PAKISTAN, ETHNIC NATIONALISM
&
POLITICS OF INTEGRATION

Submitted by:
SYED MUSSAVER HUSSAIN
BUKHARI

SUPERVISOR:
DR. Khawaja Alqama

Thesis submitted to the Department of Political Science
in the Faculty of Arts at the Islamia University Bahawalpur
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1999.
DEDICATED

TO

MY PARENTS.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction 1

Chapter No.1 4
Integration Theories and Ethnic Nationalism

Chapter No.2 60
Politics of the Regional Parties and Pakistan Movement

Chapter No.3 86
From Unity to disintegration
(1947 to 1971)

Chapter No.4 146
The Truncated Pakistan and Ethnicity

Chapter No.5 218
Conclusion

Questionnaire 228

Appendix 1 to XII 229

Bibliography 268
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

In completing this study, I have incurred many debts of gratitude. My first and greatest debt is to Dr. Khawaja Alqama, my research supervisor, who provided me very useful materials from his self collections, suggested important and good reading materials and of course his critical scrutiny of my various drafts and several important suggestions made it possible for completion of my work. I particularly acknowledge my debt to 'Bhabi', Mrs. Khawaja Alqama, who helped us many times when we were sitting in their study room.

I also want to thank Dr. Razia Mussarat, Mrs. Yasmeen Roofi, Our Chairperson Dr. Hina Qamber Abbasi and our Vice-Chancellor Dr. Muhammad Shafiq Khan, for their kind co-operation. I am also thankful to all those people who helped me during this research, particularly Mr. Asim for composing my dissertation. I would like to thank all those political elites who send me back my postal questionnaire.

At last I would like to thank my family, specially my parents, brothers and sisters. My special thanks to my wife and my children who missed me a lot during my work.
INTRODUCTION

This dissertation will examine in detail the politics of integration and the rise of ethnic nationalism in Pakistan.

Chapter one, of our dissertation will examine in detail the theories of integration namely, functionalism, neo-functionalism, federalism and regionalism. An integral part of this chapter will be a careful analysis of literature on ethnicity and secessionist movements. After setting the theoretical framework we will then proceed to the second chapter.

Chapter two, will briefly examine the existence of regional groups and their political role during the Pakistan movement.

Chapter three, will examine the rise of the vernacular elites in Bengal and its subsequent impact on Pakistani politics. We will, then, move on to examine the Ayub era. Ayub era is known for its politics of integration. We will examine in some detail the efforts made during this era to accelerate the process of integration and its consequences. Here it is important to point out that Ayub's constitution of 1962, recognised the existence of disparity in Pakistan and constitutionally committed itself to the task of removing this poison.

Chapter four, will be the core of this thesis. Its major emphasis will be to examine the roots of ethnic politics in post 71-Pakistan. Here we will employ both empirical and deductive methods to examine the rise of ethnic politics in Pakistan. Our major source of information for this particular chapter will be based on interviews with political elites and newspapers.
Chapter five, of this dissertation in question will employ data collected by this research project to test the following hypothesis which is core of our research.

Hypothesis. I.

In Pakistan, regional differences are more important than class differences.

Hypothesis. II.

In Pakistan, regional differences are more important than urban rural differences.

Hypothesis. III.

In Pakistan, regional differences are more important than differences between the technocracy and the bureaucracy.

Hypothesis. IV.

In Pakistan, regional differences are more important than differences between the bureaucracy and the politicians.

Hypothesis. V.

In Pakistan, regional differences are more important than differences between bureaucracy and the military.

Hypothesis. VI.

In Pakistan, regional differences are more important than the differences between the politician and the military.
Hypothesis VII.

In Pakistan, political parties have a regional rather than a national basis.

Hypothesis VIII.

Certain regions are over represented in the command structure of the Pakistani armed forces.

Hypothesis IX

Certain regions are over represented in Pakistani bureaucracy.

Hypothesis X

There is only limited consensus among Pakistani regional elites on basic economic, political and social issues, which confront them in their national state.
CHAPTER NO. 1

INTEGRATION, THEORIES AND ETHNIC NATIONALISM.

Integration in the words of different scholars

The concept of integration was introduced by mathematician in the 17th century.¹ After that the term was used in sociology, economics, engineering, biology physical and other social sciences. "The theory of integration, as it developed from the middle of 1950’s to early 1970’s was directed primarily towards, explaining political unification towards states"."²

Christopher Morris, defines integration as, "incorporating different elements or units that function together".³ He further explains, "the process of combining different elements or acts into a functioning whole"."⁴ According to the Oxford English dictionary, integration is, ‘to make a whole’.⁵ According to Emkpatick, "unification into a whole, to combine, or amalgamate".⁶ Encyclopaedia Britannica, defines it as, "the unification of the various organic functions, the knitting together and harmonizing of the manifold activities of the entire organism".⁷

According to Malick and Rai, "Integration means the amalgamation of different social cultural and ideological group loyalties into a single compact community, representing a national outlook".⁸

According to Pettman, "amalgamation is almost synonymous with integration".⁹ He explains that, "integration is equated with co-operation and
interdependence”. According to Lieber, “the concept of integration can be defined as forming parts into a whole or creating interdependence”. According to A.J.R. Groom, “Integration can be conceived in terms of a single dimension, such as economy, group of dimensions, or the totality of relationships. Moreover, it occurs at all levels of analysis from a family to world society. It can be seen as a state of affair or as a process. As a state of affairs, certain criteria must be met for integration to have occurred”. According to Karl Deutsch, “integration is the attainment within a territory, of a “sense of community”. According to Hass, “Integration is a process by which, the actors concerned voluntarily, give up certain sovereign powers and evolve new techniques for tackling common problems and resolving mutual conflict”. He further says, “the process where, political actors of several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations, and political activities towards a new and a larger center”. According to Hodges, “integration consists of a merger of separate institutions and communities usually within a geographic region, into a larger unit”. Analysis of political development agree, that integration is a necessary part of the process of modernisation; but, what precisely is meant by this term? Winner, comments upon several definitions of integration and alludes importance to these five types, national integration, territorial integration, value integration, elite-mass integration and integrative behaviour”. The term integration is now widely used to cover an extra ordinarily large range of political phenomenon”. 

5
According to Aftab Qazi, "integration may be defined as a uniting of separate social, political and cultural groups under a single identification. In this sense integration is similar to assimilation". 19 According to R.A. Schermerhorn, "integration is a process where by units or elements of a society are brought into an active and coordinated compliance with the ongoing activities and objectives of the dominant group". 20 Donald G. Morrison, defines integration as, "a process by which members of a social system linkages cohesion, so that the boundaries of the system persist over time and the boundaries of sub-system become less consequential in effecting behaviour. In this process members of the social system develop an escalating sequence of contact, co-operation, consensus and community". 21 Claud Ake, also implies a process in his definition of an integrated political system, "to the extent that the minimal units [individual political actors], develop in the course of political interaction a pool of commonly accepted norms, regarding political behaviour patterns legitimized by these norms". 22

According to Zolberg, "perhaps the term integration, should be used in an open-ended way to refer to a "shifting relationship between changing identities within the framework of a variety of possible political arrangements, capable of coping with a specifiable range of stresses". 23 We can say, that integration is "the ability of a unit or system to maintain itself in the face of internal and external challenges". 24 In the middle of 1950's "once independence was achieved, social scientists, (not historians) turned their attention to the process by which newly independent governments created national identity and loyalty among desperate ethnic groups that is the study of national integration." 25
In the case of Pakistan, it is necessary to understand the national and political integration. "National integration is the process of achieving and maintaining nationhood". The process of national integration is one, that holds a system together. The system of a state includes a member of ethnic groups, that are components of its political structure. Political integration may be loosely defined as the process by which local communities, are not only brought within the control of a larger state, but also submerge their local loyalties into, feelings of loyalty and support for the larger unit. This process has also been described, as national integration or nation-building. Political integration can be defined generally as "the process where by two or more actors form new actors".

Jacob Teune, defines integration as, "a relationship of community among people within the same political entity". Wether cultural unity a necessary and or sufficient condition for political unity is another question which needs careful examination. Political stability can be maintained in culturally fragmented systems, if the leaders of sub-cultures engage in co-operative efforts to counteract the centrifugal tendencies of cultural fragmentation. According to Malick and Rai, "national integration can be studied at the following three levels.

1. Social level. 2. Cultural level. 3. Ideological level.

National integration may be defined as, the end result of the social process which tend to harmonize and unify, diverse and conflicting units of national life. A process of interaction between groups, associations, departments and classes of a nation, resulting in reciprocal accommodation and increased sense of identification within the nation as a whole. Rai, explains, that "national integration can concern
the success or failure of creating a sense of nationhood within a recently independent entity". 35

According to Hawer Wriggins, "national integration then suggests the bringing together of the desperate parts of a society into a more integrated whole or to make out of many small societies a closer approximation of one nation". 36

Karl. W. Deutch stated that, "political integration is the integration of political actors or political units, such as individuals, groups, municipalities, regions or countries in regard to their political behaviour. In politics integration is a relationship in which the behaviour of such political actors, units or components are modified from what it otherwise would be. 37 Anwar. S. Dil, explains it as, "the process by which individuals and groups come to see themselves and their children, as part of group experience in history, and by which they are willing to give their loyalty to the group is an exceedingly complex phenomenon". 38 Hughes and Schwarz, for instance suggest three different types of integration.

(i) Mass community

(ii) Political amalgamation

(iii) Inter-governmental co-operation". 39

Leonlind Berg, conceived integration as, "the process where by nations forgo the desire and ability to conduct foreign and key domestic policies independently of each other, seeking instead to make joint decisions or to delegate the decision-making process to a new central organ". 40 Berg and Nye, further suggest, economic, political and social variations. 41 Economic integration would constitute high trade, social integration would include the unification of masses,
special groups or elites, and political integration would encompass a wide array of phenomenon, including more decisions on the international level, international bureaucracies and attitudinal similarity among nations.\textsuperscript{42}

According to Qadeer-ud-din Ahmed, "when we speak of integrated societies we mean that their functional and psychological parts confirm to the identity or spirit of a given society. This spirit is the image of its belief system".\textsuperscript{43} In the words of Myron Winer "national integration has thus replaced self-determination as a public important questions than the process by which sub-national, regional and ethnic identities are created. Indeed the terms we use have pejorative overtones- tribalism, communalism, langualism, or to put them into a single package, primordial attachment".\textsuperscript{44} Ake Claude, suggests that, "a political system is integrated to the extent that the minimal units develop in due course of political behaviour and a commitment to the political behaviour patterns legitimized by those norms".\textsuperscript{45} Coleman and Rosenberg, define it as, "progressive bridging of the elite mass gap on the vertical plane in the course of developing an integrated political process and a participant political community".\textsuperscript{46}

According to Winner, "a vast range of human relations and attitudes are covered by integration, such as integration of diverse and dissent cultural loyalties and the development of the sense of nationality, the integration of political units into a common territorial framework, with a government which can exercise authority, the integration of the ruler and the ruled, the integration of the citizen into common political process, and finally the integration of individuals into organizations, for purposive activities".\textsuperscript{47} According to R.A. Schermerhorn,
integration is co-ordinated with ongoing activities and objectives of the dominant group in the society". Dr. Rounaq Jahan, says, "that national integration is broadly defined as the creation of a national political system, which supersedes, or incorporates all the regional sub-system". Haa’s definition of the system is a familiar one, "a second level body of abstractions, a network of relationships among relationships leaving the concrete actors one step below".

Haas goes on to formulate his conception of a system appropriate to his investigational scheme. Such a system is of the concrete actor-oriented variety. It has no defined attributes, no needs, no telos. The components of this system are actors, governments and voluntary associations.

National integration is generally treated as a part of the broader problems of political development and modernisation. But though they are inter-related problems, the process of creating an integrated nation and the process of achieving a developed, modern polity often requires different sets of policies. Political development in the new states is based on national integration as a two dimensional problem. The resolution of regional cleavages and creation of an overarching set of political values.

After examining the definition of integration in words of different scholars, now we will proceed to some of the important theories of integration namely, Functionalism, Neo-Functionalism, Communication, Anarchism, Co-operation, Co-ordination, Harmonization, Federalism and Regionalism.
FUNCTIONALISM

Integration theory and its development owes a great deal to the concept of functionalism. According to A.J.R. Groom, "functionalism is an approach rather than a tightly knit theory". Claude, is of the view that, "functionalism is an approach rather than a theory that involves a judgement about the theory's profile. It is indicative of functionalism's greater concern with presenting a clear view of the central principles involved in explaining, predicting and prescribing international integration". Functionalism has been presented as an operative philosophy that would gradually lead to a peaceful, unified and a co-operative world. It contends that, conflict among states is the result of social inequality arising primarily from the misdistribution of economic benefits. As political problems between states are often intractable, social inequalities can only be dealt with on a social and economic level.

David Mirrani is called the father of functionalism, and a British political scientist suggested quite strongly that, "the incessantly growing number of technical, non-political tasks which confronted governmental institutions would create a significant demand for highly educated and trained professionals at the national level and even more important, would cause a plethora of international technical problems which awaited their immediate solution. Functionalism thus embodies a theory of community building through collective learning and technocratic management." He further said, "functional approach seeks by linking
authority to a specific activity to break away from the traditional link between authority and a definite territory. 61

Nelte and Robertson, had pointed out, that, "the primacy of economics as a discipline influencing policy was firmly established by the time of the second world war". 61

Mirtrani, had the firm belief that international technical problems could not be solved by the intervention of politically motivated (national) institutions. Therefore, he strongly advised the national political leaders to assign these tasks to non-political technologists, whose expertise and knowledge provided necessary back ground for tackling these complex issues. Mirtrani, sincerely hoped that, it was possible to separate international technical problems from the political sphere and to leave them in the hands of technologists, whose different national origins would not prevent them successfully co-operating without ideological over-tones. He insisted that the growing number of the technological problem areas within the international sector and the successful collaboration of experts would lead to the integration of political communities.

Mirtrani's theory includes a doctrine of ramification whereby the development of collaboration in one technical field will lead to co-operation in the other areas. Mirtrani, informed his readers that functional co-operation in one sector results from a deeply felt need and generates further stimuli for collaborative endeavors in other spheres. Mirtrani, voiced the assumption that functional activities aimed at solving international technical problems, would transform the international realm into a working peace system. He said, small states would
accept the leadership of the larger states for functional ends, as they did in war
time alliances". 62

Mitrani, believed that, eventually international collaboration aimed at
solving technical problems would diminish the importance of the political sector; in
particular economic unification would build up the foundation for political
agreement even if it did not make it superfluous. 63 In short Mitrani’s basic
strategy was to shift the focus of attention away from controversial political issues
to non-divisive technical problems. 64

The traumatic experience of world war-I left Mitrani with the impression
that the nation state was an inadequate instrument to create a peaceful world
order. Moreover, governmental institutions were utterly incapable of improving
the social and economic welfare of the populace. Conflict situation and wars were
the direct result of a world divided into national-states.

Mitrani, therefore, suggested the gradual construction of transitional social
economic organizations which had the competence and courage to tackle
international technical problems and in solving those technical non-political
problems they would also re-orient the alliance and loyalty of the common man
from the national to the international level from the nation to the supranational
socio-psychological community based upon technical achievements. 65

On the whole, however, functionalism is treated as a rather imprecise and
out moded mixture of empirical and prescriptive assertions about international
cooperation. 66 Functional integration in fact, is based on decisions which display
three specific characteristics, they are non-oriented, that is, their political implications are not revealed, and they are functional in that they are based on a combination of pragmatic and temporary interests and not on a long term agreement.67

NEO FUNCTIONALISM

Neo-functionalist scholars view integration as both a process and an outcome.68 Neo-functionalists treat integration as a process in which politically significant elites gradually redefine their interests in terms of a regional rather than a purely national orientation. The process where by political actors or some several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new and a larger center, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states”.69

The Neo-functionalists, view the process of integration as one, in which a group of actors decide to collaborate at the international level. In order to further their individual and collective interests in the performance of some technical, relatively non-controversial function. After a while these actors discover that they can only fulfill their original purpose, if they conform more authority on the collective decision making apparatus and also act together in other related functional fields.70 Neo-functionalism embodies an acceptance of supranationalism as the goal of integration.71
The theory is that the demands, the expectations and the loyalties of group and parties will gradually shift to the new center of decision making.72 The central institutions will respond and become the driving force or motor of community.73 Neo-functionalism was a direct result of the foundation of the European economic community during the 1950’s. Haas, developed a modern version of Mirrani’s functionalism in studying the operation of the European coal and steel community.74 Neo-functionalism is Mirrani’s functionalism, with strong elements of federalism. R.J.Harrison, employs rather skillfully the Schuman declaration of 9th May, 1950, to describe the concept of neo-functionalism.75

According to Schuman’s declaration, “Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single general plan. It will be built through concrete achievements, which first creates a de-facto solidarity. The pooling of coal and steal production will immediately provide for the setting up of common bases for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe”. From this declaration, one can clearly deduce, that the European economic community and its accompanying philosophy, Neo-functionalism, is federalist in character. The integrative strategy clearly shows Mirrnan features, and is therefore in the functionalist mould.

Neo-functionalism emphasis the fact, that common economic interests are foremost in bringing together the divergent groups. Successful economic ventures create and maintain the integrative inter-group processes. The neo-functionalists
strongly believe that national pressure groups and political parties will soon find out that integrative efforts positively influence their economic endeavors.

Therefore, these groups and parties will gradually demand more and more integration thereby creating an energy among the different national economies, even against the explicit resistance of national governments. Haas explains that, "pressure groups and political parties are singled out as significant carriers of values and ideologies whose opposition, identity or convergence determines the success or failure of transnational ideology." 76

Neo-functionalists also emphasize that, integration creates problems which can only be successfully solved by further integrative efforts on the part of all involved groups. Moreover, 'spillover' occurs when policies made pursuant to an initial task and grant of power can be made real only if the task itself is expanded. 77 James Caporaso, notes, "spillover is commonly thought of as a process where by integrative activity in one societal sector leads to integrative in other related sectors." 78 The concept of 'spillover', which is the central part of the neo-functionalist approach, the major assumption is that initial attempts to integrate in relatively non-controversial economic issue areas, will eventually spillover into more and more controversial spheres of activity that political integration will follow on from economic integration. 79

Neo-functionalists also assume that, group conflicts and competition among the integrating parties still exist and only compatibility and not coincidence of group interests is demanded. They, the neo-functionalists, argue that their may
be different advantages in integration for different groups. Therefore, they predict the possibility of ‘spillover’, from one sector to another, each sector allowing certain groups to reap economic benefits from the integration process.

Neo-functionalists believe that, after the national governments have demonstrated their incompetence in solving international technical problems, supranational bodies will be created to tackle these issues. Moreover, if the supranational are successful in their endeavors, they will be given more powers, and the loyalty and attention of pressure groups and political parties are shifted from the supranational decision making centers. More and more problems will be delegated to the supranational headquarters, thus the supranational administration will provide the main stimuli for further integration.

Neo-functionalists do not have any doubts that political will is necessary to bring about successful integration among different political communities. Unlike functionalism, neo-functionalism does not separate politics from problem-solving. Only with the help of politicians, can economic integration be transformed into political integration. Haas and other neo-functionalists, thus expect that the supranational community structure is a (detailed) mirror image of a national administrative system. 80

Therefore, neo-functionalism could be described as functional federalism or as politically motivated functionalism. The intention of the neo-functionalists was to adopt functionalism, to the requirements of constructing propositions about society and integration, which could be tested where, certain aspects of functionalism, were rejected as unrealistic and other aspects were spelled out in
greater detail. The attempt was made to produce a more rigorous through in the sense that hypothesis were produced which it was thought could be tested according to the principles of scientific method.\textsuperscript{81}

The essence of the neo-functionalism was that step-by step economic decisions were superior to crucial political choices.\textsuperscript{82}

Cybernetic Communication Theory

The next major post-war approach to the study of integration is Cybernetic communications. Karl W. Deutsch, and his associates are its major exponents.\textsuperscript{83} Deutsch, argued that, "social and political integration depends on the extent of mass-communication and social interaction".\textsuperscript{84} Deutsch, began with a series of nominal definitions which incorporated the following key concepts. Firstly, a security community is a group of people who have become integrated. Secondly, integration is the attainment of a "sense of community",\textsuperscript{85} and of institutions that can assure dependable and peaceful change. Thirdly, a sense of community consists at a minimum of agreement on at least one point, that common problems must be solved by 'peaceful change'. Finally, peaceful change consists in the resolution of social problems, normally by institutionalized procedures, without resort to large-scale physical force.\textsuperscript{86}

The communication approach applies principles from cybernetics to the relations between nations or population groups. It focuses on the volume of transactions among these entities as the most appropriate indicators and it operates on the assumption that cohesiveness among individuals can be measured and is
probably promoted by the content of mutual relationship or interaction among them.\textsuperscript{87} According to Karl W. Deutsch, “several indicators are commonly used for this purpose. They are, mail, telephone, traffic, trade figures, and student exchange”.\textsuperscript{88} Harrison thus, taking communication as an example says, “the organisation of the railway system would be continental, of shipping intercontinental, of aviation and broadcasting universal. Production and trade distribution would be organised with similar flexibility of scope”\textsuperscript{89} Susan Welch and Cal Clark, say that, “communication and spillover approaches resemble each other to some degree”.\textsuperscript{90}

From a comparative study of historical communication, Karl W. Deutsch, concluded nine essential conditions for establishment of a amalgamate security community. The conditions are as following.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Mutual compatibility of values\textsuperscript{91}
\item Distinctive way of life
\item Expectations of strong economic ties and gains
\item A marked increase in political and administrative capabilities
\item Superior economic growth
\item Unbroken links of social communication
\item Broadening of political elite’s
\item Mobility of people and a multiple range of communication and transaction
\item Mutual predictability of behaviours\textsuperscript{92}
\end{enumerate}
In the words of communicationists school of thought, "integration can be seen as both, as a process leading towards political unification and as the end product of that process amalgamated and pluralist security community".\(^{93}\) Deutsch, has identified two major sub-categories of security, communities-amalgamated and pluralist".\(^{94}\) Using concept from communication theory, Deutsch, contented that those nations that retain high and consistent levels of communications and transactions with each other may be more integrated than those that have signed agreements".\(^{95}\)

Functionalism, neo-functionalism and communication theories lead us from economic, social and cultural integration to political integration. There are some other concepts of such integration, those are, Anarchism, Co-operation, Co-ordination and Harmonization.

**Anarchism**

Anarchism proposes mutual dependencies without formal institutions. It has much in common with network, transactionalism and functionalism, except that it is chiefly operative at the micro level.\(^{96}\)

**Co-operation**

Co-operation is an attempt to adjust policies in a way that does not involve any immediate structural impact. The intention is to make agreements in specific areas for specific purposes without expecting or desiring task expansion or spillover.\(^{97}\)
Co-ordination

Co-ordination involves a continuous adjustment of government policies by a process of intensive consultation within an international institution to establish a program designed to secure important goals that can be only be achieved together. However, the structural impact of such arrangements is limited. 98

Harmonization.

Harmonization involves institutionalized policy adjustment and alignment often on the basis of some super-ordinate norm or standard. Parallel national action provides a different format that can lead to a surprising level of practical and effective integration through extensive routine policy adjustments. Parallel legislation or practices are separately instituted by different actors in such a way as to be compatible with each other, in order to reduce the impact of boundaries. The scope of such activities can be very considerable, and although their is little formal institutionalization, their may be much informal contact and consultation. 99

Federalism

According to federalists scholars, "integration is an end product, rather than a process". 100 The federalists see integration as a rapid process of change, an international system to a supranational one. 101 This approach offered a method of uniting hitherto, separate state into a new supranational entity by means of a formal constitution, executed as a result of a common political commitment made by the party involved. 102
Throughout a great part of man's recorded past, federalism has played a significant role in creating supranational entities. It was applied for the first time by the ancient Israelites in the thirteenth century B.C.\textsuperscript{103} and then the medieval leagues of Italian cities,\textsuperscript{104} Swiss leagues of the forest cantons,\textsuperscript{105} Greek city states\textsuperscript{106} and the Hanseatic league,\textsuperscript{107} in medieval Europe were also established on the same patterns. In the modern world, the United States, Canada, Australia, India, West Germany, Switzerland,\textsuperscript{108} Pakistan and many other countries have a federal system. The constitution of the ex-Soviet Union, also established a federal state.\textsuperscript{109}

Basic federalism is nothing more than "the creation of a supranational government which shares power with member states".\textsuperscript{110}

Motives for federalist integration have varied over time, and have ranged from imperialistic designs to the single arduous desire of improving man's plight. Federal integration schemes are always closely related or even tied to a document called, constitution. The constitution exactly describes the amount of power handed over from the national to the supranational government. The constitution or the federal treaty is in general rather inflexible and fixed. It is often extremely difficult to change even minor passages contained in a constitution within a reasonable period of time. Many scholars defined federalism in the following words.

Federation in modern terms is a constitution which works on two levels of government, firstly as a nation and secondly, as a collection of related but self-
standing units. 111 Macky, defines it as a method of dividing powers of
government, so that the central and regional governments are within a limit sphere co-ordinate, but independent. The test of the principle is that it embodies the
division of powers between central and regional authorities, each being independent of other. 112 Harrison, defines federalism as, “a form of government that guarantees two basic elements of independence, diversity and participation. 113 According to Guy Harand, “true federalism is an extreme dilution and redistribution of power to give effect to different economic, social and cultural interests at many levels”. 114

K. C. Where, is the view that, “federalism means a group of states or communities which desire to be united, under a general government for some purpose and to be organised under regional government for other, and where both governments are within a sphere, co-ordinate and independent”. 115

David. L. Sills, writes, “the word ‘federalize’ is used to describe the unification of sovereign states into a federal polity and also the permanent devolution of authority and power within nation to sub-national governments”. 116 According to Dicey, “a federal state is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of state rights”. 117 In Markovic’s words, “The basic assumption of federation is that, it is free creation of the parts, that determines the conditions of its parts. No matter how well co-ordinated, this type of union does not have any dominating center; because none of its component Units aspires to domination and/or because they all strongly resist any such
tendency. The stability of such a federation depends on a balance of two opposed forces; one towards greater identity and uniformity and the other towards diversity and cultural traditions and values." 118

According to Michael Hodges, "federalism is a division of decision making power between center and local institutions and the balance between them". 119 Federalism can further be defined as, "a mode of political organizations, by means of which, separate polities are to be united within an over-arching political system; so as to allow each constituting unit to enjoy the maintenance of its fundamental political integrity". 120 Rufus Davis 121 and K. C. Wheare, 122 both defined federalism as a, "system which stands for multiplicity in unity and can provide unity where it is needed and also ensures variety and independence in matters where unity and uniformity are not essential". 123 According to Bryce, "federal system provides a barrier against central despotism, both through the autonomous powers of the states and the participation of the states in federal government". 124

According to Akbar and Mutlibe, "in federalism, different units, possessing constitutional autonomy and usually the emphasis is upon division by functions. The relations between the federal government and state government is co-ordinate in character". 125 Jean Blondel, explains that, "federalism, is a model of decentralization which was conceived partly, a priori, as part of a logically deduced theory and partly empirically on the basis of what seemed to be successful, or at least workable solutions". 126 Lieber, has this to say about federalism, "it combines description and prescription in asserting that the surest
partway to political community is by means of formal constitutional measures".\textsuperscript{127} They are occupied with written constitution in different forms of representative institutions and the division of powers between federal, national and local levels".\textsuperscript{128}

According to Lipsom, "a federal state has three levels instead of two, since between the national government and local ones is placed an intermediate layer".\textsuperscript{129} In Harigan's words, "federalism is a governmental system in which a written agreement divides authority between a government at the state level,\textsuperscript{130} in which the sovereignty is shared. On some matters the national government is supreme and on the others the state is supreme".\textsuperscript{131} The parts are to have a degree of autonomy from the center. In the process of integration the recognition of regional differences is the starting point of the deliberation about the unifying federal constitution.\textsuperscript{132} A federal system then is a particular kind of constitutional order. The function it is supposed to serve is to restrain the powers wielded by the inclusive community, as well as those of the communities included within it. It is a kind of division or separation of powers, but applied on a spatial basis.\textsuperscript{133}

The primary federal process concentrates upon convincing the elites of the area to the federalized, that a federation can only enhance their socio-economic prospects. Once the advantages of the federation are clearly perceived by the respective elites, federalists scholars then assume that these elites will arrange a meeting with the declared intent of drafting a constitution for the proposed federal system. A constitution which precisely delineates the power arrangement between the national and supranational decision-making centers. The constitution in
question would be effective as soon as it was ratified by the parties or their governmental institutions. The theory of federalism in its basic form, as outlined by George a Coding M. Jr. emphasizes certain premises.  

Federalistically oriented scholars believe that nation states are inadequate instruments for solving means most pressing problems. The nation states can not guarantee world peace and actually accentuates violent conflicts, which are inherent in human behavior. Federalists however, assume that national governments can be transformed into supranational authorities, which in preserving diversity are capable of rationally mastering the most complex international problems.

According to federalist scholars, these supranational authorities could also control man's tendency to resort in certain situations to bellicose behaviour. Federalism thus, endeavors to change nation-states into pluralist political communities, where the still existing and functioning national governmental institutions are supplemented by supranational decision making centers. Federation are expanded nation-states with additional institutions which allow for the planning and execution of projects which transcend the confines of national frontiers.

In short in a federal state the constitution divides the power between the federal and provincial governments; each deriving power from the provisions of the written constitution; so that there is a sphere of autonomy belonging to the territorial organisation called province; which cannot be withdrawn or curtailed at the will of the central organisation called the federal government.
Regionalism

A region is a homogeneous area with physical and cultural characteristics distinct from those of neighboring areas. As part of a national domain a region is sufficiently unified to have a consciousness of its customs and ideas, and thus possess a sense of identity distinct from the rest of the country. Regionalism starting with more differences than affinities, would have to go even further in that conjuring performance. Region is a geographical concept and the doctrine of regionalism must be based on the assertion that geographical variables are a prime influence on behaviour. According to Deutch, a region that is to a few countries (localities), united by some geographic, cultural or historical associations, or by economic and financial ties, or by political liberal-mindedness and similarity of social institutions or by some combination of all these experiences in creating and developing such regional associations. Columbus, further describes, geographic, political, economic and transactional criteria of the 'regions', language, religion, culture, population density and climate are also the 'regions'. Regional organizations may be classified into three general types.

(i) Co-operative

(2) Alliance

(3) Functional.

The regional sub-system becomes a lever in the rivalry of its members in international relations. During the first post-war decade 'regionalism and security', were the principle theme. Bruce Russett and his book 'International Regions And The International System', was a broadly conceived and a strictly
executed attempt to discover regional grouping in the world. Bruce M. Russette, The leading scholar of regionalism attempted to identify those areas of the world where the chances of integrative process to come to a successful end are great. He also endeavored to specify those reasons with little potential for further integration. Russette, inspired by the writings of Rudolph-j-Rummel, employed factor analysis to delineate regional groupings. His factor analysis scheme included fifty four social and cultural variables on eighty two countries. Among them are such variables as GNP, per capita primary and secondary school pupils as a percentage of populations, foreign mail per-capita, infant morality rate, different religious groups as a percentage of population, and rates of population increase. Using the techniques of factor analysis, Russette, was then able to reduce the fifty four separate variables to four factors or clusters. Russette termed the four clusters as follows :-

(1) Economic development
(2) Catholic culture
(3) Communism
(4) Intensive agriculture

For example the first cluster economic development, encompasses such variables as per capita GNP, newspapers and radios per capita, life expectancy, peoples in primary and secondary schools as a percentage of the population, hospital beds and physicians per capita. All these variables are highly co-related with each other. Russette, classified countries in accordance with the extent to which they resembled each other over a Variety of variables. He grouped countries
which loaded (co-related) most heavily on each factor and gave them regional names. Thus a grouping called (Afro-Asia), loaded heavily on cluster one, economic development. In interpreting his findings, Bruce concedes that his (cluster) groupings alone are not reliable indicators for the integration potential of specific regions. His results allow, however, for the conclusion that for countries within a grouping the prospects for integration are greater than between a typical country within the group and one outside of it.

Moreover, he strongly suggests that physical space or geography are less crucial than social space or socio cultural considerations to the integration of political communities. So we can say in the words of Michael Hodges, that 'population of a given 'region' have attained a sense of community, in that they agree that common problems should be solved without resorting to violence. In short the term integration thus covers a vast range of human relationship and attitudes. The integration of diverse and discrete cultural loyalties and the development of a sense of nationality, the integration of political units into a common territorial framework with a government which can exercise authority, the integration of the rulers and the ruled, the integration of the citizen into a common political process and finally the integration of individuals into organizations for purposive activities. As diverse as these definitions are, they are all attempts to define what it is which holds a society and a political system together.\[148\]

A state is built on fellow feeling. What is this fellow feeling? To state briefly, it is a feeling of a corporate sentiment of oneness, which makes those who are charged with it, feel that they are the kith and kin. This feeling is a double edge.
feeling. It is at once a feeling of consciousness of a kind, which on one hand being
together those who have it so strongly, that it over-rides all differences arising out
of economic conflicts or social gradations and on the other, serves them from
those who are not of their kind. According to Dr. M. R. Khan, "the nation-
building, national integration and democracy go together . Integration in
comparative studies, is variously associated with any one of the following factors,
stability, common experiences, common values, types of political structures,
ideology, degree of compliance with governmental directives or size of units.
The main task of integration can be conveniently recalled under four headings.

(i) Maintaining peace

(ii) Attaining greater multi-purpose capabilities

(iii) Accomplishing some specific task

(iv) Gaining a new self-image and role identity.

As presented here, integration is not an end-state, but a process where by
units or elements of a society are brought into an active co-ordinated compliance
with the on-going activities of the dominant group in that society.

After a careful examination of the theories of integration, let us turn our
attention to the issue of ethnicity, nationalism, and secessionist movements. In the
era of globalization of technology, centrifugal phenomena is ethnic-nationalism.
The ethnic religious and caste conflicts are tearing apart not only the former (super
power), Soviet Republics and eastern Europe, but many third world countries as
well. Our country which was partitioned in 1971 on the same basis, is again
witnessing serious ethnic polarization." Ethnic conflict is of course, closely tied to
the future of the multi-ethnic state. A sample of 132 states show that only 12
(9.1%), can be considered ethnic free. 862 ethnic nations are living in the
states of the world. What future impact will they have at the end. if the nation-
states continue to be on a decline form of economic and political association.

In this section we will examine the concept of nationalism, ethnicity and
secessionist movement. The word 'nation' goes back to the Latin expression
'nation' which mean birth, and it denotes a group of blood-kinsmen. With the
passage of time it came to mean a community and not just blood relations, and
when it found its way into the language of west Europe in the middle ages, it
carried a wider connotation of, "a human community related by birth to only
locality or living in a country". Smith, defined nation as, "any social group with
a common and distinctive history and culture, a definite territory, common
sentiments of solidarity, a single community and equal citizenship for all
members". Kant, Snyder and Fichte believe that, "a common language
and common religion are the most significant components of a nation". Herry
Lord Bryce, Philis Leury, Littre, Kedourie and Minogue, say that "race in an
important factor. Renan and Barker, think that, "a common past and wish to
accomplish them in future generates a nation". According to R. A.
Schermerhon, initially in western Europe and north America, depended on two
main factors, one was centralized monarchies from the sixteenth to the eighteenth
century, while the second was the rise of nationalism, embodying the idea of
political self-determination for a social group which inhabits a definite territory,
conceives it self as having a distinct ethnic and cultural character and has embarked
upon a struggle to establish popular sovereignty in place of dynastic rule. The concept of nationalism is related to the specific environment (religious, social, cultural act) in which national self-assertion of a group of people merges. Coleman, defined nationalism as, “a consciousness of belonging to a nation or a nationalistic desire, as manifest in sentiment and activity, to secure or maintain its welfare, prosperity and integrity and to maximize its political autonomy. Richard Cottam describes it as, a belief on the part of a large group of people that they comprise a political community, a nation ... that is entitled to independent state-hood and a willingness of the group to grant their community a primary and terminal loyalty. Carleton Hayes, defines it in the following words, “the cultural basis of nationality are, a common language and common historical traditions. When these by some process of education, become the objects of popular emotional patriotism, the result is nationalism” Kohn, says that, “nationalism is an idea, an idea-force, which fills man's brain and heart with new thoughts and new sentiments and drives him to translate his consciousness into deeds of organised action”.

One of the out-standing studies, if not the out-standing study of nationalism as a history of nationalistic ideas is perhaps, in the writings of Hans Kohn. For Kohn, “nationalism is an historical movement”. Although the French revolution was one of the most powerful factors in its intensification and spread, this did not mark the date of its birth. Like all the historical movements, nationalism has its roots in the past. The conditions which made its emergence possible had nurtured for centuries, before its convergence and formation. These
political, economic and intellectual development took a long time for their growth and proceeded at a different pace in various countries. Although their growth can be traced separately, their effects and consequences cannot be separated, otherwise in the analysis of the scholar, in life they are indissoluble intertwined. The growth of nationalism is the process of integration of the masses into a common political form. Nationalism therefore, presupposes the existence, in fact or as an ideal of a centralized form of government over a large and distinct territory. For its composite texture, nationalism used in its growth, some of the oldest and most primitive feelings of man found throughout history; as important factors in the formation of social groups. The natural tendency in man, to love his place of birth and the place of his childhood and the immense power of habitude are feelings which have always existed, Kohn...suggests that, “they do not form nationalism. They correspond to certain facts, territory, language, common decent which we also find in nationalism. Nationalism is not a natural phenomenon, nor a product of external or internal laws. It is a product of the growth of social and intellectual factors at a certain stage of history. Nationalism first and foremost is a, ‘state of mind’, an act of consciousnes which since the French revolution has become more and more common to mankind.

Hechter, explains the theory of internal colonialism based on the work of Latin American scholar, Andre Gunder Frank, he said, “the peripheral areas of west European states as ‘internal colonies’ because they were forced, over the countries into a complementary economic relationship to the core of the metropolitan states, and because members of the core tended to monopolize most
of the high status and economically rewarding posts. As a result members of the periphery had to mitigate "in response to price fluctuations of the exported primary products". The political forces of the metropolitan state supported the domination of the periphery and there resulted a cultural division of labor in which objective, cultural distinctions are super imposed upon class lines. High status occupations tend to be several for those of the metropolitan culture, while these of indigenous culture cluster at the bottom of the stratification system.  

T. Narin, also introduced the thesis of the uneven development, Orridge, said, "there can be little doubt that uneven development has played an important role in the genesis of many forms of nationalism." Internal colonialism and uneven development create the conflict theories of nationalism. According to Quincy Wright, "conflict is the opposition among social entities, directed against one another. Three theories of (conflict) nationalism can be identified within this general category, economics, social class and ethnic".  

First we will discuss the economic conflict theory, here, conflict over property relationships is at the core of the (economic conflict) theory of nationalism advanced by Berton and Johnson. In their writings, nationalism is defined as, "the utility or value of holding certain jobs or certain property owned by members of national group. The importance of economic competition between internal and external groups is evident in the following reconstruction of their theory". Secondly, many scholars who treat nationalism as a process to reconcile Marxist analysis with the concept of nationalism. Their argument is that, nationalism results from a set of demands advanced by these social classes., which
have unequal access to the resources allocated by the distributive system. The origins of this conflict may be either internal or external to the society, but nationalism always includes conflict among the groups within the society. Several proponents of this theory argue that, colonial relations between developed and underdeveloped countries have elevated the plane of conflict to the international system; with the developed countries adopting the role of the oppressor class.

However, others particularly Worsley and Kautsky, depict the process as taking place within the colonial society. Consequently the process of nationalism can be treated as a conflict among groups within a society.

Thirdly, is the ethnic conflict theory. Ethnicity is the process that keeps a group together and maintain its identity distinct from the rest of the society. Ethnocentrism, is an attitude of one's own culture or group as inherently superior to others. In this ethnic criteria are the salient sources of contention between society. Distinctive historical and linguistic ties are perceived to be the primary reference points for individuals. When the pattern of social relationships between two ethnic groups is such that social tension and conflict result, demands to extend the influence of the ethnic group are produced. Sociologists use the term ethnic group to refer to any kind of group, racial or otherwise. An ethnic group is one recognised by society and by itself as a distinct group based on language, religion, geographic location, nationality, physical appearance, or any combination of these. In societies where ethnicity effects organizational life, virtually all political events have ethnic consequences. Where parties break along ethnic lines, elections are divisive. Where armed forces are ethnically fragmented, military coups,
ostensibly to quell disorder or to end corruption may be made to secure the power of some ethnic groups at the expense of others. Whole system of economic relations can crystallize around opportunities afforded and disabilities imposed by government policy on particular ethnic groups.\textsuperscript{185}

The most fundamental concept with which we will deal is ethnic group. The idea ethnic group and ethnicity are relatively new. As the sociologists, Nathan Glayer and Daniel P. Moynihan notice these terms did not even appear in standard English dictionaries until the 1960's.\textsuperscript{186} Ethno in the Greek sense having some identifiable geographic base within the boundaries of an existing political system.\textsuperscript{187} In Russian the word, ‘Hauua’, is used for nation in one sense only, an ethnic community.\textsuperscript{188} An ethnic community is a group of people with common cultural traditions and a sense of identity. An ethnic group may have their own language and customs.\textsuperscript{188}

An individual possesses multiple identities and ethnic identity is one of them.\textsuperscript{190} Ethnicity is a composition of shared values, beliefs, norms, tastes, consciousness of kind within the group, shared in group memories and loyalties, certain structural relationship within the group and a trend towards a community by preferential endogamy.\textsuperscript{191}

A. D. Smith said that, “ethnic means a social group whose basis of differentiation is a common sense of ancestry and origins the possession of common history and the sharing of one or more cultural traits, by all its members, be this religion, mores or language. Generally speaking, ethnic communities are far too large to possess a kinship basis. Their sense of common decent is only a myth.

36
albeit a powerful one. Moreover, an ethnic community, though it must claim to hail from a given locality or land need no longer be in possession of that territory". It is an ideological construct with a specific history, language, religion, historical traditions, economic grievances and others. Ethnic associations refer to a total identity of the group. Greely, defines ethnic group, as a collectivity based on presumed common origin, which shape to some extent the attitudes and behavior of those who share that origin and with which certain people may freely choose to identify at certain times of their lives. Milton Gordon, defines ethnic group as, “set of people by race, religion or national origin or some combination of these categories”. Michael Novak, explains it as, “a group with historical memory, real or imaginary. Ethnic memory is a set of instincts, feelings, intimacies, expectations, patterns of emotions and behaviour, a sense of reality”.

Richard Gabriel, says that, “general attitudinal orientation by which an individual perceives himself as part of an ethnic group. The sense of identification extends to the group, its membership, its values and its traditions”. According to R. A. Schermerhorn, “an ethnic group is a collectivity existing within a larger society, having real or fictional common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past and cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements, defined as the opitome of their people hood”.

Joseph Rothschild, describes ethnicity as, “the political activities of complex collective groups, whose membership is largely determined by real or putatively ancestral inherited ties, and who perceive these ties as systematically effecting their fate and their place in the political and socio-economic structures of
their state and society. The upsurge of ethnicity is a cultural gain, it allows individuals whose status has been denigrated to assert a sense of pride in what they regard as their own. In equal measure it is a means for disadvantaged groups to claim a set of rights and privileges which the existing power structures have denied them.

Ethnicity provides a tangible set of common identifications, that is language, food, music and names, when other social roles become more abstract and impersonal. In the competition for the values of the society to be realized political, ethnicity can become an effective means of claiming place or advantage. Their are several symbols or criteria which play an important role in forming ethnic identity of a particular group. Some ethnic group define themselves by linguistic, other by religion and still other by race. Race is highly relevant consideration in producing a keen sense of differentiation among men. The instant recognition of variance in colour, hair colour, skin pigmentation and facial characteristics are the key elements. Race is the chief basis of cohesiveness in a group. Kinship is the assumed blood ties and alleged common ancestry, such as is generally claimed by clans and tribes.

Language also provides a bond of unity among its speakers. It is as old as recorded history, that people's love for their own language is a sole means of communication and association between men and the primary social bonds, based on mother tongue. People are emotional and, sensitive about their language, because language is not only a medium of communication but also the repository of a culture. Religion is also another major basis of identity and cultural cohesion.
Dr. Jameel Jalbi, says, "men feel a special closeness to one another, a special tolerance for one another and a special unity with one another." As Paul R. Brass, puts it that, "language becomes a symbol of group identification and religion becomes a basis for community".

Regionalism has also become a potent symbol of ethnic identification. It is a, "behavior that emphasized the geographic region stressing the relationship between man and his immediate physical environment, economic, social and cultural organizations (are formed) in terms of their inter-relationship and functions within the geographic regions". Bernard S. Cohen, states that, "regionalism does not just occur but, in fact emerges when certain special circumstances develop as viewed by rival groups. In his opinion the three important ingredients in the emergence of regionalism are:

(i) Common symbols

(ii) Transmission of these symbols within the whole group and

(iii) The establishment of regional elites.

He defines regionalism as the phenomenon which leads usually to the conscious or unconscious development of symbols, behavior and movements which will mark off groups within some geographic boundary from others in other regions for political, economic and cultural ends.

Ethnicity is connected to birth and blood, but not absolutely, so individual origins count, but expectations are made." Ethnicity is based on a myth of collective ancestry, which usually carries with its traits... believed to be innate. Some nation of ascription, however diluted and affinity driving from it are in
separable from the conception of ethnicity.\textsuperscript{211} So conceived, ethnicity easily embraces group differentiated by colour, language, and religion. It covers tribes, races, nationalities and castes.\textsuperscript{212} An ethnic group is and informed interest group whose members are distinct from the members of other group within the same society in that they share a measure of compulsory institutions like kinship and religion and can communicate among themselves relatively easily.\textsuperscript{213} The groups are defined by activities differences, whether the indicum of group identity is colour, appearance, language, religion, some other indicator of common origin or some combination thereof. This is an inclusive conception of ethnicity.\textsuperscript{214}

Ethnicity is an important variable in third world political system. The forces of ethnic nationalism have led to civil war in different countries.\textsuperscript{215} Ethnic groups try to use internal and external forces for their interests.\textsuperscript{216} The politics of ethnonationalism by Walker Conner, specifies detailed studies parted to Russia, India, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Malaysia, Israel and Africa.\textsuperscript{217} Ethnonationalism movements are defined as ideological movements based on shared meanings of common decent, real or imagined that elites within the appropriate group formulate in order to mobilize political support for a variety of objectives ranging from autonomy to secession to statehood.\textsuperscript{218} In an ethnic move, "the goal of an ethnic politician is to gain some advantage within an existing state."\textsuperscript{219}

Ethnic nationalism starts from a pre-existent homogeneous entity, a recognizable unit all that is necessary in this kind of nationalism is to protect and mature this entity or unit. The primary concern of ethnic nationalists is to ensure the survival of the groups cultural identity, that entails the political survival of the
group and the physical protection of its members. The only insurance of political survival under modern conditions is protection from interference by hostile outsiders in a separate political organisation or state. Ethnic nationalism can best be explained as a new organizational ideological form for political protest that occurs welfare states as an alternative to and replacement for class based forms of political opposition. Its salient characteristics is its ability to bind local populations.

A voluminous literature has sprung up around the concept of ethnicity. Crawford Young, recently identified two school of thought, one is the 'primordialist' and the other is the 'instrumentalist'. The primordialists, stress what Skill and Geertz, has called "the cultural givens assumed blood ties, race, language, region, religion and custom as the heart of the ethnic matter". Ethnic attachments are among several that appear 'natural' for individuals, being rooted in the non-rational foundations of personality. Instrumentalists focussing upon competition and interaction stress the situational and circumstantial nature of ethnic solidarity. They consider ethnicity as a weapon in the pursuit of collective advantage. This approach is adopted by Glazer, Moynihan, Barth and others. In this approach ethnicity is viewed as a resource for interest groups and a type of communal organisation, open to manipulation by power elites or charismatic leaders, in which an effective tie is combined with economic interests to heighten the utility and appeal of this particular type of collective basis. Dr. Arshad Karim, has defined it in two types, objective and subjective. He also describes the six stages of ethnicity.
He writes, "ethnonationalism is rooted in the core attribute of common ancestry, going through various stages and becoming nationalism, only in its final stage when, it struggles for full independence or gain a territory on which it has control. Thus ethnonationalism is a particular form of nationalism. The six stages through which ethnicity goes through are listed below.

(i) Ethnic self-awareness
(ii) Ethnic self-evaluation
(iii) Articulation of ethnic equality, the first stage of ethnonationalism
(iv) The demand of a separate political sub-unit, autonomy for it, the second stage of ethnonationalism.
(v) Bluff secession, the third stage of ethnonationalism
(vi) Secession, the last stage of ethnonationalism.\textsuperscript{228}

Scession, the familiar problem of world affairs and continued emphasis on issues of development, race and culture diversity in the name of higher morality.\textsuperscript{229}

It is an attempt to either create a separate state or merge in a neighboring political community.\textsuperscript{230} Harry Bean's conclusion is that, "any territorially concentrated group should be permitted to secede if a majority within the area wishes to do so and if secession is morally and practically possible".\textsuperscript{231} He described the six conditions for this but Anthony Birch, disagreed with this approach. He defined another liberal theory of secession,\textsuperscript{232} he said that, "groups are not entitled to opt out of a democratically governed states unless very special circumstances obtain"\textsuperscript{233} Following are the four conditions,
(i) The region was included in the state by force and its people have displayed a continuing refusal to give full consent to the union.

(ii) The national government has failed in a serious way to protect the basic rights and security of the citizens of the region. This failure must be either continuing or, if not continuing, so drastic that a reasonable person in the region could be expected to feel fearful for his continuing security and freedom.

(iii) The democratic system has failed to safeguard the legitimate political and economic interests of the region, either because the representative process is based against the region or because the executive authorities contrive to ignore the result of the process for this condition necessary to show that the failure was prolonged and likely to continue, that is resulted in relative deprivation of some kind for the region.

(iv) The national government has ignored or rejected an explicit or implicit bargain between sections that was entered into as a way of preserving the essential interests of a section that might find itself out voted by a national majority.²³⁴

Beran, further says that, in the theory of secession, “secession is like divorce”.²³⁵ It challenges conventional wisdom.²³⁶ It is the last stage of ethnonationalism, from these the new nationalities emerge and try to create integration in the newly built society. In short we can say that, social homogeneity will contribute strongly to the feasibility of political integration and conversely, that communities whose members are very different from one another will have a
very hard time achieving or maintaining political integration. In divided societies ethnic conflict is at the center of politics. Ethnic divisions pose challenges to the cohesion of states and sometimes to peaceful relations among states. Ethnic conflict strains the bonds that sustain civility and is often at the root of violence that results in looting, death, homelessness and the flight of large numbers of people. In divided societies ethnic affiliations are powerful, permeative, passionate and prevail.

Indicators for social homogeneity along with race, religion, language and ethnic identification are attitudes and values similarity in people's expression of social distance towards person and groups outside their community is taken as evidence of feeling of social homogeneity. Feeling of identity indicate integration and a feeling of social homogeneity causes integration. Joseph and Thompson rightly say, it is not the state which brings about integration in a society, but rather the relationship of interdependence among the members and groups of society which provide the foundation for the state. It is the state Marx observed, which is held together by the civil society. After a careful analysis and survey of these concepts, now let us carefully examine the impacts of ethnicity and its results on the politics of Pakistan and how we will remain together in the future as an integrated society.
References


4. Ibid., p.1120


10. Ibid., p.275.


18. Ibid., p.150.


27. ibid., p.28.


30. Philip E. Jacob and Henry Teune, 'The Integrative Process: Guidelines For Analysis Of The Basis Of Political Community', in Jacob and Toscano, edited, Integration, op.cit., p.4,


44. Myron Weiner, op.cit., p.249.

45. Ake Claude, op.cit., p.3.


51. ibid., p.36.

52. Rounaq Jahan, op.cit., p.4.


55. ibid., p.86.


57. Michael Sullivan, op.cit., p.212.


59. Charles Petland, op.cit., p.16.


62. R.J. Harrison, op.cit., p.96.

63. David Mitrany, op.cit., p.97.


68. Theodore A. Couloumbis and James H. Wolf, op.cit., p.299.

69. Michael Hodges, op.cit., p.245.

70. ibid., p.246.

71. Charles Petland, op.cit., p.17.


73. R.J. Harrison, op.cit., p.76.


76. E.B. Hass, op.cit., p.5.

77. ibid., p. xxxii.

79. Hameed A.K. Rai and Saeed Osman Malik, op.cit., p.246

80. E.B. Hass, op.cit., p 5

81. Paul Taylor, op.cit., p.82

82. Hameed A. K. Rai, op cit., p.262

83. Theodore A. Couloumbis and James H. Wolf, op.cit., p.299


88. ibid., p.51.

89. R.J. Harrison, op.cit., p.30.


91. Ralph Petlman, op.cit., p. 287.


94. ibid., p.299.


98. ibid., p. 177.


100. Theodore A. Couloumbis and James H. Wolf, op.cit., p.298.


113. R.J. Harrison, op.cit., p.55.

115. K.C. Wheare, *op.cit.*, p.33


122. K.C. Wheare, *op.cit.*, p.


128. ibid.


52


138. A.J.R. Groom and Alexis Heraclides, op.cit., p.177


140. Theodore A. Coulcumbis and James H. Wolf, op.cit., p.300.


142. Marie Elisabeth De Bussy and Others, op.cit., p.104.


144. ibid,


53
149. ibid., p.170.


156. ibid.

157. Ibid.


162. Dankwart A. Rustow, op.cit.,


165. Fredrick Hertz, Nationality In History And Politics. A Study Of The Psychology And Sociology of National Sentiment And Character, Kegan Paul London, 1944.
166. Lord Bryce, Race And Sentiments As A Factor In History, University Of London, 1915.


169. Ibid.

170. Aftab Ahmed Kazi, op.cit., p.27.


177. Ibid.


188. Mahmud Ali, op.cit.


203. Ibid., p.169.


209. Bernard S. Cohen, 'Regions, Subjective And Objective: Their Relation To The Study Of Modern Indian History And Society'.


211. Ibid., p.52.

212. Ibid., p.53.
213. Ibid.


216. Astri Suhrke and Lela Garner, op.cit., p.3.


223. Ibid.


225. Ibid.


228. Ibid.

229. The Substance Of Global Politics, op.cit.,

230. Inayatullah, op.cit., p.98.


233. Ibid.


236. M.M. Sharif, op.cit., p.32.


238. Ibid., p.19.

239. Donald L. Horowitz, of op.cit., p.12.

CHAPTER TWO

POLITICS OF THE REGIONAL PARTIES AND THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT

The chapter in question will examine in detail the role of various regions which constituted parts of Pakistan in the Pakistan movement. Pakistan emerged as an independent state on the 14th of August 1947. It was achieved through a democratic movement and evolutionary process, which was based on the 'two nation theory'. The Muslims of the sub-continent not only tried to get rid of their white masters but also the Hindu dominated majority. Hindu and Muslims were two different communities led by two major political parties; the All India National Congress(1885), and the All India Muslim League(1906) Muslim League supported the ideology of Pakistan but Congress and some other small regional parties opposed the concept of an independent 'Muslim nationalism' in the sub-continent. They believed that nationalism is based on the land and not on the religion. The regional groups criticized the policies of the League and its leadership.

Pakistan as political entity included those Muslim majority areas, which were culturally different from each other. They had common religion but different languages, customs, manners, dresses, art, economy, outlook and geographical set-up. So it was necessary to establish the federal system with maximum regional autonomy. But our political elite's and other power based state institutions managed to centralize the system during the last fifty years. As a result we have
lost half of our country in 1971. We are today confronted with a situation which can once again rock the very foundations of the state. There are so many regional movements which claim autonomy on the basis of ethnicity.

This chapter will examine some major ethnic movements, Pakistan has faced during the last fifty years. In short we will discuss the regional politics and the role of Muslim League before the freedom movement and after the partition of the sub-continent. As stated earlier we will confine our analysis to five major movements.

(1) Pakhtunistan or (Red shirt and Khudai Khidmatgar)
(2) Bangla nationalism
(3) Unionist or (Punjabi politics)
(4) Sindh (Sindhi nationalism)
(5) Balochistan (States union)
(6) Bahawalpur state

All these local movements represented the different cultural regions or administrative units (provinces) that provincial administrative set-up was established during the colonial era and was adopted as it is after the establishment of Pakistan.

So let us begin our analysis with a critical reading of the provincial politics and Pakistan movement. "upon the demise of the British empire in South Asia in 1947-48 four separate countries became independent nation states, India, and Pakistan in 1947 Burma and Ceylon in 1948". On the eve of the British departure from India, some eight million Muslims lived in the sub-continent. Pakistan was
demanded for the first time in the Lahore resolution of March 1940,6 under the
banner of Muslim League. Although the first proposal of a Muslim region in the
north-west of India in 1930,7 came from Sir Muhammad Iqbal, at Allahabad.
Choudhary Rahmat Ali, proposed the name 'Pakistan', for the new country in
1933,8 in a hand bill 'now or never'. Under the 1935, Government of India Act,
Muslim League participated in the assembly elections of early 1937.9 The results
reflected the League's historic lack of influence in the Muslim majority areas.

Following were the results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Province</th>
<th>Seats won by Muslim League</th>
<th>Seats won by other Muslim Groups</th>
<th>Total No. of Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.P.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.W.F.P.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3610</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the elections, Jinnah took the difficult task of organizing the League all over the sub-continent and started his new legal battle for an independent Muslim homeland. His labor brought the fruits within a few years and he won mass popularity all over the sub-continent in the elections of 1946. The results of the elections bear testimony to his ever increasing popularity among the Muslim masses. The following table shows the election results of the Muslim seats in the Muslim majority areas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Province</th>
<th>Muslim League won</th>
<th>Others won</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.P.</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.W.F.P.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The League thus won 440 seats out of 495 seats, i.e. 88.8%. The results proved that the Muslim community supported the Muslim League for an independent state, which was finally achieved in August 1947. There were also some other regional nationalist Muslim groups who were opposed to the idea of Pakistan. They were the Khudai Khidmatgar, in the N.W.F.P., G. M. Syed and his followers in Sindh, Unionist in the Punjab, supporters of united Bengal in east Pakistan and Kalat states National party in Kalat state, Baluchistan. There were also so many other Islamic groups such as the Khaksar, Ahrar Thareek, Jamiat-ul-mah-e-Hind, and the Jamat-i-Islami.

Here however we will concentrate on the regional groups, so we will briefly explain their politics and its impact on Muslim majority regions (those were later called Pakistan), during the Pakistan movement.
N.W.F.P.

The north west frontier province was carved out on the 25th of October 1901. The province was situated on the north west frontier of the Indian empire. On the north that was shut off from the Pamirs by the Hindu Kush, to the south that was bounded by Baluchistan and the Dera Ghazi Khan district of the Punjab, on the east by the territories of the Maharaja of Kashmir and by the Punjab, on the east by Afghanistan. 16

Compared with other provinces N.W.F.P. was very small. Moreover only a third of it was under direct British administration. In 1931, the total population of the settled districts was about two and a half million. The population of the remained, the so-called tribal areas was estimated at roughly the same number. The vast majority, more than 90% of the frontier population were Muslims, 8% Hindus and Sikhs and 2% others. 17 The dominant ethnic group of N.W.F.P. were the Pathans. In the central districts, Mardan, Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu about 50% were Pakhtuns, while in Dera Ismail Khan district in the south only about 25% were Pakhtuns. In the northern most district Hazara the Pakhtuns represented less than 10% of the total population. 18

In the N.W.F.P. the political movements started in the third decade of the twentieth century. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan organised 'Khudai Khidmatgar' (Red Shirt Movement), as a social movement in 1928. 19 The Khudai Khidmatgar, initially was a social movement, the government pushed them into politics. 20 Ghaffar Khan was impressed by the Indian National Congress and supported its policies. 21 During the disobedience movement 1931-32, Ghaffar Khan was arrested
and awarded three years imprisonment, but was released within same year by the efforts of the Congress. From this stage onward Red Shirt movement joined hands with Congress and supported all her policies in the region. In 1931 the 'Red Shirt' played an active role with the Congress party. In the elections of 1937 Congress won 38% of the seats because of their help.

After the elections Abdul Quayum Khan was successful in forming the provincial government but after five or six months, a vote of no-confidence was passed by the opposition and Dr. Khan sahib formed a coalition government of Congress and Red Shirt. In 1939, on the call of the Congress the Frontier ministry also resigned. The Congress and its supporters won a clear cut majority in the elections of 1946. Dr. Khan sahib, once again became the chief-minister of the N.W.F.P. Congress ministry was against the partition of sub-continent, while the All India Muslim League demanded the inclusion of the N.W.F.P. in Pakistan comprising the Muslim majority areas of the sub-continent. But ultimately Congress also accepted the Mount batten plan of 3rd June 1947. Although Khan sahib told the mission that the Pathans had no love for their Punjabi neighbors and were not willing to join Pakistan. What they wanted most of all was to be entirely independent.

Lord Ismay said, "the north west frontier province represented a bastard situation". A Muslim majority with a Congress ministry in office. So it was declined to get the opinion of the people through a referendum. Both the major political parties of the sub-continent agreed on this point. The Congress's acceptance of the partition plan was a major set-back for Ghaffar Khan and his
followers. He called it 'betrayal' for the Khudai Khidmatgar by the Congress. Ghaffar Khan protested on this decision and said that, if a referendum was to be held at all it should be on the question of Pakhtunistan or Pakistan. At this stage Pakhtunistan was also the third option for Gandhi, under the pressure of the Khan brothers. The demand of Pakhtunistan came as a surprise to all, the Congress, Muslim League, British and even the Pathans themselves. The Khan brothers called for the boycott of the referendum. Muslim League won the referendum as more than fifty percent of the voters supported the League and so N.W.F.P. opted for Pakistan.

**Bengal**

Bengal with its 33 million Muslims was a key area in the Indian Muslim politics. Historically Hindus opposed the partition of the province in 1905. All India Muslim League was formed by Sir Salimullah the Nawab of Dacca in 1906. The Congress lost her credibility, during the Swadeshi movement in 1906-08. The Krishak Praja party was established in 1914. Akram Khan, Abdur Rahim and Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy broke away in 1936 and formed the United Muslim party, which later merged into the Muslim League. Bengal was the only province in which the League could claim a share of power after the elections of 1937. Muslim League shared power in a coalition government, headed by Fazlul Haq from the elections of 1937 until December 1941. In 1940, he moved the famous Lahore Resolution, but in 1941 he quit Muslim League and formed a coalition with Shyama Prasad Mukherji. That ministry never won the support of the majority of the muslims. It was replaced by a Muslim League ministry led by
Khawaja Nazimuddin in April 1943.\textsuperscript{45} His ministry stayed in office until it lost its majority in March 1945. Bengal was ruled by the Governor until the provincial elections of 1946.\textsuperscript{46}

Bengal had made an attempt to attain independence outside India and Pakistan. Abdul Hashim\textsuperscript{47} and Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy,\textsuperscript{48} demanded that, and in 1944 Khawaja Nazimuddin,\textsuperscript{49} discussed it with the then Governor. The Muslim League emerged with an absolute majority in the elections of 1946, by sweeping 115 seats out of 123 Muslim seats and formed the ministry, led by Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy.\textsuperscript{50} The Congress high command did not agree with the idea of an independent united Bengal. Lord Mountbatten during his visit to London in May 1947, called the Governor of Bengal and made the following observations. "I believe that if Suharwardy, were to renew his request for dominion status for Bengal at this moment, it might make the Congress leaders chary of agreeing to a united Bengal. Since they would feel, that it would lessen the chance of Bengal coming into the union at a later date, if they had independent dominion status".\textsuperscript{51} Thus the chapter of an independent united Bengal was closed and the Muslims and the Hindus in Bengal started looking forward for a partition of their land according to the plan of 3rd June 1947.

**Punjab**

Punjab was the most important of all the major centers of Muslim population to the Pakistan scheme, because of its strategic geographical position, its large Muslim majority and its agricultural wealth. It formed the heartland of the future Pakistan.\textsuperscript{52} During the freedom movement in India, Punjab was aloof from
all India politics and committed to its peculiar non-communal alliance of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. The Punjab National Unionist Party, continued to dominate the Punjab’s provincial legislative assembly. Punjab was primarily a land of peasants, proprietors and tenant cultivators. Punjab held the key to the Muslim League demand for Pakistan.

The outstanding feature of pre-independence Punjabi politics was predominance of the unionist party. This party was established in 1923, led by Mian Fazl-i-Hussain and Chotu Ram. In the provincial elections of 1937, the unionist candidates were elected in the Punjab provincial assembly. At the final count it claimed 99 of the 175 seats in the new assembly, including 71 of the 75 Muslim rural seats. This unionist victory created a major problem for the Muslim League. It had to undermine League’s predominance. The party dominated Punjabi politics for almost a quarter of a century, before the partition. Even after the elections of 1946, in which Muslim League won sufficient seats, the unionist were still able to form a ministry. After the elections of 1937, Jinnah - Sikander Pact was concluded in Lucknow. Under its term, Sikander agreed to advise all the Muslim members of the unionist party to join the Muslim League. Before this Pact, the late unionist leader, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, wrote to Sikander, “I have also asked Ahmed Yar to strongly press on him (Jinnah), the advisability of keeping his finger out of the Punjab pie”.

Now, the same party leader Sikander, signed the pact. M.A.H. Ispahani, wrote that, “Sikander’s joining the Muslim League was not out of deep conviction, but merely as a matter of necessity, and that was to strengthen his ministry in the
face of a threat from the Congress mass contact movement, which was launched in Punjab in April 1937. The unionist premiers in the Punjab, continued resisting Jinnah's interference in the Punjab and stood for provincial autonomy. Sir Khizer Hayat, also opposed the partition of Punjab and its union with N.W.F.P., Sindh, and Baluchistan. On the other hand, after Jinnah - Sikander Pact, the League effectively remained under the unionist control, until the collapse of Jinnah - Khizer talk in April 1944. Now the League made a major effort to win over the support of the leading landlords and pirs in the Punjab. This strategy enabled the League to turn the tables on the unionist party in the elections of 1946.

For Jinnah and the Punjab Muslim League, the provincial elections of February, 1946, marked a sweet moment of triumph. The elections provided the League with public mandate, to speak in the name of Pinjabi's Muslims. The electoral success of the Muslim League in Punjab allowed Jinnah to proclaim his demand for Pakistan as an expression of popular will.

Sindh

After Punjab, it was Sindh, which was the most important province in the block of Muslim majority provinces in north western India, in terms of both population and economic strength. Sindh was an ancient civilization, one of the oldest in the world. Sindh had created a powerful culture which centered in Moenjodaro in the upper Sindh and its periphery which extended north to Kashmir and south to Gujerat. W. Pottinger, said that, "the population of Sindh may be divided into three parts. One, which was made of the Amirs, Chiefs, Blauchs, Syeds, and religious mendicants. They all belonged to the privileged class. The
second, was made of the haris (peasants). A.K. Brohi said that, "the ancient history of mankind knows of only two cultural entities in the life of the sub-continent, at one time known as 'India'. But now after its political partition into Pakistan and Bharat, as the Indi-Pakistan and these are Hinds and Sindh."  

Sindh was the first part of the sub-continent to be ruled by the Muslims following its conquest by the Arabs in 711-712 A.D. Developed over subsequent centuries its own distinctive religious character based on strong Sufi traditions. Islam in the province was popularized and sustained by the saintly figures who fill the province's history and whose shrines or 'dargahs', continue to dominate the Sindhi countryside. Sindh lost its independent status in 1843 and was made part of the Bombay Presidency, primarily for four reasons of British convenience, after four years of British control. In 1856, it was proposed that Sindh should be merged with Punjab, but the plan was turned down on financial grounds. Then in 1880, it was rejected again. For the fair share of benefits of British rule, local Muslim waderas, pirs, mirs and some Karachi based merchants established the Sindh Mohammedan Association in 1883.

The demand for Sindh's separation from Bombay was initially moved by Sindhi Hindus at an annual session of Congress held in Karachi in 1913. But in the late 1920's, Muslim elite's perceived it as a strategy. The Sindh Azad conference, an informal organization was formed. Jinnah also demanded Sindh as an independent province in his famous fourteen points. It was also discussed in the London Round Table conference, and the decision in favor of an autonomous Sindh was announced at the end of 1932. Sindh was established as a separate
province on the 1st of April 1936. Mohammad Ayub Khoro and G. M. Syed both emerged as important political figures of Sindh, during the key years of the separation demand. Surprisingly Muslim League did not benefit greatly from the separation demand. In 1937, the Muslim League had virtually no organization in Sindh and had failed to elect a single candidate on its ticket. In practice, leading local politicians could both be connected with the League and members of competing Sindh parties. Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindh, leader of the Azad party and Sir Abdullah Haroon, were the co-founders of Sindh United party. Both had close connections with the League. M.A. Khoro, one of Sindh Muslim Political party's leading light, was also a member of the council of All India Muslim League. Muslim League assembly party was established in 1938, and claimed the support of 27 Muslim members. After the elections of 1937, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, was called upon to form the government. He resigned in March 1938. The new ministry was formed by Allah Bakhsh, with the support of local Congress politicians. It was in October 1942, that Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, again formed the second Muslim League ministry.

After the death of Sir Abdullah Haroon, G.M. Syed became the president of the Sindh Muslim League. Relations between G.M. Syed and Sir Hidayatullah deteriorated sharply. Tension heightened during the two by-elections of 1944-45. G.M. Syed was expelled in 1946, from the League by its Central Committee of Action. Later G.M. Syed stood for Azad Sindh and not for Pakistan. In the
elections of 1946, Muslim League won the majority of Sindh Muslim seats and the assembly further supported the demand for Pakistan.

**Baluchistan**

Baluchistan was not a governor’s province under British rule. Its territories were divided into different types.\(^9\)

1. The leased area
2. The Chief Commissioner’s province
3. The tribal areas
4. The states (Baluchistan states union)

British control on Chief Commissioners province was legalized through a treaty between the British, the Khan of Kalat and the sardars in 1876. Under this agreement, Quetta and its adjoining area including the Bolan Pass were leased to the British on a permanent basis.\(^2\) The tribal areas were dominated by the Bugtis and the Muree tribes. There were also four Baluchistan states, Kalat, Kharan, Mekran, and Lasbela.\(^3\) According to Talbot, “Baluchistan was the most backward region of Muslim India.”\(^4\) Baluchi and Brahuiki, were the two languages generally spoken in the Baluch areas.\(^5\) According to Tariq Rahman, “Baluchistan is a multi-lingual province. The main three are the, Baluchi, Barahvi and Pushto”.\(^6\) Sindhi, Saraiki and Urdu are also used in this province.\(^7\) According to Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri, “it will be observed that Baluchs are one of the oldest races who successfully withstood the social and cultural intrusions of other races and preserved their language and to a large extent their tribalism and values of life”.\(^8\)
Mansoor Akbar Kundi, explains in his book, *Baluchistan: A Socio-Cultural and Political Analysis*, that, “Baluchistan is the biggest among all the four provinces, with an area of 347.056sq km, constituting 43% of the total area of Pakistan. Its area stretches from the plains of Punjab across the Sulaiman range near Duruk, on the borders of Dera Ghazi Khan district to the shores of the Arabian sea in Mekran division and desert wastes of Bhambor in Sindh to the mountainous belt of Waziristan on the Afghanistan-N.W.F.P. borders. Its geo-strategic importance can be gauged from the fact that it not only links all the three provinces, but two of the neighboring countries, Iran and Afghanistan through road and train linkage. The routes linking Pakistan with central Asia, middle east and Europe”.

During the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries there was a major influx of migrants to Baluchistan. Pushtuns moved into northern Baluchistan, probably as a result of a protracted three way contest between Safavid, Uzbek and Mughal forces in Afghanistan. A number of tribes in Sarwan claim to be Pushtun progenitors. During the same period, conditions in Persia led to a large Baluch migration eastward to Sindh. This population flow appears to have destabilized previous alliances, giving rise to a series of local conflicts throughout the region. ⁸⁹

In the seventeenth century a tribal confederation consolidated itself in the highlands of Kalat, in the north-eastern Baluchistan, probably in response to disorders associated with Baluch immigration. The confederacy was led by Ahmed Khan, founder of the Ahmadzai dynasty, which held the Khanship until Kalat acceded to Pakistan in 1948. The confederation fought a series of battle with
Qandhar to the north and with the rulers of Sindh to the east and succeeded in establishing Kalat as a regional policy.\textsuperscript{90} That polity was variously known as the Brahvi confederacy, Kalat and Khanate of Baluchistan.\textsuperscript{91} The nationalist movement was founded in Baluchistan in 1929, under the leadership of Mir Muhammad Yusuf Ali Khan Aziz Magassi. He was the first president of the Anjuman-e-Itehad-e-Baluchistan, which was formed for the unification and independence of Baluchistan.\textsuperscript{92}

Other political groups Anjuman-e-Watan, which was active in British Baluchistan and the leased areas from 1936 to 1947 and Anjuman-e-Itehad-e-Baluchan was active in Baluch areas in British India. The Kalat State National party emerged as a political force in 1937 and participated in Khanate Baluchistan, Baluch tribal areas and the leased areas till 1948.\textsuperscript{93} Although the Kalat State National party was declared illegal by the Kalat government on the 20th of July 1939,\textsuperscript{94} the party remained in working order as an underground political force. Before independence, this party reflected the thinking of the nationalist Muslims and later of the Congress.\textsuperscript{93} Quaid-e-Azam's League demanded reforms for Baluchistan, first time, in March 1927,\textsuperscript{96} and then in March 1929,\textsuperscript{97} in his famous fourteen points. Qazi Muhammad Issa, established the Baluchistan Muslim League, in June 1939,\textsuperscript{98} which joined the All India Muslim League in September 1939, at its session in Delhi.\textsuperscript{99} Quaid-e-Azam visited Quetta in June 1943,\textsuperscript{100} and October 1945.\textsuperscript{101} In the early 1940's political backwardness went hand in hand with its low level economic and social development in Baluchistan. Electoral politics were restricted to Quetta municipality right down to independence.\textsuperscript{102}
The demand for constitutional reforms in the Kalat state was initiated in 1931, in the form of a movement against Prime minister Sir Shams Shah. The anjuman published a pamphlet 'Shams Gardi'. In February 1937, the anjuman was replaced by the Kalat State National party, the party was popular among the masses. In August 1942, the party objected the dismemberment of the state of Kalat. The party secretary, Abdul Karim Shorish said that, “remaining within the bounds of law and order all the Baluchs should organize public meetings to demand the merger of Kharan and Lasbela with the state of Kalat to end the present state of anarchy and political disorder”. Khan of Kalat started the move for independent Baluchistan and also established relations with Quaid-e-Azam. Quaid-e-Azam presented the Khanat claim to the Cabinet Mission, he also declared the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the autonomous states.

An agreement was made by the British, Kalat and Pakistan governments on the 4th of August 1947, in which Kalat was recognised as an independent state. The Khan of Kalat established an independent state on the 12th of August 1947. As far as the tribal Baluchistan was concerned, the Bughti and the Marri tribes also gave their choice for Kalat state in 1946. Meanwhile, the Muslim League continued penetrating into the British Baluchistan, which comprised of both, the leased area of Quetta, Noshki, Naseerabad and tribal areas of Marri and Bughti agencies and the Pakhtun majority areas of northern Baluchistan. Here it established a considerable following, which was later helpful in eliciting a decision from Quetta municipality and the Shahi jirga to join Pakistan in July 1947.
Bahawalpur State

The area of Bahawalpur was gifted by the governor of Multan, Nawab Hayat-ullah to Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan, as a 'jageer'. After that, Nawab Sadiq Muhammad controlled the other autonomous regions around the 'jageer' and established his independent state. Bahawalpur state signed the agreement of friendship with the British government in 1833 and 1838. The Nawab of Bahawalpur supported the British government in the revolt of 1857. The failure of the revolt was celebrated in the state of Bahawalpur too. The first public social organisation, Anjuman Moued-ul-Islam, was established in the state in 1891. The Muslims of the state established their political organisation, Jamiat-ul-Muslimeen, in 1925, and joined the states Muslim League in 1942. When Pakistan came into being on the 14th of August 1947, the Nawab of Bahawalpur said, "in view of the geographical position of my state and its cultural and economic affinities with the Pakistani dominion, my representatives should participate in the labors and deliberations of Pakistan constituent assembly, which will enable the two states to arrive at a satisfactory constitutional arrangement, with regards to certain important matters of common concern".

According to Riaz Hashmi, "the Bahawalpur state was therefore, not the part of Pakistan on the 14th day of August, 1947, instead by virtue of section 7 (i) (b) of the Indian independence act, this state became full sovereign state and its people, a separate nation on the 14th of August 1947. Since the Bahawalpur state's relation with the British crown rested on paramount and treaty obligations which had collapsed on account of the independence act, therefore, sovereignty
returned to the state, on the 14th of August, 1947, with full power to defend its own frontiers and maintain its external affairs. It was no longer a vessel and had become sovereign and its ruler assumed the title of Amir of Bahawalpur. The state now possessed the treaty making power with any foreign government. It was in recognition of the full sovereignty and complete independence of the Bahawalpur state.\textsuperscript{120}

It was on the 3rd of October, 1947, when the sovereign of Bahawalpur state, Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Abbasi, made an international agreement with Pakistan, by signing the instrument of accession; the other signatory was Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Governor General of Pakistan. By this instrument Bahawalpur joined Pakistan and became its federated state. The Amir clearly stated in the treaty that, "by retaining his own sovereignty over the Bahawalpur state, he only surrendered to Pakistan his authority in respect of matters concerning, external affairs, defense and the communication of the state. This instrument of accession, being an international treaty, was placed by the minister of state and frontier regions to the constituent assembly on the 14th of February 1949, and was accordingly ratified".\textsuperscript{121} In short Bahawalpur was a state, bordering with Sindh and Punjab. It had resisted an occupation by the Punjab in the 19th century, with the help of the British government. The Amir of Bahawalpur declared his sovereignty over his state's territory on the 14th of August 1947, and joined Pakistan on the 3rd of October 1947.

So after evaluating all these events, it can safely be concluded that every region, which was to constitute Pakistan, had attempted to secure regional
autonomy, before it joined Pakistan or was made to join Pakistan. During the Pakistan movement there were so many regional political parties and political personalities, who worked on solid ground for regional autonomy. It was on the issue of autonomy that Pakistan was disintegrated in 1971. New Pakistan too is beset with problems of ethnicity.
References

3. Arif Batalwi, Tarikh-i-Muslim League, (Urdu), Lahore, 1970.
7. Shamloo; Speeches And Statements Of Iqbal, p.p. 11-12, Lahore, 1948.


19. ibid.,

20. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, My Life And Struggle, p.96, Hind Pocket Books, Delhi, 1969.


80
34. Ahmed Saleem, op.cit., p.147.
38. Ian Talbot, op.cit., p.58.
40. Arif Batalwi, op.cit.,
41. Ian Talbot, op.cit., p.60.
43. Ishteaq Hussain Qureshi, Translated by Hilal Ahmed Zuberi, op.cit., 110.
44. ibid., p.112.
45. Tazeen M. Murshid, op.cit., p.156.

81

52. Sugata Bose, op. cit., p.135.


54. Ian Talbot, op. cit., p.82.


59. Ian Talbot, Provincial Politics And The Pakistan Movement, op. cit., p.82.


61. Ian Talbot, op. cit., p.87.


64. R.J. Moore, op. cit., p.55.


68. Ian Talbot, op.cit., p.31.


73. ibid., p.184.


75. Daily Gazette, p.18, November 12th, 1927.

76. Muhammad Irfan, A Brief History Of The Movement Of The Separation Of Sindh, p.52, Al-Wahid special November, 1st April 1936.


78. Sarah Ansari, op.cit., p.186.


80. ibid., p.38.

81. ibid., p.40.

82. Sarah Ansari, op.cit., p.179.

83. Fayyaz Ahmed Hussain, op.cit., p.70.

84. ibid., p.81.

86. A.B. Awan, *Baluchistan: Historical And Political Process*, p.201, New

87. Ian Talbot, *op.cit.*, p.117.

88. A.W. Huges, *The Country Of Baluchistan: Its Geography, Topography,
Ethnology And History*, p.36, Gosha-e-Adab, Quetta, 1977.

89. Tariq Rahman, "The Baluchi, Brahvi Language Movement In Pakistan",
in the *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, p.71, vol xix, No.3,
spring 1996.

90. *ibid.*, p.72.

91. Khuda Baksh Bijarani Marri, *Search Lights On Baluchis And Baluchistan*,
p.283, Nisa Traders, Quetta.

in Paul Titus, edited, *Marginality And Modernity, Ethnicity And Change In Post-

93. *ibid.*.


96. *ibid.*, p.236.


99. Qazi Muhammed Isa, "Tahreek Azadia Baluchistan", (Urdu), in *Ahang*, p.18,


101. Qazi Muhammed Isa to Liaquat Ali Khan, *Baluchistan Muslim League, 1939-
44*, vol 293, *Freedom Movement Archive, Karachi University, 16th June*,
1939.

102. Qazi Muhammed Isa, "Quaid-e-Azam Meri Zindagi Mein: Chand Jhalkian",
(Urdu), in Mahah Noe, December 1943.

84
103. Al Islam, (Urdu), Quetta, 2nd July, 1943.

104. Inkalab, (Urdu), Lahore, 16th September, 1944.

105. Ian Talbot, op.cit., p.117.


117. ibid., p.27.


120. Masood Hassan Shahab, op.cit., p.65.
121. ibid., p. 124.


Chapter No.3

Regional Movements 1947-1971

This chapter will provide a brief overview of the regional movements. Those movements which had their roots, in the sub-continent, prior to the division of the sub-continent. Pakistan, that emerged as a result of the division of the sub-continent on religious and cultural grounds; found itself seized with the problem of ethnicity and separatism, soon after its birth. The first issue that developed, was the problem of merger of princely states, particularly that of Kalat and the issue of Pakhtunistan. At the same time, the relationship between the central elite and east Bengal counter elite’s, started getting strained till the latter with the widespread support of the politically aware and active masses and intervention of the Indian army, were able to establish a separate country.¹ According to Lakhi, “although the two-nation theory, on which Pakistan movement was based presupposed, that the muslim population of north-east and north-west India, would constitute a monolithic nation. The fact is that this country is as heterogeneous culturally, as any Asian or African State.”² Pakistan being a multi-ethnic country, carries with itself, both the considerations, namely, the establishment of a provincial set-up based on ethnic as well as administrative efficiency.³

These were composed of different ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups.⁴ Pakistan was a unique geographical expression, with its two very large population centers, divided by a thousand miles of Indian territory.⁵ East Bengal formed a single province. In the west there were three governors provinces, the (west) Punjab,
Sirdh, and the North West Frontier province, as well as (British) Baluchistan, the Baluchistan states, (Kalat, Lasbela, Makran and Karan, which were grouped together as the Baluchistan states union), the North West Frontier states, (Dir, Amb, Swat and Chital), the Frontier tribal areas, the federal capital area of Karachi and the princely states of Khairpur and Bahawalpur.⁶

Pakistan was created on the basis of Muslim identity. But new identities were to be defined, Pathan, Baluch, Sindhi, Punjabi and Bengali. In East Pakistan, Bengali identity was replaced by Muslim identity. The Muslim identity was fragmented into new ethnic identities.⁷ Let us therefore examine the regional movements and their impact on Pakistan from, 1947 to 1971. In this period Pakhtunistan and greater Baluchistan movements were dominated on the political scenery of Pakistan. Sindh was also awakening on ethnic basis. There was also a movement for (Saraiki culture), the restoration of Bahawalpur state in the last phase of this period. But the Bengali ethnic movement was converted into secessionist movement and ultimately, Bangladesh was established as a separate state in 1971.

At the time of the creation of Pakistan, in 1947, its powerful neighbor the USSR, use to describe Pakistan not as a ‘nation’, but as a country consisting of five distinctive nationalities; the Bengalis, Baluchs, Sindhis, Pathans and the Punjabis.⁹ Gankovasky, described the distribution and dispersal of same linguistic groups. He also included the immigrants (Urdu speaking),⁹ and some other sub-regional groups.
National leadership, of the Quaid-e-Azam and a sense of oneness were strong enough to hold the people together. After independence, Quaid-e-Azam was elected as the first Governor General of Pakistan. This step vested all powers in the hands of the top executive post, which was not directly responsible to the constitutional assembly.

In Pakistan, we inherited the provincial units with the centralized political and administrative institutions from the British colonial rulers. These institutions were even further centralized in the third world. Centralization of authority was resented in the smaller provinces, where regional loyalty already co-existed with a broader sense of national unity. N.W.F.P., was one such province where regional loyalty was very strong. The people of the N.W.F.P., tribal in background, and neglected aspects not with standing, are conscious of their distinct socio-cultural identity, political aspirations and economic priorities. A historical perspective shows that prior to the creation of Pakistan, the Pashtuns of the N.W.F.P., were actually hostile to the British imperialism. They opted for Pakistan, through a referendum conducted in 1947, on the pre-condition that they will be given full regional autonomy. The ruling elite however, suppressed the genuine demands of the Pashtuns at one pretext or the other. After the creation of Pakistan, the Khan brothers, raised the slogan of Pakhtunistan, and the government of Afghanistan demanded the return of its Afghan territories in Baluchistan and N.W.F.P. Dr. Khan sahib wanted complete provincial autonomy. It was also reported that, the ministry had refused to take oath of loyalty to Pakistan, and did not attend the flag hoisting ceremony, on the 14th of August, 1947. The Congress ministry was
dismissed on the 22nd of August 1947, and Khan Abdul Qayum Khan was installed as the chief minister of N.W.F.P.

Bacha Khan was convinced that the issue of Pakhtunistan, which he had raised would never die, as it had deeper roots; and both internal and external support was assured. In September, 1947, the Congress tri-coloured flag was replaced by the red flag of Khudai Khidmatgar, and he declared Pakistan as his own country. He explained that the defense, external affairs and communication would be deputed to the centre. He took oath of loyalty in the parliament, in February 1948. He met with Quaid-e-Azam in March 1948, but some misunderstanding were created between the Quaid and Ghaffar Khan during the Quaid’s visit to N.W.F.P., the same year. Khudai Khidmatgar organization was banned in 1948. After the ban Ghaffar Khan was arrested on the 13th of May, 1948. In August 1948, police opened fire on the Khudai Khidmatgar workers, at the Babra village, where about 15 workers were killed and hundreds injured. Ghaffar Khan formed a new party, and presented his new party’s program. He declared that Muslim League considers Pakistan as their personal ‘jagir’.

"It is a pity that all of them are refugees and do not originally belong to Pakistan. Jinnah as the Governor General is not a representative of the Muslim nation. He was appointed by the British King and as such he is responsible to him and not to the nation. I now take this opportunity, to bring home to you that Islamic law, or the Law of Quran, as you call it, for which you have been crying for so long and for which your dear and near ones have laid their lives; which would never had
been enforced in Pakistan. I warn you that you are partners in the state of Pakistan. You are fully entitled to one forth share. Unite and act with determination and demolish the sandy walls which the leaders of Pakistan have built around you. We cannot tolerate the present state of affairs any longer. Grid up your lions and march towards your goal of freedom for the Pakhtuns, who have already made great sacrifices and suffered untold deprivations. We will not rest, content till we succeed in establishing Pakhtunistan - rule of the Pathan, by the Pathan and for the Pathan".  

"Pakhtunistan is the name of the country laying between the Afghan border and the natural and historical border of the Indian sub-continent, the river Indus - today the eastern frontier of Pakistan. It extends from Chitral in the north, where its frontiers borders on Kashmir, to Baluchistan in the south... 'Pakhtunistan' or 'Pashtunistan' means the land of the Pakhtuns (Pashtuns)". People living on both the sides of the border line between, Pakistan and Afghanistan, though commonly known as Pathans or Afghans, do not call themselves by these names. They employ the words Pakhtuns or Pashtuns according to the dialect of the language Pakhro or Pashto. This language is one of the oldest living languages of the world which belongs to the large Indo-European family of the Aryan languages. The people of Miran shah and Mir Ali, revolted against Pakistan. Pakistani forces controlled the rebellion by the use of power. From March 1950 to October 1950, the Pashtuns raised the following demands for regional autonomy.
Removal of artificial boundaries and integration of all 'Pashto', speaking areas into an integrated state called Pashtunistan.

Equal representation of Pashtuns in the socio-economic and politic-administrative fields of national life.\textsuperscript{36}

In March 1954, Bacha Khan was permitted to attend the budget session of Pakistan parliament. He said, that a judicial tribunal should be appointed to decide the question of his loyalty. He advised that the state of Pakistan should be built on trust and confidence and mutual respect for rights, interests and distinctive features of various units.\textsuperscript{37}

On the 5\textsuperscript{th} of October, 1955, the provinces of Punjab, Sindh, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan chief commissioners province, States union, Karachi, Khairpur and Bahawalpur states were merged into one unit which was to be called West Pakistan.\textsuperscript{38} Sardar Abdur Rashid, the Chief minister of N.W.F.P., said, "we cannot approve it", later however, the N.W.F.P., assembly approved the one unit scheme. Dr. Khan sahib was appointed the Chief minister of West Pakistan.\textsuperscript{39} Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Wali Khan opposed the one unit scheme.\textsuperscript{40} Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, and his followers boycotted the assembly session.\textsuperscript{41} The real opposition to the one unit in the N.W.F.P., was staged outside the assembly. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan who might have put up resistance against the one unit had already been replaced by Sardar Abdur Rashid. The opposition was led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who had all along been strongly hostile to the merger of the N.W.F.P., with the other provinces.\textsuperscript{42} On the 17\textsuperscript{th} of November, 1954, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, said

92
in Peshawar that, “present atmosphere of provincial jealousy and mistrust dose not allow them to support the one unit scheme”.45

In July 1955, the ban on Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s entry in the N.W.F.P., was lifted. He attracted large crowds where ever he went. He spoked against the one unit scheme. It was reported that 20,000, people offered themselves for imprisonment and the women folk gave their gold ornaments for the construction of an anti-unit centre.44 The Red Shirt and the N.W.F.P., Awami League set up an anti unit front.45

Worar Pakhtoon, the Ustaman Gul, the Sindh Awami Mahaz and the Azad Pakistan party, also joined the front on the 1st of October, 1955. A convention of the Frontiers Anti-unit front was held at Peshawar46 and on the 6th of October, the consultative committee of anti one unit front opposed the integration of west Pakistan.17 The front also appreciated Badshah Khan’s stand on one unit scheme.48 In the concluding session the committee demanded that the tribesmen of N.W.F.P., and Baluchistan should be allowed to integrate with the provinces or organize themselves into a separate province.49

Although the one unit scheme was an internal matter of Pakistan, but the Afghan press and Kabul radio also helped in propagating the issue. In March 1955, the Pakistan embassy at Kabul and the consulates at Khandhar were attacked, and the Pakistani national flag was pulled down and publicly torn at Jalalabad.50 Afghanistan’s Premier Muhammad Daud, broadcasted from radio Kabul, that Afghanistan would break off diplomatic relations, if Pakistan implemented the
integration plan,\textsuperscript{51} as the Afghan government thought that the implementation of one unit scheme was against the slogans of Pakhtunistan. When the one unit plan was implemented the Afghan government instructed its envoy to return home,\textsuperscript{52} and likewise Pakistan also called its ambassador from Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{53} In September 1956, Sindh Awami Mahaz, led by G.M. Syed, Khudai Khidmatgars, Worar Pukhtun (Pukhtun brotherhood), of Abdul Samad Achakzai, The Ustlman Gal (peoples party), of Prince Abdul Karim, Sindh Hari Committee, of Hyder Baksh Jatoi and Azad Pakistan Party of Mian Iftikharuddin decided to form the Pakistan National Party.\textsuperscript{54} The primary goal of the party was the replacement of one unit into four provinces and other objectives ranged from radical economic and land reforms to an independent foreign policy.\textsuperscript{55} In March 1957, Dr. Khan sahib was replaced by Sardar Abdur Rashid.\textsuperscript{56} The P.N.P., broadened its base in east Pakistan. P.N.P., joined with Maulana Bhashani to form the National Awami Party, (NAP).\textsuperscript{57} The principles adopted by the party were the recognition of the provinces on the basis of language and culture, direct elections, nationalization of the jute industry, removal of disparity between the provinces and installation of peasant proprietorship.\textsuperscript{58} The party maintained its unity among the leadership until 1964.\textsuperscript{59}

In 1958, President Iskander Mirza, declared martial law.\textsuperscript{60} General Ayub Khan, staged a military coup, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested, but was later released on the 4\textsuperscript{th} of April 1959, he was also disqualified from being a member of any elective body. In April 1961, he was arrested again in Dera Ismail Khan, the blame being that he wanted to make Frontier a part of Afghanistan. In January he was released but was kept under house arrest. In September 1964, he traveled to the
United Kingdom, he also stayed at Kabul in the mid-sixties. According to Lawrence Ziring, "Ghaffar Khan's resolute position distressed Ayub Khan and again caused his arrest, and eventually his flight at Kabul and Delhi where he sought asylum and continued to plan his strategy. Generally speaking there was little organized political activity in the north west frontier province during the Ayub era". In 1968, Ayub Khan's government became very unpopular and according to Dr. Rizvi, "it seemed that Ayub Khan had succeeded in evolving a viable political system for Pakistan. A guided democracy, the alliance of the bureaucracy and the military would ensure the stability needed for economic development and industrialization. But the events from October 1968, to March 1969, clearly showed that the political stability given by his regime was personalised rather than institutionalized. The issues which led to political crisis in Pakistan in 1968-69 were many and complicated. They were constitutional, political, religious, parochial, regional and even emotional. The first phase of the movement reached its climax with the arrest of Z. A. Bhutto, Khan Abdul Wali Khan and eleven other political leaders. Wali Khan insisted on the immediate dismemberment of one unit. On the 25th of March 1969, Ayub Khan announced to hand over power to another Pakistani general, General Yahya Khan. He disbanded one unit, restored all the four provinces and merged the princely states of Dir, Swat, Chitral and Amb with N.W.F.P. He announced the elections for the national assembly in October 1970. Khan Abdul Wali Khan, called upon the people to rise up and boldly participate in the elections. He also welcomed the legal framework orders. The national assembly elections were held on the 7th, and the provincial assembly elections were held on the 17th of
December 1970. The NAP (Wali), won three seats, in the national assembly and got 9.37%, of the votes in Pakistan level and 18.4%, in the N.W.F.P., level. NAP also won 13 seats in the N.W.F.P., assembly. The following table clearly shows the results of the national and provincial assembly elections of 1970.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>(N.W.F.P.) Seats Won In The National Assembly</th>
<th>N.W.F.P. Seats Won In The Provincial Assembly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qaiyum Muslim League (Q.M.L)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Awami Party (N.A.P)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamiatul Ulemae Islam (J.U.I)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Peoples Party (P.P.P)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaati Islami</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Parties</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total No. of N.W.F.P.</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dr. Tahir Amin summarised this in these words, "the political strategy of the movement during this phase was to extend co-operation to regional autonomists in other provinces and work for the dissolution of the one unit. The movement leaders actively participated in the national political coalitions against the military-bureaucratic regime. They also kept an ambivalent attitude towards India, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union; the three countries which openly supported the cause of the Pashtunistan movement. They found this external support useful in order to exercise a leverage on the state elite, so that the latter may not resort to extreme measures against them."  

Pakistan found itself in a unique geographical situation. Its two wings were set apart by one thousand miles from each other. Abdul Mansur Ahmed said in the
constitutional assembly that, “having two wings which were separated by a distance of more than a thousand miles..., religion and common struggle were the only common factors..., with the exception of these two things, all other factors, viz the language, the culture.... practically everything was different. There was nothing common in the two wings, particularly in respect of those which were the sine qua non to form a nation.”

_Bengal_

**From Language Movement To Bangladesh**

According to Stanley Wolpert, “in April 1946, Mr. Hussain Shaheed Suhravardy, said, that every muslim of Bengal was ready to lay down his life for Pakistan.” G.W. Chaudhary, wrote that, “the rise of Bengali sub-nationalism within Pakistan, however had its origin in a number of factors, political, economic, cultural and social..., which had operated since the creation of Pakistan in 1947.” The language movement was started and converted into a secessionist movement. A new state of Bangladesh emerged on the map of the world, in the 16th of December 1971, as a result of this movement. According to Rafiqul Islam, “the freedom struggle of Bangladesh originated from the Bengali language movement.” On the 25th of February, 1948, Mr. Dhirendra Nath Dutta, demanded in the second session of the constitutional assembly, that, “Bengali is the language of the majority, so it should be the language of the state.” Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan replied that Urdu was the language of the hundred million Muslims of the sub-continent, so that would be the language of Pakistan. The assembly debate on the language issue brought immediate reaction from the student community in

97
Bengal. The students demanded that Bengali be given a national status. The students protests created a political crisis, during one protest on the 11th of March, 1948, about fifty people were injured, which was the result of a police attempt to disperse a demonstration outside a government building in Dacca. Khawaja Nazimuddin, the Chief Minister of Bengal, signed an agreement on the 15th of March with the leaders of the action committee. The two major clauses of the agreement were that the provincial assembly of Bengal would move two new resolutions, the first one was to make Bengali, one of the state languages of Pakistan; secondly to make Bengali the official language of East Pakistan. There were some other actions of the central government, like something in Bengali was not inscribed on the coins or stamps of Pakistan, which was the language of the majority. Other than that, Pakistan Navy, took an entrance exam in English and Urdu, in which all the posts were filled in by a test in Urdu. These kinds of steps created tension in the province.

During this period of tensions Quaid-e-Azam reached Dacca, on the 19th of March, 1948; where he said that Urdu and Urdu alone should be the national language of Pakistan. Quaid-e-Azam died on the 11th of September, 1948, and Khawaja Nazimuddin became the Governor General of Pakistan. For the resolution of the ideological and regional disputes, a Basic Principles Committee was appointed by the constituent assembly on the 12th of March, 1949. In the first report of the committee, Urdu was recognised as the state language of Pakistan. On the 23rd, of June 1949, Maulana Bhashani, established the Awami Muslim League. In 1950, the interim report of the Basic Principles Committee stated that,
“Urdu should be the national language of the state”.94 The report did not consider the issue of provincial autonomy.95 In Bengal the opposition organized a massive campaign against the Report. Committee of Action for Democratic Federation was formed in Dacca.96 The committee drafted an alternative constitutional proposal. In November, 1950, Liaquat Ali Khan, decided to withdraw the report. The constitutional assembly appointed a sub-committee to examine the proposal, but Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated on the 16th of October, 1951. Ghulam Muhammad became the new Governor General of Pakistan, and Khawaja Nazimuddin held the office of the Prime Minister. In 1952, Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin, made a statement in favour of Urdu.97 This resulted in a riot led by the students in Dacca, some students also lost their lives in these riots.98 The language movement had claimed its first martyrs.99 Dr. Raunaq Jahan, comments that, “the language movement created myths, symbols and slogans, that consolidated the vernacular elite’s. It gave them not only a popular common cause but also their first martyrs. A whole new literary and cultural tradition grew out of the events of February 21st”.100 At that stage the provincial assembly suggested to the center to accept Bengali as one of the national language.101

The 1952, language movement consolidated the Bengalis under one platform. On the 17th of April, 1953, the Governor General dismissed the ministry of Khawaja Nazimuddin.102 The dismissal of Khawaja Nazimuddin’s government, according to most scholars was the last blow to the already mutilated body of democracy in Pakistan.103 Muhammad Ali Bogra was instated as the new Prime Minister of Pakistan.104 In March, 1954, provincial election were held in East
Bengal Awami League, Krishak Sramik Party, the Nizam-i-Islam Party and few other smaller parties made the United Front, they issued a 21 points manifesto. Regional autonomy and the declaration of Bengali as one of the national language was the major focus of the manifesto. In the provincial elections the United Front got 228 seats out of the 237, and Muslim League got only 9. The victory was described as a revolt of the East Pakistanis through the ballot boxes. Fazlul Haq's ministry was dismissed on the 30th of May, 1954, and governor rule was imposed in East Bengal, dismissal of governments and construction of new governments became a regular feature in the post-1954 politics of Pakistan. In October 1954, constitutional assembly was finally dissolved by the Governor General of Pakistan. Tamizuddin Khan, the president of the constituent assembly challenged the decision in the Sindh High Court. The judgment of the Sindh High Court went in favour of the president of the constituent assembly. The government of Pakistan, appealed in the Federal court. The Federal court announced that the Governor General had the legal authority to dissolve the constituent assembly. 

Muhammad Ali Bogra, announced the Bogra Formula on the 7th of October, 1953. After the dissolution of the constituent assembly the Governor General again invited Muhammad Ali Bogra, to form a new cabinet. The second constituent assembly was elected from the existing provincial assemblies. Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy was appointed as the new law minister in the new cabinet. He said that we have agreed on the principle of parity on the following points.

(1) Integration of West Pakistan

(2) Parity between East and West wings
(3) Division of offices of Governor General and Prime Minister between East and West

(4) Regional autonomy.\textsuperscript{114}

One unit was announced on the 22\textsuperscript{nd} of November 1954 and was implemented on September 1955.\textsuperscript{115} Khawaja Nazimuddin was the only Bengali political leader who opposed the unification scheme.\textsuperscript{116} In August 1955, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, became the Prime Minister of Pakistan, his appointment violated an established tradition. So far the practice had been that if the Prime Minister was from the West wing then the Governor General was always from the East wing or vice versa. Muhammad Ali's appointment caused bitter resentment in East Pakistan and all the twelve members of the constituent assembly of the Awami League, in a statement stated, that this appointment has shaken the confidence of the East Pakistanis.\textsuperscript{117} Chaudhry Muhammad Ali resigned from his office on the 8\textsuperscript{th} of September, 1956.\textsuperscript{118} During that period, on the 23\textsuperscript{rd} of March, 1956, the first constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, came into force.\textsuperscript{119} In the mean time Fazlul Haq, became the Governor of East Bengal. Abu Hussain Sarkar made the ministry in the province.\textsuperscript{120} Sarkar's ministry resigned on the 30\textsuperscript{th} of August, 1959 and Ata-ur- Rahman Khan, was invited to form the new cabinet in East Pakistan.\textsuperscript{121} Hussain Shaheed Suhrwardy became the Prime Minister on the 11\textsuperscript{th} of September, 1956. According to Dr. Khawaja Alqama, "when he became the Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1956, his party modified its strident demand for provincial autonomy during this time and contributed to make this a most creative period of integrative institution building. Mr. Suhrwardy remained in power for a period of thirteen
months. *During* these thirteen months according to one writer, 'it seemed that the Bengali elite had at last got a chance to participate in the governing of the country. In actuality, however, it was an uneasy coalition of the representatives of the entrenched bureaucratic and military interests of West Pakistan and the Bengali elite's'. The uneasy coalition soon ran into all sorts of trouble, when, Suhrwardy's government took some firm steps towards removing disparity between the two wings of Pakistan. The first step in this direction was to grant concession to East Pakistani importers, which also meant more foreign exchange allocation for the East Pakistani importers. This was resented in strong words by the President of the Chambers of Commerce and Industries..., he said, 'our politicians have made a mess of the situation and their party policies have not only affected the political status of the country but also has a serious impact on the economic life of the nation... Parity in the political sphere, maybe a workable comprise but its application to economic planning without considering other important facts may lead us into blind alleys from where they may be no way out'\(^{122}\).

Suhrwardy finally resigned on the 11\(^{th}\) of October, 1957, and Mr. I. I. Chundrigar was appointed as the new Prime Minister of the country on the 17\(^{th}\) of October, 1957; but he resigned within two months in December, 1957.\(^{123}\) The next and the last Prime Minister of Pakistan, under the 1956 constitution, was Feroz Khan Noon. *During* his tenure, Chief Minister, Ata-ur-Rehman's government was weak in East Pakistan. The Governor of East Pakistan, Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq, directed the Chief Minister to seek a vote of confidence from the assembly. According to Safdar Mehmood, Fazlul Haq dismissed Ataur-Rehman's ministry on
the 31st of March 1958, and he himself was dismissed by the central government. Before leaving his office, he installed Abu Hussain Sarkar, as the Chief Minister. He in turn was dismissed within twelve hours of assuming office and Aizaur-Rehman's cabinet was back in power.\textsuperscript{124} The situation became so confused that the President had to impose President's rule in the province on the 24th of June 1958. After that the Awami League government was reinstalled in August 1958. The party in power brought in a motion against the speaker. The speaker gave his ruling against the move, adjourned the house and slipped away. Bitter remarks were exchanged between the members of the Awami League and the Krishak Sramak Party. Soon it took the shape of a quarrel and chairs were hurled at each other. When the session of the assembly was reconvened in September, a free fight ensued in the house, resulting in the death of the deputy speaker, Mr. Shahid Ali.\textsuperscript{125}

According to Dr. Alqama, "within a few days the assembly was adjourned and never met again. It was on the 7th of October, 1958, that a group of Generals led by their Commander-in-Chief, seized power and by means of a proclamation issued through the President, abrogated the 1956 constitution, dismissed the central and provincial governments, with immediate effect, dissolve the central and provincial legislatures, abolished all political parties throughout the country and imposed martial law. Thus bringing to an end the first chaotic phase of the 'drama of politics' in Pakistan".\textsuperscript{126} General Ayub Khan, ruled the country under martial law for about four years (1958-1962). Later on he imposed a unitary Presidential system under the 1962 constitution. In that constitution the President was all powerful and was not responsible to the legislature. He could not be removed by the legislature on
political grounds, but could dissolve it. The governors and ministers were his personal agents and were not responsible to any elected body. The Governor though, being an agent of the President was as powerful in the province as the president at the center. That constitution introduced an indirect electoral system called the Basic Democracy. The members elected under this system were called ‘democrats’. They constituted the electoral college for the provincial and the national assemblies and the President. The country was governed under this system for about eleven years, till 1969. The Presidential system created a high degree of tension, frustration and resentment among the Bengalis. The Ayub regime used military and civil bureaucracy as its power bastion and as the Bengalis were the least represented in these services they felt totally alienated. The Bengali members in the national assemblies made lengthy speeches and complained about their lack of participation in the country’s affairs.

During the Ayub era the Awami League, of Sheikh Mujib, formulated its ‘six points scheme’. According to Dr. Alqama, “in that period the Generals used for their play a script which would stress modernisation and economic development at all costs, even at the expense of democratic institutions and procedures”. Economic disparity among the two wings of Pakistan, was one of the most divisive and hotly debated issue in Pakistan during the sixties. Bengali elites held the West Pakistani dominated central government responsible for the economic disparity, that existed between two wings of Pakistan. The civil and military bureaucracy was overwhelmingly dominated by the Punjabis and the Muhajirs from central India. In 1947, out of 133, Muslim offices belonging to the Indian civil service, who opted for
Pakistan, there was only one officer from East Pakistan. By 1955, there were 19 officers at the secretary level, from West Pakistan in the central government, while none from East Pakistan. Moreover West Pakistan had 38 joint secretaries in the central government, against 3 from East Pakistan. As far as the military elite was concerned there was little representation from the East wing. In 1955, East zone had 14 senior army officers against 849 from the West wing; while in the navy and the air force East Pakistan had 7 and 60 officers respectively, as against the 593 and 640 officers from West Pakistan. Till 1971, there was only one East Pakistani officer who could become a Lt. General, in the Pakistani army. In 1964, East Pakistan had only 5% officers, 7.4% junior commissioned ranks and 7.4% other ranks in the army. In the air force, there were 16% officers, 17% warrant officers, and 30% other ranks. In the navy too East Pakistan had little representation. There were only 10% officers, 5% branch officers, 10.4% chief petty officers 17.3% petty officers 28.8% leading seamen and below. In the bureaucracy too East Pakistan, had little participation. Dr. Raunaq Jahan showed the difference in the following tables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total No. of Officers</th>
<th>In West Pakistan</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>In East Pakistan</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>67.7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>41.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

105
### East Pakistan Representation In Class I Officers, In Some Divisions In 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division of C.S.P</th>
<th>East Pakistan</th>
<th>West Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Affairs</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>44.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industries</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet Division</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishment Division</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning Information and Broadcasting</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour and Social Welfare</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the economic sectors disparity was shown by the following table.

### Per Capita G.D.P., In East And West Pakistan From 1959-1970.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Per Capita G.D.P., East Rs.</th>
<th>Per Capita G.D.P., West Rs.</th>
<th>West East Disparity Ratio</th>
<th>Disparity Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1959-60</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-64</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth Over Dead</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Third Plan Period</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>18%&lt;sup&gt;136&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pakistan was an agricultural country, but during Ayub era, that sector was ignored. According to Omar Noman, "that was the period of agricultural stagnation". See the following table:

**Comparative Regional Growth Rates In The 1950's And 1960's**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>East Pakistan</th>
<th></th>
<th>West Pakistan</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Agriculture</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the industrial sector most of the industrial licenses were issued for investment in West Pakistan. From January 1957 to June 1964, more than 60% licenses were issued for West Pakistan and less than 30% for East Pakistan. As regards the foreign aid, the central government utilized 80% of it in West Pakistan, the major part of it being spent on the armed forces, civil administration and industrial projects in West Pakistan. From 1948 to 1971 a total of 4367, US officials were posted in Pakistan, 3675 of them were stationed in the west wing and only 692, in the east wing. In the power sector, power generating capacity in West Pakistan was five to six times higher than in East Pakistan. The number of beds in West Pakistan's hospitals estimated at 26,200 as against 6000 in East Pakistan. East Pakistan had only 18 polytechnic institutions as against 48 in West Pakistan. The economic disparity was politically exploited by the politicians.
According to G.W. Chaudhary, "the Bengali's most serious complaint was of what they called the 'economic exploitation', of East Pakistan by the Pakistan's central government".143 'Two economy' thesis became most popular in the 60's. The thesis was based on two logics, peculiar geography and east wing economic exploitation by the central economic policies.144 During the Ayub era, 'West Pakistan was given the role of core and East Pakistan was doomed to play the part of the periphery'.145 Although Ayub Khan's economic policies helped the industrial development of East Pakistan but the lot of the common man did not improve. Poverty, ignorance and similar problems remained unsolved. Employment opportunities were restricted as compared to increase in population. Thus the economic policies of the Ayub regime, by deepening economic inequalities and concentrating wealth in a few hands, led to the alienation of all the politically relevant strata of Bengali society.146

Ayub regime introduced the system of local bodies, known as the Basic Democracies. The plan was promulgated on the 27th of October, 1959. According to Bhuiyan, "it was through the Basic Democracies System, that Ayub obtained a mandate for his own assumption of office. Between the end of December 1959, and mid-February 1960, the new Basic Democracies were elected. The number of seats to be filled was 40,000, in East and West Pakistan. The basic democrats of both east and west Pakistan were promptly required to give a vote of confidence to the President. The result was that 95.6%, signified their support in favour of the President; there being no alternative candidates. After this indirect election, the President formally took oath of office and thereafter, on the 17th of February 1960 announced the appointment of a constitution commission".147 Thus the constitution
which was promulgated on the 1st of March 1962, did not make much concessions to the commission's views and its general tenure reflected his determination to create a strong and stable government. Ayub Khan said that, "we have adopted the Presidential system as it is simpler to work, more akin to our genius and history, and less liable to lead to instability..... a luxury that a developing country like ours cannot afford". \(^{148}\)

In this way he legitimized his order and Pakistan had a new constitution. The first national assembly election was held under the new constitution on the 28th of April, 1962. On the 8th of June 1962, Ayub Khan lifted the martial law and on the same day the new members of the national assembly took oath. The student stood against the election under the constitution. The leaders of the Progressive Political Parties decided to boycott the election and launched a mass movement. Some political leaders were also, arrested under EBDO.\(^{149}\) On the 18th of June 1962, Sheikh Mujib and some other leaders were released. Soon after the release Sheikh Mujib started his struggle against the Ayub regime. Ata-ur- Rahman Khan also protested against the government and said that, "we do not want this constitution. This constitution should be burnt out". \(^{150}\)

On the 19th of August 1962, Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy, was released. He felt the need of forming a front for the revival of democracy in the country. The National Democratic Front was formed on the 4th of October 1962. AL, CML, NAP, KSP, NI and JT, were the members of the front. During this period a cross section of intellectuals came forward with a call for the establishment of a federal
parliamentary government. A great blow against the NDF, however, came from Bhashani when he demanded full regional autonomy for East Pakistan, restoration of democracy and an independent foreign policy. Although there was no conflict between the political program of Bhashani and the NDF. But ultimately the front was divided.\textsuperscript{151} On the 5\textsuperscript{th} of December 1963, Suhrwardy, died in Beirut. After his death some leaders of the NDF, were still willing to maintain the NDF, but Sheikh Mujib, left the front and revived the Awami League on the 25\textsuperscript{th} of January 1964.\textsuperscript{152} He demanded, parliamentary democracy, regional autonomy, making East Pakistan militarily strong, shifting the headquarters of the navy to Chittagong and the release of all the political prisoners.\textsuperscript{155} Bhashani also revived his NAP.\textsuperscript{134} In March 1964, an All Parties Action Committee was formed which demanded adult franchise and direct election.

Demonstrations in favour of the demand was held throughout East Pakistan on the 18\textsuperscript{th} and the 19\textsuperscript{th} of March. On the 29\textsuperscript{th} of March 1964, it was declared that no taxes would be paid to the government without voting rights.\textsuperscript{155} Government announced the Presidential elections on the 2\textsuperscript{nd} of January 1965. Soon an opposition alliance emerged in the name of Combined Opposition Parties(COP). They decided to nominate a single opposition candidate for the President, and a nine point programme.\textsuperscript{156} The COP, nominated Fatima Jinnah, as their candidate, her campaign generated enthusiasm in both the wings of Pakistan.\textsuperscript{157} Miss Fatima Jinnah, addressed forty three public rallies and Ayub Khan addressed twenty eight public rallies.\textsuperscript{158} But finally Ayub Khan won the elections. He got 73\% of the votes in West Pakistan and 53\% in East Pakistan. After the election COP, failed to maintain its
unity, as a result its performance in the national assembly election was disastrous. Ayub League won 120 seats out of 150 and COP, got only 15 seats while the rest went to the independent candidates. The outcome of the election was bound to increase the frustration of the Bengali elites, especially of those in the opposition. Then the war of 1965 had a deep impact on East Pakistan. During the war, East Pakistan felt isolated and insecure because only one division of troops was deployed there. They remained at the mercy of India throughout the war. By 1965, East: Pakistan had begun to get disillusioned. This feeling of isolation spurred the autonomist movement in East Pakistan and provided a golden opportunity to the Awami League to argue that only by running her own affairs and controlling her own resources can East Pakistan hope to stand alone against external threats.

Sheikh Mujib took advantage of the political situation, in a press conference he declared that, “the question of autonomy appears to be more important after the war. Time has come for making East Pakistan self-sufficient in all respects.” In February 1966, he presented his famous Six-Point Formula for East Pakistan which according to Dr. Alqama inculcated the following points.

1. Reintroduction of a parliamentary form of government and universal adult franchise.
2. A federal form of government with only two departments. Defence and foreign affairs, to be lodged with the central government and all the residual powers to reside in the two states, East and West Pakistan.
3. Separate currencies and state banks for the two states.
4. All taxation to be controlled by the states, with the central government dependent on a fixed levy from the states.
5. The independence of the two states in the international trade.
(6) The development of a militia or paramilitary force in East Pakistan.163

Six-Point Formula was rejected by all the political parties of East Pakistan other than the Awami League. West Pakistan Awami League also refused to accept it. But "the impact of the Six-Point demand was felt widely and it evoked tremendous enthusiasm amongst the people of East Pakistan".165 At that time Sheikh Mujib was elected as the new President of Awami League, he launched the mass movement on the issue of Six-Point and the Bengali language. He was arrested again in May 1966, but the campaign continued. On the 7th of June the Awami League observed a complete Hartal. The regime adopted a policy of total suppression towards the movement. Nearly all the top Awami Leaguers were arrested and imprisoned. In December 1967, the nation was informed about the Agartala conspiracy.167 The students of the Jagannath college in Dacca, protested against the case. On the 21st of January 1968, the Awami League working committee demanded that the government must give Sheikh Mujib an opportunity for self-defence and hold a public trial. The students first protested against the case but later the demand was converted into an independent movement.168

Thus it was the students movement that gave rise to the mass upsurge in 1968-69 as a result of which President Ayub dropped the Agartala case and called a round table conference of all political and constitutional problems of the country. The round table conference failed. The popular movement continued with greater speed and fury and took a more violent turn in mid-February which ultimately toppled the Ayub regime in March 1969. He handed over power to General Yahya
Khan, and most Pakistanis welcomed the second martial law. In July, 1969, the President appointed a Chief Election Commissioner and promised election within eighteen months. At the end of 1969, he announced that one unit will be dissolved and separate provinces would come into being in West Pakistan, the principle of one man one vote was accepted. He also felt that maximum autonomy would have to be given to the two wings of Pakistan as long as it did not impair national integrity and solidarity of the country. So two vital issues were resolved, but the most important issue for East Pakistan, that of autonomy was left open.

The Legal Framework Order (LFO), was issued on the 31st of March 1970. The LFO, contained a preamble, 27 articles and two schedules. It was article 20, which spelled out five fundamental principles on the basis of which the future constitution of the country would be framed by the representatives of the people. The other articles of the LFO, also imposed some guidelines. The order was criticized by most of the political parties of East Pakistan. Yahya Khan urged the people to keep faith in him, after his assurances, Mujib decided to go to the polls and said that, “if he could get the verdict of the people in favour of his Six-Point Formula, he would implement it irrespective of the provisions imposed in the LFO”. The elections of the national assembly were held on the 17th of December. After the elections the two biggest parties that emerged victorious were the Awami League from East Pakistan and the Pakistan Peoples Party from West Pakistan. They secured 160 seats and 81 seats respectively, out of the total 300 seats of the national assembly. Of the total seats of 169, East Pakistan seats for the national assembly, the Awami League captured 167. Out of the total of 310 seats in the East
Pakistani assembly the Awami League got 298. Although the elections were the most fair in the history of Pakistan, but the results showed that the elections were fought on the basis of regionalism.

After the elections the situation became alarming. A serious controversy in inflammatory words began between the leaders of the major victorious parties in whose hands lay the destiny of the country. The government in power lacked imagination, who could not fully gauge the seriousness of the disastrous consequences of the grave situation. Bhutto was demanding share in the central government. But the emergence of smaller parties from West Pakistan provided Mujib an opportunity to by-pass the Pakistan Peoples Party. During this period of political uncertainty a very ugly event occurred. On the 30th of January 1971, an Indian plane was hijacked to Lahore by two hijackers. The Indian government held Pakistan responsible for this incident and demanded compensation; in retaliation also stopped Pakistani air crafts flight over the Indian territory, which cut off the air link between the East and the West wing. Awami League demanded the immediate holding of the assembly session. President Yahya Khan, called the session in Dacca on the 3rd of March 1971, but before the session took place it was postponed on the 1st of March. When the news of the postponement reached Dacca, a spontaneous demonstration of public agitation soon grew up and the whole city of Dacca was in the grip of bitter public resentment. On the 7th of March 1971, Sheikh Mujib demanded four demands.
(1) Immediate withdrawal of martial law.

(2) The return of the army to its barracks.

(3) Establishment of an inquiry into the army shooting, during the general strike.

(4) and the immediate transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.\textsuperscript{178} He also announced his plan to run a parallel government and formally issued a number of directives. On that day Bangladesh flag flew on his house. His statement was considered a declaration of independence, and it took the province to the edge of secession.\textsuperscript{179} On the 10\textsuperscript{th} of March, Bhutto sent a telegram to Mujib saying that, “Pakistan must be saved at any cost. I am willing to come to Dacca to devise a common solution to end the crisis, so that the assembly can proceed with the framing of the constitution”.\textsuperscript{180} The Awami League totally ignored the offer.\textsuperscript{181} On the 22\textsuperscript{nd} of March, Mujib and Tajuddin had an unscheduled meeting, with Yahya Khan in which they stated that, Awami League could not agree to the setting up of any central or national cabinet. Instead they wanted transfer of power to the two provinces of East and West Pakistan. According to G.W. Chaudhary, “this meant they were formally asking for the country to be split into Bangladesh and West Pakistan”.\textsuperscript{182} On the 23\textsuperscript{rd} of March, a resistance day was observed in East Pakistan. No Pakistani flag was allowed to be hoisted even on the public buildings. Pakistani flag was burned everywhere. The flag of Bangladesh flew everywhere. Sheikh Mujib took the salute at a march past composed of Bengali para-military units at his residence.\textsuperscript{183} Outside the Presidents house at Dacca, the movement for Bangladesh was going ahead in full steam. On the 24\textsuperscript{th} of March, Mujib warned against any
attempt to impose a decision on the people of Bangladesh saying that, "we would not tolerate it". On the 25th of March, he called for a general strike on March 27, against the army's action in East Pakistan. The army began its military operations on the night of March, 25th and 26th, which ended in the formal dismemberment of Pakistan, on the 16th of December 1971, when Dacca fell to the Indian army. 134

According to Dr. Rounaq Jahan, "the Bangladesh movement was truly a nationalist as well as a democratic struggle. The Bengalis formed a majority of Pakistan's population, but their efforts to participate in the decision making process of the country through democratic electoral process were thwarted repeatedly, in 1954, 1958 and 1971. The actual liberation movement started in Bangladesh in March 1971, when the Pakistani army tried to reverse with bullets the gains the Bengalis had achieved through the ballot box in the election of 1970. Unlike Biafra, where the liberation struggle was led by a military General, the Bangladesh movement was led by a political party, the Awami League, which had won an overwhelming election victory. The movement involved extensive mass participation and mass support, which was spontaneous". 185 She further wrote that, "with the birth of Bangladesh, the major problem of Pakistan's integration is removed from the scene, but for Pakistan it is the task of building a national community out of the four remaining sub-national groups". 186 She suggested that, "the policy makers have learned from the mistakes of the sixties, and that in the seventies they will give priority to the task of nation-building through participation". 187
SINDH FROM 1947 TO 1971

During the Pakistan movement the province of Sindh was the major supporter of the Pakistan cause. But after the partition the Quaid decided to establish Karachi as the capital of Pakistan. The decision of Karachi as the federal capital was the first action of the Pakistani government which brought strong resentment among Sindhi elites, politicians and students. Karachi district was separated from Sindh, and this action gave Sindh a big material loss. The separation of Karachi affected the interests of the entire people of Sindh and therefore, met with fierce opposition. It was headed by the Chief Minister of Sindh Mr. M.A. Khuhro. Khuhro, opposed the Quaid on the question of separating Karachi from Sindh. The Chief Minister complained openly on the floor of the constituent assembly about the degree of centralisation of power in the hands of the central government. Former General Secretary of Sindh Muslim League, Agha Nabi Pathan also said that, "if Karachi is separated from Sindh we would resent it". But Karachi was separated from Sindh on the 2nd of July 1948. The working committee of Sindh Muslim League declared that the committee would continue to consider Karachi as a part of Sindh. On the 30th of May 1948, the All Sindh Hari conference passed a resolution against the decision of the central government. As a reaction of this resolution G.M. Syed, was arrested under the Safety Act of Pakistan. He laid down the foundation of 'sindhi nationalism'.

In 1953, G.M. Syed, formed the Sindh Awami Mahaz, which consisted of four parties, the Sindh Awami Jammat, Sindh Jinnah Awami League, Dastoor Party and the Sindh Hari Committee. It was felt that the Muhajirs, who had been given
refugee by the Sindhis were appropriating the soil of Sindh. The next issue that increased the deprivation in the Sindh province was the establishment of one unit. The severe opposition to the unification scheme was apparent from the province of Sindh. On the 24th of October, the provincial Chief Minister, Abdus Sattar Pirzada had not only himself opposed the scheme publicly, but had also obtained the signatures of 74 out of the 110 members of the provincial assembly members in support of his stand. Pirzada, was dismissed by the Governor and Muhammad Ayub Kuhro was brought in as the new Chief Minister of the province. G.M. Syed also opposed the one unit. Abdus Sattar Pirzada, G.M. Syed, Pir Iftahi Bakhsh, Kazi Fazlullah and the speaker of the assembly Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur were detained on different charges.

Daily Sindh Al-Wahid, was banned for a year. On the 22nd of November 1954, Sindh Day was observed throughout the province. Large processions were taken out throughout the province and a large number of students were imprisoned. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, also, issued a press statement, in support of these demonstrations. But Mr. Kuhro got approved the one unit scheme from the assembly. According to Mughal, “the birth of Pakistan brought rays of hope for the Sindhi people. They anticipated that after the departure of the Hindu community, the people of Sindh would gain their due share of economic power. But these hopes were soon dashed when they found out that they had to struggle with two Muslim groups in order to gain their share of political and economic power. The two groups were, the Punjabis and the Muslim refugees from India”. In 1956, the position of the Sindhis in the superior services of the Pakistan army was as follows.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designation</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>Other Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lt. Generals</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Generals</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brigadiers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonels</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lt. Colonels</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majors</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captains</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy Officers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Force Officers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>629</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On February 24th 1952, when the Basic Principles Committee, proclaimed Urdu as the only government language, mass student protests and demonstrations took place in Larkana, Sukkhar, Nawabshah and Hydersbad. During the Ayub era, the study of Sindhi language was dropped from schools, colleges and universities. ‘Sindhi Day’, was celebrated throughout the province on the 9th of November 1962, and eminent political and intellectual personalities issued a communiqué in which they demanded that the former status of the Sindhi language be restored. President Ayub Khan, finding the reaction of the Sindhis alarming, tried to conciliate them by deciding that ‘Sindhi, will continue to remain a medium of instruction. However, Sindhi was discouraged during this period and the number of Sindhi medium schools decreased. Many proposals, resolutions and recommendations were sent by the various Sindhi organisations to the government to consider restating Sindhi in schools and colleges, but the government failed to pay any attention. On the other hand Karachi university adopted Urdu as the medium of instruction in 1962. These action brought a series of students riots and disruption throughout Sindh.
Between 1965 and 1970, nine student organisations were formed in Sindh and most of them were co-related with Sindh ethnonationalism. Some of these were, Sindhi Sapoot Sangat, Sindhi Student Federation, Jeay Sindh Student Federation, Sindh Azad Maroora, Sindh National Student Federation, Sindh Bazam Abab, Sindh United Action Committee, Sindh Sanjog Movement etc. The Jeeay Sindh Movement came into existence in the early sixties. The word ‘Jeeay Sindh’, was used first time by Haider Bux Jatoi, in one of his poems. In fact the main purpose of most Sindhi nationalists was to share the cultural, linguistic, economic and political rights of the Sindhi people. They produced voluminous literature on the grievances of Sindhi people. A small sample of the literature is given here, Sindh Ji Kahani Syed Ji Zabani, Sindhi Culture, Sindh Key Haqqooq Aur Inke Hal, Maujooda Siyasi Masala, Diyar-i-Dil Va Dastane Mohabbat, Pareh Jo Pegham, Aaasi Mazalim Sindh Mein Hote Hain, A Nation In Chains and many more.

The Sindhi complaint was directed at the Punjabis who dominated in the government, the administration and the armed forces. They condemned the allocation of Sindhi lands to absentee, non-Sindhi landlords, and expressed dissatisfaction with the Muhajir community that had exploited the provinces commercial wealth to satisfy their personal desires. The nationalist's emphasized during this phase on the dissolution of one unit, restoration of Sindhi language and to struggle for provincial autonomy. In March 1969, Ayub Khan, stepped down and handed over power to the Commander-in Chief, of the army General Yahya Khan. He decided to hold the general elections in December, and that one unit scheme be
dissolved. In the elections Pakistan Peoples Party emerged as the major party in Sindh. Pakistan Peoples Party secured 66.66% of the seats in the national assembly and 46.66% seats in the provincial assembly of Sindh.

According to Dr. Tahir Amin, "Z.A. Bhutto, appealed to the Sindhi communities and exploited the regional issues with considerable success". He also wrote that, "the Pakistan Peoples Party, successfully played a dual role, as a champion of Sindhi nationalism at the provincial level and as the spokesman of Pakistani nationalism at the national level".

Baluchistan

At the time of partition Baluchistan was not a fully established administrative unit. In 1947 there were actually three different Baluchistan. First was a vast buffer area between N.W.F.P. and Afghanistan, which was governed by the British. The tribal and leased areas also governed by the colonial administration and the third was the Baluchistan states, governed by their local rulers, the most powerful being the Khan of Kalat. The tribal states formed the 'Baluchistan States Union', and was self-governed when Pakistan was created. The British recognised their independence. Early in August 1947, the Pakistan Provisional government using the good offices of Lord Mountbatten signed an agreement with the Khan of Kalat. Under this agreement the Pakistan government recognised Kalat as an independent sovereign state, enjoying a different status from that of the other Indian states. Furthermore the Pakistan Provisional government agreed to stand committed to all the responsibilities and agreement signed by the Khan of Kalat and the British
government from 1839 to 1947 and thus became the legal, constitutional and political successor of the British. Quaid-e-Azam wrote a letter to the Viceroy and approved the drafter. The New York Times, reported that, "under the agreement Pakistan recognises Kalat as an independent, sovereign state with a status different from that of Indian states. 229

The Khan declared independence on the 12th of August 1947. 230 He also declared in future the government of Kalat would exercise complete rights of an independent government in external and internal matters. 231 A Kalat assembly was formed by election. 232 Khan of Kalat was called to Karachi in October, 1947 by Quaid-e-Azam and advised for the merger of Kalat state with Pakistan. Khan of Kalat promised to consult his people and assembly. He returned from Karachi and asked the members of Darul Awam and Darul Umra about the merger. On the 14th of December 1947, Ghaus Bux Bizenjo said in the Darul Awam (the lower house) that, "we have a distinct culture like Afghanistan and Iran, and if the mere fact that we are Muslims requires us to amalgamate with Pakistan, then Afghanistan and Iran too should be amalgamated with Pakistan. We want an honorable relationship. We do not want to amalgamate with Pakistan". 233

The decision of the Kalat parliament was sent to the government of Pakistan. The showdown between Pakistan and Kalat came on the 1st of April 1948, when the Pakistan army was ordered to march to Kalat and arrest the Khan of Kalat, unless he signed an agreement of accession. The Khan capitulated, but his younger brother, Prince Abdul Karim, who was then the Governor of the newly annexed Baluch
principality of Mekran gathered arms ammunitions and treasury funds under his control and declared a revolt against Pakistan. He crossed the Afghan border, and issued a manifesto, disavowing the unconditional accession agreement signed by the Khan of Kalat, proclaiming independence of Kalat and demanding fresh negotiations with Pakistan.\textsuperscript{234} However finding no help from Afghanistan he came back and was imprisoned.\textsuperscript{235} Liaquat Ali Khan tried to find interim solutions to the constitutional problems of Baluchistan. He appointed a 'Reform Committee on Baluchistan'. On the 17\textsuperscript{th} of November 1951, the committee presented its report.\textsuperscript{236} It recommended the formation of Governor's province in Baluchistan without disturbing the existing institution of the sardari system.\textsuperscript{237} The princely states of Baluchistan were also to be given due protection.\textsuperscript{238} The report was comprehensive and deserved serious consideration. Unfortunately Liaquat Ali Khan died on the 12\textsuperscript{th} of April 1951. The union of Baluchistan's four states, Kalat, Kharan, Mekran and Lasbelas was established.\textsuperscript{239}

The union had a common executive judiciary and legislature.\textsuperscript{240} The Khan of Kalat was appointed as the Chairman of the states union.\textsuperscript{241} Thus Baluchistan remained divided between the union and the commissioner's province.\textsuperscript{242} In early June Pakistan's state ministry dismissed the Baluchistan State Union assembly. On the 16\textsuperscript{th} of June it was finally decided through the council of rulers of the Baluchistan states union to merge the four states with the centrally administered Baluchistan.\textsuperscript{243} The rulers of the Baluchistan states union had agreed to merge their states with the centrally administered Baluchistan, in October 1954. The Khan-e-Azam of Kalat signed the one unit agreement on the 1\textsuperscript{st} of January 1955.\textsuperscript{244}
Muhammad Isa, General Secretary of the Pakistan Muslim League wrote a note on March 18th 1957, saying that, his party could not support the one unit scheme because it had failed completely.\textsuperscript{245} In Baluchistan opponents of one unit were active mainly from the platform of NAP. The tribal sardars, independent of their party affiliations also exerted to get the one unit dissolved. On December 17th 1957, a group of sardars and dignitaries of Kalat state in a memorandum to President Iskander Mirza, submitted through the Khan of Kalat, demanded for the withdrawal of one unit because, according to them it was dangerous for the ancient tribal customs and way of life. The sardars also wrote to the President separately threatening that, if the decision was not revoked the Baluch would take up arms against the government.\textsuperscript{246} The President proclaimed an emergency in Baluchistan and declared that, there was an armed rebellion in Kalat for separation from Pakistan. The armed forces were sent to Kalat,\textsuperscript{247} the Khan was arrested and many people were killed.\textsuperscript{248} On this plea, President Iskander Mirza proclaimed martial law on the 7th of October 1958, and appointed General Ayub Khan as the Chief martial law administrator.\textsuperscript{249} The Baluchis felt insulted at the arrest of the Khan and there was an armed rebellion against the martial law regime. Nauroz Khan, fought against the army with his tribesmen.\textsuperscript{250} He said that he would fight on until the Khan returned to power and the one unit plan was abandoned.\textsuperscript{251} The army sought compromise with him and promised that, if they surrendered, the government would pardon them.\textsuperscript{252} This oath was taken on the Quran, but when Nauroz and his followers came down, they were tried in court; his son was hanged and he got life imprisonment.\textsuperscript{253} Later on he died in Kohlu prison in 1964.\textsuperscript{254} The Khan of Kalat
was released from the prison and placed under house arrest at Hazara, later on he was released in 1962. The Ayub regime arrested and detained all the influential sardars from Baluchistan and deposed many of them from tribal leadership. During the Ayub era, there was a constant rebellion in Baluchistan for provincial autonomy and local rule. Baluchistan Students Organisation (BSO), was also established in November 1967. This was a strong nationalist organisation in the province. From 1955 to 1975, the National Awami Party (NAP), also remained the strongest party in Baluchistan. On the 25th of March 1969, Ayub Khan handed over power to the Commander-in-Chief, General Yahya Khan.

According to Dr. Tahir Amin, “during the Ayub era, the military-bureaucratic elite attempted to dislodge the tribal system through the use of force. Ayub Khan himself threatened the Baluchis with extinction. The three main tribes, the Marries, the Jungsals, and the Bugtis resisted. On the 1st of July 1970, General Yahya Khan, disintegrated the one unit of West Pakistan and Baluchistan was given the status of a province. The people of Baluchistan participated as voters for the first time in the elections of 1970, for a separate provincial assembly. The total number of seats were 20. NAP won 8 seats, PML got 3, JUI got 2 and the rest went to the independent candidates. In the national assembly NAP got 3, and JUI got 1 seat. So in the general elections of 1970, the National Awami Party, emerged as the sole political party representing the province of Baluchistan.
State Of Bahawalpur

The state of Bahawalpur acceded to Pakistan as an independent unit. But in 1954, Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan Abbasi, the ruler of Bahawalpur, agreed to merge the state with Pakistan. This agreement was signed by the Governor General of Pakistan Ghulam Muhammad and the Ameer of Bahawalpur. The agreement stated that, "Agreement made on this day the seventeenth of December 1954, between the Governor General of Pakistan and His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur. Whereas in the best interest of the state of Bahawalpur, as well as of the Dominion of Pakistan, it is desirable to provide for the secession of territories of the said state to the Dominion of Pakistan and for the merger of the same in the proposed unit of the said Dominion to be known as West Pakistan". 263

At the time of merger, Bahawalpur state was the richest region of Pakistan. The budget difference of the year 1954-1955, in the following table, shows the financial position of the regions.

**Net Closing Balance Of The Budget 1954-1955**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Year 1954-55</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Closing Balance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Pakistan</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>3, 27, 57, 562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>87, 92, 952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.W.F.P.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>1, 19, 75,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>54, 77, 723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>19, 17, 17,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Hashmi, "it is obvious from the above statement, that the surplus net closing balance of Bahawalpur state, for the year 1954-55, was much more than any province of Pakistan including East Pakistan. It also shows that the budget of the province of Punjab, was in deficit and was unable to maintain its budget. According to one economist, "the aim for the establishment of West Pakistan, was to feed the one deficit region with the surplus of the other regions".266 When the One Unit Front was established, Riaz Hashmi from Bahawalpur also joined the Front, he insisted that, "the province of Bahawalpur should be given a separate provincial status after the dissolution of one unit. The Front was in favour of dividing Pakistan into linguistic provinces".267 Abdul Majeed Kanju, President of the Seraiki National Party said that, "Seraiki nationality based area, Bahawalpur, was merged with Punjab by force".268 He also save the demand for Bahawalpur province, as the first entry of the Seraiki movement into the Pakistani politics.269 The twelve members of the national assembly of Bahawalpur, also demanded it as an administrative zone.270

General Yahya Khan, decided to disintegrate the one unit in 1969. But, the state of Bahawalpur was amalgamated with the Punjab. As a reaction the Bahawalpur Muthadda Mahaz, was established, in 1970, for the restoration of the Bahawalpur province. The Mahaz started the movement against the decision of the amalgamation. An all party conference was held at Bahawalpur, which passed a resolution in favour of Bahawalpur province.271 In February 1970, the Mahaz took out processions against the decision. From 31\textsuperscript{st} March 1970, to 24\textsuperscript{th} April 1970, about 90 political leaders and workers were arrested and punished.272 On the 24\textsuperscript{th} of
April 1970, police opened fire on a procession, in which two people were killed and many wounded. All these suppressed emotions were expressed in the elections of December 1970, in which the Mahaz got 5 seats from Bahawalpur, in the national assembly and 10 seats in the provincial assembly. According to Rahman, "once elected, the leaders of the Mahaz, did not pursue the case of Bahawalpur forcefully. They did issue declarations in support of a separate province and Chaudhary Farzand Ali, the convener of the Mahaz, wrote letters to General Yahya Khan and Z.A. Bhutto, but to no avail. In fact the Mahaz split into factions and Prince Saeed-ul-Rashid Abbassi, declared that the demand for a new province was no longer a priority issue; as Pakistan had lost East Pakistan in the war of 1971. Later on Ghulam Mustafa Khar, Governor of Punjab, claimed that, "the Mahaz, leaders had compromised with his party, the Pakistan Peoples Party, and they did not press their demands".

In concluding this chapter, we can safely assert that an ethnic movement from East Pakistan started as a language movement, which ultimately converted into a secessionist movement; resulting in the breakup of Pakistan. From 1947 to 1971, other provinces of the country also came under the influence of ethnic politics. According to Dr. Tahir Amin, "the N.W.F.P., had the most well-developed mass based movement, while in the province of Sindh and Baluchistan the regional provincial autonomy movements led by the ethnic elite's, were weak and did not enjoy comparable mass following similar to the N.W.F.P. These regional provincial autonomy movements in the N.W.F.P., Sindh and Baluchistan were the precursor movements to the Pushtunistan movement, the Jeay Sindh movement and the
Baluchistan movement respectively, and were generally under the influence of the national socialist ideology of the Indian National Congress. After the creation of the new state in 1947, absence of consensus prevailed in the community... the ethnic elite’s in the provinces were more concerned with their provincial interests and preferred a loose federal state. 276

During this period the center always remained stronger as compared to the provinces. No efforts were made to institutionalize the Pakistan polity. Quaid-e-Azam could not live longer to give strength to the basic institution, necessary for the successful functioning of the political system. The political process therefore, received a set back. The leadership relied heavily upon the bureaucracy and the military, who in turn thralled the birth of democratic institutions. The martial law era (1958-1971), concentrated all power at the center, depriving the provinces of any participation in governmental affairs; which gave birth to antipathy and distrust.
References

1. Inayatullah, Politics Of Ethnicity And Separatism In South Asia, p.10, Centre for South Asian Studies, University of Punjab.


17. ibid., Document 395.

18. ibid., vol. XII, Document 393 and 433.


22. Fayyaz Ahmed Hussain, op.cit., p.79.


24. ibid., p.195.


27. ibid.,


29. ibid., p.110.


34. Ibid., p.18.

35. The Pakhtun Questions, op.cit., p.46.


37. M.S. Korejo, op.cit., p.204.


40. The Pakistan Times, 18th November, 1954.


42. Rizwan Malik, op.cit., p.18.

43. The Pakistan Times, 18th November, 1954.

44. D.G. Tendulkar, op.cit., p.489.


47. The Pakistan Times, 7th October, 1955.


49. Ibid., 11th October, 1955.


52. ibid., 16th October, 1955.

53. ibid., 19th October, 1955.


55. Dawn, 10th September, 1956.


64. ibid., p.154.

65. ibid., p.159.


70. Hassan Askari Rizvi, op.cit., p.176.
71. ibid., p.176.
76. Tahir Amin, op.cit., p.90.
80. G.W. Chaudhary, op.cit., p.i.
85. ibid.,
87. Ibid.


89. Ibid.

90. Safdar Mahmood, op.cit., p.10.


97. Leonard Binder, op.cit., p.245.

98. Abdul Wadud Bhuiyan, op.cit., p.25.


106. Abdul Wadud Bhuyian, op.cit., p.29.

107. ibid., p.131.


119. Ibid.,

120. The Ittefaq, 30th August, 1956.


125. Safdar Mahmood, Pakistan Divided, op.cit., p.25.

126. Khawaja Alqama, op.cit., p.175.

127. Ibid.


133. Ibid.


Mujibur Rehman’s Speech, op.cit.,

G.W. Chaudhary, op.cit., p.8.

Rounaq Jahan, op.cit., p.86.

Khawaja Alqama, op.cit., p.195.

Safdar Mahmood, Pakistan Divided, op.cit., p.37.


The Constitution. The President’s address to the nation, p.11, Inter Services Karachi, 1962.

Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO). During the Ayub Khan era, a large number of politicians were banned by this order.


Abdul Wadud Bhuyian, op.cit., p.p.67-68.

ibid., p.70.

The Ittefaq, 26th 27th January, 1964.

Abdul Wadud Bhuyian, op.cit., p.71.

The Ittefaq, 30th March, 1964.


166. Abdul Wadud Bhuyian, op.cit., p. 102.


170. Abdul Wadud Bhuyian, op.cit., p.133.


174. Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, op.cit., p.11.

175. ibid., p.12.

176. Abdul Wadud Bhuyian, op.cit., p.156.
177. ibid., p.163.


183. ibid., p.171.

184. ibid., p.178.


186. ibid., p.204.

187. Ibid.,


189. O.H.K. Spate, India And Pakistan, p.485, Moscow, 1957.


196. Tahir Amin, op.cit., p.92.


208. Z.A. Bhutto, op.cit.,


210. ibid.,

211. The Herald, August 1969.


213. Jasarat, 23rd April.

214. Tahir Amin, op.cit., p.92.


221. Abdul Wahid Aresar, “Pareh Jo Pegham” (Sindhi) Karachi

222. A memorandum of Jeeya Sindh Student Federation:: Aaasi Mazalim Sindl Mein Hote Hain. N.D.


224. Lawrence Ziring, op.cit., p.145.

225. Safdar Mahmood, op.cit., p.49.


227. Tahir Amin, op.cit., p.94.


237. *ibid.*, Part 11, p.15.


251. *ibid.*.
254. Selieg Harrison, op.cit., p.29.
255. Lawrence Ziring, op.cit., p.163.
258. Mansoor Akbar Kundi, Baluchistan. A Socio-Culture And Political Analysis. op.cit., p.16.
260. Tahir Amin, op.cit., p.96.
263. Abdul Wadud Bhuyian, op.cit., p.150.
267. Tariq Rehman, Language And Politics In Pakistan, op.cit., p.181.
268. Abdul Majeed Kanju, “Pakistan Mein Basne Wali Qomiteen” (Urdu) a paper was presented in Pakistan National Conference, on the eve of Pakistan Golden Jubilee in Lahore Press Club, on the 13th of August, 1997.
269. Tariq Rehman, Language And Politics In Pakistan, op.cit., p.181.

271. ibid., p.23.

272. ibid., p.107.


CHAPTER NO.4
THE "TRUNCATED PAKISTAN AND ETHNICITY"

After the disintegration, Pakistan still is confronted with the problem of ethnicity. As we have discussed in the previous chapter that in the first phase the regionalism in four, out of five provinces i.e. East Pakistan, N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan was emerged right at the beginning and as a result we had lost our one part of the country. A new state Bangladesh emerged after the India-Pakistan war of 1971. At that time the country was without a constitution and was being ruled under Martial Law. According to many prominent scholars of social studies, Pakistan had lost its "structural" and symbolic existence, and the concept of Muslim homeland in South Asia was going at its end. Some observer wrote that the Bengali nationalism and the disintegration of Pakistan was the negation of the two nation-theory. After the separation of East Pakistan in December 1971, Yahya Khan resigned and handed over the power of remaining Pakistan to Z.A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan Peoples Party. According to Dr. Waseem, Bhuttos assumption of power was an unusual phenomenon in Pakistan's history. He was the first ruler of the country to enjoy a popular mandate based on adult franchise. He thus commanded an authority hitherto unknown. However, the legitimizing effect of his victory in the 1970 elections is, what was then West Pakistan was not un-limited. After all, it was on the military initiative that Bhutto had gained power in the first place. According to Umar Noman, for the Pakistan Peoples Party, the situation was not entirely unpromising. Although recent events imposed certain constraints,

146
they had simultaneously offered opportunities to undertake structural reforms against an elite hunted by its failure to retain East Pakistan. The radical election pledges of the PPP bred optimism for the emergence of a democratic and liberal Pakistan. Indeed, even the last Pakistan tragedy was being perceived as a welcome political circumcision. The “New Pakistan” could look forward to a future containing the prospect of a more physically viable nation-state with democratic institutions and a strong economic base. In the events, which followed this optimism was replaced by a feeling of betrayal, as the PPPs rule became increasingly repressive. The bitterness and anger were provoked by the violation of the promise to introduce progressive, participatory government in Pakistan. The sense of betrayal was manifested in the spontaneous out break of a popular movement in 1977, as the PPPs brief rule calumniated in an act which symbolized its corruption. The rigging of parliamentary elections. Z.A. Bhutto, the leader of the PPP, was personally to pay a grave price for contesting a mandate for democracy into a charter for an authoritarian governments. 6 Z.A. Bhutto lifted Martial law on 20th April 1972 and the interim constitution of 1972 was inforced on the country. At that time the situation of the new country was more complicated as one province the Punjab had 63% of total population, and other three Provinces had only 37%.7 These three smaller Provinces already had their grievances against the Punjab as we discussed in the last chapter.

Z. A. Bhutto in an address to the nation graphically painted the crisis, situation then existing in the country. He said “I have come in, at a decisive movement in the history of Pakistan. We are facing the worst crisis in our
country's life, a deadly crisis we have to pick up the pieces, very small pieces, but we will make a new Pakistan".  

Bhutto had won the elections on a socialist platform of PPP. The Pakistan Peoples Party was basically a grass roots movement organized by Bhutto, who was given the mandate to eradicate the class structure.  

He gave political consciousness and awareness to the masses.  

His era did succeed in giving urban poor the consciousness of their identity. The same could not materialize in the rural areas, as the feudal system proved stronger. Nevertheless, it did have some effect even in rural areas where seeds of political consciousness and individuals Identity were sown.  

Although the question of regional autonomy was potentially the most explosive issue after the secession of East Pakistan. In N.W.F.P and Baluchistan NAP had won the elections on the issue of autonomy. They were demanding their rights and threatening that they would also turn secessionists like the Awami league if the centre continued to deny their rights.  

The Sindhis also demanded to uplift the status of sindhi language. Ethnicity among Baluch, Pakhtun sindhi and Muhajir communities was strengthened during Bhutto era. Bhutto government announced to hold the general election on March 7th and 10th, 1977 for the National and provincial Assemblies respectively. On the 11th of January, 1977 the opposition consisting of nine parties formed an electoral Alliance called the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). PNA promised the enforcement of Islamic system in Pakistan.  

The opposition was confident to capture a reasonable number of seats in the national Assembly elections but the result of the polls were against the expectations.
P.P.P won 155 seats while PNA got only 36 seats out of the total 200 seats. The PNA alleged rigging of the polls by the PPF and as a mark of protest announced to boycott the provincial elections which were to be held on 10th of March, 1977. They demanded Fresh elections, removal of the prime Minister and the Chief Election Commissioner. The opposition started a mass movement. A country wide strike was staged on the 11th of March, 1977. The movement created Law and order situation in the country and the army was called by the government for the restoration of peace in the Major cities of the country. Political dialogue between the government and opposition started. in April 1977 Asghar Khan and Begum Naseem Wali Khan were not in favour of an agreement with Bhutto. Some leaders of the PNA approached the military authorities to take over the government from Bhutto. In the first week of July it was reported that the draft of the agreement was approved by both the Parties. According to Prof. Ghafoor it was presumed that 5th of July should be the date of the finalization of the agreement.

However the agreement could not see the light of the day because of the military intervention. General Zia-ul-Haq imposed Martial Law in the Country. The 1973 constitution was suspended, Federal and Provincial assemblies were dissolved. The Prime Minister his cabinet members and the leading leaders of PNA were arrested, and a Military council was established. Elections were promised within 90 days. Some opposition parties joined the Zia Government. The elections were postponed by the Government October 1979. Z.A. Bhutto was hanged on the 4th of April 1979. Bhutto became a martyr to vast sections
of lower income groups, industrial labours and small peasants, tenants and landless labours. 19 Zia followed the policy of Islamization. According to Iqbal Akhund during Zia years most of the Islamization that took place was a cosmetic or semantic in nature-putting the “Kalima” on official letter heads, using the term mark up instead of interest, adopting Arabic names for investment banks and leasing Companies etc. 20

In 1979 Zia-ul-Haq established a system of local government through the Local Bodies Ordinances. 21 First local bodies elections were held in the same year on non party basis. Local bodies were dominated by the traditional power holders in rural areas, the land lords and peers. As the elections of these institutions were held on non party basis the indirect omnipresence of bureaucratic elites was very conspicuous. 22 He also established a nominated Institution called Majlis-i-Shoora. Khawaja Muhammad Safdar was nominated its chairman. Mostly traditional supporters of the government joined the Shoora. 23 Others political elites and parties who demanded the election and political participation through a political process, decided to organized themselves in the shape of “Movement for the Restoration of Democracy” (MRD). MRD was established on the 6, January 1981, eleven parties participated in it. 24 MRD, protested in two phases, the first movement was launched in February 1981, and the second phase started in August 1983. The public response to the MRD call for civil disobedience was low in Punjab, NWFP, and Baluchistan. However in the interior Sind it sparked a militant movement. It produced intense violence and manifested strong ethnic and
regional sentiments. The subsequent public frustration was turned into a political issue by MRD. The later won the effective rights to challenge Martial Law. It can therefore, be considered a political success of the MRD, in a qualitative sense only.

Zia-ul-Haq, on 12 August 1983 announced that 1985 would be the election year. He organized a Referendum for his president ship for more five years, on 19, December 1984. MRD boycotted the Referendum and only about 2% voters are said to have participated in it. According to Afzal Tauseef, Zia played a joke on the people, and the people also played a joke on General Zia. No one knows whose joke was to laugh in and whose was to shed tears. General Zia said, if you accepted me you have accepted Islam, and if you rejected me you have rejected Islam. People in its reply rejected referendum itself. Government announced that 71 to 97 percent votes were polled but MRD claimed that the vote casting ratio was only 5% to 10%. Foreign media also gave much importance to the MRD point of view. After referendum Zia announced that National and Provincial Assemblies elections would be held on non-party, adult franchise, and one man one vote basis, on the 25th, and the 28th of February. The MRD, JUP and number of other political parties boycotted the polls, but several of their member defied the party directive and participated in the elections. After election Zia issued the Revival of the constitution 1973 order (RCO) on March 2nd 1985, that introduced 67 amendments out of 280 articles of the 1973 constitution. On March 24, 1985 Muhammad Khan Junejo was appointed the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The
upper house Senate was also established by the Provincial and National Assemblies on the 22nd of March 1985. 

Eighth amendment was passed by the National Assembly on the 16th of October 1985. The amendment granted constitutional protection to the military take over of 1977. The Presidential referendum of 1984, and the Restoration of constitution order (RCO) March, 1985. It also extended indemnity of unprecedented scope to all martial law acts including the orders of military courts and tribunals. On the 30th of December, 1985 Zia lifted the Martial law, and the amended constitution of 1973 was restored. The fundamental rights of the people were restored to the nation for the first time since 1965. The 20 years old emergency was revoked. On 29 May 1988, Zia dismissed Junejo and dissolved the Assembly on the charges of corruption, and deviation from the enforcement of Islam.

According to M.A.K. Chaudhary Prime Ministers biggest Crime was to consult all the political figures for agreement and accepting Miss Benazir Bhutto’s condition, that there should be no address of General Zia-ul-Haq in the Round Table Conference, and that Zia should not be allowed to make any social contacts with its participants. But Zia died in an air crash on the 17th of August 1988, at Bahawalpur. During his eleven years tenure Zia dominated his political opponents. According to Muhammad Ashraf Khan “in my view linguistic movements and the movements of provincialism are the product of Zia’s Martial Law rule. The contacts which he made with G.M. Syed are open secret. MQM also emerged during the Zia era”. After Zia, the Chairman Senate Ghulam Ishaque Khan, took the charge as the President of Pakistan. He
declared, as had already been announced by the late General Zia, that election should be held on the 16th of November, 1988. Benazir Bhutto, from PPP, filed a constitutional petition against the non-party base election. The Supreme Court of Pakistan declared that the elections should be held on party basis. After this decision the general elections of November 1988 were held on Party basis.

According to election results the PPP won 94, seats out of the total 207 seats, IJI, got 54, and MQM 14, as independent candidate. After election PPP, managed to get co-operation of the MQM and 8 members of FATA. This cooperation gave the PPP a clear majority in the National Assembly. Benazer Bhutto was nominated as Prime Minister of Pakistan by the President on December the 1st, 1988. She took Oath of her office on the 2nd of December 1988. In her first address to the nation she removed ban on student and trade unions. From December, 2nd 1988, began a new phase one of National consolidation. The strengthening of democratic institutions and boosting up of the failing, fragile economy were the first two priorities of the Government.

After the sudden death of Zia, Chairman Senate had taken over the charge as acting President. December 12, 1988 was announced as the date of Presidential election. PPP, supported, the IJI candidate, and the acting President Ghulam Ishaq Khan became an elected President of the country. In the 1988 elections, PPP could not get any majority in the Punjab Provincial Assembly, and Baluchistan. A tussle continued between the center and Provinces in Benazirs first tenure. She also did not have a majority in the Senate. In Center she had a
coalition government. So she failed as a Prime Minister to make any significant change in the political arena. Factional fighting in Karachi remained a big issue, and center province relationship were in dispute." 45 The religious-political leaders also opposed Benazir Bhutto. They were backing on the support of Jamat-i-Islami. 46 However lacking a strong party and a coherent program, Benazir failed to deal with the ethnic conflicts lingering from the Zia era. Although at the surface, in the beginning one might find areas of mutual and temporary convergence between the political interests of Benazir with the military bureaucratic alliance, yet one could discern that the overall relationship of the former with the latter remained uneasy. This was quite apparent when one views the triangular tussle between the Prime Minister and the President, the center and the Punjab, and the combined opposition party and the PPP. 47 According to Dr. Maleeha Lodhi, Developments in the month of July made it evident that differences between the Army and the Prime Minister over two specific areas had taken matters to a breaking point. The first was Sindh, the second was promotions in the Army. Bhutto herself admits privately that her relations with the Chief of Army Staff General Mirza Aslam Beg broke over the Pakka Qila incident in late May. 48 So in these circumstances the government and the National Assembly were dismissed, over the charges of corruption, mismanagement, and violation of the constitution, on the 6th of August 1990. 49 She also announced that election of the assembly should be held on October 24, 1990, "Mr. Ghuam Mustafa Jatoi was sworn in as the interim Prime Minister immediately after the President’s announcement. Mian Muhammad Afzal was
appointed as the Governor of Punjab and Muhmood A. Haroon as the Governor of Sindh. In this election PPP, also made an alliance with Tehrik-i-Istiqlal and Tehrik Nifaz-i-Fiqah-i-Jafria. This alliance was given the name of Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA). Pakistan Muslim League also participated in these elections with the alliance of other political parties named Islam-i-Jamhoori Itihad (IJI). According to the election results in the National Assembly IJI won 105, out of the 207 seats, while PDA won only 45, and MQM 15. On the 27th of October, 1990 the elections of Provincial Assemblies were held. The result of these elections showed that in Punjab IJI won 207, seats while PDA, only 13. In Sindh PDA won 47 seats, MQM 28, and IJI only 6. In NWFP, IJI won 33 seats, ANP 22 and PDA only 6. In Baluchistan IJI won 7, JWP 9, JUI(F) 5, PNP 4, PKM 4 and BNM 2 seats. In November 1990, Mian Nawaz Sharif became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. His government was the first political party in the history of Pakistan which had more than two thirds majority in the National Assembly. It was also the first time that the same party was in power in all the four Provinces. But even though he started with such advantages Nawaz Sharif witnessed a continuing decline in stature quite rapidly. Ethnic violence escalated, policy making at center and local Laval became confused. Although Nawaz Sharif government had two advantages over Benazir. Firstly he enjoyed an absolute majority in the National Assembly, Secondly he had total control over the Punjab, some thing which Benazir lacked and which turned to be her major handicap in effective governance. Beside, the IJI, controlled the effective exercise of power in
Karachi through the MQM. Above all Nawaz Sharif had the over riding merit of having an excellent rapport with the two mighty pillars of the ruling establishment. President Ishaq Khan, with his discretionary constitutional power, and the Army, in disputability the final arbiter of things in Pakistan. Still “he was unable to manage the ethnic tensions of the nation. He used his power to suppress political opposition, and his policies generated a growing opposition among the people.

However after just four months the once ‘Ideal troika’ was ridden with conflict. Its three components were pulling in different directions. when the president appointed General Abdul Waheed Kakar as the Army Chief, Nawaz Sharif came out openly against the 8th Amendment and appointed a cabinet committee for it. On the 17th of April, 1993 Nawaz Sharif delivered a strong speech on Pakistan television, against the President. The President responded quickly, by dissolving the National Assembly and sacking the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on the 18th of April, 1993, in a manner similar to Benazir’s removal in August 1990. On charges of corruption and incompetence and announced election in July.

Speaker of the National Assembly, challenged the presidential order in the court on the 25th of May the Supreme Court of Pakistan restored the dissolved National Assembly, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his cabinet. The President accepted the verdict of the court. But at the end, in a deal brokered by the Army Chief to resign, to end nearly five months long struggle between the Prime Minister and President, that had made Pakistan virtually
ungovernable, paving the way for fresh election.\textsuperscript{62} On the 18th of July the President and the Prime Minister of Pakistan both resigned and the National Assembly was dissolved once again. The Senate Chairman Wasim Sajjad and Moeen-ud-din Qureshi were sworn in as the acting President and Prime Minister respectively. New National and Provincial Assemblies polls were set for the 6th of October and the 9th of October 1993 respectively. In the October, 1993 elections PPP, got 86 seats, PML (N) won 72 in a House of 207. PML (J) won 6, IJM, got 4, seats. MQM boycotted the National Assembly elections. the PPP got the support of FATA, minorities and some other groups of the National Assembly. Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister of Pakistan once again and Farooq Ahmad Khan Lagari was elected as the President of Pakistan but on the 5th of November 1996 once again the President of Pakistan dismissed Benazir's government and dissolved the National Assembly.\textsuperscript{63} Corruption nepotism and violation of the rules were the main charges on Bhutto government. Miraj Khalid was appointed the Prime Minister for interim period and election were announced for February 1997. This was the first time that the election for the National and Provincial Assemblies were held on the same day. On the 3rd of February 1997 election, PML (N) won 134 out of 207 seats in the National Assembly, PPP won only 18, HPG 12, ANP 9, BNP 3, JUI(F), JWP 2, NPP 1, PPP(SB) 1 and other independents.\textsuperscript{64} Once again Mian Nawaz Sharif became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The PML(N) got its mandate for improving the economy, bettering the lot of the people
through good governance. Law and Order, pro-people legislation’s and following an independent foreign policy.  

According to Wajid Shamsul Hassan on the 50th anniversary of independence, its leaders looked back with gloomy realism at the failed promises, the wasted opportunities. There is a terrible sense of “deja vu” and an acknowledgement by frustrated businessmen and community leaders that an Army take over might be the last option. Yet again democracy is failing in Pakistan”.  

At this time one province of Pakistan, Sindh is under governor Raj, NWFP, and Balochistan demanding autonomy and in Punjab the Saraiki Movement Joined the PONAM. Now we shall discuss briefly the regional movements, their ethnic role and its impact on electoral politics during this period.

N.W.F.P.

If we carefully examine the outcome of the 1970 general elections, it appears that in post 1971 Pakistan no political party could emerge as a national party, Although PPP had a substantial Majority in the National Assembly but all these seats were from Punjab and Sindh, while it had only one member from NWFP, and non from Baluchistan. PPP had only 3 seats out of 42 in NWFP Provincial Assembly.
For a detail study it is necessary to see the following table which shows the (1970) elections results of the NWFP.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>National Assembly</th>
<th>Provincial Assembly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML (Q)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAP (W)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>$13 + 2 = 15$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CML</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML (C)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JI</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>40 + 2 = 42</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NAP and JUI in N.W.F.P Assembly had 19 seats out of the 42 and needed only three members for the formation of Provincial government. So, both parties formed a coalition government in the N.W.F.P. The question of regional autonomy was potentially the most explosive issue after the secession of East Pakistan. According to Tahir Amin there was an agreement between the PPP, NAP and the JUI. The NAP which had won the elections on the basis of maximum provincial autonomy (having only three subjects with the centre, namely defense, Foreign affairs and Currency) softened its stand and was willing to accept a strong centre in exchange of the parliamentary system and the choice of provincial governors. But the appointment of Abdul Qayyum Khan as interior Minister created some misunderstanding between the center and Province, because Qayyum had his personal antagonism against the NAP. As a result NAP did not allow its two members to join the central cabinet and also with drew their offer to cooperate with the PPP to form the government in Baluchistan and NWFP. The provincial government also lifted
the ban on Khudai Khidmatgar movement and its leader Abdul Ghaffar Khan returned back to the country. Now the NAP, JUI government could think in terms of mobilizing political power, because maximum provincial autonomy was based on Pakhtun consciousness. In February 1973, Bhutto dismissed the Baluchistan government, and the NAP, JUI ministry in NWFP resigned as a sign of protest against the Bhutto government. At that time Wali Khan raised the slogans of deprivation, he said, "The N.W.F.P. which is the biggest producer of raw tobacco, has no cigarette producing plants or factories. The bulk of its hydro-electric power is used for the benefit of others. In keeping with these trends, it is no surprise that the pathans are used as an easily available pool of cheap migrant labour in Pakistan and elsewhere".

In 1975, when provincial home minister, Sherpao, was killed by a bomb, the center banned the NAP and ordered to arrest Wali Khan and other 60 top leaders. Later Wali Khan and others were tried by a special court called the Hyderabad Special Tribunal. The centre alleged in its reference presented in the court that the “National Awami Party has long been acting against the interests and security of Pakistan”. The Supreme Court supported the government’s position. This judgement was based on evidence obtained from questionable sources. The evidences was also not examined because the defense had staged a walkout. After that, The militant elements of the NAP had crossed over the Pak. Afghan border and sought help from Afghanistan. Approximately, between 700 - 1000 hard core members launched the Pushtunistan movement under the leadership of Ajmal Khattak, the Secretary
General of NAP, who had fled to Afganistan in the wake of the firing by the PPP hooligans at a Liaquat Bagh opposition parties meeting in which a number of participants were killed including many Pashtuns. It is significant to note that the NAP workers had started fleeing to Afghanistan only when the center had embarked upon ruthless repression, inhuman torture and reckless use of force against its opponents. Wali Khan and other leaders were kept in jail for three years. They were released in early January 1978 by the martial law government following the governments decision to abolish the Hyderabad special Tribunal.

In 1975, the second level leadership of NAP formed a New party named National Democrat party (NDP), and Sher Baz Mazari became its President. NDP joined the united Democratic Front, and again entered into the election alliance against the PPP formed by the opposition parties in the name of Pakistan National Alliance. After the imposition of martial law, NDP, supported the military government.

According to Kaushik, "under the military regime of Gen. Zia the situation in NWFP became more critical. Initially Gen. Zia adopted sympathetic postures towards the pashtoon leaders. His main objective behind such policy was to gain support of anti - Bhutto elements throughout Pakistan, in order to eradicate Bhutto phenomenon. So after Bhuttos execution Gen. Zia imposed strict restrictions on the political activities of the Pashtoons. Pashtoon leaders were firmly committed to their regional objectives despite hard - handed military measures. They were raising strong voice against the growing Punjabi domination in Pakistani Politics."
The NDP leaders became ambivalent on the regional autonomy issue. Wali Khan said that Pashtuns could live in Pakistan only as equal partners with the people of Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan. Otherwise there might be a parting of ways sooner or later. The NDP also joined the MRD against the regime. Later in 1986 four left-based parties emerged as a new party under the name of Awami National Party (NAP). In the elections of 1988 NAP nominated 18 candidates for the National Assembly elections from NWFP and won only (3) seats and 12 for in the Provincial Assembly NAP won 12 seats.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Position in National Assembly</th>
<th>Position in Provincial Assembly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJL</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TUJ(F)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI (D)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One constituency election postponed because of the death of a candidate.

After the elections of 1988 the NAP joined hands with the PML(N) and that alliance continued till February 1998. The elections of 1990, 1993 and 1997 were contested in the NWFP with co-operation and adjustment. We can see the election result in the province in the following tables. Election Result of 1990 in the Province
NWFP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Seats in N.A NWFP</th>
<th>Seats in P.A. NWFP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PDA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JIJI</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUIF</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>80 \textsuperscript{91}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the elections of 1990 the Muslim League and the NAP joined hands and collaborated with each other in the NWFP Province. According to Mushahid Hussain, “the 1990 elections marked a watershed in Pakistan politics. The Zia-ul-Haq progeny were back in trump under the banner of JIJI, winning a clear majority”.\textsuperscript{95} During the President and Prime Minister conflict NAP supported the Nawaz League. Nawaz Sharif dissolved the Assemblies and resigned and new elections in the National and provincial Assemblies were announced for October, 1993. Election results can be seen in NWFP in the following table:-

Election Result in NWFP (1993)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Seats in N.A NWFP</th>
<th>Seats in P.A. NWFP Provincial Assembly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML (N)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML(J)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJM</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIF</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MKQP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26 \textsuperscript{96}</td>
<td>80 \textsuperscript{97}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{91} The total seats in NWFP are not consistent with the table provided. The total seats in P.A. NWFP are 80, but the table shows a total of 26 seats. This discrepancy needs to be resolved. 

\textsuperscript{96} The total seats in N.A NWFP are 26, but the table shows a total of 26. This discrepancy needs to be resolved. 

\textsuperscript{97} The total seats in P.A. NWFP Provincial Assembly are 80, but the table shows a total of 80. This discrepancy needs to be resolved.
After the elections of 1993 ANP, PML (N) both remained together in the province of NWFP. Before completing its tenure the provincial and the National Assemblies were dissolved on 5 November 1996. New elections were announced for February, 1997. The result of the 1997 election can be seen in the following table of the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies elections of 1997 were held on the same day. NWFP Provincial Assembly results show the party position on the February 3rd election.98

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Position NWFP Provincial Assembly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PML (N)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI (F)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKMAP</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML (J)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(election of the one seat was postponed)99

After election of 1997, the PML(N) and ANP made the provincial government and co-operated with each other during the Fourteenth Amendment100 of the constitution, Prime Minister and Judiciary Tussal101, and President Leghari and Sharif problem.102 The ANP even supported the Nawaz Presidential candidate Rafiq Tarar on December 1997 Presidential election.103 According to Wajid Shamsul Hassan, Sharif wins all as Pakistan state crumbles that it took the Pakistan Army, desperate to avoid a coup, to save what is left of crumbling democracy104 At that time, all the important posts of Federation were occupied by the Punjabi The President of Pakistan, Prime Minister, Chairman Senate, Chief of the Army Staff, Chief Secretary, and other important Political.
Military and Bureaucratic positions were captured by the central Punjab. During the Alliance of ANP and Muslim League, Nawaz promised the ANP to change the Name of NWFP. \[^{105}\] At a party convention of ANP, Abdul Rashid the district president of the party read the message of Wali Khan at Sahiwal on the 18th of October 1997, that, Sooner the name of NWFP would be replaced by Pakhtoonistan. \[^{106}\] In November the provincial Assembly passed a resolution for changing the name of province. Ultimately the PML(N) and ANP packed ways and left the cabinet and the government. Asfand Yar Wali complained that Nawaz Sharif promised during his visit to Charsada after the election of 1997 with Wali Khan and others ANP leaders, to rename the province as Pakhtunistan. \[^{107}\] According to Zaffar Abbas unlike most other political marriages of convenience, the ANP, PML(N) alliance lasted nearly a decade. But the end was hardly unique. The two sides parted ways when one realized that the other was no longer indispensable. He further wrote, when Nawaz Sharif let the ANP go, he must have been confident that the center will continue to hold. But the parting of ways has certainly shown the seeds of regional mistrust, and that is some thing the Punjab - based rulers should not take lightly. \[^{108}\]

In September and October 1998 the ANP and some other nationalist political parties established “Pakistan Oppressed Nation Movement” (PONM). \[^{109}\] and called for autonomy of the provinces. Ajmal Khatak from ANP was appointed the first convenor of the PONM. \[^{110}\] In the Islamabad declaration first time the word “Nation” was used for the Nationalities. \[^{111}\]
Hazara (sub Nationality) During the Zia Martial Law, a new sub
national movement was started in NWFP named Hazara Qaumi Movement first
we will discuss the Hazara ethnicity and then briefly the history and geography.
Northern most district of the North West Frontier Province, and the only
territory of that Province, east of the Indus. The origin of the name of
Hazara is obscure. It has been identified with Abisara, the country of Abisares,
the Cheif of the Indian mountaineers at the time of Alexander invasion. The
name Hazara was used in Ain-i-Akbari. In 1752, Hazara passed definitely
under the sway of Ahmad Shah Durrani the district formed the most convenient
route to Kashmir and also a useful recruiting area. After the first Sikh war
Raja Gulab Singh of Kashmir took the control of Hazara. In 1847 the Raja gave
back Hazara to Lahore. The British acquired the areas constituting Hazara
from the Sikhs in the mid Nineteenth century. The British made it a separate
district. When NWFP was formed from the Punjab Province in 1901, Hazara
was attached to it. Hazara is surrounded by the black mountain, Swat,
Kohistan, and Chilas in the north, by Kashmir in the east, Rawalpindi in the
south, and by the Indus River along its western boundary. Akbar-s-Ahmad
called it Hazara wali. He wrote this Hazara ethnicity assumes an exaggerated
identity because it is caught between the two major ethnic groups in the
northern half of Pakistan. The pathans and the punjabi. According to Malik
Asif the discrimination of NWFP government led them to the formation of
Hazara Quami Mahaz (HQM) in July 1986. HQM wanted to create a
separate province of Hazara. He claimed that there are 7 constituencies of

166
National Assembly and 19 from the Provincial Assembly. He said that we contributed 54% of the Provincial resources but we get only 7 to 8% in Annual Provincial Budget. He also claimed that we, by language and culture are different from Pakhtoons. So we are a different nationality. There is also another movement that is working in the name of Tahreek Saba Hazara. The HQM contested the elections of 1990, 1993, and 1997 but did not get any seat. HQM also joined Pakistan national conference held in Karachi on the 1st of June 1997. There is also a student organization working in the educational institutions by the name of Hazara student Federation. The movement is still in the initial stage. Hazara Quami Mahaz also protested the change of the NWFP name HQM announced a strike in the division and led a procession. All the political elite's from different political parties of Hazara also supported the movement. Ashghar Khan from T.I also demanded Hazara Province. Religious scholars from the Hazara Division also gave Fatwa against the Pakhtoonistan. Mostly, Muslim League members of National and Provincial Assemblies won seats from this area, so it is difficult for them to support the Pakhtoonistan under the existing circumstances, the HQM supports the old demand of the Hindko movement, that Primary schooling should be in Hindko for Hindko speaking children. According to Asif Hussain, “we want a complete Administrative unit in the Province of Hazara with all the provincial powers”.
SINDH PROVINCE

Sindh acquired additional significance in the national politics of Pakistan during the Bhutto regime. It might be recalled that Sindhi regionalism developed much earlier, even prior to the creation of Pakistan. Z.A. Bhutto's father Shah Nawaz Bhutto, had acquired the reputation of being a spokesman of distinct identity of Sindh, during the British rule. He was primarily responsible for the separation of Sindh. United Party, led by Shah Nawaz Khan, fought for the recognition of distinct socio-cultural interest of Sindh. Soon after the creation of Pakistan, Sindhis demanded protection of their specific socio-economic interest. Till 1971 their regional interest could not be furthered due to the dominance of Punjab's in the national politics. In the elections of 1970, Sindh supported PPP. The results of national and provincial assemblies of Sindh, can be seen in the following table.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Seats in Provincial assemblies</th>
<th>Seats in National Assemblies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMLQ</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML(C)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUP</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JI</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these results, PPP got the maximum seats from the Sindh province.

The party got, "its maximum votes from the relatively more backward areas of
the province, while it got only a quarter of its votes from Karachi”. It was only during Bhutto's tenure, that Sindh successfully bargained with the federal government for considerable regional upliftment. Sindh maintained relative political stability as compared to other provinces of Pakistan. However, the language problem and the issue of relations between the old and new Sindhis (Muhajirs) remained a crucial challenge to Bhutto regime.

During the previous elections of 1970, G.M. Syed, gave the name of Sindh United Front to his Sindhi Awami Mahaz. Nawab Muzaffar Khan, also contested the election from Hyderabad on the forum of Muhajir Punjabi Pathan Mahaz. (MPPM). The first language problem started when the Syndicate of Sindh University decided on the 21st of August, 1970, that Sindhi should be the official language and the language of internal correspondence and the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education. In December, 1970, Hyderabad also adopted Sindhi as the official language of the Hyderabad Board, and Sindhi was made compulsory for the Secondary School Certificate Examinations.

According to Rehman, “This created a crisis, which resulted in the breakdown of law and order in the province”, Nawab Muzaffar Hussain, the convenor of the MPPM, led the Mohajir protest against the decision of the University and the Board. Mohajir students brought out processions in Nawab Shah, Mirpur Khas, and Hyderabad. Sindhi students in turn brought out processions in Karachi. Events took an ugly turn on the 27th of January, 1971, when buses were burnt and unruly crowds demanded that all signboards should be in Urdu only. They destroyed all the English boards. Army was called out in
Hyderabad and parts of Karachi were placed under curfew. Violence continued until the middle of February. All over the country the supporters of Urdu and Pakistani nationalism condemned the Sindhis, while the Sindhis and ethnonationalist political parties condemned the non-assimilationist attitude of the Mohajir.”

The second language riots started, on the 8th of July 1972. The Sindh provincial assembly passed a language bill declaring Sindhi as the official language of Sindh. The announcement of this language bill caused enormous violence in the entire province. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto declared, “that if he had ten lives, all those would be sacrificed over the name of Sindh. He was called the ten headed man of Sindh by the Sindhis.” But the Muhajirs violently protested against the consent of Sindhi, as the official language and ultimately pressurized Bhutto for retaining Urdu as the provincial language of Sindh vis a vis Sindhi. The Sindhi nationalists often complained that Bhutto government was more soft towards the Muhajir community. They also demanded a separate Sindhudesh. G.M. Syed, and his allies openly supported PNA in March, 1977, in order to topple the Bhutto government. They also justified Bhutto’s deposalment and his death sentence passed by Lahore High Court.

After Bhutto’s execution, Sindh once again came under political suppression and economic exploitation of the Punjabi military and bureaucratic elite. The situation, as the press reports revealed, that “Sindh is sitting on a volcano under the military dictatorship of Gen. Zia”. The following table shows the Punjabi participation in the military and bureaucracy.
“Ethnic Origins of top military and bureaucratic elite”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Top Military elite 1981</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Top bureaucratic Elite class 1 Official 1983-84</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjabis</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>6590</td>
<td>47.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushkins</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>1338</td>
<td>11.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhajirs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>2382</td>
<td>17.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhis</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02%</td>
<td>0601</td>
<td>04.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchis</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>00%</td>
<td>0103</td>
<td>0.74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>04%</td>
<td>2438</td>
<td>17.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>13752</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Zia followed a policy of repression in Sindh. The regime adopted a number of both, subtle and strong-handed method to break the PPP and other regional parties in Sindh, banning the Sindh Graduates Association, frequent arrests and summary trials by the military courts and purgation of the pro-PPP Sindhi officials from both the provincial and the central administration. During the Zia era all democratic movement were suppressed. The suppression of the movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was so violent in Sindh, where anti-punjabi and anti military feelings ran high, that it took on the nature of a civil war. As a reaction MRD decided to launch a movement of disobedience. The province of Sindh, became the hear land of this movement. The movement in Sindh, turned out to be a forceful display of destruction and harassment which created serious problem of law and order.

According to Mushahid Hussain, “The movement has adopted different modes of protest in the last few weeks, some times peaceful, sometimes violent. There is a regular process of court arrests and occasional demonstrations. There have been attacks on the symbols of state authority, jails and police stations.
There have also been violent incidents of exchange of gunfire between the police and the demonstrating mobs. Additional incidents of disruption of railway tracks and sniping at trains have also taken place.\textsuperscript{142}

The MRD movement was crushed in 1983 by Zia but the problems of law and order and unrest continued in Sindh. The students became very active for the achievement of a free and independent Sindh. At that time Benazir Bhutto said, “that if a referendum was to be held in Sindh, the majority of the people would vote for the separation of sindh”.\textsuperscript{143} The PPP and other allied parties launched MRD in 1983 and 1986. The government crushed the movement ruthlessly.\textsuperscript{144} Zia used two divisions of army and gun ship helicopters to crush the movement. After party less election, he appointed Mohammad Khan Junejo, a Sindi as the Prime Minister of the country.\textsuperscript{145}

During the MRD movement Bhutto was perceived as Shaheed Baba by the Sindhis.\textsuperscript{146} G.M. Syed, and his followers were against the MRD movement. According to Mushahid Hussain, G.M. Syed said, that, “he is not interested in saving Pakistan if the MRD agitation leadership were to support the breaking of Pakistan, then he, G. M. Syed, and his followers would, as he put it, “certainly join it”. The second objective of the agitation, according to G.M. Syed, is the restoration of the 1973 constitution that again is unacceptable, says G.M. Syed. The third objective, of the agitation is the restoration of democracy and in that case, said the octogenarian leader, “we Sindhis will be in a minority”.\textsuperscript{147} Syed wrote 48 books and booklets on Sindudesh. “Sindhudesha Nation in Chains” is

172
also one of them. During the MRD agitation, nationalists claimed that 800 people died and more than 1500 were injured. 148

In February, 1985, the partyless elections of national and provincial assemblies were held. During the Zia era policies and partyless elections increased the tribal, ethnic and sectarian issues. During this era Jay Sindh Mahaz, Sindh Hari Committee, Servants of Sindh Society, Pakistan National Party, Sindhi Tehrik, Waatan Dost Party, Sindh Sagar Party, Sindhi National Congress, Sindhi Shagird Tehrik, Jeay Sindh Students Federation, Jamiat-e-Ulama Sindh, Sindh Baluch Pakhtoon Front, Mohajir Quami Movement, Punjabi Pakhtoon Alliance149 and so many other organizations were established in Sindh on ethnic and regional grounds. Sindhi Baluchi Pashtoon Front was established in London, on the 1st of April 1985 by Haifuz Pirzada, Muntaz Bhutto, and Ata ullah Mengal. The demanded confederation for Pakistan.150 Another major ethnic party Muhajir Qumi Movement (MQM) also emerged in Karachi, the biggest city of Pakistan as well as Sindh, soon it expanded its roots to other cities of Sindh. After the non party base elections of 1985, MQM became the major group in the cities of Sindh. In the 1987 local bodies polls same pattern was repeated in the general elections of 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997 In the interior Sindh PPP gained maximum seats during all these elections. After Zia Sindh was clearly ethnically divided into Muhajir and Sindhi nationalities. Now we will explain the Muhajir ethnicity and its role in the Sindh politics.
Muhajir Ethnicity.

The metropolitan city of Karachi was nowhere on earth, until 1725 A.D. There was a barren piece of land, the three sides of which were surrounded by Arabian sea, known as Kalachi-jo-Ghote. There was a separate town named Karak Bander on the other side of river Hub. In the 18th century the people of Hub, discovered another post, Kalachi jo goth. In 1782 A.D. Migration increased for Karachi jo-Goth. The town then, was governed by Hindu businessmen. At the same time the kalho as of Sindh took over the town, but later it was handed over to the Khan of Kalat as “bold money” of his brother. In 1795, the Khan of Kalat, surrendered Karachi to the Talpurs of Sindh. They built the Manora fort, in 1797 for their defence against any attack from the sea side. The British captured Karachi by defeating the Talpurs in February 1839. During 1850-1900, Karachi began to take the shape of a modern town. By 1900 Karachi had established itself as the biggest wheat exporting post of the east. For trade purposes the British developed Karachi’s port and the city.

During the first and second world war Karachi played an important role as a supply route for food and equipment’s for the allied forces. Second World War caused its rapid development through new extensions and expansions. By the end of war Karachi had grown as a neat and clean city, with a population of four to five lakh people.

After independence, in 1947 Karachi was made the capital of Pakistan. Large number of muslim refugees from India, came to Karachi. An estimated 800,000 people migrated from India to Karachi.

174

entered Karachi between 1981-87, out of which 40 % from among the Afghan refugees. Consequently the number of Pushto speaking people had
Karachi now is the most diversified city for the country. It has a population of migrants from almost all states of India, who migrated here at the time of partition, and people born in all the districts of Pakistan are living in Karachi.  

The process of migration is continuing even now, from all over the country as well as other neighboring countries, like Afghanistan, Iran, Srilanka, and Bangladesh. Due to this migration Karachi emerged as a multi-lingual and multi-ethnic city. The 1981 census report shows its ethnic division. We can see the distribution in the following table.

**LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN THE HOUSEHOLD OF KARACHI, 1981.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>House Hold %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>54.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>13.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>8.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>6.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchi</td>
<td>4.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>12.7 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The language data shows the dominance of Urdu speaking families. Dr. Mehtab s. Karim estimated, that about 1.5 million additional migrants had entered Karachi between 1981-87, out of which 40% from among the Afghan refugees. Consequently the number of Pashto speaking people had considerably increased as compared to the census of 1981.

The Muhajir community of Sindh consists of millions of refugees from all parts of India except east Punjab and Kashmir. In Pakistan they are known
as Urdu speaking Muhajirs, even though they speak a variety of mother tongues, including Gujarati, Tamil, Telegu, Hindi, and Malyalam in addition to Urdu.

According to Feroz Ahmed, In Sindh, where 18 percent of the refugees had settled, the immigrant population was ethnically and culturally very distinct from the local Sindhi population. The vast majority of the one million refugees who settled in this province were the Urdu speaking Muslims from Delhi, the United Province(up), Central provinces (CP), Ajmer and Rajputana, Hyderabad and Bihar”. 159

According to Moonis Ahmar, “The first party that used the word Muhajir politically in Pakistan was the Muhajir Punjabi Pakhtun Maahaz, a coalition of non Sindhis, from both India and northern areas of Pakistan, who had settled in rural areas of Sindh. It arose in the Late 1960’s under the leadership of Nawab Muzaffar Hussain of Hyderabad, but it did not have much impact on Muhajirs in Karachi and Hyderabad as the MQM would have later. 160

According to Dr. Mahmmod Wasim, “Muhajirs, started facing challenges from the rest of the society due to the following reasons.”

1. In1958, Martial Law, the political ascendancy of Muhajirs was gone in one clean sweep, because the majority of the army hailed from Punjab.

2. One unit took away the special position of Karachi by merging it with west Pakistan.

3. The federal capital shifted from Karachi to Islamabad.

4. Various economic policies of Ayub regime.
5. In late 60's influx of Punjabi Pathan in Karachi.  

The first problem erupted on the eve of the presidential election of 1964, when, Goher Ayub khan, son of President Ayub Khan, launched a series of attacks on Muhajir community, because of their support for Fatima Jinnah, as the presidential candidate against Ayub khan. The second time again the Muhajirs came under attack in 1971, 1972 due to the language riots as discussed earlier. These events gave them the Muhajir thinking.

In 1974, the Karachi University Pharmacy Action committee brought Altaf Hussain and Azim Tariq together. In June 1978 these youngsters formed the, “All Pakistan Muhajir Students Organization” (APMSO). Altaf attended the meetings of Tehrik-e-Suba-e-Karachi, “and as an activist, he wrote slogans for suba, on the walls. He left for the U.S. in 1980. On his return home, he wrote two documents, a pamphlet”, Meri Aawaz Suno”(Urdu). Which became the Bible of the Muhajirs. The MQM was formed in march 1984. According to Moonis Ahmed, “during the Zia years, the mohajirs had augmented their search for identity and mobilization of their ranks along ethnic lines was only a matter of time. Their economic and political sense of deprivation reached its peak during this period and by the mid of 1980’s there was enough fertile ground to rise the slogan of”, Muhajir nationalism” and promote the unity of muhajir under one leader and one party.”

According to Khalid Sultan a leading member of MQM, “we have not made ourselves Muhajirs, it is the other nationalities who have called us Muhajir, “tiller mutarva and other derogatory names. Now we have chosen to
call ourselves Muhajirs. We have a separate cultural, historical and linguistic identity from the other nationalities of Pakistan, and we want this to be recognize." 167

According to Altaf Hussain, the leader of MQM, "it is the denial of rights that gives people the consciousness of their rights and the desire to unite and assert their identity." He further said, "The Muhajirs have been forced to think in terms of a fifth nationality because, objective conditions so dictate. Everywhere the Muhajirs find the doors of employment, education and other opportunities closed to them. All that the MQM has done is to give them a sense of direction and leadership, it is a question of achieving the Muhajir's rights...MQM has given them consciousness of their rights, the awareness that, they constitute Pakistan's fifth nationality and We have brought them on one plate form." 168

Zia-ul-Haq also said that Muhajirs "are like a fifth nationality." 169 MQM" first serious ethnic violence erupted after an accident of a young girl Bushra Zaidi, a student of Sir Syed college who was killed and four others were seriously injured by a mini-bus on the 15th of April 1985. 170 People in that locality became furious, buses and mini buses were burnt by the angry crowd. 171 These events sparked the Muhajir Pakhtoon ethnic clashes which continued sporadically for the whole of 1986 to 1987. Here it is important to point out that the local transport system of Karachi remains the pre-occupation of the Pathans.

178
In August 1986, Altaf Hussain vowed in a public meeting in Karachi "to unite Muhajirs under the MQM banner and launch a struggle for the attainment of the rights of his community." 173. In the local bodies elections of 1987, MQM got the majority in Karachi and some other urban areas of Sindh. The mayorship of Karachi went to the MQM. It was the first election of the MQM. Here it may be stated that Zia dissolved National and Provincial Assemblies in 1988 and the new election also held in 1988, PPP became the largest Sindhi party in Sindh. Election results of Sindh can be seen in the following table.

**Election results of Sindh National and Provincial Assemblies. 1988.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party name</th>
<th>Provincial Assembly</th>
<th>National Assembly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MQM</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPI</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Seats</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>46 173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Tahir Amin, "in the elections of 1988 Sindh emerged as the most polarized province in the country, along ethnic lines. The urban voters, predominantly, the Muhajirs gave the Muhajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) nearly a complete mandate while the rural voters, choose the PPP, as their party of choices" The election results in Sindh show the emergence of two nationalisms, Sindhi versus Muhajir. Both the MQM and PPP, primarily contested elections on the basis of ethno-national slogans. Loss of most of the
SNA, backed candidates in the elections has wrongly been interpreted as the loss of Sindhi nationalists. In fact many of those, who won in the elections among the PPP were no less hard line nationalists, than the one who lost”. The PPP played a dual role, as a regional party at the provincial level and a federal party at the national level.  

PPP and MQM signed a 59 points agreement named the Karachi Agreement. On the 1st of December 1988 MQM became the coalition partner of PPP in the Provincial assembly. MQM got deputy speakership of Sindh Assembly, and three ministers in the province of Sindh. On the 18th of October 1989, MQM joined IJI and left the PPP government. On the 6th of August, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, dissolved the PPP government and the National and provincial assemblies.

New elections were held in October 1990. The party position of Sindh in the national and provincial level remained the same, but some candidates of IJI and some independent candidates were also elected as the members of the provincial assembly. See the following table.
Results of Election of Sind national and provincial assemblies (1990)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party name</th>
<th>Sind Assembly position</th>
<th>National Assembly position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PDA</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPG (MQM)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNA</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>46&lt;sup&gt;179&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the elections, IJI, MQM and independent Candidates, coalition government was established in Sindh Jam Sadiq Ali, became the Chief minister of Sindh. After the death of Jam Sadiq, Muzaffer Hussain Shah, became the chief minister of Sindh. During Nawaz period, the army started the operation clean up, in the interior Sindh and later expanded it to the Urban Sindh. "A fortnight later came the crash action against the MQM, in intensity and magnitude, exceeding the worst fears of the party and the public". <sup>178</sup> During the Nawaz period, "Sindh especially Karachi was in a very disturbing position. The torture cells in Karachi, which the MQM was thought to have freely used, to keep its leaders in line, exemplifies the nature of this political outfit, and the political culture that has evolved in Sindh." <sup>179</sup> According to Aziz Siddiqui "Sindhi nationalist, from G,M, Syed, to Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Dr. Hameeda Khuhro, had lined up behind Nawaz Sharif, Some, like former comrade Abdul Hameed Jatoi, the ever belligerent senator, Ejaz Jatoi, and Liaqat Jatoi had even
joined the PML (N), Mairaj Muhammad Khan also made common cause with Nawaz Sharif. 180

On the 26th of May, 1992 leader of the opposition made her speech on the Sindh situation, at the National assembly. She said, "why is Sindh being pushed out of Pakistan?...Did the military operation of 1981 solve anything? Did the military operation of 1983 solve every thing,...? Did the military operation of 1986 under Mr. Junejo solve any thing? Don't get the military involved in isolation. Military is a part of this society. Don't send the military to do something which cannot be done by the military alone". She further said, "I am saying, Sindh must be given its share. Can the Law minister tell me how many people from Sindh are employed in the Prime Minister's secretariat? How many people from Sindh are employed in the President's secretariat?...What about the federal Shariat court? What about the Supreme court? What about the Senate? What about the National Assembly? Neither the President is from Sindh nor Prime Minister. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is also not from Sindh, what about the Sindh Judiciary itself? What about the Sindh High court? There is no quota even in the Sindh High court".

She further said about the Sindh government, "all their government is based on the twin faces of foreign sponsored insurgency, elements of the MQM inside the cities and Jeay Sindh in the rural areas....I want to know whether there is going to be a political package because with out a political package there will be no service to the Military. There will be no service to the Nation." 181
Under these circumstances the President dissolved the assemblies. The Supreme Court restored them, later on the Prime Minister and President both resign. The Prime Minister dissolved the national assembly, and new general elections were announced. During the operation clean up, MQM was divided into two groups and a new MQM (Haqqiqi) emerged.

MQM Chief Altaf Hussain said, "Over the past six years the MQM's trust has been betrayed by both the PPP with whom it had an election arrangement, and the Muslim League which sent the army to Sindh. 182 The election dates were announced for the 6th and 9th of October 1993. The MQM leaders made efforts, to the operational authorities to facilitate the free, participation of MQM (Altaf), in the elections; but when MQM(A) failed to get some guarantees, it boycotted the elections at the eleventh hour, on the pretext of protest, against the murder of its chairman Azam Tariq. 183 Voters from Karachi and Hyderabad did not give proper turnout because of the boycott of MQM. 184 MQM Haqeeqi, also failed to get mass popularity. 183 Later MQM (A) participated in the provincial assembly election. We can see the results of Sindh national and provincial assembly party position in the following table.
Election Results of 1993 National and Provincial Assembly (Seats)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party name.</th>
<th>Provincial assembly party position</th>
<th>Party position in N. Assembly seats.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML(N)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPG</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Boycotted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIF</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBH</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>46\textsuperscript{186}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the 1993 elections, PPP made the provincial and national Government. But the problem in Karachi continued. According to Moonis Ahmar, "with the passage of time, the MQM and the government have tightened their positions, dead locking their party and threatening ultimate failure. Most recently, President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari has tried to break the dead lock in negotiations, but without success. On July 4th 1995, MQM released an 18 Point list to the press which forms the basis of its negotiations with the government team. It demanded among other things an end to operation clean up and compensation to its victims... In response, the government handed over a list of 21 conditions to the MQM team.\textsuperscript{187} As a result MQM and government remained in tension with each other. During this period Altaf Hussain\textsuperscript{188} and Ajmal Dehlavi,\textsuperscript{189} proposed the urban Sindh as a separate province from Sindh. Ultimately President Leghari, dissolved the national
assembly on the 25th of November, 1996. He blamed the Benazir governments, extra judicial killing in Karachi. The new elections were held on February 1997. Nawaz Sharif once again won the elections in the Provincial assembly. PPP got 36, PML(N)15, HPG28, NPP3, PPP(SB)2, UNA 1, and Independent candidates got 15 seat respectively. In the national assembly, PPP got 18 and MQM 12, other seats were divided between NPP, PPP(SB) PML(N) and independent candidates.

PML(N), and MQM joined hands and got the favour of some independent Sindh provincial assembly members and formed the government in the Sindh province. In the presidential elections, MQM supported the PML candidate. But the Conflict started in March 1998, and the MQM ministers resigned from the ministry on the 27th of August 1998. Later they joined the government again on the 21st of September. During all this period, Karachi remained under tension. On the 17th of October 1998, Hakeem Saeed the ex-governor of Sindh, prominent scholar, social worker and the Chancellor of Hamdard university, was killed by some terrorist. The Prime Minister blamed MQM, for this terrorism. As a result MQM left the government once again. The central government imposed governor rule in Sindh. Military operation was started and military speedy courts were also established. The problem still continues. Table I shows the murder and injuries during January to June 1998. Table II explains the political affiliation. Table III shows the data of 1990 to June 1998 in Karachi. We can see the following tables. The impact of terrorism in Karachi.
Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month 1998</th>
<th>Murder</th>
<th>Injured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table II Party affiliation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party or institutional affiliation</th>
<th>No of person murdered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MQM(A)</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MQM(H)</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>police</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranger</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shias</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunies</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorist.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General citizen.</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table. III  Per annum ratio from 1990 to June 1998.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Murdered.</th>
<th>Injured.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>1113</td>
<td>502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>2058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5271</td>
<td>3780</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Zaffar Abbas, “since April 1985, politically motivated violence has claimed nearly 9000 lives in Karachi, while more than 6000 have died in the last five years alone. But even after so much bloodshed, there appears to be no end in sight to the incessant warfare in the city.” Moeen uddin Haider Governor of Sind said that “Military courts are answerable to the people.” MQM Chief Altaf Hussain said that “Nawaz Shaarif wants to be the king to perpetuate his rule indefinitely”. He further said, “If the Muhajir’s are continued to be pushed to the walls, then the development of separatist tendencies in the mind of the Muhajir’s would not be their own fault, but rather a natural reaction to the treatment meted out to them.”

Haroon Ahmed, a memon businessman, president of Karachi zonal Muslim league of Pir Pagaro, and chairman Mahaz Sindh and Prem Saba
said, "He sees the on going conflict. "They are disturbed. I tell them it is a transitional period, a part of the political process. Did not we face several upheavals in the past also? In Ayub days the city Karachi was against the Pathans, in Zia's regime, Punjabis were targeted and in the PPP period the Sindhis. This is an anti-government city, and the frequent lapses into martial Law is responsible for the crises."  

BALOCHISTAN 1971 TO 1998

"Balochistan has been conventionally a tribal society. Its tribal culture has emerged from the traditional, nomadic life. The Baloch have been leading the free, nomadic tribal life. Traditionally they have democratic institutions of tribal chiefs and jirga system. The elder of the group (later transformed into tribe) used to act as their chief and the protection of life, honour and properties of the tribe was the duty of the tribal chief. He used to discharge his duties in consultation with the elders of the tribe. Hence, with the passage of time, developed a democratic and just tribal system, supervised by the Sardar or the tribal chief, among the Baloch. Their leadership emerged from themselves, stayed with them and worked with them. The tribal chief has been a symbol of prestige and honour for them."

During Yahya's rule, west Pakistan Province was dissolved and the former Provinces were restored. Balochistan emerged as a full-fledged governor's province. Baloch leaders including Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Sardar Ataulla Mengal were released. Yahya Khan also arranged general
elections on the principal of “one man one vote”. The NAP emerged as the largest single party in the province (see the following table):

**Elections 1970 results of National and Provincial Assembly of Balochistan Province.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party name</th>
<th>Position in NA</th>
<th>Position in P.A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JU(H)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNL(Q)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total :-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20⁰⁰⁰</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bhutto's party PPP, did not score a single seat out of the 20 seats in Balochistan, on the other hand NAP and JUI were in a commanding position in the province. According to Satish Kumar, “Bhutto did not allow his trust in the NAP to be taken to its logical conclusion. He appointed, in Balochistan a governor, who was not only a non-Baloachi, but in whom the NAP had no confidence. The appointment of Ghaus Bakhsh Raisani, as Governor of Balochistan on the 25th of December 1971 set off series of disturbances in Quetta, which snowballed into a veritable wall of suspicion between the NAP and Bhutto. The first consequence was the decision of NAP not to allow its two members to join the central cabinet for the time being”. Both the NAP and the JUI took the position, that the people's party had no seat in the Balouchistan provincial assembly, and had, therefore, no right to participate in the government there”, Wali Khan and his colleagues, asserted that the cooperation
would be available to the central government, only if martial law was lifted immediately, undiluted democracy restored in the country, provincial autonomy granted and land reforms introduced. The working committee of the Balouchistan NAP went to the extent of passing a resolution, calling on its MNAs and MPAs, not to take part in the meetings of the committees or institutions set up by the local administration”.201

According to Khadi. B. Saeed, “an immediate and major source of friction between the central government and the newly established provincial government, was the desire of the later to make sure that people belonging to the province concerned, would occupy key positions in the government, the professions, and the commercial life”.202 The incident which had serious repercussions on center province relationship took place in Quetta in May 1972. During the state visit of the Persian Princess Ashraf Pehlevi, an armed clash between the supporters of interior minister Abdul Qayyum Khan and the NAP, resulted in the killing of one person, while several others were injured. During this incident interior minister had brought forty armed men to Quetta, who boarded a loud speaker fitted truck and raised anti NAP slogans.203

In September 1972, the federal government accused Wali Khan and his Baloch colleagues of hatching a conspiracy to disintegrate Pakistan during their stay in London for medical treatment. The alleged conspiracy was named the London Plan.204 In the meantime, a significant event took place, when there was an armed clash between the Jamote tribesmen from Lasbela and Dehi Muhafiz force of the ANP & JUI government. Both the Federal and the
provincial governments gave their own reasons for the clash. The last event was the discovery of some arms, from the Iraqi embassy in Islamabad. According to Satish Kumar, “In February, 1973, the NAP, government in Balochistan was dismissed”. “This was a climax to various developments, including the discovery of an arms cache in the Iraqi embassy at Islamabad. The central government replaced the two governors and dismissed the government of Balochistan. The removal of NAP, JUI government in Balochistan intensified regional tensions to a considerable extent. The province remained under direct central rule until the formation of a pro-PPP coalition (PPP, QML, JUI) government which was installed on April 23rd 1973. With the help of this puppet government, Bhutto conveniently stepped up direct military penetration, deploying four army divisions in the strategic areas of Balochistan. By the end of August 1973, tribal insurgency spread in the entire province. Despite massive Military operation, insurgency in Baluchistan continued unabated throughout Bhutto’s rule. According to Tahir Amin, “a civil war broke out between the Pakistan army and the Baloch tribes. A variety of tribal guerrilla organizations came into existence with little programme of action. They fought a reactive and defensive war against a strong central army, which also recklessly used the air force and often strafed their villages. Much of the resistance was uncoordinated and without any definite goal, but there also emerged two organizations which served as the principal vehicle, for changing the resistance into an ethno-national mould. Baluchistan people’s Liberation Front (BPLF) and Baluchistan Students Organization (BSO). The NAP went into the background
and a guerrilla organization, BPLF emerged. BSO, which had been formed during the Ayub era, re-emerged as an effective political force to fight against the regime. BSO also played an active role in the civil war both in the guerrilla war force as well as at the political front.  

The martial law regime of Zia made certain positive gestures to the regionalists by releasing the Balouch leaders, calling off the military action, and granting general amnesty to the Balouch rebels. Besides expediting the completion of some development schemes in that province, new projects were so started to improve the provincial economic conditions.  

According to Selig Harrison, "When Zia released Bizenjo, Mengal, and Marri from the prison in 1977, Zia initially accorded them recognition as the legitimate spokesmen for holding a series of meetings with them, to discuss mutually agreed machinery for the administration of amnesty and post insurgency rehabilitation programme. The major political development during this era, was the establishment of Pakistan National Party (PNP) by Ghaus Bukhsh Bizenjo, the Pakhtoon Khwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) was also reactivated by Mahmood Khan Ajakzai. Sardar Attaullah Mengal supported Sindh Balouch Pushtun Front, (SBPF)and raised the demand for confederal structure of Pakistan. Baluchistan People Liberation Front (BPLF) was led by Sardar Khair Bukhsh Marri, The BSO remained very active for more rights for Baloch people during this period.  

Baloch Pushtun ethnicity, started in the Province during this period, which became a source of tension in Quetta. First riots started on the
29th of October 1986, when during a quarrel between a Baluch and a pushtun. A Baloch opened fire on the crowd, in which one person died and many other injured. The violence spread in the city. Pushtun crowds killed a Baloch and burned down several Baloch shops. In 1988 another round of ethnic riots broke out in the city. (PKMAP) then held a large march and raised slogans for the creation of Pushtun Province. In 1991 on the issue of Mastung college, a series of demonstrations started in which several people were killed, including a pushtun officer. In 1992 once again riots broke out due to high handedness of the Balouch mayor of Quetta.\(^{212}\)

After a long period, the 1988 elections provided a chance to the political parties to show their vote bank in Balochistan. The result of elections can be seen in the following table.

**Election results of 1988 in Baluchistan Province.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party name</th>
<th>Party position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UJI</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNA</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party position in NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11(^{113})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

193
According to Tahir Amin, "The main issues raised in the election campaign of Baluchistan were Provincial autonomy, Baluch rights, and problems of under development."

Zafrullah Jamali, became the chief minister of coalition in Baluchistan. He advised Governor Musa, on the 15th of December 1988 to dissolve the provincial assembly. Although Jamali was elected by the casting vote of speakers, JUI (F) and BNA refused to recognize him as a Chief Minister and both the parties claimed 23 members in a house of 45. It was claimed that since Jamali had not obtained a vote of confidence, he was not competent, to advice the dissolution of the assembly. A case was filed against the action in Baluchistan High Court, which declared it unconstitutional. Finally, BNA, JUI, IJI coalition government was installed in Quetta under the Chief Ministership of Nawab Akbar Bughti. In the elections of 1990, the newly established Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP) headed by, Nawab Akbar Bughti got the major share in the provincial assembly. The following table shows the 1990 election results.
Results of Baluchistan National and Provincial Assemblies 1990.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party name</th>
<th>PA. Party position</th>
<th>Party position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKMAP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PK</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11 216</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

JWP won 10 seats and IJI had seven seats with the support of four independent candidates. Mir Taj Jamali became the Chief Minister of a coalition Government.

1993 elections showed a different result in the province. The difference is seen in the following table.
Election Results of 1993.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party name</th>
<th>Party position (PA)</th>
<th>Party position in NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PML(N)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM(N)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PK(MAP)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITM</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.N.M (M)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong>²¹⁷</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1993 elections had results different from the previous two elections. The party politics in Balochistan, involved ethnic base support BNM(M), PNP(MAP) and JWP, all these parties had ethnic based constituencies. The major ethnic groups, Baloch, Brahuri and Pathan had ethnic consideration, when voting in the elections for the party candidates.

In the elections of 1997 PML(N) won 5, PPP,1 BNP,10, JUI(F) 7, JWP 7, BNM 2, MAP, 2 PML(J) 1 and independent candidates 8. ²¹⁷ The party division on ethnic lines has not only divided the public opinion but leads to ethnic rivalry which had been resulting in ethnic riots, undermining the process of development in the Province. After the elections, Akhtar Mengal became the Chief Minister. On the 30th of July he resigned and Mir. Jan Muhammad Jamali

196
was elected as the new Chief minister of the province. All Chief ministers from 1988 to 1998 demanded for more resources and powers from the central government. JWP had moved a bill for provincial autonomy, in the Senate. BNP, BNM and PKMAP also joined the PONAM for decentralization.

SIRAISKI NATIONALISM:

As we have discussed in the last chapter, that in Bahawalpur state a movement for the restoration of the state after the dissolution of one unit was started by the masses but its bloody end, started a new movement which was based on language, culture, and separate geographical entity. That was the Siraiki movement, which was started in the southern Punjab.

Southern Punjab is known as the Siraiki belt. All politicians and leaders of the Siraiki case, agree on the definition of Siraiki; as those people living permanently in the Siraiki belt, regardless of their language, colour and religion. They might be Siraiki by birth or have migrated from other parts of the sub-continent, at any point in history and acquired permanent residence in this belt.

Siraiki people have their own culture, society and social behaviors, geographical and geological conditions, literature and language distinct from all other nationalities of the sub-continent. Present Siraiki areas have never remained the part of Punjab in history. Bahawalpur was also an independent state and Multan was an autonomous province before Ranjeet Singh Raj. So it is very difficult for Siraiki to assimilate with other nationalities. According to Zaman Jafery, “By now we stand convinced by our own experience that
dialectically the assimilation of Siraki nationality is not possible with Punjabi and Pakhtoon nationality, because of the unique historical feature and the level of social and national development of each nationality, inspite of their forced assimilation since ages. Sirakis in Dera Ismail Khan have not assimilated with Pakhtoons inspite of the use of coercive measure, though they are living together over a good number of decades. Same is the position in Punjab. Right from the time of British colonial rule, when Multan was forcibly brought under Punjab, the assimilation of saraikis with Punjabis has not taken place, even to the present movement. Rather, it has roused a strong passion within siraikis to struggle against forced assimilation for their complete national and social emancipation.

Bashir Ahmed Zami explained the Siraki areas as “central, secondary and effected areas”. Multan, Bahawalpur, Dera Gazi Khan and Dera Islam Khan are the central areas Jhang, Mianwali, and some tribal areas located with Dera Jat are the secondary areas and Sukkar, Tharparker, Jesal Mir, Loralai, Sibbi, Jacobabad, and Shikarpur are adjacent areas. So the people living in Siraki area, are not the part of central Punjab, historically, culturally, linguistically and economically.

Basically Siraki movement is a movement of deprivation. Agriculturally, Siraki, is a rich area. This area produces nearly 80% of cotton and other agricultural products of the country. It has its own mineral resources, but the Punjabi policy maker mostly in policy making ignored this area. The
following data can explain the position. All facts are collected from the Census of 1981.

Position of Industrialization in Punjab.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Punjab</th>
<th>Siraiki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total No. of Factories</td>
<td>3784</td>
<td>739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory employees up to 100 workers</td>
<td>3396</td>
<td>660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factories Over 100 workers</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial workers</td>
<td>222967</td>
<td>54349</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Aziz-ud-Din Ahmad, the “main hindrance of Industrialization, in Siraiki area is the Punjabi monopoly over loan giving agencies and banks”. 227 Energy sector also play an important role in Industrialization and Agricultural development. Now the electricity Ratio shows the position. Three Major districts of the both areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Punjabi District</th>
<th>Electricity uses in %</th>
<th>Siraiki District</th>
<th>Electricity uses in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawalpindi</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujranwala</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>D.G. Khan</td>
<td>10% 228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Ateel Saqib “government spends 80% resources for development of education on upper Punjab and only 20% are allocated for the Siraiki area”. 229
There are so many other areas which show the economic difference of both the regions. We can see the difference following two Budget Allocated Funds.

**Punjab Budget 1993-94. Total 109 Arbs.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Different Departments</th>
<th>Total allocation</th>
<th>Allocation upper Punjab, 15 Distt.</th>
<th>allocation for Siraiki Belt, 18 Distt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Electricity supply for villages</strong></td>
<td>128 Corore 45 lakh</td>
<td>92 Corore 33 lakh</td>
<td>36 Corore 12 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>153 Corore 73 lakh</td>
<td>113 Corore 43 lakh</td>
<td>38 Corore 27 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>87 Corore 74 lakh</td>
<td>66 Corore 65 lakh</td>
<td>21 Corore 12 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Hospital</td>
<td>3 corore 25 lakh</td>
<td>2 corore 35 lakh</td>
<td>9 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigation</td>
<td>31 corore 4 lakh</td>
<td>22 corore 3 lakh</td>
<td>9 corore 1 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic Health facilities</td>
<td>33 corore 50 lakh</td>
<td>26 corore 49 lakh</td>
<td>7 corore 1 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidy on tube well</td>
<td>28 corore 80 lakh</td>
<td>17 corore 45 lakh</td>
<td>5 corore 95 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowance for govt. servants</td>
<td>85 corore</td>
<td>69 corore 14 lakh 5 thousand</td>
<td>28 corore 83 lakh 95 thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development for irrigation</td>
<td>22 corore 88 lakh</td>
<td>18 corore 35 lakh</td>
<td>4 corore 3 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.G. Khan BWP Kohota Cholistan fund</td>
<td>13 corore 72 lakh</td>
<td>9 corore 66 lakh</td>
<td>4 corore 6 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads from field to Market</td>
<td>58 corore 82 lakh</td>
<td>48 corore 52 lakh</td>
<td>10 corore 30 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For new roads</td>
<td>12 corore</td>
<td>8 corore 35 lakh</td>
<td>3 corore 65 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Bridges</td>
<td>51 corore 30 lakh</td>
<td>44 corore 40 lakh</td>
<td>4 corore 99 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage fund be industrial workers</td>
<td>2 corore 15 lakh</td>
<td>Whole friends</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By cycle Distribution</td>
<td>2 corore 75 lakh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education for industrial workers</td>
<td>22 corore</td>
<td>20 corore 80 lakh</td>
<td>1 corore 20 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing Machines distribution</td>
<td>80 lakh</td>
<td>Whole</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>12 corore 48 lakh</td>
<td>8 corore 36 lakh</td>
<td>4 corore 12 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water management</td>
<td>2 thousand 101 Khalay</td>
<td>488 Khalay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spray for rice</td>
<td>1 crore 30 lakh 40 thousand</td>
<td>Whole</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulldozer development</td>
<td>1 crore 20 lakh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Education Project III</td>
<td>20 crore 35 lakh</td>
<td>15 crore 85 lakh</td>
<td>4 crore 50 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervision of Agro machine</td>
<td>12 crore</td>
<td>Whole</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The budget of 1997 also shows the difference to the allocation of the resources by the Government of Punjab. See the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>17 Punjab</th>
<th>18 Saraiki Dist.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Education</td>
<td>1 crore 15 lakh 95 thousand</td>
<td>85 lakh 90 thousand</td>
<td>30 lakh 5 thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Education</td>
<td>One Arab 32 crore 70 lakh 12 thousand</td>
<td>One Arab 2 crore 70 lakh 12 thousand</td>
<td>30 crore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Education 18 lakh 27 thousand</td>
<td>18 lakh 27 thousand</td>
<td>13 lakh 19 thousand</td>
<td>5 lakh 8 thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libraries and others</td>
<td>1 crore 97 lakh 90 thousand</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Welfare</td>
<td>61 lakh 17 thousand</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family planning</td>
<td>73 crore 32 lakh</td>
<td>46 crore 22 lakh</td>
<td>27 crore 10 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Hospital or clinic</td>
<td>75 crore 48 lakh 35 thousand</td>
<td>61 crore 23 lakh 30 thousand</td>
<td>8 crore 9 lakh 30 thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture Research</td>
<td>29 crore 49 lakh 32 thousand</td>
<td>21 crore 30 lakh 30 thousand</td>
<td>8 crore 9 lakh 30 thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishries</td>
<td>33 lakh 82 thousand</td>
<td>30 lakh 82 thousand</td>
<td>2 lakh 85 thousand only for Liyean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal Husbandry</td>
<td>6 crore 34 lakh 6 thousand</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Dairy forms</td>
<td>1 crore 41 lakh 8 thousand</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live Stock development</td>
<td>4 crore 7 lakh twelve thousand</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton Research</td>
<td>2 crore 80 lakh</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest Development</td>
<td>58 lakh 32 thousand</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>nil, although the saraiki belt is called growing area in the Punjab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest Protection</td>
<td>3 lakh 25 thousand</td>
<td>Whole</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
So such a kind of resource allocation created Saraiki deprivation which started the Saraiki movement in the area. The first movement was started by the Saraiki Students Federation (SSF). After which many literary societies were established. Now, their movement has been converted into a political movement. There are three parties "Saraiki National Party" Saraiki Quami Movement and Pakistan Saraiki Party which are working for political rights. These parties also joined the PONAM, and are demanding political economic rights.

According to Tariq Rahman "most of the districts of Saraiki speaking areas are placed lower on the basis of developmental indicators than those of Punjabi speaking areas."\(^{232}\)

We can, therefore safely conclude that the basic demands of the smaller provinces are two folds.

Decentralization of political power and economic redistribution of the nations wealth.

These were also the demands of the Bangalis in the 50's and the 60's. The problem of disparity between East and West Pakistan was recognized, but there demand for political participation and economic justice fell on deaf ears which resulted in disillusionment, and finally parting of ways. We will therefore, have to learn lesson from history and take seriously the demands of the smaller provinces. Politics of accommodation, is a must if we want to develop a political culture, based on tolerance. Our political elite's will have to put their

202
own houses (political parties) in order. Only then we will be able to get Pakistan on the road to prosperity.
REFERENCES


Also see -Satish Kumar, "The New Pakistan. New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1978”.


204


32. Ibid., P.249.
42. Frontier Post, 3, December 1988.


51. The Muslim, 25, October 1990.

52. Pakistan Time, 28, October 1990.


63. Ibid., 6 November 1993.


68. Tahit Amin, op.cit. p. 123
69. Ibid., P. 124.


72. Ibid.

73. The Pakistan Time, (Rawalpindi) 2 May, 1972.


76. Khalid. B. Sayeed. op.cit, P. 129.

77. Ibid.


80. Khalid. B. Sayeed. op. cit, 129.


83. Khalid B. Sayeed. op.cit. 129.


87. Tahir Amin. op.cit. p. 185.

208


95. Mushahid Hussain op. cit.


97. Mr. Justice (Rtd.) Naimuddin. op.cit. PP.557 to 650.

98. The Result of National Assembly Election 1997, We have also discussed in this chapter.


100. The Herald, April 1997.


102. Ibid., December, 1997.


111. Ibid.


113. Ibid.P.128.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.P.129.


119. Sell’ Meeting with Asaif Hussain Chairman HQM. Dated 25-8-1997. At his chamber in Abotabad .


121. Meeting with the chairman HQM. op.cit.

122. Khabrain (Urdu), Multan, 15 November 1997.
123. Niwai Waqat (Urdu), Multan, 18 November 1997.
124. Ibid.
125. Tariq Rehman, op.cit.
126. Interview and meeting with Hussain, Chairman HQM. op.cit.
129. Tahir Amin, op.cit. P.117.
132. Tariq Rehman, op.cit. PP. 122-123.
139. Tahir Amin. op.cit.p.174.
140. Ibid. P. 177.


145. Tahir Amin. op.cit. P. 176.

146. Ibid. P. 196.

147. Mushahid Hussain, "Pakistan's Politics the Zia years", op.cit. P. 43

149. Dr. Inayatullah, "Politics of Ethnicity and Separatism in South Asia". P.P. 38-39, Lahore, Centre for South Asian Studies, (n.d)

150. The Muslim, Islamabad, 2 April, 1985.


154. Ibid.,


156. Ibid. PP. Iv-18-21.


162. Moonis Ahmar, op.cit. p. 1032.


165. Owais Tohid, op.cit.


172. Moonis Ahmar, op.cit.


174. Ibid. p. 283.


184. “Electoral Politics in Pakistan”, Reoprt of SAARC- CGO observer op. cit. p. 76

185. Sikandar Brohi, op. Cit.


197. Haroon Ahmad (an Interview) by Mosion Hussain In Sindhies and Mohajirs, is there a way out, "Pakistan out look". p.22. A quarterly review of Pakistan & World Affairs. Vol.7 No.1.


204. Ibid.


217. Ibid.


220. Ibid., 15 September, 1998.


224. Ibid., p.54.


CHAPTER NO. 5

CONCLUSION

It will not be over exaggeration to claim that the creation of Pakistan was the result of an excellent demonstration of the Muslim desire to live separately in the sub-continent as a nation. Muhammad Ali Jinnah must be credited, for brilliantly advocating the case of Muslims and uniting them for the creation of a separate Muslim state. Cultural and linguistic diversity, a hallmark of the sub-continent was set aside, during the Pakistan movement by the Muslims of the sub-continent. Was it the fear of permanent Hindu domination, first experienced by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan or the desire to live separately which brought the Muslim together. Historians are divided on this issue. What really went wrong after the creation of Pakistan? Why everything fell apart and the largest Islamic state disintegrated after living together for also about 25 years together.

It is a pathetic story of mismanagement and conflict between the democratic oriented Muslim league leaders and the autocratic leaders of the bureaucracy. The British formed bureaucracy triumphed over the nascent democratic Muslim league leadership of Pakistan and stifled all attempts to create a viable political culture in Pakistan. Political parties were not allowed to play the role that they were expected to play in a democratic set up prior to the military take over of 1958 political conflict in Pakistan was perceived by many as a healthy political conflict in a newly established state. Unfortunately this political conflict among the politicians was painted as a conflict of interest among the selfish politicians who had no interest in building a strong Pakistan.
Both the Bureaucracy and the Armed forces joined hands to repudiate the politicians and finally in 1958 halted the political process, so essential to construct a civil democratic society. It also seriously undermined the task of nation building. Nation building, especially in a state like Pakistan could have been made possible by dispersing power to the regional level. Political process helps to create a national ideology a national elite and national institutions, in short the process helps to build a nation, to integrate the various groups into a solid nation. All this was disrupted when the armed forces intervened and brought to an end the political process in Pakistan. In 1958 Ayub Khan successfully staged a military coup and became the sole incharge of the country. Ayub Khan soon embarked upon the task of state building, ignoring the task of nation building. He totally ignored the existence of regional loyalty, a hallmark of sub-continental politics. According to Ayesha Jalal, Jinnah once said, "that real threat to the existence of Pakistan as a state is from within and not from outside. Jinnah was a politician par-excellence, therefore, he was fully aware of the existence of centrifugal forces in the body politics of the country. On a number of occasions he issued warning against it. Ayub Khan on the other hand was not a politician and therefore heavily relied on the bureaucracy, who in turn advised him to constitute a strong centre in order to keep the country united. Economic development under a highly centralized government was the key policy of his government. His policy of centralization unleashed the forces of regional political culture. The birth of Awami league in East Pakistan confirms
our Hypothesis, one, two, three, four, five, six and seven. They are re-produced below, for the readers convenience.

Hypothesis. I.

In Pakistan, regional differences are more important than class differences.

Hypothesis. II.

In Pakistan, regional differences are more important than urban a rural differences.

Hypothesis. III.

In Pakistan, regional differences are more important than differences between the technocracy and the bureaucracy.

Hypothesis. IV.

In Pakistan, regional differences are more important that differences between the bureaucracy and the politicians.

Hypothesis. V.

In Pakistan, regional differences are more important than the differences between bureaucracy and the military.

Hypothesis. VI.

In Pakistan, regional differences are more important that the differences between the politician and the military.

Hypothesis. VII.

In Pakistan, Political parties have a regional rather than a national basis. Mujib ur Rehman and his Awami league through its six point programme fully exploited the growing regional disparity between East and West Pakistan. He demanded full provincial autonomy for East Pakistan on the basis of his six points formula. His demand may be cited as an example of supra-regional autonomy as in the following Passage.
I) A federal system in the true sense should be established in Pakistan.

II) The federal government should deal with two subjects namely defence and foreign affairs while all other subjects should rest in the hands of the Government of East Pakistan.

III) Either two separate but freely convertible currencies with two reserve banks should be introduced for East and West Pakistan or one currency should be introduced for the whole of Pakistan with adequate and effective constitutional arrangements in order to prevent the flight of capital from East to West Pakistan. Introduction of one currency should be followed by separate banking reserve and separate fiscal and monetary policy for East Pakistan.

IV) The powers to levy taxes and to collect revenue in East Pakistan should be vested solely in the hands of the Government of East Pakistan. The federal government, which would not have such powers, should get a fixed share of the revenue.

V) East Pakistan should have full control over its foreign trade with rights to enter into agreements with, and to set up trade missions in, foreign countries. There should be separate account for its own foreign exchange earnings. The federal government should have a fixed share of such earnings.

VI) East Pakistan should have the right to set up a separate militia or para-military force.

The formula also proposed that most of the above mentioned powers or rights could be given to other federating units of the federation of Pakistan. Mujib's Awami league contested the 1970's election on the basis of his six points programme and scored an impressive electoral victory in East Pakistan. His victory confirms our hypothesis-VII which States “In Pakistan political parties have a regional rather than a National base.

Mujib's electoral victory stunned the central government and they refused to hand over power to Mujib-ur-Rehman and his Awami League. The
result was a violent conflict which ultimately led to the creation of an independent political entity called Bangladesh after the Debacle of East Pakistan. Z.A. Bhutto took over rein of government in West Pakistan. He was an elected prime minister, whose PPP scored an impressive victory in West Pakistan during the election of 1970. Bhutto gave Pakistan a new constitution in 1973. This was an spectacular achievement of Bhutto. The constitution was unanimously passed in the National Assembly. The constitution of 1973 fully recognized the need for provincial autonomy.

Here we must stress that regional or local autonomy means that regional or provincial or state government enjoys autonomy in respect of the local matters only. It is free to do what ever it likes so far as local affairs are concerned and expects no or minimal interference from the center combined with maximum assistance from the center. It implies regional or local self-rule. In a federal system regions usually enjoys such autonomy. In Pakistan, unfortunately we failed to translate our dream into reality. Although the 1973 constitution fully recognized the need for provincial autonomy in the successful running of the federation, but when it came to reality the PPP too failed to live up to the expectations of the people. Bhutto's Pakistan peoples party nakedly interfered in the internal affairs of the Provinces of NWFP and Baluchistan. Here again we would like to stress that Bhutto too soon after he took over the rein of Government relied more on the bureaucracy then on his party apparatus, in fact the party structure hardly existed. The coercive apparatus of the state were used to deal with the opposition, in NWFP and Baluchistan. This led to an
open revolt against the centre in Baluchistan and NWFP. In the absence of political institutions Bhutto began to rely more and more on the bureaucracy which finally led to his downfall.

Bhutto's exit from power clearly demonstrated that the ultimate power in Pakistan lay with the bureaucracy and the armed forces. Bhutto's few years rule failed to develop a political culture in Pakistan. As a result most of the political parties failed to move out of its regional pigeon holes.

Bhutto's fall also created a serious political vacuum which was once again filled by the armed forces who nakedly stepped into the vacuum and took charge of the country's political affairs. General Zia's eleven years of military dictatorship sharpened and consolidated the politics of ethnicity. Small provinces of the federation openly condemned the political domination of the Punjabis.

MRD movement is a glaring example of this. The movement for the restoration of democracy essentially remained confined to Sindh. The Sindhis revolted against the punjabis domination at the center. Military action in Sindh confirms our hypothesis eight which says. Certain regions are over represented in the command structure of the Pakistani armed forces.

It was during zia era that the province of Sindh was for the first time divided into urban and rural Sindh. The use of MQM in urban Sindh gave a new turn to the politics of ethnicity in Pakistan and since 1986. Pakistani
politics and political parties have drifted towards regional politics. This is evident from the election result of 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997.

Political Scientists with analytical interest in separatism are concentrated with the endless dialectic between integrative and disintegrative forces in the history of State making and unmaking. They look at the causes and political process of separatism in States and also in Nations. Their aims are not only to see why Nations may move into and out of statehood. But also to see why sets of people what shall we call them? Regional groupings can move into, out of nationhood. Here we must assert than the causes of separatism are diverse and multi furious and sometimes paradoxical and puzzling and do not have uniform effect every where. We must realize that religion or language or culture or History or economic factors or Ethnicity is important in politics only when people decided it is and also decide to act on that perception. Perception in politics therefore is important British India was partitioned into two sovereign states India and Pakistan in 1947, mainly because of hostilities between the two religious communities Hindus and Muslims. The basis of partition was Jinnah's two nation theory but the religious concept of Pakistani nationhood failed to prevent the breakup of Pakistan in 1971. Through more than 90% of the total population of the whole of Pakistan and more than 80% of that of East Pakistan were muslims. Did the creation of Bangladesh prove the fragility and underlying weaknesses of the two nations theory?. In fact here are many ways during the period between the emergence and the death of this theory Pakistan today is

224
once again under pressure, NWFP, Baluchistan, Sindh and Seraiki Belt are under the influence of the politics of Ethnicity Why? If we want to save the political entity, called Pakistan we will have to respond to the demands of the regionalist. The true spirit of a Federal System has got to be implemented. Full provincial autonomy to the Federating units has become the cry of the day. The formation of (PONAM) is a glaring example of regionalist perception, it is also clearly stated in the interviews we have conducted during our research. There broad demands clearly stated in the interviews are :-

1. Decentralization.
2. Restructuring of the Provinces.
3. Full Constitutional protection.
4. and institutionalization of local bodies.

According to Tariq Banuri: Legal decentralization would imply the transfer of legislative and executive powers to the decentralized units. Economic decentralization refers to the development of production system which can facilitate direct participation in the economic decision making by people involved in the production process. This is related to the nation that the knowledge as well as action should be responsive to the environmental, social as well as physical boundaries of the participant's world.

According to Tariq Rehman: The greatest impediment in the way of political decentralization are the conspiracy theories and the self-interest of the ruling elite. These factors prevent them from appreciating the hypothesis that satisfied federating units would have no urge to break away from the federation. As mentioned earlier, no matter what the level of enemy propaganda might be,
it is only when people feel frustrated that they pay attention to it. A truly multi-ethnic, multilingual polity, like Switzerland, can live in equilibrium on the basis of perceived justice and equity. What is seen in unjust and forced is resented and even resisted with force.

If the demands of the regional elites are taken seriously implemented and incorporated only then we will be able to save the Federal structure of Pakistan or else the warnings are on the walls. According to Abdul Mali Syed "Pakistan as a state will cease to exist in the year 2006 and it will further be fragmented into three states. One may disagree with the findings of the author but we cannot deny the growth of ethnic politics in Pakistan. It is also important to point out that it is very difficult to draw a line between secessionist and non-secessionist movement. One of the vital questions that one may pose is what are the main dynamics that prevent some movements from reaching the secessionist end of the spectrum. According to Rounaq Jahan, Nation building, or national integration is a multi-dimensional problem. Nation building especially in states with several sub-national groups, often calls for dispersal of power and an emphasis on responsiveness in the political process. Political elite's miserably failed to disperse power to the local level. In fact most of the government in Pakistan failed to share power and enter into a political dialogue with the sub-nation groups in order to develop a national ideology and national identity.

This has raised more questions than it has answered. Much more research needs to be done in the field of Politics in Pakistan, both
historical and contemporary before one can speak with confidence and certainty about the variables that push a national or a sub-nation, in Pakistan, in one Political direction rather than another. According to Dr. Akjama "It appears that a state can only go up together if it stand divided it may give birth to a new nation but it may not solve the problems, that people face in their day to day life. Ethnic elite's in a multi-ethnic state must work together for their own good and that of the country. They may fight at certain time for advancing their own particular ethnic interests, yet, they should never lose faith in each others capabilities of tolerance, mutual understanding and compromise. Other wise the road to partition is open and this is usually a bumpy and rather dangerous one way street."
سوالیات

1. پاکستان میں کوئی کومیک لیگ ممکن ہے؟

2. پاکستان میں (ابتفاضی) عسکری فورس کا امکان ہے یا نہ ہے؟ جبکہ حکومت کی نمائندگی کی خصوصی؟

3. کہا جہاں وہیجاہاں کے طور پر پاکستان کا سمجھ کیا ہے کہ یہ حاکم ہے۔ کیا کسی ایک قوم کی جانب سے زمین درج جگہ کی سیاست صحت رکھتی ہے؟

4. کسی پاکستانی میں سے کم پاکستانی بنی فیڈرل حکومت کی کور سٹ تصور کیتی ہوئی؟

5. کہا جہاں سے دو قسم کے حکومت: کوئی فیڈرل حکومت بنی فیڈرل حکومت بنی حکومت کے لئے کوئی ساتھی ہے؟

6. کیا یہ پاکستان اور نجی عوام کے للیکن سیاہی کی طرح نجی عوام کے لئے سیاہی کی طرحی؟

7. کیا پاکستان کو کومیک اختیار یا اختیار ہے کہ یہ چیزوں کو کسی میں رکھے یا کسی میں رکھنے کا کوئی سمجھ ہے؟

8. کیا پاکستان کو کومیک اختیار یا اختیار ہے کہ یہ چیزوں کو کسی میں رکھے یا کسی میں رکھنے کا کوئی سمجھ ہے؟

9. کیا پاکستان سے کسی اور نجی عوام کا کوئی سمجھ یا کسی اور نجی عوام کا کوئی سمجھ ہے کہ یہ نئی شخص سے اتفاق کرے ہے؟

10. کیا پاکستان سے ایک اور نجی عوام کا کوئی سمجھ یا کسی اور نجی عوام کا کوئی سمجھ ہے کہ یہ نئی شخص سے اتفاق کرے ہے؟
Appendix - 1

Given Answers:

1. آپ کا انتخاب روہنگیا موریست کے قید میں سے جمع جمع میں بڑا زباد لگای کر فرقہ نو کریںگے۔ کہیں باقی ہوں۔

2. پاکستان میں مسن، ٹیلی، فرقوں، انقلابی، ٹوک بھی، وغیرہ اشیا کے لئے انتخاب ہو اور لگنے کی اہمیت اہم ہے۔ اگر ہونے سے پہلے پوچھتے ہوئے انتخاب کا اصل سبب غیرہ۔ بھی۔ بھی۔ بھی۔ بھی۔

3. فیصل فیصل بہت زیادہ ہی پاکستان سیاست میں تا پر رکھتے ہیں۔ بہت سے پیشہ وار ہیں اور کمیونسٹ کا نام کر کے سکھی گیا۔

4. جب یہ پاکستان کی لڑائی میں ہے تو بہترین نہیں ہیں۔ یہ کہا جانی گا کہ یہی راستہ کو مفت ہوگا۔

5. کسی بھی سرکاری کمیونسٹ گھڑوڑو یا سپرائیس بازی کا ہے اور بہت ناراضہ ہوگا۔ یہ کہا جانی گا۔

6. جب یہ پاکستان کی سیاست میں ہے تو بہترین نہیں ہیں۔ یہ کہا جانی گا کہ یہی راستہ کو مفت ہوگا۔

7. یہی پاکستان کی سیاست میں ہے تو بہترین نہیں ہیں۔ یہ کہا جانی گا کہ یہی راستہ کو مفت ہوگا۔
6 - روی فیزیولوژی میں توجہ ایسے انحصارات سے استفادة ہے جنھوں نے خود میں نئی طریقے اور کھیلیا جاتا ہے۔

4 - وہ فیزیولوژی کا دور میں ہوا ہوا شناختی کے لئے کم حکمتیاری پر قناعت وہ ان کے قانون اور سیاست کا سلسلہ کرنا

8 - اس کا سمجھنے کے لئے کہ ہمیں کیوں ہو سکتا ہے کہ خود میں نئی طریقے اور کھیلیا جاتا ہے۔

9 - اس کا سمجھنے کے لئے کہ خود میں نئی طریقے اور کھیلیا جاتا ہے۔

10 - مفت کیفیت کے سلسلے میں ایک قسم کے مفت کیفیت سے مطابقت ہے۔
Given Answers

1- پاکستان میں قومی کشمیر کے سالگرہ کی جنگ میں بھرپور یہ سمجھا گیا ہے کہ جمہوری جنگ میں، یہ سمجھا گیا ہے کہ سمجھوں نے سمجھوں سے قومی سمجھم کا سبب پاکستان میں ایک ایسا سمجھم کیا جا رہا ہے جو اس کے سمجھا گیا ہے کہ ایک اس قومی سمجھم کا سبب ہے جو کہ پاکستان میں قومی سمجھم کا سبب ہے۔

2- پاکستان سے متعلق بھی جنگ میں ہو جو ایک سمجھم کھڑا ہے جو جمہوری جنگ میں ہو گیا ہے جو کہ پاکستان سے متعلق بھی جنگ میں ہو رہا ہے۔

3- پاکستان میں قومی کشمیر کی سمجھم کے سالگرہ کی جنگ میں بھرپور یہ سمجھا گیا ہے کہ جمہوری جنگ میں، یہ سمجھا گیا ہے کہ سمجھوں نے سمجھوں سے قومی سمجھم کا سبب پاکستان میں ایک ایسا سمجھم کیا جا رہا ہے جو اس کے سمجھا گیا ہے کہ ایک اس قومی سمجھم کا سبب ہے جو کہ پاکستان میں قومی سمجھم کا سبب ہے۔
کل سہارت ہم بیمہ کیا۔

3- پاکستان میں 1955ء اور 1961ء کے بین میں نئے تجربے جاری کیے جا رہے تھے۔ اس عرصہ میں کئی اہم انتظامات کیے گئے۔ اس عرصہ میں ایک اہم تجربہ کا نام کیا جاتا ہے۔

4- کئی تحقیقاتی بحثیں اور تحقیقاتی اجلاسات کیے گئے۔ اس عرصہ میں کئی اہم انتظامات کیے گئے۔

5- جب ہمارے نیویورک پاکستان میں وہاں کی تجربات کو میں خوشی نہیں ملی۔ اس عرصہ میں کئی اہم انتظامات کیے گئے۔

6- سوتیں تین ویکز کے نام لئے وہاں کی تجربات کو میں خوشی نہیں ملی۔ اس عرصہ میں کئی اہم انتظامات کیے گئے۔

7- مختلف تحقیقاتی کمیونٹی اور اجلاسات کے نام لئے وہاں کی تجربات کو میں خوشی نہیں ملی۔ اس عرصہ میں کئی اہم انتظامات کیے گئے۔

8- مختلف تحقیقاتی کمیونٹی اور اجلاسات کے نام لئے وہاں کی تجربات کو میں خوشی نہیں ملی۔ اس عرصہ میں کئی اہم انتظامات کیے گئے۔
کوئی اس پر آتا اور کسی نہ ہو جا سکتا ہے، لیکن بھی جو جواب کو وہ کرتےہیں مخصوص کوہ سواری جو بہت خوراکی سے جس میں ایواران زرینہ کی بھینا آؤے گی 
بھی بہت بورہ اور ایواران الباؤ ایک جمیہ خماسی ترمیم کے نتیجے میں کسی بھی میرے کوہ سواری کو کسی
کسی میں کسی کے بعد استحکام بھی خالص کوہ سواری

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام

کوھ سواری کے بعد استحکام
1- ایسے ایک جماعت جس نے اس سوال کا جواب دینے لازم نہیں سن سے خرفی ایک پاکستانی ہیں اور پاکستان بنانے والوں سے جو ان ہوں جن پاکستان جین ضروری فوہانگ کو بنایا جانے اور سیرے دیال جن سے کب کو فل کریک تو موری ایک ہم کے قید کے قید کو کسی کے ہی ایک کرنے پر ایکنہ کرنے پر ایکنہ کرنے پر ایکنہ کرنے پر ایکنہ کرنے پر
Given Answers

1. اور ہارون اک ایک سے ساتھ ہمارے رہنے اور ہارون خود بھی کاردار مملکت میں خواہی کر رہی تھیں کو تروغہ ہے

2. تعلیم کا کام کے لئے اہم ਹے

3. اور ہارون اک ایک سے ساتھ ہمارہ رہنے اور ہارون خود بھی کاردار مملکت میں خواہی کر رہی تھیں کو تروگہ ہے

4. اور ہارون اک ایک سے ساتھ ہمارہ رہنے اور ہارون خود بھی کاردار مملکت میں خواہی کر رہی تھیں کو تروگہ ہے

5. اور ہارون اک ایک سے ساتھ ہمارہ رہنے اور ہارون خود بھی کاردار مملکت میں خواہی کر رہی تھیں کو تروگہ ہے
کسی نے کہا ہے کہ "بھارت کے تعلق کا اندریر بہت گزشتہ ہے جو کہ اس کے لئے بے گریز ہے۔ اسی کے لئے وہ اپنے نئے بہترین طریقے کو پیش کرنا پڑتا ہے۔"
پس از جمع، پاکستان کو فروغ دین و اساتید کو فروغ دین کین گوزن کر گوئے، پس اسی کو اسکول میں پہنچنے پر سپریموتی راواکار کو بطور کسی کوچک اس بات کو سامان ہوا ہے۔

3- جو کو اور خاص طور پر کو سلطان کی اسادیت کی بنیاد پر ہو تو پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ بجائے اس طرح کی خدایوں کی تجربہ نہیں جو یہ تم میں بیان کریں گے جس طرح کہ سماجی اور تعلیم کا کچھ کا کچھ ہے۔

4- جو کو اور خاص طور پر کو سلطان کی اسادیت کی بنیاد پر ہو تو پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ بجائے اس طرح کی خدایوں کی تجربہ نہیں جو یہ تم میں بیان کریں گے جس طرح کہ سماجی اور تعلیم کا کچھ کا کچھ ہے۔

5- جو کو اور خاص طور پر کو سلطان کی اسادیت کی بنیاد پر ہو تو پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ بجائے اس طرح کی خدایوں کی تجربہ نہیں جو یہ تم میں بیان کریں گے جس طرح کہ سماجی اور تعلیم کا کچھ کا کچھ ہے۔

6- جو کو اور خاص طور پر کو سلطان کی اسادیت کی بنیاد پر ہو تو پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ بجائے اس طرح کی خدایوں کی تجربہ نہیں جو یہ تم میں بیان کریں گے جس طرح کہ سماجی اور تعلیم کا کچھ کا کچھ ہے۔

7- جو کو اور خاص طور پر کو سلطان کی اسادیت کی بنیاد پر ہو تو پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ بجائے اس طرح کی خدایوں کی تجربہ نہیں جو یہ تم میں بیان کریں گے جس طرح کہ سماجی اور تعلیم کا کچھ کا کچھ ہے۔

8- جو کو اور خاص طور پر کو سلطان کی اسادیت کی بنیاد پر ہو تو پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ بجائے اس طرح کی خدایوں کی تجربہ نہیں جو یہ تم میں بیان کریں گے جس طرح کہ سماجی اور تعلیم کا کچھ کا کچھ ہے۔

9- جو کو اور خاص طور پر کو سلطان کی اسادیت کی بنیاد پر ہو تو پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ بجائے اس طرح کی خدایوں کی تجربہ نہیں جو یہ تم میں بیان کریں گے جس طرح کہ سماجی اور تعلیم کا کچھ کا کچھ ہے۔

10- جو کو اور خاص طور پر کو سلطان کی اسادیت کی بنیاد پر ہو تو پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ پاکستان کی madreی کا چیت کریں۔ بجائے اس طرح کی خدایوں کی تجربہ نہیں جو یہ تم میں بیان کریں گے جس طرح کہ سماجی اور تعلیم کا کچھ کا کچھ ہے۔
تھنہ کے کچھ لوگ نے کہا کہ ایک ہی چھوٹی کپڑے کم پیش کیا گیا جس کا وہ کہا کہ اگا کو توڑ کر نہیں کھیچ دیا گیا ہے۔ فیضہ کی
تھنہ کے چھوٹے کبڑے کے کھیال کر کہ یہ ہی کہا گیا تھا سب کو نہیں پہچا گیا۔ کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر
ہم کہا کہ یہ ہی کبڑے کا پھیلا کر سب کو نہیں پیچا گیا۔ کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر

یہ ہے چھوٹے کبڑے کے پیش کر کر وہ ہی کہا گیا تھا۔ پھر
پاکستان کا انٹری 18 محرم 1385 میں ہوا۔ بارہ مہینے بعد 14 محرم 1385 کو پاکستان کے انٹری کے سانچے میں پہلا کیتی جانے والا اور بلوچستان کے انٹری کے سانچے میں پہلا کیتی جانے والا ہوا کیتی گیا۔

ایک نمونہ کی مثال ہے کہ کیتے گئے ویزے کے ذریعہ بھی کیتی گئی ہے جس کے بعد پاکستان کے انٹری کے سانچے میں پہلا کیتی جانے والا ہوا کیتی گیا۔

پاکستان کا انٹری 18 محرم 1385 میں ہوا۔ بارہ مہینے بعد 14 محرم 1385 کو پاکستان کے انٹری کے سانچے میں پہلا کیتی جانے والا اور بلوچستان کے انٹری کے سانچے میں پہلا کیتی جانے والا ہوا کیتی گیا۔

ایک نمونہ کی مثال ہے کہ کیتے گئے ویزے کے ذریعہ بھی کیتی گئی ہے جس کے بعد پاکستان کے انٹری کے سانچے میں پہلا کیتی جانے والا ہوا کیتی گیا۔

پاکستان کا انٹری 18 محرم 1385 میں ہوا۔ بارہ مہینے بعد 14 محرم 1385 کو پاکستان کے انٹری کے سانچے میں پہلا کیتی جانے والا اور بلوچستان کے انٹری کے سانچے میں پہلا کیتی جانے والا ہوا کیتی گیا۔

ایک نمونہ کی مثال ہے کہ کیتے گئے ویزے کے ذریعہ بھی کیتی گئی ہے جس کے بعد پاکستان کے انٹری کے سانچے میں پہلا کیتی جانے والا ہوا کیتی گیا۔

پاکستان کا انٹری 18 محرم 1385 میں ہوا۔ بارہ مہینے بعد 14 محرم 1385 کو پاکستان کے انٹری کے سانچے میں پہلا کیتی جانے والا اور بلوچستان کے انٹری کے سانچے میں پہلا کیتی جانے والا ہوا کیتی گیا۔
Given Answers:

- توپی کشمی کا مطلب ہے کہ ناں، نمبر اور نوم بند کے گروپ سے پہلے کرا پاتا ہے، شدت، ذائق اور کسل، خلاصا ہوا۔ تجربت پیدا نہیں ہوی اس کی تجربہ اور تعلق کے نام بند کے میں۔ بات میں بہت چاہئے اور ایسیدی خور ہوئے ہو سکتا ہے کہ تجربہ شدہ کا۔ کوئی اور جنگی اور تیاری ہوی اس کے جنگی اور دیانتی اور اوقاتی اور سیاسی جنگی اور دیانتی اور اوقاتی کو اظہار کر کے ہوا۔

- جو ہم نے تجویز کیا کہ تجربہ اور تعلق کے نام بند کے میں۔ بات میں بہت چاہئے اور ایسیدی خور ہوئے ہو سکتا ہے کہ تجربہ شدہ کا۔ کوئی اور جنگی اور تیاری ہوی اس کے جنگی اور دیانتی اور اوقاتی اور سیاسی جنگی اور دیانتی اور اوقاتی کو اظہار کر کے ہوا۔

- ہم نے تجویز کیا کہ تجربہ اور تعلق کے نام بند کے میں۔ بات میں بہت چاہئے اور ایسیدی خور ہوئے ہو سکتا ہے کہ تجربہ شدہ کا۔ کوئی اور جنگی اور تیاری ہوی اس کے جنگی اور دیانتی اور اوقاتی اور سیاسی جنگی اور دیانتی اور اوقاتی کو اظہار کر کے ہوا۔

- جو ہم نے تجویز کیا کہ تجربہ اور تعلق کے نام بند کے میں۔ بات میں بہت چاہئے اور ایسیدی خور ہوئے ہو سکتا ہے کہ تجربہ شدہ کا۔ کوئی اور جنگی اور تیاری ہوی اس کے جنگی اور دیانتی اور اوقاتی اور سیاسی جنگی اور دیانتی اور اوقاتی کو اظہار کر کے ہوا۔

- ہم نے تجویز کیا کہ تجربہ اور تعلق کے نام بند کے میں۔ بات میں بہت چاہئے اور ایسیدی خور ہوئے ہو سکتا ہے کہ تجربہ شدہ کا۔ کوئی اور جنگی اور تیاری ہوی اس کے جنگی اور دیانتی اور اوقاتی اور سیاسی جنگی اور دیانتی اور اوقاتی کو اظہار کر کے ہوا۔

- ہم نے تجویز کیا کہ تجربہ اور تعلق کے نام بند کے میں۔ بات میں بہت چاہئے اور ایسیدی خور ہوئے ہو سکتا ہے کہ تجربہ شدہ کا۔ کوئی اور جنگی اور تیاری ہوی اس کے جنگی اور دیانتی اور اوقاتی اور سیاسی جنگی اور دیانتی اور اوقاتی کو اظہار کر کے ہوا۔

- ہم نے تجویز کیا کہ تجربہ اور تعلق کے نام بند کے میں۔ بات میں بہت چاہئے اور ایسیدی خور ہوئے ہو سکتا ہے کہ تجربہ شدہ کا۔ کوئی اور جنگی اور تیاری ہوی اس کے جنگی اور دیانتی اور اوقاتی اور سیاسی جنگی اور دیانتی اور اوقاتی کو اظہار کر کے ہوا۔
مقام وزیر کی نانی سالی جنقوٹ کے استعفی اور عمل و اضافہ بر قام موافق سب کو بااختیارساہی موضوعی داخلہ میں تو قطع

صحبتیات کے سکھر والوں نے تذکرے نے اسی وقت جوڑے تذکرے میں سے کہتے ہوئے کہ ڈی ایس سیمیٹری کو تحسین

ہیں جنہوں نے گوہراب النیا تھی۔ جب ہے یہاں نے مشروطیتی اور اسکریپٹوں اور اسکریپٹوں کے درمیان سے امنے

منظم سمجھا گیا ہے تھا تحسن میں سکھر کہ بھی عمل سے وہ پڑھے گوہراب نے کہتے ہیں کہ صرف اسی سامنے نیا عمل اور

اعظمتوں اور خلقتاً تیس کو واپسی ہے۔ بس ہے پہلے نے یہاں خرابی کو 985 یہ گھیر جمیا علی امانت سے لنے پہچانا چھوک

اول سیاسی خدانوں سے کہ گر بارداریوں اس نقصان کو

6- بارداری قوم سے نظر ثانی والے نا اور اسی نا کو ایک وقتی جمعرین سے طویل گھیر کھلا نے اور بسید کا مک

کرکے ہی صفتیات رکھتے ہیں۔ ضرورت سرحد این سی تی لی ایہ خانی کو رادا سے بیان کہ لی یہ جو روپ بدل کر اب اسی کے سے

پاکستان پہلے تین اور ایک ایک کے سامنہ نشان اور اس منصب کی باہمی اور تضمن دو اور زیادہ سے پھر کیا کہ

پیشنگہ کی صفتیات کا سمجھ سے۔ اگر تو کو یہ موجودہ تھا کہ تحقیق کو پاکستان کی

پیشنگہ کی حادثات کا خطاب سے۔ اگر تو کو یہ موجودہ تھا کہ تحقیق کو پاکستان کی

باجاؤ توانائی پاکستان میں ستور کی جاگری ہے۔

3- 1969 کے مئی اور جنوری کے ساتھ سے ایک اور انہوں نے رہا ہے جہاں یہ سب کم ہے اس کے کیتے ہیں پہلے اور موجود ہے

سیاسی عہد کے واقعہ بنوں میں سکھر کی ملوثیت کے خلاف کتھے ہوئے اور اپنے تحقیقات کے مضافات سے اس کی تحقیق

کہنا گیا۔ اس کے بعد جہاں پر ہوئے تحقیقات کے مضافات سے اس کی تحقیق کہ سب کے اپنے حق کے لیے کیرا ہیں اور بارہ

اونوں اور اپنے پر ایک نچلے تحقیقات کے مضافات سے اس کی تحقیق کہ سب کے اپنے حق کے لیے کیرا ہیں اور بارہ

وینوں نے کہ وہ ایک اسماعیل کا جدیدی مشترکہ نہیں۔
6. ہر پاکستانی بھی دعوی میں کسی بھی اخراج کا کے حق کے مطابق بیان نہیں کر سکتا ہے۔ دعوی ضروری ہے تاکہ ایک شخص کے حق کا احکام ہو۔

7. تیار نہیں کہے گا کہ ہم نے خصوصی خدمات پیدا کی ہیں جو ضرورت سے بہتر ہیں۔ دونوں تیار نہیں کہے گا کہ ہم نے خصوصی خدمات پیدا کیں جو ضرورت سے بہتر ہیں۔

8. ہم کہا ہے کہ ہم نے خصوصی خدمات پیدا کیں جو ضرورت سے بہتر ہیں۔ دونوں تیار نہیں کہے گا کہ ہم نے خصوصی خدمات پیدا کیں جو ضرورت سے بہتر ہیں۔

9. ہم کہا ہے کہ ہم نے خصوصی خدمات پیدا کیں جو ضرورت سے بہتر ہیں۔ دونوں تیار نہیں کہے گا کہ ہم نے خصوصی خدمات پیدا کیں جو ضرورت سے بہتر ہیں۔
0 1 - یہ تجوید و سند نہیں ہے۔ جہاں وہ دو ہزاروں بلوچستان سے اخراج نکال کر وہ کئی وہاں سیاہی بجا گیا۔ جو اب ہی تک گئے سکتے ہیں

سے انسانی کو میٹرک اور ایک ہی رنگ سے لب سے ایک گلی کے کھیپا کو خنجر ہے۔ اس کے ساتھ اور یہ بھی سکتے ہیں کہ

کہ کم کر سکتے ہیں۔ اس پر تاہم کہ کوئی کہری ہوا ہے جب گرد کی کہ پوری قوت سے انسان اچھا ناگیہ قوتوں سے کیا ہے۔ اس کے جواب کہ

عذر ہے یہ جن میں کسی کی طرف سیاہے جب وہ مفت نہیں ہو گرتے۔ ہماری وہم وہ قدرت وہ سیاہ کے ہی انہوں نے پہلی ہفتہ

جنی سے پر مل کر ہمارے پاس کئی جانتے نہیں اسے اچھے گی اور دوبارہ کی بنیاد پر ہم کے تمام دو ہزار اور خوش لگے

حقوق و وفاداری کی خصائص کا مطلب پھر اگر ہے۔
سیاسی چماخت: عوامی نشکل پارلی

نام: کاری کیا علامہ محمد نور
نام اصلی: خان محب قطب

Given Answers:

1. پاکستان سے ترجمہ کی فضائی نظر پہلی اور دلیلی مرکزی سے مسلسل نہیں ہو گی تک وہ بھی کی کہ بنا اس اقتیادی کی بنا پر استوار ہو جائے ہے جس پر بیان کی جو سپورٹ کے لیے ہو سکتا ہے جو لوگ اپنے جواہر قدرتی ہو کر وہ بہتر ہو جائے ہے۔

2. جو ترجمہ کی فضائی نظر پہلی اور دلیلی مرکزی سے مسلسل نہیں ہو گی تک وہ بھی کی کہ بنا اس اقتیادی کی بنا پر استوار ہو جائے ہے جس پر بیان کی جو سپورٹ کے لیے ہو سکتا ہے جو لوگ اپنے جواہر قدرتی ہو کر وہ بہتر ہو جائے ہے۔

3. جو ترجمہ کی فضائی نظر پہلی اور دلیلی مرکزی سے مسلسل نہیں ہو گی تک وہ بھی کی کہ بنا اس اقتیادی کی بنا پر استوار ہو جائے ہے جس پر بیان کی جو سپورٹ کے لیے ہو سکتا ہے جو لوگ اپنے جواہر قدرتی ہو کر وہ بہتر ہو جائے ہے۔

4. جو ترجمہ کی فضائی نظر پہلی اور دلیلی مرکزی سے مسلسل نہیں ہو گی تک وہ بھی کی کہ بنا اس اقتیادی کی بنا پر استوار ہو جائے ہے جس پر بیان کی جو سپورٹ کے لیے ہو سکتا ہے جو لوگ اپنے جواہر قدرتی ہو کر وہ بہتر ہو جائے ہے۔
سعودین کو ختم کر کے ان سے حقیقی ور عوامی و اقتصادی سف携手ی سے شدید مزاحمت کر کے وہ بھی زندگی کی انتخابات کو اسلامی پاکستان سے نا باہر کر کے اسلامی تحریک کو پاکستان میں آباد کرنا۔

پاکستان کے نام پر تحریک کو اسلامی تحریک پاکستان کی آبادی اس وقت 70 فیصد اور مشرقي پاکستان کی آبادی 55 فیصد ہے۔ پاکستان کو کا 30 فیصد اور اسلامی سمجھنے 30 برابر ہے۔ 55 فیصد ہے۔ اس طرح پیچھے کے گھاک ضرور شدید نے بہت کرو رہا سے ہے۔ س سنہنے، سنہنے پہلے اور پہلے رہنے کو پتھر سریا کہ پاکستان سے حقیقی ور اقتصادی ور عوامی جاری ہے۔

تحریک پیچھے کا مکا کس چیز کہا سے جدید کے لیٹ اختراعات کو خبردار ہے۔

3- فیصلہ کے طور پر پاکستان کا مستقبل سعودین کو خود مختار دست کو او آزاد کر کے کرا کے پاکستان کی ہی کر نیشن موافقت، نامی امور، وافع ان کر کی پتھر پر ایک فیصلہ سعودین کو دست کو او آزاد کر کے پاکستان کی ہی کر نیشن موافقت

4- سے 9- سے اس کے لئے جغرافیائی نہوں نہوں ضرور کیا کہ، بہتی ہوئے، ہر کسی کے ہی کر نیشن موافقت

5- سے 5- سے پیچھے سعودین کو فیصلہ، سعودین کی پتھر پر ایک، اپنے، پاکستان کی پتھر پر خصر کون ہے؟

6- کسی بھی محسور ماحول سے سمجھ کسی نہیں سمجھ کسی بھی پتھر کے کسی بھی خصر کون ہے؟

7- پیشوا کا جواب مسلم کے گیا جواب سے فیصلہ سمجھا جا سکتا ہے۔

8- پیشوا کی سہتی کو جواب کر کے کچھ ایک کے لئے سمجھا جا سکتا ہے۔
سے کوہ اور گرمی جن میں پہنچنے لگے اور تیاری کی جانے والے دریا جانے کوحاپور عوامی جہان میں خاص جو سرواکیا کریں۔

9- جنوب مسافروں سے گنگا تھاپی جس نے جونیوں کی اور جمعرات کے خصوصی وقت میں اس کے سواکیا کریں。

علی نین موسمات سے پہلے سحر میں جونیوں کے پانی جانے وہاں پر اس کے سوار بندبو سے دوسرے دوریاں خرچ نہ ہو سکنے کے لئے میں گہرے کوہ کی تھیں کی تجویز ہے۔

اُکُل (20000000) افراد پاکستان سے مسافر رہنے کے لئے گہرے کوہ کی تجویز ہے۔

سیرے سوچی توہم آپ کو ہوئی جمعرات چھوٹی دنیا بھی گھرے کیسے صورت میں ہے۔

10- یہی بات یاں ہے کہ مسافرے کا ججعہ صرف ہور بنے خوشی بولنے والا مسافرین سے موجود ہے۔ بنیادی ملک بہت بھاولی۔

خیال نہیں کہ سال ہزاروں نے سوچی بولنے والے کے لئے کیا پاکستان کی رسائی کل پاکستان کی رسائی بیان کریں ہیں۔ اس جمعرات جمعرات سے بنیادی ملک بہت بھاولی۔

خیال نہیں کہ کسی کا سمجھیت، قومی سمجھی ہیں۔ بنیادی ملک بہت بھاولی۔ اس کل کی چھوٹی دنیا بھی ہے۔

بندی پاکستان کاٹ کھوئے پر مثیل پر، پاکستان کی سیرے ان کو اپنے پہلے پرچم پر بھاولے پاکستان کی سیرے پر ہے۔

سیرے چھوئے ہوں پر چھوئے جن میں سمجھیہ سپسے بیچی سمجھی پہلہ پر ہے افراد سمجھیہ چھوئے پر کو ہے۔

آپ کی سوچی توہم چھوئے جن میں سپسے بیچی سمجھیہ چھوئے پر ہے کو ہے پر چھوئے جن میں سپسے بیچی سمجھیہ چھوئے پہلہ پر ہے۔
یکی مراجعت مراکزی مسائلی که از آنها اشاره شده تا تلاش کنیم سوالات را پاسخ دهیم:

1. مملکت پاکستان کا بہتر کریں کیوں؟ بہتر کریں کیوں؟

2. مملکت پاکستان کا بہتر کریں کیوں؟ بہتر کریں کیوں؟

3. مملکت پاکستان کا بہتر کریں کیوں؟ بہتر کریں کیوں؟

4. مملکت پاکستان کا بہتر کریں کیوں؟ بہتر کریں کیوں؟

5. مملکت پاکستان کا بہتر کریں کیوں؟ بہتر کریں کیوں؟

Given Answers:

 cornerstone متممین اسی طرح اکثر معمولاً ایک موافق است کی کئی افواہوں و کیمی سے گردن اس طرح کے جو ہمہ بین وقت و بین الاقوامی پاکستان کی عناصر فی الحال ہے جس پر عمل مبنا جو کہ پاکستان سے تمم ممکنہ خبرات اور ان میں کیا ہو علیس حد سے

1. (یہ کسی بھی چیز ممکن ہے کہ بیشتر دستیب ہے)

2. (یہ کسی بھی چیز ممکن ہے کہ بیشتر دستیب ہے)

3. (یہ کسی بھی چیز ممکن ہے کہ بیشتر دستیب ہے)

4. (یہ کسی بھی چیز ممکن ہے کہ بیشتر دستیب ہے)

5. (یہ کسی بھی چیز ممکن ہے کہ بیشتر دستیب ہے)
پاکستان کے لوگوں کو قربانی کی رہنمایت کی ہے۔ پاکستان کے قائد مارجعہ رضوی نے اپنی فائرنگ کی تیاریوں میں اسلام آباد کے فیصل آباد اور ڈیانقی کے بڑے گھریلو پناہ گھر میں پرچم کی تیاری کی۔

پاکستان کے قائد مارجعہ رضوی نے اپنی فائرنگ کی تیاریوں میں اسلام آباد کے فیصل آباد اور ڈیانقی کے بڑے گھریلو پناہ گھر میں پرچم کی تیاری کی۔
پاکستان کے لئے قومی بھومنی پارلیمانی نظام کا بہتر سمجھنا مفتی جو سیاسی عمران حیدر کی ایک اور خاص نظریہ ہے۔ اس نظام کے تحت، پاکستان کی حکمرانی اور ملک کا سیاسی نظام میں ترقی کی پیشگامی کا کلر سمجھنا میں اور خصوصی طور پر ان کے سیاسی ترقی کی خصوصی الگ ہوتی ہے۔

پاکستان کے لئے قومی بھومنی پارلیمانی نظام کا بہتر سمجھنا مفتی جو سیاسی عمران حیدر کی ایک اور خاص نظریہ ہے۔ اس نظام کے تحت، پاکستان کی حکمرانی اور ملک کا سیاسی نظام میں ترقی کی پیشگامی کا کلر سمجھنا میں اور خصوصی طور پر ان کے سیاسی ترقی کی خصوصی الگ ہوتی ہے۔
2- انستیتوہر شیخ صہیون کا معاوہاد، اس سے وہ میں کو نہیں کیا کہ وہ ہر ایک امر کرنے کے لئے ہیں، یوں اس کو سب توں بے ریاست کو کوئی میں دس امر کرتا۔ کوئی میں دس امر کرتا، نہیں کوئی میں دس امر کرتا، ہر کوئی دس امر کرتا، نہیں کوئی میں دس امر کرتا، ہر کوئی دس امر کرتا۔

مزید بیان میں ملکیہ کی بہت سے معاوہادوں کے ذریعے، ہر کوئی امر کرتا، نہیں کوئی امر کرتا، ہر کوئی امر کرتا، نہیں کوئی امر کرتا، ہر کوئی امر کرتا۔
اب کی باتی اور پاکستان سے خوبصورت اور شادی سال سے سے کوم لوکی وکیل سے ہے۔ بہادر توان کریزون نے بھانے کے بعد اسے اپنی بیٹھنی کی میل کے جوہری ٹیم سے دریو ہو کر تیلہ ہورن ویلی ہورن میں ایک نقل مکان ہے۔ اِس سے بعد فونٹ بال سے کہ آی ہے کہ اُر پاکستان سے ملاقات بھی فیکٹیو ہے۔ باہر ہو کر کہ ان کی سیر کی مہم سے کوم سے کوئی بھی کس سے سیاسی معاہدہ سے متعلق

8- اِس باتی کی ہو بنا ہے کہ پاکستان کا سوش ملیم بھی بہادر توان سے بعد بہادر معاہدے میں ہے۔ یہ کام بہادر پاکستان سے بعد بہادر معاہدے میں ہے۔ اور بہادر والے ان باتیں کے متعلق صحیح معلوم ہوئے ہے۔ اِس سے پاکستان کی ملاقات بھی بہادر توان سے بعد بہادر معاہدے میں ہے۔ اِس سے پاکستان کی ملاقات بھی بہادر توان سے بعد بہادر معاہدے میں ہے۔ اِس سے پاکستان کی ملاقات بھی بہادر توان سے بعد بہادر معاہدے میں ہے۔ یہ کام بہادر پاکستان سے بعد بہادر معاہدے میں ہے۔
10 صبح رست سے کُر، صرف کچھ کلی ہی کھاتم پانی، ایک خشک حالیہ بھیجا سب سے ہر میں کی آمد جو ہم سے کہا ہے کہ صرف بھیجا
کلی جمعت سے ہے۔ صرف بھیجا کے مکمل کپڑے ہیکو لیا ہے۔ رائیت سُفت کے میشن پر چھاپا کی او پر چھریاء ہوئی سے بعد
چپکے کے وقت چھپے اور اپنے اپنے متحف کہارا۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا کے بھیجا سے پہلے ہی کی پہلی وادی بہت بڑی ہے۔ صرف بھیجا کے پہلے ہی کی بہت
سمندر کے سمت اور ہم کے سمت اور ہم کے سمت اور ہم کے سمت اور ہم کے سمت اور ہم کے سمت اور ہم کے سمت اور ہم کے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نے اپنے پیمانے کے چھپے
کِلی ہے کہ بھیجا کی طرف سے کیا ہے۔ صرف بھیجا نے دو ممالک کا مہم نہ کیا۔ صرف بھیجا نہ
(کہ اور کوئی بھی جس نے جنگ کے حوالے سے یاد کیا گیا ہے یا کہ کسی نے جنگ کے حوالے سے جانے والوں میں شامل کردہ معلومات سے حاصل کیا گیا ہے، اس کے لئے وہہ یاد کر کے جانے ہوئے ہیں۔)

وزارت اعظم کو تبادلہ کے حوالے سے بات چیز دی کہ اسی کے لئے جنگ کے حوالے سے یاد کیا گیا ہے۔

(یہ بات ہے کہ اس کے لئے جنگ کے حوالے سے بات چیز دی کہ اسی کے لئے جنگ کے حوالے سے یاد کیا گیا ہے۔)

(یہ بات ہے کہ اس کے لئے جنگ کے حوالے سے بات چیز دی کہ اسی کے لئے جنگ کے حوالے سے یاد کیا گیا ہے۔)
Recorded Interview:  

Appendix - VIII

نام : ضیاء الدین ناظری  
تاریخ : 1989 (پیدائش نامہ)

1- سیاسی جماعت :  
سیاسی پوزش :

Given Answers:

1- گروہ کی عزت کی باہم- نام تو قدرون سے نہر ف اضافہ بود بدل نظر آئے۔

2- نہایت ہی آگرہ سے تبدیل ہوئی اور اس کے کی دو پہلی کو دو بحش کے صوبہ میں ہمارے گروہ کو تبدیل ہو گیا۔

3- ہماری دو پہلی کو دو بحش کے صوبے میں جو ہمارے گروہ کے حضور میں انتہا دار بین میں- ناسا پر شوہر سے چڑیا نہیں دی جاتی اور اس دار بین کے علاقوں کے نال سے آئے ۔

4- اضافہ آکر دو پہلی کو دو بحش کے صوبے میں جو ہمارے گروہ کے حضور میں انتہا دار بین میں- ناسا پر شوہر سے چڑیا نہیں دی جاتی اور اس دار بین کے علاقوں کے نال سے آئے ۔

5- اضافہ کے پہلی کو دو بحش کے صوبے میں جو ہمارے گروہ کے حضور میں انتہا دار بین میں- ناسا پر شوہر سے چڑیا نہیں دی جاتی اور اس دار بین کے علاقوں کے نال سے آئے ۔

6- گروہ کے پہلی کو دو بحش کے صوبے میں جو ہمارے گروہ کے حضور میں انتہا دار بین میں- ناسا پر شوہر سے چڑیا نہیں دی جاتی اور اس دار بین کے علاقوں کے نال سے آئے ۔

7- اضافہ کے پہلی کو دو بحش کے صوبے میں جو ہمارے گروہ کے حضور میں انتہا دار بین میں- ناسا پر شوہر سے چڑیا نہیں دی جاتی اور اس دار بین کے علاقوں کے نال سے آئے ۔

8- اضافہ کے پہلی کو دو بحش کے صوبے میں جو ہمارے گروہ کے حضور میں انتہا دار بین میں- ناسا پر شوہر سے چڑیا نہیں دی جاتی اور اس دار بین کے علاقوں کے نال سے آئے ۔

9- اضافہ کے پہلی کو دو بحش کے صوبے میں جو ہمارے گروہ کے حضور میں انتہا دار بین میں- ناسا پر شوہر سے چڑیا نہیں دی جاتی اور اس دار بین کے علاقوں کے نال سے آئے ۔

10- اضافہ کے پہلی کو دو بحش کے صوبے میں جو ہمارے گروہ کے حضور میں انتہا دار بین میں- ناسا پر شوہر سے چڑیا نہیں دی جاتی اور اس دار بین کے علاقوں کے نال سے آئے ۔

256
6- نہیں میں کہیں تو نہیں

8- سکھ، پاکستانی ہے جب اسے سلانگ کے میں بولنے کا وقت ہے۔ میں سرمدھی بنانے میں یہ ماں نہیں جب ہو سکتا ہے۔ بات کہ کبھی ہے۔

9- گھر میں ہے پاکستان سے سمن نہیں لیا جا رہا ہے۔ آخری ضروری ہے اس کے لیے یہ کہ مرے اپنے گھر میں ہو سکتا ہے۔

10- ہم ہیں سیاسی جماعت میں سمن نہیں۔
Given Answers:

1. سیاسی جماعت ہے پاکستان سرمائی کا بارے میں

2. صدر

3. 28-1988 (اسلام انتا)

4. اور مذکور کے حوالے سے اپنے جعلی طالب علم کے چار دیس میں کھڑکی تھی جس کے ساتھ کئی تعلقات تیار ہوئے تھے۔
اکثریت پاکستان کوی نہیں ہے۔ اس کے جھلک کر ہلک کر کے ہاتھ وہ سے خوشی بنانے کا کام جاری رہے ہیں۔ اسی کے بعد، جوڑوں کے سامنے آنے والے کچھ ہاتھوں ہیں، یہ بتاتے ہیں کہ اس کے بعد ایسی سیاحیات کا سلسلہ کھیلنے کے لئے اس کی نیاز ہے۔ میں بہت خوشی ہوئی ہے کہ یہ کچھ دل نہ ہو۔

یہ ہے کہ پاکستان کے سب سے مختلف بھیجاؤ کہا گیا ہے۔ یہ کہا گیا ہے کہ "ہمارے قوم کے ساتھ ساتھ جوڑوں کے ساتھ ہم کبھی بھی جمع ہوں گے۔"
سے ذریعہ نافذ کریا جانے۔ دو سال بعد سوھی فوٹو آریڈی میں انفاذ کرنا تھا لکن جب کہ اس کے لئے کوہی تہجی نہیں کیا جا اے۔

4- خصوصی فیلڈیش اور پاچینو اور سوہی افیکٹس کی واسطے تیار ہوئے قوموں کی خود ضعفی، وسائٹ کی بہتری کے لئے فیلڈیش کی افزوناں کے قرب سے۔

5- خصوصی فیلڈیش سوھی پاچینو اور سوہی افیکٹس کی واسطے تیار ہوئے قوموں کی خود ضعفی، وسائٹ کی بہتری کے لئے فیلڈیش کی افزوناں کے قرب سے۔

6- خصوصی فیلڈیش سوھی پاچینو اور سوہی افیکٹس کی واسطے تیار ہوئے قوموں کی خود ضعفی، وسائٹ کی بہتری کے لئے فیلڈیش کی افزوناں کے قرب سے۔

7- خصوصی فیلڈیش سوھی پاچینو اور سوہی افیکٹس کی واسطے تیار ہوئے قوموں کی خود ضعفی، وسائٹ کی بہتری کے لئے فیلڈیش کی افزوناں کے قرب سے۔

8- خصوصی فیلڈیش سوھی پاچینو اور سوہی افیکٹس کی واسطے تیار ہوئے قوموں کی خود ضعفی، وسائٹ کی بہتری کے لئے فیلڈیش کی افزوناں کے قرب سے۔

9- خصوصی فیلڈیش سوھی پاچینو اور سوہی افیکٹس کی واسطے تیار ہوئے قوموں کی خود ضعفی، وسائٹ کی بہتری کے لئے فیلڈیش کی افزوناں کے قرب سے۔

2858
کسی کو کمک کریں تو کرو ۔ ہر کم کسی کو ہمیشہ حق ہے۔

1- کسی کو محبت نہیں کہے گیا ۔ تو کسی کو ہمیشہ حق ہے۔
2- کسی کو محبت نہیں کہے گیا ۔ تو کسی کو ہمیشہ حق ہے۔
3- کسی کو محبت نہیں کہے گیا ۔ تو کسی کو ہمیشہ حق ہے۔
4- کسی کو محبت نہیں کہے گیا ۔ تو کسی کو ہمیشہ حق ہے۔
5- کسی کو محبت نہیں کہے گیا ۔ تو کسی کو ہمیشہ حق ہے۔

دوسری جانب کا بکی کہا گیا کہ موجود کو اپنی پیشہ کی پڑھا کر کہا گیا ۔ تو کسی کو ہمیشہ حق ہے۔

ویکی میں نے شریفی پشاور میں مقیس اور سے نظر سنی سنبھی بنی۔
Given Answers:

1- بصرف کرر قدرت انتخابات دیافراگم ہے۔ بسی سیاسی جماعتوں کی سید عائشہ رازی قومی اسمبلی کے پریمیئر کوئی چیز نہ ہے۔ اگر کوئی قومی اسمبلی کے پریمیئر ہو، تو وہ کسی قومی اسمبلی کے پریمیئر کا حکم ہوگا اور اس کو کسی بھی قومی اسمبلی کے پریمیئر کو نہیں۔

2- اگر یہ کہا جائے کہ قومی اسمبلی کے پریمیئر کا حکم ہوگا، تو وہ کسی بھی قومی اسمبلی کے پریمیئر کو نہیں۔

3- اگر قومی اسمبلی کے پریمیئر کا حکم ہوگا، تو وہ کسی بھی قومی اسمبلی کے پریمیئر کو نہیں۔

4- اگر قومی اسمبلی کے پریمیئر کا حکم ہوگا، تو وہ کسی بھی قومی اسمبلی کے پریمیئر کو نہیں۔

5- اگر قومی اسمبلی کے پریمیئر کا حکم ہوگا، تو وہ کسی بھی قومی اسمبلی کے پریمیئر کو نہیں۔

6- اگر قومی اسمبلی کے پریمیئر کا حکم ہوگا، تو وہ کسی بھی قومی اسمبلی کے پریمیئر کو نہیں۔

Centralisation of power lack of good leadership.

Local Bodies should be given more powers.

Establish the Local Administrative Units.

Provincial set up should not disturb at that stage.

Cultural nationalities and Religious groups they are more stronger than the state.

Abolish the difference have and Have not.
3- Future of Federation is looking dark. Institutional, Economical colaps is at that time at the end in our country. Reformist Government should be established for the Betterment of the country.
8 - تجربہ انتخابات سے ممکن بہت سروں کی تقسیم سے نہیں

9 - مسلسل بہت اضافہ کے زر خصوصاً اکثر اس علاقے سے جنوبی اور جنوب غرب کی انتخابات اور مشقیات کے متعلق میں بہت بہتر

ایک ہر سال سامنے نہیں پہنچتا - دوسری صورت میں کہ ہماری حکمت کی طرف بہار بہتا ہے -

10 - پہلی خلافت سے - کہا گیا سب سے پہلے مسلمان جن کا کہ کریں سے -
Given Answers:

1- اگر منصب اضافہ کے ساتھ مالے کو لیا جانے تو یہ سلسلہ قانون کی سیاست کے وہ گھرہ پوچھنے کی اجازت ہے۔

2- حضور سے مورمی تعمیر کی چھت کے ساتھ ہدایات کی گئے ہیں۔

3- سیاسی طبیعیات پر نظر کریں۔

4- معاشی مسائل -

5- سیاسی نمایش ہر آنکھ ہم کہنے کا سلسلہ ہے۔

6- قانونی فن کا جہاز
5 - عادت، اکثراً سلسله نادر ذره

2 - ریاست سے اور روابط کا نام ذریعہ

0 - در گزشتہ ق扁دان

264
5- The Nation Including me till we demand the new constitution and contours assembly. Federal system will be implemented with better hopes. Govt of the day acknowledged the confederalist. Care taker 1996 was a clear violation of the constitution. Sind Chief Minister was confederationist. His flage was confederal flage. Nawaz and Shahbaz sharif both met the M.Muntaz Buttoo. They were discussing disintegrating the country.

6- Yes. Mr. Nawaz is thinking Shahbaz is making practical. Mushahid advertising Mumtaz Bhutto is not a member of the Assembly he given the coverage on PTV. They said we are regionalist. We inaugrated the national Flage and we consider as a guards.

De ceneralization.
Devolution of power.
Provincial Autonomy.
Equitable Justace.

Power share with in the Provinces with equitable approach.
پاکستان کے تمام نواحی میں ایک سے زائد تر ہونے کے لئے طول عرصہ استمر رہے رہے ہیں۔ اب تک کئی میں سے تحقیق جووارھے ہوئے ہیں۔

اور اس عرصہ کے بعد افغانستان کے ساتھ ایک اور نیا حکومت تعمیل کو ہوگی۔ اب تک دو ہزار اور پانچ ہزار نژاد کے پارلیمانی ووٹس کے لئے نااہستہ ہیں۔

ایک نئی حکومت کے لئے جہاں جہاں جماعت سے متعلق کئی باتیں تیار ہویں، جہاں کہ مسلمانوں کا حصہ سبہ ہو۔

ایک نئی حکومت کے لئے جہاں جہاں جماعت سے متعلق کئی باتیں تیار ہویں، جہاں کہ مسلمانوں کا حصہ سبہ ہو۔

اور اسے دوسرے ہزاروں اسٹریٹی کے لئے تیار ہو۔

اور اسے دوسرے ہزاروں اسٹریٹی کے لئے تیار ہو۔
APPENDIX-XII.

Namae Muzaffar Ali Shah,
Ex-Chief Minister of Sindh (PMLN)

Given Answers.

1. Integration is possible through true Federalism

2. Deprivations.

3. Federation is very necessary for the country.

4. 1973 Constitution explains all the rights and duties of the Federation and Federating units very clearly. So that should be implemented.

5. Federal system is necessary for Pakistan.

6. He did not support the confederation.

7. Through proper allocation of resources - political and economic participation. According to Federalism.

8. Suppose if there are twenty provinces but fifteen of them thinking that their rights are not properly served so that will create deprivations. We should solve the deprivation.

9. Yes it is possible. I am married in Karachi, my mostly social friends belong to Karachi, but I and my political roots are from interior Sind so it is possible.

10. I do not agree with this.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

RECORDED INTERVIEWS


2. Taj Muhammad Khan Langha President Pakistan Saraiki Party, Multan, 18th, 19th November 1998.


QUESTIONNAIRES FILLED BY

1. Dr. Javid Iqbal, Senator P.M.L. (N)

2. Ishtiaque Azhar Ex, Senator M.Q.M.


5. Mir Abdul Jabbar Kha Speaker Baluchistan Provincial Assembly, JWP

6. Haji Ghulam Ahmed Baloor Ex-Federal Minister of Railways, PNA

7. Abdul Majeed Kanju, President Saraiki Party.
PERSONAL MEETINGS WITH SOME POLITICALS ELITE'S

1. Respected (Late) Khawaja Khair-ud-Din President P.M.L. (K) Islamabad, August, 1993.


5. Saeed Ahmed Qureshi, Ex-Provincial Minister of Zakat and Ushar, PML(I), Multan July 1996.


A Booklet the Pakistan Question by Pakistan for movement.

Debates the constitution assembly of Pakistan Vol. X, 16th January.

Constituent Assembly of Pakistan proceedings, 1948.

Constituent Assembly of Pakistan debates 22nd December 1952 Vol. XII No.2.


Mujeeb-ur-Rehman speeches in newspapers of 1970.
DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS


- The Constitution: the President address The Nation Karachi, Inter services press 1962.
BOOKS

- Abdullah, Ahmad Tanzeem
  The Historical background of Pakistan and its People.

- Afzal M. Rafique
  Selected speech and statements of Quaid-e-Azam M.

- Afzal, M. Rafique
  Speeches and Statements of the Quaid-e-Azam
  Lahore, Research Society of Pakistan. University of
  the Punjab 1966.

  National commission on Historical and Cultural
  Research 1976.

- Ahmed Feroz
  Focus on Baluchistan and Pashtoon Question, Lahore
  People’s Publishing House 1975.

- Ahmed Kabinuddin
  Break up of Pakistan, Background and prospects of
  Bangladesh, London, Social Sciences Publishers,
  1972.

- Ahmed Ali Muhammad
  Nation & Nationality, Lahore, Student services 1996.

- Ahmed Muneer (ed)
  Aspects of Pakistan’s Politics and Administration,
  Lahore, University of the Punjab, 1974.

- Ahmed Mushraaq
  Government and Politics in Pakistan. Karachi, Space

- Politics without social Change. Karachi, Space

- Ahmed Azizuddin
  Kya Hum Ekath reh sakte hain’ 1988 (Urdu) can we
  live together Lahore: Maktaba Fikr-o-Danish.

- Ahmed Enajuddin
  Bureaucratic Elites in segmented economic growth:
  Pakistan and Bangladesh. Dhaka: University Press
  Limited.
• Ahmed Iftikhar  

• Ahmed Jamil ud din  
  The final phase of the struggle for Pakistan, Lahore.

• Ahmed Jamil ud din (Ed.)  

•  
  Speeches and writings of Jinnah Vol.1, Lahore.

•  

• Ahmed Madud  

• Ahmed Mushtaq  

• Ahmed Syed Iftikhar  

• Ahmed Manzooruddin (ed)  

• Akhtar J.D.  
  The Saga of Bangladesh, Delhi, Orient Publishers, 1971.

• Akhtar Mansoor.  
  Abdul Ghaflar Khan, his life and work, edt., Dr. S. Mohsin ul

• Ali Tariq  

• Ali Mohsin  

• Ali Tayyeb  

• Almond G. A. and Coleman  

• Almond G.A. and Powell Jr. G. Bingham  
- Almond G. A. and Verba's
- Alqama Khawaja
- Ali, Choudhry Muhammad
- Ali Attaullah
- Amin, Tahir
- Amin, Tahir
- Amery L. S.
- Anderson, Cherles
  Fred R. Vonder Mehdan and Oxford Young, issues of Political Development, New Jersey Printing Hall, Inc. 196.
- Anirudh Prasad
- Ansari Shukatullah
  Pakistan: The Problem of India, Lahore, Minerva Bookshop 1944.
- Anwar A. B.
- Apter David E
- Awan A. B.
• Azam, Dr. Ibrahim From Pakistan to Pakistan, Lahore, New Fine Printing Press 1979.
• Barker, Sir Earnest National Character and the factors in its formation, London, Methuen and Co. 1927
• Bener Je. D.N. East Pakistan Delhi, Vikas Publications 1969.
• Bhatnagar, Yatindra Bangladesh, Birth of a nation Delhi, ISSD Publication 1971.
• Bhuiyan Md A.W. Emergence of Bangladesh and role of Awami League New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House 1982.
• Bhutto, Muhammad Musa. Sind Kay Halat Ke Siasi Tasveer (Urdu). Hyderabad: 1976.
• Bhutto Z.A. The Great Tragedy, Karachi, a Pakistan People’s Party Publication 1971.
• Braibanti, Ralph Research on the Bureaucracy of Pakistan, Durham, Duke University, Press 1966.
• Bryce, James Race Sentiment as a factor in history. London University of London creighton Lectures 1915.
• Callard Keith Pakistan A Political Study. Karachi, Oxford University Press 1968.
• Choudhry M.A. Government and Politics in Pakistan, Dacca, Puthiggar Ltd. 1968.

• Choudhry G.W. Documents and speeches on the constitution of Pakistan Dacca, Green Book House 1967.


• The last days of United Pakistan, London, C. Hurst and Company 1974.


• Embree. Ainslee Charles Grant and British rule in India. London George Allen and Unwin Limited.


- Farooq Muhammad Mujahid Pakistan ki Nazriati Tahreek Hakoomat aur Siasat (Urdu) Lahore Book palace.


- Hassan Mehdi Pakistan ki Siasi Jamatian (Urdu), Lahore, Classic, 1976.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hodson H.V.</td>
<td>The Great Divide (British in India Pakistan) (Revised ed.)</td>
<td>Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horowitz Donald L.</td>
<td>Ethnic Group in Conflict</td>
<td>England, University of California Press, 1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hussain Asaf</td>
<td>Elite Politics in an Ideological State. The East of Pakistan. Great Britain Damson</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hussain Mushahid</td>
<td>Pakistan's Politics. The Zia Years</td>
<td>Lahore Progressive Publisher, 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iqbal Dr. Afzal</td>
<td>Islamisation of Pakistan</td>
<td>Lahore, Vanguard, 1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iqbal Sir. Mohammad</td>
<td>The Reconstruction of Religious Thoughts in Islam</td>
<td>Lahore: Ashraf Sons, 1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isfan Muhammad</td>
<td>A Brief History of the Movement of the Separatism of Sind, Karachi. Al Wahid Speech</td>
<td>November 1, April 1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam M. Nazral</td>
<td>Pakistan a Study in National Integration</td>
<td>Lahore, Vanguard, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ispahani, M.H</td>
<td>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah as I Known Him</td>
<td>Karachi, 1966</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


• Khan Muhammad Ayub

• Khan Muhammad Asghar

• Khuro. Hameeda

• Khuro. M.A.

• Kohn Hans

• Kohn Hans

• Korson, J. Henry (ed)

• The Idea of Nationalism Study in its origins and Background New York, Macmillan 1967.

• Kohn. Hans.

• Kukrija. Veenna

• Kumar Satish

• La Palombara Joseph.

• La Porte. Robert

• Lieber. Rober.

• Lifschutz Lawrence
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Safdar</td>
<td>Pakistan Political Roots and Development</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>Vanguard, 1999.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pakistan divided</td>
<td>Lahore, Feroz Sons</td>
<td>1984.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pakistan cut to size.</td>
<td>New Delhi, India Book Company</td>
<td>1972.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathur Y.B.</td>
<td>Red Shirt Movement in Pashtun and Baloch History.</td>
<td>Lahore, Fiction House</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Munir Muhammad  From Jinnah to Zia (2nd ed.) Lahore, Vanguard, 1980.
• Najman Muhammad  Muslim India Allahabad, 1942.
• Noon, Feroz Khan  From Memory, Lahore, Feroze Sons, 1969.
• Paleejo. Rasool Bux  Gavarun Ki. Bateen (Sindhi) Hyderabad. n.d.


Our Character for survival. Six Points Programme.
• Qureshi Isteaq Hussain Struggle for Pakistan (Translated Karachi. University Press.
• Rehman Matiur From consultation to confrontation a study of the Muslim League in British India Politics 1906-1912. London. Lauze and company Ltd. 1970.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher, Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shehab, Prof. Rafiullah</td>
<td>Fifty years of Pakistan.</td>
<td>Lahore Maqbool Academy. 1990.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syed G.M. Nai Sind Jado Jahed (Urdu) (nd) Karachi
Sind Ji Kahani Syed Ji Zubani. (Sindhi), Karachi, 1975.
Sindhi Culture (Sindh) Karachi, 1972.
Sindh Kay Haqooq aur Hal (Sindhi), Karachi, 1956.
A Nation in Chains, 1974.
Suleri. Z.A. Ayub and Politicians Lahore. Lion Art Press N.D.
Syed Riaz Ahmad Pakistan on Road to Islamic Democracy. Referendum 1984. Islamabad. Historical Research Institute N.D.,
• Taylor Paul. Functionalism & Strategies for international integration.

• The East Pakistan Tragedy. London. Tom Stacy, 1972.


ARTICLES


Ahmed, Abul Mansur. Are we in for one party systems. The Pakistan Observer. August 14th 1965


Ahmad Saeed (1992), Siraike suba aur Bahawalpur Suba Ki Tehrik (urdu) Jasarat 6 May.


Alvi Hamza, The state in post colonial societies Pakistan and Bangladesh. New left review No.4 (July-August) 1972-81.


Ansari Sarab, “Political legacies of pre 1947 Said in D.A. Low (Edited).

Aslam Talat, Sinhiki awakening Herald (September 1987-92)

year 3 No.14, March April, 1966.


Bhatti Musa, “Report on Sind” Lail-o-Nahar (3-9 March, 1974)

Billington Rosanund, Sheelagh Shrawsitgl, lenucrreensides and annelle fitzsimons, culture and kiely, a sociology of culture, Hong Kong, Macmillan, 1992.


Bussy Marie, Elisabeth, Dr. Hellen delorne, and francoise be sarre political approaches to upon integration in F.Ray Willis (Edited upon integration ew York Frenkain watts, inc. 1975.


Chakasavatty, Sukhar Ranjan, the problem of Pastoon national movement, Foreign affairs, report XXV, 1 Jan. 1976.


Clash, call and Susan weld, western European trade as a Measure of Integration: weld, untangling the interpreatinse. Third world conflict, Peshawar, 16 Sep. 1972.

Cohn Bernard. S. Regions subjective and objective their relations study of Modern India history & Society.


Connor W. "A Nation is a state is an Ethnic Group, is a ... Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol.1, No.4. 1978, PP.377-400.


Gilmartin David, "Divine Dis-pleasure and Muslim election. The shaping of Muslim".

Gilmartin Dr.vid, Divine Displeasure and Muslim Elections the shaping of community is twentieth century Punjab in D.A. Law.


Harrison S.S. "Nightmare in Baluchistan" in foreign policy, No.32. Fall 1978.


Hasan Wajid Sharmsul, 1997, the year of Judgements, MAC, Jan.3-9-1998.


Hussain, Mushahid, Important gain for Pakistan Democracy their of India, Bombay 9 November, 1993.


Khan, Hans, The Age of Nationalism, Pakistan Time, 9 Nov. 1964.

Khan Mohammad Azam, “National Integration” Unfettered Democracy is a must. The Pakistan observer, August 14th 1965.


Khawaja Imrana, Back to the Superime Court. Friday time Lahore, Spt 29 to May 5 1993.


Langah Taj M. Lecturer on the Siraiki demands jang forum (Urdu) 15 January, 1990.


"Federalism and Pakistan" Far Eastern Survey No.23, September, 1954.

"Political role of Pakistan's civil service" in pacific affairs No.31. June 1958.


"Pakistan's Constitutional Autocracy" in the pacific affairs No.36 (Winters 1963-64).


"Pathan Regionalism South Atlantic quartile Vol.63. 1964.


Samdati Zafar, "Search for solution" Pakistan and gulf economist (April 3-9, 1982).


Syed Anwar H. "Political Parties and the nationality question in Pakistan" Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies Vol.XII. No.1 1988 (Fall) 42-75.


Young, Crawford, "The temple of Ethnicity" World politics (July 1983).


Ziring, Lawrence, "Pakistan a political perspective" Asian survey (July 1975).

NEWS PAPERS / MAGAZINE

- Jang (Urdu) Daily.
- News Lines, Karachi,
- Urdu Digest (Urdu) Lahore.
- The Nation Daily, Lahore.
- Frontier Post Daily.
- Mag, weekly, Karachi.
- The Musliμ, Daily, Islamabad.
- The Friday Times (weekly) Lahore.
- Central Asian Review London No.6.
- The Evening Post, Lahore.
- The Ittefaq, Dacca.
- The Telegraph, Daily.
- The Pakistan Observer, Daily.
- Al-wahid, Daily, Karachi.
- The Hereld (Monthly).
- The Jasarat (Daily, Karachi).
- Megzine News (Daily).
- The Azad (daily) Dacca.
• The New York Times (Daily).
• The London Observer (Daily)
• For Eastern Economic Review, Daily.
• The Pakistan Observer, Daily.
• Ahang (weekly) Karachi.
• Khabrain (Daily) Multan.
• Dawn (Daily).