Hindu state, the result of the referendum, however, could have been different if the Pakhtuns were given a choice of an independent Pakhtun state. Since the option of a Pakhtun state was not given, holding a referendum in a Muslim majority area on the basis of joining a Hindu or a Muslim state was meaningless according to the Pakhtun leaders. The referendum was held nevertheless, and the KPK joined Pakistan on 14 August 1947.

After independence the Muslim league formed the government at the Centre, the Khudai Khidmatgar government in the province was dismissed and a Muslim League government under Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan was installed. He as a shrewd politician, he started his political career by joining the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. His devotion and hard work led to his promotion as the secretary of the movement, the dedication of his book Gold and Guns to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan bears ample testimony to his enchantment with the KK leadership. The book also provides an insight in to his understanding of Pakhtun politics, economics and administration. His concept of settling issues in the KPK either through the use of gun or by providing gold to the Khans was no different than the policy of the colonial masters and a policy he thoroughly pursued during his rule as the Chief Minister of the province.

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4 President of the Muslim League, 1936-37 in his address to the students at Lahore.
The seven year period as the Chief Minister of the province (1947-53) was sufficient time for him to successfully pursue his policies through the use of gold or guns. The beginning of this policy, however, started in 1946 when he changed his loyalties from the KK to the ML, the once great leader and hero Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan became his archenemy and Qayyum Khan’s antagonism against Abdul Ghaffar Khan went to such an extent that he blocked all avenues for the KK leaders to interact with Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. There were a number of differences between Quaid-i-Azam and Ghaffar Khan about social and political issues but no fundamental differences existed regarding the state policy as Quaid-i-Azam in his first address to the Constituent Assembly declared Pakistan to be a secular state. Moreover social welfare policies were expected to be followed to accommodate mass of lower income and middle class onslaught of refugees. The communication however between the two leaders never took place and the myth of Pakhtuns as traitors and disloyal was engendered. The mutual respect that existed between Quaid-i-Azam and Ghaffar Khan was not apparent in the relationship between Ghaffar Khan, Qayyum Khan and Liaquat Ali Khan. There was no trust and confidence, fundamental differences existed, Liaquat Ali Khan as the first Prime Minister changed the fundamental principle of Quaid-i-Azam and declared Pakistan to be an Islamic state; moreover, he doubted the intentions of Ghaffar Khan towards Pakistan.

KPK as a part of Pakistan was to be treated at par with the other provinces according to Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It was irrelevant whether it had joined Pakistan through a referendum unlike other provinces which joined Pakistan through the majority vote of their legislative assemblies. The policy of equal treatment for all the provinces was unequivocally stated by Quaid-i-Azam, as the Governor General of Pakistan he declared in the KPK that,

“I am glad to note that you have pledged your loyalty to Pakistan, and that you will help Pakistan with all your resources and ability. I appreciate this solemn declaration made by you today. I am fully aware of the part that you have already played in the establishment of Pakistan, keeping in view your loyalty, help, assurance and declaration we ordered the withdrawal of troops from Waziristan as a concrete and definite gesture on our part that we treat you with absolute confidence”.

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6 “Abdul Ghafar Khan had great respect for Quaid-i-Azam and he wanted to meet him and come to terms with him after partition. Such a move was thwarted by Abdul Qayyum Khan despite the fact that Quaid-i-Azam had accepted Ghaffar Khan’s invitation to meet him on his first visit to KPK. He was stopped from doing so on the pretext of grave danger to his security. This was the end of any rapprochement between the Khudai Khidmatgars and the Muslim League.” From interview with Mian Jaffar Shah (Member Provincial Assembly and Minister), December 1979, Charsadda.

7 Interview of the author with Yahya Jan, Peshawar, December 1979. Yahya Jan highlighted the differences between Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan also by pointing out the indifference of the government towards the Governor-General during his last days of illness at Quetta in 1948.
“Pakistan has no desire to unduly interfere with your internal freedom. On the contrary Pakistan wants to help you and make you, as far as it lies in our power, self reliant and self sufficient and help you in your educational, social and economic uplift, and not be left dependent on annual doles. We want to put you on your legs as self-respecting citizens who have the opportunities of fully developing and producing what is best in you and your land.”

Quaid-i-Azam’s unequivocal assertion about equality, support and respect for Pakhtuns was the initiation of the principles he had struggled for in terms of provincial rights and self realization of Muslims. This principle however was not followed and Pakhtuns were persecuted by the Central and the Provincial government, the justification for the persecution was the bogey of Pakhtunistan.

The issue of Pakhtunistan, which according to the official understanding meant demand for a separate homeland for the Pakhtuns was considered by the Pakhtun intellectuals and political leaders as a figment of the imagination by Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan. The Pakhtun leaders considered the ‘stunt of Pakhtunistan’ as the main ploy of Qayyum Khan for the enhancement of his prestige in the arena of national politics and entrenchment of his position in the province.

Considering the significance of the Pakhtunistan issue, Abdul Ghafar Khan explained the meaning of the word “Pakhtunistan” and its connotation for the Pakhtuns in his speech to the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in Karachi:

“The people inhabiting this province are called Sindhis and the name of their country is Sindh. Similarly the Punjab or Bengal is the land of the Punjabis or Bengal. In the same manner there is a North West Frontier Province. We also want that mere mentioning of the country should convey to the people that it is the land of Pakhtuns. We want all the Pathans on this side of Durand line joined and united together in Pakhtunistan.”

The statement of Abdul Ghaffar Khan clearly presented the view that Pakhtunistan meant the provinces renaming within Pakistan. The connotation given to Pakhtunistan as an independent homeland for Pakhtuns or an alliance of the province with Afghanistan was a distortion for ignominious reasons. The statement by Quaid-i-Azam could have served as a fresh starting ground for the Central/Provincial relations and could have also helped in overcoming factionalism within the province if parleys with the Pakhtun leaders had been undertaken. Instead, not only the statement was criticized but Ghaffar Khan and

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8 Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches and Statements, The Frontier Policy of Pakistan, Address at Governor House Peshawar, April 17th 1948
10 Ibid.
11 Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates. Government of Pakistan, Karachi, March 5, 1948, p. 246.
his family was also subjected to criticism by no less a person than the first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan. Doubting the sincerity of Ghaffar Khan’s statement, Liaquat Ali Khan said: “how can one believe such a great transformation, it is impossible and inconceivable.”12 Such a disparaging statement about the most prominent Pakhtun leader by the Prime Minister opened the floodgates of tyranny and suppression against the Pakhtuns and their leaders.

Qayyum Khan was appointed as the Chief Minister of the province after the dismissal of the majority government of Dr. Khan Sahib. He continued to rule without a mandate from the public for four years. Elections were not held until March 1951, and during these four years he made sure that he was accepted as the strong man of the province. The tactics he used and the brutalities he committed knew no bounds. The famous ‘Babara Firing’ incident proved his vengeance against the KK, the incident was well narrated by H.S. Suhrawardy (Prime Minister, September 1956- October 1957) in his letter to I. I. Chundrigar, Governor of the KPK (1950-51).

“The massacre at Charsadda took place due to a meeting of Red Shirts to protest A. Ghafar Khan’s arrest. To disperse the crowd, police opened fire and continued, putting the death to around 1,000. Never was there such a holocaust of unarmed people in recent times by a government against its own subjects and the massacre of Jullianwala Bagh pales into insignificance before this atrocity. There was no judicial inquiry inspite of the colossal nature of the massacre.”13

The strong arm tactics of Qayyum Khan were not limited to Red Shirts only; they were equally applicable to his own party men if they dared to differ with him. As Yusuf Khattak put it, Khan Qayyum had an authoritarian bent of mind and he suppressed and coerced not only the opponents of his Muslim League party, but also his own colleagues in the Muslim League if they endeavored to contest elections to ML offices against Khan Qayyum’s handpicked nominees. K. Qayyum manipulated and rigged elections to ensure that only his “yes men” monopolized league offices.14

14 Interview with Yusuf Khattak, 13 December 1979, Peshawar.
the police and those within the party were offered inducements for fulfilling the objectives.

During the first phase of provincial politics (1947-56) there were four governments and all of them belonged to the ML. The first two (1947-51 and 1951-53) were headed by Abdul Qayyum Khan and the next two by Sardar Abdur Rashid (1953-55) and Sardar Bahdur Khan (1954-55). The provincial Assembly at the time of independence consisted of fifty members, each representing a population of 40,000. In the 1946 elections, out of fifty seats, the ML won seventeen seats, while the rest belonged to the KK. With the change of government in August 1947, friction developed between the KK and the minority government of the ML, to overcome the uneasy truce, the Assembly was dissolved after four years, in March 1951. Furthermore, the membership of the Assembly was increased from fifty to eighty-six by amending the Government of India Act of 1935. In the 1951 elections, the ML won by a heavy majority, attaining sixty-seven seats, with thirteen independent candidates and four members of Jinnah Awami League elected, while not a single KK member succeeded in winning a seat. It was a bit ironical for the KK to shift from a two-thirds majority to a non-entity within a short span of five years.\textsuperscript{15} Of the contesting parties, four were splinters of the ML, e.g. Jinnah Awami League, Islam League, Azad Muslim League and Muslim League, thus reflecting the power struggle and factionalism within the Muslim League. In August 1951, the second Muslim League government was formed which continued until April 1953 with Qayyum Khan as the Chief Minister. On April 23, 1953 the third government was formed, the cabinet remaining the same but with a new Chief Minister because of Qayyum Khan’s inclusion in the Central Cabinet. The new Chief Mister was a bureaucrat, the Inspector General of police, Sardar Abdur Rashid. The last provincial government before ‘One Unit’ was formed in July 1955 with Sardar Bahadur Khan (the elder brother of Field Marshall Mohammad Ayub Khan) as the Chief Minister. This government continued until the amalgamation of the province in ‘One Unit’ in October 1955. In all the four governments the only other convert from the Khudai Khidmatgar to the Muslim League besides Qayyum Khan was Jaffar Shah Mian.

Although Qayyum Khan was notorious for the suppression of political freedom through the use of the Public safety Act (PSA) and the Frontier crimes Regulation (FCR), he was nevertheless commended for certain reforms and programmes. The most notable

\textsuperscript{15} For details see Aziz Javed, \textit{Op.cit.}, 1975, pp. 276-290. He dealt with different KPK governments from 1946 to 1975. Their methods of attaining power, the election procedures, election constituencies, contestants, parties as well as government interference and election rigging.
were the police reforms. He upgraded their pay scales, added and increased their fringe benefits, and thus won over the most important law enforcing body. He paid special attention to the problems of the Hazara district, the non-Pushto speaking area of the province and a stronghold of the Muslim League. The educational and agricultural sector received considerable attention. His ally in these endeavours was an old Muslim League leader Jalaluddin from Abbottabad. Qayyum Khan was distinguished in improving central/provincial relations by increasing grant from the Central government and giving away provincial sources of revenue. His success in increasing the annual grants from the centre was commendable. According to him:

“Provincial governments were not satisfied with the existing allocation of revenues between the centre and the provinces. They made a joint representation on the basis of which the central government agreed to appoint Sir Jeremy Raisman to examine the financial position of each province and the centre and recommend for reallocation of revenues. The House will be glad to know that as a result of Sir Jeremy’s recommendation NWFP is to get an additional sum of Rs. 80,00,000 per annum from next year…. Besides a lump sum grant of Rs. 1,50,00,00 for social uplift schemes of the education and medical department.”

The price for improving the Central/provincial relations and increase in the grants was nevertheless heavy. Qayyum Khan gave away the main source of revenue to the Centre and made the province dependent on Central grants. The centre could collect excise tax, sales tax and income tax. Moreover, electricity provided to Sindh and Punjab was at considerably subsidized rates, whereas, people in the province were paying exorbitant charges for it. The resentment of the KPK’s representatives towards the use of her

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16 Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, The budget speech, “NWFP LAD The Manager, Peshawar March 1, 1951, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, p. 11. “The expenditure on police is still the heaviest charge on the revenue of the province.”

According to this amendment the non-occupancy tenants could pay the landowner cash or kind and buy the right of possession. “NWFP Tenancy Bill 1949” NWFP LAD The Manager, Peshawar, January 9, 1951, p.19. This law abolished unpaid labour of the tenants, (p. 20). Lieutenant Mirdad Khan viewed these reforms as luke warm attempt by the government, “The government has adopted a very interesting and soft policy to stop the incoming flood (of change and revolution), without these reforms it was impossible to stop the flood of change. Now I request the government to take further steps to resolve the remaining problem (of abolishing Jagirs). NWFP LAD. The Manager, Peshawar, January 9, 1950, p.25. In the education sector during 1948/49 the development schemes in education cost Rs 22,63,000. NWFP LAD. The Manager, Peshawar, March 17, 1948, p. 57. The expenditure increased considerably during 1952/53, whereas the allocation for social uplift schemes of education and health increased, only to Rs. 77,70,000 according to Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Chief Minister. NWFP LAD. The Manager, Peshawar, March 10, 1953, vol. XXVII, No. 5, p. 25.
19 Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, “The Dargai Hydro Electric Scheme …. In the first instance is intended for the supply of electricity to the Rawalpindi district, while, later on, the power will also be available for this province when sufficient demand develops. The most important scheme initiated is the Warsak Hydro-Electric on the Kabul river, north of Peshawar…. which is intended primarily for supply to the West Punjab and NWFP, NWFP LAD, The Manager, Peshawar, March 7, 1949, p. 54, (emphasis mine).
resources for Punjab’s development is reflected in the following statement by Sultan Hassan Ali Khan.

“The feasibility study of electricity schemes proved that Warsak was the best site for generating electricity at a low cost. Nature has denied Punjab such an option, head works of its rivers are controlled by Hindus and they can stop them any time (which they did in 1960) completely stopping the industry of Punjab. Our province is backward and the federal Minister of Industries (Chowdhry Nazir Ahmed from Punjab) is creating obstacles in the electricity schemes of this province… This will create grave danger for Pakistan… Chowdhry Sahib by considering us people of trans-Indus area has adopted this objectionable attitude towards our development schemes.”

The treatment of the KPK by the Centre was critically viewed by the majority of the provincial members and the attitude of the Federal Minister for Industries was condemned vigorously as reflected in Khan Mohammad Yaqub Khan’s views:

“Chowdhry Nazir Ahmed Khan has moved a bill in the National Assembly by virtue of which electricity schemes would come under the Central Jurisdiction. We want to inform Chowdhry Nazir Ahmed that we are paying the Center taxes and will continue to pay taxes but we will not give over our development schemes to the Centre. Besides, we also know that any money that the Central government wants to allocate for the development of this province, this gentleman obstructs it. He wants to get that money for the development of Punjab. By following this policy he is generating the seeds of provincialism and engendering hatred between the people of these two provinces.”

There was some progress in the KPK but it was dependent on the Centre. In fact, the provincial economy was so closely linked to the Centre that the Provincial budget could only be prepared after the grants from the Centre were announced, mainly because very few sources of revenue were left with the province. A resolution was unanimously passed by the Provincial Assembly of the KPK on January 5, 1951 criticizing the policy of the Centre to this effect. The resolution read as follows:

“That this Assembly is of the opinion that the present policy passed by the Ministry of Industries of the Central government is not conducive to the expeditious industrial development of the NWFP and appeals to the Honorable Prime Minister of Pakistan to examine the whole position personally.”

The reason behind this resolution was the increasing interference of the Centre in the KPK development programmes and control over its main sources of revenue (water and electricity). S. Qaim Shah elaborated the background of the resolution quite well:

“The NWFP has electricity, water, iron, mica, coal, large reserves of petroleum and a very honest and industrious labour force. Within a radius of 20miles there

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are five rivers but the Centre does not give attention to this province and treats us badly. We are raising this hue and cry because the Centre is creating obstacles in the industrial development of our province. They want (National Assembly) to pass Indian Electricity Act of 1941 which will only affect the two Hydro-electric schemes (Warsak and Dargai) of this province. Before doing this they should have consulted our government and members of this Assembly to find out what repercussion it will have on our economy. The Centre did not give us any chance to debate this Act. The Centre should treat all the provinces equally, it should not give preferential treatment to some provinces and ignore the others. We protest against such an attitude of the Centre.

At the time of financial allocation the issue of cis-Indus and trans-Indus is raised, but when the time comes to gain benefits from this province the approach is that ‘my father was born in Patiala (India) he came to Peshawar and was a clerk in a court in this district. He lived here and everything of this province belongs to him.’ Inspite of this attitude we have tried to make Pakistan strong but if the Centre creates obstacles in the development of this province, we will not bear that.”

This unequal and dependent relationship was criticized by many Pakhtun leaders although one of the earliest notes of dissent to such a policy was raised in east Bengal where the Muslim League influence vanished rapidly after independence and the Muslim League was routed in the 1954 elections. The western wing dominated by Punjab tried to portray a united front, but the rejection of the Basic Principles Report and Nazimuddin’s 1952 constitution, as well as haste in the formation of ‘One Unit’ of West Pakistan, reflected the nervousness of Punjab and her fear of betrayal by less developed provinces in portraying a united western front. Besides, the United Front of East Bengal, the most potent danger was from G. M. Syed of Sindh and the Khudai Khidmatgars of the KPK.

The sharp contrast between Qayyum Khan’s policies and that of Khudai Khidmatgars made KPK a battle ground of two contesting policies. Qayyum Khan’s animosity to any criticism of Centralization or the dependent relation of the province can be judged through the frequent use of the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) and The Public Safety Act (PSA) for jailing his opponents. The Public Safety Act was an emergency regulation and its use was essential according to Qayyum Khan for running a smooth administration. According to the Chief Minister:

“When the present government took over, the conditions were such that the government deemed it necessary to introduce in the province a law of the kind of Public Safety Bill. The provincial government prepared a draft and sent it to the Central government which the Central government accepted and was given the form of an ordinance, now the time of the ordinance is ending and, therefore, the bill is introduced in the Assembly. The reasons for ordinance were extra-ordinary circumstances, there is a party in this province which wants the NWFP to be a part of Hindustan, it believes in One Nation Theory. The NWFP government believed that after arresting Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Red Shirts movement

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23 Ibid., pp. 5–6.
will subside but that did not happen. In fact, 10,000 Red Shirts gathered in Charasadda to protest the imposition of section 40. The police was rushed to the area and they opened fire because of which some lives were lost but I am proud of the police which successfully dealt with the situation. 200 workers were arrested under section 13 and those members who were under-ground, their property was confiscated. So, they returned, and to curtail further disorder section 14 was imposed….. After opening of fire by Police, Red Shirts of Mardan were fined Rs. 50,000. Now most of the red Shirts are prepared to leave, thousands of them have joined the Muslim League and now Rs. 50,000 fine is revoked… we have tried our level best to bring Khan Brothers to the right path but we have not succeeded, so this Act is very essential to obliterate the Khudai Khidmatgars.”

The opposition believed that PSA was not required and it was simply a result of the vindictive attitude of the government to harass its political opponents. There was already a law in the province, the Criminal Amendment Act, according to which anyone who did not believe in Pakistan or was disloyal could be hanged, PSA, therefore, was irrelevant. PSA was one of the harshest Acts and its origin was traced to 1818 when the British freedom fighters:

“Even the Laws introduced after the French Revolution and War of Independence were not so harsh, the PSA is the harshest ACT. The Public Tranquility Act imposed by the Britishers after the last World War and PSA have very little difference. The basis for the present bill was laid in 1818 when the Britishers wanted to crush the freedom fighters of Bengal and, therefore, the Bengal Regulation III Act of 1818 was passed…. Which lays down whereas reason of state, embracing the due maintenance of the alliances formed by the British government with foreign powers, the preservation of tranquility in the territories of Native Princes entitled to its protection and the security of the British dominion from foreign hostility and from internal commotion occasionally render it necessary to place under personal restraint individuals against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute any judicial proceedings or when ever proceedings may not be adopted to the nature of the case, or may for other reasons be inadvisable or improper… and whereas the reason above declared, sometimes render it necessary that the estates and lands of Zamindars, Taluqdars and others should be attached and placed under the temporary control of the collector, but this is 1948 and we have an independent and free country. The Traitors should be hanged under the Criminal Amendment Act. PSA is just a tool for harassing the opposition. There is no need for it.”

PSA was one of the black laws which the people of the KPK wanted repealed. The other black law was the Frontier Crime Regulation Act (FCR). FCR was introduced by the

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24 Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, (Chief Minister) NWFP LAD, 19 October, 1948, pp. 63-65, emphasis mine: PSA and Public Safety Ordinance were passed in emergency situation according to Qayyum Khan and if the opposition cooperated there would be no need for these Acts. Cooperation according to him meant changing the party and joining the Muslim League: “Under the Public Safety Ordinance 351 persons were arrested of which 99 have been released. Under the Public Safety Act 88 Individual were imprisoned, of which 32 have been freed. Rest of the Prisoners will be freed, when the Government is informed by the Muslim League president of the concerned Areas that the prisoners have changed their views and believe in Pakistan…… Doors of the Muslim League are open to every one who wants to join, Lala Kotu Ram has joined Muslim League and anyone else who wants to join us is most welcome” NWFP LAD, 8 March, Vol. XVII, pp. 8, 11 (emphasis mine).

British as a substitute for the ‘Jirga’ system. The Pakhtun code dispensed justice in accordance with the Jirga decision, Jirga is an assembly of tribal or clan elders who make a unanimous decision considering the nature of each case in accordance with the tribal law/custom. The tribe or clan consequently punishes the offender in accordance with that decision. The British government, in order to make headway in the tribal system and break the hold of the tribal elders, introduced the FCR. Law enforcement according to FCR was undertaken by the Deputy Commissioner (a government employee) who was the final decision making authority. The decision was based on laws made by the British government. FCR thus brought forth a direct confrontation between the Pakhtun code of justice and that of laws made by the Crown and enforced in the province. Under the FCR only those cases were tried which according to the government could not stand trial in ordinary courts or in the Jirga because the witnesses feared persecution by the other party, according to Qayyum Khan, “trial under FCR is sanctioned in those cases which cannot possibly stand in ordinary courts even though everybody knows who the culprit is, and where witnesses are not prepared to come forward for fear of revenge.”

FCR and PSA were commonly used by the Muslim League against its political opposition. A majority of those affected by the FCR or PSA were either Congressites or Khudai Khidmatgars as mentioned by Qayyum Khan, “There were one hundred and eleven political prisoners in the NWFP in 1952, ninety eight were arrested under PSA and thirteen under FCR… They were detained without trail and most of them were congressites, Red Shirts and Awami Muslim Leaguers.”

The Jirga was retained because it was a quick and effective mode of dispensing justice in accordance with the tribal code but its composition was changed considerably allowing more government influence. The Jirga is still the only mode of settling disputes between the tribes and within the tribes; the necessity of retaining this institution is explained well by Qayyum Khan:

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, *NWFP LAD*, 22 November, 1952, Vol. XXVI, No. 9, p. 3. The continuation of F.C.R during the Muslim League in the KPK was strongly defended on the same grounds by Fida Mohammad Khan (former Governor KPK) in his interview with the author, November, 1979, Peshawar.

27 Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan Swati, “The Present Chief Minister Abdul Qayyum Khan himself used to oppose the F.C.R. before he became the Chief Minister. Both the Laws, The F.C.R. and Criminal procedure code are black laws and should be eliminated” *NWFP LAD*, 3 March, 1951, P.28 For details of these black laws, see Sardar Khan Baksh Baluch, *Search Light for Baluchistan*, 1969, Quetta, last Chapter. Sardar Khuda Baksh Baluch was Chief Justice of Baluchistan High Court.

“In view of the conditions prevailing in this province with a well-armed population accustomed to settling their disputes by murder, the difficulty of obtaining reliable evidence due to the unwillingness of witnesses as a whole to come forward and the numerous family feuds as a result of which the value of evidence produced is not reliable. It is necessary to retain the Jirga system in order to obtain decision in cases where there is strong presumptive evidence of guilt but is not admissible under the law of evidence.”

The composition of Jirga was altered considerably, originally the Jirga would be composed of tribal elders of the two disputing parties, elected by their tribes and arriving at a decision through mutual consensus. The changes brought in were numerous; firstly, the Jirga was to be presided over by a magistrate, (government judicial officer) secondly, highly educated people were to be nominated to these Jirgas; thirdly, assessors were members of a jirga in a criminal case; fourthly, all evidence was to be recorded under the evidence Act and decision had to be arrived at within six weeks and finally, all the enquiries of the Jirga were to be rejoined by the Revenue Commissioner. The judicial system in the tribal areas was thus considerably altered to suit government policies.

There was a general feeling of discontent in the KPK due to the government policies and particularly due to the fact that any criticism of the Muslim League policies was considered as anti-nationalist and anti-Pakistani. The criterion for being, loyal to Pakistan was as Arbab Abdur Rahman puts it, “that if the President or Secretary of local Muslim League party is happy with you, you are loyal and if they are not happy with you they declare you disloyal. This is a strange criterion and no self-respecting person can follow that criteria… to prove your loyalty you have to get it in writing from a certain President (of local Muslim League wing) or certain Arbab Sahib (Landowner), which is humiliating.”

One of the issues which was critical to the Muslim League and Khudai Khidmatgars was that of Pakhtunistan. The Muslim League considered Pakhtunistan as an independent state desired by the Khudai Khidmatgars. To counter such a move the Provincial Assembly passed a resolution that “the name of the Province should be North West Frontier Province of Pakistan.” The opposition contented that the issue of Pakhtunistan was “Red Rag to the bull, to create mistrust and suspicion about the Khudai

32 *NWFP LAD*, The Manager, Peshawar, 7 March, 1952, p. 36.
Khidmatgar. To give the dog a bad name and hang him. Samin Jan Khan and Asif Khan Arbab were quite apt in expositing the flaws of the Frontier policy:

“After independence, Pakhtuns have become a problem for Pakistan and their life is becoming increasingly miserable. They are dubbed as anti-Pakistani and consequently given step-motherly treatment. Frontier Crimes Regulation and Public Safety Act are used to lock up any one without recourse to justice. They are not given their due place in the Central or the Provincial government. Most of the government servants are non-residents. What is Pakhtunistan? By Pakhtunistan we mean provincial autonomy, to be able to name our province Pakhtunistan, land of the Pakhtun people. Why is this issue used to dub us as anti-nationalist and create doubt and mistrust against us. If we want to serve Pakistan and restore democracy we should restore confidence in Pakhtuns. Revise our policy, open the doors of Jails and let everybody come out. Even Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, while Abdul Ghaffar Khan was visiting Delhi, said ‘Bring him the moment he comes, he is my brother’. We should follow that tradition and make a fresh start.”

However, the fresh start never took place and the political situation under Qayyum Khan went from bad to worst. The situation improved slightly under Sardar Abdur Rashid, who was considered a “good man” even by the Awami Leaguers and KK. The Khattak-Jhagra group of the Muslim League, on the other hand, considered Sardar Abdur Rashid as a weak man, guided and controlled by his extremely clever and manipulating minister, Jaffar Shah Mian. Jaffar Shah Mian who according to Yusuf Khattak and Ibrahim Jhagra was an old KK still discriminated against the Muslim League. Although Ibrahim Jhagra too initially belonged to the KK and was a member of the Congress Party, it was in 1949 that he became a Muslim Leaguer yet Yusaf Khattak and Ibrahim Jhagra thought of Jaffer Shah Mian as a road-block against the restoration of the rights and privileges of the old Muslim Leaguers, who were the vanguard of the Pakistan movement and were still deprived of all political opportunities during the faction-ridden Qayyum regime. Contrary to this view, the Awami Leaguers and the red Shirts considered Jaffar Shah Main as a balancing force, helping the government to bring peace and stability in the province. Although, under the Sardar Abdur Rashid regime neither the Public Safety Act nor the Frontier Crimes Regulation act was abolished, their use was decreased tremendously.

The fourth and the last KPK government before the One Unit lasted only four months from July 1955 to October 14th. The Chief Minister Sardar Bahadur Khan with the formation of ‘One Unit’ became the Minister for Energy and Development in the West

34 Samin Jan Khan, *NWFP LAD*, March 6, 1952, pp. 10-24 (My Translation) Similar feelings were conveyed by Asif Khan Arbab in the *NWFP LAD*, March 7, 1953, pp. 7-11.
Pakistan Government. It is ironical that Dr. Khan Sahib, a former congressman and a champion of Pakhtun identity and unity, not only condoned the formation of ‘One Unit’ but also became its first Chief Minister.


‘One Unit’ can quite appropriately be considered as the death-knell of united Pakistan. The disaster that this scheme would unleash in East Pakistan and in the smaller provinces of West Pakistan as predicated by their respective leaders proved to be true. One of the main demands in the revolt against Ayub Khan was the dissolution of the ‘One Unit’, and the holding of general election. Both these demands were fulfilled by General Mohammad Yahya Khan after Ayub Khan’s resignation on 26th March 1969. Yahya Khan’s first set of key decisions was announced on 28th November 1969. The elections were to be held at the end of 1970 and ‘One Unit’ was to be dissolved and four provinces in the West Pakistan to be reconstituted with the status as before. The dissolution of ‘One Unit’ however, could not restore the trust and confidence that had been lost during the fifteen years period of this policy. Unequal development during the ‘One Unit’ period became the dominant theme of the East Pakistanis and that of the smaller provinces of the West Pakistan. The problem of regionalism and the nationalities question had penetrated the national fiber so deeply that the 1971 general elections were basically contested on that issue. The urgency in dealing with this issue was stark clear from the outcome of the election result. The regionalists had overwhelming won against the parties propagating national unity. Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman’s Awami League, demanding provincial autonomy on a six-point programme won the majority in East Pakistan the six point programme of the Awami League included the following demands:

1. “Pakistan was to have a Federal Government and elections to the Assemblies to be direct on the basis of adult franchise.
2. Defence and foreign affairs alone to be the two federal subjects.

36 Ibid.
37 The student riots of 1968, and mass uprising finally led to Ayub Khan resignation with the following statement: “All Civilian Administration and Constitution authority in the Country have become ineffective, I am left with no option but to step aside and leave it to the Defence Forces of Pakistan which today represent the only effective and legal instrument to take over full control of the affairs of this country” (emphasis mine). Instead of handing over power to the Speaker of the National Assembly, it was given to the army Chief. R. S. Wheeler, The Politics of Pakistan, 1970 N.Y. Cornell UP, pp. 147-8. There is a full account of the 1968-69 political crises in Pakistan in Herbert Feldman, From Crisis to Crisis in Pakistan 1962-69, 1972, London, Oxford UP.
38 L. J. White & A. R. Khan (Eds.) 1972, Oxford UP, also Raunaq Jehan’s Failure in National Integration, 1972, Syracuse UP. Most of the work done by the Board of Economic Enquiry, Peshawar, KPK dealt with the drain of resource, from the province and lack of development in the region.
3. Fiscal policy to be the responsibility of each federating unit.
4. Two separate currencies, one for East Pakistan and the other for West Pakistan, or a single currency with power for each province to stop movement of resources and capital from it.
5. Foreign exchange of each unit to be under the control of that unit.
6. And each unit to have its own militia or para-military force to contribute effectively toward national security.³⁹

This was the farthest that regional autonomy could be stretched. In fact, some of the leading politicians and jurists of West Pakistan considered it secession.⁴⁰ The Awami League contested elections on this manifesto and won absolute majority in the National and the Provincial Assembly.

The National Awami Party also had regional autonomy high on its agenda but it was limited to control over economic resources. Moreover unlike the Awami League the NAP did not contest elections simply on the issue of regional autonomy. This demand was placed within the overall policy of the party emphasizing the democratic form of government, instituting fundamental human rights and a mixed economy with a significant role of the public sector.

The NAP won the majority in the KPK. It was clear from the election results that a twenty three years policy of rigorous national integration had failed miserably and unless basic grievances were redressed, national unity could be at stake. It was also clear from the elections manifestoes on which the parties had won elections that economic issues dominated the political spectrum. Provincial control over the several sources of revenue was diametrically opposed to the centralized policy of the Muslim League.

At the time of partition in 1947 it was only the KPK leadership which had raised doubts about the development of the province under a centralized Muslim League government. G. M. Syed of Sindh, who had initially opposed the Muslim League and supported the independent Sindh movement, later supported the Pakistan movement as a step towards solving the nationalities question. In Punjab the opposition to the Muslim League by Mamdot and Tiwana group was removed by installing the pro Muslim League

⁴⁰ Z. A. Bhutto, Speeches and Statement. 1971, Mohammad Munir, From Jinnah to Zia, Lahore: Vanguard, 1980, p. 94. Mohammad Munir was Chief Justice of Pakistan and is well known for his decision to Constitutionalize Ayub Khan Martial Law under the “Law of Necessity”.
government of Daultana. East Bengal was not only the birth place of the Muslim League but also a stronghold of the party and the Pakistan movement since its inception.

The situation changed after the partition. The rise of Qayyum Khan in KPK politics made the province an ally of the Central government, whereas language riots in East Pakistan in 1948 indicated the oncoming disaster. The demand to make Bengali the National language along with Urdu indicated the Bengali consciousness. The rejection of this demand by the Central government ushered in a stronger Bengali movement and demand for greater provincial autonomy. By 1954, Bengalis had ousted the Muslim League from the provincial scene, the success of Fazlur Rahman’s United Front sent tremors through the hegemonic group at the Centre. To neutralize the United Front’s regionalism, a strong united West Pakistan was considered essential. To outweigh the majority of the Bengalis in the central legislature, the four provinces of West Pakistan had to be untied in one bloc. This scheme was necessary to create parity between the two wings of Pakistan. Moreover, it would subsume the differences within West Pakistan and create a united front at the Centre. The need for ‘One Unit’ was therefore, the scheme par excellence by the hegemonic group of West Pakistan against the demands of the less-developed provinces of East Pakistan, Frontier, Sindh and Baluchistan.

‘The Document’ which outlined the scheme of ‘One Unit’ was prepared by Mumtaz Daultana Chief Minister of Punjab and was presented to the legislative assembly by Sardar Abdur Rashid, former Chief Minister of the KPK. The principal objectives of the document were; (a) to undermine the majority of East Pakistan and its demand for autonomy, (b) to subvert the popularity and political strength of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan in the KPK, and (c) check the autonomy demand of Sindh under Abdul Sattar Prizada. The main features of the document read as follows:

“Pure force will not do. Besides a “One Unit” thus forced, will not outlast the regime which has imposed it. Its dissolution will present an irresistible opportunity to the politicians of East Bengal to revert to the small brother’s big brother’s role of West disruption. And above all it would for all times isolate Punjab as the villain of the piece which tried to force its selfishness down unwilling orphan’s throats just crushing it between Bengal domination and a small province’ suspicion and hatred.

Secondly, by completely ignoring Abdul Ghaffar, no negotiations, no parleys, because through them he will strengthen himself politically and then pour down his strength in a volte-face to overwhelm us. There should be no doubt about it that politically we are no match for him, and our ideological superiority we have ourself renounced.

Punjab must be kept quite. The folly of our friends must be checked. At a later stage Punjab will have to take the lead. At that time I hope an effective
intelligent, Punjab leadership will have been put in place both at the Centre and at Lahore.”41

The support for ‘One Unit’ was dismally lacking in Sindh. The scheme was rejected by the Sindh Assembly by a majority vote of seventy four out of a total of one hundred and ten votes. The Chief Minister of Sindh Abdus Sattar Pirzada was a vocal proponent of Sindh autonomy, the path was paved for the scheme in Sindh by replacing Abdus Sattar Pirzada by Mohammad Ayub Khuro as the Chief Minister of Sindh. As a result, within a month the scheme was approved by the Sindh Assembly by overwhelming majority of 100 votes with only four numbers opposing it.42

The repercussions of the scheme were equally clear to the East Bengalis. Although the scheme was put forward as an attempt to unify West Pakistan the underlying motive of creating a united front against East Pakistan dominated by Punjab could be seen through. Fazlur Rahman quite aptly presented this view:

“It has been stated that the greatest merit of the bill is to do away with the distinction between Punjab and Sindhis and Pathans and this and that, but you do not realize that by dividing Pakistan into two you are manifold magnifying that provincialism. Then no longer will the cry be Punjabis and Sindhis but the cry will be Bengalis and non-Bengalis.”43

The statement could not have been more prophetic. The reaction of political forces in the KPK to the formation of ‘One Unit’ was also very critical and negative. Abdul Ghaffar Khan in Pakhtun Av Yo Unit (Pakhtuns and One Unit) called it an imposition of Punjab over the smaller provinces and appealed to undo One Unit for the sake of justice. Mohammad Afzal Bangash, leader of the Kissan Mazaoor Party in Razai Che Yo Shoo (let us be united) appealed to the Pakhtuns to unite and struggle for the undoing of One Unit. Abdul Wali Khan, Secretary of the National Awami Party, condemned the scheme as unfair and unjust and the Party as a whole opposed the One Unit and unanimously supported the establishment of Pakhtunistan within Pakistan in a three-day conference (17-19 May 1957) in Peshawar.44 The deputy leader of opposition in the KPK assembly, Khan Samin Jan, had the following statement to make about the scheme:

“The federal government is thinking of instituting a One Unit, amalgamating Punjab, Frontier, Sindh and Baluchistan. This will be disastrous for Pakistan. The greatest catastrophe is likely to occur. It should be stopped. This will be a tragedy for Pakistan. Pakistan was made on the comradeship of different

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provinces. The territorial, political and cultural integrity of all provinces was unanimously accepted by all the provinces. Punjab is now backing out of that pledge by forcing One Unit scheme on other provinces of West Pakistan. It is a scheme of creating a larger Punjab. A scheme where Punjab can dominate the whole of West Pakistan and also Eastern Zone.

It is being created in the name of unity and brotherhood but is repercussions will be serious for the smaller provinces of West Pakistan. Area-wise Punjab has 62,000 sq. miles, Baluchistan has 135,000 sq. miles (twice that of Punjab), NWFP has 40,000 sq. miles and Sindh has 48,000 sq. miles. But population-wise Punjab has two crores 2,00,00,000 and if representation is one member for one lakh people, Punjab will have 200 members, NWFP 30, Sindh 45, and Baluchistan 6 representatives. That is out of a house of 280, Punjab alone will have 200 members. The smaller provinces in this scheme will be giving away their rights to govern their provinces. Punjab will thus be administering their affairs.

One Unit scheme will eliminate the individuality of all the provinces. All the provinces (smaller ones in West Pakistan) should join together to stop this disastrous scheme from being implemented.45

Because of the One Unit scheme the KPK lost its identity and, therefore, any control over its resources, administration or pattern of development. The extent to which economic development of the KPK was retarded during the era of ‘One Unit’ has already been explained in Chapters 6 & 7. Politically and administratively, the KPK was represented at the Centre by some of the big landlords of the area. In 1956, it was Dr. Khan Sahib, as the Chief Minister of West Pakistan, Arbab Noor Mohammad Khan of Landi Arbab, as the Health Minister. In 1958, it was Mohammad Amir Khan of Hoti, Arbab Noor Mohammad Khan and Begum Mumtaz Jamal in the federal cabinet. Iqbal Khan Jadoon, Khan Habibullah Khan and Amir Mohammad Khan of Hoti represented KPK in the 1965 federal cabinet.46 All of these members were Jagirdars (large landowners) and strong supporters of the Muslim League (except Dr. Khan Sahib). They were also in favour of the government’s economic policies emphasizing the private sector.

The inclusion of the dominant group from the KPK in the hegemonic bloc explains the acquiescence of the province towards the ‘One Unit’. It also reveals the fact that, in the conflict between class interest and regional interest, class interests dominated the national political scene. In the survey carried out in the University of Peshawar in 1979, 65% of the respondents believed that the main cause of contention between the different regions was a result of the dominant class holding political power at the federal level. Moreover, 60% of the respondents suggested that regional autonomy should be granted for the development

of the regional resources. Although ‘One Unit’ had been dissolved by General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan on 31\textsuperscript{st} March 1969, it was not until May 1972 that the provincial governments in the KPK was installed. How much autonomy was granted with the installation of the provincial government is another myth associated with the civilian government.


The campaign against Ayub Khan rallied around two points: dissolution of ‘One Unit’ and holding of general elections. Both these demands were met by Agha Mohammad Yahya. However, the most contentious issue of the 1970 election, regional autonomy, revealed that there was no meeting ground between the East and West Pakistani political leaders. Independence of East Pakistan was the last straw in resolving this issue. Moreover, the separation of East Pakistan was an indicator of how the issue of provincial autonomy would be tackled by the majority government in West Pakistan. The provincial government in the KPK was installed in May 1972, and the constitution was ratified in August 1973. The Centre during the interim period influenced provincial affairs under the Marital Law regulations and through political means by extensively using the law enforcing bodies particularly the Federal Security Force (FSF) against the NAP-JUI. After the ratification of the Constitution, legitimacy to direct the provincial matters besides using the Defense of Pakistan Rules (DPR) and the use of emergency powers became frequent. The uneasy truce between the Centre and the province which tilted in the favour of the Centre is the main feature of the 1972-77 period.

In the 1970 elections no one political party received an absolute majority in the KPK, which was unlike the rest of the country. In all the other provinces one political party had gained a landslide victory. In East Pakistan it was the Awami League, in Punjab and Sindh it was the Pakistan People’s Party; in Baluchistan it was the National Awami Party, whereas in the KPK it was an amalgam of political parties although the National Awami Party won the highest number of seats. The NAP won thirteen seats and two women seats elected indirectly to gain in all fifteen seats. The Qayyum Muslim League won ten seats, Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam four seats, with six independents, two Convention Muslim League and one each of the PPP, Jamat-i-Islami and Council Muslim League.

In May 1972 the NAP and the JUI formed the first provincial government. It lasted for only nine month. In February 1973 the NAP-JUI government resigned in protest.

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\(^{47}\) Survey carried out in the University of Peshawar during my field research in December/January, 1979/80.
against the dismissal of the NAP government and imposition of President’s Rule in Baluchistan. The KPK was under the President’s rule for fourteen month. It was in May 1974 that the next provincial government was formed under Inayatullah Gandapur’s United Front. This government was dismissed once again and Governor’s Rule was imposed in February 1975 due to the assassination of Hayat Mohammad Sherpao, the Chief of the PPP in the province. The third and the last government which continued until the imposition of Marshal Law in July 1977 was formed in June 1975. This was a PPP government, headed by Nasrullah Khan Khattak, the PPP Chairman of the KPK. It was at this stage that the Central and the provincial interests were finally harmonized. The worst period of this phase was the NAP-JUI rule during which constant Central interference was felt and there were several Provinicial protests against the interference. After the resignation of this government, the PPP influence in the provincial affairs was quite apparent and consequently fewer Central directions were required.

There were certain aspects of the 1970 elections which apparently seemed conducive to the Central/Provincial relations. First, the two parties that had won the majority in the four provinces of West Pakistan had Secular Socialist manifestoes. Secondly, both the NAP and the PPP started their political campaign on a friendly basis. In fact, the only PPP candidate, Hayat Mohammad Sherpao, who won the elections in the KPK was supported by the NAP who withdrew their candidate, Lala S. M. Ayub, to jointly defeat the Qayyum Muslim League candidate. Thirdly, political environment and sagacity required that historically sensitive and economically under-developed provinces of the KPK and Baluchistan, forming governments after fourteen years of highly centralized rule under ‘One Unit’ would be treated fairly by the Centre, particularly after the independence of Bangladesh.

These positive features were countered by certain negative trends which crept in soon after the election. First was the refusal by the PPP to allow the Awami league to form the majority government. Secondly there were threats by the PPP to other political parties in West Pakistan seeking dialogue with the Awami League. In the forefront of this dialogue was the NAP and some members of the PPP. Finally, there was coalition of the secularists with the fundamentalists, the NAP’s coalition with JUI and the PPP’s coalition

48 All ANP manifesto’s maintained a secular outlook whereas in case of the PPP, there was some reference to Islam. The three main slogans of the PPP were Democracy is our Politics, Socialism is our Economy, Islam is our Religion. However, by 1977 the PPP had moved considerably to the right. It had declared Friday to be the weekly holiday. Shariat (Islamic Laws) were passed by the Parliament outlawing Un-Islamic activities, Nizami Mustafa was emphasized. William L. Richter, “From Electoral Politics to Martial Law:
with the Qayyum Muslim League. The common element between the PPP and the Qayyum Muslim League was their emphasis on centralization and distrust of the NAP as anti-nationalist, whereas, the common bond between the NAP and JUI was restoration of fundamental rights, provincial autonomy and the development of the region.

The coalition of the NAP-JUI tilted in favour of the JUI with a minority position in the coalition with six seats, it had its President, Maulana Mufti Mahmood, appointed as the Chief Minister; whereas, the NAP with fifteen seats had its provincial President Arbab Sikandar Khan as the Governor. The next important portfolio that of finance was granted to the well known industrialist, Ghulam Farooq Khan who was also the Minister of Industries in Ayub Khan's cabinet of 1962. The emphasis of the government was on economic and social development. Nationally and internationally, industrialists were not only invited to invest in the province but were also granted lucrative benefits, subsidies, tax holidays and rebates.49 Four schemes were sanctioned by foreign government for the KPK. One was an electrical complex to be constructed in Jamrud. Next was the Gomal Zam scheme for Dera Ismail Khan. Third was the Dir Forest Complex which was called as Shingle Wood Scheme which was to be set up by the Polish government and the fourth scheme was by the German government to set up an industry in Swat for making China clay.50 In the agricultural sector, the most important problem of irrigation and water distribution was taken up. The distribution of water from the Chasma Right Bank Canal and the irrigation facilities from the Gomal Zam project were taken up with the Centre.51

As for social development a free and independent press was considered an essential prerequisite. Censorship laws were therefore, repealed, in fact the KPK was the only province which welcomed the Journalists and writers persecuted in other provinces or areas; education was the next item and free education up to the middle level was guaranteed.52 An important and commendable task by the NAP-JUI government was tackling the language problem. Keeping in view that the NAP was considered to be a Pakhtun nationalist party, Pashto was thought to be the most likely language to be declared


51 Wali Mohammad Khan, The Governor Arbab Sikandar Khan Khalil and Chief Minister Maulana Mufti Mahmood fought with the Central Government for its due share of water from Chasma Right Bank Canal of 10700 cuscis of water. The NAP/JUI Government allocated Rs. two crores and ninety seven laks (297,000,000) for Chasma Right Bank canal but WAPDA could not start work. Central government did give orders for buying machinery worth Rs. 5 crores, the Central Govt. insisted that the NWFP share is 7000 cuscis which is 3700 cuscis less than its due share". NWFP LAD, The Manager, Peshawar June, 22, 1973 Vol. 4, No. 6, p. 110-111.

52 Khyber Mail, Peshawar, August 1, 1972, p. 3.
as the official provincial language, particularly, when provincial feelings were high all over Pakistan. In Sindh alone language riots had taken a serious dimension, numerous deaths had occurred during the riots, the struggle was between the Urdu-speaking majority in Karachi and Hyderabad and the local Sindhis. Sindhi was declared the provincial language. Punjabi was, of course, the provincial language of the Punjab, whereas, in the KPK consideration was given to the national language and to the non-Pashtun population of the province and, therefore, Urdu was declared as the provincial language. Land distribution and housing facilities were also given high priority by the NAP-JUI government. Thousand plots were distributed free among the landless and homeless. Major redistribution of land was, however, not undertaken. The most probable explanation for this lies in the lesson learned from the NAP government in Baluchistan. The first major policy measure of the Baluchistan government was the abrogation of the Maliki allowance granted to the tribal chiefs. The National Assembly never granted approval of this bill.

The above mentioned measures undertaken by the NAP-JUI government were neither so radical nor over-whelming, but were nevertheless positive steps in alleviating to some extent the backwardness of the people of the region and enhancing social welfare and economic development.

Certain incidents took place during the NAP-JUI rule which suggested that there was trouble brewing, not only with the Centre but also within the NAP. One of the most significant incidents was the peasant landlord conflict at Hashtnagar, which happened to be Wali Khan’s constituency. The beginning of the conflict was public meetings by the PPP and speeches by the Federal minister (Hanif Ramay) and an important member of the PPP high command (Tariq Aziz) rousing peasants against their landlords. The peasants not only refused to work but took up arms against the landlords and declared the land they tilled as theirs. The PPP during this incident had the support of the Mazdoor-Kissan

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57 Babu Mohammad Akram, “A struggle was initiated in Babuzai Area in the Name of Workers and Peasants. The police and administration quietly watched it. A Federal Minister Mairaj Mohammad Khan and a PPP member Tariq Aziz addressed a gathering in Hathian village of Babuzai Area instigating people to fight and kill, thus creating law and order problems. Similar incidents took place in Katlong, Palai, Sharmara, Thana, Skhakoot, Badrage and North Hashtnagar. Life of the people is not safe”. NWFP LAD, The Manager, Peshawar 3 May 1972, Vol. 1 No. 2, pp. 23-24.
58 Abdul Wali Khan, NWFP LAD, The Manager, Peshawar. May 1972, Vol. 1 No. 2, p. 43. “The law and order problems in this area was created by the President’s Adviser Miraj Mohammad Khan and PPP member Tariq Aziz which led to bloodshed. They told the farmers to pick up guns and shoot the landlords like birds
Party. The incident had widespread impact and created serious problems for the provincial government. Immediately afterwards started the purges in the NAP and all members belonging to the Mazdoor-Kissan Party were expelled. It seemed that the party was shifting away from its commitment to social justice and moving towards a more conservative policy, this is how Afzal Bangash leader of the Mazdoor-Kissan Party viewed the expulsions. The government on the other hand had a different perspective on the problems as Abdul Ghaffar Khan puts it, “the fact of the matter is that there have been land reforms in the country and anything not falling within the purview of such reforms must be protected by law. Any duplicity in this position is sure to cause conflict. If further reforms are to be introduced, if the prerogative of the landlords are to be further curtailed; if tenants are to be assured more safeguards then this should be done through legislation and not through the barrel of the gun”. The PPP had declared 300 acres as the ceiling of individual land holding but if it wanted the welfare of the land less tenants that ceiling could have been set at a much lower level, landlordism was not restricted to Hastnagar only worst kind prevailed in Punjab and Sindh. Moreover, as Askar Ali Shah’s analysis reveals, the peasants did not rise against the biggest landlords of the NWFP, the Nawabs of Hoti. The conflict was between the middle and poor peasants. In fact, as Askar Ali Shah explains it was an inter-tribal conflict between the local Yusafzai middle peasants and migrant Mohmand poor peasants. The inflammatory speeches by the federal minister and by the members of the PPP high command was according to Askar Ali Shah merely to create a problem of law and order for the NAP-JUI government rather than to initiate a class struggle.

This incident when compared to a similar one in Baluchistan reveals that the Central government was not satisfied with the way the KPK government had tackled the Hastnagar conflict without the involvement of the Central government. The Pat-feeder incident in Baluchistan had serious repercussions for the NAP government in Baluchistan and KPK and the Central government as well in the final analysis. First it led to the dismissal of the Baluchistan government. Secondly, it resulted in the resignation of the KPK government. Thirdly, it was followed, by the imposition of President’s rule in

because the land belongs to them, the industries belong to them…. We also want to help the poor, who fight for their rights but through legal channels and not through the barrel of a gun” Ibid.

60 Muzzaffar Bangash, interview with the Author New York April 21, 1981.
Baluchistan and finally the involvement of the military in civil and political affairs ultimately led to the downfall of Bhutto and his execution in the end.

The Pat-feeder incident was very similar to the one at Hashtnagar. Both incidents were instigated by the Centre. In Hashtnagar, Central Minister, Haneef Ramay and Tariq Aziz created the Problem; whereas, in Lasbella, central Minister of Interior, Qayyum Khan’s nominees started the trouble. In Hashtnagar Mohmadzai were pitched against Mohmands whereas, in Lasbella Jamot tribesmen were instigated against Jam Yusuf. In both cases the provincials governments had controlled the situation but in case of Baluchistan the interior minister Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan considered the situation critical and asked the Prime Minister to send in the army. Consequently the Baluchistan government was dismissed and Marital Law was imposed.\(^{63}\) The KPK government resigned soon afterwards, on February 15, 1973. The Governor’s rule was imposed for two and a half months till the formation of the United Front government on April 28, 1973.\(^{64}\)

The dismissal of the Baluchistan government was attributed to Mr. Bhutto’s antipathy to the NAP in general, and to its leader Wali Khan in particular.\(^{65}\) NAP’s criticism of the 1973 Constitution and powers entrusted to the Prime Minister were considered to be reasons behind dismissal of Governor Bizenjo and NAP government in Baluchistan. The PPP, however, considered the dismissal essential for national security. The seriousness of the Baluchistan situation, according to Mr. Bhutto, had figured prominently in his discussions with the Shah of Iran. Greater Baluchistan was a threat to Pakistan and Iran. This allegation was supported by the Prime Minister’s revelation of an arms shipment to the Iraqi’s embassy in Islamabad, the huge quantity of arms and ammunition was to be displayed. This however, did not happen nor was any more information revealed. The whole issue seemed to have begun and ended with a single statement of the Prime Minister. Wali Khan interpreted the issue as follows:

“The stunt of the ammunition in the Iraqi embassy of Islamabad was mainly to create doubts about the Balochi and Pakhtun loyalty in the minds of Pakistanis. Prime Minister Bhutto was clever enough to announce the display of the ammunition all over the country. This, however, like many of his other promises was never carried through.”\(^{66}\)


\(^{65}\) This antagonism was mutual. Wali Khan had made a similar reference to the PPP, “We will lend you full support only if you replace Zulifiqar Ali Bhutto by someone else as the leader of the PPP” *Wali Khan Statement in the Supreme Court of Pakistan*. Peshawar: Shaheen Press, 1975, p. (My translation).

The new government in the KPK under Chief Minister Sardar Inayatullah Khan Gandapur was more in tune with the Central Government. Hayat Mohammad Sherpao, the PPP member from the KPK, who held the ministry of natural resources in the Federal Cabinet was far more influential in the provincial affairs than the Chief Minister.\(^67\)

Although the influence of the PPP was increasing not only in the government but also in the province, there were, nevertheless, tremendous hurdles to be overcome before attaining widespread support for the PPP. At the national level the Qayyum Muslim league had joined the PPP and the party leader Qayyum Khan had been given the important portfolio of the interior. In this way the PPP succeeded in under-cutting the Qayyum Muslim League and in the next (1977) general elections people preferred to vote directly for the PPP.

Qayyum Khan lost the election badly securing 14,494 votes against Iqbal Jadoon who received 26,954 votes.\(^68\) Iqbal Jadoon was an ardent Muslim leaguer but deserted the party due to Qayyum Khan’s policies and formed a United front in the provincial Assembly in September 1972. The provincial members of the Qayyum Muslim League did not support the coalition of their party with the PPP because it was done without prior consultation with them moreover, it was considered a typical gesture of Qayyum Khan of acquiring state power. At the provincial level not only was support missing for the PPP but, in fact, there was active opposition by the Qayyum Muslim League.\(^69\) The situation was quite clear in the struggle for cabinet positions. A twelve man government was formed on April 29, 1973 which was later extended to fourteen. There were only two PPP ministers, Qadir Nawaz and Abdus Samad out of fourteen members, the rest were United Front members belonging to the Muslim League with the exception of Haq Nawaz Khan (JUI) and Zarin Khan (NAP).\(^70\)

The NAP which had initially supported the PPP in the 1970 general elections realized during their short term in office that the PPP was doing more to hinder than enhance the NAP-PPP alliance. The NAP therefore, preferred to support the independent members or even the Qayyum Muslim League members in the province rather than the PPP.\(^71\) Hayat Sherpao, on the other hand, single-handedly carried out the PPP struggle and was becoming increasingly popular in the province. He was thought to be more popular

\(^{67}\) Mohammad Asif Qayyum, *Jawan Marg*, (Young Death), Peshawar 1975, p. 141.
\(^{68}\) *Gazette of Pakistan*, The Manager, Islamabad March 21, 1977, p. 3299.
than the party leader himself and his death closed an important chapter in the KPK history.\textsuperscript{72}

The KPK was once again in the throes of confusion. The government was dismissed and Governor’s rule was imposed for 90 days on February 18, 1975. The NAP was banned as well.\textsuperscript{73}

This was the third time in three years that Governor’s rule was imposed in the KPK. The Governor of a province holds an important position in a Federal form of government for he is the main link between the Centre and the Province. Article 145 of the 1973 Constitution designated the Governor as the “Agent” of the Prime Minister, his task was therefore, quite difficult. He was to carry out the orders of the Prime Minister and at the same time as the Governor of the province he could not go against the wishes of the people, or the provincial cabinet. This may have been the reason that the KPK had a new governor every year, in seven years (1971-77) there were seven governors.\textsuperscript{74} The frequent changes of the office holders was an indication of the differences between the Centre and the province and the difficulties that the office holder had in carrying out the Centre’s orders in the face of the provincial opposition. However, with the formation of provincial government by Nasrullah Khattak as the Chief Minister who was the PPP chairman in the province, some semblance of stability and harmony between the Centre and the provincial politics was visible. The most notable contribution of the PPP in the KPK was apparent in the Tribal Areas.\textsuperscript{75} The personal effort of Z.A. Bhutto through his frequent visits and financial assistance to tribal areas was the only positive feature of PPP regime the province. The rest of the province however, suffered from neglect by the Centre. The Shingle Wood Complex in Dir, assisted by the polish government could not start till 1979, due to the Central government’s incapability in fulfilling its part of the project. The Swat Ceramics Complex assisted by the German government could not start for the same reasons; Chasma Right Bank canal link canal could not start till 1980 despite the provincial government’s investment of Rs. 2-3 crores, because WAPDA (Water And Power Development Authority) did not get sanction from the Centre. Above all, the Steel

\textsuperscript{72} Hayat Mohammad Sherpao died while presiding over the installation ceremony of the History Department in the University of Peshawar when a bomb exploded under the dais. \textit{The Khyber Mail}, February 9, 1975, p.1.

\textsuperscript{73} \textit{The Khyber Mail}, Peshawar, February 18, 1975, p. 1 and February 10, 1975, p. 1 respectively.

\textsuperscript{74} Lieutenant General K. M. Azhar was the Governor of the KPK Province from 1\textsuperscript{st} July, 1970 to 23 December 1971. Hayat Mohammad Khan Sherpao took over on December 25, 1971 till April 1972 when Arbab Sikandar Khan Khalil became the Governor. His resignation in February 1973 led to Mohammad Aslam Khan Khattak becoming the Governor of the province till May 1974. Maj. General (Retd.) Said Ghawas took over the office in May, 1974 and finally in August 1977 Lieutenant General Fazl-e-Haq assumed the responsibility as the Governor of the KPK.

\textsuperscript{75} Akbar S. Ahmed, \textit{Social and Economic Change in the Tribal Areas}. 1977, Chapter 10.
heavy Complex proposed to be set up in Nowshera was shifted to Wah (Rawalpindi Division, Punjab). Moreover, a necessary incentive for industrial development in initial stages was a tax holiday for 5 to 7 years which was a part of industrial policy in Pakistan since independence; this policy was revoked in the case of the KPK. It is no wonder that regionalism was predominantly linked with economic disparity in a survey carried out in the University of Peshawar by the author during 1979. 85% of the respondents considered regional disparity as the main problem of Pakistan, 80% linked it directly to economic conditions, and 65% justified demand for regional autonomy for development of regional resources. Regional autonomy as a genuine demand of the backward people was upheld by 60%. This response supports H. Alavi’s view that petty bourgeoisie equals nationalism but nationalism does not equal petty bourgeoisie. Nationalism is not just petty bourgeois phenomenon but a whole lot more.76 The most significant response which should dispel the Centre’s fears of Pakhtun cessation was over-whelming (80%) response for regional autonomy within a ‘Federal’ form of government. Moreover, 52% supported the mobilization of demands of deprived people on a cross regional basis. The situation, however, is never static, and responses depend on objective conditions prevailing at that specific juncture.

The formation of the Sindhi-Baloch-Pakhtun Front in 1985 with a one-point programme of regional autonomy within a ‘Confederation’ of Pakistan was a significant shift in a relatively short period of time.77 The swift change in the trend suggests that “the national leaders of Pakistan should display sufficient federal flexibility and forbearance to prevent a sub-national movement of that sort from following the same course as the Bengali movement did in 1971.”78

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76 Hamza Alavi’s interview with the author at Manchester on February 21, 1980.
77 The Muslim, Islamabad 9 April, 1985, p. I.
CHAPTER – VI
UN-EQUAL DEVELOPMENT IN AGRICULTURE AND LABOUR FORCE

AGRICULTURE

The level of development of any rural economy can be estimated by noting the degree to which the natural environment has been changed and the techniques employed to this end. The role of agriculture in transforming living conditions depends very much on the technological and social changes in the rural sector. The need for revolutionizing the means of production remains dormant in a pre-capitalist social formation due to its non-market economy. Absence of the valorization process and restriction of production to use values on the one hand, separates the country (village) from the city and on the other hand, restricts the specialization of labour. It is only when primitive accumulation takes place, freeing the labourer to sell his labour power and providing raw material and capital for the development of generalized commodity production that agriculture is integrated in a capitalist economy. ¹ Pakistan an underdeveloped country integrated in world capitalist economy gained independence with a weak economy, hardly any industrial infrastructure and low agriculture productivity. Transcending pre-capitalist phase under colonial period the emphasis on capital accumulation through industrial development gained priority, relegating agriculture, the larger domain of the economy to the back burner. The country thus encountered food grain deficit, unemployment with ever increasing population engulfing country with pervasive poverty. For agriculture to encounter food deficit, unemployment, low agriculture productivity, the Harvard blueprint of Green Revolution was initiated by late fifties in the First Five Year Plan. Pakistan growth strategy was based on the assumptions that ‘growth’ could be achieved by raising the saving levels of those sectors in the economy which do not consume additional income but invest it. This initiative by the government to help the private sector in industry and agriculture through support policies in agriculture and subsidized supply of agricultural outputs at a discount ranging from fifty to one hundred percent was to enhance capital accumulation and consequently capitalist reproduction. ²

¹ For the significance of rural economy in a capitalist social formation, see E. Preobrazhenski in T. Shanin (Ed.), The Peasant Societies. 1971, pp. 219-226. The importance of technology in transforming the rural economy is underlined by Dumont also in T. Shanin (Ed.), 1971, pp. 141-150.
landlords. Small farmers, according to the World Bank report, tend to be slower in adopting innovation than larger farmers due to their circumstances.\(^3\) New technologies involve risks and high expenditure; the small farmer can neither afford the risk nor the increased expenditure because his access to credit is limited. The large farmers have a permanent advantage if there is a continuing flow of potential innovation from research and development activity. Extension services, credit agencies and similar institutions find it easier to deal with a few large farmers than with many small ones. Apart from the fact that administrative costs are lower, large farmers tend to be more receptive to risk taking and are considered more credit worthy.

The contradictions generated by the Green Revolution perpetuated the problem of unequal development instead of solving it. It thus intensified the contradictions not only between the developed and the third world states but exacerbated the contradiction within the states, accentuating intra regional disparities. Moreover, Green Revolution based on the policy of Growth with capitalist motives for highest return invested new technologies, new seeds, fertilizers, tractors, etc. in areas with the maximum possible returns. As a result, irrigated land with rapid growth in output benefited from the new technology. The regions already developed benefited excessively from the Green Revolution whereas the poorest and least developed areas were ignored.\(^4\)

During the Development Decade in Pakistan far more stress was placed on industrial development as opposed to agriculture. Though there was some improvement in agriculture due to the Green Revolution, yet its benefits were accrued to a limited segment of the agriculturists and certain areas of the country. Agricultural productivity in Pakistan is low (with the exception of a few areas in Punjab, where the Green Revolution had tremendous impact). This low productivity is attributed to three factors, technological, institutional and resource distribution. The technological factor indicates lack of mechanization, i.e. lack of tractors, tube wells, fertilizers; improved seeds etc. Whereas the institutional factors refer to the size and distribution of holdings, land revenue, taxation system. Land concentration as well as land fragmentation is twin problem of agriculture in most of the third world. Finally the resource distribution includes water distribution and credit availability, which is the linchpin of agriculture development in the first and the last resort. Addressing the relation between unequal distribution of resources and its affect on


the Green Revolution and vice versa, Sir Arthur Gaitskell in his foreword to Leslie Nulty’s *The Green Revolution in West Pakistan; Implications of Technological Change* aptly summarized the results,

“The final point on which this book converges is the question of the degree of benefit from development… she bases this belief on a detailed examination of the ineffectiveness of land reforms which has left very large areas of irrigated land in individual large estates. Her final depressing conclusion is that it is all too likely that the bright development potential of the Green Revolution to raise the general living standards, will be frustrated by the prevailing distribution of economic and political power which permits a few fortunate to reap the larger share of the gain.”

The majority of these fortunate few belonged to the Indus basin of Punjab with fetishism of water and technology, rest of the country particularly KPK and Baluchistan were bereft of this progress. Majority of the landholdings (68%) in KPK are less than five acres as reflected in Table I, 86% of the farms with 46% of the cultivated area are below the subsistence size of 12.5 acres. The farms below the economic size of 50 acres are 98% of the cultivated area. Only 2% of the farms making 17% of the cultivated area are of an economic size and above, 38% of the farm areas of the owner-farms are below the size of subsistence holding, 66% below the size of an economic holding and 34% of economic size and above.

### Table – 1

**STATISTICAL ABSTRACT N.W.F.P (SETTLED)**

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<td>Thousand Numbers</td>
<td>4400.11</td>
<td>725.45</td>
<td>16.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Government Farms</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Private Farms</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>4399.91</td>
<td>725.42</td>
<td>16.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 1.0 Acres</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>243.42</td>
<td>99.09</td>
<td>40.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0 to under 2.5 acres</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>634.95</td>
<td>216.65</td>
<td>34.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 to Under 7.5 acres</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>758.98</td>
<td>168.19</td>
<td>22.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.0 to under 7.5 acres</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>721.15</td>
<td>92.07</td>
<td>12.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5 to under 12.5 acres</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>946.02</td>
<td>74.34</td>
<td>7.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5 to under 25.0 acres</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>716.89</td>
<td>46.06</td>
<td>6.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.0 to under 50.0 acres</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>266.82</td>
<td>19.95</td>
<td>7.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.0 to under 150.0 acres</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>97.73</td>
<td>9.37</td>
<td>9.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150.0 and above</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>14.25</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>10.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Farms Area Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thousand Acres</td>
<td>48584.67</td>
<td>4783.67</td>
<td>9.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Government Farms Area</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>123.65</td>
<td>8.59</td>
<td>6.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Private Farms Area</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>48461.02</td>
<td>4775.12</td>
<td>9.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


---

5 Leslie Nulty, 1972, pp. VII-VIII.
This being the general picture of the province, it is however noteworthy that the percentage of families who are considered to be landlords is considerably higher than average in the 4 districts of D.I. Khan, Bannu, Kohat, and Hazara, whereas 170 individuals in the KPK who own farms above 150 acres have holdings in rain fed/barani areas where the produce index is less than 1200 as prescribed by Martial Law Regulation 1972. Most of these large land holdings are in Dera Ismail Khan, Kohat and Mansehra, less developed barani areas entirely dependent on rainfall for cultivation. Consequently even the large land holders in the KPK could not take advantage of the technological revolution unleashed in the sixties and seventies because improved technology and improved inputs could only yield better results when coupled with regular and controlled water availability.

Table – 2
PRODUCTION AND VARIATION OF LAND UTILIZATION IN N.W.F.P
1964-65 to 1983-84

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cultivated Area</th>
<th>Cropped Area</th>
<th>Un-Cultivated Area</th>
<th>Reported Area</th>
<th>Cultivated Area</th>
<th>Cropped Area</th>
<th>Un-Cultivated Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>31.53</td>
<td>68.99</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>36.66</td>
<td>38.40</td>
<td>63.34</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>9.65</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>23.91</td>
<td>22.88</td>
<td>76.09</td>
<td>51.24</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>-8.44</td>
<td>79.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Canal and tube well irrigation was the key to success of the Green revolution which was focused in Punjab, whereas cultivated area in the KPK actually declined during the given period as shown in Table 2. Irrigated area of the KPK in Peshawar and Mardan valley suffered due to decreasing acreage of cash crops tobacco (Table 3) and minor increase in sugarcane due to tremendous increase in acreage in Punjab and particularly Sind after independence (Table 4). The KPK suffered on both accounts, large land holders suffered because of non availability of irrigated water and majority of middle and small peasants due to lack of capital investment in improved inputs.

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6 Muhammad Ahmad Khan, “Land and Tenancy Reforms in North West Frontier Province”. University of Peshawar, Institute of Economic Studies, Publication No. 135, Table No. 7, 1980, p. 55,
Table – 3

TOBACCO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (Average)</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sind</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Baluchistan</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Area in ‘000’ hectares)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-70</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>65.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>60.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>44.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>49.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Production in ‘000’ tones)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-70</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>84.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>124.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>113.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>77.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Agricultural Statistics of Pakistan 1980, G.O.P Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Co-operative Food and Agriculture Division (Planning Unit) Islamabad, Table 15, pp. 35-36.

Table – 4

SUGARCANE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (Average)</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sind</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Baluchistan</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Area in ‘000’ hectares)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-70</td>
<td>427.7</td>
<td>72.8</td>
<td>81.8</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>582.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>475.9</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>81.0</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>636.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>499.8</td>
<td>105.6</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>699.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>501.4</td>
<td>129.9</td>
<td>87.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>718.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Production in ‘000’ tones)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avg: 1965-70</td>
<td>16153.2</td>
<td>2,889.7</td>
<td>3,214.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>22,258.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>16,834.0</td>
<td>3,329.2</td>
<td>3,092.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>23,167.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>18,267.6</td>
<td>3,586.4</td>
<td>3,690.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>25,546.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>19,413.5</td>
<td>4,664.4</td>
<td>3,417.0</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>27,497.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Agricultural Statistics of Pakistan 1980, G.O.P Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Co-operatives Food and Agriculture Division (Planning Unit), Islamabad, Table 11, p. 27-28.

KPK mainly an agricultural economy with 80% population depending on it and 40% of the Gross Provincial Product contributed by agriculture became a hinterland. The total cultivated area in the Province in 1982-83 was 1,670,000 hectares out of which only 730,000 hectares was irrigated as reflected in Table 5. Wheat and maize are the principal food crops, while among the cash crops sugar cane and tobacco are produced in large quantities (Table 6). Although the impact of the Green Revolution technology in Pakistan as a whole was strong, there were strong inter-provincial variations. In particular, the

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spread of the Green Revolution technology was on a limited scale in the KPK as compared with the Punjab due to extremely favorable conditions available and provided to Punjab.

Table – 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Pakistan 1982-83</th>
<th>N.W.F.P 1983-84</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land Utilization</td>
<td>Million Hectares</td>
<td>79.61</td>
<td>7.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical Area</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>57.96</td>
<td>5.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reported Area</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>20.52</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivated area</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>20.52</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net sown area</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>15.79</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current fallow</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4.73</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Cropped area</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>20.11</td>
<td>1.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area Sown more than once</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4.32</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigated area-total</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>15.54</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Regional disparities were enhanced by following the Growth model and the mixed economy package of public and private incentives and initiatives. In Pakistan as a whole, both canal and tube well irrigated areas has increased significantly but only one province Punjab was the beneficiary with limited benefits accruing to Sind. KPK with large areas of barani/rain fed land could not avail of the Green revolution consequently the cultivated area actually declined over the period, with the most precious cash crop of KPK losing acreage and production as well.

Table – 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Production of Principal Crops</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>N.W.F.P</th>
<th>% Share of N.W.F.P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>Thousand tones</td>
<td>11000</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>3457</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar-cane</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>32422</td>
<td>3635</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Thousand tones</td>
<td>5976</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertilizer consumption</td>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>Thousand nutrient tones</td>
<td>1203</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Increased agricultural productivity was achieved technically by improved inputs like mechanization, tractorization, high yielding varieties of seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, water, etc. However, the availability of irrigation water, particularly controlled water constituted the most important part of the increased production. The success of the agricultural development was further enhanced by additional sources of water supply through dams, barrages and extension schemes undertaken during the First (1955-60), Second (1960-65) and Third (1965-70) Five Year Plans of Pakistan. Following these schemes, the volume of water increased considerably. Moreover the installation of public and private tube wells played a critical role; the high yielding potential of other inputs could only be realized when assured of water supply. It was only after the installation of large number of tube wells that a radical change occurred in Pakistan’s agriculture. As a result of mechanized farming and enhanced water availability agricultural productivity increased but Punjab was the sole beneficiary, where the canal irrigated area as a percentage of the total cultivated area increased from 58 to 68 per cent. The total number of tube wells installed in the country during 1948-83 was 202,829 out of which 171,264 (84%) tube wells were installed in the Punjab alone. By 1983, nearly a quarter of the cultivated area in the Punjab was under tube well irrigation and 95 percent of the total cultivated area was irrigated including canal irrigation, whereas in the KPK little more than two per cent of the cultivated area was under tube well irrigation in 1983 and irrigated area of the total cultivated area was 40 percent which included irrigation by other sources (wells and tanks) 38 percent. The total irrigated area of the KPK in fact declined over period from 710,000 hectares in 1973-74 to 700,000 hectares in 1980-81 (table 7). The KPK thus, lagged behind not only in the expansion of canal irrigation, but also of tube well irrigation. The success of mechanization and irrigation can therefore, be attributed to the Punjab with peripheralization of KPK.

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9 Ibid, pp. 7-8.
The aridity of land is the most important barrier to agricultural development in Pakistan and particularly for KPK despite heavy rainfall and canal water, availability of controlled water is hindrance to productivity. The Government took important steps towards water resource development initially to overcome water shortage including both surface as well as ground water development schemes. Major irrigation projects including dams (Warsak, Mangla and Tarbela) and barrages (Ghulam Muhammad, Guddu, Taunsa) were completed during the three Five Year Plans. As a result, the canal water supplies increased from 50.00 MAF in 1959-60 to 54.89 MAF and went further up to 65.03 MAF in 1980-83.\(^\text{10}\) Punjab not only surpassed the other provinces in the proportion of total irrigated area from all sources of the country but in fact was the major beneficiary. By 1982-83 Punjab’s share in total irrigated area of the country was over 70 percent while the KPK had only 5 percent share in the total (Table 8). During this period 95 percent of the cultivated area in the Punjab received irrigation water, The Punjab increased its share in the total canal irrigated area of the country from 6.4 million hectares (1971-72) to 7.9 million hectares (1982-83) but during these periods the KPK’s share in the total canal irrigated area of the country declined from 3 percent to 2.7 (Table 9).

\(^{10}\) *Ibid*, p. 16.
Table – 8
SHARE OF PUNJAB AND KPK IN THE TOTAL IRRIGATED AREA OF PAKISTAN ‘1971/72-82/83’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>‘Million Hectares’</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Irrigated</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Irrigated</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>12.99</td>
<td>9.18</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>70.67</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.04</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>8.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>14.47</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>4.70</td>
<td>69.11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.04</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>8.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>15.47</td>
<td>11.03</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>8.04</td>
<td>71.30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.04</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>8.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table – 9
SHARE OF PUNJAB AND NWFP IN THE TOTAL CANAL IRRIGATED AREA OF PAKISTAN (1971/72-1982/83)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>Canal Irrigated Area Million Hectares</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Irrigated</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Irrigated</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Mill. Hec.</td>
<td>Mill. Hec.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Mill. Hec.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>9.19</td>
<td>6.40</td>
<td>69.64</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>10.39</td>
<td>7.19</td>
<td>69.20</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>11.08</td>
<td>7.88</td>
<td>71.12</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Although, canal water is a critical input in Pakistan’s agriculture, the supply being irregular and insufficient, the government took further steps to install public and private tube wells (Table 10). In Pakistan, area under tube well irrigation increased dramatically from the 1950s until 1983. There were hardly any tube wells until the 1950s but by 1963-65 the number of private tube wells was 23,773 and the corresponding figure for Punjab alone was 22,348, which was 95 percent of the total as against only 303 for the KPK which amounted to 1.2% of the total. The concentration of tube wells in Punjab was 91% in 1970-75 and about 85% in 1982-83 whereas for KPK it was 1.6% during 1970-75 and 2.3% during 1981-82 (Table No. 11). Tube well irrigated area for the whole of Pakistan during 1971-72 was 2.10 million hectares of which almost 2 million (1.98) hectares were in Punjab (95%), and .03 million hectares in KPK (1.43%); corresponding figures for 1978-79 were 3.49 m/h in Pakistan out of which 3.35 m/h was in Punjab (96%) and KPK
0.02 m/h (0.72%). In 1982-83 out of 3 m/h in Pakistan, Punjab had 2.79 m/h (93%) and KPK 0.06 m/h (2%) so the trend of centralization of growth and modernization in Punjab continued unhindered despite glaring regional disparities and dismemberment of the country.

Table – 10

NUMBER OF TUBEWELLS IN PAKISTAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sind (b)</th>
<th>N.W.F.P</th>
<th>Baluchistan</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elect/Diesel</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>7,725</td>
<td>81,814</td>
<td>89,539</td>
<td>4,071</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>9,393</td>
<td>134,782</td>
<td>144,175</td>
<td>8,371</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>10,052</td>
<td>154,468</td>
<td>164,520</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>4,892</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Agricultural Statistics of Pakistan 1980, GOP Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Co-operatives, Islamabad, Table No. 82, pp. 139-140.

Table – 11

SHARE OF PUNJAB AND NWFP IN THE TOTAL IRRIGATED AREA OF PAKISTAN ‘1971/72-82/83’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Mill. Hec.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>94.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>3.49</td>
<td>96.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>93.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Glaring disparity in the total irrigated area by all sources from 1971-72 to 83-84 shows unequal development in progress and poverty. Punjab had 81% of its cultivated area irrigated, 96% of the total tube well irrigated area of Pakistan and 77% of the total canal irrigated area whereas KPK for the same period had 3.7% of the total irrigated area of which 1% was of the tube well and 2% of the canal irrigated area of the country (Table 12), no wonder KPK is turning to food deficit area since post independence period.
Table – 12
PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL INCREMENTAL INCREASE IN IRRIGATED AREA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIOD</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Percentage of National</th>
<th>Percentage of Incremental</th>
<th>Percentage of Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The share of KPK was not just minimal in the stupendous strides of agricultural modernization in fact it was detrimental. The cultivated area in KPK actually declined over period of time from 31m/h in 1964-65 to 23 m/h in 1981-82 resulting in subsequent increase in uncultivated area from 68.99 m/h in 1964-65 to 76.09 m/h in 1981-82 (Table 2) Uneven development justified in the Growth model had severe consequences for the province of KPK. Private incentives and Government patronage in substantial improvement in cash crops (cotton) and food grains (wheat and sugar) in Punjab was to the detriment of KPK resulting in gradual deterioration of its agriculture in relative terms. Not only did the actual cultivated area decline but more worrisome was the worsening of precious cash crop particularly tobacco (Table 13) of which the acreage reduced from 54.2000/h in 1974-75 to 42.9000/h in 1981-82 and production dropping from 76.7000/tons in 1974-75 to 67.2000/tons in1981-82 due to lack of institutional and sectoral incentive in the precious cash crop of KPK.

Table – 13
AREA, PRODUCTION AND YIELD PER HECTARE OF AGRICULTURAL CROPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Area (000 hectares)</th>
<th>Production (000 tones)</th>
<th>Yield per hectare (kilogram)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SUGARCANE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>672.8</td>
<td>21241.9</td>
<td>31572.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>824.7</td>
<td>32359.4</td>
<td>39237.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TOBACCO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>76.7</td>
<td>1415.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>1566.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the main features of agriculture modernization was mechanized farming which included extensive and intensive cropping. To increase productivity, multiple farming and scientific methodology was introduced, large tracts of land were brought under capital farming; tractorisation was thus inevitable. Cost minimization, and not increase in productivity of land was the reason for accelerated of mechanization and a shift towards greater use of agricultural machinery. However this technological revolution was limited to the core only, KPK had the lowest number of public owned tractors (188) less than even Baluchistan (265) with highest number for Punjab 1418 out of 2093 whereas in totality Punjab had 29 thousand and KPK approximately 2 thousand (Table 14).

**Table – 14**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrative Unit</th>
<th>All Tractors</th>
<th>Private tractors</th>
<th>Govt: Tractors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>35714</td>
<td>33621</td>
<td>2093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>28747</td>
<td>27329</td>
<td>1418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>3908</td>
<td>3686</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.W.F.P</td>
<td>2348</td>
<td>2160</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Agricultural Statistics of Pakistan 1980, GOP Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Co-operatives Islamabad, Table 91.

Rapid tractorization was enhanced by 1982 to 78,500 tractors. Between 1976 and 1982 more than 50% of total advances made by ADBP were for purchasing tractors; in fact 61% of total ADBP lending in 1981-82 was for purposes of mechanization. Moreover in order to induce farmers to adopt the modern technology, the consumption of fertilizers consistently increased as reflected in Table 15. The increase was tremendous from 425.5000/ nutrient tons in 1974-75 to 1,134.40 thousand nutrient tons in 1980-83, the Punjab’s share once again was in bulk in the total fertilizer consumption of the country, it was 66 per cent, while the KPK’s share was only 7 per cent.
Table – 15
PROVINCE-WISE CONSUMPTION OF FERTILIZER (WHAT ABOUT 79-80) (THOUSAND NUTRIENT TONES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>1974-75 Total</th>
<th>1976-77 Total</th>
<th>1977-78 Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>287.8</td>
<td>413.9</td>
<td>469.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>111.0</td>
<td>161.2</td>
<td>193.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>50.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


All improved inputs contributed to increased agricultural productivity, the use of high yielding varieties of seeds of major crops increased as well. Over a period of 10 years during 1973-83, the use of improved varieties of seeds increased more than three times in the Punjab, whereas in the KPK’s, the quantity of improved varieties of seeds used during the same period doubled while the area under high yielding varieties of rice seeds stagnated in the KPK (the use of improved seeds is largely limited to farms with adequate canal water or assured tube well water) while in Punjab the area under high yield varieties of seeds increased to 89% for wheat and 95% for rice and cotton (Tables 16, 17).

Table – 16
WHEAT-BY MODE OF IRRIGATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sind</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Baluchistan (Area in ‘000’ hectares)</th>
<th>Pakistan (Area in ‘000’ hectares)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irri</td>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>3380.3</td>
<td>707.4</td>
<td>230.0</td>
<td>89.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unirri</td>
<td>1009.2</td>
<td>129.9</td>
<td>359.6</td>
<td>71.8</td>
<td>1570.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irri</td>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>3356.0</td>
<td>733.1</td>
<td>276.6</td>
<td>90.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unirri</td>
<td>860.3</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>418.3</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>1355.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irri</td>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>4062.5</td>
<td>982.7</td>
<td>298.7</td>
<td>110.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unirri</td>
<td>889.1</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>446.7</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>1457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irri</td>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>4586.5</td>
<td>1027.9</td>
<td>181.5</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unirri</td>
<td>361.7</td>
<td>92.4</td>
<td>149.5</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irri</td>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>5297.0</td>
<td>1125.2</td>
<td>362.7</td>
<td>106.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unirri</td>
<td>488.6</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>250.5</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irri</td>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>7092.1</td>
<td>1806.1</td>
<td>441.4</td>
<td>189.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unirri</td>
<td>821.4</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>369.4</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>1275.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Agricultural Statistics of Pakistan, 1980, G.O.P Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Co-operatives Food and Agriculture Division (Planning Unit), Islamabad, Table No. 3, pp. 7-8.
Without adequate and assured irrigation water, there is little opportunity for growing high value cash crops and/or high yielding cereals in the KPK, the province as a result lagged behind Punjab in high turnover of cash/food crops. The economy of the KPK is heavily dependent on agriculture; however the major barrier to agricultural development in the province has been limited availability of irrigation water and consequently limited use of other improved inputs. Barani areas are worst hit with rural poverty. The impact of the improved technology and improved inputs on agricultural production, in particular, food grains is beyond doubt but inequality of the impact was unabashedly clear, aggravating disparities and rural impoverishment particularly in KPK.

Table – 17

**COTTON**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sind</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Baluchistan</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Area in ‘000’ hectares)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avg:</td>
<td>1965-70</td>
<td>1268.7</td>
<td>422.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>1308.3</td>
<td>422.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>1384.0</td>
<td>464.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>1481.1</td>
<td>597.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sind</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Baluchistan</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Production in ‘000’ tones)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avg:</td>
<td>1965-70</td>
<td>358.1</td>
<td>133.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>396.3</td>
<td>145.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>344.4</td>
<td>168.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>481.6</td>
<td>246.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>(b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Agricultural Statistics of Pakistan, 1980, GOP, Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Co-operatives Food and Agriculture Division (Planning Unit), Islamabad, Table No. 12, pp. 29-30.

The state played a major role in initiating and sustaining the modernization process, not only was capital invested in public enterprises but capital accumulation was encouraged by providing subsidies and concessions. During the First and Second Five Year Plan Rs. 1,445 million institutional credit at the rate of Rs. 145 million a year was disbursed whereas during the period 1970-77 the rate of disbursement was Rs. 813 million. Between 1978 and 1985, Rs. 41,508 million was advanced at Rs. 5,188 million a year. This credit was for improved inputs tractors, tube wells, fertilizers, seeds but most of it was invested in Punjab and partly in Sind. The amount of outstanding loans by Punjab and Sind is significant indicator of investment in the ‘core’ of development process and minimal contribution to the periphery. Table 18 reflects insignificant capital provided to KPK for modernization of its agricultural lands, a clear reflection of its relegation to a peripheral role and hinterland province.

11 Ibid., pp. 162-163.
Table – 18
LOANS OUTSTANDING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rupees in Million</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sind</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Baluchistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3,537</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The benefits of the government’s agricultural inputs and credit subsidy programmes have accrued disproportionately to the Punjab (table 19) which in any case had better access to water, power and fertilizers. The system of support and subsidy led to transfer of resources to Punjab and Sind benefiting from the growth of agriculture and industry. KPK with a poor industrial base and a large rain fed agriculture sector remained marginal to the overall growth and development.

Table – 19

(APPROXIMATE TRANSFER OF SUBSIDIES) 1977–78

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% of total population</th>
<th>% of major crops rounded</th>
<th>Subsidy in Million rupees</th>
<th>% of subsidy received</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>640.2</td>
<td>64.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>289.3</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Input and price subsides to agriculture were rapidly rising, in 1980 subsidies accounted for ten percent of the GOP expenditure. Besides allocation of huge amount to a certain area, the discrepancy in actual utilization of that fund was amazing The utilization of allocation was twice the amount of actual allocation, meaning revised allocation of double the amount was made in case of Punjab and Sind but in case of KPK the utilization was half the actual amount, fifty percent of the amount was returned.12

The effect of national development policy was concentration in areas of dominance that played crucial role in the policy making of the country. The governance strata with Growth policy of trickle down effect obviously created disparity within regions as a concerted effort to enhance capital accumulation at rapid pace. The underdeveloped regions paid the price for such a growth oriented policy. It was a policy based on efficiency criteria which maximizes returns from investment as Mehbub Ul Haq had stated, “the heart of the growth problem lies in maximizing the creation of … surplus. It creates

further savings and investments leading to growth. Growth brings inequality, later when the economy has progressed, planners should worry about distribution of income.”

Planning options in Pakistan were thereby dictated by the demographic structure of the country, Hamza Alavi correctly pointed out the basis of regional disparity, “Punjab, the biggest and agriculturally the richest province, the political elite in Punjab has been able to direct the flow of national resource into their areas, which possessed some of the most highly developed irrigation facilities.”

Agriculture development not only emanates but is sustained too by the availability of water alone, all other inputs mechanization, tractorization, fertilization depend solely on accessibility of water. Water for irrigation is the essence of agricultural development; the KPK can be divided into three major zones from the standpoint of water resources and uses (a) the Kabul-Chitral Swat basin (b) the Kurram Kohat-Gomal Basin and (c) Hazara district. It is in the latter two zones that water disputes between the KPK and Punjab occurred. Punjab, as it is, has an abundant supply of water and yet it takes 50% of the water from the KPK in the Kurram-Kohat-Gamal Basin and 71.7% of the water supply from the Tarbela Dam (reservoir of water from the Kabul River).

Lands having most plentiful water have the highest cropping intensities and those with less adequate water supply have low cropping intensities, e.g. in a Swabi area at the foot of the upper Swat canal where the supply of water is quite inadequate, the cropping intensity is 110% but it is 170% in the Malakand Division of the same canal and 180% in the inundation area below Warsak where sufficient irrigation water is available.

The available irrigation water is not sufficient for obtaining adequate yield from land in the region. In order to obtain potential yields, the lands need more water, besides more water is required for the development of irrigation facilities for the Barani lands and for the reclamation of saline soils. The water that is available and can be made available is from the following water canals; Kabul, Chirtal, Swat, Kunhar, Kurrum, Gomal and Tochi. The water of River Indus is the most contentious issue between the provinces, various commissions were appointed to decide this crucial matter. There was the Anderson Commission in 1945, then there was the Rao Commission; after that was a Fazal Akbar Commission and the Chief Justice Commission in 1975.

Their reports are confidential state documents and therefore not available for research. The situation however, according to the General Manager of Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA), for the KPK is not very encouraging. The allocation and utilization of water from the Indus is far less in the KPK as compared to Punjab and Sind. There is 13.25 million acres of cultivable land in the NWFP out of which 4.75 million acres is cultivated, 1.52 million acres is irrigated and 1.71 million acres can be irrigated. The constraint is water availability. At present water utilization in the KPK is 6 MAF (million acre feet), whereas the requirement is 22 MAF this requirement can be fulfilled from the total water available from Indus which is 72 MAF. The requirement of NWFP is not very large and can be easily met if the water is allocated justly and without parochial consideration.15

KABUL CHITRAL SWAT BASIN

This basin comprises the entire drainage area of the Kabul River above its confluence with Indus at Attock, excepting the portion lying in Afghanistan. The major tributaries being Swat, the Pujkara, the Chitral and the Bara. The basin area lies within the Malakand and Peshawar Division. In this basin about 2 million acres of cultivable land is available out of which 1.0 million acres receive irrigation water. The area now Barani, (rain fed), but irrigable is 0.3 million acres and the remaining 0.7 million acres is non-irrigable. According to WAPDA estimate the average income from irrigated land is less than Rs. 600/ acres which can be raised to Rs. 900/ acres on 75% of the land if provided with sufficient water (along with other inputs i.e more fertilizers, better seeds, etc.) The income from 0.6 million acres of Barani land is currently estimated at Rs. 130/ acre and can be raised to Rs. 800 acre if provided with full irrigation water along with other essential inputs. The average annual discharge of the basin streams is 24 million acre feet (MAF). The irrigation requirement of ultimate development is 5 MAF. The balance of 19 MAF is surplus to the irrigation requirement of the basin,16 the conservation of water resources can stabilize the flow of water in the streams and can augment the Indus supplies in winter. Since available water in the basin is more than enough to serve the cultivable land, all areas as far as possible a can be provided with a full water supply.

15 Interview with the author, May 20, 1985, Peshawar.
**KURRAM-KOHAT-GOMAL BASIN**

This basin is located on the right bank of the Indus River, comprising the entire D.I. Khan Division and part of Peshawar division, i.e. the whole of the Kurram Agency and a major portion of the Kohat district. About 2.9 million acres of the cultivable land is available in the basin, 2.4 million acres in D.I. Khan and .5 million acres in the Kohat district. The intensity of cropping is 101.8% and of land use is 44.5%, if the Gomal-Zam project is completed and D.I. Khan receives 10,700 cusecs of water from Chasma Right Bank Canal, it would irrigate 1.4 million acres with 70 to 80% intensity. This would be enough to make KPK self-sufficient in food grains.

However, the project has been halted since 1972 and government is spending Rs. 700 thousand annually for its upkeep, Rs. 2 million for services, 60 million is spent on infra-structure and Rs. 1.2 million for the upkeep of 8 platoons of Frontier crops and Frontier constabulary to watch the infra-structure. All this wasteful expenditure is due to disagreement on the division of water between the KPK and Punjab. The Frontier wants 10,700 cusecs of water for itself plus whatever may be given to it for supply to the neighbouring Punjab district of Dera Ghazi khan. With these 10,7000 cusecs of water (including 500 cusecs already flowing into the Paharpur canal) nearly 1.4 million acres would be irrigated in D.I. Khan. Punjab, on the other hand, aggress only to 5,000 cusecs of water including 2,000 cusecs intended for the Punjab district of Dera-Ghazi Khan, which leaves NWFP with only 3,000 cusecs of water. So, instead of the hoped for 1.4 million acres, 250 thousand acres or one-fourth of the total would be brought under irrigation.

Askar Ali Shah, an eminent frontier journalist, sheds the real problem in the Gomal-zam project. According to him:-

“Those who have brought things to this pass have taken good care that the Frontier is not able to drive home its view point essentially enough now or at some later stage. The Chasma barrage, both ends, have been shown as being in the Punjab and during the One Unit days when the Frontier had no voice the boundary pillar was fixed some two miles away from the barrage on D.I. Khan. This means that the head works for Chasma Right Bank canal will be controlled by the Punjab. There are grave doubts being expressed at the situation so created. The claim of Punjab for the exclusive possession of the barrage is being questioned particularly in view of the age old convention of midstream being the boundary. But at the moment at least this privileged position so acquired by that province makes the Frontier’s case for the remodeling of the head for Chasma

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17 Ibid, p. 106, Table 25.
18 Khyber Mail, Peshawar, August 7, 1973, p. 3.
19 Maulana Mufti Mohammad, former Chief Minister of the NWFP, Khyber Mail, Peshawar, July 29, 1972, p. 3. Arbab Sikander Khan Khalil, former Governor of the NWFP, Khyber Mail, Peshawar, July 2-8, 1972.
Right Bank Canal entirely dependent on accommodation on the part of the Punjab and this is where the crunch comes.\textsuperscript{20}

With the coming into power by Z. A. Bhutto, the PPP government decided to allocate 7,500 causes of water to the KPK instead of 10,700 causes as desired by the NWFP government. The KPK government (NAP-JUI) refused to accept such an allocation. A commission was thus formed under the Chief Justice of Pakistan. However, before any decision could be reached by the commission, the PPP government was overthrown and martial law imposed. The allocation of water by the military regime was most unfair. The KPK received 2,500 causes for its district of Dera Ismail Khan and the rest was allocated to Punjab.\textsuperscript{21}

Vast tracts of potentially productive lands on Right Bank of Indus Reiver in Dera Ismail Khan (D.I. Khan) and Dera Ghazi Khan (D.G.Khan) are lying uncultivated. A limited amount of water is available through a few perennial streams; the largest is the Gomal River (100 cusecs) and the smallest being Chowdan-zam (30 cusecs). Besides these streams, Paharpur canal covers the culturable cultivated acres (C.C.A) of 104,000 and Massu wah inundation canals covers C.C.A 20,000. Indus River and suleiman range, about 800,000 acres is cultivated (177,000 acres) from the two canals and 6, 23,000 is barani rain fed). According to Chashma Right Bank Canal PC-I,\textsuperscript{22} it will irrigate a total of 13, 68,000 acres, 10,50,000 acres in D.I.Khan and 3,18,000 acres in D.G.Khan (P.II), with discharge capacity of 4879 cusecs of water from the canal head (P.I) The canal will be completed in three phases, the last phase to be completed in June 1989 (P.II). In the first phase however according to Karim Khan, General Manager, WAPDA, KPK and Punjab will equally share the water, i.e. 50% each. The KPK will receive 1.3 million acre feet (MADF) in the lift gravity stage which is the first stage.\textsuperscript{23} TheKPK, besides receiving only half of its total requirement from its own water, will also pay a heavy price of losing cultivated land for the construction of the dam and will lose considerably more land to


\textsuperscript{21}In reference to the Chasma Right Bank Canal, Iftikhar Gilani accused the National Awami Party of not accepting 7, 5000 cusecs from the PPP government but submitting to the martial law regime’s allocation of 2,500 cusecs. It seems that in making such an accusation, Iftikhar Gilani ignored the fundamental distinction between a civilian government and a military dictatorship. Under the so-called civilian rule (1972-77), the peripheral provinces considered it justifiable to struggle for their rights, whereas the imposition of Martial Law debared all such rights, Martial Law orders’ were simply to be accepted. Iftikhar Gilani was the Secretary-General of the PPP, NWFP branch, Interview, January 9, 1980, Peshawar.


\textsuperscript{23}Interview with the Author, May 20, 1985.
water logging and salinity because of the high water table of CRBC. A vicious circle in ‘The division of Indus Waters’ continues to be the sore point between the four provinces, according to engineer Mumtaz Ali Zafar.

“Arbab Mohammad Jehangir Khan Chief Minister of NWFP has very categorically and solemnly assured the elected MPAs and through them the people of the region that there will be no bargaining on the “due share” of NWFP in the Indus-water. This assurance is most welcome but unfortunately the issue is developing in a direction which needs to be checked. The late Mufti Mahmood and Mr. Wali Khan demanded 10,800 cusecs whilst Mr. Bhutto was ready to sanction 7,700 cusecs. In the regime of General Ayub Khan, the Indus Basin treaty was signed and Chasma Barrage was constructed as a part of this treaty. At that time the Government considered NWFP’s rough share as 5000 cusecs and accordingly got a head regulator constructed in the body of Chasma Barrage and this head regulator of 5,000 cusecs was meant exclusively for Chasma Right Bank Canal of NWFP. At the moment CRBC which is under construction, is designed to carry only 2000 cusecs for NWFP. “Now which of the four quantum’s mentioned above is the “due share” of NWFP? It would be agreed that people of the regime are pinning their hopes, obviously on the highest i.e. 10,800 cusecs. Anything less than this would cause tremendous disappointment. Also CRBC which is being constructed for 2000 cusecs will have to be demolished, rebuilt and remodeled to make more water available to NWFP. This would be a cynical joke with this poor nation which can ill afford such waste. Will chief Minister take upon himself to mentally prepare the people of this region for the share which is going to less than their “expectation”? At the stage of announcement of “due Share”, the shock would be unbearable and could take an ugly political turn.”

Punjab has thus thriven on the Green Revolution because of the abundance of water, whereas the KPK is deprived of even its legitimate share. The irony of the situation is that the KPK is denied irrigation water and then condemned as food deficit area dependent on the Punjab. A vicious circle is created from which the KPK is unable to emerge.

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HAZARA DISTRICT

In Hazara 93 thousand acres receive irrigation water. On the average 1,954.4 thousand acres are available for cultivation in the district, of these 655.9 thousand acres are cultivated and the remaining 1,027.5 thousand acres are cultivable waste. The intensity of cropping and land use are 100.6% to 52.6% respectively. The completed irrigation projects are benefiting 6.23 thousand acres of land, another six project (excluding tarbella Dam) would benefit 55.8 thousand acres. The most important project, Khanpur Dam, is estimated to irrigate 129.3 thousand acres of which 36.5 thousand acres is in the KPK in Hazara district and 92.8 thousand acres in Punjab, Cambelpur (73,600 acres) and Rawalpindi (19,200 acres) districts.26

Khanpur and Tarbella Dams are reservoirs for Indus water joined by Kabul River at Attock. Tarbella dam has the reserve storage of over II million acre feet which is equal to nearly 2 ½ months mean discharge of the Indus River. This along with other existing water resources in the KPK is enough to irrigate the cultivable land in the province.

Although the KPK shares 75% of its water with Punjab and Sind but the canals intended to irrigate the KPK have been neglected and the turbines required to generate electricity in the KPK have also not been installed. Whereas water flow to Punjab and Sind has been unhampered and replacement works on Indus waters has also been concentrated in Punjab and Sind. Although the KPK as an upper riparian state has a primary and legitimate right to the use of reservoir’s water, as India did in 1955 by stopping the waters of three eastern rivers to Pakistan on the basis of being an upper riparian state. The KPK, on the other hand, is not getting even 25% of the reservoir’s water, thus having a raw deal in D.I.Khan on Gomal Zam project as well as the Tarbella Dam project. The KPK government declared on 29th July 1972, the “Prospects” of provincialization of resource including Tarbella-Dam to get its due share, the KPK Government was immediately declared by the National Trust papers as secessionist and reminiscent of Mujib-ur-Rahman’s Six Points.27

Incalculable damage has been done to the KPK economy and society due to the construction of the Tarbella Dam. The KPK has not received its due share either in water or electric power; moreover the best land of the KPK in Mardan and Swabi has been rendered uncultivable due to water logging and salinity. One of the biggest Canadian

project in Pakistan SCARP (Salinity Control and Land Reclamation Project) is concentrated in Mardan and Swabi, for the reclamation of the land damaged by Tarbella Dam. Besides damage to the economy is the constant threat to the people of the KPK from the erosion of the dam and caving in of the structure, letting loose floods in the KPK land. This well known phenomenon (from the point of view of engineers) is called the “Tarbella syndroma” Tarbella was not a suitable site for the construction of the dam due to foundation rock of sandstone and shale overlain by 60 feet of porous alluvium. Sandstone is porous and proven to erosion and seepage; there is thus the problem of silt formation and accumulation. The life of Tarbella Dam is shortened considerably. Despite the problems of Tarbella, the Government plans to construct yet another dam at Kalabagh. This site presents the same problems of silt accumulation, foundation rock of sandstone, massive evacuation of the KPK people and repeating the KPK history, it is most probable the dam will be built at Kalabagh, and the reason for doing so is well explained by Dr. Mubashir Hassan, an Engineer and finance minister under Z.A Bhutto:

“I suggest that there exists a conspiracy among the landed interests of Punjab and Sind, as one existed at the time when Chasma Reservoir and Tarbella Dam were completed in the seventies, to divide up the water among the existing beneficiaries, depriving the poorer and unirrigated areas of the country”.28

It is strange logic to expect great magnanimity from the KPK in return for Punjab’s fetishism for water. Punjab cannot part with 5,000 cusecs of water from Chasma Right Bank canal and yet utilizes 50% of Tarbella Dams water. Part of the explanation of the Green Revolution in Punjab is fetishism of water, strongly supported by the water and power Development Authority (WAPDA) of Pakistan.29

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Conclusion

Our analysis of the KPK enables us to conclude that it has actually been underdeveloped as a result of the national economic growth pattern. Pakistan due to its integration in the capitalist system under colonial and post colonial period followed policies of rapid accumulation of capital and in order to do so continuously revolutionized its means of production through mechanization, tractorization. Moreover cheap labour and raw material and continuous technological innovation enabled safe margin of profit accumulation. Unequal economic development thus resulted in centralization of capital and concentration of resources for the development of core areas and the reproduction of the capitalist system and the hegemonic class.

While discussing the unequal development in Pakistan, Dr. Nurul Islam Mian considered not only the industrialists and capitalists but also the government of Pakistan as equally responsible, according to him, Pakistan, as a result of its mixed economy (state capitalism) controlled not only the public but also private capital.30 The flow of private capital was very much directed by the planning Commission of Pakistan either through its inducements (providing permits, licenses, tax holidays etc.) or by denying any such facilities. In the absence of affective representation from the KPK, the planning commission dominated by the professional elite from Punjab and Karachi would further aggravate the regional problem in Pakistan. It is true that the government of Pakistan did nothing to alleviate the regional problem in fact it aggravated it; but representation from the KPK in the existing state structure could eliminate the regional problem is beyond the logic of capital accumulation. The role of the state in a purely capitalist structure or in mixed economy at the present juncture is to subsidize private capital. Projects which are huge and expensive, e.g. building roads and railways, providing market and communication facilities or research and development projects, are undertaken by the state to facilitate the expansion of private capital.31 Unlike classical capitalism, the separation of private and public spheres is no longer required, now capitalism requires the added responsibility by the state of an economic nature which has emerged in the form of welfare or warfare state. What the “individual capitalists” cannot undertake by virtue of huge expenditures involved is done by the state. This is done not for the benefit of the individual capitalist but for “total capital” which is the sum of all individual capitalists so as to reproduce the “Capital in general”.32 The additional function of the state in the economic sphere, therefore, despite effective and proportional representation from the

30 Interview with Dr. Nurul Islam Main, Director, Board of Economic Enquiry, Peshawar, December 24, 1979, Peshawar.
underdeveloped region, would be geared towards the benefits of the hegemonic group and the already developed regions. The hegemonic group in Pakistan ensured its control over the revenue source through the Supreme Law of the Land i.e. the constitution (as explained in chapter three). The KPK’s main sources of revenue i.e. water, power/electricity, forests, industry, various taxes are controlled by the federal government. The central/provincial tension will continue and the regional / national question will dominate social formation of Pakistan as long as the economy of the KPK remains peripheral to the development process. The crux of the matter and essence of the Centre/Periphery relation is succinctly summed up by Fawad ul Haq in the following statement:

“Chief Minister of the NWFP stated that he would never compromise on the rights of his province even at the cost of his Chief Ministership. I would like to point out the share of NWFP in various fields of the economy and ask a few questions?

1. The share of NWFP in import and export is 9.76% in the total import and export figures.
2. The total advances to the industrial/commercial sectors of NWFP is 1.03% against the total advances by commercial banks in the country.
3. The advance of PICIC to NWFP are merely 0.75% against their total advances in the last five years.
4. The IDBP contribution is slightly better and has come up to approximately 8% in the last five to six years.
5. There are 38 corporations in the country and all of them have set up various industries worth billions of rupees. How many have been set up in this province and what is the percentage of NWFP in the total employment of 65,000 in these corporations?
6. The total revenue collection from the NWFP in the shape of custom duty, sales tax and excise duty from various industrial/commercial units is Rs. 200 crores while the income tax and gains tax received by the federal Government is extra. How much of this amount is spent in NWFP?
7. The revenue from Tarbela Dam, Warsak, Jabban Darghai is approximately Rs.600 crores per years. Where does this money go?
8. Similar, the wealth of minerals and forests goes to the Federal Government. What percentage of this revenue is spent in NWFP?
9. What is the share of NWFP in Indus Water?

It is high time that the provincial Chief Minister should discuss the above issues point by point with the federal Government and settle them once for all. The total revenue of NWFP collected by Federal Government agencies is approximately 1000 crores out of which NWFP was given last year only 130 crores i.e. only 13%. If it is increased to 200 crores i.e. 20% this year, it will still not be acceptable to the people of NWFP. Will the provincial Chief Minister take a stand and ask for 80% i.e. Rs. 800 crore for this year?”

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LABOUR FORCE

UN-UNDEREMPLOYMENT OF LABOUR FORCE

There are two kinds of emigration, one is from rural to urban areas and the other is from underdeveloped to developed regions. Since emigration is the last indicator that we have used for uneven economic development of an area as an indicator of permanent underemployment and extensive unemployment of the labour force. Both these suggest a stagnation or deterioration of the economy as well as low material condition of the indigenous people. To offset this trend emigration takes place. Thus, Karachi today is the biggest Pakhtun city in the world.34

Why do men emigrate? According to E. J. Hobsbawn, “the stimulus may have been overwhelmingly economic…. A large reservoir of people whose conditions were so unsatisfactory as to make them consider any alternative that promised improvement, even at the cost of uprooting themselves…… 35 He further relates this to the development of world capitalist economy, which directly or indirectly creates significant flows of international (or intra-national) migration, some of which belonged to the earlier period of the rise of capitalism36. Emigrant is basically an “economic man” and this mobility from rural to urban centers, if it does not bring about economic benefit; he immediately seeks emigration to a developed region. In most cases, however, the two stages are integrated and emigrants move from rural or traditional agriculture to developed industrialized centers. 37 We are not concerned with the “professionals” who constitute a different category of emigrants; the “brain drain” from the Third World or the underdeveloped areas to the developed world is not the issue here. Our concern is the emigration of the unskilled labour from backward agricultural areas which provides the reserve army of labour for the industrial centers.

In the societies which are integrated in the world capitalist system but are in its early phase, the bulk of emigrants are the landless peasants or the agricultural proletariat who serve as bonded labour. For them emigration is freedom from incessant poverty and from the economic dependence on the landlord and the money lenders. The next bloc of

36 Ibid., p. viii.
emigrants is the poor peasants who do own some land but are not economically independent. They have to borrow capital for the purpose of cultivation and unable to pay heavy rents demanded by the government or the landlord. Flight from this oppression leads to emigration. The main factors therefore, for emigration in semi-capitalist societies are according to P. Saha (a) absence of industries, (b) feudal land relations (c) low fertility and productivity of soil and (d) failing to find employment. The level of development of an area can be assessed by the percentage of rural and urban population, the patterns of emigration and immigration, the division of the labour force agricultural and non-agricultural sectors.

The nature of unemployment problem in Pakistan is one of under-employment defined in the broadest sense as mis-matched employment. To some extent the under-employment relates to insufficient hours worked by sections of the labour force, the large emigration of Pakistanis has reduced the open unemployment problem; indeed, it has led to shortage of labor, particularly of skilled labour in many sectors.

Labour force participation rate in Pakistan is as low as 30 per cent. The male participation rate is 27.49 per cent in relation to total population and 52.08 per cent of the male population. The participation rate for female is 2.02 per cent in relation to total population. It is estimated that the labour force is increasing at an annual growth rate of 3.2 per cent. The employment growth rate is 2.9 per cent per annum. The employment growth in different sectors, however, varies from 2.5 per cent in agriculture to 3.9 per cent in wholesale and retail trade. The measurement of unemployment is difficult and complex because of the seasonal variation in the employment sector, Labour force is faced with open unemployment in urban areas and under-employment mostly in rural areas. Open unemployment was estimated around 2.0 per cent, underemployment or disguised unemployment in agriculture was estimated at over two million workers. The informal sectors of the economy was also abound with persons working extremely long hours at low income returns. Agriculture being the main employment source yet the manufacturing

43 Ibid., p. 5.
sector growth rate was estimated at 8.1% and agriculture at 4.2% during 1977-81.\textsuperscript{44} The growth of manufacturing sector further increased to 9.2% during 1981-82 which reflected the state’s complete indifference to welfare of people in general and alleviation of poverty by enhancing employment opportunities in sector which is largest sector of economy in absorbing the labour force.

The policies followed by the state of generating capital required to finance rapid economic growth, this policy of growth first and distribution later reinforced existing inequalities. Although growth is a necessary condition for the elimination of absolute poverty and inequalities in general but it is not a sufficient condition as Growth under unequal distribution of income and assets aggravates inequalities. Moreover the concentration of factors of production (capital, labour and machinery/raw material) in core areas creates pockets of affluence and extreme poverty, ghettos.

The most important component of the economy is the industrial sector; it raises incomes by providing higher productive employment and also creates forward and backward linkages with other sectors so the labour-intensive methods with lower cost per worker, rather than capital-intensive method generate greater employment opportunities. However the state policies of modernization and capital intensive large industries proved the ineffectiveness of the industrial sector to perform this task but at the same time rapid mechanization of agriculture rendered it ineffective in providing jobs to growing labour force. In terms of employment the expanding industrial sector employed only3% of the economy’s labour though its share of the domestic income was 20%, what was even more disturbing was that while over the six-year period 1976-81 the value of production of the large-scale industrial structure tripled the number of workers employed by this sector actually decreased.\textsuperscript{45} The labour force for the year 1980-81 was estimated at 24.45 million out of the total estimated population of 82.49 million.

The agriculture sector, which accommodates around 52% of the labour force in the country and 80% of the labour force in KPK (15% by service sector, self employed and 5% by industry) could not be expected to absorb larger number as the increasing population exerted greater pressure on the land. The increase in the labour force in the rural areas was accompanied by strong pressure of not just unemployment but underemployment. Moreover the distribution and pattern of ownership of land, cropping

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., p. 11.
pattern, extent of mechanization, intensity of land use, weather conditions, etc., strongly influenced the demand for labor. Mechanization of the large farms and resumption of land by the larger landowners resulted in rapid displacement of labour and agrarian poverty. The economy faced greater pressures in the form of high growth rates of population with the continuing new entrants at an increasing rate, a better educated labour force, higher dependency ratios and rapid rates of urbanization. Migration of the landless to the urban areas for employment made the labour market even more imperfect, the economy of the KPK is more than 90% rural as compared to 78% in Pakistan. Since the non-agricultural sector is not developed, the agricultural sector absorbs 60% of the active labour force. There is, however, high underemployment as well as unemployment in the region keeping in mind that active labour force constitutes only 42% of the total available labour force of the KPK. Those employed in the rural sector on the average work for 120 days or 712 hours during a year. Accepting that 8 hours/day or 2, 500 work hours/person per annum according to Abdul Matin constituted full employment, the disguised unemployment in the region was to the extent of 72%; 76% in the agricultural and 69% in non-agricultural sectors.46

The annual labour input per acre is, on the average, 201 hours or 25 week days. It is 432 hours in the irrigated fields, 160 hours in mountainous fields and 104 hours in dry field.47 This is low labour intensity. In the face of such a huge labour surplus, this low labour intensity can only be explained by noting that even the most labour-intensive agricultural process requires some minimum amount of capital per labour. Lack of capital makes the available labour surplus and therefore a need for emigration to the areas where capital/labour ratio enables the labourer to realize his potential. If there was enough capital in the region, labour could have been used intensively, thus the exodus of labour to other regions would not have been so large generating surplus within the KPK economy.

In term of interprovincial migration the post-independence period indicated a different pattern of migration; KPK was losing through net-migration to other provinces of Pakistan. During 1951, 1961 and 1973, the maximum gain from net-migration was in

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46 A. Matin, “Resource Base and Economic Progress of the Peshawar Valley”. Board of Economic Enquiry, Peshawar, 1972, p. 36. According to Abdul Mateen’s estimates, about 15% of the total civilian labour of 3.6 million was jobless in the KPK. The rural under-employment was not less than 16%. Educated unemployment stood at 6000,000 out of which 60% were matriculates. Thus about 30% of the labour force made no contribution to the gross provincial product. In numerical terms 1.8 million people came out to be surplus.

favour of Sind and Punjab. The flow of out-migration from KPK towards Sind and Punjab is and was mainly for employment purposes due to the high rate of industrialization coupled with urbanization in these provinces. The metropolitan city of Karachi in Sind especially attracts much manpower from northern parts of the country (the relatively poorer Barani areas of KPK). It is also clear that the direction of migrants from KPK is mainly towards urban areas of the country, particularly Sind province (97 percent) out-migrants. The flow of migrants to Pakistan’s cities from KPK and the northern district of the Punjab is mainly from “Barani” districts (areas of limited and irregular rainfall, the pattern of inter-provincial migration during 1965-73 reflected that KPK was losing its population through net migration. As expected, the major gain (59 percent) was in Sind, followed by the Punjab which gained 38 percent, while Baluchistan got a small share of 3 percent from KPK. The twin problem of limited and active labour force is un/underemployment and emigration to the other provinces. This represents a typical situation of lack of opportunities in the KPK (underdeveloped area) and the flow of skilled and unskilled manpower to developing regions. Surplus labour from the underdeveloped regions immigrates to the developed regions to produce surplus value there (unskilled labour from the KPK forms the major portion of industrial proletariat in Karachi and Punjab).

The inter-provincial migration estimates for the post-independence period suggest that KPK lost its population through net migration. The loss in 1951 was to the point of 140268 emigrants, 70580 to Punjab which constituted 50.32% of the total emigrants, 57290 to Sind which made up 40.84% and 12398 constituting 8.84% to Baluchistan. In 1961 it increased to 265993 and 443113 in 1973. The bulk of emigration was to Punjab 43.76%, Sind 49.76% and Baluchistan 6.49% in 1961 whereas in 1971 the trend further changed and Sind gained 52.89%, Punjab 43.79% and Baluchistan 3.32%. The interprovincial migration estimates contributed to a loss of 849374 through net migration during 1951-73. The Punjab and Sind provinces gained from the KPK throughout, the direction of out-migrants was to the urban areas of these provinces, particularly the highly industrialized and commercialized cities. Sind gained 52.89% migrants from KPK, followed by Punjab 43.79% whereas Baluchistan had a minor share of 3.32%.

49 *Ibid.*, Table 3.18, p. 111.
The twelve fast growing cities during sixties and seventies with growth rate higher than the national population growth rate of 3.7% per annum were Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Wah Cantt, Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Multan, Sukkur, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur and Sargodha. Amongst these cities the largest number of out migrants from KPK went to Karachi (2 million) followed by Rawalpindi (0.05 million) and Lahore (32 thousand) whereas the rest of the cities accumulated 2 to 19% of the total internal migrants.  

The average annual investment and employment in the pre-one unit period was higher as Table 6.1 presents an overall picture for the period 1949-82 for the KPK. It is observed that a significant decline occurred over the 14 years of “one unit”. And that after the restoration of the provincial status the economic activity was generated to some extent and employment opportunities enhanced comparatively through the 1971-82 period. The average annual employment increased from 939 during ‘One Unit’ to 1482 during 1971-82 and the number of employment increased from 13150 to 17786 which is considerable improvement in job market in KPK considering eschewed economy of the KPK. The 248 registered industrial units in the province provided employment opportunities to about 30,000 persons, which was equal to 62 percent of the total employment in the industrial sector of the province.

The core/periphery phenomenon exists at regional level as well similar to international and national level. Peshawar, the core of KPK and its regional headquarter gained 27 percent of its population from other districts. A major contribution to this gain was made by district Bannu. Peshawar district is highly urbanized where all major educational institutions and government offices are located, which attract in-migrants from other districts of the province. The highest numbers of in-migrants from FATA (50 percent) were received by district Peshawar, while Mardan district received the second major share (41 percent). The limited labour market in the KPK exerted immense pressure on either emigration or self employment. The high proportion of self-employed and unpaid family helpers constitute about 74 percent of all employed persons in KPK indicative of an excessive pressure on source of livelihood, almost one fourth of the employed persons were reported as unpaid family helpers.

51 Ibid., p. 194.
55 Ibid., pp. 74–75.
Conclusion

Labour is not merely one of the factors of production, it is also an end; therefore, the effect of employment policies needs to be measured in terms of the different ways in which employment impacts the lives of the workers. Elimination of poverty is the fundamental goal of any economic policy therefore, we need to look at factors which affect labour demand and supply and not just the functioning of the market. A state's economic growth is a means rather than an end itself, the objective of growth is basically to improve the living standard of all the segments of population and to enhance a person’s skills to fulfill the basic needs by earning a minimum level of income. The government’s ‘growth’ may be measured by per capita income or supply of goods but the level of ‘development’ of a state is measured by the human and social development index; the level of education and literacy, provision of health and social services and above all the realization of potential through gainful employment. The above analysis clearly unravels the dearth of economic and social opportunities in the KPK and consequently flight of an important factor of production (manpower/labour) from the province, depriving the province and its people of generating capital accumulation and its continuous reproduction. Lack of such opportunities and unequal development process bears grave consequences not only for the federation but its people as well. Human and social security may be the best armour for national security.
CHAPTER – VII
UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT IN THE INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN SECTOR

INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

By whatever measure we may try to evaluate development, Industrialization is considered as enhancing progress. It is essential not only for economic development but also for political development. For Max Weber, the spirit of capitalism is a product of the protestant ethic, which is a necessary corollary to a rational democratic political order.¹ Capitalist development is therefore, not only a higher stage of economic development but also that of political development. No wonder S. M. Lipset lists it as one of the three “social requisites of democracy.”² Industrialization scores high even for K. Marx. It constitutes the fourth epoch in the development of human history, beginning with tribalism, communualism, feudalism, capitalism and finally, communism.³ Mao Tse Tung was equally aware of the importance of industrial development. He lists it as the first of his Ten Great Relationships.⁴

There is, however, some controversy as to how much industrial capital contributes to “development”, albeit it undoubtedly enhances growth. As discussed earlier, industrial capitalism does not contribute to development in the periphery, in fact it generates the dualism of centre/periphery, metropolis/satellite, developed/underdeveloped areas not only at the international level but equally so within each state.

Uneven development in the capitalist system can be traced back to some of its fundamental characteristics. First, the ability of the labourer to sell his labour power by separating the producer from the means of production,. Secondly, the means of production are concentrated in monopoly form in a single social class. Thirdly, there is the production of surplus value, through absolute (long hours) or relative (less wages) exploitation of the working class. Unequal development is, thus a result of internationalization and accumulation of capital on global scale. The centralization of capital to avert the tendency of the average rate of profit to fall by importing cheap labour and raw material from the periphery, renders the need for internationalism or nationalism (as opposed to

regionalism), greater than ever. The centralization of capital is not only in terms of class but also spatially in terms of regions. The dictates of efficiency require that factors of production move to the areas where capital/labour ratio is highest. The development of capitalism is everywhere a development of regional inequalities. As S. Amin puts it,

“The theory of accumulation on a world scale is the theory of relations between the centre and the periphery… thus at the centre growth is development, that is, it has integrating effect, in the periphery growth is not development for its effect is to disarticulate. Strictly speaking growth in the periphery is development of underdevelopment … Each country has created its own underdeveloped country within its own borders…. The revival of regionalist movements in our time can be understood only against this background.”5

The Importance of Industrialization in Economic growth to raise the income levels through the use of modern technology and the development of a sizable industrial base is undeniable. Though increase in industrial production and incomes does create a demand for industrial goods and can contribute to industrial growth, this self generated demand cannot set into motion an independent, self maintained, self-reinforcing process of industrial growth.

In Pakistan the policies of the fifties and sixties were designed to promote rapid industrialization through the establishment of large-scale industry under a concretely laid out plan of import substitution. The policy measures adopted were; high tariff barriers, availability of cheap capital, substantial external inflows (aid), an overvalued exchange rate, restrictions on issue of import licenses, etc. The result was creation of an industrial sector which was capital intensive due to the availability of finance at concessional rates and an overvalued exchange rate. It failed to create employment opportunities and was inefficient but highly profitable. The lack of competition because of import bans and very high import tariffs provided monopolistic control over the domestic market with narrow consumer base. The concentration of wealth in limited strata was the outcome of growth oriented policy.

During the fifties and the sixties the government adopted the policy of ‘Growth first and Redistribution later’. This policy was based on the premises that capital accumulation was possible because the rich had higher propensities to save and so additional incomes saved by them would contribute to productive capital formation. Rapid accumulation was required to finance rapid economic growth. The policy of growth (accumulation) first and distribution (equity, welfare) later failed as the rich consumed most of the generated surplus. Rapid economic growth promoted by the state

accrued to the dominant elites; the pattern of growth only reinforced existing inequalities of ownership of productive assets in terms of class and regions. Consequently of the total value added in the manufacturing sector during 1980-81, 48% was added in Sind (of which 67% was in Karachi and 8% in Hyderabad). The share of KPK was 8.5%, (of which 56.6% was in Peshawar, 23% in Mardan and 16% in Abbotabad). Capitalist accumulation creates core/peripheries, centre/hinterlands between states, within states and within regions as well.

The disparity initiated and anticipated by the government was mentioned in policy statement: ‘The sanctioning procedure for new projects has been streamlined and tax holidays for some areas have been announced to induce private industry to locate in the lesser developed areas, particularly in Baluchistan and some areas of NWFP’. The outcome of the policy in alleviating the disparity had no effect, emphasis on large scale industry continued to the detriment of economies of scale. The implementation of the industrial development programme was expected to result in a 12 % per annum growth in large scale manufacturing and 10 % per annum growth in industry as a whole during the Fifth Five Year Plan period (1978-83). The Government of Pakistan, decided to give tax rebates or concessions in excise duties and import duties to 11 industries as a part of a plan to ensure a speedy economic recovery. These industries included mainly Textile, Acrylic fibre and some others (PVC; Shock-absorbers; Nuts, bolts and wire nails). Thus due to excessive protection the possibilities of import substitution in clothing, textile, cement, beverages, paper and cement were exhausted. The industrial structure because of the nature of protection accorded to it and failure of the industrial licensing procedures and other controls did not succeed in preventing the establishment of production capacities in excess of requirement, there were far too many manufacturing units operating at uneconomic scales of production rendering them inefficient which was the case in KPK especially in textile industry rendering heavy losses. The large scale manufacturing sector continued to grow at the expense of small labour saving industry and agriculture particularly in most of rainfed areas. The annual growth rate estimated at 8.1% for manufacturing and 4.2 % for agriculture during 1977-81 provided stark contrast with their comparable levels of 2.8 % and 1.6 % during 1970-77. The commodity producing sector recorded an increase of 6.0 % in 1980-81 while the services sector grew by 5.4 % in 1980-81, the growth of manufacturing sector increased by 9.2 % during the year 1981-82. Such a rapid industrial growth was region specific to Punjab and Sindh,

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8 Ibid., p. 324.
more than 85% of public sector investment was in Sind and Punjab with 13% in KPK and Baluchistan. The source of income is a reflection of the stage of development of an economy, if the main source of provincial revenue is agriculture, the economy is in the nascent stage of development; if it is service sector, the economy is a dependent one and highly unstable too; if the source of revenue is manufacturing sector then the economy is in a higher stage of development depending of course whether the manufacturing sector is dominated by the capital goods or consumer goods industry. Agriculture contributed 40% of the Gross provincial product (GPP) to KPK economy during 1980-81 whereas manufacturing accounted for only 4.5% of the GPP, the rest 49% was contributed by service sector. This trend was continuum of policies followed during fifties and sixties, the main source of provincial revenues in the KPK during sixties too was the service sector 48%, agriculture 41% and manufacturing sector contributed only 11%; it was a discouraging trend for the principal sources of revenue. 80% of the labour force too was employed by the agriculture manufacturing sector contributed 3% to the employment in the KPK (Table 1). The socio-economic condition revealed that the KPK became a hinterland province by virtue of the Growth model. The KPK an underdeveloped province with per capita income just 58% that of the Punjab in 1981-82 was no different than the per capita income of the KPK during seventies which was Rs. 360, lowest of the four provinces with Sind at Rs 855, Punjab Rs 614 and Baluchistan at Rs 455 in 1974-75. The state of industry in the KPK can be assessed from the fact that before independence there were in total 16 industrial units of which only one (Frontier Sugar Mill) was in the large-scale category. The rest (printing presses, ice storages, food processing, soap factories, brick kilns etc.) were in the small or medium scale category. During the period 1947-56 (prior to One Unit) some industrialization took place in the province of KPK, 47 manufacturing units were established in the KPK, of the established units 14 were in large-scale manufacturing while the remaining were in medium and small scale. However, it was during 1957-70 with the creation of ‘One Unit’ that KPK lost its identity and its due share in industrial and agricultural sectors of the country and the province. Karachi gained eminence as the central capital and Lahore as the provincial capital of West Pakistan, the flow of capital thus steered in the direction of few cities Karachi, and Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Faisalabad. The Public and private sector

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12 Pakistan Economic Survey, 1974-75.
invested in those areas because of easy access to better infrastructure and financial facilities. Karachi and Punjab with government ministries, head offices of financial institutions were attractive locations for industrialists. It was during this phase that actual pillage of KPK took place and continues to date.

In Pakistan since independence the emphasis in the economy was on the industrial sector and that too on large scale undertakings through various incentives provided by the Government. The industrial structure was successfully transformed from small enterprises to large scale units so that in 1964-65 the contribution of large scale undertakings was 7.1% to the GNP whereas it was 1.4% in 1949/50. The contribution of small scale enterprises declined from 4.4% in 1949/50 to 3.9% in 1964/65.15

This transformation of the industrial structure was however, limited to Karachi in Sind and Faisalabad and Gujranwala in Punjab. The Condition in the rest of the country did not follow the spectacular record of industrial Development. The number of registered factories in the whole of KPK by 1970 did not exceed 115. This figure contrasted with rest of Pakistan with 6130 registered establishments, among these, the city of Karachi alone had 1,890 factories and Punjab had 4,240 units.16 Though some industrialization took place in the KPK but it was restricted to consumer goods, e.g. food, beverages, footwear and furniture. There was negligible movement to intermediate goods production such as cement, non-metallic mineral products and chemical products. The processing of the primary products was primarily for the export market, there was no capital goods industry in the KPK.

The break-up of the fixed assets by broad industrial categories shows that food and allied products industries owned 35.1% of the assets. The textile units came next in order of quantitative importance; they claimed 27.1% In terms of the value addition the food and allied products industry accounted for 63.21% of the total value of output. Textiles and garments accounted for 17.66% of the value of goods.17 KPK rich in abundant supply of cash crops of sugar cane and tobacco did not have the processing facilities for these raw materials in the province which was sent to Karachi and Punjab for value addition, the surplus was therefore siphoned off by those two provinces.

The dissolution of ‘One Unit’ and restoration of provincial status in 1970 started the development process in the KPK but it was at slower pace than the pre “one unit” period in terms of average annual investment and employment.

17 Ibid.
### Table – 1
**INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENT AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE NWFP 1949-82**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Investment (Rs. Million at 1959/60 prices)</th>
<th>Average annual investment</th>
<th>No. of employment</th>
<th>Average annual employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949-56 (Pre-one unit)</td>
<td>645.00</td>
<td>92.14</td>
<td>16344</td>
<td>2335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-70 (One unit)</td>
<td>1095.13</td>
<td>78.22</td>
<td>13150</td>
<td>939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-82 (After one unit)</td>
<td>1195.60</td>
<td>91.30</td>
<td>17786</td>
<td>1482</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Government of the NWFP, Basic Data on Industrialization of the NWFP, (May 1983), pp. 43-44.

The discrepancies in investment and value addition between the provinces continued to be glaring, 85 percent of the total industrial units were located in Punjab and Sind in the fifth five year plan (1980-85). The fact that the role of private sector was significant in Punjab and Sind in their industrial development, the role of public sector in amelioration of regional imbalance should have been initiated in the less developed provinces, instead the state further enhanced the uneven development process with extremely high investment in Sind and Punjab as against 13.7 percent in the KPK and Baluchistan combined (Table 2).

### Table – 2
**DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, AREA AND MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES BY PROVINCES 1980-81**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Establishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind (including Karachi)</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This manifestation of the bias in favour of Sind and Punjab in the spatial investments made by the Federal Government was very much reminiscent of its earlier policies of uneven approach.

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Table – 3
INVESTMENTS MADE BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN INDUSTRIAL SECTOR BETWEEN 1947 AND 1975 (RUPEES IN MILLIONS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Amount</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>1313.9</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>1000.4</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>110.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The pace of industrialization in KPK ever since the independence of the country was extremely slow. However, the modest industrial effort initiated was by the private sector which took the lead with the processing of locally available raw materials, consequently traditional industries like Sugar, Textile, Cigarettes, and other raw material based industries were developed. There were 248 registered industrial units in the province by 1980. Their composition reveals that these were primarily agro based, using raw materials like sugar cane, sugar beet, tobacco, cotton, corn, fruits, vegetables and by-products of livestock. The industries included food and allied products, cigarettes, paper and paperboard, leather, footwear, light chemicals, wood-based products cotton textiles but there was not much investment in mineral resources Only a few industries for cement, marble, glass and ceramics were established using limestone, china clay, silica and marble, etc. as their raw materials.

Of the 248 industries, more than 2/3rd were small/ medium and only 1/3rd constituted large industrial category which included cigarettes, sugar, matches, paper, paperboard, textile, vegetable ghee, woolen and semi-worsted yarn, leather tanning, etc. almost all the projects were related to ‘consumer goods and service industries’.19

The private sector was the main agent of industrial investment in the province, in comparison the public sector investment was negligible. This can be seen from the fact that out of 248 industrial units sanctioned for the province with a capital investment of Rs. 5,483 million, only 23 units with an investment of Rs. 1,985 million, or 36 per cent of the total, were in the public sector. Again, out of the 23 public sector projects, 16 were initiated as late as early seventies.

Table – 4
STATISTICAL ABSTRACT N.W.F.P (SETTLED)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Year/ Period</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>N.W.F.P</th>
<th>% age share of N.W.F.P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Production of Major manufacturing unit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cement</td>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>000 Tonnes</td>
<td>4503</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable product</td>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>000 Tonnes</td>
<td>594820</td>
<td>72226</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>000 Tonnes</td>
<td>1145085</td>
<td>85166</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>000 Tonnes</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board</td>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>000 Tonnes</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarettes</td>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>Million</td>
<td>40296</td>
<td>16221</td>
<td>40.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Some of the Key Industries of the province are Cotton Textile (12), Sugar (5), Cigarettes (8), Match (5), Vegetable Oil (3), Paper and Paperboard (2) Cement (1), Fertilizer (1) shown in Table No. 5.

The above factories put together had total assets of Rs. 2,750 million which amounted to 51 percent of the total industrial assets in the province. All these industries except vegetable ghee were entirely dependent on domestic raw materials and on the technology which was locally available. Except for vegetable ghee units and two sugar producing units, all other projects were established in the private sector. It was the private sector in the KPK which was the lynch pin of the little industrial development that took place in the KPK.

Regional disparity in industrial sector is obvious when the number of Industries in KPK is compared with those in the rest of Pakistan, the position becomes highly lopsided in case of major industry, out of 145 textile industries in Pakistan, KPK had only 9 (3 were closed), of the 31 Sugar mills in Pakistan 5 were in the KPK (disparity becomes agonizing with highest yield of KPK in sugar cane), of the 30 vegetable ghee mills in the country 3 were in the KPK, of the 20 cigarette units in Pakistan 8 were in the KPK (Tobacco being the highest cash crop of KPK), of the 62 match units in the country 5 were in the KPK (with 23% forest of the country in KPK), out of the 7 paper and paperboard units in the country only 2 were in the KPK(wood and bagasse main raw material in abundance); and of the 9 cement projects only one was located in the KPK (despite abundant local raw material). As against 6 fertilizer projects in Pakistan there was only one in the KPK. Similarly, a striking disparity comes to the surface when the capacity of each industry is analyzed. The two most important industries are tobacco and sugar, next comes food

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20 Ibid.
processing industry and then the cement and paper industry tobacco is the most precious 
cash crop of KPK, it produces 4.5 percent of the world production of the best Virginia 
tobacco and occupies the 6th position amongst the world tobacco growers. KPK produces 
60% tobacco of Pakistan but has 8.3% of the province’s production capacity of tobacco 
manufacture. The annual output of quality tobacco has been consistently on the decline 
due to neglect of government policies in terms of availability of water, improved inputs, 
credit facilities; the output of tobacco declined from 84,000 tons during 1965-70 to 50,000 
tons during 1979-80 (Table No. 3 of Agriculture section).

The cigarette manufacturing industry is heavily concentrated in Karachi with 
57.3% of the total production in Pakistan. The Punjab accounts for 32.4% of the 
manufacturing capacity and the KPK only 8.3% and the balance of 2% comes from other 
parts of Sind (excluding Karachi). The pattern of the cigarette industry is unique. 
Production is concentrated in one firm i.e. Pakistan Tobacco Company. This company 
controls more than 50% of total production capacity. The remaining 50% are distributed 
among other companies.

### Table – 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDUSTRIES CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF UNITS IN N.W.F.P FROM 1970-71 TO 1984-85</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper/ Paper Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable Ghee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour Mills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woolen Industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical Industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Match Industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble Industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silk Mills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Sugar Industry has been one of the major industrial sectors in the NWFP, it is 
unique because both sugarcane and sugarbeet are produced and processed in the same unit 
in the KPK. Sugar manufacturing in the KPK started in 1938 with the first sugar mill in 
Takhttabahi. The other sugar mill in the areas now forming Pakistan was the Rahwali
Sugar Mill, Gujranwala, in the Punjab established in 1936. The combined crushed capacity, at that time, was 700 tcd of which 400 tcd (i.e. about 57%) was in the KPK. The first sugar mill established after independence, in 1951, was in Mardan, in the KPK. And the combined capacity of the country reached 3,850 tcd, of which 3,550 tcd (i.e. about 92%) was in the KPK and the rest in Punjab. For over a decade and a half the bulk of the domestic supply of sugar in Pakistan was contributed by the KPK.\textsuperscript{21}

Installation of new sugar mills in other provinces led to decline of the KPK’s share from 73% during 1955-60 and to about 48% during 1960-65. The contribution of the KPK, in the total domestic production, declined to about 20% in 1970-75. The share of the province was further reduced to about 12% in 1980-82 and 7% during 1983-84.\textsuperscript{22}

Rapid increase in area and production occurred in Sind followed by Punjab (Table No. 4 of Agriculture section). The acreage in Sind and Punjab almost doubled during 1965-80 whereas increase in KPK was minimal. The average unit cost of production of cane sugar of the KPK is about 97 percent of that in Punjab and 93 percent of Sind. The sugarcane cost, which comprises 60 percent of the total cost of production, is the lowest in the KPK.

| Table – 6 |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| **SUGARCANE CRUSHING CAPACITY OF THE SUGAR PRODUCING PROVINCE OF PAKISTAN 1947-82** |
| Province | 1947-80 | 1980-82 |
| | Capacity (tcd) | % | Capacity (tcd) | % |
| Punjab | 300 | 43 | 33850 | 47 |
| Sind | - | - | 27180 | 37 |
| NWFP | 400 | 57 | 11500 | 16 |


Textile was the premier industry of the country during the industrial bonanza, being the largest single industrial sector in the country it accounted for over 27 per cent of the value added in the industrial sector.\textsuperscript{23} It received top priority by the Government in terms of concessions and rebate, (rebate of Rs. 45 on each bale of ginned cotton a mill consumes).\textsuperscript{24} At the end of December 1977, there were 35,000 looms, including about 9,000 cotton looms converted in to art silk and rayon yarn weaving in the Punjab. Of these 17,700 looms were in the Punjab, 11,600 in Sind, \textbf{100} in KPK.\textsuperscript{25}

Textiles is the largest industry in KPK, out of 145 in the country 9 were in KPK (3 were not in operation) which are dependent totally on non indigenous raw material imported from Punjab and Sind and is highly dependent on these two provinces for technical management as the weaving and spinning technicians are mostly recruited from these provinces as well. The total operational capacity of the industry in KPK was reduced to 24\% in terms of spindles and 67\% of looms were out of operation which led to loss of over Rs. 180 million in 1980 due to high financial and selling expenses.\textsuperscript{26}

Mainly because of location handicaps, the raw materials bought from Punjab and Sind is exported after processing through Karachi or sent to the major consumption centers in other provinces. High freight cost has almost taken away the competitiveness of the Industry in this province as against those established in Punjab and Sind. The only reason for investing in this non feasible industry in the KPK was extensive central government incentives in the form of tax subsidies, rebate on import of machinery, subsidies on raw material and the availability of credit and loans on soft terms in view of government’s policy for strengthening the textile industry. The industrialists from the KPK thus invested in totally non indigenous industry losing competitive edge and favorable returns.

The cement industry like other building material is ideally suited at the source of raw materials. The relatively high transport cost for a cheap bulk material limits the geographic scope of the market. The KPK has an inexhaustible quantity of good quality limestones, sufficient electric power, cheap labour and expanding demand. The raw material cement grade, limestone and gypsum are found in abundance in the province in Kohat, Nowshera, Bara and Pezu area in D.I. Khan yet out of nine cement factories with

\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 326.
\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 341, emphasis is mine.
an installed capacity of 4.000 million ton per annum in Pakistan, there was only one, Mustehkum Cement Limited, with an installed capacity of 0.360 million ton per annum located in the KPK; the other 8 were located in the Sind and Punjab Provinces.

Cement Industry has gained a great importance throughout Pakistan due to large scale investment in real estate and other development works. Home remittances have increased from 130 million in 1972-73 to 1,725 million 1979-80, around 50 percent of remittances are utilized for housing alone. The single cement factory in the province cannot fulfill even half of its demand. It is ironical that despite the inexhaustible raw material the region depends upon outside sources for its supply of cement.27

Paper Mill is another prospective area for which the raw material is locally available. The major raw material for paper is wood. The area under forests in Pakistan is 3.2 million acres of which 666,000 hectares which is 23.7 % of the area under forest of the whole country is in KPK.28 The trees suitable for paper are found mainly in the KPK in the forest land located in Kaghan, Chitral, Amb and Northern tribal areas. The non-wood raw material includes sugar cane bagasse grasses and annual plants berwasu, Kahi, sesbanie, mung.

There were 5 industries in Pakistan, of which two were in the KPK, Adamjee paper and Board Mills in Nowshera and Pakistan paper Corporation established in late sixties at Charsadda, This province has an annual combined production capacity of 15,000 ton of board and 35,000 ton of paper.

Of the total production of the paper in the KPK only limited amount is sold in the KPK 90% to the other provinces. What is required is not only the increased consumption in the province but also increased production of paper in the KPK for its backward and forward linkages; backward linkage in terms of rise in employment, boosting of building industry, transportation and forward linkages by increasing printing and publishing industry, packing industry, trade in stationery and books. The high capital cost of the industry has acted as a handicap on new (private) investment and the creation of jobs

Conclusion

The “nature” of industries in the KPK also indicates the pattern of development in the region. Roughly 85% of the production is designed for basic consumption purposes. The finished items are mostly in the category of non-durable consumer goods. In the field

of durable consumer goods no perceptible progress is made. Even elementary household equipments like bicycles, sewing machines, coolers, cooking utensil, with a large market are not manufactured locally; similarly intermediate and capital goods industries are of minor significance. There is one industry engaged in the production of building materials, the production of equipment and tools is limited to simple agricultural implements and electrical machinery. For all practical purposes it is the elementary consumer goods industries whose backward and forward benefits pervade the region. Neither the intermediate nor the capital products industry has made any substantial impact on the economic life of the area. The existing pattern of development has been historically followed throughout the world. In the initial phase of industrialization, food and textile industries dominate because these industries cater to the essential needs of the people and there is a vast internal market for the product. They are relatively easy to be installed and operated. Neither technologically nor from the point of view of capital requirement and managerial matters do they present serious problems. Industries which produce durable consumer goods, intermediate inputs and heavy capital equipment generally come in the subsequent stages of industrial development.

The composition of industries indicates that the availability of raw materials in the region played a decisive role in the establishment of the given unit. Most of the large scale industries, except cotton textiles, are based upon local supplies emanating from agriculture, forestry and mineral deposits. The production of large scale industry depending on indigenous raw material of KPK like sugar, tobacco, paper, cement and fruit processing have declined whereas industry in Punjab is patronized with excessive incentives. The acreage and yield of cotton, rice, sugar in Punjab increased tremendously under state protection, tariff barriers, import licenses, rebates on technology, tax holidays and above all availability of capital/credit facilities. The decline of industrial development in KPK on the other hand has led to loss of capital as well as forward and backward linkages in terms of assets, production, employment, infrastructural development, roads, housing, schools, hospitals etc. In general, decline of industrial development has not only added to lumpen proletariat and landless labour but led to deurbanization and radicalization in the society, an ominous foreboding for the province and the country.
URBAN SECTOR

Urbanization is a way of life and is generally taken as one of the indicators of the progressive character of the society. Its growth is associated with the diversification of the economy, from agricultural to industrial, which is again assumed to be an indicator of progress. Urbanization is closely associated with division of labour, industrialization and the development of the tertiary sector, i.e. service sector (e.g. commerce, banking, insurance, education, health and transportation facilities etc.) There are some preconditions for urbanization (a) the rising productivity of agriculture, population agglomeration can exist in cities only when farmers can produce enough food for the city, (b) development of industry which provides job opportunities for the labour force in the cities, (c) finally improvement of tertiary sector, i.e. the improvement of transportation, communication, medical, educational facilities. The need for urbanization is initially greater for formative period of industrialization but later urbanization supports industrialization by providing external economies of labour assembly, communication, production linkages and markets.

Using even the traditional variables for the evaluation of development process, the experience of the KPK is discouraging. The growth of urban places, according to John Friedman, represents the ultimate means for organizing a geographic area into its component social, political, administrative and economic spheres. Urban areas represent an increase in the interaction of production-consumption, higher level of social and cultural tradition and intensive communication and intellectual articulation besides the normal amenities of life like transport, hydro-electric energy, police protection, medical and health facilities, etc.29

There is an alternative view, which considers urbanization, industrialization and modernization as lopsided development, creating its own areas of underdevelopment. Viewing from this perspective, urban prosperity degenerates into slums and poverty, along with the skyscrapers are the ghettos. Thus urbanization as a centralized spatial basis for integrated economic, social and political development is a misnomer; it is in fact cities of peasants which have developed in the third world.30 The development of cities like the industrialization in the third world has imperial linkages. Urban centers in the third world

sprawled due to the advent of hasty industrial era in the middle and late twentieth century. The interdependence of industrialization and urbanization could be traced back not only to its linkages with metropolitan capitalist centers but also in terms of unequal impact on the local population of the area.

There is, however, no denying of the fact that urbanization is a stage towards industrialization, which is itself a step towards progress. To measure the extent of progress in the KPK in the post independence period, we find a decline in the number of urban centers of the province. Comparing the position of urban centers in the KPK with the rest of Pakistan from 1901, their relative position has declined. Peshawar was the third largest city in the existing area of Pakistan in 1901, in 1972 it was the eight, D.I. Khan was ninth in 1901, its position declined to 34 in 1972, Kohat declined from eleventh position to 31, Abbottabad from 26 to 40. Bannu decreased from 23 to 42,Charsadda from 18 to 41 and Nowshera from 24 to 37.

**TABLE – 1**

**DEURBANIZATION OF THE KPK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peshawar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mardan</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. Khan</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
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<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>Quetta</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only city to gain strength was Mardan which increased from thirty first largest urban center in 1901 to fifteenth in 1972, the main reason being the concentration of sugar and tobacco industry in the area, the two major industries of the region whereas the relative strength of the urban centers increased in Punjab and Sind, Karachi became number one, Lahore two, Faisalabad three, Hyderabad four, Rawalpindi five, Multan six, Gujranwala seven, Shikarpur eight, Sailkot ninth and Sargodha tenth. The two mega cities Karachi with more than ten million and Lahore with six million are followed by nine cities of a million or more population and another three with half to one million population, Punjab has eight out of twelve, Sind has two and one each in KPK and Baluchistan.31

The changes in the urban centers from 1901 to 1972 are represented in Table 1. While comparing the rate of growth of urbanization of the KPK with Pakistan it is revealing that during the pre-independence period the rate of growth was higher for the KPK as compared to Pakistan. After independence, however, the position changed, with Pakistan’s rate of growth of urbanization being higher than the KPK, the decline is particularly obvious in D.I. Khan, Kohat and Bannu from 1901-1981. The urban population of D.I. Khan in 1901 was 17.5% and in 1980 it declined to 8.8%, in Bannu it declined from 7.8% to 4.6% for the same period.32 There is slight increase in the urban population of Peshawar from 51.8% in 1901 to 53.8% in 1980. However, the percentage itself shows that Peshawar has the largest urban population in the KPK; it reflects relatively better opportunities and facilities as the capital of the province.

The proportion of KPK’s population has been on a constant decline from 13.4 percent in 1961 to 12.8 percent in 1972 whereas during 1972-81 it remained stagnant. In 1981 the density in the KPK was 148 persons per square kilometer. This was almost double the figure for 1961 (77/sq. km) due to continuous out migration from FATA to the KPK.

**TABLE – 2**

**POPULATION URBAN/RURAL AREAS 1981**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region / Province</th>
<th>Population (0000)</th>
<th>Area (Sq. Km)</th>
<th>Density (Per Sq. Km)</th>
<th>Urban Population</th>
<th>Rural Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>84,253</td>
<td>796,095</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>23,840</td>
<td>60,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>47,293</td>
<td>205,344</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>13,051</td>
<td>34,241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>19,029</td>
<td>140,914</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>8,243</td>
<td>10,786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>11,061</td>
<td>74,521</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>1,665</td>
<td>9,396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FATA</td>
<td>2,199</td>
<td>27,220</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2,199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>4,332</td>
<td>347,190</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>3,655</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


32 *Pakistan Statistical Year Book 1980 & 1985*. Karachi: Statistics Division, GOP, p. 8. Table 2.4 & p. 27. Table 2.9.
In the two decades (between 1996-80) the urban population in Pakistan increased at a higher rate than the rural population. The percentage distribution of population by urban-rural residence in Pakistan and Provinces for 1961-81 is given in Table 3.

**TABLE – 3**

**URBAN-RURAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION (PERCENT)**

*NWFP AND OTHER REGIONS OF PAKISTAN, 1961-81*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban/Rural</td>
<td>Urban/Rural</td>
<td>Urban/Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>13.2/86.8</td>
<td>14.3/85.7</td>
<td>15.2/84.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FATA</td>
<td>1.4/98.6</td>
<td>0.5/99.5</td>
<td>0.6/99.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>21.5/78.5</td>
<td>24.4/75.6</td>
<td>27.6/72.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>37.9/62.1</td>
<td>40.4/59.6</td>
<td>56.7/43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>16.9/83.1</td>
<td>16.4/83.6</td>
<td>15.6/84.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamabad (FCT)(2)</td>
<td>-/-</td>
<td>32.8/67.2</td>
<td>60.3/39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>22.5/77.5</td>
<td><strong>25.4</strong>/74.6</td>
<td><strong>28.3</strong>/71.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) *Statistical Pocket Book of Pakistan*. 1982. p 27.

shows an increase from 13.5 percent in 1961 to 15.2 percent in 1981, however the proportion of Urban population in the KPK remained lower than the other regions of the country, Sind was more urbanized with 56.7% percent and KPK least urbanized even lower than Baluchistan with 15.6% and Punjab with 27.6%. As compared to other provinces, the rate of urbanization in NWFP remained low during the three censuses (1961, 1972 and 1981), the increase in the urban proportion in the Province was recorded as 0.1 percent per year on average.

The ten big cities of Pakistan accounted for 55.9 per cent of urban population in 1972. Of these cities, Karachi registered the highest growth rate of 5.2 per cent followed by Lahore, Quetta and Peshawar, which registered growth rates of 4.5 per cent, 3.8 per cent and 1.9 per cent respectively, the lowest for Peshawar. The KPK may be considered a rural province, cities and towns constitute only 15 per cent of the population. The remaining 85 percent rural population accounts for density of about 250 persons per square mile. Inter provincial comparison reveals that KPK continues to be the largest rural province in Pakistan. Although the rate of urban growth in Pakistan is quite high but KPK has not benefited from this trend, KPK continues to be the least urbanized of all the four provinces. Moreover KPK’s share of the total urban population of Pakistan has declined as shown in Table No 4.

---

## TABLE–4

PAKISTAN: URBAN POPULATION SHARE BY PROVINCES IN 1961- 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Urban Population</th>
<th>Share in National Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>9639951</td>
<td>16593651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.W.F.P</td>
<td>757710</td>
<td>1195655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>3168547</td>
<td>5725776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>5460578</td>
<td>9182695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>228468</td>
<td>399584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fata</td>
<td>24648</td>
<td>13300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamabad</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>76641</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


There is tremendous variation in the degree of urbanization in the KPK and Pakistan, the KPK shows a slight increase of less than two per cent in urban growth over a period of seventy years from 1901-1972. Its figures for 1972 (14.3) and (15.2%) in 1981 reflect its pre-dominantly rural character whereas the country as a whole shows a much greater increase (more than 15 per cent) especially after 1941 (more than 11 per cent) and the figure for 1972 shows that more than one fourth of its total population lives in urban centers. Even this analysis reveals that the rate of urbanization in the KPK lags far behind the national figure after independence despite the fact that the degree of urbanization in the KPK prior to independence was higher (12.7 per cent) as compared to the national figure of 9.8 per cent in 1901.34

The accessibility of water resources is a major factor in the habitation of population, small areas with regular water supply and assured cultivation ensures higher population density e.g. Peshawar Basin comprising Peshawar and Mardan districts show very high concentration of population as compared to Barani areas. The significance of irrigation due to water availability can be judged from the case of D. I. Khan where the total area cultivated has higher percentage the than all other districts of the province yet because of uncertain rainfall and scares water availability it has the lowest density of

population in the Province (except Chitral district which is highly mountainous). Whereas districts with comparatively less cultivated area but assured irrigation water (Peshawar, Mardan and Bannu) or higher rainfall (Swat, Dir, Hazara and Kohat) support higher density of population.

TABLE – 5
KPK: POPULATION DENSITY, IRRIGATION INTENSITIES AND RAINFALL BY DISTRICTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Population Density/Sq. Mile</th>
<th>Irrigated area</th>
<th>Rainfall (m.m.)</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Peshawar</td>
<td>1120</td>
<td>70.6%</td>
<td>331.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mardan</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
<td>564.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakand</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>40.2%</td>
<td>709.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazara</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>62.0%</td>
<td>1203.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bannu</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
<td>326.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
<td>1226.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohat</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
<td>613.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swat</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
<td>948.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>D.I. Khan</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
<td>223.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitral</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>58.7%</td>
<td>587.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The differences in population distribution and density within the province indicate a pattern which is historically associated with geographical conditions and economic opportunities all over the world. Agriculturally more productive, industrially and commercially more active areas always attract higher population ratio; according to the 1981 census 33.7 percent of the total KPK population was living in the Peshawar and Mardan districts (the most fertile plain and irrigated area), covering only 9.6 percent of the land area of the Province. In contrast, the largest district of the Province, Chitral (a mountainous and snow covered area) with 20 percent of the total land area inhabited only 2 percent of the population of province. Similarly the extreme Southern district of D. I. Khan which covers 12 percent area of the province, mainly unirrigated has only 6 percent of its population.
### TABLE-6

**DISTRICT WISE AREA AND POPULATION OF N.W.F.P. 1981**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Area in Square K.M</th>
<th>District as % of N.W.F.P</th>
<th>Position in NWFP</th>
<th>Population in NWFP</th>
<th>District as % of NWFP</th>
<th>Position of NWFP</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Mardan</td>
<td>3137</td>
<td>4.21</td>
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<td>1506500</td>
<td>13.62</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kohat</td>
<td>3057</td>
<td>4.10</td>
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<td>509091</td>
<td>4.60</td>
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<td>9005</td>
<td>12.08</td>
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<td>5.74</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
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<td>465237</td>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>10&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>9.64</td>
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<td>2.33</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
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<td>11.79</td>
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<td>1233001</td>
<td>11.14</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
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<td>..</td>
<td>11061328</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>..</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Sources: *District Census Reports 1981*. Islamabad: Population Census Organization GOP, Table 5, p. 6.

The urban-rural distribution of population also varies from district to district within the province, as shown in Table No. 6, the proportion of urban population in the Peshawar district remained higher with 561 persons per square kilometer, the highest density which is expected with large number of urban areas besides being the provincial capital. The urban proportions of Mardan ranked second with second highest density of 454/sq km while Malakand (271/sq. km) and Hazara (195/sq. km.) rank third and fourth with density higher than the provincial average. As expected Chitral has the lowest density with an average of 14 persons per square Kilometer. The density of Dir district is equal to the provincial average. Peshawar always remained first in the whole urban population of the KPK since 1901.
Urban areas generally have higher male ratio than rural areas. The ratio of males in industrially and commercially developed areas is always higher due to higher income and employment opportunities. The ratio of the men in KPK is lower as compared to the country and the other provinces, it declined from 119 in 1941 to 108 in 1972, while the 1981 census indicated no change. The main reason was the excessive out-migration of males of working age to other provinces for economic reasons, due to out-migration the KPK lost its population at an average annual rate of 0.7 percent during 1961-72 mainly due to out-migration of males to other provinces for employment. The marked disproportion in masculinity ratio in urban and rural areas indicates the high figure for urban population which supports the fact that immigration to urban areas and emigration from rural areas is largely of men alone.

Development or progress is assessed through indices of urbanization, education, health and employment opportunities, being low on these indices reflect underdevelopment and peripheralization. KPK mortality differentials reveal that it has highest death rates of 12.7 as compared to the other provinces. Due to inadequate and poor health facilities the population living in rural areas is subject to higher mortality (13.3 deaths per 1000 persons) than the proportion in urban areas (9.2). The prevalence of a very high infant mortality rate of 133 per thousand is also the outstanding demographic characteristic of the population of the province.

**TABLE –7**

**STATISTICAL ABSTRACT N.W.F.P (SETTLED)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Year/Period</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>N.W.F.P</th>
<th>% share of N.W.F.P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Number of institutions: as on</td>
<td>1.1.1984</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Hospitals</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>18.2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii). Dispensaries</td>
<td>3386</td>
<td>386 (r)</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii). Nurses</td>
<td>12000 (Reg)</td>
<td>587 (on Govt. Duty)</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv). Lady Health Visitors</td>
<td>2753 (Reg)</td>
<td>266 (on Govt. Duty)</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1. Directorate of Health Services, Government of N.W.F.P.

The economic conditions of the people of KPK are behest with poverty. Urbanization has an inverse relationship with mortality, in this respect the Province of Sind is more urbanized, 57 percent of its population is living in urban areas. On the other

hand only 15 percent of NWFP population is living in urban areas which constitutes 7% of
the county population. The literacy level in Sind is also higher (36 percent) as compared to
NWFP (11) percent which is much lower than the national literacy level of 17%.  

TABLE – 8

NUMBER OF LITERATES IN 1981, 1972 AND 1961 CENSUSES (in 0000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country/Province</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>1972</th>
<th>1961</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>12,906</td>
<td>9,319</td>
<td>5,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>1,019</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>8,097</td>
<td>5,473</td>
<td>3,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>3,562</td>
<td>2,894</td>
<td>1,396</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Due to high rate of illiteracy most of the people are also ignorant of modern
treatment. Low literacy levels 11% much below the national level specifically for females
6% is reflection of poverty, ignorance and lack of hygienic health practices. Poverty also
constitutes a menace particularly in the form of malnutrition.

TABLE – 9

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT N.W.F.P (SETTLED) in numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>N.W.F.P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Literacy Ratio (1981 Census)</td>
<td>26.17</td>
<td>16.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Sexes</td>
<td>35.05</td>
<td>25.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>15.99</td>
<td>6.48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Participation rates in respect of Pakistan are for the year 1982-83.
Source: Development Statistic. Peshawar: Govt. of N.W.F.P., P&D Department, Bureau of
Statistics, 1985, Item 9. (G) p. VIII.

Housing conditions are deplorable in the Province, majority of the population has
no access to safe water supply, means of communication are not properly developed
especially in the mountainous areas of the Province and hence a major portion of the
population cannot utilize scarce medical facilities available in the urban areas.

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Peshawar, Table 1, p. iii.
## TABLE–10
### STATISTICAL ABSTRACT N.W.F.P

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Year/Period</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>N.W.F.P</th>
<th>% age share of N.W.F.P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AREA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POPULATION</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Sq. Km</td>
<td>796095</td>
<td>74521</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>( Census)</td>
<td>Thousand persons</td>
<td>84253</td>
<td>11061</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>44232</td>
<td>5761</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>40021</td>
<td>5300</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>23841</td>
<td>1665</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>60412</td>
<td>9396</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROADS</td>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>Kilometres</td>
<td>101315</td>
<td>8097 (p)</td>
<td>7.9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Type</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>40155</td>
<td>4283</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low type</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>61160</td>
<td>3814</td>
<td>7.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMMUNICATION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephones</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>533000</td>
<td>27780</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio Licences</td>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>1010551</td>
<td>71878</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television Sets</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>950851</td>
<td>32999</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELECTRICITY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generation</td>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>Million KWH</td>
<td>19874</td>
<td>7499 (E)</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit Sold</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>12605 (E)</td>
<td>1627</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Capita Consumption</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>KWH</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


## TABLE – 11
### LITERACY RATIOS OF POPULATION (10 YEARS AND OVER) BY SEX, REGION AND URBAN / RURAL AREAS, 1981 AND 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Sexes</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Sexes</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Sexes</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Sexes</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Sexes</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The deurbanization of the KPK and its rapid progress in Punjab and Karachi is a sufficient indicator of the uneven economic growth. Urbanization per se is not a crucial index of development, but it is its forward and backward linkages which makes it important. The growth of industrial, financial and commercial sectors is consequential for rapid urbanization, which in turn boosts the tertiary sectors i.e transport, communication, education, health and medical facilities. Growth or decline of urban centers, as a result, can be a crucial indicator of the general state of economy. Our analysis of urbanization in the KPK can lead to a logical inference of the relative deterioration of the KPK economy. The extreme disparity in development process and the regional disparity in federal state of Pakistan is aptly summarized by Takashi Kurosaki of Institute of Economic Research in Tokyo:

NWFP is geographically the smallest province among the four provinces in Pakistan, accounting for about 9% of total area and 13% of total population. Compared with Punjab, which is the center of agriculture and related industries, and Sind, where a metropolitan city of Karachi is located, NWFP could be characterized as an economically backward province. The share of manufacturing industries in labor force in the province is much smaller than those in Punjab and Sind. Electricity consumption per capita was only half the level enjoyed in Punjab and Sind. NWFP’s economy is more dependent on service sectors and remittances than on commodity sectors including agriculture and manufacturing industries.

Region-wise human development indicators are shown according to which literacy rates in NWFP were lower than Sind and Punjab. In 1998, male literacy rate (15 years and older) in NWFP was 51% in contrast to Punjab’s 57% and Sind’s 56%. Female literacy rates were especially low. NWFP is lagging behind Punjab and Sind in infant mortality rates also.

In any case, about 21 to 41% of People are below the poverty line in NWFP, might be sufficient to justify our locational choice for poverty investigation. Furthermore, the region’s backwardness is less than human development poverty, is a notorious characteristic of Pakistan’s economy. We focus on NWFP because this is the region where this disparity applies the most.38

The disparity within the federation reflective of poverty and underdevelopment in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa encompasses not only low per capita income, backward economy, lack of social services health and education but an overall ensemble of neglect and indifference by the state in general and peripheral treatment compared to the core areas. The KPK producer of more than 72% of hydel electricity consumes only 9.37% per capita gas consumption in KPK is 0.44 (Mcf) whereas KPK consumption is 1.86% of Pakistan. The low human development indicator of lack of literacy and awareness is

Unraveled by 3% circulation of newspapers and periodicals, 1.56% of Fortnightlies and 1.31% of Monthlies in the KPK. Unequal development generated in pursuance of growth policies has in fact engendered extremes of backwardness and alienation requiring balanced growth and human development. Social and human security needs to be evolved which could be precursor to national and state security through social integration of regional and ethnic entities.

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CHAPTER – VIII

THE ARMY AND THE BUREAUCRACY

THE ARMY

In many Third-world countries, the state power has overtly or covertly shifted to the military-bureaucratic structure i.e. either it is direct military dictatorship or it is legitimized through election. Some theoreticians have attributed this phenomenon to the cohesiveness and organization inculcated in the military and the bureaucracy under the colonial rule. They have called it the ‘overdeveloped’ state, according to which the military and the bureaucracy are relatively overdeveloped as compared to the other political institutions like political parties or even class structure in post colonial societies.¹ The reason is that the colonial rulers, in order to economize on the administration, needed the indigenous population in the military and civil administration. The local population was recruited, trained and finally incorporated in these two institutions, which resulted in the Indianization of the administration in British India. Since both these institutions were the principal organizations for maintaining law and order, the financial strain in making them strong, cohesive and well integrated was immaterial. As a result, these two institutions were the most developed under the colonial rule. On the other hand, political consciousness was kept at a minimum. At the time of independence political parties had not existed long. Not only that, cohesion, strength and financial support were completely lacking. The civilian (or ideological) institutions were in their nascent stages at the time of Independence. To take over the reins of power and to carry it successfully was not expected, especially under the condition of haste and chaos under which independence was granted to India and Pakistan. The task was made more difficult because for the first time the military and bureaucracy were subsumed under indigenous civilian rule. The change of roles must have been a bitter fact for the military and the bureaucracy which was used to curbing and controlling the politicians and a stupendous job for the politicians to control organized institution like military and bureaucracy. The uneasy truce could not be maintained for too long. Lack of organization, chaos and struggle within the power bloc laid the basis for the military-bureaucratic control of the state apparatuses. Their best asset was their overdeveloped structure, at least in the case of Pakistan.

The military and bureaucracy in the third-world countries was and is considered by some theoreticians as competent, efficient and impartial servants of the public, Max Weber had anticipated such a role. The military bureaucratic structure was also deemed as modernizers in the newly independent countries due to its training and organization during the colonial rule as opposed to the uncouth politicians. Contrary to the benevolent role of modernizing the nation the military as an institution however, developed its own vested interests which could be served only if it held the supreme power, Ayesha Siddiqa refers to it as ‘institutional self interest paradigm’. Moreover unlike Marx’s initial proposition of state apparatus as the instrument of the dominant class, the military and bureaucracy had developed enough relative autonomy form the dominant class to pursue their own interests while reproducing the system as a whole and structuring and restructuring the balance between the different fractions of the power bloc.

In Pakistan the army and the bureaucracy have played a dominating and decisive role in politics throughout the short and turbulent history of the new country. The seizure of power in 1958 by the Army brought to the forefront its covert power. The bureaucracy on the other hand had actively dominated the political scene in Pakistan since its inception. In the first decade after independence the façade of parliamentary government had obscured the reality of bureaucratic domination and the fact that politicians in government were virtually their nominees. Later in the fifties, with the growing demand for elections, the whole constitutional apparatus of the government was put aside and the army seized direct power. The army’s intervention in the political arena was, according to the President’s proclamation on 7th October 1958, a result of “the ruthlessness of traitors and political adventurers whose selfishness, thirst for power and unpatriotic conduct cannot be restrained by a government set up under the present system… The mentality of the political parties has sunk so low, that I am unable any longer to believe that elections will improve the present chaotic internal situation.” It therefore, provided a justification for the promulgation of Martial Law because according to the President:

“As head of the State, my foremost duty before my God and the people is the integrity of Pakistan… After deep and anxious thought I have come to the regrettable conclusion that I would be failing in my duty if I did

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not take steps to save Pakistan from complete disruption. I have, therefore, decided that: a) The Constitution of March 23, 1956 will be abrogated; b) The central and provincial government will be dismissed with immediate effect; c) The National Parliament and Provincial Assemblies will be dissolved; d) All political parties will be abolished; e) Until alternative arrangements are made Pakistan will come under Martial Law. I hereby appoint General Mohammad Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief Martial Law Administrator and place all the Armed Force of Pakistan under his command. “

According to Field Marshall Mohammed Ayub Khan, “the moment so long delayed had finally arrived.”

This was the beginning of the direct military intervention in politics. The longer it stayed the more entrenched it got. It took over to “clean up the mess” created by the politicians and then to return to the civilian rule however, it did not leave power until it was overthrown by the people in 1968. The momentous agitation and the resignation of Field Marshall Mohammad Ayub Khan were declared by many as a Revolution. With the return of the civilian rule in 1971, the political momentum was unfavourable to the military. It was the politicians turn to redress the army of its grievances. All political parties during the mass uprising in 1968 were asking the military to revert to its function of defense against external enemies. It was evident that with the return of the civilian rule the armed force would be stripped of the privileges acquired during the military dictatorship, major restructuring within the official ranks would be done and a depoliticization of army would take place. Z.A. Bhutto tried to do that but it was not too long before the upper echelons of the army, after absorbing some of these shocks, unanimously agreed that the cleaning up the mess created by the politicians once again required military intervention. They called it “Operation Fair Play.” The reasons for the military action on the 4th July 1977 as outlined by General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq in his first press statement were very similar to the of General Mohammad Ayub’s statement of the 8th October 1958. According to General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq:

“On the surface, Pakistan was as calm as a lake. Then the storm broke. And what happened from 7th of March is also known to us. After the 7th of March, it was some thing which has not been seen in the history of Pakistan. Unfortunately, the law and order situation deteriorated to such an extent that it practically overtook the entire country.”

8 Ibid., p. 39.
“I supported the tradition that the Army will not meddle in politics and till the end, we had been trying our level best to see that the problem be solved politically. But no army of the world exists on whims or emotions or on mere conjectures. Plan, which was evolved unanimously by the entire hierarchy of the Pakistan Army, comprising myself, officers of the G.H.Q. and the Corps Commander. We had agreed on particular contingency plans weeks ago. We had even fixed a code for it. And that is what I did on the 4th (July 1977) at 5 p.m. I gave orders for the operation we called “Operation Fair Play.”

Operation Fair Play resulted in overthrowing the civilian government and taking into custody the Prime-Minister and the leader of the opposition. The solitary confinement or seclusion of both these individuals, according to the chief martial law administrator Zia-ul-Haq was “necessary for them to think of the tasks ahead”. The task ahead for the former Prime-minister was to be sent to the gallows, for the leader of the opposition, to outline a better strategy during his internment and for the Army to disillusion the people with the hope of early elections meanwhile holding on to power for another decade.

The cohesiveness and homogeneity of military is attributed to its ethnic conglomerate. Recruitment for the military was and is restricted to certain areas of Pakistan. The majority is constituted by the Punjabis about seventy five percent of it belonging to three districts of Punjab which provides ethnic understanding and unity to the institution it is known for:

“The military’s homogeneity contributes to its corporate ethos, and provides the essential bonding, especially among the officers, that gives the organization the appearance of a monolithic force. The military’s recruitment pattern follows the British tradition of procuring personnel from certain key areas. The British military …created the myth of the ‘martial race’ with reference to the Punjabis …(who) were more willing to fight for the British in return for material rewards and greater employment opportunities. The recruiting manuals ‘closely identified…these races …down to relevant sub-castes and’ places from which they were to be found.”

The consideration of Pakistan military as Punjabi had its inception under colonial era. The exclusion of the Balochis, the Sindhis and the Bengalis from the fighting force was due to their non martial spirit; the recruiting ground for the military was thus the Salt Range of Punjab, (Jhelum, Chakwal, Attock, Gujrat, Sargodha, Khushab and Mianwali). Besides the martial spirit displayed by the inhabitants of this arid region, employment in the army provided best economic opportunities along with other perks like gallantry

12 Ibid., pp. 4-13.
awards (including land allotments and monetary emoluments). This situation in the most
organized institution of Pakistan is termed by Eric Nordlinger “as reflecting a peculiar
social imbalance with the dominance of Punjabis in the military”.14 Although there is a fair
share of Pukhtuns in the army particularly from the Barani areas of Kohat, Karak and
Bannu but the ethnic dominance of Punjabis in the civil military-bureaucratic structure and
the overwhelming influence of these two institutions in the governance of the country has
led Ian Talbot to designate this phenomenon as “Punjabisation of Pakistan.”15 The bulk of
the army comes from the rural areas but the two cadres that join the army, the Jawans
(NCOs, non commissioned officers) and the regular commissioned officers come from
different strata. The Jawans belong to the poor peasantry, whereas the officer corps
initially belonged to the upper middle class or the landed gentry but now the recruitment
pattern has changed and majority of the officers belong to the lower middle strata of the
society. This however, does not indicate a change in the institutional interest of the
military, the class interests of the personnel are subsumed under the larger interest of the
military as an institution.

The small elite that was incorporated in the Indian army got their commission at
the Military Academy at Deradunn and some of these officers were trained at the Royal
Military Academy, Sandhurst. This small group of officers was later to be in charge of the
force in Pakistan. With the creation of Pakistan, a military academy was established at
Kakul while retaining the link with the Sandhurst Academy. The training pattern
continued to be the same; creation and maintenance of a force for establishing law and
order. As far as the external defense was concerned, the Indian army fought with the
Imperial force in the First and the Second World War. The insulation of the army from
politics was attained through its recruitment from the rural areas and its training process.
The Indian nationalist fervour of the 40s nevertheless had its impact on the Indian defense
force. The heroic status granted to the members of the Indian National Army (I.N.A),16
the strike by the navy personnel in February 1946 and by the air force and the army
personal in sympathy with them was the beginning of the political influence on the

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16 Members of the Indian National Army were the soldiers who supported the Japanese forces when they
attacked Burma and India. I. N. A. Collapsed after the defeat of Japan by the Allied forces.
strongest institution of the government. After partition, the Indian army reverted to its role of external defense, whereas the Pakistan army undertook the additional function of nation building. Pakistan military’s multidimensional role is described as unique by Stephan Cohen, “There are armies that guard their nation’s borders. There are those that are concerned with protecting their own position in society. And there are those that defend a cause or an idea. The Pakistan Army does all three.”

The affiliation of Pakistan military with the political institutions started with the appointment of General Iskander Mirza as the defense secretary. The civil-military relationship was further strengthened in October 1954 with the appointment of the Commander-in-Chief, General Ayub as the defense minister. Prelude to the formative phase (1954-58) for the army and growth of its economic interests (1958-69 during Ayub Khan’s rule) was initiated under the patronage of an army general who held supreme power as the Governor-General. The first phase of Pakistani politics (1947-58) was for the army a period of reconstruction and making alliances nationally and internationally. Nationally, the military developed cordial relations with the civil bureaucracy whereas internationally, military pacts were signed which made Pakistan not only militarily strong but also one of the closest ally of the United States. Guarding the national interest described as national security being the top priority of the policy-makers of Pakistan, the non-aligned policy pursued by some other third world countries could not be followed by Pakistan especially with defense minister being a general. The strained relations with her neighbor India due to Kashmir and Afghanistan due to the Pukhtunistan issue, made it imperative for the government to seek international alliances and devote most of the budget (more than 60%) to the defense. The military as a result was strengthened tremendously and evolved as the most organized force in the country. This close proximity with the West was mutually beneficial, it served the strategic interests of the US and UK in the region and assisted military in training and technological superiority it lacked. This mutually beneficial relationship has been undermined by Ayesha Jalal as rentier character

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19 Pakistan joined the Military Assistance Programme with the United States in 1954. She joined the South East Asian Treaty Organization in September 1954 and the Central Treaty Organization in September 1955. For details of these alliances, see S. M. Burke, Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis. London: Oxford University Press, Part II, pp. 147–275.
20 From 1947-57, defense expenditure varied from 60% to 70% of the total government expenditure whereas from 1958-69 it varied from 50% to 60% of the total government expenditure, the variation in the budget was due to direct military aid from the US and CENTO AND SEATO. For details see, H. A. Rizvi, Op.cit., Tables V, XV & XVI.
of the army i.e. fulfilling super power strategic interests in return for its security objective.\textsuperscript{21}

The organization and the strengthening of the military took place with the cooperation of the civil bureaucracy. General Iskander Mirza after assumption of power in 1956 retained the confidence of the military by appointing General Mohammad Ayub as the Commander-in-Chief as well as the defense minister, the same pattern continued under Ayub’s regime.\textsuperscript{22} He elicited the support of the military by incorporating several senior generals in his cabinets.\textsuperscript{23} The restructuring of the power bloc from the civilians to the military/bureaucratic structure influenced not only the economy, the foreign policy but above all major influence was evident in the social structure of the society. Since the recruitment of the officers was from the rural areas initially from the upper middle class and some from landed gentry, the senior military officers started combining class power with the state power.\textsuperscript{24} However, those without sufficient landholdings manipulated their power (military rule) to attain the necessary economic clout. As a result different programmes were undertaken for the allotment of land to the military officers and their involvement in the industrial establishment. These schemes were speeded up after October 1958; the military not only claimed extensive agriculture land but also extended its influence over commercial and residential areas in every major town. Industrial conglomerate too was expanded and Service sector was also encroached. The Army Welfare Trust (AWT) provided lucrative employment and profit making opportunities for retired army personnel. To further assist the armed forces and to improve the civil and military relation, a Pakistan Armed Services Board was constituted. The military was thriving not only on the bulk of the non-development expenditure but even most of the


\textsuperscript{24} Class power is defined primarily through relations of production though influenced by political and ideological relations. We include in the dominant class not only the owners (real and legal) but also the managers of the factors of production. For an exposition of this point, see E.O. Wright, “Class Boundaries in Advanced Societies. \textit{New Left Review}, No. 98, 1976, pp. 30-33. State power is defined by political and ideological relations based primarily on technical division of labour. It is “position” and not (class) origin which is significant for the state bourgeoisie who as “bearers” of capital serve its interest by taking over the role of political and ideological domination. M. N. Poulantza, \textit{Classes in Contemporary Capitalism}. London: New Left Books, 1975, pp. 207-208.
development expenditure was geared towards the welfare of the military personnel. By late 1960s the vested interest of the military was deeply entrenched in the government.\textsuperscript{25} The overthrow of the Ayub regime was an indicator that the state power had not only strengthened the military but also enhanced the class power of the industrial bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords, though the two (state power and class power) were quite distinct during the Ayub era.

With the installation of the civilian regime in December 1971, the military had to revert to its principal duty of the defense of the country.\textsuperscript{26} Some of the measures taken by Z.A. Bhutto immediately after assuming power were an indicator that the military would have to be kept outside the domain of politics and under the control of the civil government. The first step towards this process was the retirement of forty-three senior officers of the armed force, of whom twenty officers were from the army above the rank of the Brigadier. The next step was the abolition of the post of the Commander-in-Chief and constituting instead the system of Chiefs of staff as the head of the armed forces under the authority of the Head of the state as the Commander-in-Chief of the armed force. Finally the function of the military was clearly defined in the Constitution as the defense force against external aggression or to aid the civil government when called upon to do so.\textsuperscript{27} No previous Constitution had done so; it was the best method of eliminating military involvement in politics by making that an act of high treason.\textsuperscript{28}

The task of depoliticization of the armed forces was not an easy one either for the civil government or for the armed forces itself. The armed forces had held Supreme Power for too long to be easily alienated from it. The first act of disenchantment with the measures taken by Z. A Bhutto was revealed in March 1973; a coup d’état was planned by some army and air force officials.\textsuperscript{29} The Plan was, however, discovered before its implementation. The second act of defying the civil rule was in November 1975 when the army refused to leave Baluchistan after settling the trouble in the Pat-feeder area;\textsuperscript{30} and the final attempt was on the 5\textsuperscript{th} July 1977 when Martial Law was declared and General Zia-ul-Haq became the Chief Martial Law administrator. The army had seized the last

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{25} Ayesha Siddiqa, \textit{Op.cit.}, explains at length the military’s financial conglomerate specifically chapters 5-9, pp. 129-243.
\item \textsuperscript{27} The 1973 Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan., Article 245.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid., Article 6, clause 3.
\item \textsuperscript{29} The Pakistan Times, April 1\textsuperscript{st} 1973, p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{30} Bhutto’s reflection of Baluchistan as expressed in his affidavit is an admission of the fact that calling in the army to solve a political problem was a mistake. The army once inducted in the civil administration, becomes “self-perpetuating operation”. Z. A. Bhutto, \textit{If I am Assassinated}. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1979, p. XXII.
\end{itemize}
opportunity because just a day before on the 4th of July 1977, Z.A. Bhutto on a televised speech to the nation had declared that the three months of discussion with the United Democratic Front had finally resulted in an agreement i.e. to have by-elections in certain constituencies.\(^{31}\) The solution to the political crises and the implementation of the agreement would have averted the need for the army for quite some time. For the senior officers of the armed forces the night of 4th July 1977 was strategically the best time for military intervention through “Operations Fair Play”. It was only by resuming the state power that the armed forces could get back their lost privileges.\(^{32}\) This sequential intervention by the army has been aptly summarized by Zulfikar Khalid Maluka:

“The dissolution of Assemblies, abrogation of Constitutions, and the dismissal of governments are justified as a purging of the holy precincts of politics from degraded politicians. Then follow proclamations of reinforcing the majesty of constitutional law and establishing a sanctified political order in the country. Contrary to these pretensions of the rulers, the ugly phenomenon of disrupting constitutional governments gives birth to rampant corruption. Yet it is an irony of Pakistan’s politics that those who indulge in the worst form of corruption, abrogation of Constitutions, and usurpation of power in the dark of night. Are acclaimed as ‘heroes’ and eulogized as ‘saviors’. What else is this if not abject hypocrisy, to label such unscrupulous dictators as ‘soldier-statesmen’ and call their nefarious acts ‘missions’?”\(^{33}\)

Military intervention in politics is justified by a leading authority on military in Pakistan, Major-General Fazal Muqeem Khan, who was also the defense secretary of the Government of Pakistan. It is the ineptness of the politicians which according to F.M. Khan necessitates military intervention, “in fact it is the failure of political leadership in many underdeveloped countries which has tempted the military to intervene.”\(^{34}\) It is thus suggested that,

Politicians if they want to see their country flourish and enjoy as much freedom and independence as a comparatively small and poor country can have, must get down to ruling it properly, forgetting their bickering and petty quarrels. They must ponder earnestly over what great damage they have already done to the country and get down to rectifying their past mistakes.\(^{35}\)

\(^{31}\) This point was repeated over and again during my interviews and a certain individual was pointed out who tipped the army command to take the action on the night of 4 July, 1977.
\(^{32}\) One of the setbacks during the Bhutto era was the drastic reduction in the direct military aid due to his withdrawal from the defense pacts, whereas Zia ul Haq regime succeeded in getting $3.2 billion worth of American aid, most of it in the form of defense armament. *Dawn*, Karachi, 25 September/1 October 1981, p.1.
The suggestion seems rather absurd. To expect rectification of past mistakes without being given a chance remains a myth. If the military is always prepared to intervene because there is a constitutional crisis, or some central-provincial dispute or disagreement between the ruling and the opposition party, the chances for the political institutions to develop are very grim. The disrespect for constitutional rule and disdain of politicians and civilian institutions is the bane of this country which was unambiguously stated by General Zia ul Haq considering the Constitution not worth the paper written on it, it was a booklet of a few papers which could be torn up at any time by him. Such gallantry earned him the ‘sacred’ title of Mard-e-Momin, Mard-e-Haq bestowed on him by none less than the pious Ulema of this country. A constitutional critic might malign such a despot for his treacherous and irresponsible act of scuttling the democratic and constitutional process in the country.  

Most of the literature on Military interventions and rule has focused on ideology of culture, religion or race; Pakistan military considered as westernized due to its colonial heritage used culture (security paradigm versus Hindu India) as its ideology but Zia-ul-Haq era ushered in the religious phenomenon. He thoroughly engrained the Islamic ideology in the military and national ethos. The Islamization of the forces and the nation can be unambiguously attributed to his era.

The military’s specific agenda of perpetuating its institutional power was either misunderstood or ignored by the political forces. The attitude of the civilian government to use the military for police functions and then to expect them to remain outside the political sphere is simply anomalous. If the armed forces have to be restricted to their routine job of the external defense of the country, then the civilian regimes would have to solve their political problem by themselves without resort to military force. Our analysis of Pakistan however, suggests a different trend. The overzealous attitude of the civilian regimes towards the national integration and rapid economic growth finally arouses class and regional antagonism which can be suppressed with the support of the armed forces. And once armed forces are called in to solve political problem, they are apt to stay longer, considering force as a solution for all problems.

As for the regional/provincial problem, the military has aggravated the problem. The principal man behind the One-Unit scheme was the defense minister, M.A. Ayub

38 Troops were called in five times during the first two years of the Bhutto government. See H. A. Rizvi, *Op.cit.*, p. 263.
A scheme that proved disastrous for the smaller provinces. The military tried to solve the regional tension in East Bengal by genocide in 1970/71. In (W) Pakistan Martial Law was imposed in Baluchistan in February 1973 due to a small incident in Patfeeder area and it continued till 1975. In the KPK the murder of Hayat Sherpao led to the imposition of Martial law, banning of ANP and arrest of its leader Wali Khan in murder case. It is clear that whenever the smaller provinces have tried to raise the issues that are of significance to those areas, instead of resolving them, force is used to suppress them and their genuine demands are dubbed as anti national and such forces as traitors.

The ethnic background of bulk of the military, commissioned and non commissioned officers belongs to Punjab but it is significant to point out that the military is the only institution in which the KPK has proportional representation yet the preponderance of Punjabi personnel in the army means larger institutional benefits accrued to that province and therefore inter-regional disparity being further accentuated. The recruitment policy of the Pakistan government carried on the British tradition of acquiring the bulk of the army from the province of Punjab. However the only general who attained the rank of the Field-Marshall was from the KPK, General Mohammad Ayub Khan under whose regime ‘Decade of Development’ was celebrated. It was during this period that the exploitation of the KPK’s resources (human and natural) took place for the benefit of the dominant region (Punjab) and dominant class belonging to Punjab (as explained in part 2 of the thesis). It is therefore, futile to associate regionalism with a smaller or less than proportional representation in the army and bureaucracy. For the officer corps of the armed forces, their prime loyalty is to their institution rather than their region. During the Ayub era, it was the armed forces and the dominant class rather than his region that benefited from his policies. The problem is not one of the military or the region but that of the class origin of the majority of the officers of the armed forces. Most of them come from a petty bourgeois background and the stronger their association with the institution the better are their chances of promotions and increasing their perks and privileges (landholdings and other benefits) that the state power can provide. Moreover, it means moving into higher strata by acquiring land or industrial power by investment or management. For the public the distinction between the state power and class power is significantly presented to perpetuate the myth of associating national interest with the acquisition of state power by the military and bureaucracy as a ‘nation building mission’.

The myth of separation of the state power from class power is necessary for the legitimation of the military/bureaucratic regimes. It is essential to unravel the ‘Law of Necessity’ as propounded by Justice Munir for sequential military interventions in public

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domain to sustain and perpetuate its economic empire. Guarding of ‘national interest’ and ‘national security’ by acquiring state power assists in reproduction of ‘capital’ and maximizing profit thereby enhancing institutional capability of the military over and above the civilian state apparatuses.

THE BUREAUCRACY

The army, though closely linked with the government before the direct accession of power in 1958, nevertheless played second fiddle to the bureaucracy in the early phase. With the death of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in 1948 and the murder of Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951, the bureaucrats took full advantage of the frequent changes of the cabinets by invading the sphere of decision-making. Disdain of the politicians was a part of the training of the bureaucrats; however, the process of denigrating the politicians began in 1951 with the accession of power by Ghulam Mohammad a bureaucrat as the Governor-General. The direct control of the bureaucracy over the government of Pakistan continued till 1958, Ghulam Mohammad who was an ICS (Indian Civil Service) officer was replaced by another bureaucrat Iskander Mirza, as the Head of the State. It was not only the acquisition of the supreme office which made the bureaucracy extremely powerful but the manipulation of the Constitution and frequent dismissals of the popular governments by these high ranking bureaucrats. The attitude of distrust of the politician was an imperial legacy inherited by the civil servants of Pakistan during their training and service as the “Guardians” of the nation. The role of the two services, the colonial Indian civil service and the independent Pakistan civil service, was supposed to be very different due to the historical landmark in 1947. From the guardians, the role was to change to that of civil servants. But for the bureaucrats independence further entrenched their vision not only as the guardians but the masters due to the departure of the colonial bosses.40

The Indian civil service was one of the most distinguished services in the world;41 the policy of Indianization of the Indian civil service had started in 1887. But the service was divided into different classes, I, II, III & IV; each class was recruited separately and held different responsibilities. The key posts were restricted till the independence, exclusively for the British officers due to the significance and secrecy attached to those


41 According to Philip Woodruff, the nearest parallels (to the Indian civil services) ... are the civil services of China under the Emperors and of the Ottoman Empire under Suleiman the Magnificent... But there is an ideal model for the Indian system... Plato pictured a state ruled by the guardians. Governing by the light of what they knew to be beautiful and good. P. Woodruff, Op. cit., p. 15.
positions. The Civil Service as a whole was directly responsible to the executive head. This insulation from the public or protection against the popular governments was granted under different statutes. Insularity form the political and social conditions in India was moreover a result of recruitment and training policies. The training, according to Philip Woodruff, himself an ICS officer, was aimed at “Producing confidence and certainty, virtues in a ruler which may degenerate into arrogance towards the ruled.” These attitudes were further accentuated after Independence, when the distinguishing feature between the civil servant and the people was not race or colour but behaviour or attitude. These civil servants were very much a product of Lord Macaulay’s ideas, “a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in intellect.” The same attitude and behavioural pattern is visible in the post colonial administration of Pakistan, Saeed Shafqat himself a bureaucrat in his analysis of “Pakistani Bureaucracy” concludes,

From the review of literature, changing socioeconomic profile and attitude formulation among the federal bureaucrats we can conclude that despite limitations, the elite status and staying power of the bureaucracy is generally recognized, this is particularly more pronounced in Pakistan.

At the time of partition out of 101 Muslims of Indian Civil Service 95 migrated to Pakistan in 1947, among them only one-third came from East Punjab and two from West Bengal, rest of them were from Urdu speaking areas of United Province, Bihar and Bombay. The infra-structure of the administration, though weak and scanty, had a very strong tradition to follow. The bureaucracy in Pakistan very rapidly developed the “steel frame” of the ICS. The strength and cohesiveness was also possible due to the numerically limited group of the elite which by 1975 was 500.

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47 Hamid-al-Haq Chowdry however puts the number at 82 of the Muslim officers of Indian Political Service who migrated to Pakistan Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, January, 26, 1950, Volume I, p. 2104.
48 H. Alavi, 1957, “The apparatus of state established by the imperialist power had a dual role i.e. not only to maintain the institutional framework for the extension of capitalist economic relationship which might raise a political challenge to imperial rule. But independence and the end of direct control by the imperial power, has created a unique historical situation, the phenomenon of a State apparatus more highly developed than the ability of indigenous classes to control it... In Pakistan, the supremacy of the bureaucracy and the military apparatus of the state and its relatively independent role can be perceived more dearly. “The Army and Bureaucracy in Pakistan Politics.” In Dr. Anour Abdul-Malik (Ed.) Armee Dans la Nation, 1975, S.N.E.D, Alger, (emphasis mine), p. 39.
Punjabis, with 7 percent population representation, Mohajirs had 34 percent representation in Civil Services. Though quantitatively a small number, the CSP (Civil Service of Pakistan) had extra-ordinary powers and protection granted in the Constitutions. Article 181 of the 1956 constitution protected the civil servants against disciplinary action being taken by the provincial governments. Similar protection was granted to them in the 1962 Constitution, article 181 and 182; and in 1973 constitution article 249 provides the protection. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, however, curtailed the power of the bureaucracy by introducing the system of lateral entry; a system according to which any one till the age of forty five could enter the civil service by writing a special examination rather than taking the Central Superior Services examination. Shifting the locus of power from the Civil Service and the Planning Commission to the Prime-Minister’s Secretariats by Z.A. Bhutto was a result of the excessive abuse of power by the CSP’s and their immunity to public opinion and the politicians. Although dissatisfaction of the people with the administrative structure of Pakistan had been felt by the previous regimes, they limited their “reforms” to the dismissal of some officials. The impact of reforms on governance and bureaucracy is well documented by Akhtar Baloch who critically reviews Ayub Khan’s era with demoralizing impact on bureaucracy due to military inductions and harsh ordinances whereas Bhutto’s reorientation of civil services is positively viewed as need of the times to curtail centralization by bureaucracy, he does however pertains to the view that the political functions tends to be appropriated, in considerable measure, by bureaucrats in a polity with weak political institutions.

The change of regimes was thus associated by the CSP’s with dismissals, transfers or promotion of the public servants. This on the one hand installed insecurity in the civil servants and on the other hand increased corruption by allowing manipulation of the public office by the politicians and the public servants making most of it during their tenure. An officer on special duty (OSD) meant that he was not in the good books of the ‘government. To avoid such a situation, the civil servants particularly the district officers

49 As a result of lateral entry between 1973 and 1977, the Establishment Ministry appointed 1374 officers in the government, a number three times larger than the one that had been possible under the old system. S. J. Burki, 1980, *Pakistan under Bhutto 1971-1977*, London, Macmillan, p. 102.
50 Every regime since Ayub Khan started by dismissing or compulsory retiring the “corrupt” officers, M. Ayub Khan retired 84 senor officials. M. Yahya Khan retired 303 officers and Z. A. Bhutto got rid of 1300 such officers.
made sure that the demands of the local politicians belonging to the ruling party were complied with. The most important function was ensuring the success of the candidate of the ruling party.\textsuperscript{52}

The control and influence of the politicians over the civil servants was, however, quite limited. Firstly because of the frequent changes of the regimes, secondly due to the protection granted to the civil servants against provincial government and thirdly because ultimate national power resided in the hands of the bureaucrats till 1958. After that, during the Ayub regime, the influence of bureaucrats like Akhter Hussain, G. Mueenuddin, S. M. Yusuf, Fida Hasan and Altaf Gauhar was eminently felt in the decision-making process. The period 1951-1958 was undeniably the era of bureaucratic rule in Pakistan. The control of the civil servants was conspicuous both in national and provincial politics as reflected in Ghulam Mohammad’s (bureaucrat and the Governor-General) dismissal of the constituent Assembly in October 1954 because it enacted laws curtailing the power of the Governor-General. In the same vein, Iskander Mirza (another bureaucrat and the Governor-General) dismissed Fazlul Haq, the Governor of East Pakistan and appointed instead the Chief-secretary as the new Governor. This was done to support Attaur Rehman Khan, leader of the Awami League Party, who despite his waning majority was asked to form the government. The intervention by the Governor General in the provincial politics led to extreme violence in the Provincial Assembly of East Pakistan and resulted in fatal injuries of the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly. This highhandedness of the civil servants towards the politicians could be attributed to the different social milieu of the two categories. Majority of the politicians of the West Pakistan belonged to the rural areas with low levels of education. We are here referring to all the members of the National and Provincial Assemblies and not the dominant fraction of the power bloc which was the highly educated landed aristocracy and the industrial bourgeoisie.\textsuperscript{53}

The CSP’s on the other hand belonged to the urbanized upper middle class. Their entrance to the CSP cadre was based on a minimum of a master’s degree and in most cases an additional degree from a foreign university. They were moreover thoroughly

\textsuperscript{52} For details of the role of the civil servants in Pakistan and their relations with the politicians see H. Goodnow, 1964, pp. 77-104, M. Ahmed, 1964, pp. 124-142, and Asia Report No 158 February 2010.

westernized due to their education and training.\textsuperscript{54} Their social background and their belief of belonging to the “elite” cadre developed among the CSP’s a certain antagonism towards the local politicians, who were considered as incompetent and ignorant, Saeed Shafqat however in his (1988-97) data analysis reveals a different picture with majority 88% belonging to middle class, 4% upper middle and 8% lower middle mostly with 25% as simple graduates and 75% Master degree holders.\textsuperscript{55} Despite changing social background the alienating attitude of the CSP’s was not restricted to the politicians but was equally prevalent in their relations with the public. They were unapproachable and inaccessible to the public, of whom they were supposed to be the servants. Here again view seems to have changed due to several military interventions in governance engendering a more humbling attitude of career civil servants. Inductions of military officers and lateral entry molded the attitude requiring submission to political bosses though bureaucracies support to military interventions as junior partners does not lend credence to such humbling attitude.\textsuperscript{56}

The crisis of Pakistan in such a situation cannot be attributed to the ignorant politicians and apathetic, non-vigilant public but to the administrative structure which wielded the decision-making power despite its alienation from the public and the politicians. As mentioned earlier, until 1958 the bureaucrats held the supreme decision making power, after 1958 although the military assumed the direct control, the influence of the bureaucracy was still very predominant. In fact during the Ayub era along with the CSP’s were the members of the planning Commission of Pakistan who set the national goals.\textsuperscript{57} The civilian regime after 1971 tried to bring the military bureaucratic structure under the control of the politician but:

“Bhutto’s reforms failed to diminish bureaucracy’s power ….If anything, their authority actually increased as the Bhutto government nationalized some 30 private sector industries….its members suddenly became heads of banks, industries, and other corporations, and discovered how lucrative such positions could be. The main beneficiaries of Bhutto’s nationalization became the “the very civil bureaucrats whom the regime was supposed to be giving a much needed dressing down”. \textsuperscript{58}

The incorporation of the senior civil servants in lucrative posts however, did not diminish the military – bureaucracy anathema against civilian regime; the 1947-73 period has been termed as ‘Civil-Military Bureaucratic Nexus’. The civilian regime therefore, could not last for very long, the simple fact that the military took over in 1977 indicated the dissatisfaction of the military and the bureaucracy with the politicians and their policies. This also indicates that if the loci of the decision making are institutions isolated from the public, the policies are bound to be against the long-term interest of the nation and its nationals.

One of the issues that was most researched and analyzed before and during the separation of Bangladesh was the lack of representation from East Pakistan in the military and the bureaucracy. The best known work in this area was that of Rounaq Jahan, Failure in National Integration. Her analysis was circumscribed by modernization approach, according to which military and the bureaucracy in the third world are the modernizing institutions and therefore, lack of representation in those institutions would mean lack of modernization for those areas. Disagreeing with such an approach, I would nevertheless concede that proportional representation in those institutions could alleviate the grievances of the petty-bourgeoisie of the underdeveloped regions. Proportional representation in the decision-making institutions, however, does not imply that the national objectives could be altered or that accumulation and concentration of capital could be affected. However a lot of literature deals with the analysis of Punjabi/Mohajir dominance of civil and military bureaucracy to the point of referring to Pakistan as “Punjabistan” or associating Pakistan with dominant themes of Mohajirs “Urdu and Islam.” The table below shows that the KPK is also under represented in all the services of the bureaucracy above grade 17. If the KPK was represented in proportion to its population, it should have had at least 13% representation yet the table below shows that the case is quite different and the KPK has 3.4% representation in grade 22, 5.8% in grade 20, 9.2% in grade 19 and 7.4% in grade 18. Sind has much higher representation considering its population but it is urban Sind which has much higher representation considering its population, 7% population with 35% representation and rural Sind with 2% representation; whereas Punjab too maintains dominance in higher echelons of bureaucracy with 50% representation in grade 22 and 55% in grade 19. The KPK does not come anywhere close to its population.

59 Asia Report, Ibid., pp. 3-5.
Our main concern is with the most powerful branch of the superior services, i.e. the Civil Service, representation of KPK in that service though 11% does not reveal the true picture because there was minimal representation of the KPK in the CSP’s above the level of joint Secretary. The principal positions in that service were restricted to the members from Punjab and the Urdu speaking community who immigrated to Pakistan. If the regional problem is associated with petty bourgeois discontent, proportional representation would certainly rectify that problem but to consider that as a step towards national integration is a preposterous assumption. The essence of the national or the regional problem is not less or more representation in the military/bureaucratic structure but that of the capitalist development. As long as the national objective is stated to be the reproduction of the capitalist system, economic resource will be centralized and political power concentrated for the achievement of that particular goal.

### FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CIVIL SERVANTS CENSUS REPORT JANUARY 1983

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Source: Public Administration Research Centre (Statistical Cell) O&M Division Cabinet Secretariat Government of Pakistan Islamabad.

### Conclusion

Our analysis of the military and the bureaucracy was primarily a result of supreme power held by the military and bureaucracy for twenty years out of a total of thirty years under review. The objective of the analysis was to demystify certain “myths”. First, an attempt was made to dispel the illusion that the military and the bureaucracy as the two most modernized and powerful institutions would lead the country to self-sustained growth along with national integration.61 Our analysis shows that neither of the two

61 Although most of the modernization literature follows this approach, the two most relevant sources for this section are J. J. Johnson (Ed.), The Role of Military in Underdeveloped Countries. 1962, especially articles by L. Pye & and E. Shills. And E. Shills, Political Development in the New States, The Hague: Milton & Co., 1962.
objectives was achieved. National interest was severely damaged with the break up of the country and the growth rate sharply declined in the 70s. The second ‘myth’ that was demystified was the relation of the regional origin of the military and the bureaucracy with the solution or the aggravation of the regional problem. As our analysis shows, for the personnel of these two institutions, their regional origin is subservient to the institutional and class interests. The personnel of the military and the bureaucracy by virtue of their position become “bearer” of a certain ideology and thus assisted in strengthening their institutional base as well as enhancing interests of the hegemonic class.62 The civil-military bureaucracy by directly taking over reins of government deeply imbedded its economic, political and social tentacles and thus increased their state power; whereas under civilian governments it covertly controlled substantial policy decisions by reorganizing the power bloc. As we explained, the policies most damaging to the KPK were promulgated by General Mohammad Ayub Khan belonging to the KPK. As defense minister he initiated the plan of ‘One Unit’ and as the Head of the State, his policies required mobilization of resources (capital, labour and raw material) from the KPK to Punjab and Karachi. It was the imposition of Marital Law in Baluchistan during 1972-75 which alienated the province from the national political arena. The distrust of the Centre by the KPK was aggravated with the imposition of Marital Law in 1975. As for the bureaucracy, KPK had less than proportional representation which could be a reason for the KPK petty bourgeoisie discontentment but it would not solve the problem of unequal development.63 Apparently unequal development may be conceived of as an affect of the unequal representation in one of the most powerful institutions of the government but essentially it remains a structural problem.64

Finally, the class origin (middle class) of the military and the bureaucratic personnel enables them to acquire state power but does not make them representatives of

62 C. Meillassoux (1970) explains more or less a similar situation in case of Mali. According to him, “Having been the instrument of the colonial power and having then turned against it to become the mouthpiece of the exploited Malian peasantry, the bureaucracy was gaining (with its access to power) … control of the economic infrastructure and use of its means of exploitation, control of the means of repression involving a resort to various devices to maintain dominance.” C. Meillassoux, “Class Analysis of Bureaucratic Process in Mali.” Journal of Development Studies, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1970, p. 109.

63 To consider regionalism or nationalism as a petty bourgeoisie phenomenon simplifies the complexities of the social structure of a particular social formation. Above all, it ignores the unevenness of the capitalist development and its impact on class formation or deformation. Hamza Alavi, in discussing this problematic, correctly pointed out “the petty bourgeoisie equals nationalism but nationalism does not equal the petty bourgeoisie”, interview by the author, February 21, 1980, Manchester.

that class. As our analysis revealed, the supreme power was utilized to accumulate political and economic power of the upper echelons of the military and the bureaucracy along with the protection of the hegemonic class. This (acquisition of power), is, however, presented to the public as strengthening the military/bureaucratic structure for the defense of the ‘national interest’ and ‘national security’. Since the bulk of the military and the bureaucracy belongs to the middle class, the middle class at least tacitly approves of the military/bureaucratic rule particularly if it replaces the rule of feudal/bourgeois class, as happened in the case of Pakistan. The advantage that the military and the bureaucracy has (as a result of its petty bourgeois background and the overdeveloped state) is its relative autonomy from the power bloc. This could mean hurting the interest of the individual landlords and capitalists but protecting and defending the survival of the hegemonic class as whole in the long term. Another advantage that the military and the bureaucracy has in acquiring the state power is increasing the strength and cohesiveness of the institutions by acquiring material and managerial assistance and equipment with top elite enmeshed in business agglomerates. We tried to unravel these myths and disassociate them from the problematic of provincial autonomy as petty bourgeois phenomenon.

65 The middle class background is considered as the main factor in the success of the military coups in Latin America as well according to Jose Nun’s analysis. As he points out, “since military are middle class in social composition, the middle class finds themselves allied to that sector with a remarkable degree of institutional cohesion and articulateness. In other word, middle class looks to military to resolve political crisis.” Jose Nun, “A Latin American Phenomenon. The Middle-Class Military Coup” in J. Petras and M. Zeitlin (Eds.), Latin America: Reform or Revolution. Fawcett Premier Books, 1968, pp. 176-77.
CHAPTER – IX

LANDLORDS AND BOURGEOISIE

THE FIRST PHASE: 1947-1958

Pakistan gained independence without waging a war due to grueling efforts of Quad-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. A leader respected not only by the Muslims but also Hindus and Britishers for his integrity, honesty and commitment. There are nevertheless different interpretations attributed to the movement for Pakistan, some link it to the British Policy of ‘Divide and Rule’, others associate it to the rigid policy of the Congress (by rejecting the Cabinet-mission Plan). It seems that these factors may have provided impetus to the independence movement, but the essential basis of the movement was the consciousness of the Muslim petty bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy who felt alienated and subjugated by the Hindus after the fall of Mughal Empire.

It was after 1857 that anti-British feeling arose among the Muslims.\(^1\) This hostility was a result of the British policy and the communal feeling upon which they were playing although later the British equally stressed the geographic and economic unity of India vigorously pursued by Viceroy Linlithgow (1935-1934) and Lord Wavell (1943-47). The Muslims, however, after the mutiny became increasingly aware of the Hindu-Muslim distinction.\(^2\) The Hindus had a privileged position, they had an early contact with the British through their commercial centres in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, places far away from the Muslim centres of Lucknow, Delhi and Lahore. It gave Hindus and Parsis better opportunities for Economic and Political development. The inability of the Muslim landed fraction to compete with the developed Hindu Bourgeoisie steered them towards the Muslim league with the hope of lucrative opportunities of expanding their interests in a Muslim state.\(^3\) The majority support for Pakistan came from the Muslim middle class replaced by relatively advanced Hindu middle class under colonial rule, “Muslim nationalism” in India, according to Hamza Alavi, “propagated the cause of the underprivileged Muslim educated middle classes in India, who were numerically small and educationally less advanced than those of the Hindus. The creation of Pakistan, the

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separate homeland of the Muslim was the fulfillment of that cause." The Muslim masses supported Pakistan movement for the reasons of Islam being in danger.

In Sindh and Punjab just like the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the Muslim League was under the control of the landed gentry and the bourgeoisie. In Punjab, the Unionist Party under Sikander Hayat Khan gained the support of the Daultana-Mamdot group and won 101 seats in 1937 whereas the Muslim League won only one seat out of a total of 167 seats. The Muslim League influence increased considerably after the Muslim group in Unionist Party joined the Muslim League in 1937 and formed a coalition government in Punjab. The leadership of the league’s Punjab branch, one of the party’s oldest provincial branches, was in the hands of the big landlords and the privileged section of the Muslim intellectuals. In Sind, the Muslim League did not have a local organization until 1938. In the 1939 elections the United and National congress government came to power, the Sind nationalists broke up into sections and the division assumed a religious tone. With the creation of a provincial Muslim League branch in October 1938, the radical Sindhi intellectuals also sided with the big bourgeoisie to support the Muslim League. The Muslim League after the creation of Pakistan, lost its raison d’être, moreover its influence diminished after the death of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in September 1948. The Muslim League nevertheless continued to form the power bloc except during 1972-77 when the PPP formed the hegemonic group; it thereby gave the party the power to serve the interests of the dominant forces. H. Alavi explains it as follows:

“after the state of Pakistan had been created, the raison d’être of that movement ceased to exist. At that point the Muslim League, the principal organ of the movement, disintegrated. The surviving faction, which appropriated the mantle of the Muslim League, then began to propagate its ideology on behalf of the privileged groups, especially the Punjabi oligarchs, in opposition to regional challenges. The ideology of Islamic unity was now employed to deny the validity of the claims and demands of the less privileged groups the “Bengalis, Sindhis, Pathans, and Balochis-for recognition of their distinct identity and needs.”

The policy of the government and the party (Muslim League) was to put the foundation of the country on a firm basis. The policy adopted was to support the landlord fraction and to create the bourgeoisie. In the area constituting Pakistan there were large land owners, the industrial sector hardly existed and commercial sector was controlled by

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5 W.C. Smith, Islam in Modern India. Lahore: Sh. Mohammad Ashraf Press, 1946, Ch. I, VI, for intellectual origin of the Islamic movements in India (besides the political movements) part one is also recommended
the Hindus. The economy was in a vacuum after the emigration of the Hindus, the revival of the economy was undertaken by the immigrant families like the Bhoras, Khojas, fancy and Bhawanis from the Central and United province of India but their capital was too meager. It was thus imperative for the government to support economic policies necessary for investment to initiate production and generate surplus value for reproduction. This was done by adopting a policy of high economic growth, which would mean high rate of marginal savings by completely exempting private investment from taxation, by imposing taxes on consumption goods, depending on sales tax and excise duty for increasing state revenues thus withdrawing a saving margin from ordinary incomes and by treating public undertakings as a means for capital formation.8

The state thus assisted in rapid industrialization through the establishment of import-substitution industries especially the consumer-goods industry.9 Protection granted to the consumer good industry and intermediate goods industry was through the import the licensing system,10 the bonus vouchers scheme;11 and a credit policy.12 The state of Pakistan through its policy successfully created a group of industrialists, Bankers and businessmen.

According to L. J. White, “51.5 percent of the licenses (during Second Plan 1960-65) worth Rs. 1.512 million were granted to the leading industrialists. The same group of industrialists received 64 percent of the credit from Pakistan Industrial credit and Investment corporation (PICIC), 80 percent of the projects of Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC) were under the control of the same group of industrialist.13 The agriculture sector was an equal beneficiary of government policies, the rich landed agriculturists gained enormously through the Green revolution. The most important aspect of the Green revolution was mechanization of agriculture through the introduction of tractors; it displaced a huge surplus of labour and thus contributed directly

9 For the rate of protection of value added to different industries see K. Griffins and A. R. Khan, Growth and Inequality in Pakistan. London: Macmillan, 1972, p. 144, Table 4.1.
13 L. J. White, Ibid., pp. 122-126.
to the income of the rich landlord. The other factor which contributed to the Green revolution was an increase in the use of tube wells primarily due to the government policy of underpricing the electricity and 50 percent increase in the availability and use of irrigation water. The impact of the Green revolution was however restricted regionally and in class terms. Geographically the real beneficiaries of the technological change were rich farmers of the central Punjab comprising the districts of Sialkot, Gujranwala, Lahore, Lyallpur, Sahiwal and Multan. These were the areas which benefited from the huge reservoir of water in the two dams of Mangla and Tarbella, also three fourths of the private tube wells were concentrated in this area.

Thus it was the rich landowners who reaped the benefit of the Green revolution. The benefits of the economic policies of the state have been well summed up by Sir Arthur Gaitskell in his foreword to Leslie Nulty.

“The benefit of the Green Revolution just like the benefit from industrialization has gone to a comparatively narrow segment of society, to the bigger landowners, money lenders and urban investors… The masses of small farmers have not benefited indeed they may well be worse off.”

The Government interest was to formulate policies which benefited a small minority of the population on the rationale of “growth” and ultimately the “spillover effect”. The power bloc was constituted by the hegemonic class i.e. the landlords, and the bourgeoisie; the social category constituted by the military and the bureaucracy, tacitly serving each others interests. The presence of the hegemonic class in the power bloc is not necessary for effectively pursuing its interests, yet in the case of Pakistan we find a confluence of the hegemonic class in the power bloc. As K. Callard points out:-

“In West Pakistan there has been a clear clash of interests between the landlord and the tenant. In some areas the rule of princes and near princes continued on a basis of unmodified autocracy…. The direct political rule of the hereditary rulers has been curtailed, but many large landowners continued to exercise political dominance. For instance, they returned members to the legislatures much as did the owners of pocket boroughs in the eighteenth century England. The peasant may have had a role but this landlord told him what to do with it. Only the fringes of effective program of land reform had been touched upon in eleven years of ‘responsible government’ in West Pakistan. Real social grievances were unable to translate themselves into political activity.”

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16 L. Nulty Ibid., p. 61, Table II.
17 L. Nulty, Ibid., pp. VII.
The feudal landlords from West Punjab Malik Feroz Khan Noon, Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Muhammad Gardezi, Iftikhar Hussain Khan Momdot, Nawab Muzzafar Ali Kizlbash, and a few of the biggest landlords from Sind, such as Muhammad Ayub Khuro and Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, had not only seats in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and legislative assemblies of the provinces but were also ministers in the Central and provincial governments. As pointed out by K. Callard:

“Jagirdars and Zamindars, Pirs and Mirs, Makhdooms, Khans and Nawabs retain vast political influence. A glance through the list of members of legislative assemblies shows how many such hereditary leaders or their near relatives are active in Political life. The political map of Pakistan, particularly West Pakistan, is dotted with the signs of entrenched areas of personal political power.”

The Jagirdars and Zamindars of West Pakistan shared power with the landed and bourgeoisie families of India who migrated to Pakistan at the time of independence. The different fractions of the hegemonic class constituted by the emigrants from India can be categorized into groups.

The landed fraction included Liaquat Ali Khan, Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Ismail Ibrahim whereas the industrial and financial fraction of the bourgeoisie included A. Adamjee, Habib Rahimatullah, H. K. Dada, M. M. Isphani, Chanoy and Valibhai.

Closely associated with the alien bourgeoisie was a small but influential group of Muslim businessmen from West Punjab, within ten years of the creation of Pakistan the control of the industrial and financial bourgeoisie over the economy was well established. The impact of a small clique was quite apparent by 1959 as G. Papanek reveals it:

“There were 3,000 individual firms in Pakistan, only seven individual, families or foreign corporations controlled one quarter of all private industrial assets, and one fifth of all industrial assets… approximately 15 families owned about three quarters of all the shares in the banks and insurance companies.”

The landlords and the bourgeoisie not only had well entrenched economic power but were also well represented in the state apparatus. They had key decision making power and effectively steered the policy making body. Their role and power was quite apparent,

“In fact a small, well defined group of men monopolized political offices, throughout the country and transferred from one field to another as occasion seemed to warrant… A group of about twenty individuals made all important political and government decisions at very level.”

As long as Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was in power, his authority was unchallenged; with Liaquat Ali Khan in power, the Muslim League support was waning.

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He depended more on provincial support, especially from West Pakistan. In Punjab he depended more on Daultana as opposed to Mamdot, in Sind, Khuhro gained eminence and from the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Abdur Rab Nishtar, was in the Cabinet. From October 1948 (after Muhammad Ali Jinnah’s death) political power in Pakistan was slipping under West Pakistan dominance and after October 1951 (Liquat Ali Khan’s death), the power bloc of Pakistan was constituted entirely by the Punjabis and the Muhajirs. During 1947-51 there was some semblance of unity in the ruling bloc however, after 1951 power struggle between the different fractions of the ruling bloc came to the surface. The Rawalpindi Conspiracy case (1951), though blown out of proportion by the government, was an indication of the frustration of the people and the struggle within the ruling bloc. The special tribunal which investigated the case considered the Communist Party of Pakistan as the principal element behind the conspiracy, as a result of which the party was banned in 1952.23

By October 1951, with Nazimuddin as Prime Minister and Ghulam Muhammad as Governor General, the real power had shifted to the office of the Governor General. Ghulam Muhammad, a civil servant and strong supporter of Punjabi landlordism, dismissed the Nazimuddin ministry on 17th April 1953. With the next Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra, a bureaucrat too the government was virtually in the grip of the civil servants. Both the Prime Minister and the Governor General strengthened their positions by integrating the armed forces in the government through General Ayub Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, who had accepted the defense portfolio. The Provincial support from Sind was gained by including Ghulam Ali Talpur a landlord and M.M. Isphani, an Industrialist in the federal Cabinet. From the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Dr. Khan Sahib a landlord too, was incorporated in the Federal Government. The real crisis faced by the Central Government was when the three under developed provinces of Baluchistan, Sind and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa resented the pressure of the Punjab’s domination and opposed centralization. This resentment was reflected in the United Front’s victory in East Pakistan under Fazlul Haq (a Bengali supporter of provincial autonomy), the rejection of the Unification plan by the Sind Assembly under Abdus Sattar Prizada and the imprisonment of the Frontier leader Abdul Ghaffar Khan (champion of provincial autonomy) by the Muslim League Government.

The consideration of the Basic Principles Committee Report by the Constituent Assembly in September 1954, reflected the prevailing atmosphere in the different provinces of Pakistan, and therefore, envisaged the creation of six provinces in West Pakistan, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind, Baluchistan, Khairpur and Bahawalpur. It was expected that the Constitution which was being prepared would conform to those administrative units. The promulgation of the Constitution was to take place on December 25, 1954. For Punjab the recommendation of Basic Principles Committee Report meant loss of power and accordingly “disintegration” of Pakistan. The only way for Punjab’s domination was to find an alternative to the Report’s recommendation of creating six provinces; this could be done by creating “One Unit” of West Pakistan. As a result, the two landlords of Punjab Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani and Mumtaz Daultana got together with a Sindhi landlord Muhammad Ayub Khuro (who had replaced Pirzada as the Chief Minister) and a bureaucrat from the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Inspector General of Police, Sardar Abdur Rashid) as the Chief Minister of the province, to create One Unit on 14 October 1955. The path was clear for West Pakistan’s domination of East Pakistan and the Punjab’s domination of Pakistan.

The creation of ‘One Unit’ and later the Constitution of 1956 did not bring the much needed stability to the country nor did it help in integrating the different provinces. The power struggle within the ruling bloc continued and the opposition kept mounting. The unbearable act of Ghulam Muhammad in dismissing Muhammad Ali Bogra’s government brought in Iskander Mirza as the Governor General and Chowdhry Muhammad Ali as the Prime Minister. Iskander Mirza, a civil servant, never concealed his disgust with the politicians. His high-handedness in political matters led to the deterioration of the political situation to an extent that, according to Ayub Khan, Martial law was the only remedy.

THE SECOND PHASE: 1958-68

The second phase of Pakistan’s history starts with the martial law of October 8, 1958. The reasons for the imposition of Marital Law were diverse, but we will concur with Tariq Ali’s view that,

The main reason for the army’s coup d’état was the bureaucracy’s overriding urge to prevent Pakistan’s first ever general election from taking place in March 1959… The prospect of the forthcoming election had tempted the leaders of the opposition parties into making a number of sweeping promises of radical reform.
An elected government would also have had more confidence to combat the influence of the bureaucracy and to establish civilian control over the army.\textsuperscript{24}

The second phase was clearly the era of bureaucratic-military dictatorship, the difference from the previous phase was that the government covertly undertaken under the semblance of civilian rule became overt. The second major difference was that the alliances changed between the power bloc, instead of the feudal landlords dominating the ruling bloc, it was the industrial, financial and commercial bourgeoisie who took over that role. The first phase was clearly manipulated by the feudal lords of West Pakistan; the state, therefore, served as a pliable tool for enhancing their economic and political power. The second phase was different. It was not a civilian rule, it was a military dictatorship with bureaucratic support and the state was, therefore, not at the mercy of the dominant class. It had its own support, which perpetuated its tenure. Thirdly, the interest of the feudal lords, the dominant fraction of the power bloc in the first phase, was to a great extent subsumed for the expansion of the industrial bourgeoisie in the second phase. The role of international monopoly capital in subverting the interest of the dominant class was negligible. Pakistan had direct military alliances (CENTO and SEATO) with the U.S. but the penetration of international capital was very minimal in the economy. The state of Pakistan was, therefore, not an appendage of monopoly capital, serving its interests at the cost of domestic or comprador bourgeoisie. Insofar as the creation and the expansion of the bourgeoisie in Pakistan can be attributed to the military-bureaucratic rule of 1958-68, the state did act in a relatively autonomous manner, at times ignoring (though not hurting) the interest of the landlords. But in terms of overall evaluation of the regime, keeping in mind the results of the “Green Revolution” besides the “Industrial and Trade” policies, the state unabashedly served the interests of the dominant class, in that particular sense, it was the instrument of the hegemonic class.

The influence of the dominant class on the state apparatuses was very glaring in the second and third phase. Although it was not a civil regime, the state power belonged to the military and the bureaucracy, but it was the economic policies of the state that indicated that the dominant class was the principal beneficiary of those policies. There was some representation of the dominant class in the policy making institutions. Malik Amir

\textsuperscript{24} T. Ali, \textit{Pakistan: Military Rule or People’s Power}. London: Jonathan Cape, 1970, p. 87. The government’s view for instituting the Martial Law is aptly summarized by K. B. Sayeed. As he puts it, according to Muhammad Ayub Khan, “the country was riddled with disruptionists, political opportunists, smugglers, black marketeers and other such social vermin sharks and leeches, and that the regime was determined to clean the Augean stables”, K. B. Sayeed, \textit{The Political System of Pakistan}. Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1967, pp. 93-4.
Muhammad Khan of Kalabagh, Governor of Punjab for six years, (April 1960-September 1966) was one of the biggest landlords of Punjab. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, another big landlord from Sind was Ayub’s Foreign Minister till 1966. Muhammad Ali Khan of Hoti, one of the biggest landlords of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, was in the Federal cabinet for 4 years (1966-69). Ghulam Faruqe, one of the biggest industrialists of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa held different portfolios under Ayub Khan. Yusuf Haroon, who belonged to the famous twenty-two families, was the Governor of West Pakistan in 1969. The representation of these members in the state apparatus is not the determining factor of the state policies, but it does indicate the influence of the hegemonic class over the major state policies. The military-bureaucratic structure, while maintaining its relative autonomy from the dominant class, nevertheless served the interest of that class in the guise of the Green Revolution and rapid industrial development.

Muhammad Ayub Khan after coming to power undertook some sweeping reforms, one of them being the land reforms. Ayub’s land reforms were restricted to West Pakistan because land tenure in East Pakistan, under the East Bengal Estate Acquisition and Tenancy Act of 1950, payment of Compensation, all the subinfeudations and rent receiving interests had been extinguished, and a ceiling on landholdings was also provided. By 1956 the government of East Pakistan had implemented major portions of the Act.25

In West Pakistan, no such land reforms were initiated; In Punjab 50% of the available land, a little less than 50% in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and over 80% in Sind was in the possession of a few thousand absentee landlords. In the whole of West Pakistan 0.1% of owners held between them 150% of the land in properties of over 500 acres each, and another 65% of the population had landholding of less than 5 acres each.26 Besides big landlords were the rich peasants who constituted 5.6% of the total ownership of land in West Pakistan, owning 21.9% of the land. Their landholding varied between 25 to 100 acres. Those holding land between 5 to 25 acres constituted the middle peasants, they represented 28.6% of the population and held 31.7% of the total land in West Pakistan.27 Ayub’s land reforms were to affect only the big landlords. The land Reform Commission Report was accepted by the Government in January 1959, according to which, no individual could own more than 500 acres of irrigated land or 1,000 acres of non-irrigated

land, plus any additional areas as might be necessary to give the equivalent of 36,000 produce index units. In addition an orchard land of 150 acres could be maintained, gifts could also be made to family members not exceeding the equivalent of 18,000 produce index units. In effect a single individual, along with the members of his family, could retain a maximum area of about 9000 acres of irrigated land.\textsuperscript{28} Land in excess was to be surrendered to the government in return for compensation in the shape of redeemable bonds bearing interest at four per cent. Land acquired under these regulations was much less than expected. Only 5\% of the total cultivable area was surrendered. Approximately 2,547,000 acres was surrendered by 902 landowners, involving an amount of Rs. 75,000,000 by way of compensation in four percent redeemable bonds. The average area surrendered by these landowners was 2,500 acres, but individual case varied greatly. The Nawab of Hoti (Federal minister under Ayub Khan) surrendered some 8,000 acres and Colonel Amir Khan of Toru, Mardan (KPK) a former Minister in the West Pakistan provincial government, surrendered about 13,500 acres. In Multan district, three members of the Daultana family surrendered about 16,000 acres, but the total area given up in that district by some thirty-seven landlords was approximately 40,5000 acres. In Hazara District, 154 landlords surrendered, 68,000 acres (after distribution 21,000 acres to female dependents as permitted by the reforms).\textsuperscript{29} Despite these reforms, the influence of landlords remained entrenched; land reforms were mild and affected the landlords in a very small way. In many respects, as L. Ziring notes:

\begin{quote}
The Ayub government revitalized its influence. With increasing emphasis on agriculture and agricultural production, landlords have become entrepreneurs. Today, the larger Zamindars are more than just interested in the local importance that ownership gives them. Agriculture has become a profitable enterprise and the investment in tube wells, fertilizers, new seeds, and even mechanized equipment has produced the Green Revolution and made a number of landlords rich and hence politically prominent.\textsuperscript{30}
\end{quote}

In terms of mechanization of farms, those with holdings above 100 acres were the principal beneficiaries, and then were the rich peasants with holdings between 50 to 100 acres. Owners of holdings between 50 to 100 acres numbered only 27\% of the landowners in the mechanized farm sector, and they accounted for no more than 10\% of the cultivated area of landholding in that sector in 1968. However, they owned 25\% of the tractors,

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Ibid}, p. 60.
\end{footnotesize}
which suggests that the degree of mechanization or the proportion of land cultivated by tractors was greater. Landlords with holdings above 100 acres owned 86.5% of the land in the mechanized farm sector and 55% of the tractors. Thus the real benefits of the Green Revolution went to feudal lords rather than the middle peasants.

Besides the class character of the Green Revolution, its regional impact was also very glaring. It was overwhelmingly concentrated in Punjab and within Punjab in the privileged canal districts along the Indian border, i.e. Lahore, Multan, and Sargodha districts. Ninety-five per cent of the tube wells and 80% of the tractors were concentrated in Punjab. In 1969, Peshawar region had 960 private tube wells whereas Lahore region had 68,075 tube wells.

Agriculture alone was not the principal source for reaping profits accentuating class and regional disharmony. The hegemonic class had much more success in the industrial sector. By the end of the sixties, the domestic bourgeoisie was in complete control of Pakistan’s economy. Although Mahbubul-Haq Chief Economist, Planning Commission, was the first one to disclose the concentration of capital, thorough analysis of corporate capitalism was underway since the mid-sixties, especially due to the tension between the two wings of Pakistan. Ayub’s overthrow and the separation of East Bengal confirmed that concentration of capital had gone too far. It was in 1968 that the information was revealed about the ‘20 largest families who controlled 66% of the total industrial investment, 90% of the total insurance funds and 80% of the total bank assets.’ Further analysis of the concentration of capital by L.J White (1974) and Rashid Amjad (1974) has enlarged the group of the dominant class to 43 families, subdivided into groups of largest 4, 10, 20 and 30 and in all 43 families. This group of forty three families owned 98 non-financial companies and their total assets; the largest four families were in control of fifth of the total assets, the ten largest families controlled over a third and the thirty largest controlled over half of total assets of the financial companies. This conglomerate of forty three families controlled about three-quarters of the assets of the private Pakistani-controlled firms whereas four of the leading families controlled about half of the assets. Twenty families of the same conglomerate undertook the manufacturing sector as well.

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controlling forty five percent of all private Pakistani manufacturing capital and a third of all manufacturing assets. 34

Besides concentration in the manufacturing sector, the same families controlled large assets in the banks and insurance companies. At the end of 1968 there were 23 domestically-controlled banks and 29 foreign-controlled banks in Pakistan. These banks had total assets of Rs. 24.178 million. Total earning assets were Rs. 14,259.5 million and total deposits were Rs. 24,178 million. Habib, Saigol and Adamjee, the biggest industrial families controlled the first, third and the fourth largest bank. The Central government controlled the second largest bank; together the four largest banks had more than three-fourths of the total deposits and about two-third of earning assets.35 The three largest private banks had half of total deposits and total earning assets. Besides Saigols, Adamjee and Habib four other industrial families, the Fancies, Sheikhs, Dawood and Haji Habib also controlled the banks. These seven industrial families accounted for sixty percent of all the bank deposits in Pakistan, the percentage increased to ninety one if the deposits of government controlled and foreign banks were excluded.36 In most cases the largest loans would go to the families owning the banks.

In addition to the banks, another source of finance capital was insurance companies. In 1968 there were forty six Pakistani-owned insurance companies with total assets of Rs. 850.6 million in life and general insurance. The industrial families, Haji Habib and Habib controlled the first and the third largest insurance companies; the second and fourth were foreign-owned. These four put together controlled fifty three percent of all the assets in the insurance industry. Besides these two family firms another twelve insurance companies controlled by industrial groups accounted for forty nine percent of all assets which represented seventy six percent of all assets controlled by Pakistani firms. The portfolio of these industrial family insurance companies tended to favour companies controlled by the same group. Thus the investment pattern of insurance companies were not oriented towards gaining control of industrial companies but were geared towards providing a market for the family’s shares when they wanted to sell some of these without affecting /depressing the prices of the shares of its companies.37

Inter marriages or ethnic relations provided strong links between the major

34 L. J. White, Op.cit, p. 59. See Tables 4-1, 4-2, 4-7.
35 Rashid Amjad, Industrial Concentration and Economic Power in Pakistan. Lahore: South Asia Institute, University of Punjab. pp. 74-76
36 Ibid, Tables 4-12.
37 L.J. White, ibid, Tables 4-13, 4-14, Also see Rashid Amjad, Op.cit, pp. 32-42.
industrial families. Members of the families were on each other’s boards of directors, there were 1,800 such interlocks among the thirty three families and more than hundred casses in which one family had at least one member on the board of directors of at least one company of another family.38

The origin of the concentration of capital within such a small clique was due to certain protective devices used by the state. These protective policies, e.g. bonus voucher and licensing scheme, over valuation of the currency, tariff protection, were instrumental in the creation of the domestic bourgeoisie. The close connection between the government, the licensing agencies and the forty-three families was an asset for the rapid industrial development as well as the growth of these families.39 The state’s economic policies were thus directly instrumental in the concentration of capital. Though very few members of the feudal bourgeoisie class were represented in the state apparatus, the state power not only engendered but also enhanced the economic power of the dominant class.

THE THIRD PHASE: 1972-77

The scene changed slightly in 1972 with Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s assumption of power. First, this was a civilian regime and therefore could not unabashedly serve the interest of the dominant class as the military and the bureaucracy could. There had to be some semblance of public participation. Secondly, Z.A. Bhutto had gained power on the basis of a socialist platform; the regime therefore had to undermine the interest of the hegemonic class, though in the long term the hegemonic class had nothing to fear of this regime. Thirdly the state apparatus was represented by this class; to undermine its interests would have been ignominious.

The Pakistan people’s Party was formed in December 1967 in Lahore. Aware of the impending crisis in the country, the PPP precipitated the crisis and finally attained the power. The social milieu in which the PPP was created required a radical political platform. The Foundation Document which outlined the need for a new party and its main principles had progressive and radical overtones. To provide a broad base for the party and ultimately to capture the masses, the party promised the nationalization of “all major sources of wealth” to the extent of 80% of the economy (excluding agriculture), the remaining 20% would be comprised of small industry and retail trade. A new ceiling on landholding was marked, to the extent of 150 acres of irrigated and 300 acres of non-

38 L. J. White, ibid, p. 81, Tables 4-15.
irrigated land depending on yield per acre. The manifesto also offered specific commitments in the areas of health, education, local government, administrative reforms, labour welfare and foreign policy. It also promised to provide housing, adequate transportation, paid holidays, free medical aid, minimum wages and participation in the decision making process to workers. In short it promised Roti, Kapra or Makan (food, clothing and shelter) to the entire citizenry. Out of a set of ten foundation documents, document four and seven were the most important. Document four outlined the necessity of socialism as a cure for Pakistan’s economic and political crises and document seven emphasized the unity of the people and the blend of socialist and Islamic values. The party manifesto was a more detailed analysis of the party principals as well as party organization and strategy.

Disenchantment with the Ayub regime, Z.A. Bhutto’s charisma and progressive manifesto attracted to his party factions from the extreme left (like J. A. Rahim) scientific socialists (like Mubashir Hasan) committed socialists (like Sheikh Rashid) and bourgeoisie liberals (like Mustapha Khar and Hafeez Pirzada). To forge an alliance between such diverse factions was difficult but necessary to capture power. Bhutto could bring together these different factions by completely dominating the party. Once in power, Bhutto’s pragmatism necessitated the inclusion of feudal bloc and by 1977, except Dr. Mubashir Hasan, none of the other progressives were in the party. The party on the other hand was dominated by the feudal landlords like the Noons and the Tiwanas of Sargodha, the Maliks of Mianwali, the Qureshis of Multan, the Hayats of Rawalpindi and Campbellpur, the Legharis and Mazaris of Dera Ghazi Khan.

In the 1970 elections the PPP turned out to be the majority party in West Pakistan by virtue of sweeping victory in Sind and Punjab. This was the peak of the PPP’s progressiveness, and yet the top positions in the central committee of the party and membership of the assembly was assigned to the feudal lords, the eighteen-member central committee, named by Z.A. Bhutto, included only three persons who could be considered progressive by any definition. Similarly in Punjab sixty three PPP members elected to the

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41 ibid

42 According to S. R. Ghauri, “Mr. Bhutto might have easily calculated that bringing forward the old wealthy families might be a good idea. They are not corrupt in the ordinary range, they are not goondas (lawless) and they will be politically docile, they will be as loyal to the regime as they were to Ayub and their fathers and forefathers were to the government of the day. It is sheer pragmatism that has dictated Mr. Bhutto’s choice.” “Bhutto Fights for His Political Life,” Far-Eastern Economic Review, March 4, 1977, p. 12.
National Assembly, only two, Sheikh Rashid and Mukhtar Rana represented rural and urban workers. In Sind all the nineteen national Assembly members from the PPP were feudal landlords.43

Keeping in view the party composition, the reforms proposed and undertaken by Z.A. Bhutto were not as radical as expected or as Bhutto may have desired. The reduction of land ceiling to 150 acres irrigated and 300 acres non-irrigated was to be based on the ratio of produce index units, i.e. the ceiling had been reduced from 36,000 produce index units to 1,800 produce index units (PIU). The difference between the ceiling acreage and PIU could allow an individual owner land up to 1,800 acres instead of 150 or 300 acres. This discrepancy in the ceiling was elaborated by the Dawn of Karachi,

The key unit in determining the ceiling of land to be owned by an individual was not acreage but PIU. PIU is a measurement for determining the gross product of various classes of lands and is calculated at the time of settlement. Since land settlement can only be revised after 40 years the PIU are completely out of date. The last settlement was made in mid-thirties, a period of depression, and was at this time that the existing unit was established. The PIU is likely to defeat the objective of the reforms and from the fact that the value of an acre in terms of PIU ranges from 10 units to 110 units, where an acre is equivalent to 10 units, 1,8000 units, will form 1800 acres, ceiling will not reflect the difference in productivity of the two but only their status in the mid-thirties. Hence the effective ceiling may not be 150 irrigated and 300 acres of non-irrigated land, but anything up to 1,800 acres or even more.44

As far as the industrial sector was concerned, the PPP as promised nationalized a number of industries, iron and steel, petrochemical, gas and tractors, banks and insurance companies, thus for the first time creating a public sector. There were, however, two drawbacks in this process. First, the industries which formed the lynch-pin of the Pakistan economic power, the textile and sugar industry remained unaffected. Secondly, in the industries that were nationalized the government only took over the management and not the ownership. Even this affected the power of the industrial bourgeoisie but not the process of capital accumulation because the profits had to be distributed among the shareholders, who continued to be the corrupt management. Besides, the industries that were nationalized accounted for 12.8% of the gross domestic product and employed only 3.4% of the total labour force. Its contribution to export was only 8.3% of the total.45 Thus even in the industrial sector the concrete result was not as was perceived to be but these policies nevertheless created fear amongst the bourgeoisie and resulted in their withdrawal.

44 Dawn, March 6, 1972.
from capital accumulation in Pakistan. They started seeking markets outside of Pakistan, the Saigol family started investing in Tanzania, Kenya and the United Arab Emirates; the ‘Service’ house moved its enterprises to Saudi Arabia and Tanzania, the Haroon family took up businesses in New York and London. Those who continued to stay in Pakistan diversified their capital investment into other sectors, the Dawood family started rice trading, the Fancy’s initiated deep-sea fishing, the Saigols went into construction and consultancy activities as did the Habibullahs.46

But another and probably equally important reason for the withdrawal of the bourgeoisie was the struggle within the power bloc. The balance was to shift in the favour of the feudal lords as opposed to the industrial bourgeoisie. Bhutto’s attitude towards some of the industrialists was an indication of this trend.47 Power struggle in the ruling bloc could only be curtailed if assessment of the policies could be curtailed; as a result, journals like Outlook, Jassarat, Frontier Guardian which were critical of some of government’s policies, were banned. The NAP government in Baluchistan was dismissed and as a consequence the KPK government resigned. The opposition party in the Centre constituted by the National Awami Party was banned and the labour disputes and workers demands were met by police force rather than accepting their legitimate demands of high wages as were promised by the government.48

Centralization of power as perceived by the opposition was attributed to Bhutto’s class background. Shahid Javed Burki makes a bewildering comparison between Z.A Bhutto and Amir Muhammad Khan of Kalabagh, the most authoritarian governor of Punjab (1960-67). Both of them were from the feudal background, both believed in total submission and the use of force to achieve their objectives. The only difference between the two, which Burki attributes to Bhutto’s education in England and the United States was that, Governor Kalabagh had no use for institutions, he cared less for laws,

46 Ibid., p. 118.
48 A Similar case of disillusionment with the policies of the regime was faced by the people of Ghana during Nkrumah’s socialist regime, 1957-66. For a critical review of Nkrumah’s socialist regime see R. B. Fitch and M. Oppenheimer, Ghana, End of an Illusion, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1966. Leo Humberman and P. Sweezy’s foreword to the book put forth the problematic succinctly. According to them: “We were shocked by the February (1966) coup which overthrew the Nkrumah government. We had never been taken in by the myth of Ghanian socialism... But it seemed hard to believe that Nkrumah could be overthrown in an almost bloodless coup... One thing was immediately obvious... (even) if the CIA played a role, it evidently acted through the army and the police... the ease with which the coup succeeded and the apparent total absence of popular resistance... Only one conclusion seemed possible: that the situation in Ghana was quite different from the appearance which we had... all too uncritically accepted as reflecting the reality.” R. B. Fitch and M. Oppenheimer, Ghana: The End of an Illusion, 1966, Monthly Review Press, p. IX.
parliament, political parties and the judiciary to justify his oppression whereas Bhutto’s efforts were always geared to elicit support from those institutions for his policies and actions.\textsuperscript{49} This difference in strategy could indicate that one represented the typical feudal rule and the other had become déclassé and turned into a democrat and a socialist (as Bhutto himself professed to be) whereas another rational answer to it is that the sixties in Pakistan could accept a “Typical feudal” rule whereas the seventies would have nothing less than an ‘enlightened feudal.’\textsuperscript{50}

The contradictions of Bhutto’s class and education and the poverty of his country were so apparent in his personality that it baffled the Italian journalist, “He is also many things, all of them in conflict among themselves. The more you study the more you remain uncertain, confused like a prism turning on a pivot, forever offering a diyl face. He is all things, liberal and authoritarian, fascist and communist, sincere and liar.”\textsuperscript{51} This is paradoxical, because Bhutto’s image of himself was quite clear, according to him.

I am a man of the left and Marxist, I am a revolutionary but I can’t afford sudden and bloody revolution. I must proceed with patience, by reform, measures that will gradually lead to socialism. Even Lenin, in the beginning stooped to compromises. I am not playing with socialism..... I don’t proceed slowly out of selfishness. I don’t want to be a dictator, but I’ll have to be very tough, even authoritarian. I am not a fascist, fascist is a petty bourgeoisie. I am an aristocrat, a fascist is the man of right, I am a man of the left.\textsuperscript{52}

He was an aristocrat no doubt and an enlightened one too who was conscious of the fact that progressive manifesto was essential considering the poverty of the majority of the people but with the pressures of the landed fraction he shifted from his initial radicalism to a point that the new power centers were devolved on the people of the conservative landed, bourgeois or bureaucratic background. Yusuf Khattak, an industrialist and an old-time Muslim League supporter from the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa along with Qayum Khan, another ardent Muslim Leaguer were included in the cabinet. Aziz Ahmad, a retired bureaucrat, was named Secretary-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Governments of Sindh, Punjab and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were entrusted to the landlords of those regions, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto in Sindh, Mustafa Khar in Punjab and Nasrullah Khattak in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

\textsuperscript{50} I. Leghari considers Bhutto as an “enlightened feudal.” I. Leghari, \textit{Op.cit.}, p. 205, fn. 1. According to him Bhutto was very aware of his class background as well as mass consciousness and support needed to acquire state power through mass mobilization.
\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 205-6.
The state apparatus was centralized although Z. A. Bhutto undertook some measures which undermined the interest of the dominant class, e.g. his nationalization of industries and land reforms, these as mentioned above, were not as radical as Bhutto wanted them to be, but were still progressive in nature. Secondly, as an enlightened feudal/lord he was aware of the adjustments required on the part of the hegemonic class due to mass consciousness, thus the reforms undertaken were necessary for the preservation of hegemonic class to avoid radical structural changes in the Pakistani social formation. The adjustments that the landed class had to make were aptly put by Malik Allahyar Khan, son of the Nawab of Kalabagh, Governor of West Pakistan under the Ayub regime,

“This is not to say that the things have not changed since Ayub Khan’s land reforms and as a result of the policies initiated by the Bhutto regime to socially modernize the rural society. These policies had a tremendous impact on the rural areas. They changed the aspirations of the rural people. But it also changed our approach toward the poor…..The poor needed a buffer between themselves and the very large bureaucratic structure that emerged under Bhutto. We provided such a buffer. They also needed a channel between themselves and the bureaucracy. We provided such a channel. In return we kept their votes. There was a change in the relationship of the landlord and the peasants but both were satisfied with the direction of change.53

Having sensitized the dominant class to the emerging power of the poor people, Bhutto made adjustments for their long term survival. In the 1977 elections, Bhutto had a new Constituency of the landed aristocracy. Only 40 out of 100 PPP members of the old national Assembly were retained in the 1977 elections the feudal lords of Sindh were joined by the landlords of Punjab, Sardar Shaukat Hayat from Camberllpur, Balak Khan Mazari and Farooq Leghari from Dera Ghazi Khan, the Kalabagh family from Mianwali, Nur Hayat and Anwar Noon from Sargodha, the Daultana from Vehari, the Gilanis and the Qureshi from Multan. “He combined all this with the claim that he represented the poor and the downtrodden whereas his opponents were ‘capitalists and reactionaries.’54 Making the landlords the dominant fraction within the power block could not be considered as the principal factor in the overthrow of the regime, although it did contribute to the alienation of the hegemonic class. There were a number of other factors which precipitated the crises of the Bhutto regime. His attempt to dissociate the army and the civil service from the politics was resented by the top echelons of those two institutions. But this again was not the main element in the crisis of 1977. Ayub Khan in 1968, despite the support of the

military and the bureaucracy, could not survive the massive unrest in the country. Probably the most important factor (though not the only one) was the disillusionment of the people with the policies of the civilian regime. The shift from the socialist platform to the consolidation of the landed group was negatively perceived by the petty bourgeoisie as well as the working class and the landless peasantry.

Changing of the dominant fraction within the power bloc (from the bourgeoisie to the landlords) was immaterial for the petty bourgeoisie and the rural/urban proletariat. The loss of trust and faith in the regime coupled with the discontent of the military and bureaucracy could also demystify another myth: the role of foreign intervention (U.S) in the change of the regime. The idea is linked to Bhutto’s withdrawal from the American alliances, CENTO and SEATO, and his professed socialist policies. Whether or not there was ‘External’ intervention is not important for our analysis. What is necessary, however, is the examining of the internal balance of force which led to such an intervention by the army.55

The PPP had won the 1970 elections on the basis of a progressive manifesto but during the first five years rule the reforms introduced were not according to stance, still the PPP won the majority in the 1977 election, the protest of the Pakistan National alliance against the rigging of the election provided momentum to the large scale disturbances. The PPP would have easily won the election even without the rigging. It had secured 155 seats out of a total of 200 seats in the National Assembly whereas the PNA won 36 seats and Qayum Muslim League won 1 seat.56

The Opposition threatened by the overwhelming majority of the PPP mobilized large scale protest.57 Ignoring or capitalizing on the fact that Z.A. Bhutto had already alienated the army and the bureaucracy, consequently the crisis would precipitate the subversion of the civilian regime by military/bureaucratic oligarchy. The critical juncture was the night of July 4, 1977 when Bhutto declared in televised statement that successful conclusion of three month parleys from March 7, 1977 to July 3, 1977 was the opportune

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55 In examining the internal and external factors in the case of Chile, Poulantzas elaborates this point. “In discussion of the Chillen experience the mechanistic and topological conception of ‘external factor’s is often at work in the thesis of the plot against the Allende government… This thesis prevents the Allende government’s errors from being examined and above all, closes people’s eyes to those internal conjunctures which are precisely what enabled the ‘outside intervention.’ No one can doubt today that there have been and continue to be such intervention. But … this cannot generally play a decisive role in the dependent countries without being articulated, within these countries, to the internal balance of forces.” N. Poulantzas, Fascism and Dictatorship. London: New Left Book, 1976, pp. 22-23.

moment for the military to intervene in the politics and restore “stability” in the country through the imposition of Martial Law rather than to allow the continuity of the civilian regime.\textsuperscript{58} There may have been an external intervention at this juncture but what is significant is that the internal balance of forces had shifted against the PPP, and the military intervention was a typical response in view of Pakistan’s political pattern where civilian rule was exchanged for military bureaucratic rule. The constellation of forces changed the power bloc and the states stability and integrity was linked to Islam; under the new regime the regional question was subsumed under the larger domain of Islam.

**Conclusion**

Our main objective in analyzing the dominant forces was to reveal the concentration of capital in this class. The presentation of interlock between the landlords and the different factions of the bourgeoisie was undertaken to reveal the extensive economic and political power of the dominant class without at times being represented in the state apparatus. Two conclusions in relation to the regional problem can be derived from the above analysis. First, that the dominant class in order to maximize production and consequently profit, concentrates the means of production in the areas of maximum production. This is characterized by the facilities provided, e.g. markets, roads, labour and raw material. Even if one of these factors is missing, capital investment would overcome that rather than relocate the project or scheme in other areas which would entail heavy expenditure in the initial stage. The close connection between the finance capital and the other fractions of the bourgeoisie and the landlords ensure that capital would be available only to certain groups and under certain conditions. The next and the more important derivation of our analysis is the minimal representation of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the dominant class and the power bloc.

There were only two families from the KPK included in this class. The Hotis, the landlords of Mardan who were also involved in the manufacturing sector. Their principal assets were in the sugar and food processing industry. The Khattaks were primarily involved in the industrial sector with their principal investment in the Gandhara industries, food and textile. Both these families, besides their enormous economic power, were also


\textsuperscript{58} Interview with Ifikhar Gillani, January 1980, Peshawar. It was a four month crisis, elections had taken place on March 7, 1977 and the PNA-PPP parleys continued till July 3, the military intervened on the night of 4\textsuperscript{th} July 1977. For the rationale of military intervention see William L. Richter 1980, “From Electoral
represented in the state apparatuses. Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan of Hoti was in the federal cabinet during the Ayub regime. Yusuf Khattak and Aslam Khattak have been in the federal and provincial cabinets during the Ayub and Bhutto period. Both these families, Mohammad Ali Khan of Hoti as well as Yusuf Khattak, are ardent federalists, considering provincial barriers as a hindrance to the national integration' and 'development'. The relation of these dominant families to the regional or national question can be reiterated in Horace B. Davis’ words that “capitalism tears a person away from all primary ties and primary group loyalties: he or she becomes alienated from the family, the nation, the community, the land and craft.”

Finally, to further link up our analysis of the dominant forces with the regional or national question two points need to be made. First, that as long as the landlords and the bourgeoisie are the dominant forces in the power bloc, the regional or the national question will be evaded or condemned as anti-nationalist for the very benefit of those classes. Secondly, to consider an analysis of the regional or national question a side issue or subservient to the working-class analysis ignores the fact that “the question of the increase in economic inequality between nations is a crucial one, from both the theoretical and the pragmatic standpoint, for this increase in inequality is accompanied by a shift toward the dominated nations of the centre of gravity of social and political struggles.” It is not being suggested that there are bourgeois nations and poor nations. The point being made is that the national or the regional question is essentially a product of unevenness of capitalist development. The relations of production (and not the relation of exchange) challenge the internal differentiation, i.e. dominant and dominated classes even within the underdeveloped regions or nations. On the other hand, they reflect the process of differentiation between levels of development of different regions or nations, thus as Charles Bettleheim puts its, “the poor countries are not naturally poorer than the others, and often their only ‘poverty’ is that of their exploited masses, not that of their resource.”


61 The role of the bourgeoisie and the landlords was similar in Africa as pointed out by Frantz Fannon. “The national bourgeoisie steps into the shoes of the former European settlement… From now on it will insist that all the big foreign companies should pass through its hands…. Its mission has nothing to do with transforming the nation, it consists, prosaically, of being the transmission line between the national and capitalism, rampant though camouflaged, which today puts on the masque of neo-colonialism…..The landed proprietors… as soon as independence is declared… insist that the state should give them a hundred times more facilities and privileges than were enjoyed by the foreign settlers…. The exploitation of agricultural workers will be intensified and made legitimate. Using two or three slogans, these new colonists will demand enormous amounts of work from agricultural laborers, in the name of national effort, of course.” F. Fannon, The Wretched of the Earth. London: Penguin, 1967, pp. 152-53.

Out effort in the analysis of the national or the regional question was geared towards an understanding of the dual exploitation, i.e. of the national exploitation as well as class exploitation. The exposition of the hegemony of the landlords and the bourgeoisie in Pakistan was to reveal the concentration of capital and centralization of power in the dominant class and thus intensification rather than a resolution of the national or the regional question.

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63 Ibid., p. 310, Emphasis original, Karachi, the main industrial centre of Pakistan, is also the biggest Pakhtun city by virtue of the immigrant Pakhtun labour.
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has been lagging behind in development process since independence. The fact that treatment meted out to KPK during the colonial period was different than the rest of the subcontinent was no justification in continuing the colonial mindset even after independence in keeping KPK at the fringes of development. KPK was the North West Frontier of the British Empire, an area with junction of three other empires, the Russian, the Persian and the Chinese. Having experimented with three different policies in the area, the Forward Policy, the Closed Door Policy and the Policy of Masterly Inactivity; the colonial administration realized that heavy causalities encountered in the battlefields of North West Frontier, the best policy to pursue was that of Masterly Inactivity. It was the policy of Colonial administration with primary interest of keeping the Frontier under its control to keep the Russian menace at bay. The Frontier had to be controlled at minimum of cost without introducing any reforms undertaken in the rest of the subcontinent; the area was far too sensitive and volatile compared to rest of India. The rugged terrain of high altitude made its defense fortified and as an upper riparian state of River Indus and Swat joined by river Kabul made it a fruit basket with self sufficient economy. The redistribution of land through the system of ‘Wesh’ and participation of all the members of the tribe in ‘Jirga’ instilled in the KPK democratic spirit visible nowhere else in the subcontinent. The area was thus difficult to subjugate politically and militarily, its tribal structure was therefore, mutilated to enlist the support of its chiefs and mullahs for the benefit of the colonial empire. Frontier Crimes Regulation was instituted giving undue influence to chiefs and mullahs through regular monetary payments controlled by an administrator. This was the worst legacy that the Colonial era could leave behind and which the KPK is still embroiled in, keeping most of the KPK outside the domain of constitutional and democratic governance. The KPK consequently had its indigenous institutions distorted and did not reap the benefit of modernization under the imperial rule. Heavy toll on the KPK finances was and still is the ‘law and order’ due to adjoining tribal belt besides burden on the scanty infra structure of health and education catering to inflow of tribals as well.

The politics and economy of the KPK was to be no different even in the post colonial era. The state of Pakistan following the colonial legacy continued the policy of ‘masterly inactivity’ but the matters got worst because with the end of British empire the
significance of North West Frontier as defense fortress diminished and eastern frontier against India gained prominence. The KPK as a Muslim majority province even under the colonial rule did not feel threatened by Hindu domination, its politics therefore revolved around economic and social reform. It was in Muslim minority provinces that fear of Hindu domination alienated Muslims whereas in the KPK fear of ‘Islam is in danger’ was never eminent. The KPK governments of 1937 and 1946 thus focused on social reform through non violent means. It was commendable in an area which is heavily armed and where arms/ ammunition manufacturing is the oldest profession. Since political and social work was least desirable in the Frontier under the Imperial rule, the KPK evolved politically and socially through the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Winning both the elections in pre-partition India, joining Pakistan through referendum was least desirable according to the KPK government of 1947; it boycotted the referendum because joining India was neither feasible nor desirable so the option of joining India or Pakistan was irrelevant. However, naming the North West Frontier Province as Pakhtunistan or Pakhtunkhwa was a genuine demand which was created into a bogey of Pakhtunistan in post independence period to hound the opposition demanding social and economic reforms in the province. The worst however was when the KPK lost its identity for fourteen years (half of the period under review) integrated in ‘One Unit’ under West Pakistan tutelage. The pillage of KPK fundamentally took place during this period of national integration and continued hitherto.

The development process in the post colonial period was single handedly carried out by minuscule bureaucracy that shifted to Pakistan. Trained under colonial patronage it successfully carried out growth policies, the defense forces too with the benefit of colonial legacy grew into a formidable force. The institutions that did not evolve during pre and post colonial period were social and political forces; which not only lacked colonial patronage but were in fact shunned as undesirable. Excessive emphasis on national security and national integration rather than human security and human development can therefore, be attributed to overdeveloped state structure and underdeveloped civil society in Pakistan. The irony of development in Pakistan has been of immense significance to economic development (growth) and least attention to political development as well as social and human development.

The KPK continued to face the same dilemma but more than that it continued to be at the fringes of development process in the national framework. Although Pakistan was
considered growth model during sixties in agriculture with Green Revolution and industrial development but the KPK suffered underdevelopment during the same period. The KPK incurred decline in acreage and production specifically of its valuable cash crops tobacco and sugar cane due to non availability of irrigation water and consequently lack of mechanization. The KPK lost valuable cash flows in fruit and vegetable processing and export due to lack of storage and shortage of ingredients particularly sugar. High priority of government to enhance cotton and textile industry led to KPK loss by investing in industry with non indigenous raw material. Unfavourable economic and social conditions led to flight of capital and labour from the KPK thus leading to deurbanization. The post colonial period led to ruralization of KPK rather than modernization.

This process of unequal development was exacerbated by growth led policies requiring concentration of resources and centralization of capital which was further accentuated by state apparatuses dominated by non KPK petty bourgeoisie. The hegemonic group in the power bloc too being constituted by core regions further peripheralized the KPK. The little benefit that accrued to the province was harnessed by two families of the KPK belonging to the twenty two families of Pakistan; their capital too was invested in areas of maximum return out of KPK. Legitimation of capital accumulation and unequal development was undertaken in the garb of Constitution (natural resources of KPK electricity article (157), water (article 155), natural gas (article 158) and mineral resources, forests placed under Federal list part 11). Election façade for reorganizing the power bloc though maintaining the hegemony of the core regions was another legitimizing tool. The myth of constitutionalism and political process was unraveled to signify the essence of capital logic in producing and reproducing surplus value thereby creating core and periphery, centre and hinterlands; the KPK during this process of capital reproduction became a hinterland of the core developed regions of Pakistan. The irony of the situation being that a province which opted to join Pakistan of its own choice within a federal structure was subjected to highly centralized governance reminiscent of unitary states. The lack of development in the KPK has engendered severe political, social and human consequences impacting not only the KPK but the Federation of Pakistan as well.
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