PAKISTAN NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY: 
NATURE AND DIRECTION OF POLITICS

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PAKISTAN NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY:
NATURE AND DIRECTION OF POLITICS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
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ISLAMABAD
2015
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my individual research, and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.

Date: ____________

__________________________________________

Himayatullah
For my wife Sadaf Ahmad
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This was during my MPhil when I developed an interest in the political struggle of those leaders who were regarded the ‘champions’ of the left politics in Pakistan. It was a difficult task to study and explore the roles, these leaders played in the political development of Pakistan. I always discussed my interest with Professor (Dr.) Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah who at the end endorsed my idea to work on the National Awami Party (NAP) which was the umbrella organization of all the leftist politicians in Pakistan. I was hesitant to undertake the work which I thought was lacking in essential sources/materials. However, the idea was exciting to me for two reasons; firstly, it was my interest in the leftist political leadership and secondly it was to explore the history of the present Awami National Party (ANP) because there is not a single scholarly work available on the ANP. Majority of the people simply linked it with the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1890-1988). Keeping these points in mind I decided to write a comprehensive proposal on the nature and political direction of the NAP and submitted it to the Department of History, Faculty of Social Sciences Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad for my doctorate degree.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah presently Allama Iqbal Professor at the South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg Germany. The task of producing a comprehensive and scholarly work on the NAP was much difficult without his close cooperation and guidance. The undertaking to write a comprehensive dissertation on the NAP was difficult since there was no scholarly work available specifically on the role played by the party in the political history of Pakistan. There were a few passing references to the political program of the NAP in most of the books that dealt with the post-1947 period of political development of Pakistan. The lack of primary sources in this regard put me in great trouble during initial days of the research. However, it was Prof. Wiqar Shah’s motivation and tenacity that led me to know the fact that literature on this subject was so profuse that I could attempt to produce a voluminous work. I learnt about some libraries and personal collections wherefrom I could get rare documentary records with regard to the nature and political direction of the NAP.
This work would not have been possible without the support extended to me by Prof. Razia Sultana, Chairperson Department of History, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad. Her cooperation was much helpful during my writing up of the first draft. Prof. Rafique Afzal and Dr. Ilhan Niaz also cooperated with me and gave their valuable inputs. Dr. Sultan-i-Rome, Dr. Ghulam Qasim Marwat and Naveed Iqbal Khan of the Higher Education Department, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa provided me immense feedback. I am thankful to all my friends and colleagues at the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research Prof. Eatzaz Ahmad, Mr. Altaf Ullah Qasimi, Dr. Farah Gul Baqai, Dr. Sajid Mahmud Awan, Mr. Atlas Khan, Mr. Noor Jamal and Muhammad Hasan Baloch and Dr. Fazal Rabi of the NUML for their feedbacks and facilitation.

In completing this study, I am grateful to my elder brothers, Iftikhar Ahmad Yusufzai, PhD scholar, Department of Political Science, University of Peshawar and Dr. Hidayat Ullah Khan, Assistant Professor in the Institute of Physics and Electronics, University of Peshawar. Their advices and insightful criticism was both constructive and much needed. Iftikhar Ahmad went through the entire draft and improved the thesis at a number of points. Discussion with both of them sharpened the arguments and developed the basic framework of the study. In my endeavor for collecting primary sources Mr. Ahmad Saleem’s support was much helpful. He generously provided me access to his personal collection in Islamabad and Lahore. Therefore, my most heart-felt thanks go to him. I am thankful to Muhammad Saleem, Zahid Imran and Amjad Ghori at the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research who typed thesis and gave me valuable suggestions. A number of persons who spared their precious time and gave me interviews deserve special thanks. It is difficult to mention the names of all the persons but Shahzad Gul Bach, Aimal Khattak son of Ajmal Khattak, Muhammad Afzal Khan Lala, Faiz Muhammad, Juma Khan Sufi and Hamish Khalil provided me invaluable insight during the course of my study.

Finally, my deepest thanks go to my mother, wife Sadaf Ahmad and children Anas Khan Yaqubi and Aafia Khan Yaqubi who have patiently supported me during my study.

Himayatullah Yaqubi
ABSTRACT

This doctoral dissertation is related with the history, formation and political orientation of the Pakistan National Awami Party that espoused a leftist and socialist approach in its policy formulation. The attempt is to study the left political landscape within the framework of the NAP which was established in 1957. It was joined by the leadership of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement in NWFP, Wror Pakhtun and Ustaman Gul in Balochistan, Sindh Awami Mahaz and Sindh Hari Committee in Sindh, the splinter group of the Awami League under Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani and Gantantari Dal in the East Pakistan and Azad Pakistan Party in the Punjab. Moreover majority of the communists, who were deprived of their central authority after the banning of the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) in 1954, also joined the NAP. At the time of its formation in 1957, the NAP absorbed and unified majority of the communist, leftist and regionalist political groups in Pakistan. Before the formation of the Pakistan Peoples Party in November 1967, it was regarded as the first representative political organization of majority of the progressive and leftist elements in the country. It was also regarded as the first genuine national opposition party because of its strong popular base and challenging role in the East and West Pakistan provincial assemblies.

Most of the NAP leadership were the allies of the Indian National Congress and hence opposed the creation of Pakistan during their pre-partition politics. They have also been blamed with extra-territorial loyalties having connections with the Soviet Union, Afghanistan and India. It is an interesting paradox that majority of the NAP leadership was viewed as male-contenders who never reconciled and embraced with the state of Pakistan. However, this characterization has also been interpreted by a number of scholars, an excuse of the establishment to check the party growing influence among the masses and progressive political program. In order to explain the baffle and perplexing relationship between the NAP and the state of Pakistan, no scholarly attempt has been made so far. There are hardly any study available that could encompass all the aspects about the political direction and nature of the program of the NAP. This study aims at to explore and analyze the nature and direction of the NAP’s politics in holistic manner.

Major themes such as the formation of the NAP, its role during the 1965 presidential election, the division of the party in 1968, its role in the 1971 crisis, ministry formation in NWFP and Balochistan during the Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto government and ultimately the imposition of ban on the party in 1975 have been discussed in the study to fully grasp its overall performance. In a nutshell the purpose of this research work is to study the political strategies of the NAP leadership, line of thinking and its ideological orientation which had unbounded effects on the political development in Pakistan.
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<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>Awami League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APP</td>
<td>Azad Pakistan Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td>Basic Democrats</td>
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<tr>
<td>BNAP</td>
<td>Bangladesh National Awami Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>BSO</td>
<td>Balochistan Students Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>CDM</td>
<td>Civil Disobedience Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>CENTO</td>
<td>Central Treaty Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIA</td>
<td>Central Investigation Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CID</td>
<td>Criminal Investigation Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Combined Opposition Parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPEP</td>
<td>Communist Party of East Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>Communist Party of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPP</td>
<td>Communist Party of Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPSU</td>
<td>Communist Party of Soviet Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAC</td>
<td>Democratic Action Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBDO</td>
<td>Elected Bodies Disqualification Ordinance (1959)</td>
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<tr>
<td>GD</td>
<td>Gantantari Dal</td>
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<tr>
<td>IB</td>
<td>Intelligence Bureau</td>
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<tr>
<td>IJT</td>
<td>Islami Jamiat Talaba</td>
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<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labor Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>JIP</td>
<td>Jama’at-i-Islami Pakistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>JUI</td>
<td>Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Islam</td>
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<tr>
<td>KSNP</td>
<td>Kalat State National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KSP</td>
<td>Krishak Saramik Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>LFO</td>
<td>Legal Framework Order</td>
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<tr>
<td>NIP</td>
<td>Nizam-i-Islam Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSF</td>
<td>National Students Federation</td>
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<tr>
<td>PDM</td>
<td>Pakistan Democratic Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>PNA</td>
<td>Pakistan National Alliance</td>
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<td>NAP</td>
<td>National Awami Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>PODO</td>
<td>Public Offices Disqualification Ordinance (1959)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPL</td>
<td>Progressive Papers Limited</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>Pakistan Peoples Party</td>
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<td>PSF</td>
<td>Pakhtun Students Federation</td>
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<tr>
<td>PTUF</td>
<td>Pakistan Trade Union Federation</td>
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<tr>
<td>RTC</td>
<td>Round Table Conference</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAC</td>
<td>Students Action Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAM</td>
<td>Sindh Awami Mahaz</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDO</td>
<td>Sub-Divisional Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEATO</td>
<td>South-East Asian Treaty Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDF</td>
<td>United Democratic Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNO</td>
<td>United Nations Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCM</td>
<td>World Communist Movement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GLOSSARY

Ain-i-Shariat: Islamic Law
Anjuman: Organization
Anna: It means 1/16th of a Pakistani rupee. At present Anna is the currency of Bangladesh
Arbab: A Pakhtun tribal title
Awami: Relating to or belong to the awam or the people
Azad: Free
Azaim: Intentions
Barbad: Destroyed/Death to be
Bhai: Brother
Chappar hotel: road side small eating place/hut made of mud where usually laborers and poor people take meal
Darbar: A king/ruler’s court
Dar-ul-Awam: House of Commons
Dastur: Constitution
Dehi Muhafiz: local security personnel or village guards
Desh: State or country
Ghaibana- Nimaz Janaza: Funeral in the absence of the deceased body
Gherao Jala: Encirclement and burning. This type of political agitation was popularized by Bhashani in East Pakistan
Hari: Landless peasant. The term is usually referred to the peasants in the province of Sindh
Hartal: Strike
Hazarewal: Belonging to Hazara division of NWFP
Hijrat: migration
Islah: Reformation
Ittefaq: Unity
Ittehad: Union
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jagirdar</strong></td>
<td>Landlord/ A person having large tracks of agricultural land cultivated by peasants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jama’at</strong></td>
<td>Organization or party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Janhoori</strong></td>
<td>Democratic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kafir</strong></td>
<td>Infidel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Khan Bahadar</strong></td>
<td>A title bestowed on influential people by the British Government in administering Indian Empire in lieu of their services to the Raj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Khatadar</strong></td>
<td>Shareholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kissan</strong></td>
<td>Peasant or farmer</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Krishak Samity</strong></td>
<td>Kissan Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lashkar</strong></td>
<td>Contingent/Tribal force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Loya Jirga</strong></td>
<td>Grand Council/ Grand National Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mahajan</strong></td>
<td>Money lender</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mahaz</strong></td>
<td>Front</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Makhdum</strong></td>
<td>A spiritual designation</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mazdor</strong></td>
<td>Labor</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Minar</strong></td>
<td>Minaret</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mullah</strong></td>
<td>Religious person with little knowledge usually working as prayer leader in local mosques.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mureed</strong></td>
<td>Disciple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nawab</strong></td>
<td>Landed or titled gentry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paidaishi Haq</strong></td>
<td>Birth right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pakhtunkhwa</strong></td>
<td>The north-western Pakhtun-dominated region of Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pakhtunwali</strong></td>
<td>Pakhtun code of conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pir</strong></td>
<td>Spiritual guide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purba</strong></td>
<td>Eastern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Raj</strong></td>
<td>Rulership</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Roti, Kapra aur Makan</strong></td>
<td>‘Bread, cloth and housing’ was one of the electioneering slogans of the PPP in 1970</td>
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<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Salar-i-Aala</strong></td>
<td>Commander-in-Chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Saramik</strong></td>
<td>Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sarteri</strong></td>
<td>A term in Pashto used for those who are ready to sacrifice themselves for a certain cause.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shaba</strong></td>
<td>Council or committee or assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shaheed</strong></td>
<td>Martyr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shahinsha-i-Muazzam</strong></td>
<td>His Majesty King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Siyasat</strong></td>
<td>A term uses in Urdu for Politics</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sonar Bangla</strong></td>
<td>Golden Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sunnah</strong></td>
<td>Deeds and sayings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (M PUH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Surkh Inqilab</strong></td>
<td>Red Revolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tammadun</strong></td>
<td>Culture or civilization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tanzeem</strong></td>
<td>Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tehsildar</strong></td>
<td>Officer administering the affairs of land in a sub division of a district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thana</strong></td>
<td>Police Station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ustaman Gal</strong></td>
<td>Party of the People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wadera</strong></td>
<td>Usually referred to landed gentry in the Punjab and Sindh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wakf</strong></td>
<td>land donated to Sufi shrines and madrassas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Watan</strong></td>
<td>State or homeland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wror</strong></td>
<td>Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zalme Pakhtun</strong></td>
<td>Young Pakhtun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zindabad</strong></td>
<td>Long live</td>
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INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem
In democratic societies government functions through public representatives that come through a proper democratic electoral process. In the domain of politics persons usually differ in temperament, nature and views regarding important public issues which need due expression on their part. Unless the body politic and its manifestation are organized in some forms, differences would lead to chaos and uncertainty. Therefore, it is important to have some sort of organization to control the government for the purpose of determining general progress and devising a workable plan of action for its realization. In this regard political parties are the platform for people to participate in the development of a democratic system through elections. In democratic form of government such kind of responsibilities are handled by the political parties. Henceforth, the role of political party is very much vital in the working of representative, responsible and democratic form of government.

A political party is a group of people that is organized with a card carrying membership for the purpose of winning government power by electoral or other means. Political parties typically adopt a broader issues’ focus, addressing each of the major areas of government policy. It keeps its members united by shared political ideas, ideals and preferences. Parties always provides their members an articulate ideological identity with continues effort of expanding its political domain among the masses. It plays the role of an intermediate organization between the citizens and the state and in this capacity it executes numerous other important tasks. It provides a training ground for the workers and nurture multiple personalities and capable leadership. It creates political awareness among its members and other important groups within a society.

To control the state authority, parties often devise an attractive and practicable program for which they put up candidates in the elections, propagate its program, mobilize people to support their agenda and hold the elected members accountable for their performance. At the same time it contributes to the integration of a political system through developing roots in different regions and ethnic groups by articulating their interests. Their existence is indispensable for a democratic system and undeniably the acquisition of a democratic parties’ system in a country is a mark of political modernization.
Political parties may seek power through elections or revolution and they may espouse ideologies of the left, right or centre or indeed recant political ideas altogether. As political machine organized to win elections and wield government power, parties came into existence in the early nineteenth century. There has been a plethora of typologies of political parties in different countries. Political scientists have classified them according to wide-ranging criteria. There are elitist parties that are largely controlled by its traditional notables. Another type is comprised of the parties created outside the legislature such as workers parties, labour parties and peasant parties. All the communist, socialist and leftist parties can be put in this grouping. It has a variety of mass organizations that perform functions of resource and mass mobilization. There are ethnicity based parties that follow an ethnically exclusivist course of action. In addition, there are personality-based parties which are merely vehicles for the ambitions of their leaders. The last category is that of movement parties that evolve from contemporary social movements which has an issue-based program.

In the political spectrum, leftist or left-wing elements are those parties and groups that describe an outlook or specific position of eradicating social inequality. It is a common way of classifying political positions, ideologies or parties. There is general consensus that the Left includes communists, progressives, social liberals, secular democrats, and socialists, national and ethnic democrats, far and ultra-left. There are a good number of leftist political parties in those democratic countries who gained independence after the Second World War from the colonial powers in Asia and Africa. Among them some have gained controversy around their names due to their leaning towards socialist ideology. In the South Asian context a number of leftist parties emerged during the freedom struggle against the British Indian government. Inherently most of them were anti-British having socialist tendencies and communist political background. Due to close association with the World Communist Movement (WCM) and pro-Soviet orientation these parties were brutally suppressed during the British period. Their members have to work underground and little political space was provided to them for mass mobilization. The government let loose massive repressions on most of their members and large number of them were put behind the bars. At that time majority of the leftist and regionalist were close to the Indian National Congress due to ideological similarities and political stakes. Congress’ secular and anti-British posture and its leader Jawaharlal Nehru’s socialist leaning had naturally bounded them into political alliance.
After 1947 leftist and their allies the regionalist in Pakistan received the same treatment under the successive governments. The undercurrents of government policy in Pakistan, which most of the time remained in the hands of pro-American rightest leaders, towards them did not change altogether. The creation of Pakistan landed majority of them in precarious situation. Despite very little space and resources, in the first decade after independence Pakistan witnessed the emergence of various leftist parties in opposition to Pakistan Muslim League. Some common objectives of these parties were their opposition to the ruling Muslim League, the attainment of maximum provincial autonomy, abrogation of the One Unit Scheme, economic restructuring, land reforms, independent foreign policy and a strong antipathy to security pacts with the USA backed capitalist bloc. The orientation of these political demands, though similar in nature and contents, failed to get a shape of a unified and coherent struggle up to July 1957.

In the period from 1947 to 1956 leftist political parties emerged largely on the basis of ethnic and provincial association. For instance Awami League (AL) and Gantantari Dal (GD) in East Pakistan, Wror Pakhtun and Ustaman Gal in Balochistan, Sindh Awami Mahaz (SAM) in Sindh and Azad Pakistan Party (APP) in the Punjab. There were individual efforts by some leaders to form a national leftist party but those efforts were not transformed into a political reality. It was after the promulgation of the One Unit Scheme in 1955 and the 1956 constitution that majority of the leftists, progressive and regionalists gathered around at Lahore to form the Pakistan National Party (PNP). However, the anomaly of such a party that could claim to represent all the leftist forces in the country still persist because PNP existed only in West Pakistan. There was not a single leader in the party who could claim the true representative of the East Pakistaniis. In a year later differences among some of the AL leaders culminated in the formation of the Pakistan National Awami Party (NAP) that was the first political party on national level with a clear leftist ideological orientation. As the NAP was joined at the time of its formation by a variety of the leftist parties, therefore our focus would be firstly to study only those parties and groups that joined the NAP in 1957 and secondly to comprehensively grasp the formation, nature and political direction of the NAP. In the Pakistani context, a leftist party in the time period of this study has four main characteristics; (i) organized popular base rooted in class organization, (ii) an explicit anti-traditional, socialist and secularist ideological orientation, (iii) an explicit positive inclination towards the Soviet Union or China, and (iv) an anti-imperial (that is to say anti-USA and Britain) standpoint in foreign policy formulation.
NAP was established on 25 July 1957 in Dhaka at what was described as a two day all-Pakistan Democratic Workers’ Convention. The formation of the new party was announced on July 27, 1957. The immediate cause of the formation of the party was the emergence of fundamental differences between Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardhy and Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani in the Awami League. NAP leadership was composed of the leftists and regionalists such as Abdul Hamid Bhashani, Professor Muzaffar Ahmad, Ali Ahad in East Pakistan, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din and Mahmud Ali Qasuri in the Punjab, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Afzal Bangash in NWFP, G. M. Syed, Kaswar Gardezi and Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi in Sindh and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Prince Abdul Karim and Abdus Samad Achakzai in Balochistan. More important was the presence of large number of communists on the NAP’s roll. In Pakistan this brand of leadership had always been remained the target of civil-military bureaucracy and rightists political parties. They were often looked with suspicion because of their previous track record, their political orientation, relationship and leaning towards some foreign countries. Some of them opposed the creation of Pakistan and had regionalist tendencies; a number of its communist leaders were associated with the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case (1951). Therefore, establishment in Pakistan was apprehensive about their patriotism. Their loyalty towards the state of Pakistan was questioned very often by the successive rulers. They were branded as foreign agents working for the interest of enemy countries and receiving funds from Russia, India, Afghanistan and other countries.

Operating supposedly on a progressive program, the NAP had become an important political actor from the time of its foundation. Its ideological appeal and commitment of workers marked the party one of the challenging political forces in the country. From the very start of its inception the popular front of the NAP was so wide and integrated that it soon encompassed all the leading political parties in the country. It challenged the political majority of the ruling Muslim League and the Republican Party in 1957-58 in the federal as well as provincial legislatures. Lawrence Ziring described that the NAP organizational superiority virtually “frightened the very centers of state power.” Before the foundation of Pakistan People Party (November 1967) in West Pakistan, it was the only umbrella organization for the leftist and socialist politicians. In criticizing the external and internal policies of the successive governments of Pakistan, the leadership of the party was very vocal especially against Pakistan’s inclinations towards the Western bloc during the Cold War era.
The formation of the NAP with the political strength of all such ethnic elements pursuing an avowedly leftist ideology was a matter of greatest concern for the pro-American civil-military establishment in Pakistan. Also it exposed itself to the powerful USA-led capitalist bloc by its progressive outlook and pro-socialist approach in foreign policy affairs. The NAP leaders were mostly at the forefront in criticizing American atrocities and its interference in developing countries of the world. It often adopted an anti-imperial stance but at the same time supported Soviet and Chinese governments and their internal and external policies due to ideological juxtapositions.

After going through some of the party literature it is revealed that communist and socialist elements formed a dynamic and articulated group within the NAP organization which placed it the only leftist party of the country. The communists were instrumental in drafting of the party constitution and its political objectives. Socialist and regionalists ideological and political interests were linked-up to absorb all the leftist elements. In East Pakistan NAP captivated the attention of all such political workers who were the supporters of Bhashani. As compared to West Pakistan, the eastern wing of the country produced superior and trained communist workers who were backed by common masses, students, labors and peasants. However, things were not the same for progressive workers in the western wing. The tradition of leftist politics and socialist movements in West Pakistan was weak and their members were largely under the influence of regionalist and ethno-nationalist with socialist anticipation only in traditions.

The promulgation of the martial law in October 1958 was followed by widespread tirade against the leftist elements and workers of the NAP. The leaders of the NAP suffered the most as compared to other political parties. Ayub Khan was particularly against its political program and the presence of a large number of communists. Majority of its leaders were arrested under the Pakistan Public Safety Act because of their previous involvement in anti-state activities. Martial law authorities considered the NAP an effective political organization which had strong political base and capacity to organize resistance. It was largely feared that due to its strength it could muster the support of majority of the people much earlier and better than other political parties. That was the reason that the imposition of martial law was linked with the rising popularity of the NAP by most of the progressive writers and leftist politicians. Its political strength frightened not only the civil-military establishment but also the capitalist bloc. It was widely anticipated
that NAP would get maximum seats in the elections that were to be held in 1958-59 to form either a coalition government or become a strong opposition party.

NAP leaders initiated the struggle against Ayub Khan and played a leading role in the presidential elections of 1964-65. Also, it was the leadership of the NAP that proposed the name of Fatima Jinnah as presidential candidates to get all the opposition parties united on a single platform. However, there were policy implementation and ideological differences among its leadership that how to achieve the political objectives of the party. On ideological front the structure of the party was more dependent on the communists’ members. That was the reason that with the split in the WCM between the Soviet Union and Communist China, the NAP too witnessed division into two separate political parties. The reason of bifurcation was the method and process of implementation of the party’s socialist program. On external front the post-1965 scenario also brought organizational and political differences among the party leadership. The main reason of difference was the friendly attitude of Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani towards the Ayub Khan’s military government. Thus the process was culminated in the formation of two separate NAPs in 1968. In the political history of Pakistan both the camps were labelled as pro-Moscow and pro-Beijing which clearly indicated their leaning towards one of them. Other informal terms frequently used by the writers to identify both the camps were NAP (Wali) and NAP (Bhashani) coined after the names of their leaders Abdul Wali Khan and Abdul Hamid Bhashani respectively.

**Scope and Significance of the Study**

The topic of this research work has been selected in view of its significance in the political history of Pakistan. So far no detailed and objective study about the performance of the NAP as a leftist political party has been made; the negligence may have adverse implications for the smooth functioning of democratic institutions of the country. Much has been written on the leftist politics in Pakistan but very few of those works dealt with the NAP as a coherent political organization representing all these forces. There is not a single research work that covers history of the NAP and its role in the unfolding events at that time. It is mainly an inquiry into the political development from the last decade of the British rule which provides sufficient background to trace the roots of the NAP till 1975 when the party was banned by the then prime minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.
The political and academic scope of the study is primarily concerned with the origin and development of the NAP as a first manifestation of a leftist political party on national level in the history of Pakistan. In the first decade of its formation 1957-1967 the theatre of its political activities were both the western and eastern wings of Pakistan. However, after the division of the NAP in 1968 a visible shift occurred in the policy formulation of both the NAP (Wali) and NAP (Bhashani), the latter drifted away completely in the struggle for Bangladesh independence. Therefore, an attempt has been made to embark upon the issues of political importance that occurred after the NAP formation up to 1975.

It is important for the students of history and politics to know about the contributions of such an important political party and to understand the attraction it had for the leftist and regionalist leaders in Pakistan. It is also pertinent to know those factors, which led its detractors to start propaganda against its leaders and label it as an anti-Pakistan political party. One should know about the substance of its demand for full provincial autonomy, independent foreign policy, radical land reforms and restructuring of the country’s economy. There is not a single scholarly work available which encompasses all the contents of the nature and direction of the NAP political strategy from its inception 1957 to banning in February 1975 by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s government.

The purpose is to study the history of the NAP so as to provide a comprehensive picture of its political program and ideological orientation. The study aims at to provide the students and readers the extensive and varied landscape of the NAP in the political development of Pakistan. It traces scholastically the evolution of the NAP over a period of time and address a number of broader questions. This work sets out the major phases of the leftist and regionalist politics, their ideological positions and orientation in the 1950s, their unification which resulted in the creation of the NAP, its organizational structure, electoral performance, internal division, role in the 1971 crisis, forming of ministries in NWFP and Balochistan, countdown with Bhutto and finally banning as a political party in 1957. These are very critical phases in the political history of Pakistan which one would not be able to comprehend without understanding the NAP and its leftist-rightist postulations. It is hoped that the sources, interpretation and analyses given in this study would further generate new debates and explore new themes of research.
Methodology

It is rather a bulky task to collect primary sources and other relevant data for a PhD research topic. The researcher suffers from multiple handicaps and difficulties. During the course of writing this study several problems presented themselves. In exploring the historical background of the NAP, care has been taken to ensure such a brief survey of the leftist and regionalist politics in the Pakistani context. To ascertain different dimensions of the NAP’s political direction both qualitative and quantitative methods have been used. The methodological tools to explore the nature of this work are generally historical and analytical. The study looks to the bigger picture of the NAP chronologically, explaining events occurring as they proved to be important factors in the political history of Pakistan.

The present study is based on library and archival research. NAP literature, official records, proceedings and all other documents that are directly related with the party were abundantly consulted. The autobiographies, assemblies’ and senate debates have been consulted. This study is perhaps the first attempt to understand the nature and direction of the NAP political program in scholarly fashion. Along with other primary literature, the main focus remained to make analysis of its literature which has been so far ignored by most of the writers. In using the official documents of India, Afghanistan and Pakistan regarding the NAP and autobiographies, one must pay attention to the biases with which they interpreted the events from their own angles. In such instances sources offer different viewpoint were checked and examined with contemporary other materials for example newspapers and interviews.

The great chunk of the study is based on interviews. Interviews of the party workers and leaders were conducted to supplement textual sources. These were very helpful in filling the gaps where little information was available. The conclusion was based on the impartial judgment of all these sources. Perhaps the study is an attempt to analyze objectively the role played by the NAP in the political development of Pakistan.

Review of the Literature

To conduct a scholarly study, relevant literature pertaining to the formation of the NAP, its political program, role in electoral politics on various levels, foreign policy rhetoric, ideological orientation and relation with other political stake-holders have been consulted. This research endeavors and seeks to provide glimpses of the nature and direction of the political program that
was pursued by the NAP from 1957 to 1975. For that matter an extensive genre of literature in the context of political environment of Pakistan was studied. The research work is based on the literature that is helpful in understanding the political development of Pakistan. There are studies produced by scholars on political and constitutional development, politics of the opposition, political parties, role of bureaucracy and military and 1971 crisis. Very few works have been done on the left politics especially on the role of the NAP. However, these studies have dealt with the development of left politics in cursory way. There has been no systematic study of the origin, formation and orientation of the NAP. The present study is the first attempt which aims at to fill the gap that exists in the political literature of Pakistan.

The literatures upon which the study is based are the primary sources that are directly related with the formation and development of the NAP. There is party literature, proceedings of the meetings, resolutions, pamphlets etc. Political programs, manifestos and constitution of the NAP formed one of major sources in this category. There are proceedings of the Constituent and National Assembly and Senate of Pakistan, Government of Pakistan records, police and intelligence reports about the activities of the party.

NAP leadership produced a number of useful works in the form of books, pamphlets and autobiographies. Such kind of literature throws light on the ideology and program of the NAP. These included Abdul Ghaffar Khan, G. M. Syed, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Abdul Wali Khan, Mahmud Ali Qasuri, Abdus Samad Achakzai in West Pakistan and Mahbubullah and Badruddin Umar in the Eastern wing. These books discuss history of the political development and formation of the NAP in details. It covers a large portion of the research and provides first-hand information regarding the formation, political orientation and articulation of the NAP in different periods of its evolution. Moreover, there are court proceedings, declassified documents and White Papers that were published in different periods by various people. These are undoubtedly first-hand and original sources for the study of the NAP.

The primary sources would be supplemented by a number of secondary materials. These included Khalid bin Sayeed’s *The Political System of Pakistan* and *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change* Lawrence Ziring’s *Pakistan: The Enigma of Political Development* etc. This part consists of those literatures that touch the topic though briefly but shed light on important aspects of the NAP. Most of these secondary sources deal with the direction of the NAP’s political direction adopted in various periods in dealing with different
elements. They only elaborate broader aspects of the NAP’s political stance without grasping the inner elements that worked behind the screen. All these works are much helpful in understanding the political system, dynamics and important political parties and pressure groups of Pakistan. Most important among them are Rafique Afzal’s three volumes work *Political Parties in Pakistan.*21 The establishment of the NAP, its role in different periods, the undercurrents of its alliance politics and strategy has been discussed in detail in all the three volumes. The author thoroughly discusses various aspects of about all the political parties in Pakistan. The study presents valuable information about the NAP and its political objectives and program. However, less effort is made to understand the dynamics of its role or to explore different forces operating within the NAP. K. K. Aziz’s *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958* is much useful in the study of a number of important themes regarding the NAP. Muhammad Ayub Khan’ *Friend not Masters*, Graik Baxter, *Dairies of Muhammad Ayub Khan*, Sher Baz Khan Mazari’s *A Journey to Disillusionment*22 Azad bin Hyder’s work *G. M. Sayyed Ki Soch, Azaim Aur Siasat*23 and G W Choudhury *Pakistan: Transition from Military to Civilian Rule*, and *The Last Days of the United Pakistan* are those books which are very much needed to discover different features of the NAP.24 Satish Kumar have produced his brilliant work *The New Pakistan* which is only helpful in understanding the NAP politics during the Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto era.25 However, there is not a single study available solely on the nature and direction of the NAP politics. Majority of the books that were produced on the political developments in Pakistan after independence very briefly deals with the NAP which is considered by many people as the first major leftist political party in Pakistan.

The next part covers some published and unpublished sources including biographies, journals and newspapers. Newspapers, periodicals and magazines constitute a major source of information to study the nature and direction of the NAP politics. It shed lights on the approach of the party about different policy matters. It provides details on party activities, leadership and its presence in the civil society and the masses.26

**Organization of the Work**

In addition to introduction, conclusion and tables the present research work is comprised of the following six chapters.
The first chapter “Leftist Politics in Pakistan: History and Development” traces the origin, development and political orientation of those leftist and regionalist parties that emerged during the British period up to 1947. They included regionalist movements such as Khudai Khidmatgar, Kalat State National Party, Anjuman-i-Watan, Sindh Hari Committee and Sindh Progressive League. Besides, for communists’ intrusion into the NAP the politics of the Communist Party of India (CPI) and its successor the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) would be examined to trace the flow of events. Focusing on the unification of the leftist and regionalist forces in the first decade after independence a broad survey of the events is made that culminated in the formation of the NAP. This first decade was marked by consistent efforts to provide a single platform to the leftist and progressive elements on national level such as the establishment of Pakistan Peoples’ Party (1948), Azad Pakistan Party (1951), the formation of the anti-One Unit Front (1955) and the establishment of Pakistan National Party (1956). The dialectical factors discussed here are the link-up of regionalists and leftist interests on emergence of some new political issues which finally shaped the re-alignment of their political objectives.

The second chapter “Formation of the Pakistan National Awami Party” draws a comprehensive account of the formation of the NAP in the Democratic Workers Convention held at Dhaka in 1957. The convention was presided over by Abdul Hamid Bhashani on July 25th and it was described as the greatest assembly of the leftist and democratic workers that ever took place in the political history of Pakistan. NAP was formed to represent different shade of political elements such as leftist, progressive, liberal socialist, communist, regionalist and social democrats belonging to every province of Pakistan. A large number of delegates of leftists, communists and their sympathizers attended the convention. The resolution of the formation of the new political party was presented by a communist member from East Pakistan. Later on, they also took leading part in drafting of the constitution and objectives of the NAP. Although there were deep seated political issues within the new party amongst divergent ideological groups, however it displayed its political strength on number occasions.

The third chapter “Ayub Khan’s Military Regime and the NAP” is focusing on the era of Ayub Khan and the persecution of the leftist elements under the martial law authorities. Ayub Khan’s abhorrence of politicians particularly of the NAP leadership is analyzed in his close relations with the western bloc for building a stronger and more efficient military institution in Pakistan. He diminished the role of the politicians through martial law regulations and harassed
the NAP through internment, suppression and intimidations. Progressive Papers Limited (PPL) was confiscated and all the media organs of the NAP were banned during martial law. It was the only political party in 1962 that openly came out to criticize Ayub Khan and his policies. Some of its members in the National Assembly vehemently challenged the approach of the government on certain internal and external policies matters. In addition, NAP’s role in the presidential elections, opposition politics and Round Table Conference are some of the major points of discussion.

The fourth chapter “Ideological Debates and Division of the NAP” deals mainly with the political history of Pakistan. The events that culminated in the division of the NAP in 1968 are an important part of this chapter. The chapter also highlights the main ideological debates that were started between the Chinese and the Soviet communist parties and its repercussion on the NAP in Pakistan. The causes of the division are ascertained holistically in order to get through the major differences that terminated the dream of forming a strong and unified leftist party in Pakistan. The division of the NAP virtually intensified the process of the separation of East Pakistan on popular front. Maulana Bhashani who was made the president of the NAP (Bhashani) initiated a campaign against the maltreatment of the Bengalis by the West Pakistani civil and military establishment. He mobilized the masses on these issues and got encouraging response from the Bengalis due to his strong influence among the masses. The government failed to get his support in minimizing the propaganda of the AL.

In the fifth chapter the direction and political approach of the NAP (Bhashani), the main plank of its program, the politics of agitation of its leader Abdul Hamid Bhashani and its role in the 1971 crisis are mainly discussed. The exact title of the chapter is “NAP (Bhashani) and its Role in the Dismemberment of Pakistan”. With the division of the NAP Bhashani had virtually limited his party’s role only to the East Pakistan. His bastion of power and strength was the local peasantry and a section of the remaining leftists. He spent most of the time fighting for their rights through agitation, jalao and gherao. He capitalized on the Bengalis grievances and intensified the process of bifurcation much before Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rahman and his party the AL. Bhashani was the first political leader in East Pakistan who openly called for the separation on various occasions. His strategy of demanding an independent state was initiated to build pressure on the government to meet the Bengalis grievances but it produced grave consequences
for Pakistan. His intention was to play a greater role in the policy formulation and eying for a considerable share in the assembly for youth and peasants.

Chapter six of this study is “NAP (Wali) and the Politics of Moderation”. As clear from its title the chapter deals with the NAP (Wali) which, most of its workers think was the true successor of the defunct NAP. Its support base was largely confined to the West Pakistan although it has tiny pocket of workers in the eastern wing of Pakistan. Its inaugural convention was held at Peshawar in 1968 that culminated in the formation of the NAP (Wali). It would examine the ideological position of the party and controversy around its leadership. This chapter also dealing with some crucial issues such as the role of its leaders in the 1971 crisis, the formation of governments in NWFP and Balochistan, PPP-NAP debate on socialism, its performance in the constitution-making process, and confrontation with Bhutto and lastly banning by the government in 1975.
References and Notes


3 The One Unit Scheme was a geo-political arrangement implemented by the Government of Pakistan under the then Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra. It was launched on 22 November 1954 which was believed to minimise the political, cultural and economic differences between two regions of East and West Pakistan. Under this scheme the government merged the four provinces of West Pakistan into one single province.

4 Under the 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010 the name North West Frontier Province (NWFP) was changed to the new name of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In the present study the old name of NWFP would be used instead of its new name for the sake of uniformity and because of the time period of the study.

5 The Rawalpindi Conspiracy (also known as the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case) was a Soviet backed coup attempt against the government of Liaqat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1951. The conspiracy was the first of many successive coup attempts against elected governments in the history of Pakistan. The coup was planned by some dissident army officers under Major General Akbar Khan, a senior commander in the Pakistani army in conjunction with some communist and left-wing Pakistani politicians. These politicians included Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Sajjad Zahir, and other leaders of the Communist Party of Pakistan. Later in 1957 some of these political leaders and workers joined the NAP.


7 There are party literature, pamphlets, booklets and policy statements about various issues of importance. The proceedings of different meetings, resolutions and speeches of its leadership are also available. Moreover, the constitution of the party, its objectives and programs which it spelled out in different times would be consulted.

8 Police and intelligence reports about the activities of the NAP are available in provincial public archives and National Documentation Centre Islamabad. Statements of the party leaders can be found in different assemblies and Senate of Pakistan proceedings. Besides, newspapers of the time period are also important source of information.


For example Bangladesh *Freedom War Documents*, Supreme Court of Pakistan proceedings and a number of White Papers issued by the Government of Pakistan and different parties regarding issues of national interests.


Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan: The Enigma of Political Development* (Folkston: Dawson and Sons Ltd, 1980).


Newspapers provide very useful information about the NAP policy, leadership, agreements, political statements, and its role in some major events that occurred in Pakistan under various regimes. It also shed lights on the party performance in a number of provincial, national and presidential elections that were held in Pakistan. Therefore, it constitutes a major part of literature that is extremely significant in understanding the NAP political history. There are a number of newspapers that were consulted for instance *Dawn, Nawa-i-Waqt, Jang, Dinak Pakistan, Pakistan Times, Jasarat* etc. which are available in the Press and Information Department (PID), Islamabad and the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research (NIHCR), Islamabad.
CHAPTER ONE

Leftist Politics in Pakistan: History and Development

In the political spectrum, leftist or left-wing elements are those parties and groups that describe an outlook or specific position of eradicating social inequality. It is a common way of classifying political positions, ideologies or parties. These terms were used to refer to two ideologically opposed families of political parties on the global front. In France, where the terms originated, the ‘Left’ was called “the party of movement” and the ‘Right’ was termed as “the party of order”. During the French Revolution of 1789 those deputies who sat on the left in the Estate General (National Assembly) usually opposed the monarchy, while those on the right were supportive of the traditional institutes of the old regime. There is general consensus that the leftist includes communists, ultra and far lefts, progressives, social liberals, secular democrats, socialists, nationalists and ethnic democrats.

In the undivided British India there were two prominent political parties i.e. Indian National Congress and All-India Muslim League (AIML) at the national level. The political situation of the British India at the time when the Government of India Act 1935 was promulgated was essentially one in which the people generally supported these two rival political parties. The Act of 1935 was a sort of opportunity provided to the political parties, then in existence, to shed off their previous status of being mere pressure groups and to assume a better role of genuine political parties. Albeit all the Hindus did not support the Congress as there were liberals, independents and militants wing who had chosen their own line of political action. Neither were all the Muslims united under the banner of the AIML. Particularly in the Muslim majority provinces other political parties and groups emerged which challenged the AIML certain grounds. These regional political parties professed leftist views which posed serious threats to the AIML’s expansion which it badly needed. In those provinces where Muslim majority prevailed, there was a general absence of the fear of Hindu dominance. It was around these areas that the future structure of Pakistan was eventually to be built. Ironically, it was in the same areas except in Bengal that the AIML was politically at its weakest position as compared to its rival political parties and groups.

The hallmarks of the British bureaucratic vice-regal system were paternalism, extra-discretionary powers and the personalization of political authority. The tradition of ruthless
repression of the opposition parties and imposition of martial laws had been witnessed several times. Almost the same state of affair was experienced by the leftist and regional political parties in Pakistan after independence. In the Pakistani context, a leftist party has four main characteristics; (i) organized popular base rooted in class organization, (ii) an explicit anti-traditional and secularist ideological orientation, (iii) an explicit positive inclination towards the Soviet Union or China, and (iv) an anti-imperial (that is to say anti-USA and Britain) standpoint in foreign policy formulation.¹ The term leftist is used to accommodate all those components that joined the NAP at the time of its formation.

The roots of some of the major component parties of the NAP lay in the period when the British government was at the helm of affairs in the subcontinent. It is, therefore, very useful to understand the nature and direction of the political ideologies developed and followed by these parties in the pre-partition period. Political development in the pre-partition era had an unbounded effect on the nature and politics of those political parties that were formed after 1947. In their pre-partition period most of the components of the NAP upheld progressive ideas and pursued different political courses on account of their peculiar political and social background; therefore each one of them would be dealt separately. This chapter would discuss the formation, leadership and ideologies of the component parties of the NAP separately and a proper analysis of their political struggle would also be made.

**Left Politics in the pre-Partition Sindh**

A provincial autonomy movement emerged in Sindh in 1917 against the administrative arrangement of the British government who had virtually made it a part of the Bombay Presidency. The movement led by landed elites took a nationalist character in the 1930s when the province was exposed to leftist ideas. The word ‘*Sindh Desh*” was used for the first time during this movement.² The movement produced political maturity among the masses which resulted in the formation of branches of various political parties. It also gave birth to progressive and socialist parties in the province. One among them was Sindh *Azad* Party which was established on August 18, 1932 at Karachi by Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi.³ The aim of the party was to mobilize the people for the attainment of an autonomous state of Sindh. The party stood for the uplift of the downtrodden section of the society and visualized the formation of a government

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¹ The term left is used to accommodate all those components that joined the NAP at the time of its formation.

² The word ‘*Sindh Desh*” was used for the first time during this movement.

³ The aim of the party was to mobilize the people for the attainment of an autonomous state of Sindh.
that would strive for eradicating injustices, providing free education, bringing prosperity and development.4

Another important progressive political group involved in the politics of Sindh was Sindh Hari Committee which was formed in 1930-31 in Meerpur Khas. Its program was to ameliorate the condition of the Sindhi peasants and to make effort for providing them with better facilities of life. It was established due to the efforts of comrade Abdul Qadir, Jamshed Mehta Nasrwanji, Jethmal Parsaram, G. M. Syed and Abdul Majid Sindhi. From the very beginning it was associated with the all-India Kissan Sabha and its flag was of red color indicating its communist markup.5 Cesar P. Prober was of the view that in its initial years it worked as a committee with the objective to look into the deplorable working condition of the haris.6 In 1945, Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi joined the committee after resigning from his government job. At that time the leading members of the Committee included Abdul Ghafoor Jan Sirhindi, Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi, Mulvi Nazir Hussain, Abdul Qadir and Ghulam Muhammad Leghari. The long-range objective of the party was the abolition of the jagirdari system and the establishment of a socialist state. In view of its proletarian character, the committee was bound to be suspected of communist leaning. And it was despite the assurance of its president Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi, that the committee did not have anything with communist and that the haris only wanted their bread, some still remained unconvinced that the Sindh Hari Committee and Sindh Communist Party are like “twin brothers”.7

G. M. Syed was a great political activist who established Sindh Peoples Party in 1933. He then switched over to Sindh Ittehad Party which grabbed 24 Provincial Assembly seats in the 1937 elections.8 After the election first government of Sindh was formed and G. H. Hidayatullah became its first Chief Minister. Most of his ministers were from the Baloch group in the Assembly. Their rival Syed group was led by G. M. Syed. By March 1938, political opposition within the assembly increased to the extent that Hidayatullah abdicated the slot in favor of Allah Bakhsh Soomro. The overthrow of the ministry was mainly due to G. M. Syed, Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi and some Congress members.9 The enhancement of land assessment act was an irritating issue between Soomro and G. M. Syed. Disappointed by the decision of the Sindh Congress Party, G. M. Syed invited Abul Kalam Azad and Sardar Patel to seek their intervention in this regard. His affiliation with the Congress was very strong and indomitable hence he expected their positive involvement in the matter. But to his astonishment, both the leaders went
back and left the matter to be resolved by provincial politicians. The political stalemate in Sindh proved very useful for the AIML. Many politicians who resented this state of affairs joined the Muslim League. G. M. Syed along with his supporters Pir Ali Rashidi, Miran Muhammad, Muhammad Ali Shah and Ghulam Hyder Shah also joined the League. The induction of G. M. Syed proved very instrumental in terms of organizational strength of the party because he had considerable influence among the *haris*, *zamindars*, *pirs* and Syed members of the Sindh society.

During the last month of 1940, Jinnah set up a Muslim League Organizing Committee with G. M. Syed as its chairman. G. M. Syed tabled the Pakistan Resolution in the Sindh Assembly on March 3, 1943. The strength of the League was later on demonstrated in the annual session in Karachi held on December 24-26, 1943. In the subsequent political development acute differences cropped up between G. M. Syed, president Sindh Muslim League and G. H. Hidayatullah, premier of Sindh. On July 7, 1944 the working committee of Sindh Muslim League called upon the ministry to resign due to its failure to provide relief to the *haris*. It appears that after the Sukhkur riots the progressive section in the League headed by G. M. Syed realized that the making and unmaking of the ministries was not a matter of concern for the poor *haris* and downtrodden sections of the society. He therefore, took initiatives to organize them to have an unshakable hold over the League. The organizational ability of G. M. Syed gave him the opportunity to be nominated for the membership of the working committee of All India Muslim League. With his effort and following by the decision of the Communist Party of India (CPI) to support the self-determination of the Muslim nation, the leader of the Sindh Hari Committee also joined the Muslim League and the Pakistan Movement. The *haris* saw in the creation of Pakistan relief from high-handedness of Hindu *mahajans* (moneylenders), allotment of lands grabbed by Hindu absentee landlords, freedom from feudal exploitation and prosperous future. G. M. Syed tried to get the majority of his bloc, the progressive and socialists, elected on the council. It is worth noting that during the tenure of G. M. Syed as president Sindh Muslim League, the membership of the League crossed the figure of nearly three hundred thousand. The branches were opened all over the province. He organized various conferences under the banner of the League and circulated its literature in the rural population of Sindh. At that time there were 547 branches as compared to 474 in the previous years.

G. M. Syed tried to castigate the performance of the provincial ministry in the working committee meetings. However, Mr. Jinnah reprimanded him and expressed his anger over his
arrogant attitude. He did not expect from Jinnah such kind of rash and insulting attitude. Being overrun by Jinnah’s attitude and feeling of reaction, he decided to topple the provincial Sindh Muslim League ministry. Sir Francis Mudie, Governor of Sindh closely observed the situations at that time. His observation regarding this state of affairs is worthy of mentioning:

I do not know what will happen our Assembly meets at the end of this month or in July. There are the usual stories that Khurho, in league with Sayed, will try to upset Sir Ghulam. On the other hand, Khurho is afraid that Sir Ghulam will intrigue with Sayed and the Hindus of his party to oust him. It is possible, too, that Bendeh Ali will try some more of his tricks as he is dissatisfied at not being Home Minister.

The issue of allotment of party tickets in 1946 elections became a bone of contention between G. M. Syed and his rival group with in the AIML. The Provincial Parliamentary Board of AIML in Sindh had virtually allotted ticket to those candidates who were not acceptable to G. M. Syed. He was not ready to submit to the decision of the parliamentary board which was also endorsed by AIML parliamentary board at the centre and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. To solve the deadlock Jinnah himself visited Karachi and met G. M. Syed. Given the cynical response of the former, Jinnah warned him of saying good bye to each others. Later, Liaqat Ali Khan and Qazi Isa tried to patch-up the differences. However, the AIML high-command was not ready to give ticket to four progressive members of the Sindh Muslim League who were recommended by G. M. Syed.

Differences between G. M. Syed and AIML high-command reached to a point of no return. On December 19, 1945 G. M. Syed was expelled not only from the president-ship of Sindh chapter of the Muslim League but also from the primary membership of all-India Muslim League. Subsequently on December 26, 1945 G. M. Syed issued a statement in which he resigned from the Working Committee of AIML and return his ticket for the election. Later on, he contested the elections at his own under the banner of splinter Sindh Muslim League. It fielded twelve candidates in various constituencies against the AIML ticket-holders and won four seats.

In the subsequent political developments the Syed’s Progressive Sindh Muslim League joined hands with the Congress and the nationalist Muslim members of the assembly. They were successful in forming an alliance under G. M. Syed in the Assembly. The Muslim League members tried to form government with the support of the Congress but Jinnah refused to have any truck with the Syed group unless he regretted and surrendered unconditionally. The political
chaos in the Sindh Assembly aggravated to the extent that the governor dissolved the Assembly and appointed a caretaker government of the Muslim League and announced future elections to be held in December 1946.\textsuperscript{18}

In the December elections the Sindh Muslim League exploited all the recourse. The result of the elections revealed startling fact in the sense that Muslim League won 33 out of 35 Muslim seats while Syed group was defeated on all except one seat. Subsequently, controversies emerged about the alleged involvement of the Muslim League members in the unfair means during the polls. The rigging charges against the League members were put up by a tribunal on the petition of G. M. Syed after the creation of Pakistan. The tribunal later on decided in favor of G. M. Syed and declared him successful from his election constituency.\textsuperscript{19}

G. M. Syed shaped his political view after 1947 in Sindhi nationalist fashion. Up-to 1971 he stood for an autonomous Sindh within the loose federation of Pakistan. He alleged the leadership of the Muslim League was working for a highly dictatorial and unitary political setup with little or no room for provincial autonomy. He viewed freedom struggle as an irrational emotionalism and propagated the idea of an “Independent Peoples Republic in Sindh.”\textsuperscript{20} He argued that Islam was being used by the Muslim League to maintain a reactionary and corrupt social and political system in Sindh. It was used in the mobilization campaign of the Muslim masses as a tool. One of his statements in the \textit{Struggle for New Sindh} will further clarify his views:

\begin{quote}
Do not forget that Islamic society actually in existence is that in which its religious head is an ignorant \textit{mulla}, spiritual leader an immoral \textit{pir}, political guide a power intoxicated feudal lord and whose helpless members are subjected to all the worldly forces of money and influence. If the really important question about the abolition of \textit{jagirdari} and \textit{zamindari} crops up or the prohibition of intoxicants becomes the issue of the day, what would not a rich \textit{jagirdar} or an aristocratic member do to use his influence, as also that of the \textit{mulla} and the \textit{pir}, to resist this threat to what is essentially an immoral and un-Islamic cause?\textsuperscript{21}
\end{quote}

\textbf{Emergence of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement}

Although NWFP was an overwhelmingly Muslim majority province, however the 1937 elections barely revealed the Muslim League standing where it fielded no candidates at all. On the other hand, Congress existed in the province since 1905. Its members were either Hindus or urban
Muslims. However, the party never enjoyed mass support in the countryside. It was when Abdul Ghaffar Khan brought his Khudai Khidmatgar Movement into the Congress fold that it received mass support in the province. The dynamic success of Abdul Ghaffar Khan could be understood from his emphasis on ethnic Pakhtun identity and the articulation of Pakhtunwali in the Khudai Khidmatgar political manifestation.

Abdul Ghaffar was an outstanding nationalist leader who initiated Khudai Khidmatgar Movement in 1929. The activities of servants of God (dubbed as Red Shirts due to their reddish uniform) came into prominence in connection with the Congress-led Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930. The movement became very dramatic in the province due to the Pakhtuns active participation under the leadership of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Most of his supporters were small khans who wielded great influence in the rural areas of the province. However, its emphasis on Pakhtun identity had very little effect on the non-Pakhtuns who largely remained outside from its political influence. The social base of the movement was confined to the rural Pakhtun areas. Its secular outlook in politics and cross-communal claim brought it too close to the Congress leaders who were eager to enlist its support for strengthening their position in such an important Muslim majority province. According to Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah different people interpreted Khudai Khidmatgar differently. He is of the view that:

To the Pakhtun intelligentsia it was a movement for the revival of Pakhtun culture with its distinct identity. To the smaller khans it was a movement that demanded political reforms for the province that would enfranchise them and give them a great role in the governance. Its anti-colonial stand suited the majority of anti-establishment ulema, who always regarded British rule in the subcontinent as a ‘curse’. For the peasants and other poor classes it was against their oppressors, British imperialism and its agents the pro-British Nawabs, Khan Bahadurs and the big Khans.

The formal affiliation of the organization with the Congress brought Abdul Ghaffar Khan on the larger scene of the Indian politics. Over one hundred thousand members were led by him in province-wide agitations against the policies of the British government. Hundreds of activists lost their lives in demonstrations. A ban on the political activities was imposed and martial law was declared. Apart from many other causes of agitation in NWFP during 1930, one basic reason was the absence of political reforms in the province.
In the election of 1937 the Congress won a dominant position winning 19 seats in the assembly of 50 members. With the support of the British governor of the province a short-lived ministry with Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum Khan as the first chief minister was formed. However, it was toppled and a Congress-led coalition ministry under the leadership of Dr. Khan Sahib, elder brother of Abdul Ghaffar Khan was installed. The Civil Disobedience Movement of 1940 and the subsequent Quit India movement of 1942 brought some serious repercussions for the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. It was left almost without leaders as most of the high profile Khudai Khidmatgars had been interned. The internal dissention and lust for power of some of the Muslim League members hindered the party organization which was unable to match the social base of its political rival—the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. In the spring of 1945 Dr Khan Sahib once again took over as the chief minister of the province. In the elections which were held between January 26 and February 14, 1946 Congress swept the minority seats winning eleven out of twelve and improved its position in the Muslim constituencies winning nineteen out of twenty seven seats in the Assembly of 50. Of these 30 seats 19 were Muslims and 11 were non-Muslims. While Muslim League won 17 Muslim seats with, obviously none among the non-Muslims. The position of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement seemed well-built after 1946 elections. But the political atmosphere of India had undergone a fundamental change. Indian politics was no longer focused on the struggle for freedom. A drastically new situation arose, a realignment of political forces in the province occurred and people who hitherto had taken no interest in politics now took to it in the last phase of the freedom struggle. Several prominent Congress leaders switched over to the Muslim League. Very important role in this regard was played by Pir of Manki Sharif by organizing Pakistan Conferences in different places. Further boost was provided to the League by almost daily influx of the Congress dissenters including Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, Deputy Parliamentary Leader of the Congress in the Central Legislature, Ghulam Muhammad Khan Lundkhwar, former provincial president of the Congress and Arbab Abdul Ghaffur, one of the organizers of the Afghan Jirga in Peshawar. In October 1945, George Cunningham, governor of the province, reported to the Secretary of State in London: “Well-educated Muslims of the senior official type, who never took much interest in politics before, are becoming almost rapidly anti-Hindu, and therefore pro-Muslim League.”
When the Pakistan issue came to the forefront, the situation changed to a great extent. Religious figures assumed powerful position with a crucial role to play. Pir of Manki Sharif along with his thousands of mureeds (followers) campaigned for Pakistan in the remote areas of the province. The public mood swung away from the idea of inclusion in a Hindu-dominated polity. The communal frenzy in Bihar also multiplied tension among the Pakhtuns. In the autumn of 1946, the Muslim League ordered its followers to resort to “Direct Action” and abandoned its constitutionalist approach in politics.29

The visit to NWFP of Jawaharlal Nehru in his capacity as Deputy Prime Minister further aggravated the political tension and severely damaged Congress position. It strengthened the image of Hindu raj propagated by the AIML among the Pakhtuns. The Muslim League had also started a Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) against Dr. Khan Sahib ministry allegedly against his pro-Hindus policies and distribution of ration among his supporters. They demanded resignation or removal of the provincial government. In this backdrop Viceroy Lord Mountbatten visited the province and observed the critical situation himself. The Congress leaders were not ready to accept the AIML demand of fresh elections. So the Viceroy proposed referendum, instead of elections, to ascertain the views of the people as to whether they wished to join India or Pakistan. This provision of referendum became a part of the 3rd June Plan which called for the division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan and transfer of power from British to indigenous hands.30

The two alternatives offered to the people were joining either India or Pakistan. The proposal was accepted by both Nehru and Congress but Ghaffar Khan was totally enraged. His argument was that when the political future of the province of Punjab and Bengal were given to their respective legislative assemblies then why the same right was being denied to the Frontier Assembly? He demanded that a third option of independent Pakhtunistan should be included in the referendum. On June 21, 1947 three weeks before the referendum Abdul Ghaffar Khan declared in a public meeting at Bannu that the Congress party would boycott the referendum and would continue to struggle peacefully for independent Pakhtunistan.31 The meeting was attended by the representative of the Frontier Congress, the Congress Parliamentary Party, Khudai Khidmatgars and Zalmai Pakhtun. They demanded that the election be held on the issue of Pakhtunistan verses Pakistan. The Frontier Congress observed July 7 as ‘Pakhtunistan Day’ as a
protest. This demand was unacceptable to the British Government, the Muslim League and the Congress alike as there was fear of other ethnic groups making such demands.

The referendum was held between July 6 and 17, 1947. Dr. Khan Sahib had promised to resign if the result of the referendum went in favor of Pakistan. The result of the referendum went against their expectation as the people voted to join Pakistan by 289,244 votes against 2874 for India. Abdul Ghaffar Khan commented on the outcome of the referendum that since they took no part in the referendum, the Muslim League had no hurdle to cross. When it resulted in an overwhelming victory for Pakistan Dr. Khan Sahib went back from his words and continued his official engagements. Mr. Jinnah then approached Mountbatten for dissolving the ministry but the Viceroy found it difficult for fear of Congress reprisal. However, there were serious question raised about the nature of referendum. Erland Jansson thus describes the poll “the referendum was held under the supervision of the army. But the British officers available were not sufficient to supervise the actual conduct of the polling. That was done instead by the ordinary election staff and they were by and large for the Muslim League. In the absence of election agents representing the Congress, they were on the whole free to do as they wished.” The AIML always rejected the charges of bogus votes and rigging. Their argument was that there was no chance with the League workers to influence the referendum as there was Congress Chief Minister of the province; Nehru was Deputy Prime Minister with Viceroy Lord Mountbatten who was very close to Congress and one of his personal friends.

Leftists’ Entry into the All India Muslim League

In Bengal the seed of Muslim separatism had been sowed. Historically, the province has close association with the Muslim politics as the AIML had been inaugurated in Dhaka in 1906. The Muslim League performance in the 1937 elections was markedly superior to that in any other province of united India. As a result of its implementation of various reforms schemes by the League ministry, it gained a radical flavor that it never really possessed earlier. This transformation aided its image as a friend of the impoverished Muslim poor masses and tenants.

The political landscape in Bengal was much different from other areas in the sense that most of the people who were politically mature and liberal in their outlook joined the AIML. In the elections of 1946, the Muslim League, basing its campaign on the demand for ‘Pakistan’,
won all the six Muslim seats from Bengal for the central assembly and 113 out of 121 territorial Muslim seats for the provincial assembly. Shila Sen has thus argued:

The election results also proved that in Bengal, the Pakistan movement was mass based and democratic. They reflected the aspirations of Bengali Muslims for a Muslim majority state in northern India.\(^{37}\)

Coincided with all this was the ascendancy of the progressive elements with full control on League organization in the province. In 1943 Bengal Muslim League came under the commanding leadership of Abul Hashim.\(^ {38}\) He aimed at to build it up as a strong democratic force based on clarity of purpose and capable of fighting the liberation struggle to the very last. He had come with the strategy of imparting training to full-time workers which resulted in a rapid increase in League membership. Proper elections at all levels were arranged in the organization. The power of the provincial president to nominate members to the AIML council and working committee was slashed. In the editorial of Azad, a paper own by the Khwaja faction, Abul Hashim was dubbed as a communist.\(^ {39}\) It was the time when the Bengal Muslim League was in the control of the progressive elements. They claimed the membership of over one million workers having the largest grassroots support than any other political organization.\(^ {40}\)

The strength of the Muslim League was demonstrated in the 1946 elections with its sweeping electoral success in Bengal. Its performance in the rural areas was impressive where it captured 104 out of 111 seats. Suhrawardy, who succeeded Nazim-ud-Din as Premier in April 1946, had a vision for Bengal as an independent sovereign state. In this endeavor he was supported by more of Bengali progressive Muslim politicians such as Abul Hashim and Fazlur Rahman. A document was drawn up – a blueprint – for a ‘Socialist Republic of Bengal’, which implied that they had more than a ‘dominion’ status in mind for the proposed unit.\(^ {41}\) The views of the Bengali speaking Muslim Leaguers were diametrically opposed to that of Urdu speaking politicians. Some of them were actively propagating the idea of a separate Bengali state. Abul Mansur Ahmed, Muslim League journalist-cum politician maintained in one of his speech in 1944:

Religion and culture are not the same things. Religion transgresses the geographical boundary but \textit{tammadun} (culture) cannot go beyond the geographical boundary. Here
only lie the differences between *purba* Eastern Pakistan and Pakistan. For this reason the people of *purba* Pakistan are a different nation from the people of other provinces of India and from the “religious brothers” of Pakistan.\(^{42}\)

An important political figure in the Bengal Muslim League was Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani who led the Bengali peasants against the repressive policies of the British government. Like Suhrawardy, he too worked hard in the freedom struggle of Pakistan. He mobilized the peasants against the *zamindars* for their alleged maltreatment and harshness. His efforts were mainly instrumental in bringing about political maturity among the peasants and lower middle classes of Assam. It was due to his mobilization campaign that Muslim League gained strong public backing. He was then made the president of Assam Muslim League. He remained the member of East Bengal Assembly till 1948.\(^{43}\)

Likewise in the Punjab there were a small group of educated people within the AIML who were under the influence of socialist ideology. At the outset their hopes were raised by some of the verses of Allama Iqbal in which he supported the cause of peasants and poor classes of the society. Besides, he asserted that social democracy is compatible with original purity of Islam.\(^{44}\) Some of the League workers were also attracted by the Soviet’s experiment in Marxist economic planning designed to bring about a better distribution of wealth. Though they rejected Marxian materialist dialectics as antithetical to Islam but were not disturbed by Soviet totalitarianism. Similarly, Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, who remained minister of Education in Pakistan, took great deal of references from the Russian’s know-how in economic and democratic development. He wrote in a Muslim League publication:

> The Russian experiment has a great deal to teach us in the methods of increasing our industrial and material power in spite of lack of capital……… All our population will have to be regimented for the purpose of reconstruction which will have to be planned.\(^{45}\)

It was after the start of the World War Second that the communist leaders in CPI felt the polarization of the Indian masses on communal lines. The earlier stance of the communists was to support the Congress in its struggle against the colonial government. It was due to the perception that most of the people considered Congress as a secular and anti-imperial organization. CPI changed its earlier position after the large-scale transformation of the Muslim
public opinion in favor of the League and its demand of Pakistan. A new thesis was presented which accommodated the position of Jinnah vis-à-vis the Congress. Under the new strategy they placed AIML at par with the Congress:

A belief continues to be held that the League is a communal organization and that Mr. Jinnah is pro-British. But what is the reality? Mr. Jinnah is to the freedom loving League masses what Gandiji is to the Congress masses. They revere their Quaid-i-Azam as much as the Congress does the Mahatma. They regard the League as their patriotic organization as we regard the Congress. This is so because Mr. Jinnah has done to the League what Gandhi did to the Congress in 1919-20 i.e. made it a mass organization.\(^{46}\)

Coupled with these political realities was the CPI’s tough stance against the Unionist Party in the Punjab. Unionist ministry was regarded as a big hurdle in the spreading of mass consciousness in the province. This probable political perspective has been best illustrated in one of Sajjad Zaheer’s article in the following words:

The task of every patriot is to welcome and help this democratic growth which at long last is now taking place among the Muslims of Punjab. The last stronghold of imperialist bureaucracy in India is invaded by the League. Lets all help the people of Punjab to capture it.\(^{47}\)

When the Pakistan movement got popular attention, some of the Muslim socialists in the Punjab joined the League after disbanding their respective political groups. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, a famous socialist, left the Congress due to mounting Hindu-Muslim antagonism. They held the views that economic planning, nationalization of key industries, land reforms, and a more equitable distribution of wealth was more relevant for the future development of Pakistan than the issue of an Islamic state.\(^{48}\) In July 1945 the provincial communist leadership issued instructions to all district committees to hold joint Communist-League meetings for the purpose to defeat the Unionists. The CPI had also endorsed this idea to permeate into the Muslim League as to broaden its secular front among the masses.

Under this policy Danyal Latifi, Attaullah Jahania, Abdullah Malik, Choudhury Rehamtullah Aslam (C. R. Aslam), Anis Hashim, Ghulam Nabi Bhullar worked closely with the
League. They strengthened League publicity campaign through working in the Muslims intelligentsia and peasantry. On September 29-30, 1945 a big conference of *Kissan Sabha* was organized with the active participation of the League workers in Lahore. C. R. Aslam was at that time the president of Lahore Muslim League. Danyal Latifi was also closely associated with the Muslim League leadership. He was influenced by the socialist ideas and was associated with the CPI. He drafted the election manifesto of the Punjab Muslim League in 1946 elections and supported Mumtaz Daultana for the secretary-ship of the Punjab League. The manifesto contained clauses such as full employment, nationalization of key industries, distribution of government land among landless peasants and taxes on large landholding. The communists’ mass mobilization campaign in the Punjab provided further boost to the demand of Pakistan among the Muslims of the province.\(^{49}\) Ferozuddin Mansur wrote a number of pamphlets and coined slogans *Pakistan Paidaishi Haq Hai* (Pakistan is a birth right). Attaullah Jahania was an able social organizer who was utilized by Daultana.\(^{50}\)

However, some of the communist leaders considered it their mistake to forge alliance with the League. It was probably due to the fact that the communists did not work as an organized political group within the League. They were compelled to pursue the strategy prepared by the landlords who were at the helm of affairs. The entrance of some of the communists did not manifest the changing of overall public policy in the League’s echelon. In this regard the views of the communist elements were presented by Eric Cyprian in the following words:

> We were used by the Muslim League. We were their errand boys at their calls, and did all their dirty work. We could not hope to influence the Muslim League. We were too few and politically too weak. And, helping the Muslim League secure a base amongst the workers and peasants only resulted in our helping a reactionary organization strengthen its mass base. Furthermore the Muslim League always held us in suspicion. During the elections, they did not give our boys any ticket. Attaullah Jahania was in tears over it.\(^{51}\)

### Leftists and the Political Landscape in Balochistan

Balochistan was politically the most backward region of Muslim India. During the colonial period, Balochistan was a complex mixture of administrative units: Kalat State, British
Balochistan, and areas that the British had taken on lease from Kalat which included Baloch commissionerates of Quetta, Nushki and Nasirabad. The districts of Loralai, Pishin, Chaman and Sibi were taken from Afghanistan under the treaty of Gandamak in 1879. The Mari-Bugti tribal area was constituted into what was called the British Baluchistan. Ruled by a Khan, Kalat was nominally independent, though like other princely states, the British exerted their dominance by various means, including vetting the Khan’s officials and paying subsidies to tribal leaders. The relations between the British government and the Kalat state were governed by a series of treaties concluded in 1839, 1841, 1854, 1863, 1876 and many more.52

In 1920 an underground organization, called Young Baloch was formed by a group of Baloch nationalists under the leadership of Yusuf A. H. Magsi and Abdul Aziz Kurd, son of a Kalat state official. A few years later, the movement changed its name to the Anjuman-i-Ittehad-i-Balochistan (Organization for Unity of the Baloch). Its nature underwent a change from being a clandestine organization to an open political party under Magsi leadership in 1931.53 Javed Haider Syed is of the view that it was in 1931 after the release of Abdul Aziz Magsi that some of its leader approached him and they renamed the party as Anjuman-i-Ittehad-e-Balochan wa Balochistan.54 In many ways the Anjuman marked the beginning of a new force in Balochistan—the secular, non-tribal nationalist movement, organized in a political party. It called for political and constitutional reforms within the Khanate, and ultimate unification of all Baloch lands into an independent state. From 1931, the Anjuman started to work openly, propagating different ideas and reforms within the state, and advocating the need for more representative institutions.55 Thus politics in Balochistan assumed an all-Balochistan dimension. Political maturity shown by the people alarmed the British authority who had clamped a total ban on all kind of political activities in British Balochistan.56 Under these developments and with the sudden death of Magsi the radical elements within the Anjuman-i-Ittehad-e-Balochan wa Balochistan met at Sibi and deliberated on their new course of action. Consequently, they agreed to rename the Anjuman as the Kalat State National Party (KSNP). The new party was founded under the leadership of Abdul Aziz Kurd in a convention held in Sibi on February 5, 1937 with Kurd as president and Malik Faiz Muhammad as general secretary.57

After the promulgation of the Government of India Act 1935 more political organizations came into limelight. Anjuman-i-Watan was established by Abdus Samad Achakzai in 1938.58 Javed Haider Syed mentioned that Anjuman-i-Watan was established in 1939 and affiliated with
the Indian National Congress in 1945. The leadership of the party invited Attaullah Shah Bukhari of the *Majils-i-Ahrar* and Abdul Ghaffar Khan, founder of the *Khudai Khidmatgar* Movement, to deliver speeches and attend the political gatherings of the *Anjuman-i-Watan*.\(^59\) Abdus Samad Achakzai has mentioned that the *Anjuman* was established in 1938.\(^60\) Some core objectives of the *Anjuman* were making struggle for ending of the British imperialism, imparting of education to the common masses and special measures to be taken for the emancipation of poor peasants and laborers in the province.\(^61\)

A weekly *Istiqlal* started circulation from Quetta in Urdu and Pashto. Abdus Samad was an ardent Pakhtun nationalist who worked for the unification of the Pakhtuns and the establishment of a single Pakhtun province for all the Pakhtuns within the framework of Pakistan. He was known for his perseverance on non-violence as a strong political weapon and was dubbed as “Balochistan Gandhi”. In 1929 he went Lahore and attended a meeting of the Indian National Congress which further opened up his mind to his future role in politics. He persuaded Yusuf Magsi to consolidate his group’s activities in the state with the cooperation of other nationalist elements. Strong political links were established with the leaders of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement and Indian National Congress on national level. In 1939 the *Anjuman-i-Watan* chalked out a policy of non-cooperation with the British Government. In the following year it participated in Azad Muslim Conference of the nationalist Muslims parties. The conference declared India as the common homeland of all its citizens irrespective of race, religion and creed. They delivered speeches against the partition of the subcontinent and the idea of Pakistan.\(^62\)

It was around this time that a troika of British Political Agent, the Khan of Kalat and the tribal *sardars* was formed to curb the increasing influence of the KSNP and *Anjuman-i-Watan*. Consequently on July 20, 1939 KSNP was declared illegal and orders were issued to expel the prominent leadership of the party from the state. In this hour of trial the leadership of *Anjuman-i-Watan* extended a friendship hands towards the exiled leaders. On national level both the organization came closer with the policies of the Congress. Abdus Samad was held in high esteem by the Congress leaders in Delhi. In mid-1945 KSNP propelled itself into the limelight of Indian politics when it formally affiliated itself with All India States people’s Congress (AISPC) with Jawaharlal Nehru as its president. It became a component of a political institution that was largely controlled by the Congress. Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo became the member of the
working committee of AISPC. Contrary to the views of the leadership of the KSNP, Khan of Kalat developed good relations with the leadership of Muslim League. He was a great admirer of Jinnah. Once he sought his legal opinion regarding the state matters and its relations with the British Government. It has been stated that Khan also financed the League expansion in Balochistan.

Initially KSNP was subscribed to the idea that after British withdrawal Baluchistan might consider joining the independent and sovereign federation of India as autonomous federating unit. But the political situation that was emerging in the all India level required a fresh look on the party’s previous program. A meeting of the working committee of the party was convened in which a resolution of an independent state of Balochistan was passed. The party leadership clearly opposed the merger of Kalat with Pakistan. Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, one of prominent leaders of the party commented on the issue in the Darul Awam (Lower House) of the Kalat state in the following words:

> The British Government, by force of arms, enslaved most parts of Asia. British Government was tyrannical, oppressive. It robbed us of our independence. We had never been a part of Hindustan. Pakistan’s demand that Kalat, which had earlier been known as Balochistan and had been the national homeland of the Baloch, should merge with Pakistan is unacceptable…..Pakistan’s condition is that until and unless the government of Baloch went to them with bowed heads and in humility, Pakistan would not talk. We are ready for friendship with honor not in indignity. We are not ready to merge within the frontiers of Pakistan.

On the eve of independence Jinnah proposed to the British Government that an electoral college of either the ration card holders (about 2000 persons), or all maliks and mutabars (500 persons) or all members of the district jirgas (400 persons) should decide the fate of Balochistan. However, the Viceroy rejected his proposals and assigned the task to the Shahi Jirga (52 members) and non-official members of Quetta Municipality (10 members). At the end the verdict came in favor of joining Pakistan. It was a unique development for the state of Kalat and its Baloch nationalist elements. The Khan of Kalat then entered into negotiations with the Government of Pakistan and signed a standstill agreement with the Pakistani officials. There was a deadlock on the two important issues of Kalat merger with Pakistan and the question of the
leased areas. The Khan of Kalat was not in the position to take any step regarding the political future of the state due to the pressure of the nationalist elements. The KSNP was in majority in the *Darul Awam* under the leadership of Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo having 39 seats in the house of 52. To complicate the matter further the *Darul Awam* debated the issue of the merger of the state and passed a resolution in favor of an independent Balochistan on December 14, 1947.  

**Politics of the Communist Party of India**

The Communist Party of India (CPI) was clearly supporting Congress claim in its initial years. Most of the leftists’ association with the Congress was due to Jawaharlal Nehru’s socialist ideas which he manifested in his early political career. Most of the communists considered Muslim League as a creation of the British Government to divide the growing nationalist sentiments and to weaken its strength. The socialists and communists supported the idea of a united front with the Congress for attaining independence. Majority of the members of the CPI were both Hindus and Sikhs, however a separate group of Muslim communist emerged from among those refugees who migrated to Afghanistan and then to Soviet Union much before the *Hijrat* Movement. These communists comprised of various social strata and belonged to different provinces. A good number of communists joined the refugees from the NWFP due to its close proximity with Afghanistan. Generally the Pakhtuns came very early under the influence of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Their contribution has not been given proper attention in the study of left politics. It was in 1920 that Mian Akbar Shah who was associated with Khudai Khidmatgar Movement decided to cross-over to Soviet Union and then to Anatolia. He stayed in Soviet Union and coordinated with other Indian revolutionaries. They met with M. N. Roy, Maulana Abdur Rub and other revolutionaries who left their homeland in search of freedom.

Mian Akbar Shah and his friends got admission in Turkistan Lenin Academy. They were trained to fly aircraft, theory of air war, assembling and dissembling of arms, to organize subversive activities and become Indian revolutionaries. After some time they were sent to Eastern University, Moscow. They were influenced by the quick boost in Soviet economy and the infrastructural development in the country. Akbar Shah was invited to participate in different communist gatherings; the most important among them was the Baku Conference of September 1920 in which he represented the Indian youth. M. N. Roy led the Indian delegation to the conference. Gregory Zenove in his presidential address advised the Indian communists to
organize themselves under the platform of a well-knit political party. Under his instruction M. N. Roy founded the CPI in Berlin in the same year. In the following years most of the communists were instructed to return India and organize political activities. Most of these early communists were arrested on their way back to India and tried under 121-A of the Defense of India Rules in four successive communist conspiracy cases i.e. Peshawar Conspiracy 1923, Kanpur Conspiracy 1924 and the Meerut Conspiracy 1929. Prominent among them were Ferozuddin Mansur, Abdul Majid, Mian Akbar Shah, Akbar Khan, Fazal Ilahi Qurban, Habib Ahmad, Rafiq Ahmad, Sultan Khan, Abdul Qadir Sehrai and Gohar Rahman etc.\(^{70}\)

Of the persons accused in the communist conspiracy, Abdul Majid, Ferozuddin Mansur, Fazal Ilahi Qurban and Gohar Rahman established communist movement in India.\(^{71}\) In the following years they associated themselves with those political organizations which manifested socialist and leftist ideas. Mian Akbar Shah joined the *Anjuman-i-Islah-al-Afaghana* founded by Abdul Ghaffar Khan in 1921. In 1929 he along with Abdul Ghaffar Khan founded *Zalmo Jirga* (The Youth League) which was superseded by the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. He was imprisoned by the then Dr. Khan Sahib provincial government when he decided to support the Ghala Dher peasants’ uprising in 1938. He was closely associated with the Forward Bloc formed by revolutionary Subhas Chandra Bose within the Congress. In 1941 he assisted Subhas Bose in his escape from India to Afghanistan. After the creation of Pakistan he decided to contest first provincial elections on the behest of the then chief minister Abdul Qaiyum Khan.\(^{72}\)

The CPI at that time was a small group of a number of communists who merged into the main stream of the Congress activities in the countryside. It seemed difficult to distinguish strictly between communist and nationalist activities. All the progressive elements in the Punjab were united in their opposition against the Unionist ministry headed by Sir Sikandar Hayat. The most active demonstration was organized by the Lahore district *Kissan* Committee. Hundreds of communists were put behind the bars.\(^{73}\) In the months of June and July 1940 around eighty-four communists and socialists were arrested included five members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, members of district boards and other respected public figures. They were dubbed as “fifth columnists” by Chief Minister Sir Sikandar Hayat. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din spoke in the Assembly in support of these detainees. In one of his speeches during the Assembly proceedings he stressed the members to consider the matter because they were not the enemy of the country.\(^{74}\)
He defended the communists against the victimization of the Punjab government, for which he was also arrested in November, 1940.\textsuperscript{75}  

The nature of the World War II changed on June 20, 1941 when Hitler attacked USSR. The Russians were on the side of the allied powers that included USA, Britain, China, Australia, France, Canada and other countries of Europe and Asia. Their rivals the Axis Powers included among others Japan, Germany, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria. The CPI came up with a new strategy in the aftermath of the Hitler attack on USSR. They put greater responsibility on the Congress leaders to accept certain demands of their Muslim brethren and gave hint to the idea that India was the motherland of more than one nationality. In this way the political unity of India would be retained and Muslim would get their legal and constitutional rights. It was under this backdrop that the communists came closer to the Muslim intelligentsia.\textsuperscript{76} They said that the nature of war has changed to a peoples’ war against fascism. Elaborating the policy of the CPI, Puran Chand Joshi wrote a letter to Gandhi in which he delineated his view regarding the World War II:

\begin{quote}
    The war has split the world into two camps. On the one side are the fascist aggressors, fascism is nothing else imperialism in its worst last form. Fascists are fighting the war on the imperialist domination of the world. On the other side are the freedom-loving peoples of the world. … In this camp is the heroic China which through its 7 years’ national resistance to Jap Fascists has saved the whole East from going under the Jap heel. In this camp also stand the great U.S.S.R. where alone real freedom and democracy prevails.\textsuperscript{77}
\end{quote}

In the following years the CPI changed its stance regarding the demand of Pakistan. Their new stance on the Indian political issue is justified by the following statement of G. Adhikari:

\begin{quote}
    The demand for Pakistan, if we look at its progressive essence, is in reality the demand for self-determination and separation of the areas of Muslim nationalities of the Punjab, Pathans, Sindh, Balochistan and of the eastern province of Bengal.\textsuperscript{78}
\end{quote}

Similar view was expressed by Puran Chand Joshi, general secretary of the CPI in his book \textit{For the Final Bid for Power}: 

50
We work for the adoption of a strategy of *United Front* against British imperialists, not only to overthrow British domination but also to realize the aim of seeing a free India emerge as a family of free nations... The achievement of united front against British rule today is to assure the emergence of a free India as a united family of free and equal nations tomorrow.\(^79\)

The CPI leadership pressed the Congress members to accept League’s demand of Muslim self-determination. Communists thought that the League had become a mass organization in the Punjab. It was in the early 1940s that a number of communist leaders stepped into the League politics. Shaikh Muhammad Rasheed states in his memoir that he joined the League after it was realized to him that most of the communist comrades were working for the Muslim cause. Danyal Latifi, Attaullah Jahania, Abdul Latif Afghani and Abdullah Malik were some of the communist members who switched over to the League around that time.\(^80\) These leaders established progressive workers group within the League. The idea was to organize the League on progressive lines and give it a popular and strong social base. They played an important role in the agitation against the Khizar Hayat Khan’s ministry in the Punjab due to which majority of their workers were put behind the bars. The tide of the events turned against the Unionist ministry particularly after the decision of banning the Muslim National Guards in the Punjab. It proved the last nail in the Khizar Hayat Khan ministry. It virtually crippled the government control in the province after which large-scale protest demonstrations broke out. In the popular resentment the leftists actively participated both in urban and rural areas with full of its strength. It ultimately compelled Khizar Hayat, the Punjab Premier, to tender his resignation.\(^81\)

**Leftists and Party-Politics in the post-Partition Pakistan**

In the early years of Pakistan’s political history there was no active opposition political party. In the Constituent Assembly there were 11 members of the Pakistan National Congress who mostly belonged to East Pakistan. Muslim opposition parties began to emerge from the frustrated ranks of the ruling Muslim League and those elements who had opposed the creation of Pakistan. New political parties were established with varying ideological and political programs. At the end of 1949 Punjab had thirteen recognized opposition parties, nine of which had been established by
former Muslim Leaguers who opposed party high command and their policies. Those parties who opposed Muslim League during freedom struggle also revived their activities but they were not provided much space and did not easily accommodate by the state institutions. In a quite new condition after independence they shaped their political objectives by forging new alliances on national level. Efforts were made by different leaders to rally all the leftist and regionalist forces in a single political party.

The Communist Party of Pakistan

The Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) was established in the Calcutta Conference of the CPI which was held from February 28 to March 6, 1948. A report was presented specifically on Pakistan by Bhavani Sen, a communist member from India. The report reflected the general attitude of the communists toward the Muslim League and the Government of Pakistan. After providing lengthy details about the performance of the League, the report arrived at the following conclusion:

In the name of defending Pakistan they are suppressing every vestige of democratic movement, consolidating princes, landlords and black-marketers at top and thereby condemning the toiling people to poverty and serfdom. In the name of maintaining the unity of Pakistan the League leaders are suppressing the genuine desire for self-determination of different nationalities. Urdu language is being foisted upon the East Bengal, Baluchistan is being ruled by an autocratic center, even autonomy for Sindhis, Pathans, and Bengalis is being trampled underfoot.82

The report conceded the weakness of the socialist forces in Pakistan. Sajjad Zaheer (UP, India) was requested to go and help the progressive elements in Pakistan in providing solid ground to the party apparatus. Sajjad Zahir was a committed communist, an extra-ordinary intellectual and writer. His father, Syed Wazir Hassan was the chief justice of the Oudh High Court. Sajjad Zahir was educated at Oxford University and completed his Bar-at-Law after joining the London branch of the Indian National Congress. After coming back to India he worked in the Indian Kissan Sabha for some time. Several times he was arrested by the British Indian government due to his revolutionary and anti-British ideas. He reached Pakistan in the summer of 1948 at a time when an arrest warrant was already issued against him. He avoided
arrest with the help of his close relatives and friends who were high government employees in different departments. At Karachi he spent most of his time with his brother-in-law Sayed Imad Hussain who was a superintendent of police in the province of Sindh. At Lahore he usually stayed with Advocate Fazl-ur-Rahman, son of Abd-ur-Rahman, judge of the Federal Court.  

He was ultimately made the general secretary of CPP. He was considered a committed revolutionary under the influence of militant communists. He was given instructions about the functioning of the party on the aggressive line adopted by Ranadive. After the Calcutta conference Sajjad Zaheer came to Pakistan. A new central committee was formed and members were included in the area committees. Shaukat Ali, C. R. Aslam, Muhammad Afzal, Ziarat Gul, Khalid Azad, Ashfaq Beg and Sibte Hasan were some of the prominent members at that time. Provincial committees were reconstituted; Pakistan Trade Union Federation (FTUF) was organized with Mirza Ibrahim as president, Dr. Malik general secretary and Faiz Ahmad Faiz vice president. Progressive Writers Association (PWA) was established and close contacts were established with editors of newspapers like Pakistan Times and Imroz. In 1950 a Peace Committee was constituted with Pir of Manki Sharif as president with Mahmud Ali Qasuri, Ghulam Muhammed Lundkhwar, Syed Matlabi Abadi, Afzal Bangash, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din and Tahira Mazhar Ali Kahn as members.

Among the leadership of the CPP Sajjad Zaheer, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Sebti Hasan and the Moscow trained peasant leader F. D. Mansur were the most active figures. In East Pakistan it got a comparatively better position by supporting the United Front’s 21 point program. Some of the communists were elected members of the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly. Communist infiltration into the United Front was a reason justified by the then prime minister for the dismissal of its ministry. The overall strategy of the CPP was to utilize leftist organizations for its own advantages. It is probably because of the anti-communist propaganda of government and the rightist political parties. The propaganda was largely instrumental in creating a negative image in the minds of the masses about the CPP. Following were some other factors which did severe damage to the CPP in Pakistan:

i. In the Calcutta Conference of 1948 a resolution was passed by both the CPI and its counterpart in Pakistan that Kashmir should remain with India.

ii. Sajjad Zaheer was under the strong influence of Ranadive who directed him to push through an armed and militant line.
iii. The CPP functioned under the control and directions of CPI.

iv. The core leadership was mostly consisted of Indian communists who were called Indian agents with the aim at undermining the national integration.

v. Religion was another significant factor that brought about further shift to its political downfall.86

Its leadership used different other political platforms for example Gantantari Dal in East Pakistan and Azad Pakistan Party in West Pakistan to promote their political agenda. The strategy of the communists throughout Pakistan was to infiltrate into the ranks of mass-based parties. In East Pakistan they joined hands with like-minded politicians in the Awami League.87 This masquerading policy under different party labels was at the end proved detrimental for the CPP. It did severe damage to the party structure by weakening its central authority and its control over the party workers. Owning to this novel policy the Karachi branch of the CPP completely abandoned taking any directives from the central leadership.

The most dashing event which shattered all the hopes of progressive forces in Pakistan was its involvement in the famous Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case. It was hatched by some army officers in collusion with communist leadership to overthrow the government of Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan. The main figure in the whole affairs was General Akbar Khan who always expressed his resentment for the Muslim League leadership and its subservience to the Anglo-American imperialism. He suggested to some of his likeminded friends of replacing the civilian setup in the country. Latif Afghani, a communist in-charge of organizing progressive elements in the army, reported the intentions of Akbar Khan to Sajjad Zaheer. He called an emergency meeting of the core leadership of CPP in the central secretariat. It was attended by F. D. Mansur, Lal Khan, C. R. Aslam, Shawkat Ali, Muhammad Afzal, Ashfaq Beg and Sebti Hasan. After hectic debates it was finally decided at the insistence of Sajjad Zaheer to join hands with the discontented army officers.88

It was in the second meeting on February 23, 1951 that he involved some communist members in his proposed plan. Sajjad Zaheer, Muhammad Hussain Atta and Faiz Ahmad Faiz participated in that momentous meeting. It was agreed upon between them that governor general and prime minister were to be detained and a proclamation order was to be issued in the name of governor general dissolving the existing set up and forming a new government under General Akbar. General Akbar would withdraw all the arrest warrants against all the CPP members. In
addition they would be free to organize peasants, students, lawyers and ordinary workers. In return the CPP would publicly support the new government and the coup.\textsuperscript{89} The disclosure of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy brought havoc in the communist circle. Within a short span of time the party leadership including Sajjad Zaheer, Sibte Hasan and F. D. Mansur were arrested. The underground apparatus of the CPP was totally smashed and all its secret documents and files were captured by the police. It produced demoralizing effect on the young workers of the party. Even some members suggested the idea of dissolving the CPP and putting all the blame on Sajjad Zaheer.\textsuperscript{90} The intention of Major General Akbar Khan was revealed to the US by Iskandar Mirza who was Lieutenant Colonel at that time. He told the Americans that Akbar Khan is 100 percent communist and was in contact with the communists in the Punjab. The mishandling of the Kashmir affairs was a major reason behind their agenda of directing Pakistan’s orientation towards Russia. He even involved the Russian Embassy in the whole affairs.\textsuperscript{91}

In the post 1951 period, the CCP miserably failed to organize itself. It received such a severe blow that crippled the very fabric of the communist politics. By 1954 Pakistan foreign policy had made a decisive turn in favor of US Cold War policies. It joined the US-sponsored CENTO and SEATO. In those early days British and US intelligence agencies were actively involved with their Pakistani counterparts to curtail the ‘communist threat’. A secret committee in the ministry of interior was established on the request of British embassy to monitor the activities.\textsuperscript{92} The Pakistani Government in order to please its American friends declared a ban on the CPP in 1954. It was impossible for the remaining members of the party to restore its former position. From then onwards most of the party members formed loose groups and operated in different fronts such as peasants, students and labors. In the prevailing situation Sajjad Zaheer left for India after his release in 1956, Muhammad Afzal went to England; Ashfaq Beg disappeared for some time and then escaped to Moscow. Other stalwarts such as Muhammad Hussain Atta and Shawkat Ali left the party. Factionalism spread in the ranks of the party and each group claimed to be the true heir of CPP.\textsuperscript{93}

In East Pakistan majority of them joined the Awami League because of its secular posture, anti-imperialist stance and efforts for maximum provincial autonomy. In the Punjab they were largely absorbed by the Azad Pakistan Party (APP) founded by Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din. Mian Iftikhar was a close friend of Sajjad Zaheer. The constitution of the APP was drafted by Sajjad Zaheer and when he was arrested after the disclosure of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy, Mian
Iftikhar acted as his defense counsel in the court. In Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa initially they associated themselves with the *Khudai Khidmatgar* Movement. There were large numbers of communists in the rural Pakhtun areas. In Karachi, there existed a loose communist organization which acted independently. In addition, there was communist infiltration into the *Hari* Committee in interior Sindh. According to Faiz Muhammad that communists in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa played a significant role in the formation of the NAP. A big delegation went to Dhaka to attend the democratic workers convention.

In East Pakistan the communists’ political strategy was altogether different from their counterparts in West Pakistan. They accepted the Ranadiv line of action and largely ignored the odium of the government and the right-wing political parties. The local militants who were predominantly Hindus earned the wrath of the government who dubbed them as enemy’s agents working for the disintegration of the country. Most of them were arrested including their well-known leader Moni Singh. In 1951, a political note appeared in the communist journal ‘*For a Lasting Peace, For a People Democracy*’ suggesting that the communists should join the progressive forces. Some workers argued for continuing their program in collaboration with the Awami Muslim League under Bhashani. In 1953, it was suggested to the party leadership by Mujib-ur-Rahman that the word ‘Muslim’ should be removed and that the Awami League should become a secular party. In this way the honeymoon of the communists and Awami League was made stronger and binding. Majority of them gathered around Bhashani who was already very famous among the peasants and labors in East Pakistan. Those non-Muslim communists who stayed away from joining Awami League remained active in the trade unions.

**The Pakistan People’s Party (1948)**

The first main opposition party was established by Abdul Ghaffar Khan that was called Pakistan People’s Party. After independence Abdul Ghaffar Khan attended the session of the Constituent Assembly and delivered his first speech therein. He stated that there were political differences between the Muslim League leadership and his organization about the political problems of India. Now that Pakistan came into being, it was our common responsibilities to help each other’s in restoring order and develop the state apparatus. He said that he had taken the oath of allegiance to Pakistan as his homeland. A question was raised by Liaqat Ali Khan about Ghaffar Khan’s version of Pakhtunistan to which he replied that it only meant the renaming of
his province as Pakhtunistan. It was pity that British Government had given a geographical name to the province. Therefore, the genuine demand of Pakhtuns about the renaming of their province might be considered. Jinnah presided over the first session of the Assembly and listened to the views of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. After the session he expressed his desire of meeting with Abdul Ghaffar Khan. The meeting of both the leaders was arranged on a dinner at his residence in Karachi. Abdul Ghaffar Khan extended an invitation to Jinnah for a visit to Sardaryab, headquarter of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. However, this meeting did not take place due to Abdul Qayum Khan’s negative propaganda against the Khudai Khidmatgars.99

It was during his stay in Karachi that Abdul Ghaffar Khan convened a meeting of the likeminded politicians on May 8, 1948 at Majid Hall Muslim Colony and established the Pakistan People’s Party. The meeting was attended by delegates from all the provinces of West Pakistan; prominent among them were G. M. Syed, Abdus Samad Achakzai, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Abdul Majid Sindhi. In the meeting Abdul Ghaffar Khan was elected president of the party and G. M. Syed the general secretary. The party membership was open to all the communities including the non-Muslims. Its political objectives included full autonomy for all the linguistic groups, stabilization and security of Pakistan as union of socialist republics drawing its authority and sanction from its people and close cultural relations with the neighboring states particularly with India and Afghanistan.100

A subject committee of 60 members, 10 each from every province and 10 nominees of the president were formed.101 G. M. Syed in his speech in the convention stated that there were different nationalities living in Pakistan. All these nationalities possessed rich tradition of gallantry and history of their civilization. It was imperative to give every ethnic group the right to shape their own destiny. People’s Party would support all such moves that demand equal rights to each unit in all the legislative and administrative spheres of the state. He further said that they wanted to see autonomous Sindh within the frame-work of Pakistan.102

Abdul Ghaffar Khan in his speech surveyed the political developments that took place after independence and announced that People’s Party was ready to provide any kind of help to the ruling party for the betterment of the society. Pakistan People’s Party would promote positive political trends in the country which was not to be mere opposition to Muslim League. It would provide good guidelines to the rulers in running the administration of the state. It was demanded from the government that it should sign an agreement with the Indian Government regarding the
smooth rehabilitation of the refugees. The formation of the Peoples Party was also debated in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. A Hindu member Dhirendra Nath Datta raised the issue of the arrest of Abdul Ghaffar Khan after the inaugural convention of the party at Karachi. He expressed his views that since one of the objectives of the party were the ‘stabilization and security of Pakistan as a union of Socialist Republics’. 

Abdul Ghaffar Khan returned from Karachi on May 24 to his native village and organized a province-wide tour accompanied by many Khudai Khidmatgars. The main thrust of his speeches was to discuss the formation of the new party with his followers. He announced that Khudai Khidmatgars will perform its duties as the military wing of the People’s Party. The flag of the party would be of red color representing five provinces of Pakistan and members would wear red uniforms. He criticized the Muslim League Government for its reactionary approach towards the opposition parties. He was arrested on June 15, 1948 with a band of his followers including Qazi Attaullah, Amir Muhammad Khan Hoti, Ubaidullah Khan and Wali Khan. The provincial government also banned the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement on July 4 and stopped the publication of its affiliated Pakhtun magazine. The worst incident was happened in Babra on August 12, 1948 when the police opened indiscriminate firing on the people who were gathered in protest of the massive arrest of the Khudai Khidmatgars. The same fate waited G. M. Syed. He arranged a provincial-wide tour of the interior Sindh. In Balochistan, Abdus Samad Achakzai with a few of his party workers had also been detained.

The Azad Pakistan Party (APP)

When the core leadership of the Pakistan People’s Party and CPP was detained, the leftist elements in the Punjab had very little choice about their future political action. In an era of political persecution the remaining leftists, most of them former Leaguers in the province, thought of organizing their political workers under a single platform. These efforts culminated in the establishment of the APP by Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din. In his pre-partition politics Iftikhar-ud-Din was associated with the Indian National Congress and remained its provincial president in the Punjab till 1944 when he resigned as member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and quit primary membership of the party. He joined Muslim League and re-elected in 1946 elections as member of the Punjab Provincial Assembly. He remained quite vocal in provincial politics and
played a very crucial role in initiating the Civil Disobedience Movement against Khizar Hayat Ministry in the Punjab.

Iftikhar-ud-Din was the largest share-holder in the Progressive Papers Limited which published popular newspapers like _Pakistan Times_ and _Imroz_. He was influenced by progressive ideas from the very start of his political career. After independence he was entrusted with the portfolio of Refugees Rehabilitation in the first Punjab ministry. At the very start he was suspected as close aide of communists due to his revolutionary ideas. He developed serious difference with party leadership on the issue of refugees’ rehabilitation. He was of the view to appropriate the land from the big landlords and distribute it among the refugees. To achieve his political objective he started a mobilization campaign among the masses for radical economic reforms. When Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan promulgated the Pakistan Public Safety Ordinance, Iftikhar-ud-Din along with eight members of the Constituent Assembly passed a resolution against the ordinance in a press conference. As a result of opposing party policy he was expelled from the party for five years. Consequently, he decided to organize leftist political forces in Pakistan. Faiz Ahmad Faiz, a close friend of Iftikhar-ud-Din and a renowned Urdu Poet imbedded with socialist ideas, was given the chief editorship of _Pakistan Times_. Mazhar Ali Khan, another socialist, was made its editor. _Imroz_ was given in the editorship of another progressive poet Ahmad Nadeem Qasmi. In this way Iftikhar-ud-Din gathered around progressive forces in the Punjab to form a well-organized political party.

The announcement regarding the formation of the APP was made on November 10, 1950. On its formation Cesar P. Pobre has quoted the following editorial of the _Pakistan Times_:

> The formation is no surprise because it was but the natural result of the Muslim League’s failure to liquidate gradually the social, economic and political ills of the country. The Muslim League betrayed the people and its leaders’ desire to feather their own nests, expressed itself in factional struggle within the party, fought out with the weapons of intrigue, jobbery, and bogus enrolment of members.

The main objective of forming the APP was to provide a platform to all the leftist and socialist forces to devise an agreed political program against the reactionary politics of the League. An organizing committee was set up with Iftikhar-ud-Din as president with members
including C. R. Aslam, Shaukat Hayat, Mahmud Ali Qasuri and Mirza Ibrahim. In theory, the supreme and the more authoritative organ of the APP was the Annual Conference of the delegates elected on the basis of one per one thousand members. A working committee of 31 members was set up with the task of devising the policy of the party and its implementation.\textsuperscript{112}

The APP contested the Punjab Provincial elections in 1950-51 and got one seat of Ameer Hussain Shah from Gujarat. A communist trade union leader Mirza Ibrahim also contested the elections on the APP ticket from Lahore. It was expected that Mirza Ibrahim would win the election. The Punjab government arrested him before the elections and the civil servant counting the votes disqualified a large number of votes that were casted for Mirza Ibrahim on the plea that the votes were dirty.\textsuperscript{113} It was the first elections in which the peasants and labors were mobilized and fielded their candidates on the ticket of APP. Before the elections Iftikhar-ud-Din made his efforts to form a united front of all the opposition parties but that was not materialized. But the peasants’ mobilization greatly influenced the political scene. Due to this mobilization chief minister Daultana announced a proposed plan for land reforms.\textsuperscript{114} Iftikhar-ud-Din was returned as member of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. After some time APP was joined by another member of the Constituent Assembly Saadullah Khan from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan its total members in the Assembly to three.\textsuperscript{115} Parliamentary party of APP was organized under the leadership of Iftikhar-ud-Din. It was regarded as the first genuine opposition party in the Constituent Assembly which challenged the ruling Pakistan Muslim League on military pacts with the Western Bloc and land reforms. It made strenuous efforts to win the support of other parties in establishing a system of loose confederation of ethnic and linguistic provinces. It organized peasant conferences at different cities in early 1950s. Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi and Ghulam Muhammad Leghari also participated in many such conferences. The party also organized its branches in Sindh and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa while in East Pakistan it was an ally of the Gantantari Dal.\textsuperscript{116}

The APP insisted more on independent foreign policy and better relationship with the communist countries. It called for the abrogation of the military pacts and withdrawal from the Western Bloc. When the United Front was formed in East Pakistan, the APP was the only party from West Pakistan to participate in the elections campaign in East Pakistan. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din along with other leadership of the party was invariably regarded as fellow travelers of the
communists. He was often described as a staunch communist fellow even by the then US ambassador in Pakistan.\(^{117}\)

Although Iftikhar-ud-Din was considered to be a staunch socialist in his ideas but he was suspected in the communist circles. Both Sajjad Zaheer and Eric Cyprian were of the view that he was not a trustworthy socialist. On November 26, 1948 Sajjad Zaheer wrote a letter to the provincial party of CPP regarding the resignation of Iftikhar-ud-Din as president of Punjab Muslim League. He stated in the letter:

He [Mian Sahib] is thoroughly undependable and the progressive must not look up to him for a lead. If he had not made a mess of things during the time when he was president (Punjab Muslim League) perhaps the progressive would be in a stronger position today.\(^{118}\)

This view was vindicated by Eric Cyprian who once described him as ignorant of politics, knew nothing about socialist ideas and always talking about irrelevant matters. He communicated to Sajjad Zaheer that no more pondering to his fancies should be done.\(^{119}\) However, despite heavy odds, Iftikhar-ud-Din retained his position as a close ally of the progressive elements in the country. Referring to the struggle for Pakistan he elaborated that Muslim League leadership had promised full liberty and economic prosperity for the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. But he was ashamed to confess that none of these promises had been fulfilled. Political independence resulted in the direct looting and plundering of our resources by the British capitalists.\(^{120}\) If one looks at the communist literature it is quite clear that leaving the commonwealth bloc was one of the main concerns of many known communists. They viewed the sterling bloc politics a hurdle in the economic development of Pakistan. The kind of trade slavery, argued Shawkat Ali, in which Pakistan had caught in the vicious circle called the sterling bloc, had virtually crippled its economy. Another argument was that the British Government was least interested in giving Pakistan heavy machinery which was necessary for industrial development.\(^{121}\)

Like most of the communist parties, the APP got involved in the politics of dubious nature for gaining easy advantages. It was alleged that in the 1953 disturbance in the Punjab, the APP Bahawalpur branch provided massive fund to the Ahrars in creating law and order situation.\(^{122}\) Majils-e-Ahrar-ul-Islam also known in short as Ahrar was a conservative religious
political party founded on December 29, 1929 at Lahore. It started an anti-Ahmadi demonstration at Lahore in 1953 due to which martial law was declared in the city of Lahore. A radical group led by Shaikh Muhammad Rasheed left the party on his differences with Mahmud Ali Qasuri.\textsuperscript{123} Shaikh Rasheed was very instrumental in bringing about peasants and workers into the fold of the APP. He was the general secretary of the party and was supportive of the idea that land proprietorship should be abolished as a first step towards radical land reforms. Later on, he along with his group formed his own Awami Jamhori Party in 1952. The APP suffered some political set-backs when Shaukat Hayat rejoined Muslim League in 1954. It was followed by the exit of Saadullah Khan. The remaining party was absorbed into the NAP in 1957.\textsuperscript{124}

**The Ustaman Gal and Wror Pakhtun**

In Balochistan Anjuman-i-Watan and its weekly *Istiqlal* was banned in 1950. Abdus Samad, Muhammad Ayub Khan, Malik Akhtar Muhammad Kansi, Arbab Qadir and other workers of the Anjuman were arrested. Abdus Samad Achakzai was arrested in 1949, released in January 1954 and put behind the bars again in February 1956. He was not set free until late January 1957. He established Wror Pakhtun (Pakhtun Brotherhood) after his release in 1955.\textsuperscript{125} Another version regarding the formation of the Wror Pakhtun is that it was established in January 1954 after his release from prison. The leadership that was instrumental in its creation was gathered in the house of Hashim Khan Ghilzai in Quetta to consider their political strategy in the changed circumstances. Prominent among them were Abdus Samad Achakzai and Dr. Khudai Dad. The program of the new organization was the formation of a larger Pakhtun province by the name of Pakhtunistan. The organization stressed the need of coordinated efforts with other Pakhtun organizations for the protection of their language, culture and political rights.\textsuperscript{126} The organizing committee of the Wror Pakhtun passed a resolution on February 3, 1956 which reiterated its commitment to non-violence and an agenda based on political legitimacy. It registered its protest against the detention of some of its members. Provincial status for Balochistan and economic development were some other objectives of the Wror Pakhtun.\textsuperscript{127}

In the same manner the Kalat State National Party (KSNP) was banned and its leadership was put behind the bars. Abdul Karim, brother of the ruler of Kalat rebelled against the Pakistani establishment. His armed resistance was crushed and Abdul Karim along with some of his follower was arrested. Meanwhile the political defeat of Muslim League in East Pakistan
elections renewed the zeal of the leadership of KSNP. Political conventions were held in Quetta and Mastong. Muhammad Hussain Unqa, Mir Gul Khan Naseer, Qadir Bakhsh Nizamani, Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Abdul Karim Shorish drew up the primary outline and agreed on Ustaman Gal (Party of the People) as the name of the new party. The new party was formed in 1956. The program of the party was finalized which was not so much different from its predecessor. It stood for the Kalat state remaining independent of Pakistan except in matters of defense, foreign affairs and communication. Abdul Karim was elected its president and Muhammad Hussain Unqa as general secretary.

The Sindh Awami Mahaz

In Sindh the political activities of the leftists and regionalists intertwined in the early 1950s. On provincial level there were a number of political organizations fighting for the rights of ethnic Sindhi people. A loose alliance was established by merger of four political groups which was called the Sindh Awami Mahaz (SAM) for contesting the provincial elections to be held in May 1953. The persons behind the establishment of SAM were Abdul Majid Sindhi and G. M. Syed. They were instrumental in bringing about four political groups which included G. M. Syed’s Sindh Awami Jama’at, the Sindh branch of All Pakistan Jinnah Awami Muslim League, the All Pakistan Dastur Party and the Sindh Hari Committee. SAM was a blend of leftist and rightist groups for the purpose of giving a challenging opposition to Muslim League. It was more or less an attempt to fight the elections on the issue of protecting the rights of the Sindhi people. The purpose was to gain maximum seats in the Provincial Assembly and to form a strong parliamentary party.

The basic demands of the SAM in 1953 elections were the abolition of the jagirdari system and limitation of zamindari acreage, redistribution of population from over-populated to under-populated areas and restriction on imports from the dollar areas. Another important program was nationalization of the key industries and making effort for the development of the fragile industrial sector. It fielded forty-five candidates in the provincial elections but only seven were returned successfully to the Assembly. It formed its parliamentary party under the leadership of G. M. Syed with Pir Ilahi Bakhsh as secretary. G. M. Syed was interested to transform this political alliance into a full-fledged political party for playing positive role in the Sindh politics. In one of his speech in the Assembly he said that the SAM had been formed on
permanent basis by all the coalition partners and it would work as a political party of the people of Sindh.\footnote{131} It caused differences within the coalition and Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi of Sindh Hari Committee decided to dissociate his group from the SAM. Further disintegration took place in October 1953 when Pir Ilahi Bakhsh rejoined Muslim League.\footnote{132}

In September 1953, intra-party elections were held in which Abdul Majid Sindhi was elected president with Qazi Faiz Muhammad as general secretary of the party. Membership was opened to all citizens of the Sindh province irrespective of religion and creed. It started a campaign for the re-merger of Karachi with Sindh. Especially G. M. Syed took it upon himself to make forceful statements regarding this issue in and outside the Assembly. In May 1954 he moved a resolution in favor of the merger of Karachi with Sindh which was passed by majority members of the Sindh Assembly.\footnote{133}

\textbf{The Gantantari Dal}

The idea behind the formation of a non-communal political organization with a sound economic program was sounded by some young East Pakistanis in April 1952. They were all influenced by leftist ideas and socialism who wanted change and overhauling of the existing socio-economic order. The persons who floated this idea were all leftists including Mahmud Ali, Aftab Ali, Kamr-ud-Din Ahmad and Kafil-ud-Din Choudhury. Preliminary work had been started on the formation of the party and different patterns have been spelled out by different people. At last it was decided to convene a meeting of the like-minded political workers in which a final decision about the formation of a new party would be taken.\footnote{134}

The convention was held from January 17 to 20, 1953 at Armanitola Maidan at Dhaka. Delegates from nine districts of East Pakistan participated while from West Pakistan the convention was attended by Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din and Sardar Shaukat Hayat, two founding leaders of the APP. The convention was presided over by Dabir-ul-Islam Choudhury and after heated discussion the Gantantari Dal (Democratic Party) was established. A twenty-one member working committee was formed and the office bearers were elected. Haji Muhammad Danish, a communist political activist, became the first president of the party while Mahmud Ali, a progressive leftist known for his agrarian politics, was elected its general secretary. Mirza Ghulam Hafiz, a prominent statesman, intellectual and philanthropist, was designated as its treasurer.\footnote{135} It was decided that initially the party would operate only in East Pakistan and in the
later stage it would introduce its program in West Pakistan. It followed radical program that included the formation of a Pakistan confederate states. It stood for the right of the ethnic groups to withdraw from the confederation if they desired so. As most of the aims and objectives of the APP and the GD were quite similar therefore, it was hoped that both the parties would work on a plan for the formation of an all-Pakistan party.

The convention adopted a manifesto which was very critical of the ruling Muslim League Government. It was accused of helping only the rich landlords and ignoring the genuine demand of the peasants and workers. It was deplored that the ruling party was extremely incapable of tolerating opposition parties and its leadership. In view of the grave economic and political situation it was decided to make efforts for radical reforms in the entire social and political fabrics of the country. The GD was anti-west and anti-imperialist in its political orientation. Two fundamental aspects of the party’s economic program, according to Mahmud Ali, were nationalization of the major forces of production and equitable distribution of wealth. He was of the view that the GD was a secular and democratic party. The party visualized an economic program which, in the words of Dewan Mahbub Ali, the convener, would enable every citizen of Pakistan to get his share in the prosperity of the country.

Due to its radical outlook the GD was regarded a close ally of the communist in East Pakistan. The ruling junta considered it a communist controlled party and continuously harassed it by arrests and imprisonments. In the provincial elections of 1954 it won several seats in the East Pakistan Assembly. It joined the ministry of Fazlul Haq in collaboration with other parties. After the imposition of the governor rule, almost the entire leadership of the GD was detained and its secret party files were confiscated. It was suppressed very brutally with the blatant use of police force. Its workers languished in jails for about fourteen months without proper legal trial. The GD demanded from the central leaders of the United Front to give a commitment with regard to the release of political prisoners because this point was mentioned in the 21 points political program of the United Front. But after the laps of several months the provincial government failed to fulfill its commitments about the political prisoners. As a result the GD broke away from the United Front in 1955.

In 1956 with the forming of Atta-ur-Rahman Ministry in East Pakistan, the GD was given a cabinet seat. Mahmud Ali was designated as a provincial minister. A significant turn in events was occurred in 1957. At its three-day (July 21-23) council meeting at Barisal the party leaders
took the final decision to send its delegates to the all-Pakistan democratic workers convention and consequently merged its organization within the newly founded NAP. The decision was opposed by its vice-president Mirza Ghulam Hafiz. He left the party along with his adherents.\textsuperscript{140} It proved a fateful decision in the sense that the GD slipped into anonymity and the party that started with huge pomp and show ended rather with a mute.

**Leftists Activities in the United Front (Jagto Front)**

In the political history of Pakistan, the 1954 provincial elections in East Pakistan\textsuperscript{141} were very significant. All the political leaders irrespective of party affiliation got united on the issues of Bengali language and provincial autonomy. Suhrawardhy, Mujib-ur-Rahman, Muhammad Ali Bogra and Tafazzul Ali were among those former Muslim Leaguers who vigorously endorsed the idea that Bengali should be given the same status with that of Urdu. Public mood was too strong and people protested against the imposition of Urdu. Jinnah himself had to intervene to settle down the issue. Speaking at Dhaka on March 24, 1948 he said that there should be only one *lingua franca* of Pakistan and that should be Urdu.\textsuperscript{142} Keith Callard has pointed out that some of the advocates of the superior merits of Urdu managed to create an impression that opposing Urdu and defending any other language was both un-Islamic and harmful to national interest.\textsuperscript{143} The discontentment attached with the language issue grew so fast that when prime minister Nazim-ud-Din, himself a Bengali, defended Urdu in a speech on February 22, 1952 great disturbance was reported among the students. Elections in East Pakistan should be seen in this background which was created by the indifferent attitude of the central government towards the grievances of the people of Bengal.

In the East Pakistan’s provincial elections, a strong electoral alliance was formed by the name of the United Front. The United Front included some progressive and leftist parties who had got united with rightist political groups on minimum political program. The idea of forming an electoral alliance was first mooted in September, 1952 by the Democratic Youth League and the Communist Party of East Pakistan. It was also supported by the left-oriented Progressive Students Federation and the GD. In November 1953, due to internal pressure from the workers, various leaders in East Pakistan expressed their desires of forming a united alliance on the basis of common minimum program. A practical step was taken by Bhashani and Fazlul Haq who announced on December 4, 1953 that both their parties had united together on the basis of
common minimum political program. In this regard they agreed on a 21 point political manifesto. It was followed by negotiations with the GD and Nizam-i-Islam Party (NIP). Later on, Haq persuaded Athar Ali of the NIP while Bhashani got the GD support for 21 point program.\textsuperscript{144}

Among the components of the United Front the AL was the leading opposition party having the widest organizational base. Suhrawardy and Bhashani were its main leaders. The party, in its session of July 3-5, 1953 adopted an election manifesto that included adoption of Bengali as national language, nationalization of Jute trade, and provincial share in revenue and development funds and Bengali representation in the services. More importantly, it vigorously advocated the autonomy demand which increased its popularity among the masses. The central government interned some of its leaders which further boosted its ranking among the populace.\textsuperscript{145} The second largest party in the United Front was Krishak Sramik Party (KSP) founded by Fazlul Haq on July 27, 1953. It announced its 12 point political manifesto on July 29, 1953 which included release of political prisoners, Bengali as national language, full provincial autonomy on the basis of 1940 Resolution, reorientation of educational system and economic development.\textsuperscript{146} Another significant component was the GD which may be called the counterpart of the APP in the West Pakistan. Mahmud Ali and Haji Muhammad Danish were the leading figures behind its formation.\textsuperscript{147}

Committees of the Front were set up and candidates were selected in most of the constituencies. Suhrawardy, Bhashani, Haq, Maulana Athar Ali and Mahmud Ali were the main campaigners of the Front in the elections. There were also politicians who belonged to West Pakistan and were close allies of the Front. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Pir Abdul Latif Zakori, Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani and Ghulam Muhammad Lundkhwar took active part in the campaign for the Front in East Pakistan. Despite its strong efforts to avoid such an electoral backlash, the Muslim League met its humiliating defeat for the first time in the political history of Pakistan. Following table would illustrate the distribution of 237 total Muslim seats after the election results on April 4, 1954.
Table No. 1.1
Distribution of Party-wise Seats in 1954 East Pakistan Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>United Front</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Khilafat-i-Rabani Party</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Muslim League</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table No. 1.2
Seat Distribution within the United Front in 1954 East Pakistan Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Awami League</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>KSP</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>NIP</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>GD</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to Keith Callard “such a massive defeat in a province containing more than half the national population inevitably undermined the position of the central government”. The United Front formed its ministry on April 3, 1954 in East Pakistan with Fazlul Haq as the chief minister. He paid a visit from May 4 to 8, 1954 to Calcutta in which he allegedly delivered some controversial speeches. He had created uproar in the country by expressing ‘the hope to remove, with the help of the Indian people, the artificial barriers that had been created between the two Bengals, because Bengalis are bound by common language and culture.’ On another occasion he virtually disgraced the freedom struggle in 1947 by saying that as a country India exists as a whole. This provided an opportunity to the central government to interfere in East
Pakistan affairs. Meanwhile, law and order situation went from bad to worst in some Jute mills of the province in which hundreds of mill workers lost their lives. The Muslim League central government put the entire blame on the communist elements in the United Front. On the other hand the United Front ministry blamed the central government for creating unrest among the workers. Fazlul Haq challenged the federal government version that the communists had anything to do with the disturbances.\textsuperscript{150}

It was under these circumstances that the central government asked Haq to take immediate steps to curtail communist tendencies and to take action against its members. However, he denied any communist involvement in the whole affairs. On May 23 another incident happened which added fuel to the already burning fire. Haq had given a controversial interview to the Karachi correspondence of the \textit{New York Times}. In his interview he allegedly pleaded for supporting an independent state of Bengal. The prime minister took a stern action by dismissing the United Front ministry on May 29 and governor rule was imposed with Major General Iskandar Mirza appointed as the new governor. Interestingly the US ambassador was informed beforehand about all these development. He was told by the prime minister of Pakistan that Governor’s rule would be imposed in East Pakistan. Iskandar Mirza was specially summoned from London to take charge as the new governor with instructions to come hard on the communists.\textsuperscript{151}

The new governor started massive arrest campaign of the former provincial ministers, lawyers, students and professors. The party that bore the most of his highhandedness was the CPEP and the GD. With a single police operation hundreds of its members were arrested. In one of his press conferences, Iskandar Mirza expressed his concern over the large-scale activities of the communists in the politics of the province. He set up screening committees in most industries to block communist members getting any employment. About 200,000 workers were screened out. In East Pakistan the leftist politics received a fatal blow when CPEP was banned on July 6 followed by a similar ban on the CPP on July 24, 1954. The CPP offices in the big cities of West Pakistan were also rounded up by security agencies. About seventeen communists were arrested in Karachi, thirteen in the Punjab, seven in the NWFP and six in Sindh.\textsuperscript{152}

Another explanation of the imposition of Section 92A in East Pakistan was that the unrest in most of the jute mills were instigated by the government to pave the way for dismissal of the ministry. The AL wanted to discuss the signing of the Pak-US security treaty on the floor of the
Assembly. It was clear that the party would take an anti-US stand on a number of issues. The central government had very little option to maneuver in its favor. It resorted to dissolve the East Pakistan provincial government. The Section 92A was still in operation and the Government of Pakistan entered into the capitalist bloc by signing SEATO and CENTO and became an ally of the western bloc in the region.\textsuperscript{153}

Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy was in Switzerland due to his illness while Abdul Hameed Bhashani left the country two days before the dismissal of the Haq’s ministry to attend a World Peace Conference in Stockholm. In one of his press conferences in London Bhashani alleged that American imperialist forces were behind the unrest in the East Pakistan who did not want to see leftist government to be formed in any province in Pakistan. He was of the opinion that the American agents had increased their activities to destabilize the country.\textsuperscript{154} This stance earned him the wrath of the government and a ban was imposed on his entry into Pakistan by President Iskandar Mirza. Bhashani lived in exile for some time in India. It was on April 22, 1955 after a week-long protest by AL that Iskandar Mirza scraped ban on his entry into Pakistan. After some time differences between the major components of the United Front came to the surface. The alliance was terminated after the withdrawal of the AL and the GD. In September 1956 the NIP also severed its connection with KSP of Fazlul Haq which virtually put the last nail in the coffin of the United Front.

**Formation of the Pakistan National Party (1956)**

During this time a new Constituent Assembly of eighty members was brought into being on May 28, 1955 through indirect elections by the then provincial assemblies. Ghulam Muhammad was eased out of the post of governor general and Iskandar Mirza became the next Head of State. The foremost task before him was to pass the One Unit Bill from the new assembly. Accordingly, on October 3, 1955 the Establishment of West Pakistan Bill\textsuperscript{155} was passed which came into force from October 14, 1955. The imposition of the One Unit scheme caused extreme resentment in the smaller provinces of Pakistan. The anger of the regionalist leadership was directed to the ruling elite of the Punjab. The waves of protest spread from Karachi to Peshawar in West Pakistan and to Chittagong in the East. The Public demonstrations, protest rallies and meetings were held to register disapproval of the One Unit Bill.\textsuperscript{156}
The positive fallout of the protest was the unification of the regionalists, ethno-nationalists and leftists on national level. In the initial stage they operated in the form of a loose organization which was called the anti-One Unit Front. The main parties in the Front were defunct Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa branch of AL under the Pir of Manki, Sindh Hari Committee, Wror Pakhtun, Ustaman Gul, Sindh Awami Mahaz and Azad Pakistan Party. The coming into force of the Pakistan first constitution on March 23, 1956 also gave intimation to the politicians about the forthcoming general and provincial elections. Under this backdrop it was decided to arrange a workers convention in which the announcement of the new party would be made. The convention was organized by the Punjab wing of the APP in Barkat Ali Mohammedan Hall at Lahore on November 30-December 2, 1956. The convention was very largely attended by the concerned political groups. The following leaders marked their presence on the occasion:

i. Abdul Ghaffar Khan  
   Khudai Khidmatgar Movement

ii. Abdul Wali Khan

iii. Amir Muhammad Khan Hoti

iv. Arbab Sikandar Khan

i. G. M. Syed  
   Sindh Awami Mahaz

ii. Abdul Majid Sindhi

iii. Mustafa Bhurgari

i. Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi  
   Sindh Hari Committee

i. Abdus Samad Achakzai  
   Wror Pakhtun

ii. Hashim Khan Ghilzai

i. Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo  
   Ustaman Gul

ii. Gul Khan Naseer

iii. Prince Abdul Kareem
Detailed deliberations took place and it was agreed to name the party as Pakistan National Party (PNP) which would be formally launched on December 2, 1956. The party program was finalized and a central working committee was made to supervise the organization of the branches in various provinces. Describing the purpose of the new party Wali Khan said “the leadership of the anti-One Unit Front deemed it necessary to form such a political party through which a democratic program would be pursued to pull out the country from the political impasse and to give due rights to the downtrodden and poor people.” Abdul Ghaffar Khan was elected the first president and Mahmud Ali Qasuri the general secretary of the PNP.\textsuperscript{158} The main features of the manifesto of the new party were dissolution of the One Unit of West Pakistan and restoration of the old provinces including full provincial status to Balochistan. Adoption of anti-imperialist and non-aligned foreign policy was given the foremost priority. Friendly relations including trade and economic cooperation would be cultivated with all countries specially the neighboring states and the socialist bloc. Fundamental rights of all the citizens, including the rights of workers, peasants, and minorities would be protected.

The PNP started off well with the campaign for the dissolution of One Unit which was its main concern and a “rallying point” for all the ethno-nationalists.\textsuperscript{159} Individually each one of these parties stood for more statutory reforms, political autonomy and economic rights for their respective provinces. Getting together into one political party was their struggle to give these demands a countrywide complexion. The organization committee of the party was composed of Abdul Majid Sindhi, Amir Muhammad Khan, Abdul Karim, Muhammad Hashim Ghilzai, Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi and Mahmud Ali Qasuri. The task of the committee was to organize the party in all the areas of West Pakistan. Amir Muhammad Khan was made in-charge of the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa in organizing the party apparatus, Abdul Majid Sindhi and Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi were given the province of Sindh along with Karachi and Abdul Karim was made responsible for Kalat. Quetta was to be organized on the similar lines by Hashim Khan. In the Punjab the task of organizing the party was given to Mahmud Ali Qasuri.\textsuperscript{160}
Many political analysts observed that the basic weakness of the political system of Pakistan after the constitution was the absence of a progressive and national political party which would integrate the people of East and West Pakistan. It was felt by the leftist politicians that basic training ground for such a party would be the next elections. They wanted to exploit this opportunity for the establishment of a national party which would integrate different regional and cultural groups at the national level. The PNP was composed mainly of the leadership belong to West Pakistan. There was no representation of the East Pakistan political views that greatly questioned the nationalist credentials of the party. To give the party a national character a democratic workers convention was held in Dhaka exactly seven months and twenty-four days after the formation of the PNP at Lahore. In the Dhaka convention which was held on July 25-26, 1957 the Pakistan National Awami Party (NAP) was founded with the inclusion of Bhashani and other Bengali political leaders belonged to GD and CPEP. Most of the leaders in East Pakistan belonged to AL created differences with the party central leadership on the issues of foreign policy and provincial autonomy. In the subsequent chapter the formation, political program and organizational structure of the NAP would be dealt with in detail. Moreover the social base of the party would be discussed to ascertain its popularity among the masses.
References and Notes

1 Iqbal Leghari in his doctoral dissertation ‘Socialist Movement in Pakistan’ has defined the term socialist as a movement whose ultimate aim is the abolition of private means of production by class struggle and its replacement by a society based on the social ownership of those means. In the present study the term leftist is used to accommodate those political elements who were not socialist in letter and spirit and who joined the NAP along with socialists and communists. These also included those regionalists who were the allies of the communists. Iqbal Leghari, ‘The Socialist Movement in Pakistan’, (unpublished PhD thesis, Laual University Montreal, 1979).


3 Abdul Majid Sindhi was the son of a Hindu businessman Dewan Lilaram. He was born on July 7, 1889 in Thatta, Sindh. His Hindu name was Jethanand, which was changed to Abdul Majid after his conversion to Islam in 1908. He started his political career as a political secretary to Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgari, a Sindhi nationalist freedom fighter. He took part in *Reshmi Roomal Tahreek* and joined Congress in 1914. He participated in most of Annual Sessions of the all-India Congress. He was imprisonment for many times during the British days. The Movement for the separation of Sindh from Bombay made him diverted to Muslim politics and thus he joined All India Muslim League. This sincere and humble Freedom fighter breathed his last on May 24, 1978. See for detail study Muhammad Qasim Soomro, *Muslim Politics in Sindh 1938-1947* (Jamshoro: University of Sindh, 1989)


9 Ibid; 96

10 Ibid.


14 Ibid.


16 G. M. Syed, *Awaz-i-Sindh*, p. 100. The four progressive members who were recommended by G. M. Syed were (i) Syed Khair Shah (ii) Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan (iii) Syed Muhammad Ali Shah and (iv) Ghulam Mustafa Burgury.

17 Ibid; p. 107.


22 It is stated that on certain occasions Abdul Ghaffar Khan outraged non-Pakhtun population of the province, largely concentrated in the Hazara division, Dera Ismail Khan, Kohat and other areas. He often spoke about Pakhtunwali and Pashto language in most of his speeches and statements. He declared while speaking in a political gathering that “when we have self-government we will have everything in Pashto.” See S. Rittenburg ‘The Independence Movement in India’s North-West Frontier Province, 1901-1947’ (Colombia: Unpublished PhD thesis, Columbia University), p. 176.


27 Amin-ul-Hassanat, popularly known as the Pir of Manki Sharif, was born on February 01, 1922 in the village of Manki (Nowshera) in a famous family of hereditary saints. He belonged to the Dalazak tribe of the Pakhtuns. His grandfather Abdul Wahab was authorized successor of the famous frontier saint of the Qadriah spiritual order. He had a large circle of disciples who were known as “Sheikhs” In the early phase of his life, the Pir of Manki Sharif remained aloof from active politics. He took part only in the religious gatherings organized by his disciples in various parts of the province. He was not in favor of practical politics but at the same time he was anxious about the welfare of the Muslim nation. He had started opposing the Congress since the days of the Quit India Movement. See for details Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, Syed Amin-ul-Hassanat Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif Aur Unki Siyasi Jaddo Jehad [Urdu] (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1990).

28 Governor’s Report, October 9, 1945, India Office Library and Records, L/P and J/5.

29 Khalid B. Sayeed, Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change, p. 23.


31 Abdul Ghaffar, Zama Zhwand aw Jadd-o-Jahad [Pashto], p. 738.


33 Ibid; p. 226.

34 Sher Baz Khan Mazari, A Journey to Disillusionment (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 50.

Though the Muslim League had 43 seats, and the Congress 52, Fazlul Haq, with 36 seats, was best placed to lead a coalition either in alliance with one of the above or with support from the 108 independents and some other members of the Assembly. Humaira Momen, *Muslim Politics in Bengal: A Study of the KPP and the Elections of 1937* (Dhaka: 1972), p. 77.


The political ideal of Abul Hashim was to struggle for a sovereign East Pakistan state. He feared the imposition of Urdu and an alien bureaucracy in a united Pakistan. His vision of a sovereign Bengal was based on the reference to the Lahore Resolution of 1940. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy who floated the idea of an independent united Bengal in 1947, Bhashani who first demanded independence of Bangladesh and Mujib-ur-Rahman who led Bangladesh independence movement, were close associates of Abul Hashim. A. Samad, *A Nation in Turmoil: Nationalism and Ethnicity in Pakistan, 1937-1958* (New Delhi: 1995), p. 197.

Communist elements among different leftist parties are factual phenomena which can never be set aside. For the present study it is important to give them proper attention because most of the socialists and communists joined the National Awami Party in 1957. Abul Hashim was not alone who was imbued with communist and socialist ideas; there were also other leaders on the League’s roll who had been suspected of propagating communism. Iqbal Leghari, ‘The Socialist Movement in Pakistan’, p. 28. Also see Khalid B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967), p. 53.


Khalid B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan*, p. 52.


Ibid.


Ibid; p. 31.


Tahir Bizenjo, Balochistan: Kia Howa Kia Hoga, p. 121.

Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, In Search of Solution, p. 59.


For a detailed study see Abdul Ghani Khan Ghano, Baba-i-Pashtun wa Pashtunkhwa.

Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, In Search of Solutions, p. 60.


Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo from Balochistan along with Ziarat Gul and Khushal Khan from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa joined Communist Party of Pakistan (CPI) in early 1952. Bizenjo was a committed communist and was formally a card-carrying member of the CPI. Personal interview with Abdul Latif Afridi, President Peshawar High Court Bar Association, July 8, 2012 in Peshawar.

Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, In Search of Solutions, p. 62.

Rafique Afzal, Pakistan: A Political Study, p. 6.


Ibid; p. 217.


In 1927 Abdul Majid, Mian Akbar Shah, Akbar Khan, Gohar Rahman and Shams-ud-Din Hasan held rounds of meetings in Lahore. They deliberated on the establishment of the communist centres in different cities of the country. Some of them played prominent rolls in the organization of different communist movements in the Punjab. See Bhagwan Josh, Communist Movement in Punjab: 1926-47 (Lahore: Book Traders), p. 52.


Ibid; p. 159.

The CPI debated the issue of nationalities in India several times. After heated debates the task of preparing new line of action was entrusted to Dr. G. Adhikari. He prepared his new thesis on the basis of the writings of Lenin, Stalin and the Russian experience. G. Adhikari, *Pakistan and National Unity* (Bombay: People Publishing House, 1942), p. 30.


In the beginning the CPP suffered from the partition of Bengal because majority of its members were Hindus who migrated to India. Another factor was the lack of proper training in communist traditions of the workers and leadership of the party in Pakistan. They had little theoretical understanding of the history of the communist movements in China and Soviet Union. In addition the non-Muslim members of the party felt alienation from the Muslim masses in which they were supposed to build a strong movement. Most of them had no idea that how to reach to the masses owing to this sense of alienation. They failed to formulate and reassess their policy on the eve of the fiasco of the Ranadive’s militant line. There were in fact Muslim members in the CPP who could spearhead a struggle in such mass organization as peasants and labours but the party failed to organize them in proper manner. Badruddin Umar, *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Class Struggle in East Pakistan 1947-1958* Vol. II (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 78.


Ibid.

Ibid; p. 69.


Ibid; p. 86.

Personal interview with Faiz Muhammad at village Shewa district Swabi NWFP on November 10, 2010.


Ibid; p. 53-54.


All Pakistan People’s Party: *Proposed aims objectives and party constitution* (Karachi: 1948).


*Ibid*; p. 311.


Special Branch Police Records, Provincial Archives Peshawar (NWFP), p. 5.


Initial members of the Azad Pakistan Party included former Leaguers for instance Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Mahmud Ali Qasuri, Shaikh Muhammad Rashid and Khwaja Muhammad Afzal. People like Kaswar Gardezi, Mazhar Ali Khan, Tahira Mazhar Ali, Ameer Hussain Shah, Mirza Ibrahim, C. R. Aslam, Fatah Muhammad, Abid Hasan Manto and many other progressive elements joined the party. It also included some leftist members who were part of the Muslim League campaign in 1946 elections.


Although in the Punjab elections the formation of a unified platform of the opposition was not done but Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din was instrumental in the forming of a united front in the East Pakistan. Abdullah Malik, *Dastan Khanwada Mian Mahmud Ali Qasuri*, p. 19.


A lengthy debate took place in a session of the National Assembly of Pakistan over the remarks of the US ambassador. It was reported that on March 11, 1957 the US ambassador criticized Iftikhar-ud-Din as communist who opposed military pacts with biased objective and illogical reasoning. Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates (Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1957), pp. 76-81.

The Communist Party of West Pakistan in Action (Lahore: Secret Police Record Published by the DIG Police, Criminal Investigation Department of the Punjab, n.d), p. 283.

*Ibid*; p. 239.
120 Abdullah Malik, *Selected Speeches and Statements of Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din*, p. 68.


123 *Dawn*, June 20, 1954.


126 Khan Shaheed Seminar, p. 40.


129 Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, *In Search of Solutions*, p. 84.

130 Khadim Hussain Soomro, G. M. Syed, p. 325.


132 *Dawn*, October 21, 1953.

133 Khadim Hussain Soomro, G. M. Syed, p. 333.

134 *Morning News* Dhaka, January 17, 1953.


141 The Eastern Wing of Pakistan was officially known as East Bengal till 1956. Afterwards it was changed to East Pakistan. In the present study it would be referred to as East Pakistan for the purpose of uniformity.


146 *Ibid*.

147 *Ibid*; p. 110.


The One Unit scheme was considered a first step towards the promulgation of the 1956 constitution in the country. Both the coalition parties the United Front and the Muslim League had agreed to adopt the One Unit bill. The Awami League parliamentary leader Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy helped to draft it despite the fact that the NWFP branch of his party strongly resented the imposition of the bill. The Scheme advocated a sub-federation of the three linguistic provinces in West Pakistan having all the other subjects except defence, foreign affairs, currency and banking and with power similar to those of East Pakistan. Dr. Khan Sahib, elder brother of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, was sworn in as the first Chief Minister of the West Pakistan. Rafique Afzal, Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-58, Vol. I, pp. 283-284.

Ibid.

Ibid; p. 283.


Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, In Search of Solutions, p. 92.


Khalid B. Sayeed, The Political System of Pakistan, p. 83.
CHAPTER TWO

Formation of the Pakistan National Awami Party (NAP)

In 1956 the formation of the newly PNP in West Pakistan coincided with the appearance of fundamental differences within the leadership of the Awami League in East Pakistan. Both the events paved the way for the formation of the National Awami Party at all-Pakistan level. Serious rift occurred in the coalition ministries of the AL in the federal as well as in the East Pakistan. The somersault of the Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardhy on regional autonomy, foreign policy and his switching over from his earlier stance on South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) brought havoc in the ranks and files of the AL. After assuming the post of prime minister, he vehemently defended the signing of the security pacts with the capitalist bloc. His supporting of the tripartite invasion on Egypt also brought difference of opinion on the surface within the party leaders. This “adventurism” of Suhrawardy alienated a large section of the middle class workers in East Pakistan and also some of his close party colleagues and partners. Particularly Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani, President East Pakistan AL, was much apprehensive about his shift on regional autonomy and foreign policy. He was backed by the Gantantari Dal as well as Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani, general secretary AL and Ali Ahad, organizing secretary of the East Pakistan AL.

Suhrawardy, supported by the right wing AL leaders, civil and military establishment, was in a much stronger position. He advocated in favor of his foreign policy parameters in his address to the students of Dhaka University on December 8, 1956 in an aggressive tone. His statement was resented by Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani, general secretary of the party and called upon the Prime Minister to withdraw from the defense pacts. Suhrawardhy in return dismissed him for not endorsing his view point. On January 8, 1957 the working committee of AL confirmed the expulsion of Usmani and postponed a party convention in the West Pakistan which was scheduled to be held on January 25-26, 1957. The postponement of the convention and shift on foreign policy was resented by many party workers. It even caused the resignation of some dissenting leaders along with their supporters from the party primary membership in Sindh and NWFP. The dissident group formed a seven member joint committee included some members of the newly formed PNP in the West wing. They started deliberations to form an all-Pakistan party having their roots in both the wings of Pakistan. It was in this situation that
Suhrawardy successfully passed his policy statements from the Constituent Assembly. All the leading rightist and pro-establishment parties including Muslim League voted in his favor. Two opposing votes were cast by Mian Ifikhar-ud-Din and Abdul Bari. As a protest Maulana Bhashani resigned as president East Pakistan AL and his resignation letter, though addressed to the general secretary, was sent straight to the editor of *Pakistan Observer* through Ali Ahad. On March 30, 1957, in a meeting of the East Pakistan AL working committee, Abul Mansur Ahmad moved a resolution for the temporary suspension of Ali Ahad for violating the party rules. Bhashani was absent but Ali Ahad made it clear that it was done on the instructions of the former provincial president. The working committee accepted the resignations of nine members of the working committee who were loyal to Bhashani. The committee also expelled Ali Ahad and called a council meeting against the wishes of Bhashani. To counterbalance any possible move of Bhashani, a process of political bargaining took place for forming a possible alliance by the members of AL and Krishak Saramik Party (KSP) in the East Pakistan Assembly.

Bhashani remained critical of the way the situation was handled by his party colleagues. He strongly resented the behavior of the federal government and the uncompromising attitude of some AL leaders. The pressure of his leftist supporters was increased on him to such an extent that he openly revolted against the party high command. He did not conceal his indignation and made it clear that he had lost interest in the party and that he was thinking about establishing a new democratic all-Pakistan party. He took his followers and workers, majority of whom were communists and leftists, in confidence about his intending plan. In April 1957, Bhashani visited West Pakistan to explore the possibility of forming a new political party with various opposition leaders. Meanwhile he was called to participate in a council meeting of the AL to be held on June 13th. Both Bhashani and Suhrawardy took part in the first day deliberations in the council meeting. He vigorously defended his stand on foreign policy and regional autonomy and castigated Suhrawardy for his stance on defense pacts. When he left the council venue, a resolution moved by Mujib-ur-Rahman endorsing Suhrawardy’s foreign policy, was passed despite strong opposition from leftist members. The council unanimously requested Bhashani to withdraw his resignation. However, the communist members and their associates exerted their influence on Bhashani to take a firm stand on the issues. Meanwhile, the Communist Party of East Pakistan (CPEP) formally withdrew its members from AL. They supported Bhashani in his effort to form a new democratic anti-imperialist party. It is evident from the party documents.
that in the west wing the credit for the emergence of the new line of thinking and the ultimate formation of the NAP goes to the untiring efforts of Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din. His powerful initiative led to the coming together of spirited and anti-imperialist forces in the country to form a new all-Pakistan progressive political party.\(^8\)

Bhashani along with his leftist supporters and backed by the GD started negotiations with the leaders of the PNP. M. H. Usmani was already in touch with the leaders of the party for possible merger and formation of an all-Pakistan national party. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din and G. M. Syed initially started consultations with Bhashani but later on it was also joined by the representative of the GD. It was decided with other West Pakistan leaders that a conference of all democratic forces in Pakistan would be held in Dhaka on July 25 and 26, 1957. The announcement was made by Bhashani on June 18. In all districts of West and East Pakistan the AL bodies split up and a large section of workers and leaders decided to participate in the Dhaka conference. Dhaka City AL under the leadership of Yar Muhammad Khan severed its connection with the parent party and started a vigorous campaign to organize a successful convention. The AL leadership was furious and reacted with large-scale expulsion of the party members.

A meeting of political workers was held on July 1, 1957 at the Dhaka District Board Hall under barrister Shaukat Ali Khan. A reception committee was formed with Yar Muhammad Khan as president and Mohiy-ud-Din Khan as general secretary. The committee was entrusted with the task of organizing a successful conference on July 25 and 26. Bhashani formally announced his decision of breaking all his connection with the AL which he had founded along with some other leaders in 1949. Meanwhile, a meeting of the supreme council of the GD was held at Barisal on July 21 to 23, 1957, presided over by Mahmud Ali who was a provincial minister in the AL coalition ministry. It was decided to participate in the All-Pakistan Democratic Workers Conference and to dissolve GD as a separate organization.\(^9\)

The conference of the democratic workers of both the wings of Pakistan began in Dhaka at the Rupmahal Cinema Hall near Sadargate on July 25. The convention was attended by about eight hundred delegates from East Pakistan and one hundred from West Pakistan. The popular leaders of West Pakistan included Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, G. M. Syed, Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai, Prince Abdul Karim, Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani, C. R. Aslam, Abdul Majid Sindhi, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Attaullah Mengal, Khair Bakhsh Marri, Ghulam Mustafa Khar, Sobo Guan Chandani and Abdul Wali Khan. Besides Bhashani the leading
delegates from East Pakistan were Mahmud Ali, Haji Muhammad Danish, Akbar Ali Akhund, Sardar Fazal Karim, Devin Das, and Dewan Mahbub Ali. A large number of leftists, communists and their sympathizers attended the conference. They included Professor Muzaffar Ahmad, Mohiy-ud-Din Ahmad, Fazlul Karim, Muhammad Toha, Yar Muhammad Khan, Afzal Bangash and other workers from various parts of the country. It was reported that the rallying force behind the workers convention was the communists. Some of them also took part in chalking out the manifesto of the new party.

The convention was described as the greatest assembly of the leftist and democratic workers that ever took place in the political history of Pakistan. On July 25 the convention was presided-over by Bhashani. He spoke at length describing the economic, political and social conditions in both the wings of Pakistan. He highlighted the miserable condition of the peasants, workers and people belonging to the lower stratum of the society. He appealed to the delegates to launch a united struggle for building Pakistan as a federal welfare state, free from exploitations and intervention of imperialist powers. Bhashani delivered his inaugural speech in Bengali but it was translated into Urdu for the delegates of the West Pakistan. The resolution for the formation of the National Awami Party was moved by Yar Muhammad Khan and was seconded by Muhammad Toha, two well-known Dhaka-based communists. The formation of the new party was announced on July 27, 1957. A summary of the resolution is given below:

The convention of the representatives of democratic parties and groups and of all democratic elements from both the wings of Pakistan, having revived the political, economic and social condition within the country and having realized the need for integrity of democratic forces within the country in order to consolidate the people of Pakistan into one strong and independent nation free from evils of communalism and provincialism, exploitation and imperialism, to ameliorate the economic condition of the people and to establish, by constitutional means democracy in the country and autonomy in the two wings of Pakistan hereby resolves to form a new party, dedicated to Pakistan and its people, and known as Pakistan National Awami Party.

Pakistan National Awami Party was composed of such elements some of them were former Muslim Leaguers and took active part in the struggle for Pakistan for instance Bhashani, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din and G. M. Syed. This factor was counter-balanced by the presence in the
party of the ethno-nationalist Muslims like Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Abdus Samad Achakzai, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Prince Abdul Karim. After 1947 many of them spearheaded and established different opposition parties. By all accounts the new party started off as a mixture of different kind of political approaches. The cementing bonds among them were their opposition to Muslim League and One Unit Scheme, anti-imperialism, secular politics and struggle for provincial autonomy, land and economic reforms. All its prominent leaders favored to have a democratic political system and strong disgust was dispelled towards military pacts with western countries. The reason for which the communist and leftist politicians formed a common platform with the regionalists and landed gentry was to be called a “marriage of convenience”. In spite of all these seeming similarities, there was great difference in class composition between the leaders of West and East Pakistan and between the leftists and regionalists. However, all these elements needed each-others in the political atmosphere that existed at that time. Following were the main reasons for which different groups merged themselves within the platform of the NAP:

i. Almost all the factions were struggling for achieving democratic rights as majority of them were constantly harassed and persecuted by the establishment and ruling Muslim League.

ii. The introduction of One Unit in 1955 had virtually deprived the regional-feudal class the opportunity to form governments in their respective provinces. Since then they had based their program on the nullification of One Unit scheme.

iii. A strong center was being supported by the pro-American elements in the country. Strong center was also against the interest of the regionalists. Therefore, both the leftists and regionalist projected themselves as anti-imperialist and working for larger provincial autonomy with a weak centre.

iv. Majority of the regionalists, for instance, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, G. M. Syed, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Abdus Samad Achakzai had a secular approach to politics which was also advocated by the leftists and communists. Therefore they felt easiness in setting and working with each-others.

The successful convention of the democratic workers was unbearable for the AL government. It proved a political set-back for the party as it lost thousands of its members and the control of several district branches in both the wings of Pakistan. NAP got full control in a number of districts like Dinajpur, Faridpur, Pabna, Rangpur, Bogra and Dhaka city. Some 25 AL
members of the East Pakistan Assembly switched over to the newly founded NAP. The hostility of the AL workers reached a high point during the convention. Tafazzul Hussain, the editor of *Ittefaq* a pro-government Bengali newspaper, took the charge of media propaganda and Mujib-ur-Rahman took the charge of organizing physical attacks on the leadership of the NAP. *Ittefaq* termed the entire leadership as Indian agents and distorted its abbreviation as *Nehru Aided Party* (NAP). The musclemen of Mujib-ur-Rahman surrounded the Rupmahal Cinema Hall and pelted stones at the delegates. They also snatched leaflets and other party documents from the participants. In the midst of a scuffle, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din received injuries. However the workers and the leaders of the convention remained peaceful and indomitable. Abdul Majid Sindhi mentioned in his speech about the hooliganism of the government saying that it had actually contributed to the success of our conference. About the successful convention, Shaukat Ali was of the view that President Iskandar Mirza was happy to see a breakup in the Awami League because he foreseen in the growing stature of Suhrawardy a virtual threat to his political ambitions. He facilitated the formation of the NAP by issuing hundred visas to the delegates of West Pakistan to go by train through India. Hafiz Taqi-ud-Din while commenting on his participation in the convention revealed that total participants from West Pakistan were 200 who were being facilitated in getting their urgent passports and swift completion of visa process in the Indian Consulate at Lahore. He was of the view that some government agents accompanied them to Dhaka for some special purposes.

A public meeting was organized on July 26 at the Paltan Maidan. The venue again was attacked by armed workers of AL. They used sticks, stones and brickbats to thwart the meeting. Afzal Bangash was hit on the head and suffered a serious injury. At one stage, Abdul Ghaffar Khan stood up on the dais and collected the stones in a corner. The hooligans of Mujib-ur-Rahman created so much disturbances that the SDO of Dhaka city had to promulgate section 144 in the area to bring the situation under control. It was reported in the press that some gangsters planned to assassinate Maulana Bhashani. This kind of treatment on the part of AL proved counterproductive which earned more public sympathies for the NAP. Unlike any other parties formed in Pakistan after 1947 the NAP came into being as the first national opposition party. By mustering large-scale support of progressive forces in both the wings of the country, the NAP posed serious threat to the establishment and those rightist politicians who always set in the government bandwagon. Its composition varied from province to province but for all practiced
purposes it can be termed as the first democratic and progressive opposition political party in Pakistan.

With the formation of the NAP a debate started that whether it would prove a revolutionary party in a politically fragile country? Entire debate revolved around the presence of a large number of communists who were active in the party activities. The political composition of the party revealed a stark ideological contrasts and different political mindset. At one side there were the leftists and socialists and on the other there were ethno-nationalists and landlords. NAP in Sindh was dependent on G. M. Syed with big landlords of the province supporting him. In Balochistan there were tribal and nationalist leaders such as Khair Bakhsh Marri, Attaullah Mengal, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Abdus Samad Achakzai. In NWFP the party control was in the hands of leaders such as Abdul Ghaffar Khan supported by landlords, *arbabs* and *nawabs* in Peshawar and Mardan. Though there were a large number of communists but their position was not so strong to match the strength of the nationalists. In Karachi, the party was, however, in the hands of progressive middle class elements and hardcore communists. In the Punjab the party leadership was in the hands of people like Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din despite the presence of some high profile leftists in the province. Besides, there were the representatives of feudal class; progressive democrats, different brands of communists ranging from evolutionary to that of militant adventurists. Differences among all these groups surfaced very soon in East Pakistan. Professor Muzaffar at that time was the secretary of Bhashani who wanted to put a stamp of communism on the top of the NAP. He wanted that the party should be known as a communist inspired political party in the country.\(^{20}\)

Despite the effort of some communist leaders to capture the upper echelon of the party, they never succeeded in building up a political cadre totally controlled by them. Quite contrary, the formation of the NAP heralded the sagging of communist politics in Pakistan. Henceforth, it was difficult for them to give fresh impetus to the tradition of revolutionary politics. Despite of the communists’ strong position on ideological front, in the party real power and initiative lay in the hands of the regional leaders and ethno-nationalists whose main demand was the provincial autonomy and scrapping of the One Unit scheme. They had strong political bases in their respective areas and the resources to indulge in the parliamentary politics. On the other hand, the leftists neither had political base nor central authority. Their political strength was not so much strong to match the regionalists. They operated in the shape of a loose pressure group within the
party. In East Pakistan, however, they were in a much better position and successful to capture some high profile posts in the party. There were also several provincial members in East Pakistan that belonged to the communists. They were well-entrenched in peasants, labor and student organizations. In West Pakistan, they were bound to be led by ethno-nationalists and landlords. Their weak position was best illustrated by an incident. A meeting of the leadership of the NAP took place in which Abdul Ghaffar Khan and G. M. Syed disclosed that they had met with President Iskandar Mirza and held important discussion with him. Communist members criticized both of them for not taking in confidence other leader prior to their meeting with the president. It was demanded from both the leaders to shed light about the agenda of the meeting. At this both the leaders showed their utter annoyance, became furious and walked out of the meeting. The matter was later on resolved when the communists were asked to apologize to both the leaders.21

Despite all these conflicting approaches and ideological clashes, the formation of the NAP was regarded as the unification of the leftist and ethno-nationalist political workers on national level. It was the emergence of a political force to be reckoned with in the country. It displayed its political strength at a time when the democratic system was in disarray in Pakistan. The political order was completely in abysmal condition. Dissidents and cohorts joined hands in overthrowing the ministries in every province and in the center. Nasty political maneuverings took place with the connivance of those setting in the power echelon. Given the prevailing grim situation, it was best time for the NAP to utilize the situation in its favor. The services of some of the best political managers and organizers were available to it. It was a litmus test for the regionalists and leftists to provide the divergent groups a radical, cohesive and unified political program. The need of the time was to create an environment in which both the factions would integrate themselves for minimizing ideological differences. The political commonalities were wide-ranging and it was feared by political heavy-weights that if NAP succeeded in retaining political unity, it would pose huge challenge for competing parties in the next general elections in the country.

**Ideology/Political Program of the NAP**

The events unfolded at the time of the formation of the NAP were marred by the intrigues which were the usual business of the drawing rooms of the country’s majority politicians. Its emergence
coincided with an unstable Constituent Assembly blemished by regular shifting of political loyalties. The Republican Party’s ministry in the western wing was heavily dependent on President Iskandar Mirza. The AL was in disarray and undergoing a process of reorganization. The unity of hitherto marginal groups in the NAP exposed it to mainstream political activity. With major political parties showing lack of discipline, the ideological orientation and solidarity displayed by the NAP members, gave it an advantage that enthused the very centers of state powers.\textsuperscript{22}

On the internal front, the political bankruptcy of the landlord politicians and its effect on the bureaucracy had in fact reduced the state machinery to a complete mess. On external front, Pakistan’s foreign policy tilted towards the capitalist bloc and submitted to the wishes of US Cold War politics. The long awaited general elections were due to be held in 1959 announced by Prime Minister Suhrawardy. One of the reasons of the removal of Suhrawardy was that he showed interest in holding general elections under the new constitution. It was a ‘bitter pill’ to swallow for those who foresaw their imminent political debacle in holding the elections.\textsuperscript{23} With this state of affairs looming on the horizon, President Iskandar Mirza was not looking keen in finalizing the timing of the elections. He was surrounded by those politicians who learnt from the experience of the international bourgeoisie that “when you think you cannot win an election, either postpone or rig it”. It would create a difficult situation for Iskandar Mirza and could lead to his removal from the presidency. In West Pakistan feudal interest and top echelon of the armed forces also joined hands in opposing the holding of elections. And to prevent it to happen, the removal of Suhrawardy was the first step to be taken.\textsuperscript{24}

Away from the cesspool of unpleasant greed displayed by most of the ruling elites, the formation of the NAP was, in the real sense, the emergence of the first political party since partition that could claim the support of the major progressive forces in both the wings of the country. Its formation was one of the factors that forced the military establishment and Iskandar Mirza to outwit the general elections. Notwithstanding the communists’ weak position, it was feared by many in the establishment that they might at any time occupy the upper echelon of the party. This fear of communist gambit was augmented when the constitution of the NAP was drafted. Due to its radical carriage and non-attendance of Islamic clauses, it was believed, that its constitution was the brainchild of the communist elements within the party.\textsuperscript{25}
The aims and objectives of the NAP were chalked out on the eve of the democratic workers’ convention at Dhaka. It envisioned a program in which it was pledged to work for the consolidation of the people of Pakistan as a nation free from communalism, provincialism, imperialism, and exploitation, to improve the economic condition of the people and to establish constitutional democracy and autonomy for both the wings of Pakistan. It was stated in the party’s constitution that the name of the party was to be the Pakistan National Awami Party. Its head-quarter would be situated in Karachi with a sub-office at Dhaka. Though the party stalwarts from time to time, brought about many changes in the party constitution due to the changing political environment, but its main objective remained the implementation of a socialist order in Pakistan.

The constitution of the NAP comprised of four sections. An extensive list of party’s program was incorporated in the second part of the constitution. It was stated that the party would strive to preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. It would pursue as its first goal, the establishment of a democratic and social system through constitutional and peaceful means. Foreign control and influence of western powers would not be tolerated and communal differences would be minimized through a strategy in which there would be no place for exploitation of a particular section of society. It pledged full guarantee to employment, shelter, education, civil liberty, and freedom to observe their religious worship and rituals irrespective of sex, caste, and religious beliefs. It was promised that in the country a system would be created through agreed mechanism in which a sense of belongings would be increased among the general masses. In this way the people of both the wings would be in a position to strive for a mighty Pakistani nationhood.

It is pertinent to mention some of the salient features of the NAP program in detail.

i. The State Structure
Provincial autonomy was one of the core issues of the political system envisioned by the party in its future program. The federal structure of the state of Pakistan was to be developed on the basis of two autonomous units of East and West Pakistan. Machinery of the government would be run in the line of an independent and sovereign, welfare federal state. The sovereign rights of the state would be vested in the people of Pakistan. This supreme right of the people would be exercised by the assemblies comprised of their representatives elected through joint electorates, universal adult franchise and direct voting. Full autonomy would be given to both the wings of
the country to administer their respective institutions. The central government would be responsible only in matters of defense, currency and foreign relations. One Unit scheme would be replaced by zonal federation through a struggle that would be executed in constitutional and democratic manner. Old provinces in West Pakistan would be restored on the basis of cultural, linguistic homogeneity and geographical contiguity. The reconstituted provinces would be uniformed and fully democratic in their political structure. In western wing the four provinces would comprise of a zonal federation of West Pakistan. In the zonal federation of West Pakistan’s assembly no province would have a large number of seats than the rest of the provinces put together by virtue of its numerical strength. In 1965, a change in the party constitution was brought through a resolution which was passed by the national council of the party. The amendment aimed at struggling for the establishment of a socialist structure in Pakistan through peaceful means.

All the excluded areas including the princely states, tribal areas, agencies, and other similar areas in Pakistan which had distinct administrative and political setup, would be brought and merged under the administrative control of the contiguous provinces as integral parts thereof. All the people of Pakistan would be treated equally under the law of the country. Brotherly relations would be cemented and cultural exchanges would be encouraged to promote harmony and oneness between all the people belonging to different provinces. Immediate steps would be taken to separate judiciary from executive.

ii. Fundamental Rights of the People

Basic human rights under the charter of the United Nations Organization (UNO) would be ensured and would duly be extended to the people. It included the right of practicing religious belief, basic living facilities such as food, shelter, education, employment, medical aid, security, and imparting of speedy justice. It incorporated in its future goals the set up of an educational system through which compulsory education would be introduced up to primary stage. It guaranteed handsome salaries for primary school teachers. The number of colleges, schools, universities, medical and technical institutions would be increased gradually according to the requirement of the population. Education would be imparted in mother tongues and by a gradual process all restrictions would be removed in the liberalization of education. On the other hand, efforts would be made to abolish all provisions aiming at the regimentation and control of intellectual pursuits.
The public health sector and sanitation facility would be improved. The number of hospitals, maternity homes, charitable dispensaries and baby clinics would be increased to meet the growing need of the general public. Differences between urban and rural areas would be minimized by giving special attention to the preservation of rural cultural heritage through adult education. It was laid down in the party program that fullest guarantee would be given to all the citizens in matters such as freedom of expression, freedom of movement, freedom of press, freedom to organize meetings, freedom to form association and freedom to organize peaceful processions and strikes. Another important clause was the repeal of those laws authorizing the illegal and without trial detention of the citizens including the abolition of all repressive laws. 

All peoples who have suffered in the process of freedom struggle would be properly rehabilitated. Arrangements would be made to preserve the memories of those people who sacrificed their lives for the great cause of the nation. Equal rights to womenfolk would be given in social, economic, political fields and in all other spheres of life. Proper aid would be provided to the old, needy and unemployed citizens. Beggary would be removed through a comprehensive strategy to raise the orphans on state resources. Free and fair elections in all elected bodies throughout the country would be ensured with all adult citizens having the right of vote in choosing their candidates. The system of joint electorates, universal adult franchise, and secret ballot for election to legislatures and other local self-governing institutions would be retained. NAP would support any constitutional provision declaring Urdu and Bengali as the state languages of Pakistan. Generous state help would be extended to all other languages spoken by the people of Pakistan for their development and preservation.

iii. The Kashmir Problem

The Kashmir problem received due attention in the NAP future program. It was laid down that it was the fundamental right of the people of Kashmir to determine their political future by means of a free and fair plebiscite. For running the affairs of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir it recommended the setting up of a democratic administration. NAP considered the occupation of Kashmir by Indian armed forces illegal and against the international convictions. It was stated in a party pamphlet that the Kashmir problem was created by the British government to protect its vested interest in the region. The viable solution of the problem was to implement the 1949 Resolution of the UNO to let the people of the state decide their own future through a referendum. This resolution was backed by both India and Pakistan. But the Indian government,
with open support from imperialist powers, continuously dragging its feet on the referendum issue. The peaceful struggle of the Kashmiri people would be supported as their fundamental right. NAP condemned the cruel steps of the Indian Government to arrest the rising tide of freedom struggle through suppression and arrest of the leadership on different fake charges. 33

iv. Land Reforms

In view of the fact that Pakistan is an agrarian country, land and agricultural reforms were given utmost priority in the party constitution. It was also an important field of economic development which was indicated so many times by the NAP. It promised that immediate steps would be taken to make the two wings of the country self-sufficient in matters of food availability. To meet this challenge it was suggested to look for improved agricultural equipment and up-to-date farming techniques. Seeds, cattle and long-term loans would be provided to the peasants. The problem of prevention of flood and occurrence of famines would be dealt with in a proper way to materialize the party objectives. Steps would be taken to improve the irrigation and canal system throughout the country to meet the need of the cultivated land and to increase its production. Measures would be taken for bringing of uncultivable land to cultivation through swift installments of tube-wells, water pumps, and small dams. Through the state machinery, large-scale agricultural co-operatives would be established to provide information regarding the use of modern machinery and cheaper credit to the farmers. Large tracts of forests would be protected from devastation. Herbal trees would be planted on larger areas. 34

Apart from above measures which would be implemented throughout the country the NAP future program had provided different policies for both the wings with regard to its distinct political and social composition. The following steps would be taken in East Pakistan in the field of land reforms:

i. Zamindari system would be abolished without compensation and the rights of proprietorship would be given to the tillers.

ii. Certificate procedures would be abolished and efforts would be made to scale down the ratio of rent and tax.

iii. Measures would be adopted to relive the peasants from the burden of debt.

iv. All the expropriate farmers, talukdars, and other middle interests would be rehabilitated.

v. A program would be launched to nationalize jute trade.

vi. Fair prices would be fixed for tobacco, sugarcane, jute, and all other such crops. 35
In certain degrees the program of the party was different in West Pakistan. Following were some of the main features of its land reforms policy in West Pakistan:

i. It would strive for maximum productivity of land. Provisions would be made for minimum economic holding to the peasants.

ii. Distribution of all crown land among the poor peasants on easy installments.

iii. The curtailment of zamindari yielding net income of over Rs. 1200/ per month subject to the payment of such compensation as the legislature may determine.

iv. The introduction of a uniform system of revenue assessment throughout West Pakistan. The system will envisaged sliding scale of assessment so that the lower the price in the market, the lower the rate of revenue with a fixed floor and ceiling. Graded assessment was proposed because the lower the income the lower the rate of revenue.

v. Uniform and adequate system of tenancy rights will be adopted throughout West Pakistan.36

v. The Industrial Development

At the time of independence, Pakistan bequeathed a backward infrastructure in terms of industrial development. The situation was much worse in East Pakistan as the British government took least interest to establish various industries. In such circumstances, the province only produce raw materials with most of the poor Muslim families formed the bulk of the peasantry. After independence it was hoped that the huge gap would be filled with the successive Pakistani governments through a comprehensive strategy. Voices were raised from time to time by a number of progressive peoples of overhauling the industrial policy and abandoning the membership of west dominated Commonwealth Organization. It was the Britain that largely controls the policy decision in the organization which at that time was not strong enough to provide assistance for the setting up of modern industry in Pakistan. Moreover, due to Pakistan commitment with sterling bloc all its foreign capital was being deposited in the Bank of England which was utilized by Britain for its own interest. Policy pursued by Britain in the Commonwealth was considered a big hurdle in the industrial development of Pakistan.37

Leaders of the NAP were aware of this negligence, therefore they promised for large-scale industrial installation in both the wings of the country. In the party program they put forward the following measures to be adopted for maximum investment in industrial sector:
i. All appropriate procedures would be completed without any delay in public and private sectors for the rapid industrialization of the country.

ii. Special attention would be given to the building up of basic and heavy industries such as steel, machine, and power generation plants, exploration of mineral and other natural resources.

iii. Cottage industry should be given special attention in all possible way. Help would be extended to encourage local and indigenous industries and to take appropriate measures for its protection from foreign competition.

iv. Industrialization of the country would be made in such a way that all foreign capital and enterprises would come under state control. Priority would be given to national capital in all fields of industrial activities.

v. Special arrangements would be made to develop those areas which have received little consideration in the preceding governments. In this regard, all possible facilities would be provided for the proper functioning of the already existing industries.

vi. To guarantee a human standard of living for all laborers working in different industrial areas and installations minimum scale of wages according to the cost of living would be fixed for them.

vii. All laborers would be guaranteed proper housing, medical aid, adequate bonus, and provision of social insurance.

viii. Women workers were to be given maternity benefits with full pay facility.

ix. The UNO convention of International Labor Organization (ILO) would be implemented for the welfare of the workers in industries.

x. The working class’ rights such as formation of trade unions and call for strikes would be recognized. Besides, efforts would be made to radically change the existing laws that are detrimental for the working class as a whole.  

vi. Defense

Under the defense pact of SEATO Pakistan received large arm shipment to enhance its military capability in case of communist aggression. In return Pakistan agreed to provide logistic support to the US forces and its spy agency the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to monitor the region. It made Pakistan the staging post, the launching pad, for an enterprise which, as the years went by, was to bring for it many miseries. The political elite and military bosses were wrongly under
the conviction that in its relations with India, USA would be mindful of Pakistan’s concerns as a strategic ally. The official stance of the NAP was that US administration is least concern in the defense of Pakistan than to expand its imperialist agenda in the region. It always gained maximum benefits exploiting our strategic location in return for its marginal aid. In this scenario Pakistan lost the support of its neighboring countries which would have been so crucial for its national interests. In 1960 the spy U-2 incident created many predicaments in the defense policy of Pakistan. Soviet Union threatened a full scale armed attack on Peshawar, the capital city of N-WFP.39

The literature and constitution of the NAP provide a well-thought strategy of how to build the security apparatus of the country. The party displayed a strong sense of disorientation towards the signing of security pacts with Western bloc and USA. It goes too critical of the US-Pakistan relationship and called for immediate termination of all such pacts.40 In matters of defense it was laid down in the NAP program that adequate provisions would be made to make both the wings of the country capable of defending itself in the time of foreign aggressions. Naval headquarter would be shifted to East Pakistan. A modern and up-to-date system would be installed for defense of the country along with such industries that would enhance the defense capability of Pakistan. It looked for Russian and Chinese assistance to boost-up its military strength and to get their aid on easy terms.

vii. Foreign Policy

Foreign policy was a matter of immense importance for the NAP because it was one of the most vocal political parties for making a non-aligned policy in this regard. Its standpoint was much clear as far as defense pacts with the Western bloc were concerned. They pointed out serious implications for Pakistan if the government pursue similar course which, according to them, would totally jeopardize the state sovereignty. The leaders of the party gave gloomy thought to the popular resentment of the Suez crises that erupted in Egypt after the physical military intervention of French, Israel and Britain. The party literature and documents censured the stance of the government and advised the policy makers to respect and understand concerns of the people in matter of foreign policy. It proved a very serious issue for the leftist politicians under Maulana Bhashani who afterwards parted their ways with AL in the famous Kagmari session in 1957.
It was clearly mentioned in the party program that it will pursue an independent foreign policy which will be guided by national interest. It would aim at strengthening of independence, enhancement of Pakistan prestige in the international community and for the promotion of world peace. For the NAP leaders the military pacts of SEATO and SENTO provided opportunity to other countries to meddle in the internal affairs of Pakistan. The nature of these pacts was imperialistic in nature which would produce negative fallouts for Pakistan. Furthermore, it would send bad signals about the image of Pakistan in socialist and other Afro-Asian countries. Pakistan would lose the support of its neighbors and other non-aligned countries on different international forums. For that matter, the Kashmir cause received serious setback when Soviet Union, as a reaction of these security pacts, virtually accepted Indian stance on Kashmir which is a disputed territory between India and Pakistan.\(^{41}\)

NAP demanded from the government that double standard in matters of foreign policy must be given up. It argued that economic, political and cultural relations would be established on the basis of equality with all countries of the world. NAP visualized a bond of strong relationship with China and other socialist countries on the basis of mutual considerations. In this regard the party intellectuals published its own literature that clearly laid down certain parameters with regard to foreign policy. Great importance was attached with the non-aligned countries, Soviet Union and China. It was against those countries who attached different strings with the aid for pursuing their own agendas in the region.\(^{42}\) It would be ensured to accept such economic aid which aimed at the real development of the country and which did not impede the sovereignty of Pakistan.

The party programs with regard to foreign policy also included the promotion of international peace and brotherhood. Help would be extended to all colonial and semi-colonial people around the globe in their struggle for self-determination. It passionately appealed to intellectuals, students, peasants, labors, and other patriotic people of the country to back the stance of party in matters of foreign policy which is neutral, independent and representing the true sentiments of the people. It was hoped that its program would give Pakistan solid economic stability and prosperity. On the other hand non-aligned policy would be adopted with power blocs.\(^{43}\)

It is interesting to note that in a state like Pakistan with clear ideological orientation, the NAP program did not included provisions which may be called Islamic or ecclesiastic in nature.
The party manifesto with regard to Islamic principles and injunctions is absolutely silent. It did not touch the domain of religion because it wanted to demonstrate its secular posture among the public. It clearly indicated the non-denominational character of the party. Dealing with the matter of individual belief, the constitution of the NAP guaranteed full freedom of worship, laid stress on equality of all the people regardless of geographic consideration, religious belief, castes, community, race and sex.\textsuperscript{44} The NAP constitution was largely drafted by the communists who were anti-religion and secular in their political approach. Therefore, they tried to exclude such an important political dimension from their program.\textsuperscript{45} It would have been better for the party to include some basic Islamic provisions for getting the support of moderate population. In real sense NAP operated in such a political environment that was dominated largely by rightists and religious political parties. Ideological debate in the society about the creation of Pakistan was too much tilted in favor of religion at the time of the formation of the party. Hence smooth sailing in the political system of Pakistan was much difficult for ultra-secular party like NAP when it was already under fire as anti-Pakistan due to its ideological and extra-territorial orientation. A number of scholars put all the blame on the NAP leaders for opposing the creation of Pakistan which, to a large extent, tarnished the image of the party among the masses.\textsuperscript{46}

In a political system like Pakistan that was afflicted by feudalism and political intrigues, the program of the NAP offered a solution to the masses that was though progressive in content but quite difficult to pursue and too ambitious to achieve. The program of the party was extraordinary and would rightly be called ‘impracticable’ because its fulfillment required long stay of the party in power. It was an amalgamation and a blue-print of the policies undertook by Soviet Union and Peoples Republic of China to develop their own societies after socialist revolutions. The NAP leadership failed to consider the political and socio-economic situation of Pakistan. Economic stability and industrial progress in Soviet Union and China were the result of the continuing stay of socialist parties in power, the availability of visionary leaders, adequate human labor, natural resources and most importantly stable political system which was a rare commodity in Pakistan. It took almost 20 years of the communist leadership in China to transform the country from a backward state into the jump-off state of mass production.\textsuperscript{47}

The political milieu in Pakistan at the time of the NAP formation was not suitable for such sort of undertaking. Speedy development in agriculture and industrial sectors was not possible without proper utilization of the country’s natural resources and the availability of
heavy machinery and technical know-how. Most important was the political stability coupled with the sincerity, competency and dedication of the leadership to pursue such a daunting task. The secular credentials of NAP and the presence of communists in its organization made its entire high-command quite suspect in the eyes of rightist political parties, military and civil bureaucracy. In addition, there emerged differences among the leaders of the NAP on some important issues. It did not have an undisputed and visionary leadership that enjoys the support of the people of both the wings of the country. On the external front, the party core cadre was not acceptable to the Americans and Western bloc due to their socialist linkages and strong anti-west and anti-USA outlook. The party was often quoted as an anti-imperialist political force in Pakistan. In real terms its policy regarding anti-imperialism was quite ambiguous. It equated anti-imperialism with anti-Americanism. On the one hand, the party stalwarts supported imperialist powers such as Soviet Union and often ignored its expansionist policy in Central Asia and Europe while, on the other, it censured American involvement in the affairs of other countries and called it imperialist in its literature.

Similarly, the party promised to take steps to eradicate corruption and to prevent officials from getting involved in political activities and factional wrangling. It visualized a state structure that envisioned a weak center and maximum provincial autonomy. Except defense, communications and currency all other matters were to be dealt with by the federating units. This could not be achieved on the face of strong opposition from the centrist parties, for example, Pakistan Muslim League, Awami League, JUI, JI, and KSP. These parties represented mix voices ranging from support to west-aligned foreign policy to various economic programs.

Apart from strong opposition on political front the party would have to deal with the state institutions, the attitude of which was very antagonistic towards its leadership. It was a matter of consideration that whether the party was politically so strong to take on so many fronts while implementing its political and economic agendas. In such political system industrialization would be carried out by the federating units on their own choice without the interference of the center. Parallel industrialization and building of state structure were conceived as decentralization. In this regard no full-thought out strategy was adopted and no priorities were established to accomplish these weighty tasks. In a nutshell, the NAP political program was unrealistic to be accomplished, because its implementation strategy was marred with technical faults and strong opposition from internal and external forces.
Organizational Structure of the NAP

In the first half of the twentieth century, when people referred to parties, they were thinking primarily of ideologies rather than focusing on their machinery, organization and apparatus. It was unusual for a political worker to think of his adherence and the basis of his relationship with the party. Of late there emerged two types of parties as far as organizational structure was concerned. The parties running on large-scale contributions from prominent citizens were called the traditional parties. The other category is that of the mass parties which largely depend for its sustenance on small regular dues paid by ordinary members of the party. The organizational pattern of the NAP was corresponding to that of the mass parties. Organizing the mass parties was a technique adopted by socialist and communist parties in the first half of the twentieth century and later by parties in developing countries. This technique in effect replaces the capitalist financing of electioneering by democratic financing. Instead of appealing to a few big private donors, industrialists, bankers or wealthy merchants, the mass parties spread the burden over the largest possible number of members, each of whom contribute a modest sum. Such parties appeal to the paying public whose contribution make it possible for the electoral campaign to be free from capitalist pressure; to the listening and politically mature citizens which receive more political awareness and learn how to influence state machinery.

The mass parties corresponded to the expansion of democratic values to each citizen on its roll. People cannot exercise their political role if they limit themselves only to casting a vote every five or six years. Mass parties provided their members the opportunity of wedding them into a large organization and an expanded political entity to participate in the affairs of government. The regular payment of party dues required a much rigid organization which is a common characteristic of the mass parties. The reason probably is to control the permanent members of the party that some time encompasses hundreds of thousands, even millions of peoples. This accounts for the gradual development of a complex, hierarchical party apparatus and the formation of the central committee of internal leaders which weaken the position of those holding parliamentary offices. The leftist parties, due to its radical posture and the corrupt influence of parliamentary atmosphere, as Duverger puts it, always keep the principle of strict subordination of the deputies to the central committees.
In its organizational structure the policy makers of the NAP adopted the tradition of financing the elections by the masses because they could not find financial assistance of bankers, industrialist and large landowner. The strategy was owned by revolutionary elements within the party because for them it was very difficult to manage election finances from their own meager resources. The idea was developed to enroll as many permanent members having each one pay a regular annual or monthly subscription that would nourish the campaign expenses. This kind of party policy put the NAP in the category of a mass party.

In its organizational structure NAP was composed of the following bodies:

i. National Council
ii. Working Committee
iii. Central Parliamentary Board
iv. Central Parliamentary Party
v. Two Regional Units of West and East Pakistan with Regional Councils, Working Committees, Parliamentary Boards and Parliamentary Parties
vi. District Committees
vii. Volunteer Corps

In the Regional Council of West Pakistan there was a provision for the creation of six Provincial Councils of:

i. Punjab and Bahawalpur
ii. NWFP along with Tribal Areas and States
iii. Sindh and Khairpur
iv. Federal Capital
v. Kalat Division
vi. Quetta Division

Any citizen of Pakistan above the age of 18 years who signs the pledge of the party and pays a biennial subscription of one Anna only shall be eligible for the membership of the primary unit of the party. The subscription was divided in a way to give 1/8th to the central party office and the rest to be divided as the regional units determine.51

The party shall have the following office-bearers for running the affairs and smooth functioning of its different organs:

i. President
ii. Two Vice Presidents, one from each wing and of whom one will be the senior
iii. General Secretary
iv. Two Joint Secretaries, one from each wing of the country
v. Treasurer
vi. *Salar-i-Aala* (Commander) of the Volunteer Corps

No minister or parliamentary secretary in the central or provincial governments would be eligible for election to any of the office in the central organization of the party. In case any office bearer succeeds to occupy any post in the government or in the parliament, his party office would automatically be vacated. The supreme organ of the party was the national council consisted of 214 members, of whom 100 would be elected from each wing after every two years by the respective regional councils. In addition, 10 members, 5 from each wing would be nominated by the president. Leader of the parliamentary party in the National Assembly and the two presidents of the regional units would be the ex-officio members of the national council. The *Salar-i-Aala* was another ex-officio member nominated by the president.  

The national council was the highest organ of the party which was responsible for devising different policies and programs. Its members were elected on the basis of parity between the West and East Pakistan. It would meet at least once in a year alternately in each wing. The necessary quorum for the business of the council was 50 members present. Any 40 members of the council may request to the general secretary for a requisition of the meeting to be held in the head-quarter, provided 30 days’ notice in writing is served. A novel method was devised to retain parity between the two wings of the country in the national council. A council meeting held in one wing, members present from other wing, if they are a minority, would have equal number of votes, as the number of members present from the wing where the meeting is held, provided that no members would have more than three votes.

The national council was the most powerful organ of the party in terms of policy making. It has the power to elect the party president and nominate the members of the working committee and the parliamentary board. In other political parties that existed in Pakistan the tradition was that the president nominated the members of the working committees while parliamentary board was nominated by the working committee. An interesting feature of the NAP structure was its composition of the national council of West Pakistan on linguistic basis. These features distinguish it from other political parties of the country. For instance, the council of the Pakistan
Muslim League did not observe parity between the two wings. Representation from various language groups was altogether non-existent in the League’s council. Unlike other parties, the council of the NAP was responsible to look at the performance of different branches of the party. It has power to amend the constitution and to delegate power to the president, general secretary, working committee and other sub-committees in addition to the powers and authority given to these bodies by the constitution. It appoints and forms various other sub-committees for carrying out party’s agenda with the exercise of powers and limitations as it may deem fit to impose on them.53

A working committee was formed to serve as the national executive of the party. Its members included the president, general secretary, two joint secretaries, one from each wing, leader of the parliamentary party in the National Assembly, two vice presidents and the treasurer comprised as the ex-officio members. In addition, there were 30 other members of whom 10 from each wing would be elected by the members of the national council of the two respective wings. Five members from each wing would be nominated by the president from amongst the members of the council. It shall have the power to consider and pass the resolutions and to take necessary actions with regard to any matter relating to those aim or policy which it thought was at variance with the stated creed and ideology of the party. It was responsible for the implementation of the decisions and resolutions passed by the national council. Preparation of the annual budget, expenditure, supervision of different activities of various organs, making efforts to achieve the aims and objectives of the party, regulate and conduct of the election of the national council were some of the duties of the working committees. Among other organs of the NAP was a nine member parliamentary board, the members of which consist of the president, as an ex-officio member, and other members, four from each wing, would be elected by the council’s members of the concern wing.54

In the initial years of the formation of the NAP, the total strength of the party’s members was not confirmed. There was no authoritative statement from which the total membership of the party was to be ascertained. It has been stated by some writers that there were 400,000 members of the party in NWFP. Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi, Chairman of the Sindh Hari Committee, an affiliated organization of the NAP, once claimed that the Committee has 200,000 members on its roll.55 The primary unit of the NAP was called the ‘branch’ corresponded to the unit which was a socialist invention. The socialist parties which became organized on purely political basis and
direct structure choose the branch as the foundation unit in their political activities. Although these parties recruited the elites of the working classes, they were the first to try to organize the masses and give them political education.\textsuperscript{56}

In the workers convention of the NAP, Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani was elected president of all Pakistan NAP with the additional responsibility of presiding over the East Pakistan provincial committee. In addition a thirty member central organizing committee was constituted. In the all-Pakistan committee Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani became general secretary; Abdul Ghaffar Khan was elected president of the West Pakistan provincial committee. Abdul Majid Sindhi, Mian Mahmud Ali Qasuri, Haji Muhammad Danish, Dabir-ud-din Ahmad and Muhammad Toha became vice-presidents. Kaswar Gardezi and Professor Muzaffar became the joint secretaries. Shaukat Ali was chosen as Treasurer of the party. Mahmud Ali became the general secretary of the East Pakistan NAP. Ali Ahad was made the joint secretary of the East Pakistan with Ahmadul Kabir, Mohiy-ud-Din Ahmad, Khondkar Muhammad Ilyas, Ata-ur-Rahman, Abdur Razzaq, Maulana Azmi, Bijoybhusan Chatterjee, Musharraf Hussain Mondal, Aziz-ul-Haq and Ghazi-ul-Haq became members of the party.\textsuperscript{57} A number of sub-committees were formed to look after the activities of the different organs of the party. Afzal Bangash was nominated a member of the sub-committee of the NAP with the task of making supplementary rules and regulations for the party manifesto and to provide guidance to the organizational wing in framing the party’s constitution.\textsuperscript{58}

**Quest for Consolidation**

After the successful culmination of the convention it was considered necessary that the leadership should embark on a country-wide tour to introduce the party in the public. Shortly after its formation, NAP had received a thumping response from the labors, worker unions, peasants, nationalists, regionalists and progressive elements. It was a time when the elections were scheduled to be held very soon. The announcement of holding general elections was made by Suhrawardy in Washington on July 12, 1957.\textsuperscript{59}

The popularity of NAP was based on the fact that its regionalist leadership had solid popular backing in their respective regions. It was thought by political analysts that NAP was emerging as the only alternative to the reactionary political trends adopted by the Muslim League and other rightist parties. Particularly Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the West wing and Bhashani in the
East were its outstanding leaders who enjoyed strong public support. The first meeting of the central organizing committee of the NAP was held in October 1957 at Peshawar wherein the organizational program was streamlined. It was agreed by the party leadership that at the end of 1957 a grand tour of the central leadership of the party would be arranged. Accordingly the campaign was started off well from Peshawar. The NAP leading corps covered a vast area embracing Mardan, Kohat, Bannu, Rawalpindi, Sargodha, Layalpur (Faisalabad), Lahore, Sukkur, Quetta, Nawab Shah and Karachi. Maj. (R) Muhammad Ishaq was entrusted the responsibility of organizing corner meetings and rallies in the Punjab. The main point on the agenda in West Pakistan was opposition to One Unit scheme and the termination of the security pacts with the Western bloc. The party leadership was also interested in the holding of early general elections. It denounced the unrepresentative character of the legislative bodies very effectively. The forceful campaign of the party became so much irresistible that all these demands were incorporated by other political parties in their programs due to strong public pressure.

A vigorous campaign was launched to pressure the government to accept some of their demands. The strategy of corner and street meetings was used by Abdul Ghaffar Khan in his pre-independent political struggle. In Rawalpindi, he used to sit with labors, small traders, students on chappar hotels and apprised them of their crucial political role. His approach was simple and understandable to the general public. He was aware of the fact that any political movement cannot succeed without the backing of grass-root workers. He applied this tactic of winning the support of the poor people and middle class workers in the Punjab. Very soon leftist ideas spread among the masses which resulted in the popularity of the NAP. Socialist activists also made efforts in getting support for the party program by urging the people to get ready for a proletarian revolution. Leftist ideas with its intrinsic values were also propagated among the intelligentsia which posed serious threats to some of the rightist sections in the society. NAP leadership toured all over Pakistan along with party workers and mobilized tremendous public support in both the wings of the country. Manifestation in the form of mass meetings, demonstration and hartals had virtually crippled trust of the people on government. Exposing the actual plot behind the One Unit scheme Abdul Ghaffar Khan published a lengthy article in the monthly Pakhtun magazine in 1958:
In the beginning they tried to have parliamentary sanctions for One Unit and also approached me through jirga and otherwise to support them. When One Unit bill could not be passed in the Parliament, they tried to form the zonal federation. And when again they were defeated, the Governor General Ghulam Muhammad dissolved Parliament, scrapping the constitution which was drafted with great difficulty during the eight years. The strange thing was that the Pakistan Parliament was in existence when the constitution was not there, whereas after its drafting parliament was scrapped along with its constitution. Now the new Parliament, a creation of the rulers’ sweet will, gave its first sanction to One Unit. The vital function of Parliament, namely, the making of the constitution, was set aside.61

NAP’s demand of the creation of zonal federation on linguistic basis in West Pakistan became so widespread that even the leaders of the ruling Muslim League and the originators of One Unit scheme had to take serious note of the protest. It was something unbearable for the pro-western and pro-center elites to tolerate NAP activities in the Punjab. They thought of arresting the growing influence of the NAP and sabotaging the political campaign of the party that had hitherto received much public applause.62

In February 1958 a big political rally was organized by the NAP in Liaqat Bagh at Rawalpindi for which an aggressive and enthusiastic publicity campaign was launched. Bhashani along with other communist and leftist workers was also invited to speak to the gathering. It was too difficult for the pro-center landlords and their erstwhile supports in the establishment to tolerate Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Bhashani to enter into the Punjab and to create political backing in the province. A plan of sabotage was hatched by some of the leaders having close links with the government. Miscreants and gangsters were hired who, with the active backing of the police, attacked the party leadership in Liaqat Bagh. However, the party leaders escaped to the safe places with the help of the volunteers.63 Meetings and public rallies of the party were assaulted at Sargodha, Layalpur, Lahore, Multan and other big cities of the Punjab. Only in Okara the NAP leaders succeeded in organizing a big rally with the support of 300 Pakhtun workers of the Sutlej Cotton Mill.64 It was alleged that the miscreants enjoyed the support of the Republican Party and Prime Minister Suhrawardy.

The second meeting of the central organizing committee of the NAP took place at Karachi in June 1958. In Sindh, the political campaign of the party progressed well with the
support of those landlords who were anti-center and supported G. M. Syed in the Sindh Awami Mahaz. The leadership of the party assessed the prevailing political situation and the tempo of the masses for the next general elections. The ire of the people was particularly directed towards the pro-American foreign policy and One Unit scheme. In Karachi, the party workers clashed with the Urdu-speaking population who supported strong center for their own interest. In Hyderabad and Quetta, large political gatherings were organized with the help of the local leaders. 65 AL, Muslim League, Iskandar Mirza, Republican Party, some circles in the establishment and rightist parties indulged in the onslaught to downgrade the NAP political agenda and its leadership on various grounds. Jama’at-i-Islami and its student wing Islami Jamiat Talaba (IJT) remained in the forefront to malign the NAP leadership. Ill-intentional articles were published in the country’s leading newspapers to portray NAP leaders as the enemies of Pakistan. Jang, Nawa-i-Waqt, Kohistan, Tameer were some of the leading newspapers which published articles and wrote editorials against the NAP program and its leadership.66

**The NAP-Republican Rapprochement**

The main concern of the regionalist leaders in the NAP was the nullification of the One Unit scheme. It was prior to the formation of the NAP that G. M. Syed had started negotiations with members of the Muslim League for its breakup. In the light of a decision of the Muslim League working committee on March 7, 1957 an agreement was reached between the Muslim League and SAM. It was agreed upon by the Muslim League that it would support the breaking up of One Unit provided that the SAM members support it to topple the Republican Party government. The contents of the agreement were revealed in a secret letter to G. M. Syed by Qazi Muhammad Isa, general secretary of the Muslim League.67 The motive of the League was to upset the Republican Party Ministry in the West Pakistan with the support of almost a dozen members of SAM which afterwards was made a component of the NAP. The party held a balance of power in the West Pakistan Assembly between Muslim League and the Republican Party. Realizing their significant position in the Assembly its members decided to manoeuver the situation in favor of the annulment of One Unit. Unable to get the support of the Republicans on the issue, the SAM members decided to move no confidence motion with the support of the members of the Muslim League. But the Speaker of the Assembly unexpectedly adjourned the session. The Republican Party suffered severe setback when its 30 members switched over to the League in March 1957.
This happened at a time when Assembly session was to be resumed on March 28 to discuss the re-merger issue. Dr. Khan Sahib declared his inability to control the situation; called on President Mirza to impose President’s Rule in the province. As was expected, the Presidency came to its rescue and section 193 was imposed in West Pakistan to weigh down the plan of passing a resolution against the One Unit scheme.

On July 17, 1958, Dr. Khan Sahib was replaced by Sardar Abdur Rashid. For saving the Republican Party’s government Dr. Khan Sahib started bargaining with other political groups in the Assembly. The Republican Party constituted a three members committee consisted of Dr. Khan Sahib, Sardar Rashid and Feroz Khan Noon. To counteract any possible rapprochement between the NAP and Republican Party the leaders of Muslim League formed its own committee for the same task. It was the time when the NAP was playing a very significant role in the West Pakistan Assembly. As the events suggested the NAP leadership also formed a four members committee comprising of G. M. Syed, Abdus Samad Achakzai, Abdul Majid Sindhi, and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din. It was alleged by the NAP leadership that the Muslim League was unpredictable and probably will change its position in case of pressure from anywhere else. Accordingly, they entered into an agreement with Republican Party for the termination of the One Unit scheme.68

The NAP leaders probably felt easy in negotiating the terms of the agreement with persons like Dr. Khan Sahib and his colleagues. Besides, the Republicans were also acceptable to the leftists as their approach towards political issues was secular and there was no political and personal antagonism between the two parties’ leadership. Both have already exhibited their readiness for a broad-based cooperation. On August 12, 1957 Dr. Khan Sahib and Bhashani announced their consent of forming a coalition government that included NAP and the Republican Party ministers.69 While there were deep ideological differences between the NAP and Muslim League, however, there exists no such sort of misgiving with the Republicans. The NAP-Republican rapprochement although disliked by President Mirza but he was pleased to withdraw presidential rule. The content of the agreement laid down that:

The representatives of the Republican Party and [the] Pakistan National Awami Party have arrived at a mutual agreement, and the Republican Party will support a resolution in the West Pakistan Assembly for the replacement of One Unit of West Pakistan by a zonal federation of West Pakistan composed of autonomous provinces on a linguistic and
cultural basis, and the Pakistan National Awami Party will support the Republican Party Ministry in all matters involving confidence in the ministry.\textsuperscript{70}

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, G. M. Syed and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din signed the agreement on behalf of NAP while Feroz Khan Noon, Sardar Rashid and Syed Abid Hussain from the Republican Party. The NAP leaders also drafted an agreement to get the approval of Muslim League for the annulment of the One Unit scheme. But the idea was dropped at the eleventh hour. Under the NAP-Republican agreement a resolution recommending the reconstitution of West Pakistan as a sub-federation with four or more fully autonomous provinces was drafted. The resolution was moved by Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgari, a NAP Assembly member, on September 17, 1957. The resolution was adopted by a majority of 170 to four votes. The Muslim League members remained neutral.\textsuperscript{71}

After the passage of the resolution, G. M. Syed met Abdul Hamid Bhashani, president of the NAP, to discuss the possibility of passing similar resolution from the National Assembly. But Bhashani showed least interest in the issue. The significant issue for him was not the dissolution of One Unit rather he put his weight behind drastic economic reforms and anti-west foreign policy. The outline of political issues at that time was considerably different between the party leaders in both the wings of the country. After the formation of the NAP, the leaders of the AL had started a massive reorganization campaign. This has taken Bhashani on a public mobilization drive in the East Pakistan, his main constituency. The real political strength of Bhashani was the students, peasants and leftist groups in the East Pakistan. Most of the time he struggled for their political mobilization and demanding for them better living facilities. However, the NAP leadership in West Pakistan considered the One Unit as a burning issue which was directly upsetting their interest. Particularly, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and G. M. Syed expected from the party colleagues to make a comprehensive strategy to undo the scheme. Ghaffar Khan even proposed a movement of civil disobedience in this regard.\textsuperscript{72}

**Negotiation with the Muslim League**

The passing of resolution against One Unit was not a smooth sailing account for the NAP leaders. This time pressure emanated from the armed forces of Pakistan. General Ayub Khan was attending a Commonwealth Commander-in-Chiefs Conference in England. He at once
terminated his engagements and flew back to Pakistan. He clearly indicated to Prime Minister Suhrawardy and President Iskandar Mirza that the scrapping of One Unit and the resolution thereon of the West Pakistan Assembly should not be implemented. He strongly disapproved of the reinstatement of the older provinces in the West Pakistan. He was in favor of the scheme for two reasons. Firstly he needed it to be a part of his future plan of restructuring the entire political system of Pakistan; and secondly, the undoing of the scheme would provide the NAP a valuable political legitimacy that would in turn radicalize a large segment of the society in the socialist tradition. In the emerging political scenario, the party would certainly implement its agenda that would pose a direct threat to the interests of Pakistan’s western allies. General Ayub Khan was much apprehensive of the infiltration of the NAP ideology into the armed forces. For that matter he could not swallow the risk of another Rawalpindi Conspiracy like scenario in the army discipline.73

Iskandar Mirza understood the gravity of the situation and the vulnerability of his position after General Ayub Khan’s threat. He flew to Peshawar in haste and made it clear to Dr. Khan Sahib that his agreement with the NAP has disastrous results, disapproved it and declined to implement the resolution. The Republicans, on the other hand, were politically too weak to withstand the pressure, accepted his plea but strongly protested against Suhrawardy’s repeated allegations and criticism with regard to their agreement with the NAP.74 The president reciprocated this time to the demand of the Republicans and gave Suhrawardy the choice either to be dismissed or tender resignation. Suhrawardy chose the latter course and accordingly submitted resignation. It was a clever move of Iskandar Mirza to win the support of his Republican members because he himself was not happy with Suhrawardy’s pretension for holding general elections. The removal of the Prime Minister was implicitly supported by the NAP because he had antagonized many of its leaders due to his consistent support for One Unit in West Pakistan. In the latter development, another coalition ministry was formed after the brief interval which saw I. I. Chundrigar as the head of a ministry in the center. It was followed by the ministry of Feroz Khan Noon which came out of a unique coalition of six parties. The Noon ministry decided to retain the system of joint electorate for contesting the coming general elections. The move was in line with the policy of the NAP and other leftist politicians. Only the communal parties refrained from joining the government due to their disapproval of the joint electorate. For example, Pakistan Muslim League, Jama’at-i-Islami and Nizam-i-Islam Party
decided to perform the role of opposition. The new ministry had seven Republicans and only one minister from KSP of Fazlul Haq. NAP, Awami League, National Congress, Scheduled Castes Federation did not accept any portfolios but supported the government of Feroz Khan Noon.⁷⁵

It was a brief lull in which no political agitation took place. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy and Dr. Khan Sahib suspended their feuds and agreed to work together to back the new ministry. NAP was at ease in supporting the ministry and in return got some favors. Meanwhile back channel negotiations started in which Abdul Ghaffar Khan was invited for a meeting with the President in Nathiagali with some Republican members under Nawab Qazilbash. To quote Wali Khan about the meeting that took place in the Government House in Nathiagali:

I went to Nathiagali along with Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Amir Muhammad Khan and Arbab Abdul Ghafoor. They went to Government House for meeting with the President while I remained in my room. After some time the Secretary of the President came and invited me to participate in the negotiation. We discussed the legal matters of the implementation of the resolution passed by the West Pakistan Assembly regarding the scrapping of One Unit. Manzoor Qadir, a famous lawyer, was in those days at Nathiagali. He was invited to give legal advice on how to amend the constitution. It was agreed upon that in this regard a resolution would be presented in the National Assembly after preparation of a draft by Manzoor Qadir..... After some time when I enquired from Manzoor Qadir through a friend about the draft of resolution his reply was that before his leaving of Nathiagali, President Mirza told him that do not pursue the matter further.⁷⁶

The version of Wali Khan has also been vindicated by Mahmud Ali Qasuri. He stated that Iskandar Mirza offered a cabinet position either to Abdul Ghaffar Khan or Wali Khan but both of them refused to budge from their principled stand and declined to be a part of the government.⁷⁷ It was rather a ‘hide and seeks’ of the President with the NAP leaders and to indulge them in distinct political bargaining. In this way they were kept in a ‘state of expectations’ for supporting the Noon ministry. Nevertheless the meeting revealed the deep-seated differences between the leadership of the NAP. They acted independently without consulting the national council of the party before finalizing a definite policy on issues of vital interest. All these acts however hindered the credibility of the NAP as a national political organization. Mentioning about their meeting with the President, Wali Khan neither provided that any NAP leader was consulted
beforehand nor any party leader accompanied them other than their trusted former Khudai Khidmatgar lieutenants. They did not appraise their party organization beforehand in this regard.

In the consequent political development, Muslim League and NAP came closer to each other after the Republican Party failed to implement the anti-One Unit resolution. Efforts were being made in this regard and an agreement was finalized between the two parties. It contained a 16 point program of socio-economic reforms and some provisions regarding elections.\textsuperscript{78} It was signed from the League side by Sardar Bahadur Khan, Daultana, Ayub Kurho and Qayum Khan while G. M. Syed, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Pir Ilahi Bakhsh and Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgari put their signs on behalf of NAP. The prime objective of One Unit was nowhere mentioned in the agreement. Rafique Afzal stated that it was verbally agreed by Ayub Kurho with the NAP leadership that they will support a resolution for the dissolution of One Unit in the Assembly.\textsuperscript{79} The fate of this agreement was not so much different from the earlier agreement that was signed with the Republicans. After the death of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Qayum Khan succeeded him as president of the League. During his tenure, Ayub Khorho did try to muster support within the League for dissolution of One Unit. To his utter dismay, the resolution which he presented to the Muslim League Council, on March 31 postponed its consideration which widened the gap between the two parties. Moreover, Qayum Khan, on so many occasions, clearly indicated that he would oppose any understanding between the NAP and Muslim League about the scrapping of One Unit.\textsuperscript{80}

It was probably a tactical move on the part of Muslim League to gain maximum political advantage from the agreement with the NAP. Iskandar Mirza was at ease because of the non-inclusion of the scrapping of One Unit in the agreement. The agreement made him quite comfortable to win the support of NAP members in the East Pakistan Assembly to topple the AL’s Ministry. G. M. Syed, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other regionalist leaders in the NAP were pleased on the verbal promise of the League to support a resolution against One Unit. However, they failed to conceive the trap of Iskandar Mirza who bluffed them to believe that he would scrap One Unit. His strategy paid dividends and a NAP meeting in Dhaka adopted a resolution supporting the no-confidence motion against the AL’s Ministry in East Pakistan. It was a decisive political victory for which Iskandar Mirza was much desperate. It was made possible with the cooperation of the NAP members because the combined force of all other parties failed to oust the AL from government.\textsuperscript{81}
Politics of Agitation and the NAP

These developments brought strong indignation among some of the NAP workers. In NWFP wherever Ghaffar Khan went he was greeted with criticism from his followers about the agreement signed with the League. On March 3, 1958 some party workers in Mardan raised serious objections on the contents of the agreement. His trusted follower Ajmal Khattak disapproved the agreement for containing no reference regarding One Unit dissolution. He was questioned in most of his public gatherings. The reply of Ghaffar Khan was that since the agreement was negotiated by G. M. Syed and other leaders and that he had no further knowledge about it therefore, they should trust them for the best interest of the party.  

However, he realized strong resentment in the party workers about the non-inclusion of One Unit in the agreement. After some time he himself realized the futility of the agreement and the government indifferent attitude towards the One Unit scheme. In one of his speeches, he asked President Iskandar Mirza to take serious note of it; otherwise Red Shirts would boycott the coming elections. He threatened of launching an armed struggle in case the scheme was not abrogated Bhashani and his communist followers in East Pakistan proposed the holding of a referendum in which the wishes of the people would be ascertained regarding the scheme. He was not in favor of adopting a hardline stand on the issue. His stand was not acceptable to both Abdul Ghaffar Khan and G. M. Syed. As a result of Bhashani non-committal response both these leaders resigned from the NAP membership on September 11, 1958. Abdul Ghaffar openly blamed communist workers in the NAP for not supporting their demand.

In East Pakistan Assembly the NAP having 33 members supported AL ministry. On March 30, 1958 their votes saved a virtually defeated ministry of Atta-ur-Rahman. The government suspecting the speaker’s sympathy with the opposition in the provincial assembly restricted his power under the Secretariat Act of 1956. The opposition criticized the government action against Abul Hakim, speaker of the assembly, as contrary to democratic spirit. The NAP parliamentary party exploited the situation and pressed AL for fulfilling its eleven point program of socio-economic reforms and arrangement for early elections. Owing to its significant position in the Assembly, the NAP members formulated a five points program and presented it to the ministry for consideration. The program included:

1. The undoing of One Unit in West Pakistan.
ii. Pursuing an independent foreign policy.

iii. Regional autonomy for both East and West Pakistan.

iv. Early elections on the basis of joint electorates.

v. Implementation of the 14 unfulfilled demands of the 21 points program.\textsuperscript{86}

The delaying tactics of AL resulted in the formation of an 8 members NAP Parliamentary Board under the chairmanship of Bhashani. It was hoped that the ministry will urgently take the issue and array its apprehensions. The differences between the two parties however increased on some vital issues. Sensing a backlash of his government failure to pass the provincial budget, Chief Minister Atta-ur-Rahman called upon Governor Fazlul Haq to prorogue the Assembly. To the astonishment of the AL, Fazlul Haq deemed it an excuse to dismiss the Atta-ur-Rahman government. He hurriedly managed to install Abu Hussain Sarkar as the new chief minister of the province. It was, however, a controversial act which was executed in the middle of the night. His move proved fatal for not only his act was reversed but also he lost the governorship of East Pakistan.\textsuperscript{87}

Free from the responsibility of governorship, Fazlul Haq now looked for political alliance to do what he failed to fulfill as governor. He restored his political activities and assumed the leadership of KSP. He found in Maulana Bhashani a politician who could restore his vanished dream with the support of the NAP members. He secretly entered into negotiations with him and both the leaders worked out a joint strategy in this regard. A 12 member co-ordination committee was formed to find out like-minded allies. On June 18, the NAP members received instructions from Bhashani to withdraw its support of the ministry which resulted serious political crisis in the province. A resolution was passed in the meeting of the NAP national council with the decision of supporting the no confidence motion of Abu Hussain Sarkar of the KSP against the AL. As a result of the support of the NAP a new ministry under Abu Hussain Sarkar was sworn in. The support the no-confidence motion by the NAP members was so sudden that it surprised the inner circles of the EPCP which controlled twenty-two members of the total thirty-three NAP members in the Assembly. The EPCP secretly started negotiations with the AL for restoring its ministry. This time the communist general secretary of NAP Mahmud Ali and his AL counterpart Mujib-ur-Rahman arrived at an understanding. On June 22, 1958 the Sarkar ministry was removed after a no-confidence motion tabled by AL. Atta-ur-Rahman became the new chief minister of the province.\textsuperscript{88} It is stated by Lawrence Ziring that Iskandar Mirza and General Ayub
Khan had reason to impose President’s Rule in the province after the restoration of AL ministry. They suspected communist elements behind the move which was a matter of great concern for both of them.\textsuperscript{89} These individual bargaining indicated the inner differences of the NAP leadership in entering into political alliances with other parties. Grouping in the party slowly raised its head in quick intervals.

It was evident from this development that the communists were comparatively in stronger position in deciding political matters in the East Pakistan NAP. They probably compelled the central leadership of the NAP to support the AL ministry in the Assembly. This political wrangling compelled the Governor to advise the President to use section 193 of the constitution and impose Presidential Rule in the province for two months. At the end of August, the AL ministry was again installed with the support of NAP. Both the parties then turn toward Abul Hakim, the Speaker of the East Pakistan Assembly. On September 20, the AL government issued additional ordinances curtailing his powers so that he could not act without the prior approval of the majority party. The Speaker countered this move by disallowing a motion that would have called for an end to One Unit. He also infuriated them by disqualifying some of their members in the Assembly.\textsuperscript{90} Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon was apprised of all the events that were taking place in the East Pakistan by the AL leaders. He instructed that Hakim’s actions should not be carried upon and called his orders null and void. On this Hakim sent a message to Iskandar Mirza describing terrible atmosphere and threats to his life by gangsters in the AL. The message did not awaken the Presidency. Or probably he intentionally did not involve himself in the whole affairs. At that time he hatched a game plan against the AL of luring it to join the central government.\textsuperscript{91}

On September 20, 1958 when the assembly session was resumed a bleak atmosphere was created within the assembly hall at Dhaka. It was a rare show of undemocratic trends in the political history of Pakistan. The assembly members displayed an utter disregard of the honor of parliamentary politics. Lawrence Ziring depicts the scene in the following words:

Representatives from both sides of aisle clashed near the Speaker’s rostrum, chairs sailed through the air, and any loose object became an improvised weapon. The Speaker’s microphone became bludgeon; even the national Flag was transformed into potentially lethal, freewheeling lathi…The speaker, fearing for his life, adjourned the session and fled from the building.\textsuperscript{92}
To replace Abul Hakim with an acquiescent person both the NAP and AL moved a no-confidence motion against him. On 23 September, a motion of no-confidence was tabled by Dewan Mahbub Ali, a communist NAP member of the assembly. The motion was passed by a majority vote. On the same day another motion was passed by the assembly declaring the speaker a man of ‘unsound mind’. The speaker was prevented from entering into the assembly hall and Shahid Ali, the deputy speaker, was pressured to resume the Assembly proceedings. The opposition members saw it an act of insult and delivered some sharp and acrimonious speeches. Despite the fact that the government had arranged some extra police personnel to thwart any untoward incident, the magnitude of the trouble was much high. A violent scene was witnessed in the assembly hall on September 23 in which the members pelted chairs on each-others. The seat of the deputy speaker was encircled by the opposition members. In the midst of the scuffle several members received serious injuries. Shahid Ali, deputy speaker of the assembly, was hit on the nose and died in hospital on September 26 due to severe injury.  

On the popular front, the late 1950s witnessed increased strikes among the industrial workers and peasants. In 1958, an All-Pakistan Peasant Association was established by Bhashani who had given a call for a march by hundreds of thousands of peasants demanding stoppage of its eviction and end to landlordism in the country. In April 1958, over 30,000 school teachers came out on strike in Lahore and Multan demanding the release of their pending salaries. It seems that the bureaucracy was deliberately engineering a situation in which law and order was more to deteriorate. It was reported in the press that there was peasant uprising in NWFP against the Nawab of Hoti who was a cabinet minister in the Noon government. Horrifying tales of police excesses on factory workers in Layalpur was published in the newspapers on June 20, 1958. Police opened indiscriminate firing on the workers when they organized a demonstration calling for the release of their leaders. Six of the workers died while a number of them sustained multiple injuries.  

In East Pakistan, Fazlul Haq mobilized his followers for the next general elections. He pressed upon all the leaders in East Pakistan to form another United Front for the larger interest of the people. His idea was well received by Bhashani who was at that time active in the formation of Krishak Samity, a peasant organization. As his political base was among the peasantry and the rural population hence his focus was also the mobilization of rural masses. He issued a public statement on May 4, 1958 and called for a class struggle in East Pakistan.
strategy was to bring about political awareness among the poor peasantry and middle class population. Probably he was in favor of an alliance with Fazlul Haq because it would unite the two peasant organizations and infused a new vigor in the politics of the more radical Bengali population. During the inaugural ceremony of the *Krishak Samity*, Bhashani said that the time has come to wage a class struggle throughout the country to end the tyranny in the present social order.95

In NWFP Abdul Ghaffar Khan was busy canvassing his followers for a struggle against the dismemberment of One Unit. In his almost every public speech, he pleaded that the scheme was just to usurp the rights of the minor ethnic groups in the West Pakistan. He maintained that they would adopt the method of an unending struggle if no decision was taken in the National Assembly. He issued strong statements in this regard and appealed to the President of Pakistan not to ruin the unity of the country by sticking to this unpopular arrangement. He implored upon them not to take the issue to such an extent that the people should start an armed struggle for the demolition of One Unit. But there was not a single statement or speech which was against the integrity of Pakistan as attributed by a number of scholars with him.96

Another dramatic event that directly involved the military was the news of rebellion of Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, the Khan of Kalat. He seized the Miri Fort in Baluchistan and removed the Pakistani Flag and hoisted his ancestral standard instead. On October 6, 1958, the Pakistan army moved into Kalat, deposed the Khan and stripped him of all the stipends and titles and arrested him. Meanwhile, Dr. Khan Sahib was assassinated in Lahore which added more troubles for already fragile and destabilizing government. On October 2, three ministers and four state ministers of the AL were added in the coalition government of Malik Feroz Khan Noon. But on October 7, these ministers resigned because portfolios were not allotted to them. On 7 p.m. on the same day portfolios were allotted to them but by that time both Iskandar Mirza and Ayub Khan finally decided to strike and martial law was proclaimed throughout the country. The 1956 Constitution was abrogated, the national and provincial assemblies along with the central and provincial governments were dismissed, political parties were banned and General Ayub Khan was appointed as the Chief Martial Law Administrator of the country.
The Declaration of Martial Law (1958), NAP and the West

Major leftist writers while commenting on the 1958 martial law observed that a major factor in the military intervention was the rising tide of the leftist political force which was an eyesore in the military and civil establishment of Pakistan. NAP documents and literature in this regard were giving the impression that when the election campaign was started; all eyes in the country and abroad were focused on the NAP. The ruling elites along with the capitalist countries were unnerved and restless. The party impressive public support also stirred apprehensions in the west particularly in the USA. The probable political scenario in Pakistan after the elections does not fit into their global agenda for the region. American role can rightly be assessed if one recalls the political developments preceding martial law in 1958. Leftist writers contend that had the elections been held as scheduled and a duly elected government taken over the reign of power, it would have perforce to break away from military alliance with the West and follow an independent foreign policy. Abrogation of the constitution and the imposition of martial law came as a footbrake upon that inevitable process which was thus cut short.97

In 1949, the communist victory in China brought a major shift in the foreign policy of USA. Initially the Chinese communist did not clearly define their policy parameters but after some time they based their political system on the writings of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung. The expansion of communism was viewed by many Americans as a great setback for their interest in the region. Leading European newspapers published articles and expressed concerns over the development in the Asian peninsula. The Economist observed “This communist offensive is directed not only against the survival of western sovereignties in the East such as British rule in Malaya but against all those Asian leaders from India eastwards to the Philippines who have been trying to base the policies of their respective countries on friendly relations with the West.”98 In the same vein, the London Times wrote that it was greater in its cumulative effects than the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 for then Russia was alone and weak, whereas the mass of China would certainly help communism and Russia to expand it further. It will affect the interest of the Western countries in the region and communism will grow strong.99 It led the US policy makers to take a fresh look to its relation with the Asian countries and it revealed upon them that Pakistan as a young state was of immense value as far as combating communism is concerned. The foreign affairs section of the US Department of States clearly observed about the strategic importance of Pakistan against the communist expansion in the following words:
Pakistan was considered more likely to remain closely associated with us [US] and other western democracies in resisting communist aggression. We may desire the use of basis and other facilities in Pakistan in the event of war. Our response to Pakistan’s request for military aid should increase its willingness to make bases available to us.\textsuperscript{100}

US Joint Chiefs of Staff sent a memorandum to the State Department that most of the Asian countries have little value to USA but the countries like Afghanistan and Pakistan which are close to Russia do offer the possibility of ideological and intelligence penetration of Russia into this region. The memorandum further highlighted that Pakistan, despite logistic difficulties, might be required as a base for air operation against Russia. It would be in US interest to obtain the cooperation of Pakistan by enabling it to maintain its internal security and stability.\textsuperscript{101}

In March 1948, an articulate military attaché in Karachi while discussing US arms embargo on Pakistan, forcefully argued for a more pragmatic attitude towards Pakistan believing that Pakistan airfields could be important in the event with a war with the Soviet Union. It was tremendously clear in the clauses of the SEATO that it was in fact an anti-communist alliance and it has nothing to do with the aggression of any other country. The origin of the treaty lay in the desire of Secretary of State Dulles and the British Government to bolster Southeast Asia against further communist inroads after the defeat of the French in Indo-China. On the other hand Pakistan intended to gain maximum US military and economic aid through signing the security pacts. It is amply clear from the above facts that the curtailment of communism was the topmost concern of US administration in its relations with Pakistan from the very beginning. However, they viewed with utmost apprehension the political events happening in the country in the late 1950s.\textsuperscript{102} It was a time when most of the political leaders and institutions were in a fragile state of affairs and proved extremely incapable of running the affairs of the state. It was the armed forces that by manipulating the external variables, as K. B. Sayeed puts it, made itself the most reliable, commanding and powerful political group in Pakistan. It acquired a position of dominance for itself in the Pakistani context that they could use the civil bureaucracy for the execution of its policy and aligned the big industrialists as subordinate partners to be instrumental in the development of Pakistani economy on capitalist lines. It was in this backdrop that a US president’s committee had approved military intervention in developing countries in
times of political chaos and concluded that the military officer corps was a major rallying point of the defense against communist expansion and penetration.\textsuperscript{103}

Due to their utter disappointment from the politicians in Pakistan, the US policy makers started to build a strong relationship with the military establishment. It was under this backdrop that the US National Security Council recommended to its government that the Pakistani military is potentially the most stable and the most co-operative element in the Pakistani society. US experts concluded after thorough deliberations that only the military could bring stability in the country. They feared the possibility of the opposition groups gaining control of the government. The emergence of such kind of scenario would badly jeopardize the US interest in the region.\textsuperscript{104}

Commenting on the role of US interference in Pakistan’s internal affairs, Badruddin Umar was of the view that it was an active party in all that culminated in the coming of first martial law in Pakistan. The US administration was much apprehensive of the probable outcome of the general elections in Pakistan. They knew that the communists and the NAP under Bhashani, who had strongly opposed the US-Pakistan military pacts, would jeopardize their interest in the region. Threatened by this probable outcome in both the wings of the country, the US administration thought their interest would best be served by a strong central and pro-US government. Due to the utter inability of the politicians this central government would be provided by the armed forces through military \textit{coup d’état}.\textsuperscript{105}

General Ayub Khan’s contacts with Pentagon officials were very close because it was under his leadership that Pakistan negotiated defense pacts with the Americans. It was his pro-western bearing that endeared him with the US policy makers. On the other hand, the Americans had largely been impressed by his profound ability of handling the affairs as a military leader. In 1953-54 Eisenhower, the American President was directly involved with him to finalize military pacts. He was reluctant even to let Governor General Ghulam Muhammad enter into the negotiations. General Ayub Khan was shrewd enough to utilize his position in the implementation of his political strategy. In 1954 Ghulam Muhammad imposed Section 92A in East Pakistan charging Fazlul Haq ministry of instigating disturbances through the communists. A secret telegram from the US embassy at Karachi stated that the decision to impose Section 92A was discussed with the US ambassador. He was told that the first act of the new governor would be to arrest known communists in East Pakistan.\textsuperscript{106} This was done after 20 days when Pakistan signed a treaty with the US government. The purpose was to appease the US
administration for coming hard on the communist elements in the country. After all when the AL government in East Pakistan resolved that the contents of Pak-US agreement would be discussed on the floor of the Assembly again Section 92A was promulgated. Pakistan entered into SEATO and CENTO in such circumstances brewing in the country at that time.  

US backing of the military establishment under General Ayub Khan was more distinct because as a Commander-in-Chief of the army he was much helpful in bringing Pakistan into the US defense orbit against communism. In his meetings and other correspondence with the Americans, he often tried to keep them abreast of his intending plan of overthrowing the civilian government. A top secret telegram, dated April 19, 1958 from US ambassador Langley to the Secretary of State in Washington makes interesting readings:

Ayub said Pakistan was nearly ripe for a dictatorship. He said a dictatorship must have popular support, and that it must come into being as the result of some violence. He thought elections were going to be held, and that they would provide the bloodshed which would make a dictatorship inevitable. Hollingsworth has not inquired as to whether Ayub thought in terms of himself or Mirza as the dictator, but he got the definite impression that Ayub wanted very much to enlist Allen Dulles’ support for the dictatorship which Ayub felt was inevitable.

In April 1958, Ayub Khan was scheduled to visit Washington to plead Pakistan’s case for a gift of bombers from the Americans. In the US capital, Ayub had a lunch with CIA Director Allen Dulles, played golf with army generals and witnessed military exercises at Fort Bliss, El Paso. He was thus able to have private discussions with important members of US administration, without other members of his team knowing what understanding had been reached. On the other hand, the imposition of martial law was tacitly supported by USA because some experts on South Asia feared that the leftist in the NAP, the Youth League, and GD, communist elements, Bhashani’s Krishak Samity, Sindh Hari Committee and many more groups were growing too powerful. As a matter of fact, it was possible in the elections that NAP could perform well in both the wings of the country. The main planks of NAP political program was the termination of security pacts with the west, abrogation of One Unit and building of strong relations with the communist bloc i.e. Russia and China. The apprehension in the western countries was that leftist would exploit the election campaign due to its progressive
program and drum up its opposition to Pakistan’s pro-western foreign policy and military pacts. The argument was logical as the coming of the NAP in power or even as a popular opposition party would pose a serious threat to the geo-strategic interest of the western bloc in the region. Therefore, they counseled the Noon government against rushing into elections and used Iskandar Mirza to ensure it.\textsuperscript{111} Though very few documentary evidences are available to authenticate this version yet the events leading up to martial law suggest that the popularity of the NAP was one of the major factors in its imposition. Leaders and workers of the NAP were persecuted more harshly as compared to other political parties. The NAP offices in different cities were raided and their records have been destroyed by the police on the behest of military authorities. The ruthless suppression of the NAP workers and leadership under the military regime of Ayub Khan would be discussed in the subsequent chapter.
References and Notes


4 The seven members’ joint committee was comprised of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, M. H. Usmani, Pir of Manki Sharif, Abdul Majid Sindhi, Abdul Ghafoor, and Mahmud Ali Qasuri.


6 Ibid; p. 339.

7 Dawn, May 23-June 4, 1957.

8 Report Submitted by the General Secretary at the meeting of the national council of the NAP at Dhaka on July 26, 1965.

9 Ibid.

10 Cesar P. Probe, ‘History of Political Parties in Pakistan’, p. 216.

11 Interview with Faiz Muhammad in Shewa, District Swabi NWFP on November 10, 2010.


17 Hafiz Taqi-ud-Din, Pakistan Ki Siyasi Jamaatain aur Tehrikain, p. 460.

18 Afzal Bangash was born in Kohat on April 16, 1928 and died on October 28, 1986. He was a Marxist Pakhtun militant political activist who joined CPP in 1948 shortly after its formation. He was among the founding leaders of the NAP from NWFP in 1957. He remained its West Pakistan general secretary for a long time. He worked for the political mobilization of the downtrodden sections of the society and was popular among the peasants and tenants of the province. In the late 1967 he developed serious differences with Wali Khan on party policy and program. Later on, he founded a leftist party by the name of Mazdor Kissan Party. It came into limelight in early 1970 when some peasants rose against their landlords in Mardan and Charasadda. Feroz Ahmad, ‘Afzal Bangash: A Life Dedicated to Militant Struggle’, in Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 21, No. 51, Mumbai, December 20, 1986, p. 2219.

19 Tariq Ali, Pakistan: Military Rule or People’s Power, p. 81.


21 Ibid.

22 Lawrence Ziring, Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History, p. 195.
23 Tariq Ali, Pakistan: Military Rule or People’s Power, p. 82.
24 Badruddin Umar, The Emergence of Bangladesh, p. 360.
25 Interview with Shahzad Gul Bacha Advocate, August 3, 2008, Mardan. He remained a senator of NAP and ANP from 1973 to 1977 and then 1991 to 1997 respectively.
26 In 1965 some clauses of the NAP constitution were amended in the meeting of the national council. A committee comprised of ten members of the central working committee was set up with the task of revising some clauses of the party constitution. It was made essential that the committee should prepare its report within three months. See in this regard Mian Mahmud Ali Qasuri, Party Policy of the NAP: Important Decisions of National Council and West Pakistan Working Committee (Lahore: National Awami Party Publications, 1965), p. 6.
28 Ibid; p. 2.
32 Ibid; p. 5.
33 Resolution passed by Punjab Branch of the NAP in Multan on September 26, 1965.
34 Constitution, Program, Aims and Objectives of Pakistan National Awami Party, p. 5.
36 Ibid.
39 U-2 spy plane episode occurred in May 1960 when a US pilot Gary Powers’ flew his plan from Badber base near Peshawar. The plan was intercepted by the Russian air force and was subsequently shot down over an airbase. The incident created great embarrassment for the US government after stern threat by Khrushchev to shot down any such move in future along with destroying the base at Peshawar. See Ian Talbot, Pakistan: A Modern History (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 173.
45 Interview with Faiz Muhammad.
NAP was called a union of malcontent’s men who by temperament find themselves in opposition under any government. All its leadership with the sole exception of Bhashani, were persons who had, at one time or another, opposed the creation of Pakistan before 1947. Similarly it was alleged by many that Abdul Ghaffar Khan, G. M. Syed, Abdus Samad Achakzai, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din and Bhashani were conspiring against the integrity of Pakistan. Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s demand for the renaming of N-WFP as Pakhtunistan and provincial autonomy was regarded as disruptive for Pakistan. However the present writer did not find any statement of Abdul Ghaffar Khan which may be considered anti-Pakistan. For details see K. K. Aziz, Party Politics in Pakistan: 1947-58, p. 114.


Maurice Duverger, Political Parties and Pressure Groups, p. 12.


Constitution, Program, Aims and Objectives of Pakistan National Awami Party, p. 11.


Maurice Duverger, Political Parties and Pressure Groups, p. 12.


Report Submitted by the General Secretary at the meeting of the National Council of the NAP at Dhaka on July 26, 1965. Also see Muhammad Afzal Khan Bangash, History Sheet Peshawar Provincial Archives, Serial No. 17, Bundle No. 8, List No. III.


Report submitted by the General Secretary at the meeting of the National Council of the NAP at Dhaka on July 26, 1965.


Hafiz Taqi-ud-Din, Pakistan Ki Syiasi Jama’atain aur Tehrikain, p. 440.

Ibid; p. 442.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

As far as NAP-Republican agreement was concerned, Suhrawardy criticized it at every forum. He thought the agreement would jeopardize the very fabric of Pakistani political system that he was going to build with the holding of the general elections. In one of his press conferences he intertwined the Constitution of 1956 with the anticipated general elections. He sarcastically spoke of the understanding reached between the NAP and the Republican Party and equated it with the dismantling of the institutionalization of the country political experience. See Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century*, p. 196.

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Lawrence Ziring is of the view that Ghaffar Khan called for a virtual break up of Pakistan and said that Punjabis, Bengalis, Pakhtuns, Balochis and Sindhis had their own areas and they should better be the master of their own homelands. He incited his followers to wage an armed struggle against the central government. See Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century*, p. 217. However the truth of the matter was that Abdul Ghaffar neither spoke against the integrity of Pakistan nor did he give any anti-Pakistan statement. Many time he criticized Punjabi establishment for the mess it created in the 1950s. See Police Special Branch Records, Provincial Archives, NWFP.

Report submitted by the General Secretary at the meeting of the National Council of the NAP at Dhaka on July 26, 1965. Interview with Hamish Khalil at Peshawar on December 13, 2011. He was of the view that the NAP popularity and its possible victory in the elections was a factor in the 1958 martial law in Pakistan.


*Ibid*; p. 49.


Ibid; p. 97.
CHAPTER THREE

NAP during the Military Regime of Ayub Khan

Political activity in the country was abruptly ended when martial law was imposed by General Muhammad Ayub Khan on October 7, 1958. After the imposition of martial law the general elections, to be held in 1959, were postponed indefinitely. Much of the internal political instability can be explained by the fact that political power was being wielded by unscrupulous elites. Majority of those politicians belonged to the feudal aristocracy. They had acquired, with the passage of time, an expertise in hatching plots against each other’s. All their conspiracies reflected the process of breakdown taking place in the nascent structure of Pakistani politics. The credibility and popularity of the elected representatives were at the verge of a disaster. Political elites had proved themselves extremely unfit to properly manage the country’s affairs. They were not capable enough to reasonably accommodate each other views. After the demise of Jinnah and Liaqat Ali Khan, the remaining breeds of politicians in the Muslim League were a mixture of narrow-minded aristocrats, power thirsty landlords, and bankrupt elites. There was complete absence of integrity among them and a startling disregard for the welfare of the country. The disunity of some of them deeply tarnished the image of parliamentary democracy in the eyes of the public.

Bad governance of the country provided an excuse to Ayub Khan and Iskandar Mirza to manipulate political power. Both of them wanted of taking maximum advantages out of the crises. Special reference of the incident that took place in the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly was made in the proclamation of President Iskandar Mirza broadcast on October 7, 1958.

The disgraceful scene enacted recently in the East Pakistan Assembly is known to all. I am told that such episodes were common occurrences in pre-partition Bengal. Whether they were or not, it is certainly not a civilized mode of procedure. You do not raise the prestige of your country by beating the Speaker, killing the Deputy Speaker and desecrating the National Flag.¹

Indirect reference to Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s, threat of waging a struggle if the One Unit scheme was not reversed was made in the broadcast. The President said:
We hear threats and cries of civil disobedience in order to retain private volunteer organizations and to break up the One Unit. These disruptive tendencies are good indication of their patriotism, and the length to which politicians and adventurers are prepared to go to achieve their parochial aims.²

General Ayub Khan, referring to the political situation in the East Pakistan from March 23 to June 24, 1958, made special reference to the activities of the NAP. He writes in his political autobiography about the political development in West Pakistan:

The Muslim League, in an effort to throw out the Republican government joined hands with the National Awami Party on the pretext of undoing One Unit…Now the Republicans made the same promise to the National Awami Party of undoing One Unit, to secure its support. One of the results was a break in the Awami League-Republican alliance at the Centre and in West Pakistan Sardar Abdur Rashid had to resign both from Chief Minister-ship and leadership of the Republican Party after the NAP had again withdrawn its support in favor of the opposition Muslim League on the basis of a vague program of reforms.³

About the NAP’s political role in the crisis that was seen in East Pakistan Assembly he further states:

In East Pakistan a serious crisis occurred on 31 March 1958, when Fazlul Haq, the Governor, dismissed Ataur Rahman cabinet. Later that night Fazlul Haq was himself dismissed by Iskandar Mirza. Ataur Rahman was succeeded by Abu Hussain Sarkar who was in turn dismissed within twelve hours of assuming office and the Ataur Rahman cabinet was back again in power. As in West Pakistan, the NAP played its disruptive role of supporting and then opposing one ministry after another in East Pakistan. Its withdrawal of support led to the fall of the Awami League Ministry on 19 June and the United Front Ministry succeeded it. The same day the NAP switched support to the Awami League and brought down the United Front Ministry. The situation became so confused that the President declared section 193 (President’s Rule) in the province on 24 June 1958.⁴
The military takeover was accomplished in two phases. Hasan Askari Rizvi is of the view that the first phase had started on the night of October 7, 1958. However, it was not a sudden realization for the army to come and rescue the country from the mess created by the politicians. The first phase began when it was realized to the military commanders that the time has come to act and grab the political authority from the unscrupulous managers of the country. It was much earlier that the army top brass started thinking in terms of overthrowing the civil administration. In this connection it was much earlier that Ayub Khan was reported to have said “if the people want me, I shall not shirk my duty.” When the situation deteriorated in the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly after the demise of the deputy speaker, the military finally decided to go ahead with the plan of replacing the civilian rule with a military government. Ayub Khan instructed the Chief of General Staff to devise a comprehensive mechanism for a smooth takeover. The plan was ready by October 3 and it was agreed in the army high-command that full control of the country would be taken in the middle of October. The grave political instability compelled the military commanders to launch the action earlier than the envisaged plan.

According to the plan President Mirza was asked to abrogate the constitution, dissolve the national and provincial assemblies, dismiss the provincial and central cabinets, ban political parties and appoint General Muhammad Ayub Khan as the Chief Martial Law Administrator. In this way martial law was declared throughout Pakistan. The whole process was completed very swiftly and the planners did not bother to inform the prime minister and his cabinet. Only the president, the commander-in-chief of the three services and a few senior generals knew about it.

The next phase was to depose President Iskandar Mirza as the real power had slipped from his hand into the army. This realization came to him after a week of the imposition of martial law. Ayub Khan, from the very beginning, knew his tactics very well. He checked his maneuvering’s and prepared a plan for his early exit. On the night of October 27 three generals met the president on behalf of Ayub Khan and asked him to resign. Owing to his precarious position in front of the army Iskandar Mirza agreed reluctantly. He was moved to Quetta the next day and then was flown to London on his ‘own request’.

After deposing Iskandar Mirza, Ayub Khan wielded supreme power as the president of the country. His authority rested on support of the army, the most powerful and well organized institution in the country. He held scornful views about the politicians whom he held responsible
for the mess created through their bad governance. In his first radio broadcast in October 1958, he warned the politicians of dire retribution. It was a clear expression of the state’s vengeance if they continued their nefarious designs and acted in the same manner as they did prior to the imposition of martial law. He put the entire blame of the failure of democracy in Pakistan on the politicians. Political parties and politicians were held responsible for all the pre-1958 ill-fated happenings in the country. He scolded them in one of his speech:

These chaotic conditions have been brought about by self-seekers, who, in the garb of political leaders have ravaged the country or tried to barter away for personal gain…[after Liaqat Ali Khan], The politicians started a free for all type of fighting in which no holds were barred… Having nothing constructive to offer, they used provincial feelings, sectarians, religious and social differences to set a Pakistani against a Pakistani.10

Ayub Khan accused the political leaders of creating administrative, economic and political chaos in the country. He denounced political parties and its leaders in the worst possible language. He was under the impression that modern political system could be run in Pakistan without giving too much role to political parties. Diminishing the role of the politicians was manifest from his speeches and statements. However after some time he realized the significant role of the parties in running the affairs of the country. In his autobiography Ayub Khan has expressed his inability of working without political parties. After this realization he changed his mind very soon:

I must confess to one miscalculation in respect of the constitution. Having suffered through the perfidy of the so called political parties, I was hoping that we would be able to run our politics without the party system…After the introduction of the constitution, I soon came to realize that one could not do without political parties. Within the legislature the members could only be organized on the basis of party rules and discipline. Outside, there had to be an organization to maintain contact with the people.11

To keep politicians out of offices of responsibility, two ordinances were promulgated by the martial law authorities. The Public Offices (Disqualification) Order (PODO) and the Elective
Bodies (Disqualification) Order (EBDO) were implemented in 1959. Both the orders applied to all those who held public offices and were found guilty of misconduct and corruption by a tribunal. The exact number of politicians who were served with the notices and later disqualified was not known. Unofficial sources claimed that about 5000 to 6000 persons were awarded different sentences under these ordinances.\(^\text{12}\)

For the political chaos that engulfed Pakistan in 1950s one cannot simply blame the role of the politicians alone. The analyses of Ayub Khan may be a misleading ‘official approach’ to the whole phenomenon. Though the politicians formed political groups and often changed their loyalties to win elections, topple ministries and instigated one group against the other. But one cannot dislodge other stakeholders from the blame. The frequent disintegration of federal and provincial governments created turmoil in the new political structure of Pakistan. Equally responsible was Governor General Ghulam Muhammad who was assisted by senior officials Iskandar Mirza and Ayub Khan. Cutting the roots of democracy in Pakistan cannot be explained by putting blame only on politicians. One commentator who observed the political turmoil in the 1950s blamed the following three ruling groups for the failure of the democratic institutions.

i. Senior bureaucrats-led by Ghulam Muhammad and later by Iskandar Mirza willy-nilly created and destroyed governments by giving and later withdrawing patronage from politically vulnerable prime ministers.

ii. A number of unprincipled politicians, who showed slender respect for the democratic nature of the system. They very often followed the dictates of the bureaucrats solely for their personal gains.

iii. The army represented by General Ayub Khan intentionally aided and abetted the bureaucrats…thereby prevented the basis of democracy from taking its roots in Pakistan.\(^\text{13}\)

**The Political Framework under Ayub Khan**

Ayub Khan’s perception of the system of government was to keep political stability in the country with an overriding need of maintaining discipline for quick strides in progress and national integration. He thought that without economic development liberal democratic institutions will remain in the doldrums. As a result it would not be able to deliver to the public the outcome of democracy, political stability and economic development. Under the
circumstances the lingering tendencies would undermine the government performance. It would reduce the chances of increasing economic prosperity. It was under this state of affairs that Ayub Khan decided to put the economic house in order and introduce a variety of controlled democracy. With an evident pride for his restructuring plan he claimed that his system was of the type that people could understand and work. His experience with the political leadership of the country had convinced him that if the influence and power of the politicians was reduced to a larger extent, stable government would be set up in the country. In order to achieve these objectives a new system of local government called the Basic Democracies (B. D. System) was introduced on the eve of the first anniversary of the imposition of the martial law. Under the B. D. System the country was divided into eighty thousands single member constituencies known as the B. D. wards.

The B. D. members were to be elected through direct adult franchise with a population of 1,000 to 1,200 people. The system comprised a four tier structure of a kind of local government. At the local level there were union councils and urban towns and union committees with one third elected B. D. members. There were also one third nominated non-official members appointed by the government. These bodies were led by an elected chairman from within their ranks. The government later on abandoned the system of appointing nominated members. The second tier was the thana or tehsil councils that included the chairmen of the union councils and official members. It was headed by tehsildar, sub-divisional officer or assistant commissioner. The third tier was the district council headed by the all-time powerful deputy commissioner. Half of its members came from district level government officers of development departments. Only quarter of the total members were represented by chairmen of the district union councils/town and union committees. At the highest level was the divisional council chaired by the divisional commissioner. At the provincial level there was a Provincial Development Advisory Councils in both the wings of the country. The composition of the Provincial Councils largely depended on the behest of the president who appoints the official and nominated members in the councils. The term of office of these councils and committees was five years from the commencement of their functions and assumption offices.

The order implementing Basic Democracies was issued on October 26, 1959. In practice, the B. D. system was subservient to Ayub Khan because massive powers were entrusted to the bureaucracy for controlling all its affairs. The system ensured that the elected members remained
within the coercive control of the bureaucracy. The purpose was to provide for the continuation of basic democratic institutions throughout the country and to strengthen system of local government. The rural union councils could be managed and manipulated by patronage and intimidation. Ayub Khan thought on these lines as early as 1954. He mentioned the idea in his 1954 documents which he drafted in a London hotel. He had been working on the plan for a long time to assume power and execute his scheme. About the question of franchise Ayub thought about the Pakistani people on the following lines:

Our people are mostly uneducated and our politicians not so scrupulous. The people are capable of doing great things, but they can also be easily misled. Unfettered democracy can, therefore, prove dangerous, especially nowadays when communism from within and without is so quick to make use of its weaknesses. We, therefore, have to have a controlled form of democracy with checks and counter-checks.\(^\text{18}\)

Leftist writers questioned the views of Ayub Khan regarding his political system on two grounds. Abdul Wali Khan commented in detail about his perception vis-à-vis communist infiltration in the political structure of the country. He was of the view that Ayub Khan’s desire for the curtailment of leftist ideas was so much strong that he made it equal with the sovereignty and security of Pakistan. Hence most of the leftist writers thought that the growing strength of NAP was a reason behind the imposition of martial law in 1958. It was called an international conspiracy hatched with the support of USA to arrest growing Russian influence and communist political ideas from making further headway in the country.\(^\text{19}\)

On December 26, 1959 the first election of the Basic Democrats took place. It was the basis of the political system which Ayub Khan wanted to construct in Pakistan. He called the basic democrats as the “grand assembly of Pakistan”. He termed it the only viable alternative to be adopted in letter and spirit.\(^\text{20}\) On February 15, 1960, despite the absence of a proper constitution, Ayub Khan managed himself to be elected as the President of Pakistan by that grand assembly of the Basic Democrats. After securing vote of confidence on February 17 he set up a constitution commission headed by Justice Shahab-ud-Din. He made it clear in his statements that those elements would not be tolerated that were bent upon derailing the system which he was going to construct in Pakistan. Those members of the intelligentsia who wished to contribute some meaningful things in the progress and well-being of the system would be highly
appreciated. In the same vein the president warned the opposition of strong backlash if they tried to detract the masses. So long as the masses remained politically immature, dissidents and opposition to government’s policies would be constrained to a large extent. Ayub Khan was of the view that the country needed political stability and continuity of leadership before anything else.\textsuperscript{21} 

The constitution commission held its meetings in various cities and also distributed a public questionnaire. In all 6,269 replies to the questionnaire were received and 565 persons were interviewed. The commission submitted its report to the president on May 6, 1961. It recommended presidential system, quasi-federal structure, a post of a vice president, independent judiciary and direct election on restricted franchise. The president referred the report to a five member cabinet’s sub-committee with Manzoor Qadir in the chair. The sub-committee examined the commission’s report and finalized the draft of the constitution according to the wishes of the president. On June 8, 1962 martial law was lifted and the inaugural session of the assembly met in Rawalpindi on the same day.\textsuperscript{22} 

Before Ayub Khan could promulgate his constitution advance copies of the document had been circulated to the journalists who prepared some critical questions beforehand. The new constitution was given a wide publicity in the radio programs. Censorship was used to stop all criticism and reaction of the opposition parties. Ayub Khan was keenly interested to convince the journalists that he would be accountable to the people; however he insisted that the chief executive must be insulated from irresponsible and illegitimate harassment. It was crystal clear that he would not tolerate the undermining of those institutions upon which the stability of the system rested.\textsuperscript{23} He believed that the masses would benefit from his reforms because much of the public opinion, he contended, was opposing a policy which was going straight in line to the preceding political system. He thought the public were not so much strong to organize themselves and withstand against the corrupt politicians. Hence he took it upon himself to defend them against the pressure groups and the vested interests.\textsuperscript{24} 

Ayub Khan, notwithstanding his position as being the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan army, could be characterized as the first bourgeois leader of importance in West Pakistan. He upheld different solutions from those of his predecessors regarding the economic, social and political problems facing the country. His family ancestors had served the British Indian Army and had practically little or no landed interest. During his stay at Sandhurst in
England and his frequent interactions with the British and US officials had made him bourgeoisie
to a large extant. He was different from the feudal elites in the sense that he could perceive the
nature of the transformation that was taking place in the new political dispensation. Unlike
Ghulam Muhammad and Iskandar Mirza, Ayub Khan was more systematic, organized and
cautious in executing and implementing his plans. He had foreseen the political atmosphere of
the country and the growing discontent of the people against the politicians, and in the process he
identified himself with the rising forces of commerce and industry.

A significant aspect in this regard was that the transformation took place without any
strong opposition. All the arrests and detentions which followed the military takeover in both the
wings of Pakistan mainly affected those parties and leaders who opposed military intervention in
political affairs and military alliance with the capitalist countries. Quite paradoxically no action
was taken against the mighty feudal elites and traditional aristocrats who were stripped of their
political power. Most of these political elites belonged to those leaders of the ruling Muslim
League who migrated from India after independence.

The Political Victimization of the NAP
The promulgation of the martial law was followed by widespread tirade against the opposition
leaders and political activists. All political parties were banned, their offices were sealed and
their records were taken away by the martial law authority. Politicians were detained under the
security laws and martial law regulations. The leaders and workers of the NAP suffered the most
as compared to other parties. Ayub Khan was particularly against its political program and
socialist ideology. Majority of the leaders were arrested on charges of corruption while leaders of
the NAP were detained under the Pakistan Public Safety Act. Martial law authorities considered
the NAP an effective political organization which had strong political base and capacity to
organize resistance. It was feared that due to its strength it could muster the support of majority
of the people in every region much earlier and better than other political parties.25

NAP had a large number of communists on its roll with much better organizational
expertise. Due to the NAP’s leaders stronger ability of organizing public on various genuine
issues, the reign of terror of martial law was unleashed first against them. The first target of
martial law regime was the activists and leadership of the NAP throughout the country.26 In
Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa alone hundreds of NAP workers were jailed and the properties of at least
4000 of its workers confiscated by the government. Ayub did however spare those politicians who had been thrown out of the upper echelon and from whom he snatched the reign of political power. The martial law’s wrath was specially directed against the NAP leadership. The young and able Office Secretary in Lahore Hasan Nasir was tortured to death by the martial law authority in Lahore Fort. President Ayub issued regulations and ordinances to tighten his grip over administration and to suppress the slightest threat to his prescribed objectives. Severe punishments were announced for those involved in antisocial activities, smuggling, hoarding, black marketing and abduction of women and children.

The attitude of the martial law authority towards the NAP leaders was much severe and harsh. The bank accounts of the NAP were seized and frozen. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, G. M. Syed, Ishaq Kashmiri, Aziz Ahmad, Abdul Hamid Bhashani, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, C. R. Aslam, Feroz-ud-Din Mansur, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Mir Gul Khan Naseer, Muhammad Hussain Unqa, Abdul Wali Khan, Arbab Sikandar Khan Khalil, Attaullah Mengal, Muhammad Ishaq, Abdus Samad Achakzai, Agha Abdul Karim of Kalat, Zafarullah Pasni, Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim, Fazal Ilahi Qurban, Amir Hyder, Kaswar Gardezi, Ghulam Muhammad Leghari and almost all the leaders of the NAP were arrested and kept in different jails.

Maulana Bhashani and Abdul Ghaffar Khan were the two leaders who always spoke for the downtrodden masses and were not indulged in any form of malpractices. Particularly Abdul Ghaffar Khan was straight forward and very sophisticated in practicing politics. Both of them had identified themselves with the cause of common men and lived a simple village life. Martial law authorities failed to bring any charge of unfair means or corruption against both of them. Therefore, they were detained under the Pakistan Public Safety Act. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested from Utmanzai village in Charssadda on October 11, 1958. In his political autobiography Wali Khan states that one of his meetings was arranged with Manzoor Qadir and General Khalid Shaikh, Foreign and Interior Ministers respectively. He asked from both the cabinet members about the reason for which Abdul Ghaffar Khan was detained. Both of them failed to have any satisfactory answers for him. Manzoor Qadir mentioned Abdul Ghaffar’s strong political base as a threat to the martial law regime. This was not sufficient to convince Wali Khan and he rather proposed that the regime could have utilized his political strength for the development and betterment of Pakistan.
Abdul Ghaffar Khan was kept in Haripur Central Jail in Hazara Division and was later shifted to Lahore. He was released from jail on April 4, 1959 on consideration of his age and poor health. At the time of his release the government hoped that he would no longer indulge in the activities prejudicial to the solidarity and security of Pakistan. He was then served a notice in which it was stated that why he should not be disqualified on the ground that he had been detained at various periods for subversive activities. According to D. G. Tendulkar, Abdul Ghaffar Kahn neither denied nor disputed the order of the tribunal. Consequently he was disqualified from being a member of any elective body until the end of 1966.\(^\text{30}\)

After the lifting of martial law, NAP was the only political party that resented the atrocities of the Ayub’s regime. A public meeting of its workers was held in Peshawar on January 4, 1963 presided over by Afzal Bangash. The speakers regretted that no proper medical facility was provided to Abdul Ghaffar Khan. A procession of about 500 party workers was organized in village Kalu Khan in district Swabi on March 27, to express sorrow and condemn the torture to death in jail of Namdar Khan, a NAP activist.\(^\text{31}\) Similarly anti-Ayub meetings were reported from Mansehra, Haripur, Abbottabad, Bannu, Peshawar, Mardan, Swabi, Nowshera and other parts of the NWFP. Wali Khan sent letters to all the prominent leaders of NAP for making comprehensive list of the martial law convicts in their respective areas. A grand council (Loya Jirga) of the party leaders and those members who underwent arrests was held in Peshawar on December 28-29, 1963. The participants demanded the release of political prisoners, criticized USA involvement in the internal affairs of Pakistan, imposition of 144 PPC and ban on entry of NAP leaders into the southern district of Bannu.\(^\text{32}\) On May 29, 1964 “Balochistan Day” was observed throughout the province in sympathy with the detained Baloch party workers. The party activists in Balochistan were for long time languishing under state repression. Demanding the immediate release of all detainees the NAP leaders also called for the setting of an enquiry commission headed by a high court judge for a judicious investigation of the matter.\(^\text{33}\)

To reactivate party organs in NWFP a grand council was held at Peshawar on December 29, 1963 presided over by Abdul Wali Khan, who was at that time the chief organizer of party in NWFP. The one point agenda of the meeting was the reorganization of the party in the province. Speeches were delivered by Wali Khan, Ajmal Khattak, Afzal Bangash, Shahzad Gul Bacha and Arbab Saif-ur-Rahman. It was decided that efforts would be made to enlist the services of students, teachers, laborers and workers for spreading the political program of the party. The
participants pressed for informing the common masses about the disadvantages of One Unit and convincing them of joining hands with the party to undo it. All the speakers paid rich tribute to Abdul Ghaffar Khan for infusing a spirit among the Pakhtuns. His untiring efforts for spreading the message of tolerance among the public were largely appreciated by the speakers.\textsuperscript{34} At the end of the year a good number of party workers were released by the police for they failed to bring any charge against them. At Bannu a procession of about 80 political workers was organized on December 24 to receive Gul Samad Khan and Mir Sa’ad Khan after they had been freed by the authorities. The procession was led by local leaders like Rahamzad Khan Advocate, Mirdad Khan, Qadir Khan and Muhammad Shafiq. They chanted slogans of Abdul Ghaffar Khan \textit{Zindabad} (long live Abdul Ghaffar Khan) and One Unit \textit{barbad} (death to One Unit).\textsuperscript{35}

NAP president Abdul Hamid Bhashani was released in November 1962 as a result of the National Democratic Front (NDF) country-wide protest and his threat of a hunger strike in jail. The treatment of the martial law regime with him can be summarized in the following letter presented to him at the time of his detention:

\begin{quote}
The Government of Pakistan has reliable information that you have been engaged in activities which are prejudicial to the security of Pakistan and its external affairs. In pursuance of certain disruptive and subversive purposes, you have in speeches and through other actions, tried to make certain countries outside Pakistan to believe that Pakistan was inimical to them…You have also been engaged in activities aimed at creating hatred between different sections of the people of Pakistan and thereby affected its solidarity and national unity. You have in furtherance of these designs received assistance and guidance from certain powers and parties unfriendly to Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan, being satisfied that your activities have been and are prejudicial to the security of Pakistan and its external affairs, has, therefore, made an order directing that you be detained under the Security of Pakistan Act, 1952.\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

After checkmating the politicians the authorities moved to reduce what was left of the NAP other means of publicity. To control the dissident print and electronic media the president issued the Press and Publication Ordinance on April 26, 1960. The purpose was to amend and consolidates the press laws which came into force in the first hour after the military takeover. The Progressive Papers, Limited (PPL) owned by Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, was seized. The English
daily, *The Pakistan Times*, and two of its Urdu organs *Imroz* and *Lail-o-Nahar* were either liquidated or brought under strict state control. Journalists who propagated the NAP program like Syed Sibte Hasan, Ahmad Nadeem Qasmi, Faiz Ahmad Faiz and Abd-ur-Rahman Riya, editor of the *Mazlum Dunya* Peshawar, were arrested. The government took over the PPL by an ordinance in the Security of Pakistan Act of 1952. The PPL Board of Directors included Nawab Iftikhar Mamdot, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Syed Amir Hussain Shah and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din. However, the latter was the largest stakeholder and was appointed as its first Managing Director. The government brought allegation against the management of the PPL that it was receiving policy guideline and financial funds from foreign countries. It was blamed that there was an objectionable overtone in the PPL writings which was creating prejudicial tendencies in the society. Its articles and editorials were encouraging negative impression in the minds of its readers. The charges against the PPL were not proved, but the courts decided the case in favor of the government. Mian Iftikhar’s writ in the West Pakistan High Court and his subsequent appeal to the Supreme Court of Pakistan were decided on jurisdictional grounds that the validity of the government action could not be questioned unless *mala fides* were proved.

To fully liquidate the NAP and its influence on the PPL and to consolidate the position of the government, the authorities came up with a new move. In early 1964 it sponsored the creation of National Press Trust (NPT) with the active help of some big capitalists in the country. In August the NPT desired to purchase all the stakes of the PPL, the Mashriq Ltd. and the *Morning News*. In this way the government secured its control over twelve magazines and newspapers. *Morning News* Karachi and Dhaka, *Pakistan Times*, Lahore and Rawalpindi, *Imroz* Lahore and Multan, *Mashriq* Lahore, Karachi and Peshawar, *Dainik Pakistan* Dhaka, *Akbar-i-Khawateen* Karachi and *Sports Times* Lahore were brought in government control. These papers were then utilized to project positive image of the Ayub Khan’s regime among the masses. In East Pakistan action was taken against three dailies, the *Sangbad*, the *Ittefaq* and the *Pakistan Observer* for not following the regime’s policy in their writings. Political parties bitterly opposed the move because most of them had been denied the rights of publicity. Opposition leaders criticized the way the NPT were being used for the suppression and distortion of news about their activities.
Challenges and Response

With the imposition of martial law the communist leaders and workers who were affiliated with the NAP halted their activities for some time and went underground. They had been under strict surveillance by the intelligence agencies because of its apparent opposition to Pakistan’s pro-West foreign policy and its military alliance with the Western bloc. It was before the coming of martial law that the government increased communist surveillance after the revolutionary overthrow of monarchy in Iraq on July 14, 1958 in which King Faisal and Prime Minister Nuri es-Said were killed. After a few days of the revolution in Iraq the NAP workers organized a big public gathering in Paltan Maidan at Dhaka in which the speakers hailed the overthrow of monarchy in Iraq. In the rally the communist members circulated two pamphlets one supporting the revolutionary uprising in Iraq and the other criticizing British meddling in Jordan.41

After the imposition of martial law the banned CPP had launched an underground propaganda separately because most of its central committee members remained behind the curtain and avoided arrest. Those party members who were involved in other affiliated organizations took precautionary measures. They have been quite expert in underground propaganda at a time when all other political parties in the country were debarred from political activity under the martial law regime. Communists in the NAP were more instrumental in articulating resentment of the workers against the large-scale internment of political workers. In almost every forum they demanded the immediate release of all the political prisoners. They impressed upon the government to lift martial law and hold general elections. Their members were active to unite peasants, laborers and other working people and made contacts with other political organizations on the basis of some immediate demands.42

After independence there were some internal discussions in communist circles about the question of an independent East Pakistan. However, the party lacked any comprehensive strategy that may be followed for its attainment. The CPEP did not pursue a clear policy with regard to Ayub Khan’s regime. The party high-command deemed it necessary to work within the NAP and support popular movements for the restoration of democracy, autonomy and increase of wages of industrial workers etc. For this purpose an agreement was reached between the leaders of the CPEP and AL to initiate a movement on the basis of a common political agenda. The agreement was concluded after some hectic rounds of talks between Moni Singh and Kahoka Roy of the CPEP and Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rahman and Manik Mian of the AL. It included the withdrawal of
martial law, the establishment of democratic system, release of all political prisoners, autonomy for East Pakistan, the right of students to education, the fulfillment of the demands of the workers, peasants, laborers etc.\textsuperscript{43}

The intelligence agencies were proactive in tracing the activities of the communists, leftists and all those political workers who were affiliated with the NAP. Reports were given to the higher authorities by the police in connection with the secret meetings of the NAP, the Youth League and other different student organizations. It was reported that a secret meeting of the NAP was held in Narayanganj town in which it was decided to observe the coming February 21 as ‘Martyrs Day’. The participants unanimously called for the help and support of the youth and general public. A strategy was made to enlist the support of peasants and labors along with a campaign of mobilization among the students.\textsuperscript{44}

During this period the most active communist organization in West Pakistan was the Karachi Committee. Some of its known members were Tufail Abbas, Jalal-ud-Din Bukhari, Sobo Gianchandani, Sharafat Ali, Eric Rahim, Aziz Salam Bukhari, Nazish Amrohi and Aziz Ahmad. Karachi Committee was severely affected by the imposition of martial law. Tufail Abbas along with some other members was arrested. Meanwhile a heated controversy emerged within the communist hierarchy in Sindh and Karachi over the attitude towards the martial law regime. The controversy revolved around three main points:

i. Whether Ayub Khan was representative of the national bourgeoisie?

ii. Whether Ayub Khan’s land reforms were the maximum possible, under the given condition?

iii. Whether Basic Democracies could be termed as a miniature form of the Soviet system?

Permission was sought by the Secretary of the Karachi Committee from Sindh Provincial Committee to debate these issues among the party members. The permission was not granted because the communist hierarchy in the NAP failed to adopt a clear cut policy regarding Ayub Khan’s regime. Afterwards a heated discussion took place in a meeting of the Karachi Committee on this issue which resulted in the dismissal of the Secretary of the committee.\textsuperscript{45}

On the student front communists in the NAP controlled the Karachi National Students Federation (NSF). Its leadership had taken from the very beginning an anti Ayub’s stand. The central committee of the NSF passed a resolution terming the political change brought about by martial law as superficial which would not affect the existing socio-economic set-up in the
country. Unrest among the students increased when in 1962 the government published the recommendations of the Education Commission. It was an attempt to restrict higher education in the country and give more power to the university administration. The University Ordinance, at the time of its promulgation, became too much unpopular among the students hence the NSF’s agitation against it. Most of the students were enraged at the advice made by the commission to change two years bachelor course to three years and increase the percentage in getting passing marks and first division. These recommendations were enough to unleash a powerful students’ movement in both the wings of the country. Processions were organized throughout the port city under the banner of NSF. These processions were attacked by the police and a number of students lost their lives. Entry of student leadership was banned in Karachi, Peshawar, Hyderabad, Layalpur, Rawalpindi and Quetta. This provided further impetus to the students’ movement which by now spread throughout Pakistan.46

In East Pakistan Ayub Khan accused the opposition of instigating and exploiting the students for their own benefit. Some of the opposition leaders were interned which caused further constrain among the students. Students from various parts gathered into the lawn of Jagan Nath College which was the largest college in East Pakistan. They were joined in their protest by the students of Eden Girls College, Dhaka College and Quaid-i-Azam College. The movement took an organized form of protest in the Dhaka College where a student body called Degree Forum was formed. Soon afterwards a new body East Pakistan Students Forum was constituted by a number of representatives affiliated with various political parties. The agitation spread to Dhaka, Barisal, Khushhtia, Chittagong, Sylhet, Khulna and Noakhali. Police and the army often used coercive measure to disperse the students. On September 17, 1962 students at Dhaka University started agitation and picketing at various points. Clashes between the enraged students and police took place in which few students died and a number of other sustained injuries. A large number of students were arrested and the classes at Dhaka University remained suspended for quite long time. A Ghaibana Nimaz Janaza (funeral prayer in absence of the body of the diseased) was held in the Salimuolah Muslim Hall for those who had died in the strike. Among others, it was attended by Khair Bakhsh Marri and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, leaders of the Balochistan NAP, who were in Dhaka in those days. In October 1962 Abdul Hamid Bhashani wrested his release after calling for a hunger strike in support of the demand of the students.47

The agitation continued with new students’ demands that included the release of the political and
student detainees. The tense situation continued until the government withdrew some of the recommendations of the Education Commission. Before the withdrawal of the martial law all the arrested students were released and the pending cases against them dismissed.48

The students’ movement was supported by all the sections of people in the urban centers. The propaganda campaign of the NSF was largely responsible for its success. Gradually it won the trust of other students’ organizations. NSF had grown into a mass student organization by now; however the Karachi Committee was not in the position to control such a large student body because outside Karachi there was no party unit on the student front. Student activists therefore organized processions and demonstration themselves. By banning the students in different cities the government had given them the opportunity to make contacts with other student bodies and spread the message in West and East Pakistan. New branches of NSF were organized in different cities, as the condition created by the martial law was particularly oppressive for the student community. The movement received a sudden setback when Tufail Abbas, the secretary of the Karachi Committee of the CPP went to Lahore along with number of student leaders and held negotiation with the Governor of West Pakistan, the Nawab of Kalabagh. A compromise was made on the withdrawal of certain most controversial clauses of the university ordinance. Tufail Abbas failed to fully utilize the opportunity and take out certain other demand from the government. The Karachi Committee, at that time, acted independently and there was no control of the NAP central or provincial committees over their activities.49

In Balochistan the public mood was full of anger which put much pressure on the government. The government took stern action against those activists who were behind the anti-Ayub propaganda. In his autobiography Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo admits that before the imposition of martial law there was a period of chaos and uncertainty in the country. Instead of public welfare politicians started leg-pulling of each other’s due to which certain sections in the public welcomed the imposition of martial law. He however, called it a misjudgment on their part to witness more such occurrences in the later years.50 When martial law was imposed the people in Balochistan were in constant state of agitation. Political workers of the NAP were opposing the One Unit scheme and demanded its dissolution. Martial law authorities resorted to harsh measures and conducted house to house raids in various areas. To check the rebellious elements the government confiscated the weapons of the tribal people. A military operation was carried
out against the Mengal tribe on the pretext of their refusal to obey the military orders to let them check their houses.

In Kalat Agha Abdul Karim of the NAP was arrested and sentenced to 14 years rigorous imprisonment. His arrest provided provocation to other Baloch tribes to rise against the military regime. Zehri tribe defied the orders and rose in revolt under Nawab Naoroze Khan. NAP in Balochistan supported the cause of the Zehri tribe in their struggle against the military government. Meantime, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo mobilized party activists around anti-One Unit campaign and provincial autonomy. It provided further momentum to agitation throughout the Sindh and Balochistan. It gave the people an appropriate political platform in resisting the military orders. In some places exchange of fire took place between the tribal people and the military personals. Hundreds of NAP workers along with its core leadership were arrested and kept in the notorious Quli Camp under the direct custody of the armed forces. In May 1959 Naoroze Khan was arrested along with some of his lieutenants and thrown into the confinement of the Quli Camp. He was awarded life imprisonment and six of his companions were executed in Hyderabad Central Jail. Bizenjo was freed but again implicated under seditious charges. All the political prisoners in Balochistan were subjected to all sorts of torture languishing in different jails.

During the martial law regime NAP workers and leaders were quite active in Balochistan despite constraints from the authorities. In August 1962 an emergency meeting of the NAP took place in Quetta which was attended by Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri, Sardar Attaullah Mengal, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and many other leaders from different cities of the province. The purpose of the meeting was to devise a strategy on the eve of the upcoming visit of the President Ayub Khan to the Baloch Darbar. In the meeting a resolution was passed in support of the statement of 9 parties leaders in East Pakistan. In connection with the party strategy a grand public meeting took place in Quetta on August 22, 1962. The meeting was attended by politically charged workers of the NAP. The speakers exposed the atrocities of the martial law regime in their speeches. In the last week of August a big rally was organized in Karki ground in Karachi by the NAP Balochistan and Sindh chapters. Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani, general secretary of the party spoke to the audience. The meeting was a tremendous success because it was attended by NAP leaders, activists and other likeminded people from interior Sindh, Karachi and Balochistan. The government resorted to arresting the leadership of the party. As a reaction Attaullah Mengal,
Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri and Nawab Akbar Bugti were removed from their hereditary positions as *sardars* of their respective tribes. Sardar Attaullah Mengal along with a number of his associates has been interned in the next few days.\(^{54}\)

After the arrest of most of the NAP leaders in Balochistan, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Khair Bakhsh Marri left for Dhaka to inform the party stalwarts in East Pakistan about the state of affairs in Balochistan. They organized protest rallies in all big cities including Dhaka and Chittagong. They participated in corner meetings, press conferences, and public gatherings to spread the party message in the masses. On his return from Dhaka Bizenjo was again taken into custody by police at the Karachi airport. Attaullah Mengal along with his father and brother was implicated in a murder case. It was a time when most of the party leaders in Balochistan for instance Mir Gul Khan Naseer, Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd, Hashim Khan Gardezi and Mir Mahmud Aziz were languishing in the lockups in different jails. The attitude of the military authority towards all these NAP workers and leaders was uncompromising. Ayub Khan’s perception and rigid tone with regard to them might be gauged from the fact that when Governor Nawab of Kalabagh approached him for exhibiting leniency in dealing with political prisoners of the NAP, he altogether declined his request to release the leaders.\(^{55}\)

**NAP and the Politics of Alliances**

A question was raised within the leftist and communist workers as to how a united front within the lager platform of the NAP could be materialized? This question was discussed in the communist circles in Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar and East Pakistan. It was decided by the leadership that the time was not ripe for forming a separate communist organization because it had already been working under strict government’s vigilance. The formation of a new organization would jeopardize their effort of forming a national alliance against martial law regime with the help of other opposition parties. It was argued that the communist should function within the NAP as before. In the same vein they felt that national politics at that time needed a broader political alliance.\(^{56}\)

After promulgating the 1962 constitution the government announced the decision of holding the national and provincial assemblies’ election on April 28 and May 6 respectively. In East Pakistan a number of political parties including the NAP boycotted the elections. A statement jointly issued by the representatives of seven political parties demanded inter alia the
restoration of parliamentary democracy, release of all political prisoners in the country, a new
democratic constitution, abrogation of all repressive laws and lifting of the ban on political
parties. It was signed by Atta-ur-Rahman, Nurul Amin, Hamid-ul-Haq Choudhury, Mahmud Ali,
Abu Hussain Sarkar, Syed Aziz-ul-Haq Pir Muhsin-ud-Din (Dadu Mian). The statement was
published in all leading newspapers of Dhaka on April 18, 1962. It created a stir in the political
circles of the country and opened a new avenue for political action. On June 24 another joint
statement was issued by nine leaders of different political parties including the NAP. The
statement which was called ‘Dhaka Nine’ virtually rejected the 1962 Constitution and the
holding of the next elections. It was demanded that the 1962 Constitution was not up to the
expectations of the people, therefore the task of a new constitution-making be completed as soon
as possible. Both the statements largely influenced the mood of the masses in both the wings of
the country. In East Pakistan public meetings were held in Dhaka, Chittagong, and Barisal in
which the participants demanded the immediate release of all political prisoners including Abdul
Ghaffar Khan, Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy and Maulana Bhashani.

National Democratic Front and the NAP
In West Pakistan the workers and leaders of NAP and AL supported the idea of forging a grand
political alliance with other parties. A meeting of the NAP Balochistan was held at Quetta which
was presided over by Khair Bakhsh Marri. The participants strongly urged other political parties
to join hands for the restoration of democratic setup in the country. It was followed by Sindh
Democratic Convention at Sukkher in which leaders of the NAP appealed for the formation of
joint democratic front. The idea was debated in a meeting of the party leadership for getting
broader consensus. A statement calling for joint political strategy was issued by Mahmud Ali
Qasuri, Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani and Muhammad Ishaq. Despite this enthusiasm no political
leader was ready to organize different shades of politicians on an all-Pakistan basis. It was
mainly due to the efforts of Suhrawardy that thirty five leaders of both the wings gathered at
Lahore in September 1962. Meetings were held for two days at the residence of Mahmud Ali
Qasuri and Abul Ala Maududi to consider a possible alliance on minimum common political
program.

Two issues dominated the deliberations, democratization of the constitution and the
composition of the proposed national front. On the second issue differences emerged among the
representative of Jama‘at-i-Islami Pakistan (JIP) and the NAP. JIP declined to dissolve its separate identity whereas NAP leaders along with the support of some East Pakistani politicians opposed the revival of political parties. At the end consensus was developed and the announcement of the formation of the National Democratic Front (NDF) was made by Suhrawardy on October 4, 1962. He released a list of thirty five supporters which included leaders from six political parties. NAP was represented by Mahmud Ali Qasuri, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani, Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi and Khair Bakhsh Marri. The nature of the NDF was explained as a movement and not a political party. The obvious purpose was to retain its unity, accommodate a wider political opinion and involve politicians who were disqualified under Elected Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO). It was decided that leadership and organizational issues would be finalized at a convention to be held at the end of 1962.  

In its initial days the strength of the NDF was much stronger in East Pakistan through mobilization of the AL workers by Suhrawardy. He did much canvassing during the last quarter of 1962 to reactivate his party supports. He was mainly instrumental in the release of Bhashani, NAP’s president, from detention on November 3. After his successful tour of the East Pakistan along with Bhashani they planned to undertake similar venture in West Pakistan. The NDF pledged to continue its effort of launching a country-wide tour for the establishment of complete democracy in the country. It demanded the restoration of the 1956 Constitution and the establishment of the basic rights and rule of law.

It has been stated by a number of writers that by entering into NDF, the NAP actually compromised its socialist credentials and leftist objectives. It was said that by forging an alliance with the rightist parties, the NAP had conveyed a message of its weakness. Implicitly it meant that it was not properly equipped for class struggle among the masses. From 1962 it extended wholehearted support to the policy of a united struggle of various leaders. Leaders of the NAP were in the forefront with such rightist men as H. S. Suhrawardy, Nurul Amin, and Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din. However in the political milieu of which the NAP was a part at that time, the dissimilarity between the right and left could hardly came on the surface. The epicenter of opposition politics was unity against Ayub Khan and 1962 Constitution.

In West Pakistan the organizational issues within the NDF became complicated. Both the NAP and JIP were not ready to change their respective positions. At the start of 1963 it was agreed to launch a full-fledged movement and establish branches of the NDF at the national and
provincial level with representations of all the component parties. In this regard a statement was issued by Mahmud Ali Qasuri that status of the EBDOed politicians would be advisors and not regular members. There were some other differences on the structure of the alliance which could not be resolved with mere statements. The unity of the opposition parties soon disappeared and it seemed illusive that the NDF could initiate any united action for the restoration of full-fledged democratic set-up in the country.

In January 1963 another attempt was made to organize the opposition and to chalk out a united strategy and future course of action. At a meeting held at Karachi from January 26 to 28, 1963 a resolution was passed which was called the ‘Karachi Resolution’. It was attended by the representatives of JIP, Council ML, AL, Republican Party and the NAP. The participants of the meeting deplored the state of affairs in the country and severely lamented the inhuman attitude of the government with the political workers. In the resolution they called the imposition of martial law a well-planed conspiracy to discourage the growth of democratic institutions. It was called the handiwork of those elements that were not ready to afford that reins of power should be given to public representatives through free and fair elections. For the reactivation of the dormant NDF a ten member committee, two from each participant party, was formed to contact other political parties. It was resolved to organize a vigorous campaign against the government. NAP was represented in the committee by Wali Khan and Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani. After the meeting a strong resolution was issued which severely criticized the 1962 constitution and demanded the repeal of PPA and the two amended EBDOed ordinances. The forum of NDF was utilized by NAP representatives from smaller provinces in various meetings for the dissolution of One Unit. They forcefully presented their viewpoint and called for the rights of the smaller provinces to be given due attention. Due to large-scale NAP involvement in the NDF it was alleged that the communist were behind its formation for hijacking its structural command.

The issue of the organizational structure of NDF was debated in January 1963 at a meeting which was held at Dhaka. A committee representing the NAP, AL, CML and KSP was constituted to organize branches at different levels. In West Pakistan discussions and debates in this regards led to serious complications. A meeting was arranged at Lakham House, residence of Suhrawardy at Karachi. Due to the absence of Suhrawardy the meeting was presided over by Abdul Majid Sindhi. Leaders from CML, JIP, NAP, AL and Republican Party attended the meeting. Closed door negotiations were held and a mysterious atmosphere prevailed in the media.
about the future strategy of the main opposition parties. NAP was the most active and vocal opposition party on all outstanding issues. From its side Wali Khan, Abdul Majid Sindhi, M. H. Usmani and Mahmud Ali Qasuri spoke in one voice against the government restrictions and treatment of the opposition parties. A resolution of civil disobedience was presented by Abdus Sattar Niazi but could not be accepted. The next day a sensational headline appeared in the daily *Jang* under the title of “Opposition Leaders to Launch Civil Disobedience Movement”. It caused serious concern among the government circles and a number of opposition leaders were detained. In January a case, known as the ‘Lakham House Conspiracy Case’, was registered by the Karachi police against thirty eight NDF leaders.\(^6\)

The Lakham House Conspiracy Case seriously jeopardized the unity of the opposition parties and broke the hearts of some leaders. Suhrawardy’s departure to Beirut on March 19, 1963 removed the only connection between East and West Pakistani leadership. The political unity among various parties was then affected by mutual wrangling among different leaders and factions. In July-August 1963 the non-revived parties in the NDF-AL, NAP, KSP, and CML discussed the formation of a national level party but it did not receive the approval of Suhrawardy. Attempts were made to form an alliance on the line of NDF in West Pakistan but due to mistrust between Bhashani and a number of West Pakistani NAP leaders the idea could not be materialized. Talks were held between the representative of the AL and the NAP for bringing about organizational unity of both the parties which has not yet revived at that time. It was suggested by the representative of the NAP to hold simultaneous sessions of the parties at Rawalpindi. But the AL’s delaying tactics made it impossible to finalize the date of both the parties’ sessions. At their instance the venue of the sessions was shifted to Dhaka and August 29-31 to September 1 were fixed as the dates of the sessions. Again the AL failed to hold the session together.

In the wake of AL refusal the NAP held its first meeting of the central organizing committee in which the party President Abdul Hamid Bhashani submitted report of his meeting with president Ayub Khan and Governor Amir Muhammad Khan. The revival of the party was debated in the meeting but it was decided to postpone it till further negotiations were conducted with the leadership of the AL.\(^6\) Maulana Bhashani was at Peking when the news of the death of Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy (December 5, 1963 at Beirut) reached to the country. After his demise the control of the party fell in the hands of Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rahman who was least
interested in the unity of both the parties. He revived AL in February 1964 and the matter of the NDF was forsaken forever.

**Revival of the NAP and the Presidential Election of 1964-65**

The direction of the NAP’s political program during Ayub Khan’s regime revolved around some of its basic demands. Restoration of democratic institutions, undoing of the One Unit scheme, provincial autonomy, release of political workers, evaluation of the government’s educational policy and radical economic and land reforms were some of its political demands. On external front it strongly advocated formulation of friendly foreign policy towards the socialist republics. It pressed for the scrapping of the defense pacts with the western countries. There were inter-party differences of opinion among various leaders. Different factions in the party were more concerned about one or two points of the program and for its attainment they kept themselves attached with the party for the larger interest. The important points which kept the divergent opinions in the party united were the restoration of democracy, provincial autonomy and opposition to Ayub Khan’s regime. Their secular approach towards politics, leftist ideology and anti-US stance were other characteristics shared by most of the components of the NAP.

NAP was the only party that was under severe state repression during Ayub’s martial law. The constant detention of its top-ranking leaders delayed its revival even after political parties were allowed to function under some restrictions. For some time NDF provided them a political base for launching their political activities and for making political demands. For that matter it came under criticism from a number of scholars for accepting the program of the NDF because it did not accept the NAP central demands of dissolution of One Unit scheme and non-aligned foreign policy. Probably the party leaders thought it more important to form a broad-based political alliance. In this connection they argued that the need of the time was to form a unified political organization against the atrocities of the Ayub Khan’s government. Therefore, the revival of the party was postponed time and again for a number of political and organizational reasons.

The revival of the party was a bone of contention between different factions within the NAP. Serious differences emerged between pro and anti-revival groups. One group led by Abdul Wali Khan, leader of the NWFP NAP, supported and campaigned for the revival. The anti-revival group under Bhashani was not in favor of any such move. There was a strong anti-revival
section in East Pakistan NAP which opposed the idea on certain grounds. This group was backed by Mahmud Ali, former general secretary of the party and having the blessing of a number of other leaders. It was under this background that voices were raised from a number of party workers and leaders particularly in West Pakistan for full activity under the NAP umbrella. In April 1963 the NAP’s working committee endorsed a proposal for a joint political program with AL and shelved the question of the party’s revival. Maulana Bhashani was strongly in favor of a broad-based political party that should emerge out of the merger of the NAP and AL. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy and Mujib-ur-Rahman were however reluctant to give their consent to the merger proposal.\textsuperscript{68}

NAP participation in NDF dwindled to a large extent after the story of active involvement of communists was revealed in the press. As usual Bhashani did not endorse full activity from the party platform and for a long time ignored the demand of the pro-revival West Pakistani leaders. It had been mentioned in secret Special Branch reports that in West Pakistan Abdul Wali Khan strongly favored the revival of the party on the line of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. In this connection a meeting of the NAP leaders and workers was held in Peshawar on December 29, 1963 to discuss party affairs and political situation. Wali Khan advised party workers to wait for the NAP working committee meeting to be held in Peshawar. Majority of the participants in the meeting deposed trust in Wali Khan and authorized him to negotiate with other leaders for early revival. In the meeting a sum of Rs. 2000 was raised to finance the reorganization of the party in the province of NWFP. It seems clear from the police reports that the reorganization of the party was completed in the province in mid-January 1964.\textsuperscript{69} Probably Wali Khan feared that long delay of the NAP revival could jeopardize the social base of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. Accordingly, he organized them much before the NAP working committee could decide anything about the issue.\textsuperscript{70}

On national level the idea of the party revival was shelved by Bhashani and his associates till further deliberations. A meeting in this regard was convened in Peshawar in January 1964 with the initiative of the revivalists. Again the idea was delayed for a wider consensus within the party workers in both the wings of the country. At last on February 28-March 1, 1964 the central organizing committee of the party met in Dhaka to consider the following important items:

i. Revival and active functioning of the party.

ii. Consideration of the political situation of the country.
iii. Consideration of the popular demand of direct election and adult franchise.

iv. Consideration of the reports of the sub-committees appointed at the last meeting to explore the possibilities of forging out a single political party in the country.

v. Formation and re-organization of the NDF on all Pakistan bases.

vi. Consideration on the question of Kashmir, communal disturbances in India and Pakistan and eviction of Indian Muslims.

vii. Consideration of the foreign policy of Pakistan.

viii. Consideration over the West Pakistan Maintenance Order Ordinance and West Pakistan Criminal Law Amendment act as hindrance in the functioning of political parties.

ix. Release of political prisoners and withdrawal of ban from JIP. \(^71\)

Mahmud Ali and other non-revivalists boycotted the meeting because they were not in favor of the reorganization of the party. In the meeting the proposal of the party revival was put up which was backed by the majority members. Although the party was revived, however SAM, under the leadership of G. M. Syed, and GD retained their separate political identities. They refused to join the parent party. After its revival the old pattern of the party organization was retained. It was to be composed of East and West Pakistan branches, the latter comprising six provincial branches. The party highest policy-making body the national council was to be comprised of 214 members. A thirty-seven member working committee was formed to function as the national executive of the party. Among other bodies there was a nine members central parliamentary board that was responsible for drafting party political program and control of its parliamentarians in the assemblies. The party had eight office-bearers including a president, two vice-presidents, a general secretary, two joint secretaries and a treasurer elected by the national council and a *salar-i-ala* nominated by the president. Maulana Bhashani was elected the president for the second term and Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani the general secretary. \(^72\)

On March 22, 1964 a meeting of the NAP workers was held in central office Lahore. This meeting was convened by Mahmud Ali Qasuri, general secretary of the party in West Pakistan, to discuss important points regarding implementation of the decisions of the central organizing committee. A campaign of fund-raising, publication and circulation of party literature was come up in the meeting. \(^73\) A joint program with AL and NIP was launched for holding general elections on the basis of universal adult franchise. On the issue of harassment of Baloch leaders protest days were observed throughout the country. On May 29, the NAP observed a country-
wide “Baluchistan Day” and demanded a judicial inquiry by a judge of the high court for investigating the atrocities. The banning of JIP and detention of its leader Maulana Maududi by the government was strongly criticized during the protest. NAP deemed it a dangerous move as the general elections were going to be held in a couple of months. It was considered a threat to the restoration of parliamentary democracy by majority of political parties and its leaders. The government seemed to be planning to rig the elections by arrestment of opposition leaders. A call for unity of the opposition parties in the forthcoming elections from Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din of the CML also came in June 1964.\textsuperscript{74}

The next meeting of the central organizing committee was held in Peshawar. A fund raising campaign was initiated by Afzal Bangash. He was actively assisted by the local members of the party. The meeting was held accordingly at Peshawar on July 15, 1964. A contingent of the party leaders which included Bhashani, M. H. Usmani, Abdul Majid Sindhi, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Rauf Tahir, Shaukat Ali, Haji Muhammad Danish, C. R. Aslam, Ahmadul Kabir and Mohiy-ud-Din Ahmad reached Peshawar Railway Station on July 14, 1964. They were received by Abdul Wali Khan, Afzal Bangash, Arbab Saif-ur-Rahman, Rahamzad Khan, Ajmal Khattak and a large number of party activists. They organized some half dozen meetings and rallies in different cities of the NWFP.\textsuperscript{75} The leaders of the party took stock of the prevailing political situation and constituted a seven members committee to negotiate with the other parties for a possible united program. On July 16, 1964 a thirty-six point manifesto was drafted which included some new demands i.e. the restoration of sovereign status for legislatures, dissolution of One Unit scheme and restoration of former provinces on the basis of cultural and geographical contiguity. Separation of judiciary from the executive, nationalization of key industries, and a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir issue with India were also incorporated in the new party program.\textsuperscript{76}

On July 24, 1964 an alliance of the main opposition parties was formed that was called Combined Opposition Parties (COP). The program of the COP did not included two main demands of the NAP i.e. breakup of One Unit scheme and scrapping of defense pacts. However, it was approved by the working committee of the party on the ground that the party was not adequately strong to take any major step entirely on its own. Abdul Ghaffar Khan also attended the meeting. NAP sacrificed two of its fundamental demands for the sake of forging an electoral alliance with the main opposition parties. Another meeting of the representatives of different
political parties was held at Dhaka on July 29, 1964 to chalk out a common program and to devise a strategy for contesting the elections. The representatives of the NAP were led by Maulana Bhashani along with Mahmud Ali Qasuri, Syed Altaf Hussain, Haji Muhammad Danish, Ishaq Muhammad, M. H. Usmani and Ahmad-ul-Kabir.\footnote{77}

Some members of the NAP working committee raised serious concern over accepting such demands which were very much contrary to the NAP ideology. They vehemently opposed point eight of the COP program which was related with the amendment in the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance. Representatives of the NAP conveyed their reservations in a meeting of the COP on September 20, 1964 and demanded its deletion from the program. They failed to get the support of other parties in a joint conference of the COP. On the other hand, they succeeded in building consensus for the rejection of any presidential candidate who had been associated with martial law regime. The obvious reference being to Azam Khan whose name was proposed by some leaders to contest the presidential election from COP platform.\footnote{78} It was portrayed as a big concession given to the NAP by the rightest parties. By accepting COP program NAP was the only party which compromised its secular and ideological credentials to a very large extent.

When the presidential elections of 1965 were announced, all opposition parties got involved to find out a suitable candidate who could effectively contest elections against President Ayub Khan. The name of Fatima Jinnah was proposed by Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the NAP working committee meeting held in Charsadda. He discussed it with Mahmud Ali Qasuri and got his consent. His objective was to bring together all the opposition parties on a mutually agreed candidate. He was of the view that in the prevailing circumstances only Fatima Jinnah could compete effectively with Ayub Khan. Mahmud Ali Qasuri writes that it was a “great surprise” for opposition parties and the government. It was unbelievable that Ghaffar Khan would propose the name of the sister of Quaid-i-Azam.\footnote{79} Later on, all the components of the COP gave their approval to Ghaffar Khan’s proposal. As a matter of fact it was the best choice because only Fatima Jinnah could attract the masses due to her prestige and personality.

As a result of this agreement all the party chiefs including Bhashani went to Fatima Jinnah and persuaded her to contest the elections on the ticket of the COP. In the initial stages she declined from participating in active politics, although she had made known her support for the opposition cause. Then Bhashani made an emotional speech in which he spoke of the spirit and the sacrifices made by the Muslims under the brilliant leadership of Quaid-i-Azam. In this
way Bhashani convinced her in accepting the demand of the opposition parties. It was a time when in the NWFP majority of NAP workers were in jails. Arbab Sikandar Khan Khalil, the party provincial president was in detention. It was much difficult to launch an electioneering campaign without the party provincial president. In the prevailing circumstances it was decided to make Wali Khan acting president of the party in the province.

Elections were held on January 2, 1965. Fatima Jinnah owed little to the COP for her image and stature in the public. Instead she helped to unite the opposition parties and gave it an inherent strength. Masses were mobilized in both the wings of the country and a momentum was created among the party workers. She was given the title of the “Madir-i-Millat” (mother of the nation) and wherever she went, she charged political workers through her anti-Ayub speeches. She was awarded lantern as her election symbol. NAP representative proposed in a meeting that in all such rallies wherein Fatima Jinnah would address, there should be presidiums of all the parties. It was decided that such rallies would be presided in rotation by the representative of the components parties.

Observing the political atmosphere and general tendencies it was sure that Fatima Jinnah would win the election. At one stage President Ayub Khan thought of the re-imposition of martial law throughout the country. Then he was advised to make a comprehensive strategy of influencing the Basic Democrats. Some B. D. members were bought with money or with lucrative licenses, others were intimidated and those who were not ready to come on terms were arrested and forced to vote for Ayub Khan. In West Pakistan the main constituencies of the NAP were the provinces of NWFP and Balochistan. Particularly in the NWFP it inherited the organizational structure of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. It retained the same areas of support such as Peshawar, Mardan, Swabi, Kohat, Bannu and southern districts. Ayub Khan was much apprehensive about the followers of Abdul Ghaffar and the strength of the NAP. He tried his utmost to break the NAP hold in the areas through unfair means. It was alleged that the Nawabzada family of Hoti in Mardan offered three hundred thousand rupees for winning the support of Amirzada Khan who was a NAP candidate from Mardan constituency. The cronies of Ayub Khan also tried to get the support of Wali Khan, Afzal Bangash and other NAP stalwarts through an influential family of Mardan. But the leadership of the NAP vehemently opposed him through constitutional and peaceful means.
Miss Fatima Jinnah launched her electioneering campaign from Peshawar. She reached the north-western city on October 1, 1964. On her arrival at the Peshawar airport she was given a rousing welcome by the NAP leaders and workers. Hundreds of thousands of people from other parts of the country also reached Peshawar one day before the rally. Particularly COP members from Punjab came to the city in larger caravans. It was an unprecedented and impressive rally of the NAP. Though it was an introductory visit of Fatima Jinnah to Peshawar, yet about 20,000 people welcomed her when she came out of the airport. She was accompanied by Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din, Choudhury Muhammad Ali, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani. She seemed extremely impressed by the enthusiasm of the Pakhtuns and their whole-hearted support. On the same day she spoke to some 30,000 audience in the famous Jinnah Park. She spoke about the sacrifices made by the people of the NWFP in the freedom struggle. She was much impressed by the massive turn-out of the workers in the heavy rain. She appreciated enthusiastic public support and pointed out that it was enough to show that the people of this province wanted their democratic rights back. The rally was presided over by Wali Khan who mentioned the services of Afzal Bangash for such a thriving political gathering. It was in the real sense an inspiring beginning of the election campaign of the COP. There were red flags everywhere which looked like a red sea-wave of the people. There were also a large number of red flags on the main stage which clearly indicated that NAP was the main opposition party in the Frontier. She remained in Peshawar for three days and delivered speeches in a number of political gatherings.

After launching a successful campaign in Peshawar Fatima Jinnah went to Punjab. She crossed the river Indus near Attock in a large COP procession. Alongside the Grand Trunk Road banners of COP had been fixed in her support. In the Punjab she spoke to political workers, students, peasants, and peoples of every walk of life. With each passing day the enthusiasm of the public grew many folds. But the COP strategy with regard to election plan and possible outcome lacked coherent response. Enthusiasm was on the rise and it was considered by many political observers that Fatima Jinnah would easily win the election. Her extra-ordinary campaign and unexpectedly big rallies surprised Ayub Khan and his ministers. Especially leaders and workers in West Pakistan were so much sure of their victory that the leaders of the COP set together for considering the names of suitable candidates to be inducted as ministers after the elections. On January 2, 1965, elections were held on the total 419 polling station all over the
country. Ayub Khan got 49,467 votes, 65% of the total votes polled while Fatima Jinnah got 28,343 which was 34% of the total votes. As a result Ayub Khan was elected on March 23, 1965 for another term of five years. The implications of the defeat were severe as it took long time for COP components to recover from the tragedy of their political defeat.

Victory in the elections was celebrated by the Ayub Khan’s government with thrilling pomp and show. In Karachi where Ayub Khan was defeated huge procession was organized with the active backing of his government. The procession was accompanied by musical band that went through Pakhtun dominated areas where Ayub got the minimum number of votes. Gohar Ayub, son of Ayub Khan, led the procession with armed gangsters who attacked the houses, shops and vehicles of their opponents. Clashes also took place and a number of people were killed in the firing. They set ablaze their shops and other valuable belongings. In the procession lanterns were hanged from every truck with naswar trickling down over it. The purpose was to show their contempt for election symbol of Fatima Jinnah and the COP. Hadi Naqvi, along with M. H. Usmani reached on the spot. They visited the houses of Pakhtuns whose belongings had been burned by the gang of Gohar Ayub Khan. It was a time when the danger of ethnic clash was imminent between the Urdu-speaking population and Pakhtuns. The conciliatory role of the NAP leaders in Karachi and the compromising approach of the Pakhtuns averted the danger.

The unexpected defeat in the election and its consequences sealed the fate of the COP. Internal differences intensified over the issues of organizational structure and foreign policy. There were serious internal crisis in the NAP about Bhashani’s dubious role in the elections and his soft corner for Ayub Khan. After the elections, Ayub Khan sent delegations to a dozen socialist and Afro-Asian countries. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the then foreign minister, participated in the Afro-Asian foreign ministers’ moot against the American wishes. Ayub Khan himself toured Peoples Republic of China and USSR and through such ventures won the support of a section of the NAP under Bhashani. The bombing of Viet-Nam and the escalation of US anger over the apparent attitude in Ayub Khan’s foreign policy was backed by Bhashani and his cohorts in the party. In this connection the party observed anti-imperialist and Viet-Nam day throughout the country. Bhashani and NAP parliamentary leader in the National Assembly Masih-ur-Rahman lauded Ayub Khan’s policy in public statements. They called the change in the foreign policy a decisive U-turn of the Ayub Khan’s government. This kind of political stance drifted away the party from its demand for the restoration of real democracy and provincial autonomy. Other
components of the COP also registered their protest and raised reservations about this change in the NAP policy. The COP leaders debated the issue and considered a proposal of NAP’s expulsion from the alliance. Meanwhile, war broke-out between India and Pakistan in September 1965 and political activities reached to a stand-still position.\(^90\)

The role of Bhashani in the election came under severe criticism from the NAP and other leaders of the COP. His performance was questioned on the basis of his doubtful role in the elections. From the very start of the elections, he did not follow a uniform and consistent policy. It was reported in national English daily that NAP president was ready to accept Ayub Khan as president for another ten years provided he conceded fundamental rights and direct elections on the basis of adult franchise. Bhashani also showed his desire to contest the next presidential elections if all the opposition parties developed consensus over his candidacy.\(^91\) During the election campaign he did not actively participated in the gatherings of the COP. He was much popular in the Rajshahi division where he failed to arouse his supporters in favor of Miss Fatima Jinnah. It was probably due to his liking for Ayub Khan’s veering towards China.\(^92\) His support for Fatima Jinnah was lukewarm, especially in East Pakistan. His attitude caused confusion in the rank and file of the COP and contributed to its constant state of ineffectiveness. The supporters of Bhashani argued that initially problem was created when the program of the COP was drafted. The NAP conceded more than the other parties. It tried to include the clauses of the dismemberment of One Unit and independent foreign policy but could not succeed due to the pressure from the rightest parties. On the issue of foreign policy, Bhashani and his supporters disliked the compromise.

The government had started a propaganda campaign against the COP and its presidential candidate. Full page publicity advertisements were published in newspaper. It was also alleged that the Central Investigation Agency (CIA) had financed the COP political campaign to punish Ayub Khan for his change in foreign policy. Some leaders criticized the sudden departure of Abdul Ghaffar Khan to Afghanistan.\(^93\) However, after the resounding and impressive public rallies organized by the NAP in the Peshawar they reassessed their analysis.

From then onward Ayub Khan’s regime was very benevolent towards Bhashani and his supporters and generously compensated them for their helping stance. He was given a wide coverage in the print and electronic media. During this congenial atmosphere, Maulana Bhashani fully concentrated on the reorganization of the party. A little earlier he was opposing it on one
pretext or the other. In West Pakistan some provincial branches had completed organization of the party but the rest of it had to be postponed till after the elections. The reorganized national council met on July 27-28, 1965. The council made a fundamental change in the NAP manifesto. It stipulated that the party would work for the establishment of a socialist instead of welfare state which had been set forth as the party ideal since its inception in 1957 and re-adopted after its revival in 1964. The party’s constitution was amended and a ten member committee under Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani was made to prepare revised objectives of the party. Though the recommendations of the committee never came before the national council, its negative outcome was that it intensified the intra-party tension over the ideological orientation between different factions.  

During the 1965 war, the NAP wholeheartedly supported the government stance and its war efforts. Among its leaders Bhashani was more vocal in his support of the Tashkent Declaration. He did not give much attention to the grievances of his West Pakistani leaders and workers. The issue of 1965 war was debated in the working committee of the party in Lahore on January 30, 1966. A carefully worded resolution was passed which stipulated:

The [working committee] feels that now that Tashkent Declaration has been signed it should be given a chance of showing its usefulness. The new element in this agreement is the onus that our great neighbor the Soviet Union has taken on itself to help find a just and suitable solution to Indo-Pak problem by peaceful means…the utility of the Tashkent Declaration could only be demonstrated…if India…ends its oppression in Jammu and Kashmir and hasten the process of the freedom of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.  

Maulana Bhashani was so much obsessed with the policies of Ayub Khan that he ignored Mujib-ur-Rahman’s Six-Points and made critical statements about it. During this period the party preoccupation with socialism was kept alive by passing resolutions time by time. A meeting of the central working committee was held in Dhaka on June 4-7 which called for the introduction of socialism because the problems of the people would be solved through restoration of democracy and setting up of socialist order in the country. It continued the policy of condemning US involvement in Viet-Nam. Bhashani even offered to send ten thousand NAP volunteers to Viet-Nam if the Pakistani government granted him due permission. He was least interested in
solving the problem of his faction-ridden party rather he overemphasized other issues. He was more attached with his strong leftist colleagues who advocated socialism. They had set up subsidiary organizations like Krishak Samity (Peasant Society) in East Pakistan and Kissan Committee (Peasant Committee) in West Pakistan with the backing of Muhammad Ishaq and Afzal Bangash.

Intra-party tension within the NAP increased to such an extent that there were reports of clashes between the supporters and opponents of the Six-Points in a number of party meetings. In one of the central working committee meeting acute differences cropped up after Bhashani’s controversial speech. He stressed the need of building a strong party organization with the active participation of the peasants and general public. He asked his party workers not to waste their energy in the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute. In the same meeting Mahmud Ali Qasuri spoke very critical of the role of Bhashani and his supporters. He criticized him of sidetracking real differences within the party workers on the pretext of Sino-Soviet dispute. The trend, he said, was very much harmful for the party, which would reduce it to mere a platform for the anti-imperialist struggle. He feared that it would isolate the party from the masses. Referring to Bhashani’s proposals of sending volunteers to Viet Nam, Qasuri pointed out that NAP was a patriotic party of Pakistan and not an Afro-Asian party. The intensity of difference of opinion in the party ranks on these vital issues led to a change in the policy of Bhashani. He chalked out Fourteen Points program which virtually incorporated all the Six-Points of Shaikh Mujib. Despite similarities in content, his supporters in East Pakistan dubbed Six-Points program as the demand of the Bengali bourgeoisie aimed at creating a new class of monopolists. It was termed as an ultimate compromise with imperialist forces led by USA.

In the meeting it was decided to restore the enthusiasm which was witnessed during the election days. The members of the committee bitterly criticized the presidential form of government and termed it totally irrelevant and unsuitable for the country and the people of Pakistan. It was resolved that the August 14, 1966 was to be observed as anti-emergency, anti-pacts and the release of political prisoners’ day throughout the country. The meeting also discussed the performance of the NAP members in the National Assembly and resolved that they should form a strong group of their own. It was directed to the party members of the Assembly to work in close collaboration with other opposition parties in order to further their demands.
took up the issue of Kashmir and Pak-India relations after the 1965 war. It was stated in one of the party resolutions:

India by going back on its commitment contained in the UNO resolution for holding a plebiscite in the disputed territory…established itself as an aggressor, betrayed the interests of its own people and served the interests of the imperialist powers which would like to see both countries weak and dependent on them.  

As a result of Bhashani’s doubtful role in the COP, most of the opposition leaders did not trust in him and separated the NAP from the mainstream of their movement. NAP was mentioned in a number of articles as the ‘B’ team of Ayub Khan. Opposition parties deliberately kept the NAP out of the negotiations for the formation of a new political alliance. Maulana Maududi, founder Amir of JIP, while speaking to his party workers in Multan, deplored the dubious policy of the NAP’s president. He announced that Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM) would not consider NAP’s entry into the opposition movement against the Ayub’s government. A number of NAP leaders in both the wings also lost trust in their president. With the passage of time some leaders challenged his authority and policies. Although the party apparatus was shocked due to these inter and intra-party developments, it kept its workers active and informed of all that was happening around. It passed resolution against the government ordinance of excluding the states of Swat, Amb, Dir, Chitral and tribal areas from the jurisdictions of legislative bodies. The resolution demanded that all the Frontier states including special areas should be included in West Pakistan. It also stipulated that the terminology of settled and tribal areas should be abolished and an equal status should be accorded to them.

The East Pakistan NAP branded the formation of PDM as working only to change the political superstructure instead of solving the basic problems of the people. It severely criticized PDM for ignoring major demands of breakup the One Unit scheme, nationalization of key industries, non-aligned foreign policy and restoration of civil liberties. A number of NAP leaders publicly censured PDM program and charged that it would increase frustration of the masses for a real united opposition. In a public rally at Paltan Maidan Abdul Haq, a local NAP leader elaborated that the eight point agenda of the PDM ignored the basic rights of the people and called it a unity of conspiracy and intrigue. A meeting of the central working committee of the party met on May 19-21, 1967 in which a resolution was passed regarding PDM program. The
new alliance of the opposition parties was attacked as a body that failed to take notice of the growing US influence in Pakistan. It was slated for protecting the interests of landlords while supporting semi-colonial socio-economic order in the country. NAP visualized its own program on which a possible alliance could be made with other opposition parties. The resolutions of the meeting were critical of the program of the PDM on certain grounds.\textsuperscript{104}

The formation of PDM brought the simmering conflict in the NAP into the open. A pro-Moscow faction under Wali Khan had several times negotiated for joining the PDM. It had been reported by some national dailies that Mahmud Ali Qasuri was busy discussing the matter with other opposition leaders. He also tried to win the support of his party colleagues in this regard. He met Attaullah Mengal, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Khair Bakhsh Marri in Quetta and held close-door meetings with them. They demanded from the PDM leadership to include some of its main demands in its program.\textsuperscript{105} It played a significant role in blunting the force of PDM, although it itself was in the middle of ideological crises.

The ideological conflict among various factions in the NAP came up open in 1966 with the split in the International Communist Movement into two camps. In the coming years NAP witnessed its division into two opposing camps on permanent basis. One faction came to be known as pro-Moscow and the other as pro-Beijing. The pro-Moscow faction had a long list of grievances against Bhashani and his supporters. It criticized him for his role in the 1965 elections, his obsession with foreign policy and anti-imperialism, his soft policy towards Ayub Khan and his opposition to an agreement with the AL on Six-Point program.\textsuperscript{106} Maulana Bhashani’s uncompromising attitude towards all these issues and his often changing of policy statements widened the gulf further between the two factions. Some of the pro-Moscow leaders brought about open allegations against him as president of the party.\textsuperscript{107}

What were the reasons behind the deep-seated differences between the two factions within the NAP which culminated into the formation of the two NAPs in 1968? What were its repercussions on the organizational structure of the NAP, and the logical outcome of the intra-party feuds? All these developments would be further discussed in the next chapter.
References and Notes

1 Presidential proclamation of Martial Law Promulgated by President Iskandar Mirza on October 7, 1958.
2 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
9 Ibid; p. 88.
12 The British newspapers in this regard provided some details. About 5000 political workers included 78 national level politicians were debarred from taking part in political activities. The Guardian and The Economist observed that the Ebdonians would not emerge strong enough to pose a serious threat to Ayub Khan’s rule. At least they may add some new issues and demands to make the voice of opposition more serious and unified. See The Economist, January 3, 1967, p. 8-5 and The Guardian, January 7, 1967, p. 9-2.
13 Sherbaz Khan Mazari, A Journey to Disillusionment, p. 95-96.
14 Address of the President Ayub Khan to the nation on October 8, 1958. Addressing the chairmen and the members of union councils of Haripur, Ayub Khan declared that only strong government backed by the people could set the country on road to progress and prosperity. Dawn, March 21, 1960.
15 The strength of the basic democrats was increased to 1, 20,000 for the 1969 B. D. elections. The constitution was duly amended for it but before elections could be held, Ayub Khan resigned due to unprecedented riots in both the wings of the country. Pakistan once again plunged into chaos and reverted to military rule through the imposition of martial law. Ayub Khan made General Yahya Khan as the Chief Martial Law Administrator violating his 1962 constitution.
16 Sherbaz Khan Mazari, A Journey to Disillusionment, P. 99.
18 Muhammad Ayub Khan, Friends Not Masters, p. 188.
19 Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Bacha Khan aw Khudai Khidmatgari, Vol. II, p. 386. A large number of people interviewed by the author also support the view that one of the main factors of the imposition of Ayub Khan’s martial law was to arrest the growing influence of communism and socialism in the country. In particular reference was the strong position of the NAP, which at that time was capable of winning reasonable seats in the coming
elections. Interview with Aimal Khattak by the author in Islamabad on August 29, 2011. This argument was also supported by Shahzad Gul Bacha and Faiz Muhammad Kaka Shewa while interviewed by the author.

20 Ibid; p. 215.
22 Ibid, p. 28.
23 Ibid, p. 27.
24 Muhammad Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, p. 211.
27 Report submitted by the general secretary at the meeting of the national council of the NAP at Dhaka on July 25, 1965.
28 Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim from Punjab and Muhammad Afzal Bangash were of the view that the murder case of Hasan Nasir was to be taken to the United Nations Organization. See History Sheet of Muhammad Afzal Khan Bangash, Serial No. 117, Bundle No. 8, List III, Provincial Archives NWFP Peshawar. Also consult Report submitted by the general secretary at the meeting of the national council of the NAP at Dhaka on July 25, 1965.
30 D. G. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a Battle*, p. 516. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was released from Haripur Central Jail on January 1, 1964. His release was ordered by NWFP Provincial Government subject to the conditions that he shall not leave village Muhammad Nari (Peshawar) without the permission in written to the District Magistrate Peshawar specifying place and period of leaving. He shall not utter any speech or issue statement prejudicial to public safety or maintenance of public order. From jail he was escorted to the residence of his son Professor Abdul Ali Khan in village Muhammad Nari at Peshawar.
31 Special Branch Reports, List III, Serial No. 21, Bundle No. 8, Provincial Archives Peshawar NWFP.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 Special Branch Report, Serial No. 117, Bundle No. 8, List No. III, Provincial Archives, Peshawar NWFP.
40 Repeal of the Press Laws was demanded by all the opposition parties and leaders included the rightist, religious and the leftists. In the National Assembly on a privilege motion, a five member committee unanimously reported that the press laws clearly violated the privilege of the House and recommended that either they should be repealed or new laws should be framed. *National Assembly of Pakistan Debates*, vol. I, No. 3 (March 17, 1964), P. 151. Abdul Wali Khan, a central NAP leader, seems very critical in his writing regarding the conduct of the National
Press Trust. He said that government hired a number of journalists to run the affairs of the Trust according to the whim of the martial law authorities. Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan aw Khudai Khidmatgari*, Vol. II, p. 386.


43 *Ibid.*; p. 44.

44 A Bengali pamphlet was circulated on January 12, 1961 by the EPCP that contain directives to the party workers to raise the demands of regional autonomy for both the wings, establishment of the parliamentary form of government, Bengali as medium of instruction, February 21 as public holy day and completion of the *Shaheed Minar*. It also suggested in the circular that the day will be made a real resistance day by the support of all the democratic forces in the country. All these activities of the leftists’ activities were regularly reported to the police by either through its agents or members of these parties who were in connivance with the authority. See Badruddin Umar, *The Emergence of Bangladesh*, Vol. 2, p. 44.


47 Report submitted by the general secretary at the meeting of the national council of the NAP at Dhaka on July 25, 1965.


51 The infamous Quli Camp was specially designed to torture the dissidents, and those elements who were opposing the government stance. There was a room in the camp which was called “torture camp”. It was usual that the prisoners were given extreme kind of torture by continues standing for twenty days, hanging upside down, putting rope in the hairs and keeping the prisoners’ head in water until they became senseless. Majority of the NAP leaders and workers in Balochistan underwent their terms in the notorious Quli Camp. Speech of Sardar Attaullah Mengal during the Budget Session of the National Assembly, June 19, 1962. The speech quoted in Ahmad Saleem, *Balochistan: Suba, Markaz, Taluqat: 1947-77* (Lahore: Frontier Post Publications, 1993), P. 158.


53 On 24 June, 1962 a meeting of the leaders representing nine political parties was held in which they issued a unanimous statements to the press. The statement virtually dismissed the 1962 constitution of Ayub Khan and demanded the release of all political workers and restoration of fundamental rights of the people. It was first political statement which demanded from the government to restore the normal function of the political parties. For detail see Badruddin Umar, *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Rise of Bengali Nationalism* Vol. 2, p. 56-57.


*Morning News*, October 5, 1962. Ayub Khan promulgated EBDO in August 1959 under which he disqualified a number of political leaders from taking any part in political activity. His main target was leadership of the Awami League and National Awami Party.


Muhammad Hadi Naqvi, *Jamhoor Ki Awaz*, p. 92.


*Ibid*; p. 203. Those who were arrested included Mahmud Ali Qasuri, Z. H. Lari, Abdus Sattar Niazi, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Mian Tufail Muhammad, Choudhury Ghulam Muhammad, Attaullah Mengal, Khwaja Muhammad Rafique, M. H. Usmani and Abdul Majid Sindhi. According to the same source the government did not take any hard stance on the arrested leaders. Conditional bails were allowed on some of the detainees but they refused to be released on bails attached with certain conditions. Afterwards, all of them have been released by May 17.

Report submitted by the general secretary at the meeting of the national council of the NAP at Dhaka on July 25, 1965.


Special Branch Reports, Serial No. 117, Bundle No. 8, List No. III, Provincial Archives Peshawar, NWFP.

*Ibid*.

Special Branch Reports, Serial No. 121, Bundle No. 8, List No. III, Provincial Archives Peshawar, NWFP. Both Mahmud Ali Qasuri and M. H. Usmani sent individual letters to Afzal Bangash, general secretary of the NAP in NWFP pressing him to participate in the meeting.


It was mentioned in a letter written on March 19, 1964 by Mahmud Ali Qasuri to Afzal Bangash. Special Branch Reports, Serial No. 121, Bundle No. 8, List No. III, Provincial Archives Peshawar, NWFP.

Report submitted by the general secretary at the meeting of the national council of the NAP at Dhaka on July 25, 1965.

Special Branch Reports, Serial No. 121 bundle 8, List No. III, NWFP Archive Peshawar.


M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan: 1958-1969*, Vol. II, p. 179. However another version with the nomination of the presedential candidate for the COP was that General Azam Khan was one of the best choices to challenge Ayub Khan. His nomination would also create problems for Ayub Khan because of his military background. To keep him away from the presedential race Mr. Bhutto paid Rs. 5,00,000 to Masih-ur-Rahman, a


82 Special Branch Reports, Serial No. 121 bundle 8, List No. III, NWFP Archive Peshawar.


84 Special Branch Reports, Serial No. 121 bundle 8, List No. III, NWFP Archive Peshawar.

85 *Hurriat*, Rawalpindi, October 2, 1964.


87 *Ibid*; p. 443.


91 *Dawn* July 14, 1964.


94 *Ibid*; p. 182.

95 Resolution adopted in a meeting of the working committee of the NAP held at Lahore on January 29-30, 1966.

96 Proceeding of the central working committee meeting of the NAP held on December 26-28 at Karachi.


98 Resolutions passed at the meeting of the central working committee of the NAP held at Dhaka on June 4-7, 1966.


102 Resolution passed in the meeting of the working committee of the West Pakistan NAP held at Lahore on March 18-19, 1967. This hand-written resolution was circulated among the party workers by Sharif-ud-Din, Office Secretary NAP.

103 *Pakistan Times*, May 14, 1967.

104 Party Policy and Resolutions adopted at the central working committee meeting held at Dhaka on 19-21 May 1967. These resolutions were published by the central office West Pakistan NAP Lahore. Also see *Pakistan Times*, May 23, 1967.

Resolution Adopted at the general council meeting of the NAP held in Peshawar on June 30, 1967.

All these details were given by most of the left politicians in their auto-biographies. For further study of all such political developments see Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, *In Search of Solution*, Iqbal Leghari, “The Socialist Movement in Pakistan,” Khan Abdul Wali, *Bacha Khan aw Khudai Khidmatgari*, Vol. II.
CHAPTER FOUR
Ideological Debate and Division of the NAP

The World Communist Movement (WCM) was united and inseparable till the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) that was held in March 1953. With the passage of time some elements were seen as drifting away from the traditional communist methodology. These trends existed even within the mainstream communist movement led by Stalin and Lenin in the Commintern. The 20th Congress proved to be a crucial moment in the history of WCM. Traditional communist line of thinking received a major blow in March 1953 when a major rift was created in the communist ideology. Nikita Khrushchev, general secretary of the CPSU, made barren attacks on Stalin and denounced him as an anti-communist, a tyrant and a reckless killer of the masses. In his report he owed to change the Soviet social system through a policy of de-Stalinization. This divergence on ideological orientation shattered the unified structure of the WCM from top to down. On the global front, it dislodged Soviet Union from the position of its leadership and the epicenter of worldwide communist activities. Mao Tse Tung, the Chinese communist leader, although acknowledged Stalin, despite his cruelties, a central leader of the WCM but after his death he was not prepared to accord the same status to his successor Khrushchev. In 1954 Khrushchev even predicted that differences with Chinese communist are imminent. Along with all these transformations he also introduced policies that greatly infuriated Mao Tse Tung who after the death of Stalin considered himself a central leader of the movement.

Initially the communist movement tried to survive the mounted pressure and reaction from different quarters. In 1957 a conference of the representatives of twelve world communist parties was held in Moscow. Mao Tse-tung, who led the Chinese communist delegation, participated in the conference and signed the ‘12 Party Document’. Again in 1960 the Chinese delegation led by Chou En-lai participated in the international communist parties’ conference and signed ‘81 Party Declaration’ (Moscow Declaration). By that time different lines of thinking emerged in the perception of both the CPSU and the Communist Party of China (CPC). It was the damaging upshot of the Khrushchev report that was mainly responsible in creating an atmosphere of distrust among the communist parties’ leadership. Mao Tse-tung termed the CPSU as inherently revisionist and identified its line as gradual compliance to imperialism. The
contradiction of both the opposing camps with regard to anti-imperial strategy within the third world countries and its removal by the peoples’ struggle was the essence of the CPC. Imperialism was called a paper tiger which could be dislodged through strong commitment of people and leaders.\(^3\) On the other hand, the Soviet communists blamed CPC as ultra-leftist. For strengthening the principle of peaceful coexistence and decreasing global tension the CPSU propagated that imperialism had atomic teeth. Gradually the differences between the Chinese and Soviet communists were crystallized to such an extent that it divided the movement among the two camps.\(^4\) The position of both the communist parties regarding the ideological and theoretical understanding of communism was reflected in their governments’ internal and external policy formulation.

The Soviet leadership compromised on certain socialist principles in the name of de-Stalinization and the gradual plantation of capitalism in the Soviet system. On the other hand the Chinese provided support to peoples’ struggle in those countries with which they had poor relations while in dealing with friendly states they followed a policy of compromises. Both the Chinese and Soviet communist parties worked in line of capitalist bloc and tried to bring the ruling classes of as many countries as possible within their sphere of influence. Accordingly, both the parties were instrumental in undermining the world socialist movement. In the process they automatically reached to a point of surrender to world imperialism by coming to terms with them.\(^5\) After the ‘81 Party Conference’ at Moscow in 1960 the Soviet line of peaceful transition to socialism was criticized by China on the ground of its denunciation of revolutionary principles of the movement. Differences were further exacerbated on the issue of Cuban missile crisis and some other events. Both the sides expressed their point of view in various pamphlets and publications. Following the 1390 withdrawal of Soviet experts from China the Chinese’s *Peoples Daily* wrote in its editorial that “let us rely on our own strength”. The division in the WCM became an open affair in 1966. The CCP published a long theoretical statement called *long Live Leninism*. It challenged Soviet line of action, thus intensified the emergence of a decisive worldwide rift in the over-all structure of the movement.\(^6\)

As a result of ideological tension on the global front it was not possible for communists in Pakistan to hold back these ideological differences for long. When the differences between the Chinese and Soviet blocs came into the limelight, majority of the communists in Pakistan were part and parcel of the NAP. A band of core communists were busy in preparing the ground for
the attainment of their objectives within the agenda of the NAP. In early 1960s they had successfully penetrated in the big industrial sectors of the country despite the presence of military regime. They intensified their struggle to work in the peasants and workers in both the wings of the country. In most of the cases they hide their activities and seldom discussed their planning with the party rightest colleagues. Their main concern in this regard was to keep the state agencies in the dark for they did not withstand the state coercion. As a policy of compromise the communists and leftist elements in Pakistan had considerably relaxed its Marxist-Leninist character. Petty bourgeois ideas and thinking had permeated into the body politic of communist circles in spite of all their claims about Marxism which ultimately changed its prescribed parameters. This had an adverse impact on their overall performance. In the process they failed to devise a viable strategy and a tactical line of action. The differences and then the division in the WCM also brought about a virtual demise of a unified class struggle in the Pakistani context.

The first sign of difference was emerged on March 5, 1963 in the central committee of the CPEP. Of the ten members present in the meeting eight supported the Soviet line while Muhammad Toha, who presented the resolution of the NAP formation in 1957, and Sukhendu Dastidar adopted the lines of the Chinese communists. This initial difference of opinion may be called ‘initial ideological concerns.’ These debates however had not reached to a point of splitting up. With the emergence of differences in the mainstream ideology, communists in the NAP also discussed the trends among its inner circles. In May 1964 a meeting of the central committee of the CPEP was held in which the possibility of a democratic revolution was discussed. After the meeting a document under the caption of Independent National Democracy was published. Both Muhammad Toha and Sukhendu Dastidar firmly held the view that no popular movement could succeed without the support and guidance of the working class. In this regard they exhibited a pliable approach for the larger interest of the party. These two members then presented their own version in a document Two Principles of the World Communist Movement. The document contained sarcastic remarks about the revisionist line of the Soviet Union and the Chinese line was hailed. Both these members felt indignation when the central committee dragged its feet in circulating the document among the ordinary members.7

In the wake of these discussions two opposing camps emerged in the party. In the later political history of Pakistan these camps were labeled as pro-Moscow and pro-Beijing which
clearly indicated their respective leaning towards one of them. Other informal terms frequently used by the writers to identify both the camps were NAP (Wali) and NAP (Bhashani) coined after the names of their leaders. These trends in the politics of NAP became more pronounced as time went on. Initially, both the factions were identified as distinct groups within the party which had not separated their political courses. Their differences were limited only to internal discussions within the party meetings. Both factions expressed their desire to be united despite the emerging ideological variances. Gradually polarization became more evident with identification and articulation of their ideological orientations. After some time they reached to such a point of divergence that they formed separate parties owing allegiance to the Soviet or Chinese political strategies of practicing and implementing socialism. The process was then culminated in the formation of the two separate NAPs in 1968.

Factors in the Splitting of the NAP

There were some important factors that brought about the virtual division of the NAP as a unified political party. These may be characterized as internal political dynamics. After 1962 war between China and India, USA and Britain developed close relations with India to make it a challenging power in the region. Huge military aid was given to India which greatly influenced Ayub Khan’s perception about the USA and capitalist bloc. It forced him to make fresh assessment of his foreign policy parameters. Relations were being normalized with Soviet Union and a border agreement was signed with China. USA reacted through tightening of terms for military aid and declined to buy goods from Pakistan. This maltreatment forced it to search out markets for the Pakistani exporters in Africa and the Middle East. It was in this backdrop that he established an Afro-Asian Solidarity Association. Bhashani and his cohorts within the NAP appreciated these changes in foreign policy. In their policy statements they bolstered these trends which showed their whole-hearted support to the Ayub Khan’s government.

With the shift in foreign policy a debate ensued among the communist members of the party over the attitude to be taken towards President Ayub Khan. Communists in the NAP were always under the influence of Bhashani due to his secular and anti-imperialist viewpoint. Quoting Abid Hasan Manto, a leftist political activist, Iqbal Leghari states that at the time of shift in Ayub’s foreign policy three points were crystallized within the leftist circles. Those three points were:
i. In view of the shift within Ayub’s foreign policy, the leftist workers should not join the rightist parties in a united front endeavor that was being cocked up against him.

ii. International political dimension was not important and national politics was the main issue before the leadership. Therefore a united front with the cooperation of the rightist parties on a minimum program was essential to bring down the government of Ayub Khan.

iii. Leftist leaders should oppose Ayub’s international policy but demonstrate support to his internal policies.

The third option was not a viable proposition as many policies had both internal and external dimensions. A number of leftist activists in both the wings of the country accepted the dual nature of Ayub Khan’s government. Moreover, his land reforms brought about a psychological impact on the masses which undermined the myth of the sacredness of landed property. Ayub’s industrial development and quick economic growth popularized his prestige among the public. Abid Hasan Manto, C. R. Aslam, Abdul Hamid Bhashani and other likeminded leaders were accused by the rival groups in the NAP for having a soft corner for Ayub Khan during this time. Thus it may be argued that on the attitude to be adopted towards Ayub Khan, leadership of the NAP was divided among two distinct groups or factions. The basis of their differences were although ideological in nature but motivated by political expediencies. One faction, which from the very beginning took an anti-Ayub stand, was ‘pro-Moscow’ group; those communists who later supported Ayub Khan, formed their own ‘pro-Beijing’ faction. Among the latter group another small section emerged in West Pakistan. This section comprised of people like Shaukat Ali, Eric Cyprian, Muhammad Ishaq and Afzal Bangash who had opposed Ayub Khan and fully campaigned against him in the elections. In Karachi and interior Sindh the party workers were divided on the same line. Tufail Abbas opposed the views of the Sindh Provincial Committee and instead argued that Ayub Khan is the representative of the bourgeois class without annoying the interest of the feudal class. He was of the view that Ayub was not an imperialist agent because he signed an oil exploration pact with Soviet Union and concluded border agreement with China. He was not in favor of the Soviet method of peaceful transition to socialism and termed it a ‘revisionist discourse’ and cherished the Chinese line of action.

The group led by Tufail Abbas took a firm pro-China stand in its policy formulation. It gained popularity among the students and young socialist lot. They were more active and vocal
in their activities. The split became so much widened that in September 1964 the Sindh Provincial Committee expelled Tufail Abbas from the party. As a result Tufail Abbas formed his own West Pakistan Committee. In East Pakistan Abdul Hamid Bhashani with his band of cohorts associated himself with Muhammad Toha, Abdul Haq and other like-minded pro-China leftist politicians. Initially their attitude towards Ayub Khan evolved during the 1962 Indo-China war when Ayub Khan boldly resisted US pressure for supporting the Indian stance. As a result USA improved its relations with India because both the countries needed strategic partnership in the region to counter-balance the growing Chinese influence. Initially Chinese leaders had criticized the imposition of martial law in Pakistan and termed Ayub Khan as a ‘reactionary military dictator’. But after the 1962 war they changed their perception. China extended offer of friendship to Pakistan as it badly needed its strategic support in the region.

The pro-Beijing faction changed their policy parameters and provided tactical support to the government. They abandoned their criticism of internal and foreign policies of the government and debated issues like Vietnam War, inflation, foreign aid, huge taxes, citizen rights, and problems faced by the farmers. In the party literature they condemned the attitude of the rightist parties towards China and other socialist countries. They expressed the opinion that in this critical juncture Pakistan was in need of making new friends in the world community. The shift in the policy was called a policy of bilateralism through which the forging of friendship with both the blocs i.e. Western and Socialist were accorded equal priority. However, in open debates they called it a dual policy which was neither free from the influence of imperialism nor neutral in nature and direction.

In this backdrop Abdul Hamid Bhashani was extended an invitation by the Ayub Khan’s regime of visiting China and leading a government’s delegation in 1963. Before his departure to China he held a good-will meeting with Ayub Khan in Rawalpindi on September 29, 1963. He tacitly approved the policies of the government towards USA and socialist republics. The visit reflected the ideological fracture that was gradually taking place within the NAP hierarchy. This overturn resulted in the strengthening of the bond of friendship between Ayub Khan and his pro-Chinese friends in the NAP. Accordingly Bhashani led a delegation to the October celebration in Peking where his meetings were arranged with Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. The Chinese leaders expressed their desire of consistent and friendly relationship between Bhashani and Ayub. Tariq Ali stated on the authority of the then Pakistan ambassador to China General Raza
that the NAP policy towards Ayub Khan was discussed during the meeting. He had given an account of his interview with Bhashani in which he was provided with some details about the meeting:

Mao said to me that at the present time China’s relation with Pakistan was extremely fragile and that the United States, Russia and India would do their utmost to break this relationship. He said, “You are our friends, and if at the present moment you continue your struggle against the Ayub government it will only strengthen the hands of Russia, America and India. It is against our principles to interfere with your work, but we would advise you to proceed slowly and carefully. Give us a chance to deepen our relationship with your government…”16

Wali Khan and other pro-Moscow politicians in the party criticized Pakistan’s support of China during the 1962 Sino-India war. The Americans stood on the side of India because of its non-aligned policy during the Cold War between the communist and capitalist blocs. US government expected similar stance from Pakistan. Administration in Washington was under the impression that Pakistan would also take a stand that would not annoy the Indians. They put pressure on Pakistan to take an aggressive stand against China which they considered a communist and a common enemy of both the countries. However, Ayub Khan, due to his own security compulsion, withstood against growing US pressure. It was the first event that was instrumental in shifting the foreign policy parameters of both the countries. It greatly angered the policy-makers in Washington because of their perceived notions that Pakistan would be a strong ally in its fight against communism. Under these circumstances the Indo-Chinese border conflict proved a turning point for Pak-US relationship. Pro-Moscow faction within the NAP termed China as an aggressor and questioned the pro-Ayub stand of the party president. Wali Khan also raised serious concern regarding Pakistan’s peculiar position in the whole affairs.17

It was alleged by a number of pro-Moscow NAP politicians that during the presidential elections Bhashani backed out on Fatima Jinnah because he was bribed by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto who acted as Ayub’s emissary at that time. He had taken 500,000 rupees and in return withdrew support from the COP candidate. Later on, he confessed taking money from Ayub Khan as donation to help run his madrassas.18 His honeymoon with Ayub Khan created differences of views among the party members. Demands were raised from a number of leaders for calling the
meeting of the working committee to discuss the issue of his pro-Ayub stand. More than the constitutionally required number of the national council members of the party requisitioned for convening the meeting and for asking Bhashani to explain his position. Henceforth the pro-Moscow faction was known as ‘requisitionist’.

Bhashani and his close supporters always denied all these allegations in their resolutions and writings. They put forward the malpractices of Ayub Khan during the elections as the main cause of Fatima Jinnah defeat. Fatima Jinnah secured the same number of BD votes as obtained by the NAP candidates in different constituencies in the Punjab. They pointed out that in Toba Tekh Singh in the Punjab and Rangpur in East Pakistan where Pro-Beijing faction of the NAP was much stronger Fatima Jinnah had secured more votes against her rival candidate. There were certain other constituencies from where the COP National Assembly candidates remained successful while Fatima Jinnah was defeated. In Sindh the big landlords such as Mir, Gabole, Chandio, Khoso and Maher announced their support for the president. Likewise Makhdum of Hala and Pir of Pagaro also supported Ayub Khan. The issue of Sindhi nationalism was used by the workers of the NAP to articulate support in the province around anti-One Unit campaign. But they had to work with Choudhury Muhammad Ali of the CML who did not favor the disintegration of West Pakistan. Therefore, a unified and coherent campaign of the COP could not be initiated with all these seeming divergences.

In the tribal areas adjacent with the NWFP out of 2,544 B. D. members, Fatima Jinnah could win only 66 votes. The fact of the matter was that in tribal areas Basic Democrats had not been elected but nominated by the respective Political Agents. Khalid B. Sayeed called these areas the president’s “pocket boroughs”. In the settled district of Mardan, Peshawar, Charssadda, Kohat and the adjacent areas the COP was sure of its victory due to the support of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. Before the elections, NAP workers reported to their leadership that in Charssadda which was home town of Wali Khan, out of 340 B. Ds, 284 had signed the pledge to vote for Fatima Jinnah. It was found after the result that Fatima Jinnah obtained only 157 votes. A possible explanation might be the fact that majority of the B. Ds were prosperous khans who were not loyal supporters of the NAP. On the face of these evidences the pro-Bhashani faction asserted that how one should blame only Bhashani for the defeat of COP candidate despite the fact that he fully campaigned till the end of the elections.
When Bhashani’s secret understanding with the government was disclosed to the party high-command some of them decided to go to Dhaka to discuss the allegations with the president himself. Accordingly Mahmud Ali Qasuri, Abdul Wali Khan and Arbab Sikandar Khan Khalil from West Pakistan went to Bhashani’s village Panj Bibi in northern Bengal. Bhashani conceded before Wali Khan and Qasuri that he had supported Ayub Khan in the presidential elections. It was done to appease the Chinese government and his communist friends. These revelations about the conduct of the party president came as a shock for them. Realizing his blunder and sensing his position vulnerable Bhashani offered party president-ship to Wali Khan. But he did not agree to accept such an unprincipled compromise. Differences in the NAP became open and inevitable during the meeting. It was conveyed to him that the time had come to part the courses of their political directions.22

The 1965 war between India and Pakistan also intensified the process of cleavage within the NAP. The war lasted for seventeen days and after the cease-fire Ayub Khan was pushed to accept the Tashkent Declaration concluded through Soviet mediations. The predominant view of the leftist in West Pakistan particularly in the Punjab was that India was the aggressor and that war was justified in national self-defense. They held the opinion that total support was to be extended to the government’s war efforts. Muhammad Ishaq, a central NAP leader, wrote an open letter to Ayub Khan offering his service in the army. C. R. Aslam formed a War Council to mobilize public opinion and to inform the masses about the situation. He was of the view that war was started as a result of American imperialism that was out to teach a lesson to Ayub Khan. He along with Abid Hasan Manto resigned from the Pakistan-Soviet Friendship Society and organized more than hundred anti-imperialist and pro-China meetings in the Punjab. Some leading members of the party called the conflict as a people’s war. Anwar Zahid, the editor of the NAP’s weekly Janata and the political secretary of Bhashani, wrote that there were only two anti-imperialist forces in Pakistan-Ayub Khan and Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani.23 The political literature published by pro-Beijing faction termed the Indian attack a conspiracy of Indian capitalist with the support of American business partners. The aggression was interpreted as a backlash of the shift that was being pursued by Pakistan in its foreign policy formulation. The real purpose of the US and Indian capitalists were to establish imperialist military basis in and around Kashmir.24
They put forwarded a number of proposition in the defense of Ayub Khan. Some of them
gave credentials to his anti-imperial stand which eventually would lead to his strong trade
relationship with the socialist bloc. They predicted that this kind of policy would be instrumental
in bringing down the growing influence of the western powers in the country’s economy. It was
the government’s temporary anti-American stand on certain issues that tempted the pro-Beijing
NAP faction to stand behind Ayub Khan. They regularly passed resolutions, distributed
leaflets and circulated literature condemning US war on Vietnam and supporting freedom
fighters in Kashmir. On the question of state repression during the early years in the Ayub
Khan’s martial law period, many of these leftists argued that after their release they were allowed
to freely pursue their activities among the masses.

The pro-Moscow members in the NAP opposed the view point of their party colleagues
regarding the 1965 war. They were of the view that India was not the aggressor. The war was
started due to Ayub Khan’s provocative actions in the Indian held Kashmir. They opposed the
war as inherently anti-people which would increase chauvinism in the country. It would increase
economic burden on the poor masses of the region. Thus it was in the interest of the people of
Pakistan that peace should be restored with India. In East Pakistan they protested against the war
on the ground that the threat had exposed vulnerability of the East Pakistan. Regionalists among
the NAP from smaller provinces also opposed the war. They argued that war creates feelings for
a strong army and a strong central government to counter the military threats. They professed a
peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues with India, Afghanistan and other countries. Wali
Khan, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Attaullah Mengal, Khair Bakhsh Marri and Ajmal Khattak were
against such type of adventurism.

It was strongly felt by some NAP leaders in East Pakistan that there were no proper
arrangements of the defense of East Pakistan in case of Indian aggression and that they were
excluded from the decision-making regarding war and peace. It was realized to them that they
had been treated like a colony by civil and military bureaucracy. The consequences of the war
brought India and USA very close to each other. Particularly, India made its position stronger by
pointing to US administration that Pakistan was using US made weapons which were against its
policy in the region. Ayub Khan’s overture to befriend socialist republics, China and USSR, was
called a tactical move by these leftists to find out more sophisticated weaponry from USSR and
China.
In their bid of opposing imperialism the pro-Beijing faction on certain occasions compromised their principles by supporting President Ayub Khan. In spite of his apparent differences with the US imperialism, he was, in real terms, their strategic partner in the region. He did not come out of the controversial military pacts and was proved to be one of the major causes of the conflict that engulfed the ranks and files of the NAP. During this time the pro-Beijing faction preferred to work among the students, laborers, and peasants. These groups were regarded the strongest leftist elements within the NAP led by Maulana Bhashani. He was more interested in student’s activism and establishing organizations like *Krishak Samity* and *Kissan Committee* than resolving the differences among party leaders.

In the whole affairs both Bhashani and his followers adopted a line that was devoid of political realities. They sidelined Ayub Khan’s strong bond of relations with the western bloc. During this period Bhashani did not speak of the security pacts with capitalist bloc which was the main issue at the Kagmari AL’s conference in 1957. He ignored the massive state repression unleashed on his progressive workers when Ayub Khan imposed martial law. His policy was lacking of a coherent and mass-based program. Outwardly he laid emphasis on class struggle and organized peasants and workers in some areas but failed to integrate it with the struggle of national repression. Thus his class struggle meant a kind of economic struggle which had nothing to do with bringing revolutionary and radical reforms in the society.  

On the other angle of the pendulum was the pro-Moscow faction led by Abdul Wali Khan. In the name of peaceful transition to socialism this faction remained solidly dedicated to electoral politics. It followed Soviet line of evolutionary political course to achieve its objectives. Wali Khan was not in favor of working among peasants and labors. He did not consider the mobilization of masses on militant lines a viable option in search of socialism. For spreading progressive ideas among the public, according to Wali Khan, the best way to follow was evolutionary line which goes “step by step”. He criticized revolutionary method for being short of bring any social and economic change in society. They favored the policy of participating in the electoral process and working under parliamentary set up. Although they deadly opposed Ayub Khan but it did not obstruct their likelihood for electoral politics during his government. They participated in the elections at all level from union council to National Assembly. This showed their liking for elections and electoral politics. Some of its prominent leaders for example Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri and Sardar Attaullah Mengal participated in the non-party
elections of 1962 under Ayub Khan. Later in 1969 when Ayub Khan announced holding of elections they were strongly in favor of participating in the process. When majority of the parties announced their boycott they were the last one to follow the same line.

**The Bhashani’s 14 Points**

The pro-Moscow faction continued its struggle in the line of Soviet model of peaceful transition to socialism. Some of their leaders showed strong reservations about the conduct and attitude of Bhashani and his political strategy. In this way they were in line with the policy of the AL who drifted away from Ayub Khan on certain political issues. The pro-Moscow leadership supported the Six-Point program of the AL. However, the followers of Bhashani criticized them for being short of the interest of the working class in both the wings of Pakistan. Bhashani had a different assessment about the Six-Points. He criticized it in the Rangpur council session of the NAP in very clear terms. It was in this backdrop that the working committee of the NAP held its meeting on June 4-7, 1966 in which Bhashani presented his Fourteen Points program. It was called a program of national liberation by a resolution. The resolution surveyed the political and economic situation of the country under Ayub Khan. It stated that the abolition of the system of direct election and universal adult franchise had seriously jeopardized the political system. The resolution demanded that disparity between the two wings should be removed and industrial development in East Pakistan should be hastened. It criticized the attitude of the central government and concentration of all powers in the centre. The only way out, the resolution suggested, was to secure the rights of the people by introducing a socialist type of system. The resolution made a barren attack on imperialist powers and supported the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. It demanded that the Kashmir issue should be resolved on the basis of UNO resolution. At the end of this introductory statement the NAP give a country-wide call to start a struggle on the basis of Bhashani’s following Fourteen Points:

i. To abolish the existing national and provincial assemblies and to elect a new National Assembly on the basis of direct universal adult franchise and make other necessary changes in the constitution.

ii. To withdraw the emergency and all suppressive acts and establish full freedom of the individual.
iii. To release immediately all political prisoners who were detained without trial, to withdraw all warrants of arrest against political persons and to return all confiscated property to their owners from whom they have been seized.

iv. To withdraw from SEATO and CENTO and to close down all foreign military bases and establishments in Pakistan and never to enter into any such pacts with any imperialist country or countries in future.

v. To reconstruct the defense system of Pakistan, to make East Pakistan self-sufficient in defense and to establish Naval headquarter in East Pakistan.

vi. The objectives of economic and industrial policies will have to be the welfare of the people of its region. All transfer of resources and capital from East Pakistan would have to be stopped, all important and basic industries would have to be brought under the nationalized sector and all attempts both in West and East Pakistan to concentrate wealth in a few hands would have to be stopped.

vii. To keep all industries connected with defense in the government sector and to establish such industries in both the wings of Pakistan.

viii. To nationalize all bureaucratic and imperialist capitals, banks, insurance companies and the jute trade.

ix. To limit ownership of land to 33 acres in East and 100 acres in West Pakistan, all government land would have to be distributed only among toiling peasants.

x. To withdraw all restrictions from labor organizations and to show respect to all rights of workers which have been recognized by the International Labor Organization (ILO), to ensure minimum living wages to all workers.

xi. To open the doors to all to receive educational instructions in their mother tongue, reject the Hamood-ur-Rahman Commission Report on educational reforms and appoint a new democratic education commission.\textsuperscript{33}

xii. To make an end to repression in Balochistan and abolish the sardari system.

xiii. To take effective measures for flood control in East Pakistan.

xiv. To change the system of taxation to lessen the burden of taxes and rents on the common people.\textsuperscript{34}

It is quite clear from the above resolution that the Fourteen Points of Bhashani were more democratic than the Six Points of AL. They touched upon the miseries of poor masses in the
West Pakistan. However, despite his program of new demands, he failed to capitalize on the disparity issue which was the main cause of resentment among the people in East Pakistan. Their response to Mujib’s Six Points was not consistent. Some of the pro-Chinese NAP leaders called it reactionary while some of them considered it dangerous for the federation of Pakistan. Afterwards, he gave call for a protest week from June 4, 1966 against price-hike in essential commodities. Though the response of the people was impressive but after the protest week, the propaganda campaign of the AL was launched which attracted massive public support. Bhashani failed to make a comprehensive analysis of the political demands of the people in East Pakistan. His party was engulfed by internal crises and it seemed difficult for the leadership to sustain the party unity for too long. Its demand for regional autonomy was sunk in AL Six-Points sea-storm. The anti-Ayub demonstration and mobilization campaign of the AL for its Six Points program almost frightened Bhashani. In all these development the overall performance of the NAP particularly that of Bhashani was characterized as devoid of principles and political ethics.

The pro-Moscow faction in East Pakistan struggled to compensate it by showing sympathy with the public cause. A long leaflet was issued on June 8 in which they gave the people a call to consolidate the struggle for East Pakistan regional autonomy. In the process they developed close liaison with AL leadership. This friendly stance of the pro-Moscow leaders of the NAP was capitalized by the AL who gained maximum advantage out of it. The analogous political courses of both the factions affected the position of the overall performance of the NAP. During that time it proved itself as a subservient party not capable to formulate its own line of action in the given circumstances. The boycott of election by Bhashani virtually left AL alone in the field. This decision multiplied the trouble of the pro-Moscow leadership in making a comprehensive elections plan. The obvious outcome was that it made their political program indistinguishable from that of AL. It amounted to a total surrender to the rising Bengali bourgeois class whose struggle was to deal independently with imperialist countries. Pro-Moscow leaders seem passive in their analyses of the political undercurrent in Pakistan. Most of them believed that a developing country like Pakistan was not yet ready for a socialist revolution and therefore all the democratic forces should unite to initiate a struggle for a democratic bourgeois revolution. On the face of such political stratagem both the NAPs has been wiped out by the AL in the East Pakistan.
Factional fighting in the NAP continued unabated and the gulf widened between the two factions. In December 1966 a split in the underground central committee of the CPEP took place. Of the eleven members nine were pro-Moscow along with the workers trained in the old Stalinist tradition. Most of the young lot in the party who were closed to Bhashani sided with the pro-Chinese leaders. Initially the pro-Beijing members were the first who break away from their colleagues and convened a separate meeting in August 1966. It was arranged very secretly without informing the pro-Moscow members of the party. In the meeting they formed their separate CPEP (Marxist-Leninist). A seven member central organizing committee was formed. The pro-Beijing party held its first congress in June 1967. The pro-Moscow faction decided to hold it in October 1968. For some time both the groups remained active in the political scene concentrating on building their images within the framework of the NAP on national level. And it was inevitable that sooner or later the NAP would undergo the same kind of division.

The year of 1967 proved to be eventful for the NAP because of a number of reasons. First it marked the transition from a policy of agitation to articulation and mobilization. It was particularly important for Bhashani to intensify his efforts of proving himself as the undisputed leader not only of the NAP but also of the leftist masses. His main political constituency was rural masses and the peasantry. He organized East Pakistan Jute Grower Conference and held its meeting on January 27, 1967. The provincial conference of the East Pakistan Peasant Society was held at Kulaora in April 1967. Another important gathering was the special council session of the Society held at Rangpur in November 1967. In these events Bhashani categorically declared that the main objective of his organization was the establishment of a socialist society. A new political program was chalked out amidst deep inner-party differences. In the meantime the general council of the party met on May 19-21, 1967 in which hectic deliberations regarding the party policy took place. At the end of the meeting a ten point program was finalized for a possible coalition with other opposition parties. The salient features of their program were almost the same old demands of the party. It included the abrogation of emergency, nationalization of banks and industries, confiscation of all foreign exchange, and support for the freedom fighter in Kashmir, Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, Palestine and Aden.

What had intensified the intra-party squabbles in West Pakistan was the race for party leadership. Maulana Bhashani’s second term was to be completed in the year 1967 and according to party constitution no office-bearer could hold the same office for more than two consecutive
terms. In the council meeting which was due in January 1968 a new president was to be elected. Several names were being recommended for the post of party president. Among them were Mian Mahmud Ali Qasuri, president West Pakistan NAP, Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani, general secretary NAP, Abdul Majid Sindhi and Arbab Sikandar Khan Khalil. Meanwhile the supporters of Bhashani came up with a novel argument. They observed that actually Bhashani had not served as president for two terms because in his first term he acted as chairman of the organizing committee. This opinion was obviously put forwarded to retain Bhashani as the party chief for another term.\textsuperscript{40}

With this intra-party conflict a group emerged in the West Pakistan which pressed both the feuding factions for ending the conflict and tried to bring a possible compromise. They proposed that the party positions should be distributed equally between the two groups. This group tried their utmost to find supporters from among those members of the party who were not committed to any of the extreme left groups and were plain liberals. They held a meeting at the residence of Latif Afghani in Rawalpindi and discussed the situation and the imminent threat of a split in the party. In the meeting a reconciliatory committee was constituted for bringing a compromise between the rival factions. However, it was difficult to keep the party united due to extreme ideological and organizational differences between the top leadership.\textsuperscript{41}

On provincial level the first sign of split in the NAP was occurred on September 13, 1967 in the two day meeting of the East Pakistan working committee held at Maidanpur. The meeting was in effect strength of trial between the two opposing factions. The meeting rejected all proposals presented by the pro-Moscow leaders such as Muzaffar Ahmad, Dewan Mahbub Ali and Mohiy-ud-Din. On the contrary it passed all the resolutions of the pro-Beijing majority group. It upheld the verdict of the Mymensingh district NAP-committee decision of expulsion of six pro-Moscow members. The resolution castigated the propaganda unleashed by pro-Moscow leaders in favor of making an alliance with AL.\textsuperscript{42} The crises also engulfed the West Pakistan NAP. Serious differences between leaders came to the surface. C. R. Aslam, president of the Punjab and Bahawalpur NAP, accused Mahmud Ali Qasuri, president West Pakistan NAP, of making failed attempts to remove Bhashani from his position of the party president. He criticized pro-Moscow members for throwing the party it into the hands of landlords and imperialists. He alleged that Qasuri and his supporters got printed 50,000 bogus membership forms and initiated a fabricated process of membership in the Punjab.\textsuperscript{43} As a reaction Qasuri turned down the order
of C. R. Aslam regarding the expulsion of three members from the party. He directed C. R. Aslam to present him a detailed report of the case. The working committee of the Lahore NAP backed C. R. Aslam and dismissed all the allegations of Qasuri. The committee expressed its confidence in the leadership of Bhashani and C. R. Aslam.⁴⁴

Around this time things heated up in East Pakistan NAP. The working committee upheld the ruling of Mymensingh NAP decision regarding the expulsion of six members including district president Aftab Ali. The verdict was endorsed by a division of 11-16 votes.⁴⁵ Even the presence of Mahmud-ul Haq Usmani could not help the pro-Moscow group who tried to get the decision deferred. Usmani asked for adjournment of the meeting to a date when Bhashani could be present at the meeting. His role was criticized by the supporters of Bhashani due to his criticism of the party policy. Earlier he had declared that Mymensingh district committee was not authorized to expel members from the party. It amounted to an open support of the pro-Moscow faction.⁴⁶

**The NAP Splits Up**

In the onward political development the pro-Moscow group in East Pakistan had served a notice on Bhashani for requisitioning a provincial council meeting immediately. The notice was signed by 133 councilors.⁴⁷ Bhashani’s response to the requisition notice was ambiguous. He did convene a special council meeting at Rangpur on November 30 but individual notices were served neither to councilors nor was any agenda fixed for the meeting. Under these circumstances the ‘requisitionists’ called for a separate council meeting at Dhaka on December 16-17. The sponsors of the meetings were Dewan Mahbub Ali, Muzaffar Ahmad, Mohiy-ud-Din Ahmad and Habib-ur-Rahman. They pointed out four fundamental differences between the two factions (i) attitude towards the government, (ii) attitude towards a united opposition alliance, (iii) provincial autonomy and (iv) attitude towards the question of building a popular movement against the government. They accused that the pro-Beijing group neither wanted alliance with the opposition parties nor supported their resolution in favor of Six-Points of AL.⁴⁸

A formal split occurred in East Pakistan NAP when a separate council meeting was held in Dhaka on December 16-17, 1967. The first session was presided over by Dabir-ud-Din Ahmad, one of the vice presidents of the East Pakistan NAP. The meeting declared the Rangpur council session illegal and unconstitutional and set aside the expulsion of their leaders. Mahmud-ul-Haq
Usmani and Ghulam Muhammad Leghari attended the meeting from West Pakistan. The council elected Muzaffar Ahmad president of the East Pakistan NAP. Altaf Hussain who at that time was in jail was elected as the general secretary of the party and Habib-ur-Rahman and Abdul Halim as joint secretaries. Dewan Mahbub Ali, Atta-ur-Rahman and Qazi Muhammad Idris were elected vice presidents, Wahid Bux and Fazl-ur-Rahman were elected as treasurer and publicity secretary respectively. The split was confined to East Pakistan and there was no formal arrangement on national level in this regard. Earlier the members of the working committee used to be nominated by the president which they considered concentration of power in one hand. It was proposed in the meeting that the member of the working committee would henceforth be elected by the council. They held earlier procedure of nomination as one factor responsible for their defeat in the show-down in the working committee meetings.

Maulana Bhashani was much furious on the creation of a parallel NAP organization in the East Pakistan. He stripped off Mahmud-ul-Haq-Usmani from primary membership and the post of general secretary. Instead he authorized Muhammad Ishaq to act as the acting general secretary. It virtually paved the way for likely breakup of the party on national level. The winds of disruption reached to the West wing in March 1968 when the members of the Punjab and Bahawalpur branch of the party met to elect its office bearers. In the process of election the party split into two rival factions on similar lines. One group elected Muhammad Ishaq, acting general secretary as president while the rival faction chose Sheikh Zahir-ud-Din Advocate for the same slot. Since 1965, Punjab NAP was ripe in inner-party differences. The process was started as a result of personality clash among Muhammad Ishaq, Kaswar Gardezi, Mahmud Ali Qasuri and C. R. Aslam. Their clash became more visible in the elections of the NAP Punjab and Bahawalpur chapter in 1965. Thus two rival NAP factions emerged; C. R. Aslam group and M. A. Qasuri group. Likewise the Karachi chapter of the NAP underwent similar division. In the election Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani was elected as president while Azizullah was elected as general secretary. These elections were declared invalid by Afzal Bangash who acted as election commissioner for the election in Karachi branch of the party. News of distraction also came from Bannu where party workers stood up against their district president Rahamzad Khan. A group of 33 NAP workers were then called to Peshawar for a possible patch up by Abdul Wali Khan and Arbab Sikandar Khan.
A virtual split on national level occurred on July 1, 1968 at a meeting in Peshawar. Around 300 delegates attended the meeting of the national council of the pro-Moscow NAP including 76 participants from East Pakistan. In many respect the meeting was crucial and epoch-making. It signalized the final break-up with Bhashani and his pro-Chinese cohorts. The meeting channeled NAP politics into nationalistic grooves. The event demonstrated that maximum solidarity could be achieved by conceding the widest possible accommodation to the federating components. Slogans like Bengali-Pakhtun Bhai, Bhai (Bengali-Pakhtun brother, brother), Punjabi-Sindhi Bhai, Bhai (Punjabi-Sindhi brother, brother) were raised by charged workers. In the beginning East Pakistani delegates had preferred M. H. Usmani for the party president. They aspired only for the slot of general secretary-ship. However, the Punjab group was inclined to sponsor Mahmud Ali Qasuri which the East Pakistanis were not ready to accept.\textsuperscript{53}

Differences became aggravated and the delegates did not elect office-bearers after pro-long deliberations. An anomalous situation arose when it was found that almost all the members from West Pakistan particularly from Punjab were in favor of Qasuri as president, while all the members from East Pakistan were for M. H. Usmani. Mahmud Ali Qasuri in his autobiography stated that the assertion of the East Pakistani was that Punjabis had become imperialist due to their long association with the armed forces.\textsuperscript{54} Among this wrangling G. B. Bizenjo proposed the name of Abdul Wali Khan because of his non-controversial political career. The first session of the meeting was presided over by Muzaffar Ahmad at Royal Hotel Peshawar. Khan Abdul Wali Khan was unanimously elected as president of the party.\textsuperscript{55} In a rare display of political wisdom the East Pakistani delegates, seeing that Usmani was not going to become the president, relinquished their own demand so that Usmani was to be elected the general secretary. It was in this gathering that the NAP pro-Moscow spelled out its program and pinpointed its differences with the other group. It was in the same meeting that it claimed the status of a separate party and called itself Pakistan National Awami Party. Following leaders were elected unanimously as office bearers and members of the central working committee.

i. Khan Abdul Wali Khan President
ii. Dabir-ud-Din Ahmad Vice President
iii. Amir Hussain Shah Vice President
iv. Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani General Secretary
v. Dewan Mahbub Ali Joint Secretary
A twenty member national working committee was formed. The NWFP and Balochistan NAP joined the new party en block. Abdul Wali Khan in his inaugural speech thanked the party delegates for their trust in him because at that time he was not even a primary member of the party. He spoke of the political situation and according to the demand of the East Pakistan delegate he authorized the provincial presidents to propose names for the working committee. He also referred to the tribal areas and the anomaly around their political status. He demanded the widening of the political field to these areas with full scope for opposition political canvassing.

NAP (Wali) overwhelmed the rural and semi feudal masses in the urban centers like Peshawar, Mardan, Charssadda and Nowshera. Some writers are of the opinion that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was the right person to lead the NAP with the active help of his lieutenants. But at that time he was not active in the politics of the country. He remained in Afghanistan or in the prison most of the time. His political ideas were perceived as ideology of the NAP (Wali) by many political analysts. He made Abdul Wali Khan his political successor. He organized pockets of party workers in southern parts of NWFP. The party’s workers in the Punjab came mostly from the urban areas of Lahore, Faisalabad and Bahawalpur. After the inaugural speech of Wali Khan a procession of about ten thousand political workers with all the delegates of the meeting, moved into the streets of Peshawar and chanted slogan of unity and solidarity. The procession reached to Chowk Yadgar where it was changed into a full-fledge political rally of the NAP. About fifty thousand workers gathered to listen to their leaders with rapt attention. In the beginning the two factions of the party were identified as pro-Beijing and pro-Moscow factions, but after Wali Khan’s nomination as president of the pro-Moscow NAP, the nomenclature informally changed to NAP (Bhashani) and NAP (Wali) respectively.

The NAP (Wali) described several causes of the division which may be summed up as follows:

i. NAP had always held that the government of the country was an autocratic combination of the big bourgeoisie and landlords and it was in the interest of the people that this government should be replaced by a democratic set up. A group inside the party had
however suddenly discovered that the present government was respectably anti-imperialist and therefore, their opposition to it was qualified.

ii. It is a clear policy of the NAP to follow the principle of forging a broad united front of all the democratic and opposition forces on the basis of minimum political program, acceptable to all the parties concerned. But the leaders of the radical pro-Bhashani group had sabotaged the growth of the popular movement.

iii. NAP had declared socialism as its ultimate goal, to be achieved through democratic means. Such a transition from capitalism to socialism was essential in view of the peculiar socio-economic condition of the country. But the militant group had lowered down the prestige of the party in the eyes of the public through deviation from the declared policy of the party.

iv. As a result a large section of the party in both the wings of the country had firmly stood their ground against this group and its flawed policies and tried to uphold the accepted program of the party. They finally formed their own parallel organization which was called the National Awami Party.

v. The most damaging effect of the split was certainly felt by the most progressive section of the democratic camp.59

NAP (Bhashani) and the Politics of Agitation

The splitting of the NAP into two distinct political parties was occurred logically and may not be deemed an accidental phenomenon. After the formal division in the party the NAP (Bhashani) unleashed a propaganda campaign against the NAP (Wali). They were called the nonconformist political stuff which was composed of the bourgeois elements that were much eager to establish an alliance with the rightist, landlords and business class. They claimed to be the true representatives of the peasants and labors. They expressed satisfaction over alienating their bourgeois comrades to initiate fresh campaign among the proletariat to strengthen them as a strong political force.60 They circulated a leaflet and refuted all the charges made by the NAP (Wali). Muhammad Sultan, general secretary NAP (Bhashani) elaborated the following points in response of the charges leveled against them:
i. It was incorrect to say that all the followers of Bhashani were soft on the Ayub’s regime. In fact NAP was the only political party in Pakistan which consistently fought against the Ayub’s regime.

ii. The NAP was opposed to the AL’s Six Point program as it only demanded regional autonomy for East Pakistan and did not oppose imperialism and feudalism.

iii. The NAP believed in the democratic government of the people which could only be established after putting an end to imperialism and feudalism. The slogan of parliamentary democracy could only replace one government by another but could not establish a real democracy of the people free from exploitation. The NAP wanted only that kind of democracy which would be in the real interest of the people.

iv. Those who broke away from the parent organization and formed another NAP were defectors and they should not be considered a loss to the party. The departure of such elements would only strengthen the organization with the support of more committed followers.⁶¹

NAP (Bhashani) confined itself only to the polemics of socialism. They were in support of establishing a socialist order in the society. Bhashani spoke about democratic norms and ethics, and most often stuck to his own band of politics throughout his career. According to Rashid-uz-Zaman the difference between the two factions of the NAP stemmed from the concept of democracy upheld by Bhashani and his supporters. They perceived democracy a means to the economic freedom of a communist society. Their interpretation was remarkably different from its meaning in the western countries. They attributed the rising level of feudalism and capitalism to the growing influence of the US government and its monopoly in the business enterprises. There was an anti-American group in the East Pakistan Peasant Society which was a supplementary organization of the NAP (Bhashani).⁶²

The NAP (Bhashani) reassessed its political program by asking the members to work for the establishment of socialist system in the country through gradual process. Their policy in this regard was that socialism could not be established by a singular effort. The social system of the country was neo-colonial and landlordism was too strong. Therefore a free and fair democratic set up would be constructed on sound footings only after a popular class struggle. In the following stage a society free from all kind of exploitations could be built with the help of people’s power. In this stage socialism in true meaning would be established. The spirit of
establishing socialism would come from the peasants, *haris*, labors, anti-imperialist writers, students, intellectuals and the middle class of the society. They tried to win over the support of those industrialists who were in line with the policy of increasing strong trade ties with the socialist countries. It was mentioned in the literature and party resolutions that the big hurdles in the way of socialism in Pakistan were capitalists and rightist political parties. Particularly they were very critical about the conduct of JI, AL, NIP and Council ML for their support of imperialism and capitalism in the country.\(^63\) The program of the NAP (Bhashani) stipulated that it would fix the minimum agricultural land that should not exceed hundred acres. Surplus land would be given to landless peasants and co-operative farming would be strengthening in the country. There would be complete freedom for the production forces to operate within the society for bringing food self-sufficiency.\(^64\)

In the sphere of foreign policy the NAP (Bhashani) viewed the shift of Ayub Khan towards China and other socialist countries as a good omen. They demanded the termination of security pacts with the western bloc and an end to US influence in the country. Most of their leaders were of the view that the power of the capitalists and their collaborators in the society should be restricted. In this way a progressive foreign policy should best be perused according to the aspiration of the people. The encouraging aspect of foreign policy, they argued, was that it would be free from the influence of USA in the region.\(^65\) After their differences with the leadership of Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM) they initiated a twenty point political program. An important aspect of the new agenda was the containment of all pro-imperialist elements within the country. Other important points of their program included abolition of landlordism, equal status and rights for women, development of science and technology, minimum wages for labors, end to all repressive laws and protection of the religious minorities.\(^66\)

Maulana Bhashani emotionalized the East Pakistanis through his program of *gherao*, *jalao* and sabotage. He declared a two day *hartal* on December 8 and defied section 144 in Dhaka. It was followed by a public meeting in Paltan Maidan ostensibly for holding funeral prayer of an Agartala\(^67\) conspirator who was reportedly killed in the police custody. After the funeral large-scale arson and burning of the houses of the government officials took place. The government’s version in this regard was that Bhashani himself ordered the damage and he even pointed out houses of the ministers to the agitators.\(^68\) NAP (Bhashani) announced boycott of elections and pressed other opposition parties to follow similar line of action. It demanded the
implementation of universal adult franchise, full autonomy for East Pakistan as well as for the former provinces of West Pakistan and annulment of One Unit. The view of Bhashani was that only currency, foreign affairs and defense should remain with the centre. An elaborate defense arrangement should be made with the establishment of the Naval Headquarter in the Eastern wing. On the foreign policy he said that his party stood for a neutral foreign policy with mutual respect. He fully supported the anti-Ayub protest of the people and termed it a “heroic struggle” of the masses for the realization of their demands. The working committee of the NAP (Bhashani) in one of its resolution demanded that the core issues like provincial autonomy, the restoration of the former provinces, determination of their boundaries and representation in the assemblies on class basis should be settled before the general elections.69

NAP (Wali) and the Politics of Articulation

The East Pakistani delegation of the NAP (Wali) invited Wali Khan for an elections-preparatory visit of the Eastern wing. Accordingly, Wali Khan initiated his political drive from the East Pakistan in September 1968. He was given a warm reception by the party activists. A number of big rallies were arranged in different cities. The youth wing of the party remained very active during his visit. Wali Khan delivered speeches and spoke to the media during the occasions. A big event was organized in Dhaka University in which prominent political figures, professors, student leaders, advocates and engineers were gathered to listen to his views. He supported the idea of a joint political action against the Ayub Khan government. A joint political alliance with the AL was a long-standing demand of the East Pakistan pro-Moscow elements in the NAP which was several times brushed aside by the former president Bhashani. It was one of the factors that brought about virtual division of the NAP. It was the reason that Wali Khan emphasized the need for the formation of a political alliance on the basis of minimum program. The question of rightist and leftist was not important for him in the given conditions. He invited the public to support him in replacing the present undemocratic government.70

The NAP (Wali) downplayed the slogan of socialism and emphasized the demands for the annulment of One Unit scheme and grant of provincial autonomy, restoration of democracy and independent foreign policy. Its leadership in both the wings restricted their political program to the fulfillment of the following three main demands from the government:
i. Free and fair elections should be held in the country on the basis of universal adult franchise.

ii. As majority political parties are not in favor of the 1962 constitution and wanted to frame a new constitution. Therefore, a constituent assembly should be formed on the basis of those impartial elections.

iii. Judicious distribution of the national wealth as there were twenty-two families who were holding enormous chunk of the national income.\(^71\)

In the urban areas of Karachi and Hyderabad there were large number of people who considered that economic development had been monopolized by some influential families. They felt that most of these large industries were in the hands of big capitalist entrepreneurs. These demands were reiterated during a political rally in Hyderabad on October 8, 1968. Speaking at the rally Wali Khan said that under the present regime national wealth had been concentrated in the hands of twenty-two families who were exploiting the poor masses. The undemocratic system had deprived the people of their basic rights and a vacuum of leadership was created through large-scale imprisonment of the political workers. Other leaders spoke on the occasion included Abdul Majid Sindhi, Ajmal Khattak, Jam Sadiq and Muhammad Siddiqi.\(^72\) A drive was initiated to broaden the political participation of the masses to bring about more political awareness. For this purpose the women wing of the NAP (Wali) was established in NWFP. A meeting of the working committee was held in November, 1968 at Peshawar in which the immediate release of political prisoners, fixation of the price of sugarcane and providing financial help to the University of Peshawar was demanded from the government.\(^73\)

**The Pakhtunistan Issue**

Meanwhile, Abdul Wali Khan held negotiations with PDM for a possible alliance and joint political program. It was coincided with the propaganda of Afghan government in favor of Pakhtunistan.\(^74\) All the national dailies wrote comments and editorials regarding the issues and its timings. The issue was raised in the General Assembly of the UNO by Afghanistan and Indian representatives. Both the countries sought the support of the international community in this regard. It created a stir in the political circle of the country particularly Abdul Wali Khan was questioned by local and foreign media persons for ascertaining his views.
Explaining his version of Pakhtunistan, Abdul Wali Khan stated that like Abdul Ghaffar Khan his demand of Pakhtunistan meant an autonomous Pakhtunistan province within Pakistan. Since the issue was related with the Pakhtun ethnic identity therefore, most of the people in the province were concerned about it. He questioned the logic of the Government of Afghanistan and propaganda of the Radio Kabul in this regard. He remarked that what kind of Pakhtunistan they were talking about, either independent state or an autonomous province within the state of Pakistan?\textsuperscript{75} His assertion was also supported by a summary that was sent to the US State Department from its embassy at Kabul. On February 5, 1963 Radio Quetta reported that Abdul Wali Khan, son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, made a statement in which he strongly denounced the propaganda campaign of Radio Kabul regarding Pakhtunistan. He called the propaganda campaign a nonsense which if not halted would elicit strong blow from the Pakhtuns of Pakistan.\textsuperscript{76} However, at that time Wali Khan refused point blank to condemn the Pakhtunistan issue in a press conference at Lahore. His refusal was implied by many opposition leaders as tacit support for an independent Pakhtunistan. It also confused the PDM leaders who were already suspicious of the NAP’s offer for joint movement against Ayub Khan. PDM expressed concerns over Wali Khan’s reservation regarding the issue which was, according to them, fraught with dangerous implications. It also caused concern in some of his party members. They believed that their leader should not have shown any reservation in condemning independent Pakhtunistan. They felt embarrassment as they were left with no option but to dissociate themselves from the views of their party chief. It was believed that a suggestion was given to Wali Khan to change his statement in the following day.\textsuperscript{77} Meanwhile a speech was delivered by Abdul Ghaffar Khan in Jalalabad on the occasion of Pakhtunistan day celebrations. According to the Central Investigation Department (CID) reports he categorically denied struggling for an independent Pakhtunistan. He asserted that he wanted the restoration of old provinces with renaming of the former NWFP as Pakhtunistan.\textsuperscript{78} Whatever the reality of the Pakhtunistan issue, the propaganda seriously damaged the prestige of Abdul Wali Khan among the party workers. Particularly in the Punjab a propaganda campaign was initiated with explicit design to sabotage the party publicity campaign. Some of the NAP activists in the province resented the policy of Wali Khan and criticized him for being working against the integrity of Pakistan. It was reported that a party leaders along with 50 followers resigned from the party membership. In Wazirabad two prominent leaders of the party
Sheikh Muhammad Waheed and Murtaza Ishrat also left the party on the same ground. NAP (Bhashani) capitalized on the issue of Pakhtunistan very quickly and C. R. Aslam in a press statement castigated the propaganda of the Radio Kabul and Radio Delhi with regard to Pakhtunistan. He termed it an act of direct interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan. It was often used against the NAP leadership that they were working for the disintegration of the country with the active help of some foreign countries. The position of the notable NAP leaders in this regard was that they were patriotic Pakistanis and firm believers on the Pakistani nationhood.

There was difference of opinion between Wali Khan and Abdus Samad Achakzai over the issue of Pakhtunistan. Achakzai was of the view that the Pakhtun areas from Chitral to that of Chaman in Balochistan should be integrated to form a larger ethnic Pakhtunistan province. At the end of October 1969 both Achakzai and Wali Khan agreed to discuss the issues of One Unit and the formation of the provinces on ethnic lines. More differences were cropped up when both the leaders were in Kabul to participate in the independence ceremony of Afghanistan. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Wali Khan strongly supported the creation of an autonomous province to be called Pakhtunistan. They were against the idea of merger of the entire Pakhtun belt of Balochistan and tribal areas. Abdus Samad Achakzai wanted that since Yahya Khan was ready to annul the One Unit scheme therefore the Pakhtun leadership of the NAP should meet him for establishing Pakhtunistan. He discussed it with Ajmal Khattak, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Abdul Wali Khan. He was deadly against the merger of the Pakhtun belt into the former Kalat state and Baloch territories. However, in April 1970 the One Unit scheme was abrogated and the old provinces along with Balochistan were restored. Abdus Samad Achakzai and his cohorts in the party decided to reorganize the party in Balochistan. In July 1970 he decided to form a separate party by the name of Pakhtunkhwa National Awami Party. On April 26, 1986 a convention was organized at Peshawar in which Pakhtunkhwa NAP and Pakhtunkhwa Mazdor Kissan Party merged to form Pakhtunkhwa Milli Ittehad. Later, on March 29-30, 1989 a broad-based party was established by the merger of the two parties by the name of Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party. He condemned the attitude of the Baloch sardars who had imposed their well on the Balochistan NAP.

Bizenjo mentioned that Achakzai wished to participate in the RTC as representatives of the ethnic Pakhtuns living in Balochistan. On his insistence of participating in the RTC Achakzai
was served a show cause notice by the general secretary of the West Pakistan NAP for violating the party discipline. It was under this background that Achakzai quit the NAP and set up his own Pakhtunkhwa National Awami Party.\textsuperscript{83} Contrary to this view he gave another completely different version. The main reason of difference, according to him, was the creation of a larger Pakhtunkhwa province that included the Pakhtun areas of Balochistan and the adjoining tribal areas. But at that time NAP was not ready to consider his proposal because it would create hurdle in the way of transition of government to public representatives.\textsuperscript{84} According to Rafique Afzal, without indulging in the rhetoric of Pakhtun-Baloch rift, Wali Khan focused on how to gain more seats in the elections and form government. He was much sure of the victory of Baloch sardars than his Pakhtun colleagues in Balochistan. Therefore, he supported Baloch sardars rather than Abdus Samad Achakzai.\textsuperscript{85}

\textbf{The Round Table Conference (1969)}

In West Pakistan there was a large-scale public anger over the Tashkent Declaration which was concluded between India and Pakistan on January 10, 1966. Particularly students were much charged in their agitation against Ayub Khan. In a number of major cities strong anti-government protests took place. It greatly tarnished the image of the government in the country and abroad. The government in their bid initiated a publicity program of “The Great Decade of Development and Reform” to display its successes in various fields. It however, failed to realize the true depth of the public discontentment. The immediate reason that led to the great unrest among the students was an incident that had happened at Rawalpindi. In November 1968 police seized some smuggled goods from the students who were returning from a study trip of Landikotal. It was capitalized by other students’ organizations and protests started in most of the educational institutions. On November 9, police opened fire on angry protesting youth which resulted in the killing of a student. It was followed by another incident on November 11 at Peshawar in a meeting which Ayub Khan was to address. A student Hashim Khan Umarzai shot fire on Ayub Khan sitting on the dais. On 13 November Wali Khan along with a large number of workers in both the wings of the country, was arrested. They were accused of acting in a manner prejudicial to security, public safety and interest of Pakistan. The leadership of the party held frequent meetings to discuss and devise new strategy. Syed Amir Hussain Shah and Dewan Mahbub Ali were appointed acting president and general secretary respectively. Rauf Tahir was appointed
acting general secretary of the West Pakistan NAP because Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo were also interned around that time.\textsuperscript{86}

On December 13 the AL had declared a country-wide \textit{hartal} which was supported by NAP (Wali) and Pakistan People Party. However, Bhashani remained busy in his \textit{gherao, jalao} and agitation. His leftist and communist workers exhibited least enthusiasm for dialogue and called for unrelenting protest. He was politically isolated when he decided not to join the Democratic Action Committee (DAC) because all the major parties were united on its platform.\textsuperscript{87}

On January 8, 1969 that DAC was formed. It was joined by all the political parties of PDM and three other parties, NAP (Wali), AL (Six Points) and JUI. The formation of the DAC was followed by the students’ mobilization and articulation. They put their weight behind the politicians and organized themselves on similar line. Those student organizations that were aligned with the major parties formed an All Pakistan Students Action Committee (SAC). In East Pakistan the university administrations withdraws the degrees of some of those students who took part in the agitation.\textsuperscript{88} They formulated their eleven-point program which combined the basic demands of the AL and that of the NAP (Wali). With the passage of time labors, peasants, political workers and industrial employees joined hands with the students. Maulana Bhashani also actively participated in the agitation, though at certain intervals he showed a curious aversion to street politics and was in usual practice of retreat to his remote residence into seclusion.\textsuperscript{89}

Pressured by unprecedented political turmoil, Ayub Khan announced his decision of not contesting the next presidential election and called a Round Table Conference (RTC) to find out a workable solution of the impasse with the leaders of political parties. Realizing the looming end of Ayub Khan, Bhashani intensified his agitation. He denounced the idea of convening the RTC that its fate would be like the RTC of the British government in 1931. He was not optimistic about its outcome and declared that the forum was desperately inadequate to address the interests of the working class and the peasantry. He refused to participate in the RTC and endorsed the line of agitation and protest along with Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, chairman of the newly formed PPP.\textsuperscript{90}

Meanwhile the All-Parties Students Action Committee categorically stated that they would not accept any decision of the proposed RTC until Mujib-ur-Rahman, Wali Khan, Professor Muzaffar and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and all other political prisoners were released. It was
coincided by a meeting of the working committee of the NAP (Wali) in Dhaka in which it was decided that the party would boycott the RTC in the absence of Wali Khan and Mujib-ur-Rahman. The maintenance of law and order became quite difficult. After enormous pressure the government agreed to release Wali Khan. The holding of the RTC now had only one hindrance; the release of Mujib-ur-Rahman. Initially Ayub Khan was in a fix. He realized the gravity of the situation and agreed to release Mujib unconditionally.

RTC began on February 26, 1969 and was attended by 16 representatives of the DAC. Both PPP and NAP (Bhashani) boycotted it and declared that everything should be decided by people in the street. NAP (Wali) was represented by Muzaffar Ahmad and Abdul Wali Khan who in their speeches pressed for regional autonomy and annulment of the One Unit scheme. However, in spite of the best effort on the part of some leaders, the RTC failed to arrive at any understanding with the government for resolving the political deadlock. The result was further stalemate. Muzaffar Ahmad supported the stance of Mujib and his Six Points program. Mujib-ur-Rahman’s speech was the amalgam of a number of vital demands but a great portion of it was devoted to his Six Points and SAC Eleven Points program. Shamim Ashraf Malik who was the spokesperson of the NAP (Wali) blamed both Bhashani and Bhutto for working to bring about another martial law to the country. If these leaders were in the RTC, transfer of power would have been easy to an elected parliament through free and fair elections. He was of the view that both the leaders maligned the entire political leadership of the country because they lost the opportunity to come out strong from the RTC. Their attitude worsened the situation to a larger scale in both the wings of the country.

Political situation deteriorated further with the failure of the RTC. It was reported to Ayub Khan that civil administration in the East Pakistan was rendered ineffective. Groups of communists and terrorists on the prompting of Bhashani were raiding police stations and houses of Muslim Leaguers. They were compelling Basic Democrats to resign from their membership. In consequence most of the civil officers left their homes and returned to West Pakistan. The tactic of gherao virtually crippled the administration of the province. The strategy was used against the corrupt government officials in the rural areas. Civil machinery was paralyzed in East Pakistan by similar method of force and intimidation. The government was unable to control the wide-spread law and order situation. President Ayub Khan was much concerned about the situation and political developments in East Pakistan. He considered Bhashani a major
disruptive element and termed his band of followers more aggressive and effective than AL. He forecasted very ugly outcome if the situation continued in the same way because NAP (Bhashani) openly called for cessation. Anything could happen if he mobilized the peasantry because the Indians were too vigilant and they might exploit it in their attack on East Pakistan. Notwithstanding his friendly term with Bhashani, Ayub Khan, at the end of his rule called his old ally a “major disruptive factor” and an “unprecedented rabble-rouser”.  

In the end of RTC Ayub Khan invited Wali Khan for a meeting to make a final effort for a possible patch-up. He praised Wali Khan’s sagacity and his political program in the given circumstances. He feared the imposition of another martial law if things rolled into the same direction. Writing about his conversation with the president, Wali Khan revealed that Ayub Khan considered East Pakistan a hindrance in the way of a prospers Pakistan. He was in favor of its separation for making West Pakistan a progressive and developed state. After exchange of views with Ayub Khan, NAP chief considered the crisis a plan of the international players i.e. USA and Western bloc to separate East Pakistan to better protect their interest in the region.  

The RTC and subsequent meeting of Wali Khan with President Ayub Khan did not bring much solace to either Ayub or the country as a whole. In the East Pakistan Sheikh Mujib and Bhashani were busy storming one end to the other while in the West Pakistan Z. A Bhutto and NAP were in the forefront of agitation. Balochistan was at the logger-head with the center and people in the NWFP were up for the realization of their demands of provincial autonomy and political rights. The situation deteriorated so rapidly in both the wings that all the sectors i.e. industrial, transport, agriculture were paralyzed. It was difficult for the police to control the situation without the cooperation of political parties. Politicians were not ready to provide any help to the administration in the prevailing situation. In the midst of the trouble Ayub Khan decided that the only option was to invite the army to restore peace and order. However, the armed forces were not ready to accept him as Chief Martial Law Administrator for another term due to his dwindling popularity. Realizing his precarious position he finally decided to hand over power to the Commander-in-Chief of the army. Violating provision of the 1962 Constitution, according to which the Speaker of the National Assembly was to be made the president, Ayub Khan declared martial law and transferred power to the army chief General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan on March 25, 1969.
After the resignation of Ayub Khan a new era of political disruption and dismemberment began in the history of Pakistan. In the subsequent chapter an analysis of the role played by the NAP (Bhashani) would be made to understand its approach towards the East Pakistan regional problems. It would be seen that how Bhashani capitalized on the Bengali grievances and mobilized them against the West Pakistan administration. His method of *gherao* and *jalao* almost crippled the administrative machinery in the East Pakistan. The overall political strategy and the NAP (Bhashani)’s methodology of agitation in the political spectrum during the 1971 crisis would be the broader theme of the next chapter.
References and Notes


3 Sirajul Islam, History of Bangladesh, p. 532.


5 Ibid; p. 77.


8 Sirajul Islam, History of Bangladesh, p. 80.


10 Ibid; p. 109.

11 Ibid; p. 111.

12 Ibid.

13 In this connection the pro-Beijing faction of the NAP published a series of political faction through their publicity section. See for instance Shaukat Ali, Pak Cheen Dosti aur Jama’at-i-Islami [Urdu] (Lahore: Publicity Centre of the NAP).


16 Tariq Ali, Pakistan: Military Rule or People’s power, p. 140.


18 Sherbaz Khan Mazari, A Journey to Disillusionment, p. 150.

19 Khalid B. Sayeed, The Political System of Pakistan, p. 236.

20 Ibid.


22 All these details have been mentioned by a number of scholars and politicians. Mahmud Ali Qasuri wrote that he came to know about the whole story in 1967. He went to patch up differences between the two groups of the party at Gujranwala where he was told by Mushtaq Raj, a NAP activist, about Bhashani’s instructions to C. R. Aslam for campaigning in favour of Ayub Khan. See Khan Abdul Wali, Bacha Khan aw Khudai Khidmatgari, Vol. II, p. 447, and Abdullah Malik, Dastan-i-Khanwada Mian Mahmud Ali Qasuri, p. 352-53.

23 Tariq Ali, Pakistan: Military Rule or People’s power, p. 143.

25 Tariq Ali, Pakistan: *Military Rule or People's power*, p. 141.

26 National Awami Party (Bhashani) passed several resolutions condemning US aggression in Vietnam. They pressed upon its workers, students, intellectuals, peasants and labours to participate in processions in different cities under the banner of the pro-Beijing NAP. See for such kind of literature and resolutions Shaukat Ali, *Vietnam*, Publication No. 18 (Lahore: National Awami Party Punjab, n. d), Resolution passed against US aggression and in support of freedom fighters on July 19, 1966 in the general body meeting. It was circulated by Ghulam Muhammad Hashmi, Secretary of the publicity section of the NAP, West Pakistan office, People Building, Faridkot Road Lahore.


32 Differences between the pro-Bhashani and pro-Wali factions were reported in the NAP documents and secret police summaries. A *Loya Jirga* (Grand Assembly) of the NAP was held at Peshawar on December 29, 1963 in which some participants castigated the attitude of Bhashani and his support to Ayub Khan’s government. Afterwards, a war of words took place between the followers and opponents of Bhashani in the meeting. His position was defended by one of his supporter MNA Arbab Saif-ur-Rahman from Peshawar. He pressed upon the participants to trust in Bhashani leadership because he was the undisputed and most respectable leader of the NAP.

33 In 1964 the government of President Ayub Khan appointed a new commission to look after the students’ problems and reforms in the education sector. The commission was headed by Justice Hamood-ur-Rahman. The report of the commission criticized the elitists system of education which was against the principles of equality and social justice.


35 The statement was signed by a number of pro-Moscow leaders in East Pakistan. They included Mohiy-ud-Din Ahmad, Syed Altaf Hussain, Dewan Mahbub Ali, Muzaffar Ahmad, Pir Habib-ur-Rahman and Khatem Ali Khan.

36 *Ibid*; p. 84.

37 *Ibid*; p. 128.


39 Resolutions passed at the meeting of the general body of the NAP on May 19-21, 1967 at Dhaka. It was published by the Central Office NAP West Pakistan Lahore.

40 *Pakistan Observer*, October 1, 1967.


42 *Pakistan Times*, September 14, 1967.
Those who were expelled were Aftab Ali, Qazi Abdul Bari, Mrs Muzzier-un-Nisa, Aziz-ul-Islam Khan, Abd-ur-Razzaq and Kalian Choudhury. Of them Aftab Ali was the member of the national council of the NAP.

When the decision was upheld in the East Pakistan working committee a number of pro-Moscow leaders walked out of the meeting. Among them were Aziz-ul-Haq, Atta-ur-Rahman, Abd-ur-Razzaq, A. M. Ferdos, Nurul Islam, Bijoy Chatterjee, Osman Ghani, Dewan Mahbub Ali, Habib-ur-Rahman, Shah Abdul Wadud, and Dabir-ud-Din Ahmad. An MPA Ahmad-ul-Kabir who does not like to identify himself with either faction had left the meeting before the walkout was staged.


Resolutions passed at the Pakistan National Awami Party council meeting held on June 30 and July 1, 1968 Peshawar.


67 Agartala Conspiracy Case was an important political case that came to the surface in 1968. Agartala is actually a place in the Indian state of Tripura in which, it was alleged by the Government of Pakistan, that a conspiracy of dismembering Pakistan was prepared by 28 disgruntled civil and military servants. They were provided with the active help in arms and funds by the Indian High commission at Dhaka. Later on, Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman was also implicated in the case. However, he denied all the charges brought against him before the Special Tribunal in June 1968. Badruddin Umar, *The Emergence of Bangladesh*, Vol. 2, p.137.


71 These demands were put forward by NAP president Abdul Wali Khan in one of his speech at Lahore in October 1968. *Ibid*; p. 457.

72 *Dawn* October 10, 1968.

73 *Nawa-i-Waqt*, November 19, 1968.

74 The issue of independent Pakhtunistan had emerged in 1947 when Lord Mountbatten came to India as Viceroy. When it was announced that a referendum would be held in former N-W.F.P to ascertain the wishes of the peoples then it was decided by the leaders of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement to demand an autonomous state of Pakhtunistan. J. Kripalani, the Congress president at that time registered a token protest over the holding of referendum and non-inclusion of the third option of independent Pakhtunistan in the referendum choices. Abdul Ghaffar Khan in a meeting held at Bannu on June 21, 1947 demanded the establishment of an autonomous state of Pakhtunistan. For detail see Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *North-West Frontier Province: History and Politics*.


76 Report sent from the US embassy at Kabul to the State Department of the Government of the United States, November 2, 1963.

77 *Nawa-i-Waqt* October 20, 1968, *Pakistan Times* October 6, 1968

78 CID Reports dated September 8, 1969, Provincial Archives Peshawar, Government of the NWFP.

79 *Pakistan Times*, November 21, 1968.


81 *Khan Shaheed Seminar*, p. 80.

82 Abdus Samad Achakzai called a meeting of the NAP council in Quetta to consider a no confidence motion against the office bearers of the Balochistan NAP (Wali). Effort was made by Mir Gul Khan Naseer to patch up differences between the Baloch and Pakhtun groups in the party. The main cause of the split was that Achakzai demanded a separate province on linguistic basis for the entire Pashto speaking people including in Balochistan, NWFP and
tribal areas. When he realized his weak position he then decided to reorganize the NAP in Balochistan. *Dawn*, Karachi, July, 29, 1970.

83 Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, *In Search of Solutions*, p. 134. Also see *Nawa-i-Waqt* October 18, 1969.


86 *Pakistan Times*, Rawalpindi November 25, 1968.

87 Democratic Action Committee (DAC) was formed on January 5 in a meeting of the representatives of the eight opposition parties of Pakistan. It was held in Dhaka on the residence of Ahmad-ul-Kabir, a leader of the NAP (Wali). The meeting was attended by the representatives of eight political parties that included JIP, NIP, CML, pro-PDM AL, NAP (Wali), pro-Six Points AL and Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Islam (JUI). It was agreed to form a united front by the name of Democratic Action Committee. In the meeting some participants spoke in favour of the inclusion of Bhashani but the idea was vehemently opposed by the representatives of the NAP (Wali). See Badruddin Umar, *The Emergence of Bangladesh*, Vol. II, p. 165.


91 See the text of the speeches of Muzaffar Ahmad in the Appendix No. 3.


94 The term *Gherao* had been imported from West Bengal which literally means encirclement, but it used as a special term to mean the confinement of government officers and to intimidate them for the acceptance of the workers’ demands. Bhashani urged low-scale employees and private labours to *gherao* (besiege) high government officials in order to compel them to accept their demands. This strategy spreads like an epidemic in the rural areas in East Pakistan through Bhashani’s fierce speeches and his followers’ propaganda campaign. See Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan, 1958-1969*, Vol. II, p. 294.


97 On November 13, 1968 the following leaders of the NAP (Wali) were arrested Arbab Sikandar Khan, Ajmal Khattak, and Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani. On the next day 10 more political workers were arrested. These men belonged either to NAP or the PPP. *Dawn*, November, 14, 1968.
CHAPTER FIVE

NAP (Bhashani) and its Role in the Dismemberment of Pakistan

In the post-RTC period the resentment of the students, political parties and general public intensified against Ayub Khan and his system of basic democracies. He realized the gravity of the situation and the imminent threat to his position as president of the country. Hence he decided to resign as President of Pakistan and handed-over power to the commander of the Armed Forces General Yahya Khan. On March 25, 1969 Yahya Khan took over power as the chief martial law administrator and commander of the armed forces. The 1962 Constitution was abrogated but all notifications and other laws of Ayub Khan’s regime were kept intact. Within twenty four hours of assuming power Yahya Khan announced holding of fair and free elections on the basis of universal adult franchise. In the same announcement he made commitment of the swift transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. Elaborating his program in a radio broadcast on March 26, 1969 he said:

I wish to make it absolutely clear to you that I have no ambition other than the creation of condition conducive to the establishment of constitutional government. It is my firm belief that a sound, clear and honest administration is a pre-requisite for safe and constructive political life and for the smooth transfer of power to the representative of the people elected freely and impartially on the basis of adult franchise. It will be the task of these elected representatives to give the country a workable constitution and find a solution of all other political, economic and social problems that have been agitating the minds of the people.¹

In the same broadcast, he declared that a sound, clean and honest administration was a pre-requisite for sound and constructive political life. Political stability was also indispensible for the smooth transfer of power to the representatives of the people. In character and temperament Yahya Khan’s radio broadcast was much different than that of Iskandar Mirza and Ayub Khan when they imposed martial law in 1958. Both of them had used harsh languages against the politicians and embarked on a policy of tyranny against them. Particularly NAP was dealt with brutally by the Ayub Khan’s martial law regime. Contrary to Ayub Khan’s rhetoric, Yahya Khan made no mention of politicians and put the entire blame on the civil administration for their
laxity in dealing with the sensitive issues. He warned them that such kind of disregard would not be tolerated in the future. In 1969 the political atmosphere was much different as compared to that of 1958. The whole country was rocked by uprisings of students, political activists, industrial workers and peasants for the revival of democratic institutions in the country. The ire of the masses was against the administration with Ayub Khan as the Head of the State. It was, therefore, logical that Yahya Khan should have used the language of appeasement. He was not in a position to confront political parties and antagonize them towards his administration. He was much careful not to slander the position of the armed forces among the public. In his address to the nation on November 28, 1969 he reiterated his pledge that “my aim is to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people but this aim could not be achieved without a legal framework.”

In the first month after taking the reins of power Yahya Khan undertook a country-wide tour to listen to the views of the political leaders, civil society and to judge the public opinion about the future political setup of the country. He remained busy in meetings with politicians, media persons, and intellectuals to get and understand their views on constitutional and political matters. He remained successful in winning the support of most of the politicians for he showed demonstrated sincerity in solving the constitutional problems. His meeting with Bhashani on July 10, 1969 was significant as for as the problems of poor people were concerned. Bhashani had come in the meeting with a list of demands related with the peasants, workers and students. Yahya Khan listened to him quietly and at the end offered him a leading role in the East Pakistan government. He declined the offer of becoming a part of any administration and instead preferred to find out loopholes in the system. The restoration of the 1956 constitution was opposed out-rightly by Bhashani. His whole concentration was on the issues of ‘have-nots’ with slightly mentioning of constitutional suggestions. The aim of Yahya Khan was to sort out a legal procedure whereby smooth election could be conducted in the country. All these things were termed by Bhashani as secondary issues. For him the simple problem was the uplifting of the common people and providing them with basic requirements of life. He exhibited least interest in the looming constitutional matters. His main concern was to politicize the poor masses for bringing real independence to the country.

Yahya Khan elaborated four possibilities through which democratic institutions could revive and function in the country. Firstly, an elected convention with the responsibility of
drafting a constitution would be called upon which would dissolve itself after producing a constitution. Second option was the revival of the 1956 constitution whereas the third choice was the framing of a constitution and holding a referendum on it. Fourth possibility was a provisional legal framework on the basis of the consensus of the political leaders. However, he himself rejected the first three options on various grounds. He mentioned three important issues which the nation was facing in the process of constitution making. These issues included the abrogation of One Unit, the problem of franchise and the relationship between the center and provinces. Discussing his interaction with various public figures Yahya Khan found general consensus for the annulment of One Unit. In this regard he said:

As discussion on constitutional matters went on in the country during the past few months, I could see that the first two of these issues would have to be resolved before the elections are held because they are connected with the basis for elections and the setting up of the National Assembly…although no formal all-parties meetings have taken place, through statements both to the press and during parties meetings most political parties have now come quite close in their thinking on these issues. Also, during my tours in various parts of the country, it became quite clear to me that there is hardly any difference amongst different sections and groups of people on these questions.

He clarified his position by arguing that Pakistan was created not on the basis of One Unit but on the basis of autonomous provinces in the western wing. And that people in the country were almost unanimous in demanding the breakup of One Unit scheme. Further elaborating his argument he said ‘my decision is, therefore, based on popular wish’. He endorsed the principle of ‘one man-one vote’ and called it a requirement for the election of the future National Assembly. His frequent meetings with the political leaders also give him an insight to understand the sensitivity of the East Pakistan reservations. On March 30, 1970 he announced the promulgation of the Province of West Pakistan Dissolution Order. The order was enforced on July 1, 1970. It was announced that a provisional legal framework for holding elections would be ready by March 31, and the electoral rolls would be ready by June 1970. About holding of general elections Yahya Khan said that since there were climatic difficulties for holding elections in the country from June 1 to the end of September, therefore elections would be held on October
5, 1970 for the National Assembly and October 22 for the provincial assemblies. The provincial elections would be held after the National Assembly completed its task of constitution making.

He demonstrated maximum cooperation to resolve the question of provincial autonomy. The only requirement would be that it does not impair national integrity and solidarity of the nation. Majority of the leaders pressed Yahya Khan for resolving the issue of provincial autonomy before the elections. Maulana Bhashani, president of the NAP (Bhashani) in a statement favored a pre-elections understanding with regard to the autonomy problem. However, Mujib-ur-Rahman opposed any such arrangement. He threatened to wage an armed struggle if the extent of provincial autonomy was defined in the Legal Framework Order (LFO). He tactfully exploited the issue in East Pakistan and gained greatest advantage out of it. AL mobilized the sensitivity of mostly the Bengali urban people in capitalizing this issue. At the same time it made considerable headway among different sections of the society in the Eastern wing. Thus in all this process AL was on the upper hand which expanded its tentacles on the expense of laxity of other political leaders.

Yahya Khan promulgated LFO on March 30, 1970 which was mainly the handiwork of G. W. Choudhury, an eminent scholar and political scientist. He was very close to Yahya Khan in the formulation of the LFO. Strict secrecy was observed and no paper or provision was discussed in open. G. W. Choudhury served as a link between Yahya Khan and Mujib-ur-Rahman. He had taken a leading part in chalking out most of the provisions of the LFO. It was consisted of five main broad principles. First was that the constitution must guarantee the solidarity, independence and territorial integrity of Pakistan in the form of a federation. Secondly, it must ensure the Islamic ideology of the country, thirdly it must be a democratic constitution in which adult franchise, fundamental rights and independence of judiciary would be guaranteed. Fourthly, maximum autonomy would be ensured to the provinces in such a way that federal structure of the government shall have adequate powers over legislative, administrative and in financial matters. The balance of power between centre and provinces would be established in such a way that territorial integrity of the country would not be affected. Fifthly, it must ensure the participation of the people of all the regions in the country in national affairs and statutory provisions to establish disparities between the provinces particularly economic disparity with fixed time frame.
The National Assembly would be required to complete the work within a period of 120 days from its first setting. The National Assembly would stand dissolved if it failed to complete the task by the end of the stipulated period. In such scenario the nation would again go through the polling process. According to LFO the National Assembly would consist of 313 members of whom 169 would be from East and 144 from West Pakistan, including 13 seats reserved for women. These seats were distributed among the provinces on the basis of their share in population as documented by the 1961 census:

**Table No. 5.1**

**Seats Allotted to Provinces for National Assembly Elections 1970**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province/region</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Pakistan</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punjab</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-WFP</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal Areas</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Legal Framework Order, 1970. President Order No. 2 PLD 1970 Central Studies Schedule I.*

LFO also provided schedule for five provincial assemblies’ elections which will be held not later than October 22, 1970. There would be a provincial assembly in each province with members for general seats and reserved seats for women. The following table illustrates the allocation of seats for five provincial assemblies:

**Table No. 5.2**

**Seats Allotted to Provincial Assembly Elections 1970**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Pakistan</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punjab</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-WFP</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Legal Framework Order, 1970. President Order No. 2 PLD 1970 Central Studies Schedule I.*
A change in the elections schedule was necessitated by province-wide flood and cyclone in East Pakistan. Elections to the National Assembly were rescheduled for December, 7, 1970 and the date of the Provincial Assemblies was shifted to December 17. The LFO laid down all the procedures relating to elections and assemblies’ business. It was for the first time in Pakistan that elections would be held on the basis of adult franchise. The National Assembly was to stand dissolved if it failed to frame the constitution within 120 days, or if the president refused to approve the constitution that it had framed. Voting procedure for passing the constitutional bill was to be solved by simple majority in the Assembly. This feature was the main seed of trouble for the future crisis.  

NAP (Bhashani) and the Emerging East-West Political Cleavage

After the break-up of the NAP in 1968, Maulana Bhashani held his NAP (Bhashani) together on one platform and served a bridge between his party workers in both the wings of Pakistan. He was called a legendary figure who never accepted any government office in any set up. G. W. Choudhury mentioned him as a “red Maulana” who was scrupulously committed to the cause of oppressed sections of the society. For some time he successfully led leftist elements associated with different ideological orientations. There were moderate socialists, progressive groups and militant communists in the party. The binding force for all these different elements was the personality of Bhashani who held them together in one platform. Rafique Afzal pointed out that the contradiction in his political statements and policies was simply a reflection of the diverse elements setting around him in the party. He portrayed himself a representative of the poor masses by adopting simple and a common villager life-style. He remained the undisputed leader of the party and completed all the terms as president permissible under the party constitution. In June 1970 elections were held for different office-bearers in the party. Bhashani was re-elected after the party constitution was amended for this purpose. Kaswar Gardezi and Haji Muhammad Danish were elected as vice presidents; C. R. Aslam general secretary, Masih-al-Rahman and Arif Iftikhar joint secretaries. It has been said that the contradictions and confusions in Bhashani’s political views were due to the presence of diverse elements in the NAP (Bhashani). Whenever he faced difficult situation in the party matters, he usually would either retire to his village Panj Bibi in the district Tangail or fall sick in a hospital.
Until 1971, the NAP (Bhashani) had a considerable number of followers and workers. It had representation in both the wings of the country. The party position was comparatively strong in East Pakistan among the working-class people. It enjoyed wide-spread support in the rural areas of East Pakistan while it had some followers in various urban centers in West Pakistan. Majority of the lower-class people were associated with the policies and program of Maulana Bhashani. Both the provincial branches of the party functioned independently of each other. The party leaders undertook tours and initiated mass contact campaigns to enroll new members and enhance its political position. Its affiliated organizations included a volunteer corps of 55,000 members, the *Krishak Samity* (Peasant Committee) in East Pakistan and *Kissan* Committee represented the interest of peasants in West Pakistan. Its labor wing the *Saramik Federation* (Workers Federation) was much influential in the industrial workers in the eastern wing. Its student wing the East Pakistan Student Union was well represented in the educational institutions. It was the most vocal student wing among the components of the SAC. The leaders and workers of the party mainly came from the middle class who upheld socialist and secular approach in politics. A close look at the demographic characteristics of the executive committee of the party reveals that majority of its members’ belonged to educated middle-class families. Many office bearers of the party were university graduates. Most of its leaders were the old-guards of the party who lived in cities and urban localities. Hence the character of the party was not different from other petit bourgeoisie parties in the country. They were hold together by the socialist leaning of Bhashani and the progressive program of the party. The presence of Bhashani as president had attracted much of their mid-ranking leaders and followers to work as a united political organization.

After the announcement of LFO by Yahya Khan, Maulana Bhashani questioned some of its clauses and did not approve it in toto. On March 30, 1970 the working committee of the NAP (Bhashani) rejected the LFO. However, it did not dispel the confusion regarding participation in the elections. It failed to reach any decision about the elections issue which became complicated for the party leadership as time passed. The question of provincial autonomy was central for Maulana Bhashani and his communist followers who were struggling for it since NAP’s inception in 1957. He considered the LFO unsatisfactory with regard to the question of provincial autonomy. The provision that the future constitution of the country would be federal in which maximum provincial autonomy would be granted to the provinces was not enough to
please the NAP leadership. On December 6, 1969 Bhashani spelled out that maximum autonomy did not mean anything unless the precise contents of it were adequately defined by the president. He raised doubt on the clauses that dealt with the power and limitation of the National Assembly. He threatened to start a country-wide movement for amending the LFO to make the National Assembly a sovereign and powerful body. He severely criticized those clauses of the LFO that imposed restrictions on the power of the National Assembly. In a press statement on April 1, 1970 he questioned the logic that the final structure of the constitution would be decided by someone else [the president] and the members of the National Assembly would have no say in the final draft of the constitution.

On April 17, 1970 the East Pakistan Student Union and the Saramik Federation issued a joint call to observe a protest day on April 19. They announced that country-wide hartal would be observed. A public meeting was organized under the leadership of Bhashani in Dhaka. Most of the students were not in favor of participation in the elections and disapproved some clauses of the LFO. Their strategy was to wear red caps and raise anti-election and revolutionary slogans in the political rallies of the party. Students circulated a handout signed by one of its leaders Najibul Alam, a Saramik Federation leader Sirajul Hussain Khan and a central NAP leader Muhammad Sultan. It deplored the grave economic and food crisis in the country and raised growing concerns regarding the food scarcity in the East Pakistan. It highlighted the discontent among the public who had been compelled to protest against sky-rocketing prices of essential food commodities. Student leaders strongly resented the detention of those leaders and political activists who protested against the high-handedness of the authorities. It was also incorporated in the leaflet that all political prisoners should be released immediately and withdrawal of warrants of arrest against them, fixing the price of rice at 20 rupees per mound, acceptance of the demands of the students, teachers and working journalists and the abolition of the National Press Trust. Although the handout incorporated all the major demands that were central to the NAP (Bhashani) but ironically was silent on the vital issues of LFO and future political setup which was so much significant for Maulana Bhashani.

On the question of participating in the elections, the policy statements of the NAP (Bhashani) were the most confused from all other political parties. It proved itself incompetent to evolve consensus to address this vital issue. On this subject Bhashani was irresolute vacillating from one position to another till the end. He remained undecided on this issue because of strong
pro and anti-election lobbies in the party. Only a few days before the elections, he announced his boycott of electoral process. He consistently deferred on the matter and created the impression that the NAP council would give a verdict in this regard.\(^{22}\)

Initially he participated in a pre-election televised and radio speeches that were arranged by the government.\(^{23}\) The move was aimed at providing equal opportunities to all the political parties in introducing their election manifestos among the public. The process began on October 28 and continued until November 19, 1970. Though Bhashani till that time did not decide about his participation in the election yet his speech was listened to with much attention. He was the only leader who spoke in Bangali from the Dhaka Radio and in Urdu from West Pakistan. His speech was regarded as a ‘masterpiece’ by G. W. Choudhury without providing its details.\(^{24}\) The theme of his televised speech was not different from that of his usual rhetoric. He urged upon President Yahya Khan to convene a national convention of all the political parties, student organizations, labor and trade unions to deliberate on the formulation of a viable and democratic constitution. In his speeches, there was no mention of regionalism, not a single word was uttered in his speech. He demanded a peaceful political atmosphere for the holding of the general elections and framing the constitution. For him provincialism was a meaningless word full of sounds and fury, signifying nothing.\(^{25}\)

To participate indirectly in the constitution making process Bhashani declared that his party would frame a draft constitution and would place it before the National Assembly for consideration. The draft of the constitution would be presented to the media at the peasant conference at Santosh on December 25.\(^{26}\) It was an imprecise approach which did not stand to his reckoning of election boycott. If his party was so much excited about the constitution-making process then its boycott of the elections was not comprehensible in that circumstances. Although NAP gained nothing considerable from its decision of boycott but Bhashani was instrumental to emotionalize the browbeaten sections of the society. He organized peasant conferences in which threats of socialist revolution were hurled from the stages. In his entire political discourse during this period he spoke for making a peasant-friendly constitution in which the demands of the lower grade employees also got maximum benefits.\(^{27}\)

Referring to his demand of class representation in the National Assembly he said that 95 percent of population in Pakistan was illiterate. Therefore highest number of seats should be reserved for them in all the elected bodies.\(^{28}\) However he could not transform his political
program into a comprehensive scheme of things. His speech reflected the crises-ridden state of affairs of the NAP for it provided no concrete remedy for the problems facing the country.²⁹ Though he fully utilized all the available resources for gaining public attention but NAP (Bhashani) was still undergoing an ideological crisis on the question of election or looking for a proletariat revolution. In the debate of bringing a socialist revolution Bhashani also largely compromised on many socialist principles. He created much ill-will in the party inner communist ring due to his ambiguous statements. There was a pro-election lobby in the party who wished to contest the coming elections and prove their electoral standing. It was probably the main reason of his conditional response towards the elections issue. Realizing the growing pressure of the pro-election followers he put forward three conditions in support of elections. These conditions included: (i) provincial autonomy on the basis of the Lahore Resolution; (ii) reservation of seats for peasants and workers and (iii) recognition of basic rights of peasants and workers by the government.³⁰ However, all these conditions could not be fulfilled in the short duration before the elections.

**Bhashani’s Mantra of Islamic Socialism**

NAP (Bhashani)’s political wavering was largely due to Bhashani’s deterioration of relations with the communist members in the party. When his posturing of implementing socialism increased, a propaganda campaign was launched against him by JIP and other rightest parties. Between December 1968 and March 1969 the blatant attack of JIP on his ideas of socialism was reached to its high point. To offset JIP’s propaganda Bhashani announced, without consulting his party members that his socialism meant nothing more but a system that confirmed to the ideals of Islam.³¹ This statement created a storm not only in the NAP but also among the members of the *Krishak Samity* and *Saramik* Federation. In all, the affiliated organizations there were a considerable number of hard-core communists on the roll. His new bombast alarmed all the progressive elements for they were not ready to accept such kinds of statements from their party president. His volte-face with regard to Islamic socialism was a clear manifestation of the deep-seated differences among the party workers. Accordingly mistrust increased in the minds of his leftist and communist followers. By that time there were four splinter groups on the subjects of elections and ideological direction of the NAP (Bhashani). Muhammad Toha, the party general secretary was against electoral politics while Masih-ur-Rahman and Anwar Zahid spoke in favor
of participation in the elections. Muhammad Toha was the leader of the hard-core communists’ bloc which was known the Toha-Abdul Haq faction. Communists in this bloc were not prepared to tolerate vacillating of Bhashani from one extreme to another. They were not ready to work under him for he was suffering from incurable petit-bourgeois contradictions. Their point of view was that the NAP president was under strong communal influence which was intolerable in the communist ideology.\footnote{32}

The declaration of Islamic Socialism was regarded a big accusation against Bhashani. Most of the communists interpreted it an obvious dripping of the NAP president in religious fundamentalism. The new direction was interpreted as an exclusion of non-Muslim from the NAP and its affiliated organizations like the East Pakistan Peasants Society.\footnote{33} The confusion engulfed the party members that whether socialism could be achieved through armed struggle or by democratic politics. The other two factions which supported Bhashani were the Deben Sikdar-Matin-Alaudin and Zafar-Menon groups who were of the view that Bhashani was working for the leftist ideology in the true sense. Another bloc in the party was the Mao-Thought group based mainly in the district of Faridpur and led by Siraj Sikdar who was not sympathetic towards Bhashani. The dissection in the party also brought differences among the student leaders. Consequently the EPSU (Menon) also split in three factions in April-May 1970. In a central working committee meeting, the resolution in favor of participation in the elections was rejected by 8 to 7 votes. Due to the resulting intra-party wrangling, Bhashani decided to retire to Santosh ignoring the disagreement among the party leaders and its implications for the larger interests of the NAP.\footnote{34}

His retreat to Santosh brought the simmering squabble among the NAP leaders into the forefront. Some hard-core followers adopted a more radical line and a vigorous anti-election campaign was carried out by the student wing of the party. Numerous handbills were circulated with such slogans like ‘We do not want fake elections’, ‘We do not want National Assembly of the exploiters’ and ‘We want people’s democracy’ etc.\footnote{35} By January 1970 Bhashani’s relations with his communist fellows reached to a point of no return. He struggled hard to carry both the view-points to pass up another split in the NAP. For instance at the Krishak Conference at Santosh in January he himself raised the slogan ‘Bread before Ballot’ from the stage. At the Kissan Conference at Toba Tekh Singh in March he demanded the holding of elections on class basis. He found himself in the hot water when the faction led by Toha boycotted a rally on
January 19 in Santosh organized by the followers of Bhashani. They termed holding of the rally a deliberate attempt to sabotage their political gathering that was organized by the communists on January 20 in Dhaka.

In the January 19 rally Bhashani, for the first time, criticized communist members in the strongest language. He said that he has given a CIA document to Muhammad Toha, to publish it in the newspapers but he did not act according to his directions. This implied that Toha himself was involved with the CIA. He warned the dissident members that their slogans of revolution would at last ruin the NAP. His astonishing revelations widened the gulf between his opponents and supporters in the party. His followers justified the claim by arguing that the Communist Party of East Pakistan was largely working under the influence of the CPI led by Charu Majumdar. In one of his statements Bhashani alleged that a number of Muslim members in the party were working in connivance with Hindu communists for waning the strength of the NAP. He suspected the capability of the revolutionaries for doing any constructive work for the society. These revolutionaries, according to Bhashani, were wasting their energies on talking and discussions about armed struggle with no meaningful contribution towards the emancipation of the poor masses. He said that he believed in one God and could not accept any other ideology.

This was a clear message to the secularists and communists to redefine their political discourse. During this period the communist members in the NAP (Bhashani) also announced their policy statements. The communist papers in this regard strongly criticized Bhashani for his sudden change in the political program of the party. Commenting on the development within the NAP (Bhashani) Badruddin Umar writes:

Being now accused by the religious rightists and reactionaries like the Jama’at-i-Islami as a *kafir*, by the diehard six pointers and the pro-Soviet NAP as an opponent of East Pakistan’s demand for autonomy and by the leftists of EPCP as an advocate of Islamic socialism and even communalism, Bhashani found himself in a very difficult situation. His incurable habit of not consulting his own organization before taking any major decision or launching any program added to his difficulties and finally marginalized him as a political factor.

In this state of affairs communists in the NAP (Bhashani) remained very apprehensive. Most of them favored the idea of leaving the party and framing separately their own line of
political thinking. As a final point they made their decision known through the resignation of Muhammad Toha who was a member of the central committee of the EPCP and the general secretary of the NAP (Bhashani). In the statement which Toha issued to the press, he said that in the light of his long experience with the NAP he realized that it was no longer possible for the party to adopt and correct an all-embracing program for the emancipation of the people from exploitation. Therefore, under the circumstances he had no choice but to resign from the NAP membership. In the last week of June 1970 Abdul Haq, an influential member of the EPCP and the general secretary of the Krishak Samity, also resigned from the membership of the NAP and Krishak Samity. Muhammad Toha reprimanded the party workers for their lukewarm response and indecision about taking part in the elections. For that matter he had several times requested Bhashani to call a meeting of the provincial council however, the latter did not pay any heed to his requests. Afterwards Toha faction organized its followers for armed class struggle, non-communal politics and full independence for East Pakistan. The EPSU was divided into several groups named after its leaders like Rashid Menon, Haider, Muhammad Allah and Mahbub Allah. In the meantime a council meeting of the NAP (Bhashani) was held at Lahore in June 1970 in which it was decided to participate in the elections. However, Bhashani did not attend the meeting instead Kaswar Gardezi, one of the party vice-presidents, presided over the session.

Bhashani was under pressure from both the pro- and anti-elections factions for endorsing their respective viewpoints. Both the lobbies were active during this time but he did not declare his approval in this regard. And when he endorsed the decision of the Lahore council meeting he came under tremendous pressure from many anti-elections elements within the NAP. The Faridpur district branch of the NAP (Bhashani) dissolved itself on July 12, 1970 in protest against his decision. In the Kissan Conference at Dhaka on October 4, anti-elections and revolutionary slogans were raised by some workers. Zealot revolutionaries obstructed the event by chanting ‘long live the proletariat’, ‘Bread before ballot’, ‘peasants and workers take up arms and free East Bengal’. A pro-elections faction in the EPCP led by Abdul Matin, Alaudin Ahmad and Deben Sikdar however, decided to support Bhashani’s stand of participation in the elections. For the moment Bhashani warned his opponents to line up or they would be expelled from the party. Special references were made to the objectionable activities of Qazi Jafar, Rashid Menon, Anwar Zahid and Noor-al-Huda Qadir Bakhsh. It was the time when the NAP (Bhashani) was riddled with uncertainty and political turmoil. With fast momentum it witnessed high-profile
desertions from the party ranks. The West Pakistan faction was also marred with groupings. C. R. Aslam, Muhammad Ishaq and Zain-ud-Din Khan formed their own splinter groups. Later on, many of these groups transformed themselves as separate political parties in both the wings of the country. Before the elections majority of its leaders who upheld different views left the party and joined either AL or Pakistan People Party (PPP).

Maulana Bhashani became an active proponent of the Islamic socialism during the elections campaign. Free from active communist confrontation within the NAP he was now at ease with the remaining supporters. Even so he did not disturb his companions by proposing any changes in the secular character of the NAP. He urged his followers to work for socialism through peaceful revolution. Particularly he appealed the peasants, labors, students and all working people to join him in the struggle of Islamic socialism because it is in conformity with the “ideology of the country”. Initially he was critical of the AL’s Six-Pont program but at this stage he realized that Mujib-ur-Rahman was being backed by strong public support then he changed his policy. In his speeches during the electioneering days he supported the idea of a constitution based on the AL’s Six-Point program and the SAC’s eleven points.45

In the early stage of the campaign NAP (Bhashani) made token appearance on very few seats. It formed a parliamentary board which allotted 14 tickets in East Pakistan and 5 in West Pakistan for the National Assembly seats.46 It published a manifesto which delineates its objectives for the up-coming elections. It called for the elimination of the feudal and capitalist structure and the establishment of a socialist system in Pakistan. The holding of land ceiling was limited at 100 acres in West Pakistan and 30 acres in the East Pakistan. Distribution of the surplus land was to be arranged among the landless peasants free of cost. Nationalization of banks, industries and key foreign trades, fixation of minimum salaries of unskilled workers at 200, school teachers 300, college teachers at 450 rupees per month. With regard to foreign policy the manifesto called for strong bond of relationship with Afro-Asians and socialist countries particularly China.47

Public Mobilization

A campaign of mass mobilization was started through rallies and peasant conferences. Bhashani was in real terms a political agitator who emotionalized the masses through his confusing rhetoric of armed struggle, Islamic socialism and revolutionary uprisings. He threatened to wage
guerilla warfare to implement his model of Islamic socialism and to end exploitation. He
withdrew his nomination papers and boycotted the elections under the pretext of the
government’s failure in proper relief operation in the flood-affected areas in East Pakistan. It
was believed that Bhashani had done it to save his party from humiliating defeat at the hands of
the AL. Because of these seeming contradictions in his policy statements it is noteworthy that
he lacked political understanding of the events and a consistent course of action. At one time he
called for the introduction of peaceful socialism and yet at another stage he threatened of waging
an armed struggle against the corrupt officials and the landlords. And at the time of electoral
politics he came up with such demand which was almost overlooked by other political groups
and leaders. However, it emotionalized the masses and radicalized their outlook towards
political issues.

Slogan of red revolution (surkh inqilab) was raised in the Peasant Conference at Toba
Tekh Singh which inspired many leftist elements in the country. Progressive workers in West
Pakistan thought of a looming socialist revolution in Pakistan. The conference was the biggest
political event of the NAP (Bhashani) in West Pakistan. It was organized by the C. R. Aslam
group which created a thrust among the leftist forces of all walks of life. Thousands of delegates
from all parts of the country participated in the event. There were big posters of Lenin and Mao
displayed at the front of the stage. Socialist slogans of ‘People’s power’ and ‘East is red’ were
raised in the conference. The enthusiasm generated was so great that people really thought in
terms of surkh inqilab (red revolution). Bhashani implied the tactics of mobilizing the poor
peasants and the downtrodden sections by giving priority to the propagation of his various
demands. He called for active participation in the NAP (Bhashani)’s Demands Day on April 20
and the May Day celebration.

It was natural that these kinds of secular orientations would create bitterness in the
rightist political parties. JIP and JUP organized Shawkat-i-Islam Day, Sunni Conference and the
Ain-i-Shariat Day to counter the NAP (Bhashani)’s political program. For the moment Yahya
Khan’s government too tightened its grip on the leaders and workers of the NAP. A large
number of activists were jailed including Masih-ur-Rahman and Mahbub Allah. According to
one source about 1400 NAP workers were arrested. The result was that the enthusiasm of the
workers fizzled out rapidly. Maulana Bhashani admitted himself in Dhaka Medical College
Hospital with an appeal to his follower to raise red flags on their house as a symbol of resistance
to corruption. He distanced himself from electoral politics by saying that the basic problem of the poor masses was not the elections. They were looking to feeding their children and earning their two time meals. He demanded the solution of the problem of *roti* (bread) otherwise he would ask his followers to burn all the ballot boxes.

The Toba Tek Singh Peasant Conference was an impressive gathering of the leftist forces in West Pakistan. Special arrangements were made to transport the delegates to the pindal by 200 bullock carts. Revolutionary speeches were delivered by a number of NAP leaders which further emotionalized the already charged atmosphere. Such a momentum was created in which people were told of an impending socialist revolution. The enthusiasm generated during the conference was very shrewdly hijacked by the PPP leadership. As election was in the offing, for that reason leftists among the PPP participated in a large number. They utilized the opportunity by creating an impression that Bhutto would lead the masses to revolution. Bhutto personally did not attend the conference but most of his leftist workers made it a successful event by associating themselves with the downtrodden section of West Pakistan. At the end it was PPP which capitalized the conference and gained an impressive victory in the elections. However, the West Pakistan NAP (Bhashani) despite the ideological crisis, retained its separate organizational structure. Muhammad Kaswar Gardezi, president of the West Pakistan NAP (Bhashani) deplored the detention of the political workers and demanded their early release. He criticized the attitude of the government in this regard and questioned the prolonged imprisonment of Afzal Bangash, Shamim Wasti and other leaders of the party. He regretted that majority of the peasants were forcefully evicted from their lands. In addition, a large number of employees in different industrial sectors were discharged from their services. He supported the cause of employees and called for a strict action against those industrialists who were violating the rights of the labors.

C. R. Aslam eulogized the revolutionary strategy of Maulana Bhashani with high hopes for the future of the country. He stated that NAP (Bhashani) was the only political party working for a real proletariat revolution. In 1970 he became the general secretary of the NAP (Bhashani) in West Pakistan. Since 1964-65 there were severe political differences between Shaukat Ali and C. R. Aslam groups in the party. Shaukat Ali often blamed the latter for supporting Ayub Khan in the presidential election. He was in favor of forming an alliance with PPP for contesting the election. This blame-game along with some other personal ambitions led to the virtual break-up of the party in 1972. The political demise of the NAP (Bhashani) in West Pakistan was brought
about by the forming of Socialist Party of Pakistan on March 23, 1972 by C. R. Aslam.\footnote{54} His foot-step was followed by Shaukat Ali and Mirza Ibrahim who formed their separate party by the name of Workers’ Party of Pakistan.

In the political circles in Pakistan and outside the country Bhashani has often been accused of being a Maoist communist. On October 1, 1970 in an interview he remarked that he did not believe in power politics. Hence he would neither contest elections nor did he have any plan to do so in future. Contrary to this view he said that he had told the Chinese and Russian communist leaders that it was impossible for him to become a communist. I am a Muslim and want to die a Muslim.\footnote{55} It clearly contradicted his early political thoughts because from the very inception of the NAP he was regarded as a hard-core communist. He himself time and again described the NAP’s main objective as the implementation of socialism in the country.

The biggest demonstration of the NAP (Bhashani) in East Pakistan was seen in Dhaka on October 2, 1970 the day it organized a conference of the workers, labors and peasants. About 50,000 red-capped volunteers from rural areas came to participate in the conference.\footnote{56} He gave a five-day (October 21-25) strike for the acceptance of his demands or else ghérao campaign would be launched for bringing about a socialist revolution. It was followed by another threat of obstructing elections if a satisfactory project for the food scarcity in East Pakistan was not implemented. On October 22 Bhashani again announced his boycott of the elections without consulting any organ of the party. His announcement was strongly resented by his own followers because they were fully prepared for the coming elections. Unable to face the mounting pressure from his party leaders, he again chooses to be hospitalized to escape from the public wrath. From hospital he issued a fervent appeal to all the people: “I request all my countrymen to pray to Allah for my iman (faith)”.\footnote{57}

\section*{Struggle for Independent East Bengal}

Most of the works produced by various researchers revolve around Awami League and its leader Shaikh Mujib’s role in the liberation struggle of Bangladesh. Nonetheless, the historic role played by Bhashani in the 1971 East Pakistan crisis has always been overlooked by the scholars. Maulana Bhashani created some gigantic political problems for Shaikh Mujib by injecting, in the guise of provincial autonomy, the germs of full independence for East Pakistan among the Bengali population. While he often spoke for provincial autonomy, on a number of occasion he
clearly challenged the country’s integrity by calling for cessation. Had he not mobilized the Bengalis through his anti-West Pakistani crusade it would not have been that much easy for Mujib to declare independence. He obliterated every chance of rapprochement with West Pakistan and threatened Mujib of dire consequences if he agreed on less than complete independence. His rhetoric of separateness had made the position of Mujib much vulnerable due to which he lost control over militant and extremist elements in AL. Political extremists and anti-Pakistani lobby within the AL had gained much strength for achieving their objectives. Shaikh Mujib was under pressure from those elements who had virtually threatened him of taking his life if he did not declare independence on March 26. Bhashani made their task easy by putting pressure on Mujib and mass mobilization on the issue of Bangladesh. Anti-Pakistani oratory was a permanent hallmark of Bhashani’s political program during the 1960s. Coupled with this he added, in the already political disorder, his methodology of jalaq, gherao, violent protest and demonstrations.

The political situation in East Pakistan was going through different phases. Provincial autonomy was the main concern of each political party. NAP (Bhashani) was the first political party which issued statements that range from realization of the spirit of Lahore Resolution of 1947 to that of complete independence. It was Bhashani who announced a struggle for full liberation of East Pakistan much earlier than Mujib-ur-Rahman. On November 30, 1970 he issued a brochure without mentioning the name of NAP on it. It was a hazy and confused text with a brief sketch of the situation in East Pakistan since 1947. At the end he made an appeal to the people of Bengal to join his struggle for the liberation of the East Pakistan.

He castigated the insufficient relief measures of the government in the flood affected areas in East Pakistan. He himself did not make use of his party volunteers to help his countrymen in that hour of trial. It was despite the fact that once he offered President Ayub Khan of sending 1,0000 volunteer corps of the NAP during the Viet Nam war. But during the flood in the East Pakistan he failed to mobilize them to reach the cyclone-hit areas. Nevertheless he was busy to muster resentment against the West Pakistani politicians and government. He organized demonstrations, fasting and protest meetings that in effect created law and order situation. In such a state of affairs it was difficult for the administration to reach the needy people. He augmented the miseries of the people by his unique method of exploiting the political issues. He
failed in presenting some concrete and immediate proposals to save the peoples’ lives in the flood-affected areas.\textsuperscript{61}

During this time Bhashani became too much outspoken with regard to his outburst on national integration. His wrath was against the policies of the government for its failure to redress the grievances of East Pakistan. Apart from criticizing the federal government he targeted the people and leaders of West Pakistan for the backwardness of the eastern wing. He declared that the phenomenon of being a Pakistani citizen was very soring for him.\textsuperscript{62} It was the time when the direction of NAP’s politics transformed from provincial autonomy to complete separation for the East Pakistan. In an odd fortitude Bhashani raised slogans like implementing the spirit of the Lahore Resolution and cementing the bond of brotherhood between the people of the two wings. Ostensibly he portrayed to be a protagonist of democracy, however, his words and actions let down the very concept of democracy. His political dynamics proved that he was not sincere towards democracy as a political institution.\textsuperscript{63}

Bhashani radicalized his technique of public mobilization and called for the break-up of the country and full independence for East Pakistan. Many observers are of the view that the kind of rhetoric adopted by Bhashani was made only in pique. It was an attempt to compete with the AL growing popularity among the East Pakistani population. Other analysts argue that Bhashani was a political stalwart who knew well to gain maximum advantage from Yahya Khan’s mild and lenient disposition. He was playing with the emotions of the public by calling for cessation and socialist revolution. For him, there was no other alternative to living like slaves with the West Pakistani establishment under the existing \textit{status-quo}.\textsuperscript{64} It was the view of many observers that the political agitation for which Bhashani was famous was largely exploited and utilized by his ultra-revolutionary party workers. They made much headway in the worker and peasant organizations using the Maulana and his leadership. It has been stated about his agitation politics that in the paradise he will initiate a movement and protest against angel Jibrail (A.S) and his policies.\textsuperscript{65}

His political position and approach was interpreted from another angle by G. W. Choudhury who was directly involved in the process of negotiations between different political leaders and Yahya Khan’s government. He was of the view that it was due to the sloganeering of Bangladesh of the AL that Bhashani propagated the idea of an independent East Pakistan. He narrated one of his meetings with Bhashani in which the “red Maulana” told that his slogan for
independence was to challenge the rhetoric of Bangladesh. However, G. W. Choudhury miscalculated his debate in favor of Bangladesh and termed it his frustration on the face of political maneuvering of Mujib by embracing the idea of Bangladesh. G. W. Choudhury stated that he was not in favor of the division of the country and was largely misunderstood by the government and the public. He used the idea just to warn the government about the AL planning of Bangladesh. But majority of the government’s high officials dealt him unwisely. He was an alternate political force in the East Pakistan to counterbalance the lobby within the AL that was working for the break-up of the country. Bhashani was strong enough to challenge Mujib and to uncover his idea of Bangladesh on time. However, governor of East Pakistan General Ahsan was deadly against any kind of understanding and negotiation with him. He spoiled all ventures of understanding with him and as a result Bhashani was forced to make his stance more rigid.\textsuperscript{66}

General Ahsan even prevented G. W. Choudhury from meeting with Bhashani and reported to the president about his activities. He out-rightly dismissed any overtures towards him and instead preferred an understanding with the AL. To make things more complicated he started an operation against the leftist elements and crushed their political strength in the East Pakistan. A number of leftist leaders were killed during the initial days of the military operation. The governor’s policy towards the NAP (Bhashani) was termed as suicidal for the national integrity of Pakistan. Ultimately AL exploited the situation and Mujib intensified his propaganda of Bangladesh. In this state of affairs majority of the leftist workers joined AL in its struggle for Bangladesh. In addition Pakistan also annoyed China due to its rigid response towards NAP (Bhashani) and killing of so many of its workers. It has been stated that the Chinese authorities presented a long list of pro-Chinese leaders who had been killed by the army in East Pakistan. They registered strong protest to Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto when he went there to get China’s support in the crisis. Subsequently Bhashani boycotted the elections after the cyclone and made the task of Mujib even easier.\textsuperscript{67}

Lawrence Ziring is of the view that from the very beginning the strategy of Bhashani was to mobilize masses on rural issues to challenge the ruling urban elites in the country. The idea to say good bye to Pakistan was actually his brain-child which he made on May 4, 1954. His statement of secession was published in the \textit{Morning News} of May 5, 1954 in which he very clearly called for separation. For him, the only solution of the ills of the East Pakistan was to say

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good bye to Pakistan. It is clear from the above fact that the real brain behind the secession of East Pakistan was that of Bhashani who propelled the proposal very earlier than Mujib.

About the political character of Bhashani another story was reported to the military intelligence in a governors’ meeting which was held in Dhaka on October 1, 1969. The governor of East Pakistan disclosed in the meeting that the Indian government had intensified its efforts in East Pakistan by sending its agents to the province. They were providing massive funds to the students’ organizations and other militant wings of the parties. A number of diplomats were found visiting the residence of Bhashani and Mujib in the nights. Yahya Khan was well aware of his political strength and tried to utilize the services of Bhashani to counter Mujib-ur-Rahman. In the initial days of the election campaign he acted completely according to the intelligence reports provided and prepared by certain army generals. He used Bhashani and Qayum Khan in the East and West Pakistan to minimize the strength of AL and PPP respectively. Yahya Khan also provided big chunk of amount to Bhashani from the Intelligence Bureau’s secret fund. His purpose was to minimize the influence of the propaganda of AL by using another Bengali separatist politician i.e. Bhashani. For this purpose Bhashani was provided with 4.5 million rupees in February 1970 for his election campaign in the Eastern wing. Accordingly in one of his speeches on February 24, 1970 Bhashani alleged that the Indian government had given massive funds to Sheikh Mujib for the break-up of Pakistan.

Bhashani’s rhetoric and call for long march and agitation continued till the end of his life. He said that NAP was determined to bring about a socialist revolution within five years to establish a peoples government in the country. In this connection he asked his followers to get ready for snatching the property of big landlords in the country. If the National Assembly failed in drafting a constitution based on Islamic principles then the NAP would usurp the big landholding in the country and would distribute it in the poor landless masses. He proposed a thousand workers march on the lands of Daultana, Ayub Khorho and Wali Khan if they did not agree to give due share to the peasants. He reiterated his demand on November 11 by asking Wali Khan, Z. A. Bhutto and other big landlords to give land proprietary rights to the tenants. It was the time when he was invited to Rawalpindi for a meeting with President Yahya Khan. He described a long list of demands before coming to Rawalpindi that included release of political workers, provincial autonomy, and control on smuggling and a powerful and independent National Assembly. At the end he announced in a press conference that if these demands were
not fulfilled, he would organize a brand of freedom fighters and would give a call for a long march.\textsuperscript{73}

After his meeting with Yahya Khan the tone of Bhashani resettled for some time. He expressed optimism assuming that the president would neither consider a proposal for joint confederation with India nor accept any pressure of USA in this regard. He stated that Yahya Khan would soon visit Russia and China to boost up ties with these countries. However, after some time the genie of protest and agitation again came out of the bottle. He called for a country-wide movement to get two third shares in crops for the peasants. He condemned British and American atrocities in the Middle East in creating the state of Israel. In the same vocalizations he appreciated President Yahya Khan for taking concrete measure for the development of the country.\textsuperscript{74} However, he ridiculed the state institutions for not delivering any basic amenities to the masses. At the same vein he categorically stated that he would break any law of the country to meet the demands of the poor and needy people.\textsuperscript{75} He proclaimed no-confidence on the central government and chanted slogans like ‘God is great’ and ‘long live East Pakistan’ in a political rally at Paltan Maidan. He deplored that where were the integrationist leaders of the country except Wali Khan who visited East Pakistan during the cyclone tragedy.\textsuperscript{76}

**Call for Independence**

During that time Bhashani acted like a frustrated leader for political survival of the NAP. He failed to bring any discipline in the different organs and groups of the party which he was presiding since 1957. NAP nearly lost its strength among the public for which Bhashani was largely responsible. In East Pakistan the exploding population, high inflation and the terrible cyclone had crippled people’s purchasing power. Bhashani’s technique was to make them believe that all these were happening due to the perfidy of West Pakistan. For him the solution was separation and the creation of Bangladesh.\textsuperscript{77} On December 4, 1970 three days before the elections he addressed a public meeting organized by his party workers. During his speech he announced a virtual declaration of independence. He said:

> Our struggle is a life and death struggle. Fourteen hundred thousand people of East Pakistan have been killed by the tidal bore. If force is applied against our struggle another fifteen to twenty hundred thousand people will lay down their lives to achieve their
goals…Mujib, you join the struggle for East Pakistan independence. If you work for the interest of America and Yahya then that will inevitably dig the grave of the Awami League in 1970.\textsuperscript{78}

He warned USA and British governments against meddling in the affairs of the East Pakistan. In a threatening tone he asked them to leave East Pakistan before December 30, 1970 or else the workers of the NAP (Bhashani) would set their embassies on fire. Later on, he announced his boycott of the election along with some other minor political parties. He made it clear that he was determining to establish an independent and sovereign state of East Pakistan on the basis of the Lahore Resolution. His demand for independence was reported in almost all the newspapers on December 5. After two days the first general elections in Pakistan was held after twenty-three years of its emergence. The results of the general elections were startling. In East Pakistan the AL had won 160 seats out of 162. In addition there were 7 seats reserved for women who were also grabbed by the AL and the total strength of its members rose to 167. In the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly seats, the AL won 288 seats out of 300. After the addition of 10 seats reserved for women its strength reached to 298. The remaining twelve seats in East Pakistan were won by Pakistan Democratic Party 2; NAP (Wali) 1, JIP 1, NIP 1, and 7 seats were won by independent candidates.\textsuperscript{79} AL electoral strength was concentrated in East Pakistan where it emerged as the single largest political party which practically eliminated all the religious and secular leftist parties from the electoral struggle. Yet it failed to get any single seat in West Pakistan.

Maulana Bhashani was the first leader who described the landslide victory of the AL as ‘a referendum on the question of independence for the East Pakistan’. He said that the victory belonged to no single party or person but to the seven million Bengalis. He interpreted it as a reaction of the people demanding freedom from exploitation by West Pakistani rulers and bureaucrats. He compared the political situation in East Pakistan with that of Pakistan freedom struggle of 1947 when ten million Muslims had demanded freedom from the domination of the British and the Hindus.\textsuperscript{80} He convened an all-parties conference at Santosh on January 9, 1971 to thrash out future program for independence. He assured that independent East Pakistan would maintain the same brotherly relations with West Pakistan as it would have with Iran, Turkey and the Arab world. Addressing a press conference he announced the severance of relationship
between East and West Pakistan NAP but sought its moral support for the East Pakistan independence. In protest of his undemocratic attitude Arif Iftikhar, joint secretary of the NAP (Bhashani) resigned from his post. Bhashani’s call for independence was full of dangerous consequences for the integrity of Pakistan. The government, however, lodged a token protest by warning him of dire consequences if he did not abandon his struggle. This mysterious response of the government towards a leader openly calling for the break-up of the country raised serious questions in the minds of democratic integrationist workers.

In a press conference Bhashani was asked to explain why he was so much vocal in demanding independence. Despite the fact that he himself recommended two months earlier about sending a draft constitution to the elected National Assembly for consideration. He stridently replied that what he said two months earlier was not the “Quranic version” and the stand on specific issues might change with the change of political conditions. The criminal apathy of the government towards the cyclone affected people coupled with similar injustices had convinced each Bengali that an independent East Pakistan was the best way out of their problems. To drive his point home Bhashani believed that Mr. Jinnah who initially tried his utmost for Hindu-Muslim unity was forced to change his attitude and later piloted the Lahore Resolution. At the end he proposed the holding of a referendum on the question of independence for East Pakistan. Referring to the landslide victory and people’s unflinching support to the AL, he warned Mujib-ur-Rahman that people would not spare him if he failed to attain the goals promised to them. The victory of the Bengali people came as a verdict for freedom from the clutches of West Pakistani ruling elites who were exploiting “Sonar Bangla” for the last 23 years. Explaining his plan for a sovereign East Pakistan he said that in the first phase nationalism would be adopted then all the industries would be nationalized and lastly if the circumstances demanded communism will be implemented.

These kinds of pronouncements marked the final disintegration of the NAP (Bhashani). Most of the stalwarts of the party dissociated from the octogenarian leader and planned to float a new political party with a pure socialist concept. They charged Bhashani of having lost his moorings. Among these leaders were Haji Muhammad Danish, Noor-ul-Huda Qadir Bakhsh, Anwar Zahid and Sultan Ahmad. Others who chose to remain with Bhashani were Masih-ur-Rahman, general secretary NAP (Bhashani) and M. A. Jalil. The pro-Bhashani group accused their detractors of adopting a line which is highly damaging for the interest of East Pakistan.
They said that the dissociated group was a frustrated lot because of their failure to use Bhashani for establishing communism in the East Pakistan. It was difficult to sustain the unity of the party with these differences emerging out in the new development. Haji Muhammad Danish resigned from the party. He made Bhashani responsible for pursuing a policy of dictatorship which, he said caused a rift in the party. He stated in his letter to Bhashani:

The cause of our failure is I think your dictatorial policy. You never cared to consult the party council or the working committee when you declared Islamic Socialism as NAP’s goal. Neither had you consulted the party council nor the working committee while declaring movement for Lahore Resolution in respect of East Pakistan as NAP’s ultimate object. You without any previous decision of the party give slogan for the boycott of election and even after the decision of the national council to participate in election you suddenly issued statement ordering the candidates to withdraw in direct violation of party manifesto, principle and program.

The all-parties conference of the NAP at Santosh was a poor show in which a sizable number of the audience was the followers of Bhashani. However its implications were far-reaching as he did find some support in other parties for his struggle of independence. Some delegates boycotted the conference after creating differences with his views. The conference was addressed among others by Atta-ur-Rahman of the National League, Shah Aziz-ur-Rahman, Amina Begum, and Pir Mohsen-ud-Din of JUI and K. Suleman of the Kissan Mazdor Party. A five point strategy for the achievement of independence was chalked out in a close-door meeting during the conference. After the conference was concluded Bhashani appealed to the people of East Pakistan for boycotting the goods manufacturing in West Pakistan. He warned the members of the National and Provincial Assemblies to fulfill their promises because they got the mandate due to the slogan of “Jiey Bangla” otherwise their fortune would not be different from that of Mir Jafar. He even called for the murder of those who were exploiting the resources of the poor masses. In addition he announced in Chittagong that he would launch a jail breaking movement to release all political prisoners if they were not released by the government. He endorsed a policy of resisting the armed forces if they ever tried to enter East Pakistan through sea routs. He called upon all the freedom loving people of East Pakistan to stop paying taxes, return medals and awards to the government and bring unity for achieving the goal of independence. Referring
to Mujib’s Six Points he pressed on Mujib and other leaders of AL to wage a struggle for the emancipation of the people of East Pakistan and become a national hero. It is clear from the above statements of Bhashani that virtually he was the leader behind the mobilization of rural masses in the East Pakistan on the question of cessation. He radicalized them much vigorously than any other party.

It was a time when the political atmosphere in East Pakistan was going in a direction of extreme radicalization. Mujib was busy in sorting out a workable political compromise with Yahya Khan and Bhutto. Bhashani offered full support to Mujib-ur-Rahman in his struggle for the people of East Pakistan. Several times he suggested to leaders of political parties of keeping unity among their ranks and files. He urged upon all the political workers to avoid confrontation for achieving the goal of independence. He was probably the only political leader who frequently used the name Bangladesh at the very start of the movement. He was not altogether in support of the Bhutto-Mujib negotiation for ending the political stalemate. Likewise he was not optimistic about the outcome of the parleys between Yahya and Mujib. The only way out for him was to vigorously mobilize people for independence. He was of the view that such negotiations would further aggravate the situation and would create confusion and new problems.

**Bhashani Went Underground**

Meantime the situation aggravated due to the large-scale disturbance in different localities of Dhaka and other cities. Hundreds of immigrants had been killed by the Bengali separatists and the atmosphere was becoming grave. A civil war like situation was emerging after the failure of the negotiation between the AL and Yahya Khan. On March 25 Mujib gave a call for a general strike against the atrocities and killing of civilians in Saidu, Rangpur and Joydepur. He said that the brave sons of Bangladesh were ready to face all eventualities in order to attain their goal. After failure of talks between Mujib and President Yahya Khan, the AL proclaimed independence for Bangladesh. Heavy firing erupted in Dhaka, Chittagong, Sylhet and other cities. Majority of the East Pakistani leaders went underground after AL declaration of independence in a clandestine radio broadcast.

Maulana Bhashani along with a number of his NAP followers went underground following the military crackdown. After some time it was discovered that he was hiding in a
place near the Indian border in Assam. Some media correspondents met him in an unknown location. In his first reaction to the army action and civil war he put all the responsibility on Mujib and AL. In those days most of his statements were aired by All-India Radio. It was revealed that Bhashani had escaped to India and was living in Calcutta under strict Indian surveillance. It was reported in the press that he was seriously ill and nobody was allowed to meet him. Even Masih-ur-Rahman, general secretary of NAP and his son were not permitted to see him.94 Regardless of AL efforts to exclude all other leftist leaders from the exile-government, the NAP (Bhashani) in cooperation with other leftist parties tried to form a coordination committee in support of the liberation movement. But the AL government-in-exile did not accept its formation. On September 9, 1971 AL formed a consultative committee and Bhashani along with other political leaders were made its members. The purpose of the committee was to intensify the war effort and to get greater support from big powers. In this capacity Bhashani appealed to twelve world leaders including UNO general secretary U-Thant, the British Prime Minister Edward Heath, US president Richard Nixon, Chinese Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Russian president Podgorny, French president Pompidou for supporting the liberation movement of Bangladesh.95

The reaction of the West Pakistan NAP (Bhashani) was very different from that of Bhashani towards the East Pakistan crisis. It expressed the need to revisit the political scenario of the country and to make analyses according to its requirements. The party leaders thought-out that the crisis was due to the unholy alliance of the West Pakistani industrialists, landlords and big businessmen against the emerging business class of East Pakistan. The crisis was erupted due to the Indian involvement in the affairs of Pakistan through its jute dealers who want to occupy the jute market of East Pakistan. A resolution was passed by the NAP (Bhashani) at Karachi in which it put all the blame on (i) Indian expansionist strategy in the region (ii) British imperialism (iii) international Jew exploitations and (iv) Pakistani regional rich capitalists.96 The members in the meeting were unanimous in their opinion that the solution of the crisis was the implementation of the scientific socialism in the country. However, neither had they tried to elaborate or define the term of scientific socialism nor they came up with a concrete strategy to overcome the political stalemate.

A report about the activities of Bhashani and his escape to Assam at the time of the army action was published in the print media. He stayed for some time in Dhobry village near the
Indian border at Assam and tried to organize NAP workers and peasants. He was arrested by Indian Border Security Force largely due to the fear of spreading socialist ideas among the young Bengali political workers and peasants in Assam. He was then transferred to Calcutta. Meanwhile, Indira Gandhi, Indian Prime Minister sent two cabinet ministers Fakhr-ud-Din Ali Ahmad and Moeen-ul-Haq to console him for the maltreatment meted out to him. It has also been stated that he was shifted to New Delhi where his meeting was arranged with Indira Gandhi. During the meeting she pressed him for making a visit to China for winning the support of Chinese leaders. However, Bhashani refused to accept her proposal on the plea that Chinese leaders would never allow him to come for such sort of adventure. Probably the response of the Chinese leaders towards the liberation war was very clear which totally confused the pro-Chinese NAP leaders. He was not so much hopeful in gaining the Chinese support. The intention of the Indian government was to make a united front of all the political parties under the banner of AL. It could not afford the hijacking of the liberation struggle by Bhashani who was the strongest among the Bengali political leadership.

In those days he was present in Calcutta where he along with other leftist politician formed the Bangladesh *Mukhti Sangrarm Somonnoy Committee* (Coordination Committee for the Bangladesh Liberation Struggle) with Bhashani as its chairman. After some time he severed his connection with the committee and declared whole-hearted support to Bangladesh government-in-exile. On November 13, 1971 a picture of Bhashani was published in a number of national dailies in which he was sitting with Nazr-ul-Islam and Khonkar Mushtaq Ahmad, the exiled president and foreign minister of Bangladesh, respectively. He was reportedly present in Mujibnagar; headquarter of Bangladesh government-in-exile near Calcutta. Some newspaper reported that Bhashani offered his Eid-ul-Fitr prayer in New Delhi in strict security. It was revealed by Kaswar Gardezi, senior vice president of the NAP (Bhashani), that after March 26, 1971 Bhashani escaped to Sylhet with some of his core party colleagues. He established a training camp near the border area where he started imparting military training to the NAP members. When it was known to *Mukhti Bahni* and AL leader they shifted him to Calcutta. He was not in complete agreement with the way the AL was fighting the war because it was not in consonance with the declared policy of the NAP (Bhashani) for the establishment of a socialist order.
He spent some time in Indian custody at Hidayatpur village in Western Bengal. His moments were restricted and nobody was allowed to meet him during detention. He remained in a detention center at Assam but it was feared that his stay could create problem for the government. At a later stage he was shifted to Calcutta. There he was kept without providing medical facility because he had become very weak physically and was seriously ill. Due to his prolong detention, the NAP (Bhashani) general secretary Masih-ur-Rahman appealed to the UNO that Bhashani should be transported from India to a neutral country. But the Indian government kept him and a number of other political leaders of East Pakistan in custody for getting political advantage.

During this time the Indian government intensified its propaganda campaign to show that all the parties in East Pakistan were unanimous in their effort of providing full support to the liberation war. The Indian authorities were fearful of the socialist leaning of Bhashani. They did not trust him therefore he was kept under strict security. He was brought to participate in a conference regarding the liberation war of Bangladesh. This conference was attended by Professor Muzaffar, Moni Singh and other political leaders. This was an executed plan which was arranged by the Indian government to show to the international community about the anti-Pakistani views of all the Bengali leadership. It was arranged under the auspices of the AL’s Government-in-Exile for the purpose to convey the image that Tajuddin's provisional government was conducting the war efforts for the independence of Bangladesh with the support of majority of the political parties. Indira Gandhi was apprehensive of the dubious nature of Bhashani. The separate activities of the leftist forces could emerge fundamental differences between different groups. Therefore his meeting with Nazr-ul-Islam and Khonkar Mushtaq Ahmad, president and foreign minister of Bangladesh-government-in-exile respectively was arranged by the Indian government.

The Indian fears were augmented by the active participation of the leftist workers and their successes against the military. It was reported that Muhammad Toha liberated vast areas in Noakhali from the control of the army. In many areas committees were formed to coordinate and control the activities of the workers. A National Liberation Struggle Committee was formed by some leaders of the NAP (Bhashani) in Calcutta on June 9, 1971. It was under this backdrop that the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) forewarned that the leadership of the liberation war was rapidly falling in the hands of the leftists under Muhammad Toha. Despite their upper
hand in most of the areas the absence of any central authority hampered their hopes of transforming their struggle into a peoples’ struggle.\textsuperscript{104}

Bhashani was the most capable leader among the leftist who could organize all of them under one command. Hence his confinement was much essential in the given circumstances. Probably he too realized his precarious position under heavy odds. Therefore, he gave his full support to the AL Government-in-Exile. Afterwards he was taken to the temporary camp headquarter of Bangladesh Defense Force Sector 11 at Mymensingh by four Indian Army officers and was kept there. Three days later the same Indian military officers shifted him to Tangail. He was released in Dhaka on 22 December 1971. Another story about his activities was that after the successful liberation war he was given the permission to go to his country. On January 23, 1972 he entered Bangladesh as an independent state on the map of the world. He returned to village Santosh on January 25 after spending nine months in exile.\textsuperscript{105}

**Imposition of Ban on the NAP (1971)**

Bhashani’s anti-state activities were enough to attract harsh criticism in West Pakistan from a number of political leaders and government officials. However, it was too late to counteract his political maneuvering. He had already escaped his detention and was relatively safe in Calcutta. It was his utterance of an independent Bangladesh from the NAP platform which at the end was exploited by the AL. A number of political leaders and media persons questioned the logic behind the government’s indecisiveness with regard to NAP (Bhashani) threats of cessation and struggle for independence. They based their assertion on the statements of Bhashani in which he several times called his workers for independent East Pakistan. It was the separatist moorings of Bhashani that intensified the AL propaganda for liberation. Bhashani created difficulties in the way of Mujib in accepting nothing less than independence.\textsuperscript{106} Long before the military operation it was mainly his chauvinistic idealism that created a stir in the Pakistani political circle. It was NAP (Bhashani) that was held responsible for spreading the germs of Bengali separatism among the public. Under these circumstances the Government of Pakistan clamped a ban on November 26, 1971 on all the groups and factions of the NAP throughout the country. In his statement in which he imposed ban on all the factions of the NAP, President Yahya Khan deplored that the party leadership has for a long time been acting against the interest and security of Pakistan. Some of its leaders opposed the creation of the country and did not reconcile to its existence and
never missed a chance of harming it. He specially mentioned the names of Professor Muzaffar Ahmad, Maulana Bhashani and Abdul Ghaffar Khan for their anti-state activities. Bhashani was among the first to propagate secession of East Pakistan who is now living amongst the enemies of Pakistan.\textsuperscript{107}

Some political leaders of the country hailed banning of the NAP by Yahya Khan and criticized Yahya Khan for acting too late against Bhashani and his cohorts. Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, Yusuf Khattak and Ghulam Muhammad Khan of Lundkhwar praised Yahya Khan for imposing ban on the NAP and assured their fullest support to the armed forces in its fight against the enemies of the state.\textsuperscript{108} Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto of the PPP in reply to a question stated that there should be strong evidence with the government in connection with the anti-state activities of the NAP leadership.\textsuperscript{109} It was believed that the Youth League and East Pakistan Student Union which were generally been described as the strongest NAP organization have largely been penetrated by the Indian agents. During the war both these groups actively participated in the liberation struggle.\textsuperscript{110}

**Bhashani in Bangladesh**

On his return from India, the NAP declared its support to the AL effort in the reconstruction of the war-torn country. He reactivated the defunct NAP with a new name of Bangladesh National Awami Party (BNAP) to participate in the task of bringing unity and fraternity among the warring parties. Special efforts were made to assemble the faction-ridden leftist forces under one platform. A few days later a working committee meeting of the NAP was held in which it was decided to provide maximum time to the AL government in meeting the four fundamental principles of the state policy-democracy, socialism, secularism and nationalism. For eradication of corruption and black-marketing an eight members committee was formed and Bhashani was made its convener. It supported the India-Bangladesh Treaty of Friendship of Cooperation. BNAP, however, opposed any military pact with any country or big power. Bhashani was of the view that after the establishment of socialism in Bangladesh the real friendship between the two neighboring countries would be materialized.\textsuperscript{111}

BNAP believed that friendly relation between India and Bangladesh was natural as the former rendered an all-out support to the later liberation struggle. Bhashani was the first leader who criticized the AL government for its too much inclination towards India. Addressing a
BNAP public meeting at Chittagong on March 30, 1972 he severely attacked on AL policies and program for the reconstruction of Bangladesh. He called India as the real enemy of Bangladesh in the garb of a friend. India was made responsible for famine in the country with massive smuggling of food grains and other commodities. He called for resistance against Indian imperialism and its large-scale involvement in Bangladesh affairs.\textsuperscript{112} The Indian media blamed him for organizing Muslim Bangla Movement with the clandestine help of Pakistan. An article was published in the \textit{Hindustan Times} which narrated that nearly a quarter of the nation still remained loyal to Pakistan. It was alleged that Bhashani was organizing Bangla Muslims with the help of some members of JI, ML and NIP. In this connection, the Indian daily quoted the arrest of General Habib Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Muslim Bangla Force. He was said to have revealed that the ideological basis of the movement was borrowed from the two-nation theory of the Quaid-i-Azam.

It was alleged that the movement under Bhashani aimed at making Bangladesh a homeland for Muslims, envisaging a loose confederation with Pakistan. The nature of the movement was anti-India and was fuelled by widespread smuggling and deteriorating economic conditions.\textsuperscript{113} Bhashani’s attitude towards Pakistan may be called the change of tone of a rebellious son. Accepting his responsibility of giving a call of independence after 1970 elections, he appealed President Bhutto to release detained Bengalis in West Pakistan and recognize Bangladesh as an independent state. He invited Mujib-ur-Rahman to accompany him to Rawalpindi and Peking to get recognition from both the countries. The visit, he thought, would improve the relation of Bangladesh with Pakistan and China.\textsuperscript{114}

The critics of Bhashani were not ready to accept him as a shrewd political leader. They claimed that such a confused man could not be a leader of the intellectuals because in the critical moment he proved himself a self-styled politician which rather always complicated simple issues for his followers. His followers admired his qualities and believed that he was the only leader in the country who could bring a sigh of relief to the poor masses. Many considered him the torch-bearer of anti-imperialism in the country. They argued that when the Ayub Khan’s regime slightly reflected neutrality between the two mighty blocs of the world, it was his heart that was up in his support. Most of his followers thought that he was an excellent master of the techniques of politics.
Some writers are of the view that Bhashani was a Gandhian type missionary political leader with a strong commitment of serving the poor class.\textsuperscript{115} Though he may be elevated to the position of a saint for his struggle of the under-representation classes but he proved himself a poor organizer in running the affairs of different parties. He failed to control the process of dissensions of high caliber leaders from the party which severely damaged his position as an undisputed leader of the have-nots. It was out of context to compare him with the leadership of the Gandhi, who extracted a high degree of respect and authority from the leaders and workers of the Indian National Congress till the end of his life. In following him Bhashani only used the Gandhian fast unto death to get some political concessions. He introduced the politics of \textit{jalao gherao}; spoke in the language of intimidation and even killing of corrupt officers, burning the government establishment, boycotting the goods of West Pakistan etc. He emotionalized the public on some hot issues but could not read the realities of the situation.

His emotionalism was a trait which was also criticized by no one else than by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. M. A. H. Ispahani writes in his book \textit{Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah As I knew Him} that once in 1946 he accompanied him on his tour of Bengal. Maulana Bhashani who was then the president of the Assam Muslim League had called on him at Sylhet. He narrated the persecution of the Hindu \textit{zamindars} and sufferings of the Assam Muslim population. He spoke about the plight of the Muslims with emotion and wept as he spoke. Ispahani tells that I was so moved that I had to suppress my tears to keep my eyes dry. At the evening when I found Jinnah alone in his room I spoke to him about his conversation with Bhashani. However, the reply of Jinnah was different from my understanding. He thought that men like Bhashani were not fit to be competent leader and could not be relied upon to deliver the best results. Sentimental nonsense and emotions have no place in politics. Jinnah further added:

\begin{quote}
This man [Bhashani] may be a good preacher and may draw tears from his audience but he is not a good leader, particularly in times of crisis the heads has to be kept cool and the eyes dry to see clearly and to arrives at decisions.\textsuperscript{116}
\end{quote}

Jinnah was not hopeful about his leadership qualities and ended his discussion by saying that he did not consider the Maulana fit to be the president of a political organization like the
Muslim League. The sooner the League freed itself of the leadership of men like Bhashani, the better it would be.\textsuperscript{117}

Bhashani lacked the ability of organizing a political party like the NAP which possessed diverse opinion and interests. He was among the founding fathers of the AL but soon developed differences with his colleagues and left the party. In most of the time his attitude towards important issues created resentment among the party leaders. This trend was intensified when he assumed the president-ship of the NAP. His flambayonet speeches and irrational demands often fire-backed and benefited his political adversaries. His political methodology reflected his impractical insight. Hence the NAP, despite relatively better public backing in the East Pakistan, failed to make much headway among the large segment of the society. Rather it witnessed a large number of desertions particularly due to his dictatorial policy in the party matters. NAP under him failed to transform itself into a party of national stature that could be reckoning within the country. In the undivided Pakistan, it had roots in both the wings of the country and was considered a party with a vast public backing. For a number of years, he rallied around himself the communist elements portraying a secular and socialist foundation of the NAP. However, he did not succeed in retaining his secular credentials on the face of mounting attacks from the rightist parties. In this endeavor he too compromised his principles and failed to make the NAP a unified umbrella organization for the secular and leftist forces in Pakistan. With the creation of Bangladesh it witnessed its downfall and further division among various factions.

Bhashani’s mooring of Islamic socialism was capitalized in the West Pakistan by Bhutto’s PPP. In the election campaign the PPP attracted a large number of leftist elements towards its socialist ideology. Popular slogans were used from its platform by the petty-bourgeoisie leadership of the party like Dr. Mubbashir Hasan, Hanif Ramey and Shaikh Rashid. The inclusion of these experienced leftist elements in PPP increased its progressive streak among the general masses. In the Punjab and Sindh, Bhutto successfully enrolled the pro-Chinese leftist groups into the PPP. Likewise NAP (Bhashani)’s struggle for independent Bangladesh was at the end capitalized by the AL under Mujib because the program of an armed struggle was not in the policy of the AL till 1970. The NAP demand of an independent Bangladesh was foreshadowed by the AL after its sweeping victory in the 1970 election. All intelligentsia and Bengali public were looking towards Mujib in spite of the repeated calls of Bhashani for the creation of an independent Bangladesh.
Bhashani died on November 17, 1976 at the age of 96 at Dhaka. He was buried at Santosh, Tangail.
Notes and References

1 The text of his address was reproduced in almost all the national dailies on March 27, 1969. Also see G. W. Choudhury, *The Last Days of United Pakistan* (Dhaka: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 40.


4 *Ibid*, p. 82.

5 Hasan Zaheer, *The Emergence of East Pakistan* (Karachi; Oxford University Press, 1994), 117.


8 All the leading newspapers published the views of political leaders about the issue of provincial autonomy. For the statement of Wali Khan and Bhashani see *Pakistan Times*, March 14, 1970 and *Pakistan Times*, March 22, 1970 respectively.

9 Hasan Askari Rizvi, p. 188.


13 *Ibid*.


15 Majority of the hard-core revolutionary leaders of the Toha-Abdul Haq faction of the NAP (Bhashani) were associated with trade unions and peasant organizations. Most of them were educated and university graduates. Its peasant leaders also came from urban educated background. In the executive committee of the party in the East Pakistan there were 25 university graduates who belonged to urban educated families. For details see M. Rashiduzzaman, ‘The National Awami Party of Pakistan: Leftist Politics in Crises’, p. 407.


17 Abdul Wadud Bhuiyan, p. 24.


20 A section of red-capped audience, mostly students were in the forefront in opposing electoral politics and participation in the election. In every political gathering they used to set among the audience and used to chanting anti-election and revolutionary sloganeering. They used to display the pictures of revolutionary leaders in the political gatherings. Portraits of the Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung were installed by this group in front of the rostrum at almost every political gathering of the party. *News Time*, October 3, 1970.


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In response of the propaganda of JIP, Bhashani criticized Maulana Maududi for his role of opposing Muslim League, Quaid-i-Azam and their idea of carving out a separate Muslim state in the subcontinent. He questioned his controversial pro-Congress role in the freedom movement. He stated that Maududi must apologize from God and the people of Pakistan for opposing Quaid-i-Azam and the creation of Pakistan. Maududi never supported Pakistan till 1947 and now he was calling for the establishment of an Islamic state in the country. As a matter of fact Bhashani under mounting pressure from the rightists and religious parties compromised his socialist principles. From that time onwards he called for implementing the concept of Islamic socialism which was then cashed by Z. A. Bhutto in the 1970 elections. *Masawat*, October 9, 1970.

It has been alleged that in November 1969 Bhashani gave a secret CIA document to Muhammad Toha. The document was related with the plan of separating East Pakistan into an independent new state. The plan envisaged a strategy of USA of recognizing the new state and pressing other countries to do so. It also contained concrete evidence that the 1969 language riots in East Pakistan were engineered by the CIA. Bhashani shared the copies with governor Ahsan, Yahya Khan and Muhammad Toha. But after some time no body heard about the document. It was alleged by the opponent of Toha that he sold it back to USA. Toha once expressed serious doubts about the authenticity of the document. *Ibid*; p. 84.

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22 *Sangbad*, February 20, 1970 (Sangbad was a Bengali newspaper published from Dhaka. It supported pro-Moscow NAP).
23 See the full text of his televised speech in appendix No. 4.
25 See the appendix No. 3 with regard to election speeches of Khan Abdul Wali Khan and Maulana Bhashani.
26 *News Time*, November 2, 1970.
30 *Morning News*, February 2, 1970
31 In response of the propaganda of JIP, Bhashani criticized Maudana Maududi for his role of opposing Muslim League, Quaid-i-Azam and their idea of carving out a separate Muslim state in the subcontinent. He questioned his controversial pro-Congress role in the freedom movement. He stated that Maududi must apologize from God and the people of Pakistan for opposing Quaid-i-Azam and the creation of Pakistan. Maududi never supported Pakistan till 1947 and now he was calling for the establishment of an Islamic state in the country. As a matter of fact Bhashani under mounting pressure from the rightists and religious parties compromised his socialist principles. From that time onwards he called for implementing the concept of Islamic socialism which was then cashed by Z. A. Bhutto in the 1970 elections. *Masawat*, October 9, 1970.
32 *Holiday*, February 1, 1970.
36 *Ibid*; p. 238.
37 It has been alleged that in November 1969 Bhashani gave a secret CIA document to Muhammad Toha. The document was related with the plan of separating East Pakistan into an independent new state. The plan envisaged a strategy of USA of recognizing the new state and pressing other countries to do so. It also contained concrete evidence that the 1969 language riots in East Pakistan were engineered by the CIA. Bhashani shared the copies with governor Ahsan, Yahya Khan and Muhammad Toha. But after some time no body heard about the document. It was alleged by the opponent of Toha that he sold it back to USA. Toha once expressed serious doubts about the authenticity of the document. *Ibid*; p. 84.
38 *Nida-i-iMillat*, October 9, 1970.
43 *Ibid*; p. 83
44 *Masawat* October 14, 1970.
In that hour of trial in East Pakistan the political strategy of Bhashani was to criticize the government with inadequate measures for flood affected people. He used to present novel and long-term suggestions for solving the flood problem. Once he proposed that government should make an elaborate plan with the help of China in this regard. He also proposed that funds should be allocated in the fourth five year plan to control the flood in the country. On August 6, 1970 he begins a three day hunger strike demanding concrete plan to solve the flood problem. News Time, August 9, 1970.
Mir Muhammad Jafar Ali Khan Bahadur was known as Mir Jafar. He was the son of Syed Ahmad Najafi, (1691–February 5, 1765). He was made the first Nawab of the Najafi dynasty of Bengal after deceiving Nawab Siraj-Ud-Daulah. He played decisive role in the defeat of the forces of Siraj-ud-Daulah against the army of the East India Company. He was proved a key player in eventual British domination in the Indian subcontinent. For this act his name "Mir Jafar" is now synonymous with "traitor".


Munir Ahmad, General Muhammad Yahya Khan, p. 136.


Nida-i-Millat, December 12, 1970. Also see Jasarat, December 23, 1970.

Pakistan Times, January 1, 1971.

Pakistan Observer, January 10, 1971

Masawat, January 12, 1971.

The name of Bangladesh was first demanded by Atta-ur-Rahman for the East Pakistan when One Unit was abrogated by Yahya Khan to restore the old provinces in West Pakistan. See Bangla Desh Documents, Vol. 1 (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, n. d), p. 43.


Bangal Desh Documents, p. 273.

Dawn, August, 12, 1971.

Abdul Wadud Bhuiyan, p. 40.

A resolution was passed in a rally of the political workers of the West Pakistan NAP (Bhashani) on November 10, 1971 at Karachi. This resolution was moved by Syed Ali Mukhtar Rizvi and seconded by Tanveer Ahmad.

Jang, October 2, 1971.


104 Ibid; p. 543.

105 *Nawa-i-Waqt* October 23, 1971.


107 Attorney General Yahya Bakhtiar’s Opening Address in the Supreme Court of Pakistan in the Reference by the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on Dissolution of the National Awami Party (Rawalpindi: 1975), p. 21. For a full text of President Yahya Khan’s statement see Appendix No. 6.


109 Ibid.

110 Abdul Wadud Bhuiyan, p. 39

111 Ibid; p. 41.


113 Ibid, p. 42.

114 Ibid


117 Ibid; p. 112.
CHAPTER SIX

NAP (Wali) and the Politics of Opposition

NAP during the Military Government of Yahya Khan

Like other opposition parties NAP (Wali) took an active part in the anti-Ayub movement in both the wings of Pakistan. It joined the DAC for the restoration of democratic institution in the country. A fundamental difference between the Ayub and Yahya Khan martial laws was that the former imposed it as a result of political chaos while the later resorted to it on the face of mounting public and political pressure due to the failure of administrative machinery under Ayub Khan. General public and political parties in the country were much eager to have democratic government in the country after almost a decade of the military rule. All the opposition forces i.e. students, political workers, journalists, laborers and employees of the semi-government institutions were united in a single point agenda to oust Ayub Khan along with his system of government. Restoration of federal parliamentary system and immediate elections on the basis of universal adult franchise was one of the fundamental demands of the political parties. People felt satisfaction when Yahya Khan made announcement of holding the general elections. NAP (Wali) appreciated the holding of general elections and supported his effort of taking the political leadership of the country in confidence about his various political reforms. In recalling his first meeting with president Yahya Khan, Wali Khan seems very reactive to the open-mindedness of Yahya Khan:

Yahya Khan spoke his words that he neither held any political views nor would impose his own constitution. He is making sincere efforts to figure out the problem and seek for its remedy. For this purpose he is hoping in getting the cooperation of the political leadership of the country. Let us sit together to sort out the differences and make efforts for its solution. In this way we would be able to lead the nation on the path of progress and development.¹

After understanding the mind of Yahya Khan and his plan of holding the general elections, the NAP (Wali) decided to extend its full support to his proposal. Wali Khan made it clear to him that there were grievances of the people in both the wings of the country. Provincial
autonomy and imposition of the One Unit scheme has snatched most of the rights of the smaller provinces. On both these issues detail discussion took place among the two leaders. Yahya Khan was reminded of the resolution passed by the West Pakistan Assembly in 1957 with regard to the abrogation of the One Unit scheme. The demand of the up-gradation of Balochistan into a governor province was also made because of resentment of the Baloch leadership in this regard. Yahya Khan assured Wali Khan of his fullest support in resolving both these issues.²

Yahya Khan announced his plan on November 18, 1969 of holding the next general elections on the basis of universal adult franchise. However, for the NAP (Wali) the greatest political victory came in the announcement regarding the abrogation of the One Unit and up-gradation of Balochistan into a governor province. It was an occasion of joy for most of the political workers of the party. They celebrated it through distributing sweets and arranging thanksgiving meetings.³ Wali Khan thanked the president for scrapping the scheme and giving representation on population basis to the East Pakistanis.⁴ He interpreted the presidential deadline of 120 days for making a constitution prescribed in the LFO, as a prudent approach for bringing quick stability and handing over the responsibility of governance to the public representatives. He was called as the savior of the nation and politically wise than most of the politicians by granting fundamental democratic rights to the people and solving theirs basic issues.⁵ Other NAP leaders were also surprised that real steps were taken for the democratization of the system by a military dictator.⁶

Probably these were the individual position on the issues related with different clauses of the LFO. The central working committee of the NAP (Wali) met at Karachi on April 12, 1970 to thrash out the undemocratic provisions of the LFO. The meeting noted down that the National Assembly has not been given the power to frame constitution according to the wishes and aspirations of the people. The final authority for framing the constitution lies not with the National Assembly but with the president. It strongly criticized the presidential arbitrary power for amending the LFO. It noted that a number of clauses would perpetuate communal hatred among the citizens and would ultimately deprive the non-Muslims of their right of citizenship. The committee demanded amendments in the LFO regarding sovereign power of the National Assembly. The meeting also called upon the workers and other democratic forces to observe April 26, 1970 as the ‘Demands Day’ throughout the country.⁷
The 1970 Elections

The position of the NAP (Wali) and AL was to a large extent similar on LFO and future political arrangements. Both the parties stressed for maximum provincial autonomy with the subjects of defense, foreign affairs and currency remaining with the centre. However they were silent on the article 20 which described Pakistan as an Islamic Republic. The AL in its election manifesto stated that it would never allow any law against the teaching of the Holy Quran. It also pledged a constitution based on the Islamic Ideology of the country. Quite analogous approach was adopted by the NAP (Wali) in the pre-election days. It stressed that no law in the country would be enacted which was repugnant to the Holy Quran and Sunnah.\textsuperscript{8} To a certain extent these religious pronouncements were incorporated to attract the vote bank of the rightists and Islamists. It was amazing that no one from among the NAP (Wali) criticized it for being communal in nature. It indicated the contradiction in the program of these secular parties which opposed the use of religion for political purpose. Surprisingly enough the leadership of the NAP (Wali) made sarcastic attacks on Bhashani and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto for preaching Islamic socialism. Muzaffar Ahmad described this approach as nothing more than to confuse people about the true meaning of religion in the struggle of provincial autonomy and democratic rights.\textsuperscript{9}

Abdul Wali Khan elaborated salient features of his election campaign in a television speech.\textsuperscript{10} He elaborated brief history of the NAP and its secular and anti-imperial line of action in the politics. The salient features of his speech were secular politics and the introduction of an appropriate economic system in the country. For him the two basic issues were the system of government and the pattern of the country’s economic structure. He emphasized that the integrity of the country was directly linked with national integration which can only be achieved through large-scale participation of the people in the election process. He promised that all citizens were to be treated equally irrespective of case, creed, region, language, culture and religion.\textsuperscript{11}

The NAP (Wali) issued an election manifesto which included inter alia a 20 years program of free education. It stipulated that scientific and technical education in the country would be made free in all levels. Efforts were to be made to attain a hundred percent adult literacy in the same period. Three major changes were brought about in the manifesto regarding the state structure, objectives of the party and the future of corporation and autonomous bodies.
The structure of the state would be federal progressive with five provinces enjoying maximum autonomy. The manifesto provided ceiling of land-holdings up-to 50 acres. It envisaged a broader arrangement to develop the virgin land for the land-owners to boost the agriculture productivity. Industries would be established in the country with due preference in the private sector. It planned to provide residence facility to all people by setting up offices of the House Building Finance Corporation at district level. Large-scale reforms were to be introduced for a judicious distribution of land among the landless peasants. Neutral foreign policy was constituted the major feature of the manifesto. It pleaded for fundamental rights of the people, especially of the peasantry, working class and the toiling masses, freedom of association, speech, press and movement. It referred socialism as the party’s ultimate objectives which would be achieved through gradual process. The party’s participation in the elections was a part of its all-round struggle for the restoration of complete democratic, anti-imperial, anti-feudal and anti-monopolist government which would ultimately pave the way for socialism.

During the election campaign Wali Khan concentrated on Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. Mahmud Ali Qasuri looked after Punjab with occasional trips to Karachi, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Attaullah Mengal supervised election campaign in Balochistan. Electioneering in Karachi was entrusted to the party general secretary Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani with 15 days joint campaign with Muzaffar Ahmad in the East Pakistan. The position of the party was weak in the Punjab therefore Mahmud Ali Qasuri pleaded for retaining the zonal federation in West Pakistan. But his proposal was opposed by other party leaders. In Sindh it has to rely on the Hari Committee which was to a large extant ineffective in a society where feudal lords were strongly entrenched. Wali Khan reactivated Zwan Pakhtun Organization in Quetta, Khudai Khidmatgar Movement and Zalme Pakhtun in Peshawar. All these organization pledged their support to the NAP (Wali) in the elections.

Political analysts were astonished at the election strategies of the AL and PPP. AL allotted only 8 seats to its candidates in West Pakistan whereas Z. A. Bhutto has totally ignored East Pakistan. As compare to these parties the NAP (Wali) proved itself a true national party by fielding almost 25 candidates in West Pakistan and 14 in the East Pakistan for the National Assembly elections. It was the only party with strong nationalist credentials. Abdul Wali Khan emerged as the only leftist leader who possessed the statue of a true national leader in both the wings. He was the only leader who visited East Pakistan when flood devastated most of the
villages and crops amidst the elections campaign. The apathy of most of the politicians and Pakistani establishment with regard to the East Pakistani grievances has always been discussed in detail by the researchers. However, the NAP (Wali) leadership tried its level best to preserve the integrity of the country at all cost. It stressed the need of developing and exploring the political and social stakes in the East for minimizing the Bengalis’ complaints regarding maltreatment. To forge a broad-based alliance between the East Pakistani leaders such as Bhashani of the NAP (Bhashani) and Mujib of the AL, NAP (Wali) constituted a negotiation committee in the central committee meeting of the party. The task of the committee was to look into the matter of political alliance between the three parties for preserving national integrity and contesting the elections.¹⁷

In the East Pakistan the leadership of the party faced a dilemma as to where to place their allegiance. They were confused about the appropriate policy to be adopted for increasing their influence among the masses. During that time the Moscow Radio station broadcast a program by the name of ‘Radio Peace and Progress’ which gave equal footing to the NAP (Wali) and AL. The Russians also increased their propaganda after India intensified its support for the AL.¹⁸ The East Pakistan NAP (Wali) leadership called for a united front with the NAP (Bhashani) and AL on the basis of 11 points program of the students.¹⁹ All the leftist organizations and subsidiary bodies for instance EPSU (Motia Group), Krishak Samity and labor organization expressed similar view regarding a broad-based political alliance. A negotiation committee was formed to work out a mechanism in this regard. Abdul Wali Khan was also in favor of a broad-based electoral alliance with the AL.²⁰ Badruddin Umar quotes one of his statements in this connection:

*An impression has been deliberately created in the country that the six points would destroy Pakistan. Its leaders were branded as ‘traitors’. This impression was created because the West Pakistan vested interests feared that under adult franchise East Pakistan would have a majority and would not allow repetition of past injustices.²¹*

Abdul Wali Khan tried to create an alliance with the Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam (JUI) in the West Pakistan. He wanted to improve his party’s position in his home province and Balochistan because both the NAP and JUI were strongly based in these border provinces. To counter the PPP strength, he made efforts to create an alliance with AL and other progressive political forces
on national level. He also sent Ajmal Khattak, joint secretary of the NAP, to discuss the possibility of a coalition with JUI. But Maulana Gul Badshah, a central leader of JUI, refused his offer. Wali Khan termed all these development a conspiracy of the US government for keeping his party out of the power corridor. He blamed the American government by providing lavish funds to a number of political parties to block those groups who were opposing its interest in the region. Under this backdrop the NAP (Wali) contested the 1970 elections without entering into any electoral alliance. He alleged that during electioneering days a number of army commanders openly supported the PPP, Qayum Khan’s Muslim League and other minor political parties. The director general of Intelligence Bureau (IB) revealed that in the given circumstances Qayum Khan was the best available choice for the establishment. Their strategy was to bring about a unification of the various Muslim League factions under Qayum Khan to keep the left-wing parties out of the electoral contest. Massive funds were given to him to check the rising tide of socialism. Most people thought that CIA was financing Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto for keeping the country politically unstable. He also developed contacts in the army upper echelon for gaining maximum seats in the elections.

The 1970 was the first elections to the National Assembly based on universal adult franchise. Hut was the election symbol of the NAP (Wali) candidates. Elections to the National Assembly were held on December 7, 1970 and to the Provincial Assemblies on December 17. Among the leftist parties the NAP (Wali) was not the only major dwelling of the secular progressive forces. Its secular and leftist credentials were challenged by Z. A. Bhutto’s PPP in the West Pakistan. Both the parties professed secular ideas, introduction of socialism, weak centre and greater share for the federating units. Throughout the election campaign various leaders of the NAP have been placing their own interpretation with regard to quantum of provincial autonomy. The party was insisting on the existence of different nationalities in Pakistan. A number of its leaders, particularly from Balochistan, have talked about the right of self-determination or more precisely the right of secession. The theory of nationalities goes across the Two Nation Theory which was the basis of the creation of Pakistan. Abdul Wali Khan reactivated the Zalmai Pakhtun which hung the fate of the principle of non-violence of his father. The organization was raised, trained and utilized for political purposes meant that non-violence as a creed has been discarded. The organization provided security to the political gatherings of the NAP during the elections.
In NWFP Abdul Wali Khan placed much emphasis on the superiority of the Pakhtun culture, Pashto language and the unfair deal with them at the hands of the Punjabi establishment. His main thrust was the restoration of democratic institutions, rule of law, fundamental rights and full autonomy for the federating units. He was leading the campaign in terms of increasing his stature as a national leader of the country. He also launched his acceptability drive in the Punjab. This adventurism proved abortive and disillusioned him about his political role in the province. His endeavor in the Punjab was generally not acceptable for majority of the pro-establishment landlords and politicians in the province. In almost every public meeting awkward questions were raised about his version of Pakhtunistan. His speeches were even interrupted in some meeting by hooligans of the opposing political parties. He was asked to define the political theory of his father and his long association with the Indian National Congress. By the time elections were held, he lost all hopes of his position as a political leader in the Punjab.27

NAP (Wali) and the Election Results
Wali Khan was unexcited about Sindh; therefore, he put his weight behind the party candidates in the NWFP and Balochistan. In Balochistan the NAP election campaign was mainly in the hands of Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Attaullah Mengal and Khair Bakhsh Marri. Nawab Akbar Bugti, the powerful sardar of Bugti tribe, threw his support behind Abdul Hayee Baloch, a NAP candidate for the National Assembly election, Ahmad Nawaz Bugti, his brother and independent candidate for the Balochistan Provincial Assembly and Mir Chakar Dombki, his son-in-law. In general Bugti supported the NAP campaign so sincerely that the general impression was that he had put the party under obligation.28 The elections in Balochistan had brought results that were expected by the independent analysts. In four National Assembly seats in Balochistan NAP was successful in getting three of its candidates elected. These three candidates included Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri and Abdul Hayee Baloch. In the Provincial Assembly elections NAP won 8 out of 20 seats, 3 seats were grabbed by Qayum Khan Muslim League, JUI got 2 and the remaining 7 went to the independents. Three independent members-elect for the Provincial Assembly Mir Ahmad Nawaz Bugti, Mir Chakar Khan and Mir Shah Nawaz Khan Jamali pledged their support for the NAP. However, the party leadership ruled out getting the support of its old colleague Abdus Samad Achakzai who remained successful in the
Provincial Assembly seat from Quetta. In Balochistan the three parties i.e. NAP, JUI and PML (Q) secured the following total votes in the National Assembly elections:

Table No. 6.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>NAP</th>
<th>JUI</th>
<th>QML</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>168,804</td>
<td>74,651</td>
<td>40,827</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The election results belied all the expectations and prophecies of the analysts. In East Pakistan the boycott of Bhashani give the AL an easy and absolute majority by grabbing 162 National Assembly seats. In the West Pakistan PPP emerged as the single largest party by winning 81 seats which was less than the half of those won by AL. Bhutto’s victory came entirely from Sindh and Punjab except a seat in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. The performance of the NAP (Wali) was much below the expectations. It won 3 seats in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, 3 in Balochistan and one women candidate was elected on reserve seat. It captured 6 seats from the 2.4% votes polled in its favor throughout the country. The table below gives details results of the National Assembly and the performance of different political parties.

Table No. 6.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>N-WFP</th>
<th>E.Pakistan</th>
<th>Balochistan</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QML</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CML</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI (H)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MJU</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAP (W)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JIP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML (C)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDP</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In N-WFP and Balochistan assemblies there was plurality of the parties with the NAP (Wali) emerged as the largest party in both the provinces. The results put a stamp on the polarization of the parties in both wings of the country. AL strength in the East Pakistan Assembly was 288 out of 300 seats. But it failed to win even a single seat in any province of the West Pakistan. This polarization proved very much dangerous for Pakistan as was predicted by Wali Khan. The following table illustrates the position of the various parties in the provincial elections:

Table No. 6.3
Provincial Assembly Elections 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>N-WFP</th>
<th>E. Pakistan</th>
<th>Balochistan</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QML</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAP (W)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CML</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MJU</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI (H)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML (C)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDP</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JIP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


During the election campaign PPP and NAP (Wali) were regarded as the two dominant parties of the West Pakistan in the electoral contest. PPP emerged as the largest party in West Pakistan and got majority seats in the Punjab and Sindh. In Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and
Balochistan the NAP (Wali) and JUI represented the general will of the people. The NAP under Wali Khan projected itself a national party of the socialist and regionalist forces. The self-imposed exile of Abdul Ghaffar Khan was a strong indication of the party transformation from the kind of principled and ethical to pragmatic and flexible politics. It was hoped that the party would enhance its position in the elections on national level. However, it secured 18.5 per cent votes in NWFP and 45.2 per cent in Balochistan. The following diagram illustrates the total votes secured by different parties including the NAP in both the border provinces of the country.

**Diagram No. 6.1**

**NAP (Wali) Shares in Votes in N-WFP and Balochistan Assemblies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>NWFP Votes</th>
<th>Balochistan Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NAP-W</td>
<td>168,804</td>
<td>168,804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI-WP</td>
<td>74,651</td>
<td>74,651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-Q</td>
<td>41,030</td>
<td>41,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-Coun</td>
<td>25,405</td>
<td>25,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>63,350</td>
<td>63,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>373,240</td>
<td>373,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>1,498,715</td>
<td>1,498,715</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the 1970 elections in N-WFP the main opposition party of the NAP was PML (Qayum) and its leader Abdul Qayum Khan. In some areas clashes took place between the supporters of both the parties. The main slogan raised by the NAP leaders was Pakhtunkhwa (Pure Pakhtun culture), reimbursement of rights of provincial revenue, revenge for the brutality perpetuated by Punjabi establishment and Qayum Khan. The party identified itself with the downtrodden section of society by capitalizing its election symbol ‘hut’ in most of the election gatherings. Habib Jalib, a well-known Urdu progressive poet, enthralled the workers by his revolutionary poetry in the NAP campaign. The party leadership criticized the high inflation ratio and called the PML (Q) a group of selfish politicians.
The greatest popularity of the PML (Q) was that Qayum Khan considered himself a hazarewal (resident of Hazara division). But he was Kashmiri by origin and was born at Chitral in 1901. He introduced some revolutionary reforms in Hazara division at the time of his government in the province. In Swat he won mainly due to the support of the ruling family of the former Swat state. Most of his party candidates derived strength from the respect and religious connections of the family of the former ruler of Swat. In the southern districts people were generally backward and easily rallied behind the religious sloganeering of the JUI. Likewise in Dir religion played a deciding role in the election. NAP contested in sixteen constituencies for the National Assembly election and won only in three. JUI contested in sixteen and returned six successful candidates and PML (Qayum) won seven out of seventeen contested seats. The total votes polled by winning and non-winning candidates of the three parties in NWFP are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NAP</th>
<th>JUI</th>
<th>QML</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total votes</td>
<td>266,282</td>
<td>366,477</td>
<td>325,924</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


NAP won in the more politically conscious constituencies and increased its representation by winning 13 provincial assembly’s seats. In Balochistan it won 8 and in East Pakistan it captured only one provincial assembly seat. Wali Khan was of the view that the NAP diverted all its attention towards Qayum Khan and ignored the campaign of JUI which proved a strong factor in the defeat of the NAP in the two provinces.

### The 1971 East Pakistan Crisis and NAP (Wali)

In the East Pakistan the AL emerged as the majority party with the legitimate right to form governments in the province and the centre. In the West Pakistan the AL tried to seek the support of the NAP (Wali) and other nationalist parties. A series of negotiations between the representatives of the two parties were held at Dhaka. Abdul Wali Khan sent Ajmal Khattak to discuss the possibility of coalition government between the two parties. In the wake of AL’s coalition with NAP, the PPP would remain completely isolated. For this purpose all the ruling
elites, military generals and Punjabi establishment were agreed to spoil any chance of AL-NAP coalition government. For them, according to Wali Khan, there was one way out, let East Pakistan become Bangladesh. According to Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, the eventuality of AL-NAP government at the centre was fraught with dangerous consequences for the interest of the military generals. Therefore, they conspired in collusion with Bhutto to block the transfer of power to the AL.

On February 13 Yahya Khan announced that the National Assembly would meet on March 3 in Dhaka. Most of the leaders of the smaller parties hailed the presidential announcement and stated their willingness to attend the session. Accordingly, all the assembly members of the NAP (W) reached Decca. But Yahya Khan abruptly postponed the opening session of the Assembly due to Bhutto’s refusal to attend the session. In the meantime, Bhutto advised Wali Khan a pre-session discussion on Mujib’s Six Points but the latter refused by pointing out that Assembly was the appropriate forum for discussing such contentious issues. Initially Bhutto tried to project himself as the sole-spokesman of all West Pakistani political parties by holding negotiations with Wali Khan, Mufti Mahmud, Abdul Qayum Khan and others. The NAP chief warned him that his boycott to attend the Assembly session would led the country into further chaos and political instability. He considered this act of Bhutto a conspiracy against the integrity of Pakistan. He persuaded Bhutto to attend the session where all the political leadership would meet to discuss the constitutional matters in details.

Wali Khan was in London when Yahya Khan postponed convening of the session and set March 25 the next date. After the postponement Mujib refused to negotiate further with the authorities. The tone of Western media was much aggressive and it was expected by the public that Mujib would announce unilateral declaration of independence. Amid this Yahya Khan asked for Wali Khan’s help to persuade Mujib to come on the table and sort out an amicable solution. According to Wali Khan, the most important reason in the dismemberment of Pakistan was the reluctance of Bhutto to attend the assembly’s session and the subsequent postponement of the March 3 session by Yahya Khan.

On the request of Yahya Khan, Wali Khan cut short his stay at London and went to Dhaka. He asked Mujib about his Six Points and conducted a thorough discussion with him on a number of national issues. During 85 minutes long meeting between the two leaders Mujib did not utter a single word against Pakistan but he seemed extremely doubtful of the intentions of
military and its partners. He termed Bhutto the ‘agent of military and West Pakistani establishment’. He was much distressed of the military preparation for a possible operation against his party’s workers. For him the seeming purpose of negotiation was to keep his party busy for shifting large-scale weapons and military personnel to East Pakistan. After the meeting Wali Khan talked to newsmen and said that he came here to meet the future Prime Minister.\textsuperscript{41}

The uncompromising attitude of Bhutto has created much confusion among the ranks of AL. The NAP (Wali) also was not ready to accept him as the sole spokesman of the West Pakistan. Abdul Wali Khan argued that PPP win majority seats in the Punjab and Sindh. In NWFP and Balochistan it was the NAP (Wali) which may claim the true representative of the people. He condemned the attitude of Yahya Khan for not taking any serious note of the threats of Bhutto.\textsuperscript{42} On March 24, another meeting was arranged between Wali Khan and Shaikh Mujib to sort out a possible solution of the impending political impasse. In the meeting Mujib seemed very depressed and advised Wali Khan to leave the East Pakistan by the first available flight. It was an appalling situation for the NAP chief. He came out from the meeting room hoisted a black flag on his car for showing sympathy with the people of East Pakistan.\textsuperscript{43}

In East Pakistan the situation after March 25, 1971 brought far-reaching consequences for the unity of the country. The position of the East Pakistan NAP (Wali) on constitutional matters has undergone a fundamental shift during that time. Muzaffar Ahmad, president East Pakistan NAP (Wali), demanded that in the future constitution full autonomy with the option of secession should be given to all the provinces. The statement was full of dangerous consequences for the federation of Pakistan. It took much of his West Pakistani party colleagues by surprise. Yet in March he announced a seventeen point constitutional proposal including the right of self-determination.\textsuperscript{44} In the meantime, the All India Radio reported a news item attributing a statement to Muzaffar Ahmad in favor of an independent Bangladesh. In this connection Wali Khan made it clear that he has no contact with his party president in East Pakistan and the kind of statements were in direct conflict with the fundamental principles of the party constitution which stand for the solidarity and territorial integrity of Pakistan.\textsuperscript{45}

From then onwards Muzaffar Ahmad, violated the party constitution and openly called for the break-up of Pakistan. It was a major shift in the East Pakistan NAP (Wali) political position. Its East Pakistan branch worked independently and chalked out its political course according to the situation brewing there. The reasons might be the rising despondency among the
public, the apparent anti-West Pakistan propaganda of Bhashani and the AL. Prof. Muzaffar left the country and remained in exile after the military crackdown. It was reported in the press that he met regularly with Wali Khan who was in those days at London for his eye treatment. It created confusion among the party workers and other party leaders in West Pakistan about the motives of the party leadership. On November 17, 1971 Wali Khan reached Peshawar from London via Kabul. He confessed his meeting with Muzaffar Ahmad, however categorically denied any kind of help or support for his demand of an independent East Pakistan. The decision of Muzaffar Ahmad of leaving East Pakistan in the midst of the crisis was rather criticized by Wali Khan. Virtually the East Pakistan branch of the NAP (W) remained independent of the directives of the party president. Though Muzaffar Ahmad did not formally announced to abandon its relationship with the West Pakistan NAP but in real terms the East Pakistani leadership and workers embraced their separate political discourse according to the unusual conditions of the province.

With regard to Wali Khan’s meeting with Prof. Muzaffar Ahmad it has been stated by Feroz Ahmad that the later irritated the NAP president for his integrationist role during the 1971 crisis. In the meeting Wali Khan looked perturbed at the separation of East Pakistan and stated that either there should be one Pakistan or no Pakistan because the Pakhtuns and Balochs would find it difficult to cope with the Punjabis. Muzaffar Ahmad explained that the separation of the smaller provinces was as much the objective of the NAP as the creation of Bangladesh. During the interview he defended the nomenclature of NAP (Wali-Muzaffar) that the policy of the party is the similar and the same.

After the start of military operation majority of the leaders and workers of the NAP (Wali) in East Pakistan crossed over to India. They developed connections with the CPI and received massive funding from India and the Soviet Union to participate in the liberation war of Bangladesh. They actively worked under various advisory councils and committees which were formed under the control of the AL’s Government-in-Exile. A number of leftist leaders including Amal Sen, Deban Sikdar; Qazi Jafar proposed a united front of all the leftist forces for the conduct of the liberation war. However Moni Singh, a pro-Moscow leader, over-ruled the proposal as a heinous conspiracy. Leaders and workers of the NAP (Wali) established military training camps in different border areas for examples in West Bengal, Tripura and Meghalaya. Deban Sikdar concentrated his activities in Calcutta and became a member of the National
Liberation Struggle Coordination Committee. Like most of the members of the NAP (Bhashani) they also considered it an issue of the national liberation instead of a class struggle. They made proper arrangements for imparting training in the warfare. It was estimated that there were about 12,000 fighters under their command. However, the political set-up visualized by them did not happened after the creation of Bangladesh.⁴⁸

In his statement before the Hamood-ur-Rahman Commission, Wali Khan argued that the meeting between Yahya Khan and Bhutto lasted for five hour in which they made their mind for military operation. They tried to persuade other leaders to boycott the session but most of the political leaders went to Dhaka for attending the session. He was of the view that Yahya Khan kept him in dark about the real design and situation. Bhutto was used to counterbalance Mujib’s landslide victory and to gain maximum advantages for the army preparation. He made Bhutto the main player responsible for the disintegration of Pakistan along with some army generals. He termed it a ploy of PPP chief for grabbing the highest seats of power in connivance with the army in the remaining West Pakistan.⁴⁹ Wali Khan’s assertions before the commission proved the apprehensions of Shaikh Mujib with regard to army operation and crackdown against his workers very much true. As was predicted by Wali Khan, after the dismemberment of Pakistan Yahya Khan entrusted the reign of power in the remaining Pakistan to Bhutto. During that time he was in New York representing Pakistan in the UN Security Council when Pakistan was dismembered and Bangladesh was created. He flew to Florida where he met President Nixon. He then went to Tehran where his meeting was arranged with Reza Shah of Iran. He took the oath of the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator on December 20, 1971.⁵⁰

The NAP-JUI Governments in NWFP and Balochistan

After assuming the position of the chief martial law administrator, Bhutto delivered a televised speech to the nation describing the main agenda of his political program. At the end of his speech he invited the NAP chief Abdul Wali Khan for building national consensus over a number of important issues. He tried to persuade him to play a bigger role in the normalization of relations with India. He was accordingly invited to lead a government delegation to India for negotiations. Bhutto also assured him of building cordial relationship with USSR and other socialist republics. As a gesture of good-well Bhutto withdrew ban from the NAP which provided the party leadership a splendid opportunity to negotiate with other parties for political alliances.⁵¹ In
NWFP and Balochistan’s assemblies the NAP together with JUI got clear electoral majorities. The coalition of both the parties was in the position to form the governments in both the provinces. The total strength of NAP and JUI was 19 seats in the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Assembly. Initially difference emerged between the two parties on the principles of forming coalition. In the given circumstances neither Qayum Muslim League nor NAP was in the position to form government without the JUI support. Bhutto tried to capitalize on their differences and hold negotiations with Maulana Mufti Mahmud. He even lures him with the slot of chief minister of NWFP for blocking JUI government with the NAP.

It was under this backdrop that Maulana Mufti Mahmud announced in a press conference that he would support any party that was ready to nominate him as the chief minister of the province. At the end NAP and JUI agreed on a power sharing formula in the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan. Wali Khan agreed to nominate Mufti Mahmud as their candidate for the chief minister of NWFP despite the NAP majority in the assembly.\(^52\) It was not the only concession he made to get the support of JUI. He compromised the most fundamental objective of the implementation of socialism that was proudly claimed by the NAP. Mufti Mahmud was categorical in his opposition to the concept of socialism which he made clear on several occasions. Moreover, the JUI claimed that its understanding with the NAP was fundamentally on the implementation of Islamic system of government in the country.\(^53\) In the later stage the JUI support became rather a political weakness of the NAP. The NAP leadership feared of losing its governments in the two provinces without the support of the mullahs.\(^54\)

Soon differences arose between the NAP-JUI coalition and PPP on the appointment of the governors in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, women reserve seats and forming of ministries. It was followed by hectic negotiations in Rawalpindi on March 4-6, 1972 between PPP and NAP-JUI coalition. Consequently the following Tripartite Agreement was finalized between the PPP, NAP and JUI:

i. Convening of the National Assembly session on April 14, 1972 for a period not exceeding three days, during which items enumerated at No. 2, 3 and 4 below will be voted upon.

ii. An interim constitution to be prepared on the basis of the Government of India Act 1935 read with the Independence Act 1947 which would be put on debate for up-to three days.

iii. A vote of confidence in the Bhutto’s government.
iv. To vote on a proposal that martial law will continue till August 14, 1972.

v. The report of the constitution committee of the National Assembly will be submitted by August 1, 1972.

vi. Those elected as members of more than one assembly would be permitted to retain their seats in both houses till the constitution was finally adopted.

vii. The provincial assemblies will be convened on April 21, 1972.

viii. After August 14, 1972 the National Assembly to act as both a constitution making and a legislative body.

ix. The governments at the centre and in the provinces would be formed on the basis of parliamentary majorities. The three parties settled for PPP rule at the centre, Sindh and the Punjab and NAP-JUI rule in [former] N-WFP and Balochistan.

x. The president, vice-president, governors, ministers, and advisors, both at the centre and in provinces, would remain members of the assemblies to which they were elected.

xi. Until the permanent constitution was framed, the federal government would continue to have the right to appoint governor in the provinces. As a compromise, however, the centre would appoint governors in consultation with majority parties in the two provinces of former [N-WFP] and Balochistan.

xii. The local bodies’ elections would be held on an agreed date soon after the convening of the provincial assemblies.55

Due to Bhutto’s dubious nature Wali Khan proposed that each page of the agreement must be signed by the three leaders. The tripartite agreement was based on political expediency and there was complete lack of trust among the three parties. Especially NAP was very suspicious about Bhutto’s intentions. After some time it was realized to both the NAP and JUI that Bhutto was not sincere to fulfill his promises. Doubts were created due to the unwillingness of the armed forces to tolerate the NAP-JUI government because the economic policies of both the parties were against their interests. Both the parties were committed to the realization of an egalitarian society. The landed aristocracy which was heavily represented in the army was not ready to see such political forces in the two provinces of NWFP and Balochistan.

Meantime NAP and JUI complained of violation of the agreement by Bhutto. Both the parties expressed reservations about the handling of affairs under martial law regulations. Bhutto announced on April 14 that he was ready to lift martial law on April 17 instead of August 17
provided the National Assembly rectifies the interim constitution. On April 14, Bhutto gained the vote of confidence and the interim constitution was adopted. The National Assembly appointed a committee to prepare a draft constitution. In the inaugural session of the National Assembly, Wali Khan clearly told him that although he was giving him vote of confidence as President of Pakistan but he had no confidence in him. At this point Bhutto realized the probable consequences of antagonizing the opposition further. He appeased most of them by his announcement of lifting martial law on April 21, 1972. Majority of the opposition including Wali Khan welcomed it a step towards the democratization of the country. Bhutto even went a step further and offered both NAP and JUI one portfolio in the federal cabinet.

It was soon realized to Bhutto that the situation was becoming intricate for him day by day. Major opposition parties including the NAP merged to form the United Democratic Front (UDF). At the centre the UDF demanded resumption of the working of the National Assembly, immediate lifting of martial law, framing of an agreed constitution and reinstatement of fundamental rights. In the two border provinces he was unable to maneuver the affairs. The acceptance of a NAP governor in NWFP also kept him away from largely influencing the tribal areas. However the lifting of the martial law removed the major apprehension of the NAP-JUI leadership. Consequently Wali Khan, Bhutto and Maulana Mufti Mahmud signed another agreement on April 27, 1972. According to this agreement Bhutto extended his willingness to the:

i. NAP-JUI cooperation in the National Assembly in the framing of the constitution;

ii. Setting up of a board of Ulama to bring the existing laws into conformity to the Quran and Sunnah;

iii. Setting up of a board for religious and moral training of the people;

iv. Setting up of another board for the development of industry and forest. And;

v. Making arrangement for imparting moral training to the students in academic institutions.

This accord proved a turning point in the formation of ministries in the provinces. A joint meeting of the NAP and JUI was held in which it was agreed that Mufti Mahmud and Attaullah Mengal would be elected as the chief ministers of NWFP and Balochistan respectively. Accordingly, coalition governments were installed in both the provinces on May 1, 1972. On May 2, 1972 Arbab Sikandar Khan Khalil and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo were appointed as
governors of NWFP and Balochistan respectively. Moreover a constitution-making committee was formed in which NAP was represented by Amirzada Khan, member of the National Assembly from Mardan to prepare a draft constitution. To negotiate the matters with regard to the prisoners of war with India Bhutto took Sikandar Khan Khalil along with him to Delhi. Although NAP supported the returning of Pakistani soldiers under the Simla Agreement, however Wali Khan condemned federal government for conceding Pakistan’s principled stand on the issue of Kashmir. In the Simla Agreement Pakistan given up its principle stand of resolving the issue through plebiscite under UNO resolution.  

In Balochistan the formation of a first-ever provincial government was celebrated in different cities by the workers of the NAP, Balochistan Students Organization (BSO) and Pakhtun Students Federation (PSF). Events were also organized by progressive workers, poets and writers. Quetta has become a haven of political activists, reformist intellectuals, lawyers and human rights activists. The dangerous outcome of this development posed a serious threat to the neighboring Iran. Some weeks before the formation of the NAP-JUI government, an anti-Iran protest was also organized by the BSO and NAP workers to condemn the atrocities of the government of Iran in Iranian Balochistan. Moreover, the anti-imperial program of the NAP was a source of great concern for the Shah of Iran. He several times questioned the credentials of the NAP leaders and their commitments towards Pakistan. Iran perceived that the coming to power of the NAP in Balochistan could incite the Iranian Baloch population for a possible uprising against the Shah of Iran. 

After forming coalition governments in the two provinces, Wali Khan was shrewd enough to minimize chances of troubles with Mufti Mahmud. He maintained cordial relations with them and very often compromised his party program for keeping the coalition intact. He readily agreed for setting up of a Board of Ulama to bring the existing laws in conformity with the teaching of Islam. In this way he not only won the sympathies of the majority religious people in the society but also antagonized the center over these political initiatives. In Balochistan a resolution was passed by the provincial assembly recommending the abolition of the sardari system in the province. It also promulgated an ordinance to acquire mining concessions in the public control. In the two provinces press was given maximum freedom. Urdu was declared as official language by both the provincial governments which created grave political problems for Bhutto in Sindh. NAP also commenced a mass campaign in Sindh and
Punjab. At Lahore it issued a circular on December 15, 1972 pressing the party local leaders for regular meetings at district, town and village and ward level. The party members were asked to submit their proposals regarding the expansion of the party tentacles among the masses. They were asked to collectively participate in the reception given at the honor of Abdul Ghaffar Khan who was returning from Afghanistan after eight years of self-exile.61

The Bhutto-NAP Confrontation

On the arrival of Abdul Ghaffar Khan a big political rally was organized in Jinnah Park at Peshawar. He extended a hand of cooperation to Mr. Bhutto in the best national interest. However, Bhutto rejected his offer of cooperation by saying that he did not need any help from Abdul Ghaffar Khan62 and restricted his moment to his native village. Due to this maltreatment Abdul Ghaffar Khan remarked in one of statements that “this is the Pakistan of Bhutto where there is no place for Pakhtuns and Balochs”. He reminded the people about his offer of cooperation to Prime Minister Bhutto for building a new Pakistan but regretted that his offer was spurned. He termed Bhutto as wrath of God for the people of Pakistan.63

The PPP government criticized the way the NAP governors in the two provinces were handling the state affairs. The appointment of the NAP governors was considered as a sincere effort of national unity of the federal government. However, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto being the prime minister of Pakistan, made certain issues much clear in his correspondence with Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, governor of Balochistan. He was asked to protect Sui installations, fissiparous elements should be firmly put down, and all the inhabitants, local and non-local receive equal treatment and no interference in the jurisdictions of the central governments.64 However, the federal government blamed Abdul Wali Khan for adopting a collision course with the Centre. A press statement on June 20, 1972 of the NAP chief has been given in the White Paper on Balochistan in which he said “my party and me are not bound by the governors’ agreement”. Bhutto government accused the NAP of creating lawlessness through Balochistan Students Organization (BSO).65

Bhutto hardened his tone after it was realized to him that he got most of his political objectives form the NAP-JUI coalition. The recognition of Bangladesh, an acceptable agreement with India, framing of an agreed constitution and settlement with International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank for economic assistance were some of his prime objectives. To a larger
extent, he remained successful in fulfilling these objectives through political bargaining. The NAP leaders were very much clear with regard to the recognition of Bangladesh and agreement with India. Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, while speaking in the National Assembly on the Simla Agreement provided his party fullest support to the efforts of Z. A. Bhutto:

The point is not that Simla Accord will solve all our problems, but it is regarding the change in our outlook as to what should be the mode of our relation with the neighbors. We and our party have always maintained that the solution to our problems does not lie in confrontation…. And in the present circumstances neither I can expect of nor we can reach at a better agreement than the present one.66 [Author italic]

On the point of recognition of Bangladesh, the NAP leaders put forward a logical reasoning. They pressed Bhutto for its early recognition to resolve some crucial problems with India and Bangladesh. To quote Bizenjo again:

Bangal Desh will remain Bangal Desh whether you like it or not… So if you do not recognize Bangal Desh for another twenty years then do you think that Bangla Desh would not survive? I and my party have decided to recognize Bangla Desh so that our army men and other people could be repatriated as early as possible, and that such links be established that may promote an atmosphere of peace and reconciliation, friendship and brotherhood in the subcontinent, and the seed of hatred be eradicated.67

After concluding the Simla Accord with Indira Gandhi, the then Indian Prime Minister, Bhutto was free at home to confront the opposition leaders particularly Wali Khan. His tone towards the NAP was full of obdurate remarks of confrontation and threats. Politics of bitterness was exhilarated at a time when the country was badly needed political reconciliation and nurturing of democratic values. Very short time has been lapsed when Bhutto complained of irredentist activities in Balochistan in connivance of the NAP leaders. The opposition complained of propaganda campaign that was launched to malign the character of the certain leaders. Wali Khan complained of character assassination of the opposition leaders by the government’s controlled media and impingement of their rights by the government. However, Bhutto always denied his statement out-rightly. The language of threats and intimidation were
freely used even in National Assembly speeches. Bullets, guns, shooting, weapon and similar other words were generously used to intimidate each-others. Bhutto, despite his prevailing position as Head of the State, did not conceal his hatred for the opposition leader. Following statement may well illustrate his approach towards the political opponents:

We have not been bullied by bullets or jails. Wali Khan Sahib says that every child in the Frontier knows how to shoot. I say come and have a shooting match with my children. They are better shots. So we know how to shoot and our children know how to shoot. We will shoot if we want to shoot.\(^{68}\)

The national council of the NAP met at Peshawar on November 16-17, 1972 in which Abdul Wali Khan was re-elected as the president of the party for the next two years.\(^{69}\) In the same vein a working committee of 32 members was formed which expressed full satisfaction in the performance of the NAP government of Balochistan and NWFP. It observed that both the provincial governments have achieved successes in a short span of time. It instructed the ministers to expedite work on the economic reforms mentioned in the party manifesto.\(^{70}\)

A number of writers are of the view that the tussle between Bhutto and Wali Khan was the manifestation of the antagonistic politics among the state (PPP) and provincial (NAP) elites.\(^{71}\) However, if one looks at the events unfolding at that time, it was clear that Wali Khan as leader of the opposition in the National Assembly and a leading representative of the UDF has confronted Bhutto with nationalist credentials backed by all the opposition parties. He was made the president of the UDF unanimously by the leaders of seven political parties and groups. The purpose was to continue their struggle peacefully in and outside the parliament against the PPP government. In this capacity he challenged the policies of the federal government from the front-foot with projecting himself as a national leader in all probabilities. The parliamentary debates and other primary documents show that Wali Khan was the person who brawled with Bhutto on every national issue and sought the government explanation on important national matters. He spoke about the tragedy of East Pakistan and the clandestine role of the Bhutto and PPP, protecting the freedom of speech in the future constitution, killing of the opposition leaders in Sindh, Punjab and Balochistan and the provincial autonomy in most of his speeches. The impression of his being a leader of a certain provincial party could not be found in his political
statements. He was aware of the kind of imprint that was created in dealing with his position and policies by the state media. That was the reason that he always dismissed it out-rightly:

I had demanded that when we are sitting as a Constituent Assembly, we should not sit as members representing one particular party; we should not sit as members belonging to a particular region or particular constituency, but we should set here as Pakistanis and nothing but Pakistanis.72

Wali Khan considered the NAP very much capable of opposing PPP on national level. However, he thought that Bhutto and his allies in the centre were determining to malign his character and prestige of the NAP as an alternate national political force. He bemoaned in the National Assembly about the attitude of the state control media towards the opposition:

But now they are going a very dangerous thing today. They are trying to malign, they are trying to pitch one province against another. They are trying to malign all the other political leaders and that too for a purpose so that a national leadership and an alternate leadership with a national outlook are not there before the country.73

The NAP-PPP Debate on Socialism

The political antagonism between the PPP and NAP also stemmed from the concept of socialism representing by both the parties. The relationship of Bhutto and Wali Khan could be traced back to the late 1960s when the former decided to form his leftist party. It was in 1967 that meetings between the two leaders took place about the formation of a leftist party in the country. Bhutto’s proposal, did not influence Wali Khan on the ground that the NAP representing all the secular and leftist forces in Pakistan. He invited him to join the NAP to which Bhutto was not ready due to the dubious nature of Bhashani, the then NAP president. He alleged that the NAP president had worked for Ayub Khan in his presidential campaign against Fatima Jinnah.74 According to Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah that after creating differences with Ayub Khan, Bhutto had three options in mind; to form a forward block within the Convention Muslim League, to establish a new progressive party or to join one of opposition party.75

Bhutto was also eying for the position of the president of the NAP. Mahmud Ali Qasuri revealed that in 1967 Bhutto was willing to join the NAP on the condition that he should be
chosen as president of the party. This proposal was vehemently opposed by majority of the NAP leaders. Many party leaders considered it a ploy of Bhutto to divide the progressive forces in Pakistan. 76

Abdul Wali Khan was an out-spoken critique of his tactics and political schemes. Bhutto was criticized for his links with a number of powerful generals during the Yahya Khan regime. It was alleged that these military generals planned to sabotaged left-wing parties in the 1970 elections. 77 Dubious role of Bhutto in the East Pakistan crisis was always questioned by him on many forums. He was made equally responsible along with other players for his divisive role during the 1971 crisis. The NAP leader capitalized on this issue and stage frontal attacks on Bhutto even on the floor of the National Assembly. Bhutto always found himself in the hot-water on the face of such allegations of great national importance. He always defended his position in this regard and tried hard to dispel such an impression. He empathically asked the members of the National Assembly not to distort the facts while discussing the crisis.

I do not want to expose those who had a role to play in what happened…Let everybody be named. Did I create Bengalis? Did I give them a different language? Did I keep them a thousand miles apart? Did I tell them that they were Bengalis and that West Bengal also belonged to them? For the sake of God have a conscience, be just. Everything falls on my shoulders because I had to make unpleasant decision. 78

Both PPP and the NAP claimed to be the true representative of the leftist and socialist elements in Pakistan. The approach of both the parties was secular and progressive and it would have been possible for them to keep united against the reactionary and rightest elements. However, the common bond of socialism was an element of displeasure between the two leaders. Wali Khan stated that almost 85 percent of the PPP manifesto had been copied form the NAP program, a fact which was accepted by Bhutto himself.

Bhutto advised Abdul Wali Khan to cooperate with the PPP because of its socialist and people-friendly program. However Wali Khan considered him responsible for the destruction of the socialist traditions in Pakistan. He betrayed the nation by fake slogans of roti, kapra aur makan (bread, cloth and house). These slogans were incorporated in the PPP manifesto to attract the poor masses and to disintegrate the socialist elements in Pakistan. The inclusion of fundamental rights of the peoples was duly opposed by the PPP leaders to be incorporated in the
1973 constitution. Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo blamed Bhutto and the PPP for extinguishing the socialist elements in the country. He condemned the way the anti-*sardari* resolution of the NAP was opposed by the socialists in the PPP. He alleged that due to the alliance of the so called socialists and capitalists in the PPP, the NAP government in Balochistan was dismissed.

The result was that to protect *sardars*, *wadiras* and *jagirdars* and save their monopoly on mine power in the province that these socialists come across together and dismissed the elected government. They were well aware that in the presence of a progressive government in Balochistan they would not be able to smoothly rule over Sindh and the Punjab. I say that in the name of socialism they destroyed the very concept of socialism in Pakistan.\(^{79}\)

Another NAP leader from Balochistan Abdul Hay Baloch came up with similar arguments while discussing the concept of socialism and its implementation by the PPP government:

It is claimed by the ruling party that for improving the lot of the poor masses it will make Pakistan a real welfare state. However, in the draft constitution which was presented in the National Assembly there is no mention of giving Pakistan a real socialist economic foundation.\(^{80}\)

Abdul Wali Khan termed Bhutto a counter-revolutionary who was responsible for the break-up of the leftist forces in Pakistan. He linked the sudden emergence of the PPP indirectly with the backing of the imperial powers to counter the NAP with a misleading socialist agenda. He elaborated that the socialism of Bhutto was not to provide land to the poor peasants but to confuse the nation with land reforms which would eventually lead to disorder. He questioned the logic behind his land reforms initiative in which no importance was given to the landless peasants. He made federal government responsible for the peasant uprising in some parts of the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. Wali Khan publicly declared that arms and funds were distributed among the peasants by Abdul Qayum Khan, the then interior minister. When the NAP provincial government tried to arrest Afzal Bangash, leader of the Mazdor Kissan Party who incited the
uprising, he escaped to Islamabad and took refuge with Qayum Khan. He continued his anti-NAP activities with the backing of the federal government.\textsuperscript{81}

\section*{Crisis in Balochistan}
\textbf{i. The Employees’ Rehabilitation}

It was soon realized to Bhutto that in dealing with the NAP he had very few political options. Both the governors in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan were constitutionally agents of the president, but worked according to the instructions of Wali Khan. The formation of the NAP-JUI governments was like an eye-sore for Bhutto who wanted the concentration of all powers in his hand. He remained very cautious and preferred a step-by-step strategy to deal with the NAP. In the first phase he tried to make every act of the NAP’s provincial governments controversial in the eyes of the public. One such case was the forceful transfer of the employees belonged to the Punjab by the NAP-JUI government in Balochistan.\textsuperscript{82}

Governor Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo took interest in the issue of employees’ rehabilitation and announced on September 7, 1972 that all the non-local servants would be transferred to their respective provinces. Although a popular decision in Balochistan, yet it contained grave administrative turmoil. The 1300 Balochistan Reserve Police recruits were accordingly sent back to the barracks to be soon transported to their respective provinces. Non-Baloch staff in the government secretariat, revenue officials, clerks, and a large number of hospital staff was packing their bags. It created a vacuum in various departments against the calculation of Bizenjo. When he needed the services of the police to tackle the Jhalawan disturbances he faced severe shortage of them. At a time when a number of anti-NAP \textit{sardars} had virtually challenged the authority of the provincial government, the NAP governor found it difficult to deal with the situation.

The federal government blamed the Mengal ministry of seriously tempering the strength, structure and functioning of the law enforcement agencies. The implicit intention of the ministry was to create vacuum by transferring 2,600 personnel of the Balochistan Reserve Police to their respective provinces. In this way the self-created gap was filled by the induction of the NAP supporters in the newly established Balochistan Dehi Muhafiz (BDM).\textsuperscript{83}
ii. The Pat Feeder Incident

Most of the Punjabi settlers were residing in the Pat Feeder in Goth Muhammad Hussain, a village in Katch district. On November 27, 1972 they were attacked by pro-NAP tribesmen, which resulted in the killing of some settlers. It was alleged that the dispatch of Marri, Kalohi and Lehri tribesmen who were considered the staunchest supporters of the NAP aimed at to force the settlers to vacate their areas and to fill it accordingly. The NAP leaders blamed that it was done with the active help of the federal government through Nawab Raisani. This attack was largely capitalized by the anti-NAP elements in the province. The incident was projected an implicit act on the part of the NAP against the Punjabi settlers of the province. The provincial government wanted that the issue be resolved through negotiation and sent Attaullah Mengal to pacify the tribesmen. Meanwhile the federal government instructed the provincial government to clear the area from the tribal miscreants. Frontier Corps was called to restore law and order in the area. In this way a state of confrontation was created between the army and the Marri tribesmen.84 The provincial government considered it serious violation of the democratic norms and blatant interference in its internal affairs by the centre. They blamed the federal government for inciting the trouble. Governor Bizenjo thought it a conspiracy of the vested interest by creating trouble for the provincial government.85

iii. The Akbar Bugti’s Episode

It was a time when Nawab Akbar Bugti returned from London. At one time he was an ally of the NAP in the province. During the formation of the NAP-JUI government Bugti wanted that he should be made the governor of the province. For this purpose he tried to form his own lobby in the Balochistan assembly nominating his favorite candidates to the NAP.86 His plan of becoming the governor of Balochistan was not fulfilled thereafter he developed serious grievances against the NAP. By various means he started putting pressure on the provincial and federal governments. To choose a governor for Balochistan Bhutto invited Khair Bakhsh Marri and Attaullah Mengal to Islamabad. This act enraged Akbar Bugti who had afterward organized demonstration in Quetta against Bhutto’s martial law. He wanted to create an impression that the demonstration was organized with the support of the NAP. However the NAP declined to provide him the formal approval due to the absence of its provincial president.87

Akbar Bugti then developed close liaison with Prime Minister Bhutto who was well aware of his importance to be utilized in the given circumstances. Bhutto took him on his state
visit to USSR and from there he went to London and stayed there for some time. From there he launched sarcastic attacks on the NAP leadership of Balochistan. On his direct instructions the provincial secretariat in Quetta was encircled by the armed brigade of his son Saleem Bugti, to force his uncle Ahmad Nawaz Bugti resigns from the government of Balochistan as Finance Minister. He blamed Governor Bizenjo of smuggling arms to the Baloch insurgents with the help of Russia. He involved the Baloch leaders in a conspiracy to further break-up Pakistan.\textsuperscript{88}

Akbar Bugti claimed that the Russian government was not ready to give a few years to Pakistan because of their design to reach to the warm water. They would struggle to create an Afghan Soviet Socialist Republic that included Afghanistan, Balochistan and NWFP. His main target in all this discourse was the Balochistan NAP leadership whom he made solely responsible for the law and order situation in the province. He implicated Bizenjo and Mengal in the affairs of an underground organization “Baloch Tanzeem” which was working for Greater Balochistan. On their part the NAP leaders time and again ward off all such allegations. They blamed him of playing the game of Bhutto to defame the NAP government and leadership among the public.\textsuperscript{89} As a gesture of goodwill Attaullah Mengal and Ahmad Nawaz Bugti went to London for a possible reconciliation but he remained adamant in his opposition. Contrary to their expectation Saleem Bugti accused them of bribing his father through lucrative portfolio in the provincial government.\textsuperscript{90} He threatened to blow up gas refinery at Sui due to which security was increased for its protection. Governor Bizenjo was so much concerned about this state of affairs that he requested Sherbaz Khan Mazari to arrange a meeting of the NAP leaders with Saleem Bugti for a possible patch-up.\textsuperscript{91}

\textbf{iv. The Disturbances at Lasbela}

The situation in the Pat Feeder area was still hazardous when rebellion was reported in the Jamots areas in Lasbela. The leading opponents of the NAP in the area were Jam Ghulam Qadir, Nabi Bakhsh Zehri and Doda Khan Zarakzai.\textsuperscript{92} The trouble started with the arrest of some Jamot tribesmen by the provincial government. The fellow tribesmen registered strong protest by cutting off some communication wires. Bizenjo complained of the formation of a parallel government in Jhalawan area by Doda Khan Zarakzai.\textsuperscript{93} Attaullah Mengal, the chief minister, dispatched a force comprising of Marri and Bizenjo tribesmen along the personnel of the Balochistan \textit{Dehi Muhafiz}, a loosely organized force under the provincial government. Traditionally the Jamot tribe was a rival of the Mengal, of whom Attaullah Mengal was the
The version of the NAP leaders was different from the one propagated by the federal government. It has been mentioned that on the refusal of Brigadier Naseer Ullah Babur, the then commander of militia in Kalat, to quell the rebellion, the provincial government was compelled to seek the help of the local people. Bhutto strongly resented the raising of the local *lashkar* and ordered the army to deal with them. He asked Governor Bizenjo in one of the cabinet meetings “What is this I hear about your Chief Minister’s private *lashkar* in Lasbela?”

The provincial government of Attaullah Mengal resented the interference of the centre in the provincial affairs. The Mengal ministry was unable to control the law and order situation as Kalat was almost cut off from the rest of the province. The army extended its operation as far as the Chaman border. It was clear to Attaullah Mengal that very soon the federal government would replace the ministry.

**The London Plan**

In August-September 1972 the print and electronic media published stories of a conspiracy against the integrity of the country. It was widely popularized in the local media by the name of the London Plan. Meetings were reported in some national dailies between some Pakistani political leaders and Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rahman in London. Closed door discussions were also reported between Shaikh Mujib, Akbar Bugti, Ahmad Nawaz Bugti, Attaullah Mengal, Mahmud Haroon, Qazi Faiz Muhammad, Hamid Sarfaraz, Zafar Ali Shah, emissary of the famous Pir of Sindh and Yousaf Haroon in London. In the start of September Maulana Kausar Niazi, federal Information Minister, accused Wali Khan and some of his party colleagues of conspiring against the integrity of Pakistan. As the alleged plan was orchestrated in London therefore it was given the name of London Plan. Wali Khan and his father were dubbed as male-contenders who once opposed the creation of Pakistan. After the discloser of the plan Bhutto called the NAP as the militant hardcore of the Congress who was still opposing the national integration of Pakistan. Wali Khan was condemned as a leader who is the enemy of Pakistan and cannot be a real friend of the country.

The story regarding the plan was based on the report of *London Times* which was then published in *Nawa-i-Waqt* on September 10, 1972. According to the reports the plan was to disintegrate Pakistan into four independent states to be linked in the shape of a confederation.
which would include Bangladesh also. According to Abdul Qayum Khan, the federal Interior Minister, the confederation would later also incorporate Afghanistan and India. After the successful culmination of the plan, Wali Khan, Akbar Bugti, Malik Ghulam Jilani and Mahmud Haroon would become governors of NWFP, Balochistan, Punjab and Sindh respectively. These leaders reportedly held detailed discussion with Mujib-ur-Rahman in London and Geneva. They urged him of using his influence with India to prevent withdrawal of its forces from the Pakistani occupied areas before September 15 because it would strengthen the position of Bhutto. And as a result it would make it very difficult for these leaders to implement their plan. A NAP member of the National Assembly Amirzada Khan sought an adjournment motion to discuss the matter on the floor of the National Assembly to know the roots of the story. However Abdul Qayum Khan objected and stated that the adjournment motion may not be discussed in the assembly because of its sensitive nature and international repercussions.

The Discovery of Arms in the Iraqi Embassy

To malign the character of the NAP leaders a vicious campaign was initiated and the issue of Pakhtunistan was reactivated. The attitude of Bhutto was much like those of Arab and African monarch with whom he enjoyed cordial relationships. His attitude towards the opposition leaders became authoritarian. The already tense situation received another shock on February 11, 1973 when a large cache of arms were recovered from the Iraqi embassy in Islamabad. A party of the government officials along with the Director General of the Foreign Office had entered the Iraqi embassy and discovered a large consignment of Russian made arms. Before any formal investigations the government controlled media built up the story that these arms were meant for the NAP and its insurgents in Balochistan. Much publicity was made of the incident in the press by the PPP government. Harsh editorials were published to condemn the NAP leaders and its involvement in the break-up of the country. A situation was created by a number of government-sponsored journalists in which public were wrongly informed of the intensity of the conspiracy and the involvement of the NAP leaders.

The anti-NAP elements utilized this opportunity for the character assassination of the party leaders. Particularly Akbar Bugti was in the forefront in the fight against the NAP. He was used to popularize the myth of the NAP’s anti-state activities in the Punjab. The probable aim of his “meet the people” endeavor in the province was to block the expansion of the NAP among
the Punjabis and to clear the way for the NAP government in Balochistan. In one of his speech he said that he had tried to invite the attention of the public to the distribution of arms for so many times. It was the responsibility of the federal government to frustrate the plans of the NAP. After scoring a great political and emotional victory at Mochi Gate in Lahore Bugti went to Islamabad. The arms discovery was proved the last straw in relations between the federal government and the NAP-JUI coalition in Balochistan. The federal government also accused the NAP leaders of Balochistan of arming the insurgents with these weapons. These arms were exhibited all over the country by running a special train.\(^{102}\)

To counter the propaganda campaign of the PPP government the leadership of the PSF, students’ wing of the NAP, apprised the public of the reality of the whole story. The main plank of their response towards the PPP propaganda had the following main arguments with regard to recovery of arms:

i. That the whole drama was orchestrated to put ban on the NAP as majority of its leaders were in prison and its president Abdul Wali Khan was abroad.

ii. There was no need of foreign-made arms through risky routs as lethal weapons are cheaply available in the country on the condition of having finances to get it. Why then the Russian did not provide us with funds instead of weapons?

iii. It is rather foolish to send Russian-made weapons for the Baloch insurgents via Karachi to the Iraqi embassy at Islamabad. The easiest way was to transport it to the NAP militants through Afghanistan without any seeming hindrance. Then why the Russian choose such route that was full of risks and dangerous consequences?\(^{103}\)

Likewise Abdul Wali Khan, while discussing the event of arms recovery, directly made Bhutto responsible for the plan. He went on to say that “if an opportunity arises, I am prepared to produce evidence that the arms plot was all manipulated by Bhutto. His agents went to Iraq; got these weapons and they were recovered from the Iraqi embassy to alarm the Shah of Iran.” The whole plan was to create misunderstanding in the mind of the Shah of Iran about the NAP collusion with the Balochis in Iran and Pakistan.\(^{104}\)

The Dismissal of the Mengal Government

The discovery of arms in the Iraqi embassy had put the last nail in the coffin of the relationship between the federal government and NAP-JUI coalition in Balochistan. On February 15 Bhutto
fired the provincial government in Balochistan along with the governors of the two provinces. On the same day Akbar Bugti was sworn in as the new governor of Balochistan. A thirty days Presidential Rule was imposed upon Balochistan. Observing the situation Maulana Mufti Mahmud convened a meeting of the provincial cabinet in the NWFP and tendered resignation in protest. In this regard a meeting of the NAP Balochistan was held on March 4, 1973 in which it strongly criticized the attitude of the federal government towards NAP. It lamented that to impose authoritarian and one party rule Bhutto had virtually sowed the seed of further disintegration of the country. They alleged that Bhutto orchestrated the plan to dislodge their governments with the connivance of his tugs, gangsters and agents. It strongly protested the arrest of its leaders and workers under the Defense of Pakistan Rules.\footnote{105}

The decision of dismissing the NAP-JUI government in Balochistan was not an insignificant one. Bhutto complained of the arrogant attitude of Attaullah Mengal and Khair Bakhsh Marri. He disclosed that Attaullah Mengal openly used much abusive language despite his being the President of Pakistan. He criticized Khair Bakhsh Marri for his haughtiness during conversation with him. However, he had taken this decision at a difficult time. The NAP had a sizable number of elected representatives in the Balochistan assembly. No coalition in the assembly could claim a majority to form the government. Despite this democratic deficiency Bhutto appointed Jam Ghulam Qadir of Lasbela as the next chief minister of the province. He was sworn in on April 28, 1973 without having the support of the majority members. To solve this problem Bhutto tried to break away the NAP-JUI coalition but there was only one member Mulvi Saleh Muhammad who went to the Bhutto camp for receiving a provincial portfolio. Efforts were made to purchase the loyalties of NAP members by offering lucrative ministries. But all these efforts went in vain. Even the brother of Akbar Bugti, Ahmad Nawaz held fast his coalition with the NAP. Political intrigues were hatched involving Gul Khan Naseer, ex-provincial minister, Sardar Muhammad Khan Barozia, speaker of the assembly and Prince Abdul Karim. On 27 April, 1972 majority members of the Balochistan Assembly presented a duly signed document in which they declared their fullest support for the Mengal ministry in Balochistan. These members represented almost sixty percent of the total provincial assembly membership in the house of twenty.\footnote{106}

The NAP protested the dismissal of the NAP-JUI government in Balochistan and depriving the masses of their elected governments. It termed the newly installed governments in
both the provinces as symbols of undue central interference in the constitutional affairs of the provinces. It criticized the prime minister’s contempt for the democratic norms in the country to the extent of violating even the constitution.\textsuperscript{107} The dismissal however proved a turning point between NAP-PPP relationships. Bhutto remained successful in ousting the NAP from the position of authority which was a potential threat to his rule. He blamed the NAP leadership for conspiring against the integrity of Pakistan and destabilizing Iran with the connivance of Iraq and Soviet Union.\textsuperscript{108} Defending his position he argued that he wanted lasting peace and stability under the new constitution.\textsuperscript{109} President Bhutto dispelled the impression that political solution was not explored in Balochistan crisis. It was in that connection, he said, that governorship and governments were given to the NAP in NWFP and Balochistan.\textsuperscript{110} He blamed that the NAP did not enjoy the support of the majority members in Balochistan assembly and asked that if they had the majority, why would it form the government with JUI? It was reminded to the members of the National Assembly that the government fully cooperated with the NAP. Their governors were granted the powers of martial law.\textsuperscript{111}

During this time efforts were made for a patch-up between Bhutto and the Baloch leaders. Unlike Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo who preferred negotiation, both Khair Bakhsh Marri and Attaullah Mengal adopted stubborn attitude towards these moves of the federal government. On the June of 28 the chance of a settlement appeared when the NAP leaders hold a prolong meeting with Bhutto at Murree. The NAP leaders included Wali Khan, Arbab Sikandar, Attaullah Mengal, Khair Bakhsh Marri and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo. Bhutto had promised to reinstate the Mengal ministry after August 14, 1973. The intention throughout this period was to break the NAP majority through Akbar Bugti. On August 12 Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was nominated as the prime minister securing 109 votes against Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani’s 28. On August 14 Bhutto took the oath of prime minister under the 1973 constitution after that a tirade of oppression was unleashed on the NAP leaders. Attaullah Mengal, Abdul Hay Baloch, Kaswar Gardezi, Khair Bakhsh Marri and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo were arrested with more detention to happen in the next few days. The NAP afterwards hardened its stance and declared that three conditions would have to be met before any understanding with Bhutto. Those conditions were the release of all the political prisoners, army withdrawal from Balochistan and restoration of Mengal ministry in Balochistan.\textsuperscript{112}
Although Abdul Wali Khan was busy canvassing the public opinion regarding the plight of the detained Baloch leaders but a number of Baloch activists complained of his ambivalent response to the crisis. Student leaders associated with the Baloch Student organization were deeply angry over the crisis and blamed Wali Khan and other Pakhtun leaders in the party for lacking courage and doing nothing in this regard. A number of detained Baloch leaders for instance Attaullah Mengal and Khair Bakhsh Marri expressed similar concerns over the passive response of Wali Khan and other Pakhtun leaders of the NAP towards the crisis in Balochistan.

The Liaqat Bagh Incident
Abdul Wali Khan called the attitude of Bhutto as authoritarian and called him Adolf Bhutto. He rebuked him on the floor of the National Assembly and questioned his plan of making joke of representative public institutions. The entire country was virtually converted into a prison for the opposition leaders and workers. He emphatically asked from the masses in one of his pamphlet that why Bhutto did not accept the NAP majority in the two provinces? Why the NAP members, governors and elected chief minister were put into prison? Is he was a public representative and constitutionally head of state or *Shahinsha-i-Muazzam* (His Highness the Emperor)? The position of the NAP was that Mufti Mahmud and Attaullah Mengal should be restored on their positions. He demanded an end to army operation in Balochistan and condemned use of force against peaceful citizens. Being the leader of opposition he warned Bhutto of the dangerous international dimensions of the Balochistan imbroglio. He strongly objected on the extension of emergency in the country and observed that the country was passing through a period of grave crisis. He reactivated United Democratic Front and started a nation-wide agitation. The purpose of the UDF agitation was to:

i. Apprise the public of the anti-state policies of the government.

ii. To replace the present government through constitutional means.

iii. To give sacrifices for protecting civil liberties and to mobilize public in this regard.

Abdul Wali Khan canvassed major opposition parties to oppose the dictatorial policies of Bhutto. In this connection a grand public gathering was organized on March 23, 1973 at Rawalpindi in Liaqat Bagh. That political rally was, in reality, a show of muscle of the opposition especially of the NAP which had brought about thousands of its workers from the
NWFP included members of PSF. However, to the surprise of many, the NAP workers had to pass through a strict watch and body search on entering Rawalpindi. The rally was virtually organized by the enthusiastic members of the NAP and it was widely regarded Wali Khan’s show of strength against Bhutto. Prominent opposition leaders including Abdul Wali Khan, Pir Pagaro, Choudhury Zahoor Ilahi, Professor Ghafoor Ahmad, Sher Baz Khan Mazari, Shaukat Hayat, and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo arrived to participate in the rally.

The organization of the gathering and the conduct of the stage were in the hands of *Pakhtun Zalme*. Ajmal Khattak, acting general secretary of the NAP was in-charge of the affairs during the rally. Meanwhile the stage came under attack from different sides and indiscriminate firing started from the roof-top of the surrounding buildings. Hazrat Gul, a student activist from Swabi was the first one to be shot on the stage. The venue of the rally had virtually become a battle ground due to open use of fire-arms. Several people lost their lives and a large number were injured. Several buses and other vehicles were put on fire. A number of NAP activists started hand-to-hand fight with the armed men and snatched their arms. Wali Khan was pressed by an emotional worker of PSF to declare the independence of Pakhtunistan but he snubbed him by sayings that are you mad? Meanwhile, a young person having a double barrel gun was spotted near the stage. The person was caught by the workers of PSF and was duly interrogated and beaten. Later, we came to know that he came with the intention of shooting Wali Khan and other high profile NAP leaders. Choudhury Zahoor Ilahi rescued Wali Khan to a safe corner on the stage. Most of the attackers were the trained members of Federal Security Force. The attack was planned much earlier by the name of “Operation Pastry”. The government tried to give the incident an ethnic connotation by projecting that the people of Rawalpindi resented the entry of the Pakhtuns into the city for creating trouble. Wali Khan dismissed the ethnic overtone of the incident and made Ghulam Mustafa Khar, governor of Punjab; and Federal Security Force responsible for all that happened in the Liaqat Bagh.

It was under this backdrop that Ajmal Khattak crossed over to Afghanistan and consequently rebelled from the state of Pakistan. In this connection he has made-up his mind earlier than the Liaqat Bagh incident. Ali Khan Mahsood stated:

Ajmal Khattak was among those leaders in the NAP who was holding contacts with the PSF. He had great trust in Ali Khan Mahsood, Afrasyab Khattak, Aziz Bilor and
Mukhtiar Bacha among the students. Once he invited us to his office and said that he was planning to go to upper region [Afghanistan] and asked for not disclosing it to the others. He then disappeared accordingly after the incident.\textsuperscript{120}

This point was also revealed by Aimal Khattak, son of Ajmal Khattak, and Hamish Khalil, veteran Pakhtun nationalist writer. Aimal Khattak was of the view that the actual plan was orchestrated much before to pressure Bhutto to accept some demands of the Pakhtun nationalists. It was a time when the militants among the NAP became stronger. They were encouraged by the AL success in creating an independent Bangladesh.\textsuperscript{121} Its militant members intensified their subversive activities. Muhammad Afzal Khan, a NAP provincial minister in NAP-JUI government, revealed that initially the responsibility of leading the militant into Afghanistan was entrusted to him. He was given the option to go to Afghanistan and establish training camps there for imparting training to the youths. However, he declined to take-up the mission and then Ajmal Khattak was given the same responsibility.\textsuperscript{122} During this time several attempts were made on the life of Wali Khan for which he made Bhutto and his cohorts responsible. He criticized Bhutto for the media censorship of the NAP, army operation in Balochistan, increased military activities in Kashmir and posting army on Pak-Afghan border.\textsuperscript{123} However, during the whole time, he remained an active member of the UDF and took part in the constitution-making deliberations in the National Assembly.

It was a time when the NAP was set to revise its constitution in the given circumstances. It has radicalized its stance after its governments in NWFP and Balochistan were dismissed. A committee for redrafting of the new constitution was formed which stated in the introductory note:

\begin{quote}
The parliamentary wing [of the NAP] is the least effective wing of the party and in the present political situation the prospects are that its effectiveness will progressively decline. That many militant workers are militantly resisting the inroads of the government against the peoples’ rights and are struggling for the demands championed by the NAP itself.\textsuperscript{124}
\end{quote}

The strategy of the NAP was to put maximum pressure on Bhutto. For some time the party leadership did not disclosed the disappearance of Ajmal Khattak. Wali Khan created the impression of his being killed during the Liaqat Bagh firing and his dead body has been lost.
However, the government of Afghanistan under King Zahir Shah was against the NAP strategy. Zahir Shah was not interested in such kinds of blame-mongering; therefore he compelled Ajmal Khattak to either make a press conference or to pack baggage for Pakistan. Meanwhile, Sardar Muhammad Daud overthrew the government of King Zahir Shah on July 17, 1973. At least for the time being Daud extended unbounded support to the NAP militant activists. He took much interest in the Pakhtunistan issue and facilitated their activities by providing them logistic and financial support. Thousands of young activists were given military training in the camps. Passing out parades were arranged for those who successfully completed the training courses. Sardar Daud and Wali Khan used to participate in the passing out ceremonies of these parades. These young recruits were given the name of “sarteri” (ready to sacrifice themselves) by the party leaders. Daud’s regime provided overt and covert military and political support to the Pakhtun and Baloch nationalists. According to one estimate, the Afghan government spent $875,000 per year on the Pakhtun and Baloch activities.

Ajmal Khattak was blamed by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto for giving speeches to saboteurs in Afghanistan against Pakistan. He found a sympathetic atmosphere in Kabul and established Pakhtunistan Secretariat in Kabul with active support of Afghanistan government. He, in an interview to Al-Fatah magazine said that his aim was to create an independent Pakhtunistan on the model of Bangladesh. Feroz Ahmad contends that Wali Khan’s rhetoric of integration was because separatism was considered treason in Pakistan where they have to work clandestinely. As Ajmal Khattak, the NAP general secretary, later on made it clear that secessionists seldom openly advocate separatism and their strategy was no less than the establishment of Pakhtunistan.

The association of the government of Afghanistan and the help of some other foreign countries further confused the Pakhtunistan national question of the NAP. The very basis of the Pakhtunistan movement, initiated by the NAP general secretary, were rested on hallow concepts. The government of Sardar Muhammad Daud in Afghanistan used the Pakhtun nationalists against the Bhutto government by providing them financial and logistic help. While discussing the Pakhtun national question Feroz Ahmad eloquently questioned the assertion of the Afghan government in the whole affairs. Their support for the Pakhtun cause is reflected in a postage stamp issued in 1969 which shows former N-WFP, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), and the entire Balochistan as the territory of the proposed Pakhtunistan state. Their
perceived Pakhtunistan was for the Pakhtuns of Pakistan but not for the Pakhtuns of Afghanistan. The idea was totally self-serving at that moment. Moreover, support for an undercover satellite state of Pakhtunistan would intensify the national question in Afghanistan itself. The predicament of the Afghan rulers was that in case of supporting the Pakhtuns’ self-determination cause, centrifugal forces might create political problems in their own country. A heterogeneous Afghanistan then would have to face the question of self-determination for the Tajiks, the Turkmenians, the Uzbeks and the Hazaras.\textsuperscript{131}

The moment they realized the irrationality of the idea, immediate orders were issued by Sardar Daud that these ‘Pakistanis’ should leave Afghanistan immediately. Selig Harrison and Diego Cordovez mention that during the Zia-ul-Haq regime, Sardar Muhammad Daud pressed the Pakhtun nationalists in Afghanistan to go to their country before April 30, 1978.\textsuperscript{132} He went so much in his U-turn on the Pakhtunistan cause that he totally handicapped Ajmal Khattak, the self-exiled NAP general secretary, at Kabul. The workers of the \textit{Pakhtun Zalme} (Young Pakhtun) were kept in confinement in a camp at Jalalabad. Above them anti-Pakhtunistan officers were appointed to strictly monitor their activities. Sardar Daud was no more ready to tolerate Abdul Ghaffar Khan when the later visited Afghanistan in 1978. According to Ali Khan Mahsood, the leader of the anti-Pakhtunistan elements in Kabul was Sardar Naeem Jan, brother of Sardar Daud. The U-turn in the Afghan policy with regard to Pakhtunistan was because Soviet Union was no more interested in the issue. The Russians lost their interest much earlier due to the geo-strategic compulsions. In private gatherings they usually exhibited their supporting stance but in formal sessions they were hesitant to discuss the issue any more. Another important factor in changing Daud’s mind was the unfriendly attitude of the Pakhtuns living in Pakistan.\textsuperscript{133}

The government of Pakistan’s version in this regard was that the NAP tactically filled the gap left by Abdul Ghaffar Khan in Afghanistan through Mr. Ajmal Khattak. The need to have a high ranking NAP leader in Afghanistan must have been pressing to keep up the party’s contacts abroad and to articulate its view on the Pakistan situation. He left Pakistan in March 1973 in a clandestine manner. Speaking to the correspondent of the United Press of India Mr. Khattak elaborated his plan in the following words:

\begin{quote}
If the failure of the efforts of Khan Abdul Wali Khan and the UDF become evident, it would be our patriotic duty to salvage as much of Pakistan as possible.\textsuperscript{134}
\end{quote}
The strategy of Wali Khan was to maximize pressure on Bhutto on several fronts. On external front he utilized the option of Pakhtunistan with the support of Afghanistan, USSR, India and other friendly countries. Internally he himself used the platform of UDF to politically confront Bhutto. He increased activities from the platform of the UDF and passed sympathetic resolutions in support of those who have been arrested by the government. He strongly protested the internment of five thousands Balochs including children and women. According to the NAP’s chief the NAP-JUI government in the province was dismissed unconstitutionally to install puppet ministry there. Assembly members have been insulted by various means; a number of them were killed on political grounds. He demanded the immediate release of all political prisoners, full provincial autonomy except defense, foreign affairs and communication. To improve the conditions of the formers extensive agricultural reforms should be made and landlordism should be abolished in the country. He criticized the nationalization of banks because of controlling its finances. NAP appreciated the recognition of Bangladesh and Delhi Declaration and termed it a step for the normalization of relations between Pakistan, Bangladesh and India. Wali Khan condemned imposing of curbs on Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s activities and demanded its immediate withdrawal. At the end he appealed to all democratic forces in the country to unite against the undemocratic and dictatorial regime of Bhutto.135

Imposition of Ban on the NAP (1975)

It was much before the imposition of the ban on the NAP that Abdul Wali Khan had sensed the intention of Bhutto of out-rightly eliminating his party. Once he openly attacked the highhandedness of Bhutto by pointing to the dismissal of certain military generals. Then 1400 civil servants were shown the door without providing them a chance to hear their point of view. Afterwards, he had turned towards his political opponents. He outmaneuvered most of the political leaders undemocratically, eliminated Muslim League, and weakened the strength of JUI and JUP by causing defections in them. It was only the NAP which solidly stood in his way despite its small numerical strength.136 During that time four attempts were made on the life of Abdul Wali Khan. It has been revealed by Sherbaz Khan Mazari, a member of the National Assembly that Bhutto government had decided much earlier to eliminate him and all the NAP leadership.137
On the face of an increasingly strong national campaign led by the NAP against the government, Bhutto banned NAP on February 10, 1975 after the murder of his close party colleague and senior minister of NWFP Hayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao. Hayat Sherpao was among those leaders who played their roles in the formation and then the consolidation of the PPP among the Pakhtuns. As the era was marked by political murders in Pakistan so in the past few months several attempts had been made on his life. He was not the only politician targeted by the terrorists; at least half a dozen political leaders of national caliber and National Assembly and provincial assemblies’ members were killed. It is noteworthy to mention that on the face of so many political murders why this fate awaited only for the NAP and its leadership?

Meanwhile the National Assembly passed a number of bills to empower the government to detain MNAs and MPAs during the assemblies’ sessions. The political parties Act of 1962 was amended to declare a foreign-aided political party as un-lawful entity. Such kinds of cases were subjected constitutionally to place them before the Supreme Court within 15 days. Wali Khan and NAP was blamed for launching large-scale terrorist activities through sabotage and bomb blasts with the active support of the Afghanistan government. To establish evidences against the NAP leadership search operations were conducted in most of the universities and colleges in NWFP, Balochistan and Sindh. Attorney General Yahya Bakhtiar presented a long list of arms and ammunition recovered from Balochistan. The government provided a statement of Wali Khan to the press that he has given in Charssadda on December 25, 1974 that if any harm came to his men he would realize it from Sherpao flesh and property. On another occasion on December 30 Wali Khan threatened Sherpao of disgracing his mother if he did not stop his conspiracies against the NAP. Bhutto pointed out that NAP’s fight was not with his party rather their conflict was with the state of Pakistan. In one of his speech he said about the NAP and its leadership:

They were against Pakistan from the outset. They belonged to the Indian National Congress. After the establishment of Pakistan, they set up a new party and give it a new name: NAP. The name could be changed but the attitude did not. The deep rooted characteristics could not be changed. The mentality did not change, the heart did not.

Yahya Bakhtiar, the then Attorney General of Pakistan, remarked in his opening address in the Supreme Court of Pakistan that the leadership of the NAP such as Abdul Ghaffar Khan, G.
M. Syed, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Abdus Samad Achakzai and Mr. Abdul Wali Khan had worked against the creation of Pakistan and fought for Akhand Bharat. Bhutto government blamed the NAP for preaching the doctrine of four nationalities, receiving help from foreign powers hostile to Pakistan, causing hatred and violence, maligning Quaid-i-Azam and working for the disintegration of Pakistan. On June 19, 1975 Wali Khan boycotted the court proceeding due to the biased attitude of the judges. While he demanded the facility of lawyers of their own choice for all senior leaders of the NAP, however, he withdrew the power of attorney for himself. He expressed serious reservation over the impartiality of two judges namely Justice Afzal Cheema and Gul Muhammad Khan. Due to the decision of Wali Khan, the court observed at one time that he [Wali Khan] will not be permitted to appear in the court until he apologized first for his walk-out. Noticing this state of affairs during the trial, Wali Khan made an application to the court in which he had made one objection and two requests. The objection was regarding the constitution of the bench wherein two above judges were party to the reference. The first request was hiring of counsel of high caliber to which the court agreed. However, it turned down his request to postpone the hearing until the arrival of his counsel. The other request was to produce the five respondents during hearing of the case. Wali Khan requested the court to release them on bail. To his utter dismay his objection and request of producing the five main respondents were overruled by the court. His objection on the constitution of the bench was also over-ruled by the court in its judgment.

Abdul Wali Khan could not hope of getting any relief from the court, kept his decision of counsel withdrawal intact. His helplessness and perturbed response to the bench was that “I honestly felt that my hands tied and feeling absolutely helpless, there was hardly anything I could do except to withdraw” According to Satish Kumar, Wali Khan’s trust in the judiciary was shattered. He has produced a statement which Wali Khan made on the first day of the trial:

After the executive power had passed onto the hands of a single individual, and the legislature had been corrupted and totally neutralized and made subservient to the whims and caprices of one man, the one and only institution to which the whole country looks for protection from this fascist and dictatorial one-man rule is the judiciary.

In the absence of defending lawyer the decision to ban the NAP was upheld by the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The court observed that although it was one of the most difficult
cases that have come before this court and it was a pity that political parties were sought to be banned. The Supreme Court further observed:

We see no escape from the conclusion that the National Awami Party was, within the meaning of subsection (1) of section 6 of the Political Parties Act (III of 1962), operating in a manner prejudicial to the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan, and therefore, it made itself liable to be dissolved under the same Act.¹⁴⁸

In a rejoinder to Abdul Wali Khan written statement in the Supreme Court the Government blamed him for the contempt of court for his act of walk-out, using obnoxious and abusive language against the dignity of the honorable court.¹⁴⁹ In addition to Khan Abdul Wali Khan, a large number of NAP leaders and activists were implicated in the case. A special tribunal by the name of Hyderabad Tribunal Case was constituted to hear the case. The detainees included leader of the opposition, two former governors, two chief ministers, scores of national and provincial parliamentarians, Amirzada Khan, Syed Kaswar Gardezi, Habib Jalib (Urdu revolutionary poet) and Mir Gul Khan Naseer (Baloch revolutionary poet) and even some of Bhutto’s former colleagues, many of whom were later re-elected and became federal or provincial ministers.¹⁵⁰

The NAP strategy of sending Ajmal Khattak to Afghanistan and launching of anti-state activities therefrom had produced adverse consequences for Pakistan and the NAP as an important political party of the country. It provided an opportunity to Bhutto by tagging it as an anti-state organization with extra-territorial loyalties. He cleverly got most of his political achievements ahead of putting the final seal in the coffin of the NAP. For example with the cooperation of the NAP the constitution-making process was completed, relations with India have been normalized by signing Simla Agreement, Bangladesh was recognized, the Russian attitude was neutralized to a large extant and Organization of Islamic Conference was organized in 1974. Daud explicit support for the Pakhtunistan cause was checked by utilizing the Islamist elements in Afghanistan such as Gulbadin Hikmatyar and Professor Burhan-ud-Din Rabani. And after all, PPP ministries were formed in NWFP and Balochistan after NAP-JUI governments’ dismissal in both the provinces.

Although Bhutto outwitted the NAP leadership in an environment of political antagonism but Pakistan being a state was deprived of a progressive and liberal left party that held balance of
power in an era of political turmoil. The NAP leadership association with separatist activities proved suicidal for the party as a whole. Had the NAP leadership utilized their options i.e. forming a solid and meaningful coalition of all the opposition parties in Pakistan and putting maximum pressure on Bhutto, the fate of NAP could have been different from such detrimental aftermath.
References and Notes

8 Election manifesto adopted at the meeting of the NWFP working committee of the NAP (Wali) on April 4, 1970 at Peshawar.
10 See the full text of Wali Khan televised speech in appendix No. 5.
11 Televised speech of Abdul Wali Khan, President of the NAP (Wali) quoted in *Political Parties: Their Policies and Programs* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1971).
12 Election manifesto of the NAP (Wali).
15 1970 Election Manifesto of the NAP (Wali).
18 G. W. Choudhury, *The Last Days of the United Pakistan*, p. 120.
19 Resolution adopted at a public meeting of the NAP (Wali) on January 5, 1970 at Dhaka.
20 *Azad* October 9, 1970.
22 Syed Jaffar Ahmad, *Dr. Feroz Ahmad Kai Mazamin*, ed. [Urdu] (Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre University of Karachi, 2009), 74.
24 Mahmud Ali Qasuri left the NAP and joined PPP before the 1970 elections. He was of the view that Bhutto distributed thousands of rupees among his party candidates in the Punjab. He goes on to say that in other areas too he provided funds to the party nominees. He used to bring briefcases full of rupees and distributed among the candidates. Abdullah Malik, *Dastan-i-Khanwada Mian Mahmud Ali Qasuri*, p. 397. Graig Baxter, *Diaries of Field Martial Muhammad Ayub Khan*, p. 401. Throughout election campaign Bhutto remained close with General Pirzada, General Gul Hasan and Air Martial Rahim Khan. The army generals considered his rhetoric of Islamic Socialism just a ‘political guise’. Sherbaz Khan Mazari, *A Journey to Disillusionment*, p. 166.
26 A. B. Awan, *Balochistan: Historical and Political Processes*, p. 239.
27 Ibid; p. 240.
28 Ibid; 253.
34 Ibid; p. 5.
36 Masawat, February 1, 1971. Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rahman was very much close to the leadership of Balochistan and their struggle for equal political rights. He expressed sympathy with the plight of the Baloch people and showed great concern for their demands. He made commitment in a pre-election meeting at Karachi to support all the demands of Baloch people in the upcoming National Assembly. Sherbaz Khan Mazari, A Journey to Disillusionment, p. 165.
38 Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, In Search of Solution, p. 143.
39 Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Bacha Khan aw Khudai Khidmatgari, Vol. II, p. 535. Bhutto’s refusal to attend the National Assembly session was one of the most important factors in the break-up of Pakistan. Yahya Khan was of the view that the dangerous speeches of Bhutto had made much greater harm to national integration than that of Shaikh Mujib. Yahya Khan’s interview reprinted in the daily Khabrain, July 14, 1995.
40 Ibid; p. 543.
41 Pakistan Times, March 17, 1971.
43 Ibid; p. 564.
44 Jasarat, March 1, 1971.
45 Pakistan Times, April 23, 1971.
46 Jung, November 18, 1971.
48 Sirajul Islam, History of Bangladesh, p. 544.
49 Statement of Wali Khan Before the Hamood-ur-Rahman Commission constituted to probe the 1971 crisis.
51 See the full text of presidential statement banning the NAP in appendix No. 6. Ban on the NAP was imposed by Yahya Khan on November 26, 1971. He charged most of the central leaders of the party including Bhashani, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Muzaffar Ahmad of acting against the integrity of Pakistan. However Wali Khan was of the view
that it was Bhutto who persuaded Yahya Khan to impose ban on the party activities. He argued that there was no justification of imposing ban on the West Pakistan branch of the NAP (Wali) because none of its worker was found guilty of seditious activities. When he asked Yahya Khan about this flaw in his decision, the president replied that he acted in haste at that time and did not considered banning the NAP only in East Pakistan. Khan Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan aw Khudai Khidmatgari*, Vol. III, p. 22.


55 Tripartite Agreement concluded on March 6, 1972 between PPP, NAP and JUI. The contents of the agreement were published in a number of newspapers such as *Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Masawat*, *Dawn* etc. on March 7.


61 Circular issued by the general secretary of the NAP on December 15, 1972 from the central office of the NAP at Lahore.


63 C. I. D Reports dated June 23, 1974, Provincial Archives Peshawar, Government of the NWFP.


69 Resolutions passed at the National Council Meeting of the Pakistan National Awami party held at Peshawar on November 16-17, 1972.

70 Provincial party presidents, members of the working committee and national councillors from the four provinces were elected during the meeting of the party’s national council. Muhammad Hashim Khan Ghilzai, Syed Rashid Ahmad, Syed Muhammad Ilyas and Naseem Shamim Malik were elected presidents of Balochistan, Sindh, NWFP and Punjab respectively. *Ibid*, p. 2.

71 In this regard a number of writers have discussed the NAP-Bhutto tussle from the angle of state and provincial elites. See for instance Tahir Amin, *Ethno-National Movements of Pakistan: Domestic and International Factors*, Khalid B. Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change*.

These allegations were not only levelled by the NAP leaders but also by a number of independent observers of the events unfolding at that time. Sherbaz Khan Mazari writes that the powerful army junta planned to bring about unification or at least a political alliance between all the splinter groups of Muslim League under Abdul Qayum Khan. The most active members of this powerful junta were General Pirzada, General Gul Hasan, Air Martial Rahim Khan and many others. Shaukat Hayat Khan was of the view that the army junta were struggling to support Qayum Khan in NWFP and Bhutto in Sindh and the Punjab. See Sherbaz Khan Mazari, *A Journey to Disillusionment*, p. 166.

85 Muhammad Rizwan, ‘Political Development in NWFP and Balochistan’, p. 166.
87 Sherbaz Khan Mazari, *A Journey to Disillusionment*, p. 239.
90 *The Sun*, October, 15, 1972.
91 Sherbaz Khan Mazari, *A Journey to Disillusionment*, p. 289. The author stated that many of the allegations brought by Akbar Bugti with regard to the anti-state activities of the Baloch leaders of the NAP were baseless.
92 Doda Khan Zarakzai was an influential *sardar* in the Jhalawan area in Balochistan. He was a close friend of Qadir Bakhsh and Nabi Bakhsh Zehri. They were old Muslim Leaguers and were allies of the federal interior minister Abdul Qayum Khan. They have vast mine interests in Balochistan. These interests were under threat after the NAP government was installed in Balochistan. Doda Khan had set-up his own parallel government in Jhalawan area. He started levying taxes and deciding cases. A. B. Awan, *Baluchistan: Historical and Political Processes*, p. 268.
In fact Mr. Bhutto was a trusted friend of Muammar Qaddafi of Libya, Shah Faisal of Saudi Arabia, King Raza Shah Pehlvi of Iran and other kings and monarchs of the Middle East. Wali Khan once described him as Adolf Bhutto due to his autocratic rule. On international level he was among the company of such leaders who did not tolerate the slightest opposition in their countries and kingdoms. This trend among his company greatly influenced Bhutto’s political thoughts regarding opposition’s political approaches in a democratic Pakistan. His use of force and formation of Federal Security Force may be considered a good example of his strategy.

Read the editorial of the daily The News, February 12, 1972.


Ali Khan Mahsood, p. 800.


Resolution passed at the meeting of provincial working committee meeting of the NAP held on March 4, 1973 at Quetta.

These members of the assembly included Attaullah Mengal, Khair Bakhsh Marri, Gul Khan Naseer, Agha Abdul Karim, Ahmad Nawaz Bugti, Abdur Rahman, Dost Muhammad, Nawabzada Sher Ali, Saleh Muhammad, Mulvi Shamsudin and Miss Fazila Qazi. Sherbaz Khan Mazari, A Journey to Disillusionment, p. 304.

Resolution passed at the central working committee of the NAP held on May 3-4, 1973 at Quetta.


Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s speech on April 8, 1976 at Quetta, abolishing the Sardari System.


Ibid; p. 341.

Ibid; p. 374.


Ibid; p. 778.

Sherbaz Khan Mazari, A Journey to Disillusionment, p. 297-98.

Soon after Bhutto assumed the control of the country, he released Mujib-ur-Rehman, and addressed on PTV in emotional fervour to the demoralized nation. He dismissed Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army, Lieutenant-General Gul Hassan Khan and also fired Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan, Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Air Force, and Vice-Admiral Muzaffar Hassan, then-Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Navy. All of these Commander-in-Chiefs led their services during the East Pakistan conflict. Satish Kumar, *The New Pakistan*, p. 95.


Ibid, p. 205.


Government of Pakistan Reference to the Supreme Court.

146 Satish Kumar, The New Pakistan, p. 103.

147 Ibid; p. 105.


150 Sherbaz Khan Mazari, A Journey to Disillusionment, p. 377.
CONCLUSION

In the Muslim majority provinces that nowadays constitute Pakistan, the political orientation and composition of the leftist elements varied due to regional, ideological and ethnic interest. Majority of them were more concerned about their ethnic interest than playing a bigger role on national level. Very few of them strictly adhered to the policy of any central authority. Secular regionalists were organized under various political platforms for instance in Sindh they were represented by the Sindh Hari Committee and G. M. Syed’s Sindh Progressive League, in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa they were associated with the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, in Balochistan they represented Kalat State National Party and Anjuman-i-Watan. In the Punjab and Bengal however there appeared separate groups of progressive elements within the All-India Muslim League. A large number of communists worked in other such organizations and movements which some time went against the established policy of CPI. CPI itself swayed from one end of the pendulum to another end which was made as a regular exercise in their policy formulation. Very often they took directions from the Communist International and CPSU. The rapid changes in the 1940s brought about a major shift in their overall strategy. The shift was instrumental after the break-up of the Second World War in which Moscow was also against the central powers.

With the partition of India all these leftists and regionalist parties were placed in a very different political environment. Pakistani establishment and civil-military bureaucracy considered them a class of those political leaders who were always against the idea of a separate Muslim state and the creation of Pakistan. They often blamed them of extra-territorial loyalties due to their alleged links with some foreign countries. The scandalous involvement of the CPP in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case further made them suspected in the eyes of the establishment. Interestingly the composition of the leftist elements in Pakistan revealed stark ideological contrasts and a splintered political scene. In the case of regionalists it is pertinent to mention that majority of them enjoyed the support of considerable number of people in their respective regions. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, G. M. Syed, Maulana Bhashani, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Abdus Samad Achakzai were among the popular leaders and had strong roots among the masses as compared to the leadership of the CPP or any other rightist party in Pakistan.
Among the leftists there were several ideological groups. There were the progressive democrats; there were brands of communists ranging from evolutionary to militant adventurists. Often they made alliance with each others on shallow terms ignoring the deep-seated ideological differences. Majority of them joined Azad Pakistan Party in the Punjab. In 1954 when the CPP was banned in Pakistan, all the communists were deprived of their central organization. It weakened their organizational base and left them in vulnerable position. After the promulgation of the One Unit Scheme in 1955 it was realized by most of the regionalist parties, leftists and communists that a party to speak for their rights at the Centre was indispensible. Many of them were persecuted under the successive governments for variety of reasons. Some important reasons of their convergence were their opposition to the ruling Muslim League, the massive state repression, secular political approach, anti-imperialism and leftist leaning in political orientation. The two political leaders who made strenuous efforts in making a broad-based and unified political bloc were Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din and Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani. They were the men who at the end convinced other likeminded politicians to form a strong organization that should be based on the secular-leftist ideas.

At the end they were able to establish the NAP in 1957 with a broad-based national outlook. It was based on a political program agreed to by all the leftists and regionalists. However, the regionalists in the NAP were not ready to compromise on their parochial and provincial interests. They were in much stronger position in the party affairs as compare to progressive and communist elements. Although they were much batter in providing a stronger progressive outlook to the overall structure of the party but on popular front they did not match the strength of the regionalists. Despite all these seeming organizational clefts, the formation of the NAP was a historic event in the political history of Pakistan.

On the other, the formation of the NAP was perceived a sign of their political misfortune by many in the country’s civil and military establishment. The reason of this kind of thinking emanated due to the unification of these elements on national level in the shape of a cohesive political force that would be much capable to exhibit comparatively better performance in the elections scheduled in 1958. And which unfortunately were to be postponed due to the promulgation of Martial Law by General Ayub Khan. Other reason of Pakistani establishment strong antipathy towards the NAP was the visible presence of a large number of communists and their active role in its formation and policy formulation. Cold War politics and Pakistan leaning
towards the capitalist bloc also made its position more vulnerable in the anti-communist tirade of the Western bloc. The capitalist countries particularly encouraged and backed the Pakistani government’s diatribe against the communists.

One element is quite clear in the midst of all these arguments. The formation of the NAP brought cohesiveness in the seemingly diverse political leadership under a single political umbrella organization. It was a positive sign of integration of the leftist and regionalist elements with the Federation of Pakistan. The Baloch, Pakhtun, Bengali, Sindhi regionalists and Punjabi leftist came across a single organization that eventually increased the inherent strength of the federation in Pakistan. All these provincial political groups have been combined which posed potential threat to their political adversaries.

Majority of the leftist writers considered the NAP’s strong position as one of the factors in the imposition of Martial Law under Ayub Khan. The treatment meted out to the leaders and workers of the NAP after the promulgation of Martial Law speaks of this reality. NAP was the most persecuted political organization under Ayub Khan martial law regulations due to its communist and socialist inclination. The Pakistani establishment fear was largely emanated due to two important reasons. Firstly, the presence of communists and their control of the ideological front of the NAP and secondly the previous track record of most of the regionalist leaders who opposed the creation of Pakistan during the freedom struggle. The NAP’s formation was perceived as the unification of all the forces who were opposed to the basic ideology of Pakistan. However, most of them have reconciled themselves with the state of Pakistan by taking oath of allegiance and discarding their previous political discourses.

The formation of the NAP was the first and final unification of the progressive forces in the political history of undivided Pakistan. But it was not successful in keeping them united for the time to come. The political struggle of the NAP from its inception to banning in 1975 was marred by ideological and regional crisis. As the party was composed of numerous groups that professed diverse ideological orientation, therefore the party failed to bring political unity among its workers. On the ideological front the party’s affairs was controlled by the communists who provided it wide-ranging conceptual basis. Initially they tried to accommodate diverse ethnic groups that were left oriented in their ideological formulation.

The strong influence of its communist members on the ideology of the party and policy formulation may be judged from the fact that it did not protect itself from the impending
ideological crisis that engulfed the International Communist Movement in the early 1960s. And when on international level the communist movement was divided between the Russian and Chinese camps, the NAP also witnessed a split on similar ideological grounds in July 1968. One faction under the leadership of Bhashani clearly supported Chinese line of thinking while another splinter faction under Abdul Wali Khan went to join the opposite Russian camp.

Very little analysis about the role of the NAP and its leadership in the separation of East Pakistan was made by writers and scholars on the subject. All the major enquiries dealt with the Awami League demands of provincial autonomy and Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rahman’s Six Points program. The role of NAP was generally overlooked by most of the researchers. As a matter of fact it was Bhashani who initially mobilized the masses on the issue of provincial autonomy and separation. The idea of separation of the East Pakistan was actually his brain-child which he made public on May 4, 1958. Some of his statements very clearly called for separation from West Pakistan. For him, the only solution of the ills of the East Pakistan was to say ‘good bye’ to Pakistan. His political constituency was the peasants, labors and poor sections of the eastern wing. He mobilized them for the creation of a separate state of Bangladesh much before the Awami League separatist struggle. But he failed to organize his followers under the banner of the NAP. The question striking the mind of every sane is however the mysterious silence of the Pakistani establishment in responding his dangerous calls. Contrary to Bhashani’s mooring of separation, many West Pakistani leftist and regionalist were often put behind the bars. However, the separatist rhetoric of Bhashani was ignored most of the time. The division of the NAP in 1968 virtually restricted his role to the East Pakistan which again intensified the cleavage of East-West phenomenon. Even Bhashani severed his relations with the West Pakistani branch of the NAP (Bhashani) much before the separation. At the end the struggle of Bhashani for the East Pakistan independence was hijacked by the leadership of the Awami League.

Bhashani was a poor organizer and a confused political leader not capable of running the affairs of any big organization. Likewise he coined the slogan of Islamic socialism but at the end it was hijacked by Z. A. Bhutto in West Pakistan during the 1970 elections. Most of the followers of Bhashani have been switched over to the newly established Pakistan Peoples Party after his lukewarm interest in the West Pakistan party.

The establishment of PPP by Z. A. Bhutto in 1967 proved to be a turning point in the history of left politics in Pakistan. It was a time when the NAP was the only left political party
that represented progressive forces on national level. But it failed to match the political acumen of Z. A. Bhutto and his more dynamic and mass-friendly manifesto. NAP was in the middle of ideological crisis at that time which was successfully utilized by Bhutto by making PPP a mass-based political organization. A large number of NAP workers and leadership in Sindh and in the Punjab joined hand with Bhutto which further weakened the NAP apparatus in these two provinces.

During the Bhutto regime the NAP had entered into parliamentary politics in a new Pakistan. Its sobering influence during the 1970 made the holding of elections possible in both the wings of the country. It backed Bhutto on a number of important issues for example the recognition of Bangladesh, normalization of relations with Russia and the signing of a workable agreement with India. It played its moderating role, despite its antagonism with the PPP, in the passage of the 1973 constitution. The untiring effort of its legislators made it possible to give the 1973 constitution a parliamentary flavor. It was a party which held a balance of power and was a credible national alternative to the PPP. The platform of the NAP was essentially an element of political moderation in Pakistan that can be used in initiating effective relations with Russia, India, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and a number of other socialist republics.

However, Bhutto always considered the NAP a potential left and progressive competitor in and outside the Parliament. Many observers expressed the opinion that the resentment between Bhutto and NAP leaders including Abdul Wali Khan and Baloch nationalists was a kind of tussle of provincial and state elites. Nonetheless, Bhutto considered the NAP a challenging ideological party that could damage the PPP chances of success on national level. NAP was a political threat on ideological front for the PPP to which Bhutto never reconciled. At the end he imposed ban on the NAP through Supreme Court of Pakistan’s order in 1975 to drive it out once for all from the political scene. After the imposition of ban on the NAP many groups have been created in various provinces. Afterwards the party leadership failed to revitalize the progressive forces into another political organization on national level.

Satish Kumar is right in his analysis by stating that the death of Hayat Sherpao was not as much a loss for democratic stability in Pakistan as the banning of the NAP. NAP disappearance from the political scene strengthened the right-wing undemocratic political forces in the country. On the other it was a miscalculated policy on the part of the NAP leadership to launch a movement for an independent state of Pakhtunistan. The movement was launched on the behest
of the Government of Afghanistan with the establishment of Pakhtunistan Secretariat at Kabul. The bases of the movement were fragile and the NAP leadership failed to study the intentions of the Afghanistan government. However, it did provide an opportunity to Z. A. Bhutto to brand the party as working for the disintegration of Pakistan with the active help of some foreign countries.

The folly of the NAP leadership and the revengeful pattern of Bhutto government were largely responsible in the elimination of such valuable political organization. Bhutto was searching for every opportunity to dislodge it from the political scene because it was like an eye-sore to him. With the ban on the NAP, most of its components were disintegrated which shattered the very fabric of the Pakistani Federation. Huge gulf have been created between political ethnic groups that were represented in the Federation of Pakistan by the NAP. The roles of most of its political components in the NWFP and Balochistan were limited to their respective provinces. As a result the tendencies of provincialism and center-provinces conflict have been intensified. Bhutto could have been cheered the imposition of ban on the NAP but Pakistan grieved from the upshot for it has kept most of the autonomists very much intact within the fold of its Federation. NAP was established in a carnival of the progressive political workers and eliminated in their whimpering cry.
Appendix No. 1

CONSTITUTION OF THE
PAKISTAN NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY

PART 1

1. Name: The name of the Party shall be Pakistan National Awami Party.

2. Head Quarters: The Party shall have its head-quarter in the capital city of Pakistan with a sub-office at Dhaka.

PART II.

AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND PROGRAMME

To maintain and preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan, as a sacred trust. To establish through constitutional, legal and peaceful means a democratic state and a social system in Pakistan, which will be free from foreign control and influence under which communal differences within the people and all oppression and exploitation will come to an end. In this democratic state and social system, all people will be equal before the law, all people irrespective of geographic situation, religious belief, caste, community, race and sex will have guarantee to employment, shelter, education, civil liberty and freedom to observe religious rites so that every individual will have full scope for development. This democratic state and social system will foster the growth of patriotism among the people of Pakistan and weld the people of both the wings into one mighty Pakistani nation.

STATE STRUCTURE

1. To develop Pakistan into a fully independent sovereign and welfare federal state on the basis of two autonomous units of East and West Pakistan. The sovereign rights of the State will be vested in the people to be exercised by the Assemblies formed by the representatives of the people, elected through joint electorate and universal adult franchise and direct voting.

2. To guarantee free and fair elections to all representative institutions and legislatures and to maintain and preserve full parliamentary democracy.

3. In order to guarantee rights of autonomy to the people of both East and West Pakistan under the Federal Government the following steps shall be taken:-
(a) To give full regional autonomy to both the wings of Pakistan. The responsibilities for defense, foreign relations and currency only shall remain with the central government. All other subjects to be vested with the East and West Pakistan Governments.

(b) To restore the provinces of West Pakistan as autonomous provinces reconstituted on the basis of cultural and linguistic homogeneity and geographical contiguity.

(c) The reconstituted provinces which will be uniformed in their democratic structure, shall unite in a Zonal Federation of West Pakistan in whose legislature no one province shall have a larger number of seats than the rest of the provinces put together by virtue of its numerical strength, for the administration of such common subjects regarding which there is agreement among the elected representatives of the provinces.

The above aim of replacing the present One Unit set-up by a Zonal Federation shall be achieved in a constitutional and democratic manner.

(d) All special and excluded areas including the existing princely states, tribal areas, leased areas, agencies and any other similarly governed areas in Pakistan to merge in the contiguous provinces as integral parts thereof.

(e) To integrate nomadic, semi-nomadic and tribal peoples into larger, settlements so that better civic amenities can be provided to them.

4. To promote and cement the evolution of brotherly relations between all Pakistanis. To encourage cultural exchanges and social relations. To make Inter-wing communications cheaper.

5. Immediate separation of the judiciary from the executive.

**FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF PEOPLE**

6. To enforce the basic Human Rights provided in the U. N. O Human Rights Charter.

7. To ensure to all citizens irrespective of religious belief, community and race, the full right to practice their own religion according to their own conscience.

8. To guarantee to all citizens food, employment, shelter, education, medical aid, security and justice.
9. To introduce free and compulsory education up-to the primary stage and to guarantee to primary school teachers fair salaries. To increase the number of all grades of schools, colleges, medical and technical institutions according to the requirements of the people. To make education cheaper. Mother tongue of the respective people to be the medium of their education.

10. To liberalize education and to remove all restrictions upon its acquisition. To abolish all provisions turning at the regimentation and control of intellectual pursuit.

11. To take appropriate measures for improvement of public health and sanitation. To increase the number of hospitals, maternity homes, charitable dispensaries, baby clinics etc. To take adequate steps to increase the supply of pure drinking water to the people, especially in the rural areas.

12. To strive to minimize the difference in the cultural, and social levels of the urban and rural population by paying special attention to the requirements of the rural people and by taking steps to promote adult education, public health and sanitation in rural areas.

13. To guarantee to all citizens freedom of expression, freedom of movement, freedom of press, freedom to organize meetings, freedom to form associations and freedom to organize peaceful processions and strikes. To maintain inviolability of person and secrecy of private correspondence. To repeal the laws authorizing detention without trial and to repeal all other repressive laws.

14. To rehabilitate all those who have suffered in the struggle for the achievement of freedom and democracy and to make arrangements to perpetuate the memory of those who laid down their lives in the service of the nation.

15. To establish equal rights of women with men in social, economic and political fields.

16. To provide aid to the unemployed and to the old and infirm, to remove beggary. To maintain un-provided orphans from state resources.

17. To guarantee to every adult citizen to vote freely and to ensure free and fair elections.

18. To maintain the system of joint electorate, universal adult franchise and secret ballot for elections to legislatures, local self-governing institutions etc.
RIGHT OF LANGUAGES
19. The constitutional provision that Bengali and Urdu are State Languages is to be given full effect and state help to be rendered to all other languages of the people of Pakistan for their development.

KASHMIR QUESTION
20. To ensure to the people of Kashmir the right to determine their future freely by means of a plebiscite. To work for the establishment of a democratic administration of Azad Kashmir.

LAND REFORMS
21. In view of the fact that Pakistan is an agrarian country, land reforms should be given top priority for the development of the country as a whole. In order to affect land reforms in East and West Pakistan the party adopts the following program.

IN EAST PAKISTAN
22. To abolish zamindari without compensation and to give land to the tillers. To give priority to the landless and poor peasants in the redistribution of surplus land.
23. To abolish certificate procedure, to reduce the burden of rent and taxes, to reform the existing share cropping system, and to take measures to relieve the peasants from the burden of debts.
24. To take suitable measures for the rehabilitation of the expropriated zamindars, talukdar and all other middle interests.
25. To nationalize jute trade and to guarantee the payment of a fair price of jute, tobacco, sugarcane and other cash crops to the peasants.

IN WEST PAKISTAN
26. To strive for the maximum productivity of land and for the provision of economic holding to the peasants; minimum holding to be one that yields at least Rs.1,200 per annum met by the following methods:
   (a) Distribution of all crown land amongst peasants on easy terms.
   (b) The curtailment of zamindari yielding net income over Rs.12,000 per annum, subject to payment of such compensation as the legislature may determine.
27. Abolition of all Jagirdari rights without compensation provided that where the total income of a Jagirdar from all resources available to him will on abolition of his jagir be
less than Rs.100 per month, such Jagirdar shall on termination of his jagir be given a
solution equal to the net income of the Jagir for five years.

28. The introduction of a uniform system of revenue assessment throughout West Pakistan,
which will envisage :-

(a) Sliding scale of assessment so that the lower the price obtaining in the market the
lower the rate of revenue, with a fixed floor and ceiling.
(b) Graded assessment so that the lower the income the lower the rate of revenue.

29. Adequate protection of tenancy rights which will be uniform throughout West Pakistan.

**BOTH IN EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN**

30. To take immediate steps to make the two wings of Pakistan self-sufficient in the matter of
food including salt.

31. To supply the peasants with improved agricultural equipments, manner, cattle, seeds,
adequate long-term loans for the development of agriculture.

32. To adopt short and long term plans for the prevention of floods and famines and for the
improvement of irrigation, and to execute those plans without delay.

33. The conservation of land, the reclamation by scientific methods of areas rendered
uncultivable by water logging, “Kalar” (excessive salinity) and erosion etc.

34. Bringing of un-commanded lands under cultivation by tube-wells, pumps, dams and other
suitable means of irrigation.

35. Promotion by the state of large scale agricultural co-operatives through the provision of
modern machinery and cheap credit.

36. To take proper steps for conservation and development of forest and herbal wealth.

**RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS**

37. To bring *wakf* and other religious and social endowments under better management and
to see that the income therefrom is properly applied to religious and charitable purposes.

**REFUGEES PROBLEM**

38. To provide for the immediate settlement of claims and payment of compensation to
refugees.

39. To make arrangements for the immediate absorption of refugees in the social and
economic life of Pakistan.
ECONOMIC PLANNING

40. To adopt a comprehensive plan for the economic development of the country.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

In view of the fact that Pakistan is still in a state of extreme industrial backwardness all efforts shall be made for rapid industrialization of the country and for building up a balanced national economy. In order to develop industries the following measures will be adopted:

41. To take all suitable and appropriate measures both in public and private sectors, for the industrialization of the country.

42. To give special attention to building up of basic and heavy industries such as steel plants, machine making industries, power, exploitation of mineral and other natural resources etc. and the state to take responsibility for setting up of industrial plants for this purpose.

43. To encourage indigenous industries and to take measures for the protection of these industries from foreign competition.

44. To control all foreign capital and enterprises and to give priority to national capital in all fields of industrial activity.

45. To promote and encourage cottage industries in all possible ways.

46. To ensure equal and fair opportunity to the two wings of Pakistan for the development of industries paying special attention to the under developed parts.

47. To provide adequate facilities for the proper functioning of the existing industries and plants.

RIGHTS OF THE LABORING PEOPLE

In view of the fact that low wages and bad working conditions of the laboring people give birth to industrial unrest and these conditions hinder the industrial growth of our country, it is necessary that steps should be taken to improve the conditions of the laboring people. In order to improve the conditions of the laboring people the following steps shall be taken:

48. To guarantee a human standard of living for all those laboring in fields, factories, mines, transport, public and private offices and businesses, schools and colleges and in all positions under the state and in all industrial and commercial enterprises by the fixation of just and minimum scale of wages related to the cost of living.
49. To guarantee to all industrial workers and other laboring people proper housing, medical aid, adequate bonus, provisions for social insurance. Women workers are to be guaranteed maternity benefits with full pay.

50. To ensure the ratification and implementation of the International Labor Organization conventions regarding the welfare of workers.

51. To recognize the right of the working people to form their trade unions and their right to strike and collective bargaining.

52. To make adequate provision for the cultural development of the working people.

53. To radically change and liberalize existing labor legislation.

**CULTURAL REFORS**

54. To take steps to develop Pakistani culture and to develop the arts with special attention to fine arts.

**ADMINISTRATIVE AND SOCIAL REFORMS**

55. To reorganize the administrative machinery. To make an all-out curtailment of the administrative establishment and rationalize the pay scales of high and low paid government servants.

56. To uproot corruption, nepotism, bribery, profiteering, black marketing and other social evils, particularly the participation by officials in political and factional strife and to provide the country with clean and efficient administration.

57. To take steps to eradicate prostitution, to stop gambling and introduce prohibition.

**DEFENSE**

58. To make adequate provision for the defense of both the wings of Pakistan, and subject to the requirements of co-ordination of defense policy, transfer the Naval Head Quarters to East Pakistan.

59. To set up defense industries in both the wings of Pakistan.

**FOREIGN POLICY**

We shall pursue an independent foreign policy which will guide by our national interest and will be pursued with a view to strengthen our independence, to enhance Pakistan's prestige in the international field and to promote world peace. In order to achieve those aims the following steps shall be taken:
60. To repudiate the existing military pacts entered into by the Government of Pakistan because these pacts provide for or countenance interference by other powers in the internal affairs of Pakistan and in its independence.

61. To establish friendly political, economic, and cultural relations on the basis of equality with all countries of the world, particularly with the Muslim countries and countries of Asia, and Africa.

62. To strive for international peace and brotherhood and for the right of self-determination of all colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

63. To strive for having economic aid from foreign countries, without strings, for the economic development of the country.

64. To adopt a policy of non-alignment with the Power Blocks.

PART III.

1. COMPOSITION

The Party shall consist of:

(a) A National Council.
(b) A Working Committee.
(c) A Central Parliamentary Board.
(d) A Central Parliamentary Party.
(e) Two Regional Units with Regional Councils,
   Working Committees, Parliamentary Boards
   Parliamentary Parties.

Provided that under the Regional Council of West Pakistan there will be six Provincial Councils:

1. Punjab and Bahawalpur;
2. North Western Frontier Province, Tribal Areas and States;
3. Sind and Khairpur;
4. Federal Capital;
5. Kalat Division;
6. Quetta Division.
Provided further that the Regional Council of West Pakistan may, if it so likes, amend the preceding provision.

(f) District Committees.

(g) A Volunteer corps.

And the Party shall have biennial sessions for election purposes and special sessions.

2. MEMBERSHIP

Any citizen of Pakistan of and above the age of 18 who signs the pledge of the party and pays a biennial subscription of one Anna only shall be eligible for membership of the primary unit of the party. The subscription shall be divided in the following way: 1/8t for the Central Party and the rest to be divided as the Regional Units determine.

3. OFFICE BEARERS

(i) The Party shall have the following Office bearers:

(a) President.

(b) Two vice-Presidents, one from each wing and of whom one will be the senior.

(c) General Secretary.

(d) Two Joint Secretaries, one from each wing.

(e) Treasurer.

(f) Salar-i-Ala.

Provided, that no minister or parliamentary secretary in the central or the provincial government shall be eligible for election to any of the offices stated above, and in case any of the office bearers accepts any such post of Government his Party office will be automatically vacated.

(ii) The office-bearers of the central organization shall be elected by the national council from amongst its members. They shall hold office till the next election and shall not be eligible for re-election for the same office for more than two consecutive terms.

4. THE NATIONAL COUNCIL:

(a) It will consist of 214 members, of whom 100 from each wing to be elected biennially by the regional councils and 10 to be nominated by the president, five being from each wing. The leader of the parliamentary party in the national assembly and the two presidents of the regional units will also be ex-officio members. The resident will nominate the salar-i-ala who will also be a member ex-officio.
(b) The Council shall meet at least once a year and shall meet alternately in each wing. The quorum necessary shall be 50.

(c) Any 40 members of the national council may requisition a meeting of the council which shall be held, at the Head Quarters, provided 30 days’ notice in writing is served on the general Secretary.

(d) At a council meeting held in one wing, the members present from the other wing if they are a minority, will have equal number of votes as the number of members present from the wing where the meeting is held, provided that no member will have more than three votes.

5. THE WORKING COMMITTEE:

The president, the general secretary, joint secretaries the leader of the parliamentary party of the National Assembly, two vice-presidents and the treasurer will be ex-officio members of the working committee. In addition there shall be 30 other members, of whom 10 from each wing will be elected by council members of that wing and 5 from each wing will be nominated by the president from amongst the members of the council.

6. FUNCTIONS AND POWERS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL:

The national council shall exercise the following functions and powers:

(a) To elect its president and other office-bearers and members of the working committee as provided in clause 5.

(b) To carry out the aims and objects of the party.

(c) To alter, amend and/or rescind the Constitution at its annual or special session with a majority of not, less than $\frac{2}{3}$rd of the members present and voting.

(d) To delegate powers to the president, general secretary, working committee and other sub-committees in addition to the powers given to them under this constitution.

(e) To approve, pass and adopt the annual report and the balance sheet and the auditor's report thereon.

(f) To appoint sub-committees for carrying out its duties and functions and exercise powers with such limitations and conditions as it may deem fit to impose.

(g) To frame by-laws for:-

1. Regulating the conduct of the meetings,

2. Regulating the conduct of the sub-committees,
3. Holding of elections,
4. Organizing volunteer corps, and
5. Any other matter necessary for carrying out the objects of the party provided that no rule shall be valid if it is inconsistent with the principles lay herein.

(h) To elect a parliamentary board for the purpose of election to the central legislature of Pakistan. The board will exercise powers and functions in accordance with rules framed in that behalf by the working committee.

7. **POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE**

The working committee shall be the principal executive body of the party and shall exercise inter alia the following functions:

(a) To consider and pass resolutions and take necessary steps with regard to any matter relating to the objects of the party not inconsistent with or at variance with the creed or policy of the party or any resolutions passed by the national council.

(b) To take all necessary steps for giving effect to the resolutions of the national council.

(c) To prepare the annual budget and to authorize expenditure in accordance with it.

(d) To sanction such expenditure as is not included in the budget.

(e) To collect all information necessary and useful with reference to the objects of the party.

(f) To perform such other functions as the national council may empower the committee to perform.

(g) To implement the policy and program of the party.

(h) To endeavor to achieve the aims and objects of the party.

(i) To appoint sub-committees for carrying out such duties and functions as may be entrusted to them.

(j) To meet at least twice a year, the quorum necessary is being 12 members present and the meeting being held alternately in each wing.

(k) To appoint auditors for auditing accounts annually.

(l) To supervise the activities of the various units of the party in accordance with the aims and objects of the Party and the rules laid down by the national council.

(m) To take disciplinary action against any member of the party, and to decide appeals against decisions of the subordinate bodies regarding disciplinary and other matters,
provided that in case of disciplinary action against the members of the national council, it has to be referred to the national council, which will take decision thereon.

(n) The working committee may delegate any of its powers to any committee of its members or to the present or to the secretary of the party with such limitations and conditions, if any, as it may deem fit to impose.

(o) Regulate, control or supervise the elections to the national council.

(p) Nominate representatives of regional councils on the national council and to appoint office-bearers of regional organizations where they have failed to hold elections. These office-bearers will hold office till the regular elections.

(q) Raise funds on behalf of the party and control its expenditure.

8. POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

a. The President shall be the principal head of the whole organization, shall exercise all the powers inherent in his office and be responsible to see that the different authorities function in consonance with the constitutional rules of the party.

b. Supervise the work of the party.

c. Control and supervise the work of the party.

d. Preside over the national council, and working committee meetings and also meetings of all sub-committees, appointed by the national council or working committee, of which he may be a member.

e. In case of emergency, the president shall have the powers to prescribe the form to be signed by the members of the party intending to contest elections for the National Assembly.

f. To nominate 10 members, 5 from each wing to the council.

g. To nominate 10 members, from each wing, of the working committee from amongst the members of the national council.

9. POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE VICE-PRESIDENCY

i. To exercise powers and attend to the duties which may be delegated to them by the president in writing.

ii. To preside at the working committee or council meetings in the absence of the president.
10. **POWER AND DUTIES OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY**
   i. To supervise and control the general office work and to be responsible for all records files and papers of the party.
   (b) To keep records of the proceedings of all meetings and to submit them for approval.
   (c) To submit the recovered funds to the treasurer.
   (d) To prepare annual reports.
   (e) To appoint, penalize, dismiss or grant leave of absence to the staff of the party with the consent of the president.
   (f) To call meetings of the national council under the direction of the president or on receipt of requisition from 40 members of the council.
   (g) To call meetings of the Working Committee under the direction of the President or on receipt of the requisition from six members of the Working Committee.

11. **POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE JOINT SECRETARIES**
   a. To assist the general secretary in the execution of his duties.
   b. To exercise such powers and duties delegated to them by the general secretary in writing and in the absence of the general secretary to act on his behalf under the direction of the president.

12. **POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE TREASURER**
   a. To maintain account of income and expenditure
   b. To deposit the funds in Banks approved by the working committee and maintain advance to office for ordinary expenditure up-to a maximum to be fixed by the working committee.
   c. To withdraw amounts from the banks under the joint signatures of his own and that of the president or the general secretary or such other person as the working committee may appoint.

13. **POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY BOARD**
   a. The parliamentary board shall consist of nine members including the president, who will be the ex-officio member. The other eight members, four from each region, will be elected by the council members of the region concerned.
b. The parliamentary board will select candidates for the National Assembly and provided that applications for nominations should come to the parliamentary board through the regional boards which will have power to add their comment on the applications. It will prepare and issue programs and manifestos for elections in consultation with and with the approval of the working committee.

c. Supervise, control and guide the activities of the parliamentary parties in the national as well as regional legislatures.

d. Guide and help the regional and provincial parliamentary boards in selecting candidates for election to the Regional Legislative Assemblies and in preparing and issuing their program and manifestos.

e. Appoint one of its members to act as secretary of the board.

f. The quorum of the meeting shall be not less than 5.

g. All the decisions of the parliamentary board shall be final and binding for all the members of the party in the National Assembly but all its decisions would be subject to appeal to the Working Committee.

   The president shall preside at the meetings of the parliamentary board and shall act as the President of the Board generally.

   15 days' notice shall be given of the meetings of the parliamentary board specifying the place, date and time of the meeting, provided that in case of emergency the period may be reduced to one week.

   The parliamentary board shall get a declaration or pledge from each applicant for the party ticket for the purposes of the elections. It may exercise the powers of the working committee in connection with the administration and expenditure connected with the elections, provided that all the measures taken are submitted for approval of the working committee at its next meeting.

   The parliamentary board shall after due notice to members select candidates at least 10 days before the date appointed as the nomination day by the government.

   Any applicant on rejection by the parliamentary board may file an appeal before the working committee.

   All appeals shall be in writing stating the grounds of appeal and shall be accompanied by such fees as may be prescribed by the working committee. A copy of the appeal shall be
simultaneously submitted to the secretary of the parliamentary board who shall immediately forward the relevant papers to the working committee with such comments by the parliamentary board as it may consider proper.

The decision of the working committee on appeals against the selections of any persons by the parliamentary board shall be final and binding on all parties including the parliamentary board.

The fee which shall be collected along with the application to the parliamentary board shall be refunded only in case the applicant has accepted and implemented the decision of the board and/or working committee failing which the fee collected shall be considered as forfeited.

The procedure hereinbefore laid down for the selection of candidates for the general elections shall as far as possible be followed in the selection of candidates for bye-elections to the Legislature.

14. **ASSEMBLY PARTIES**

a. The members of the National, East & West Pakistan Legislatures having won elections on party tickets shall form Assembly Parties in the National Assembly and East and West Pakistan Assemblies.

b. Any member of the Assembly who subsequent to his election joins the Party shall become member of the Assembly Party.

(c) The Assembly Parties shall be responsible to the Working Committee for their work.

(d) The assembly parties shall elect their own office bearers.

15. **FUNDS:**

The party funds shall be constituted of follows:

a. Contributions from the unit branches of the share of the centre.

b. Subscription at the rate of Rs. 10/ per annum paid by the members of the national council.

c. Donations.

d. The Party fund shall be audited at least once a year.

**PART IV**

1. The Regional and Provincial units shall have their own constitutions provided that the aims and objects laid down therein are identical with the aims and objects herein laid down. The constitutions of the regional units shall be framed on the same lines as this constitution and shall be subject to the approval of the national council.
2. Nothing herein above laid down, shall debar the working committee to form an alliance
with, associate and/or form united front with any political, social, cultural or
class organizations in the country, provided that all such alliances, associations, united
fronts are formed on the basis of specific programs in consonance with, the aims and
objects of the party; and further, such decisions are approved by the national council at its
next meeting but not later than three months after the date of such decisions.

PROVISIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Until such time as the various regional units are established, all powers vested in any and
all organs of the party, shall be exercised by organizing committee of the party elected at the
national democratic convention held at Decca on 25th and 26th of July, 1957.

Source: Constitution, Program, Aims and Objectives of Pakistan National Awami Party
Appendix No. 2

Text of the agreement between the National Awami Party and Muslim League (1958)

The Muslim League and the NAP have entered into an agreement for the formation of Coalition Government in West Pakistan on the basis of the following program:

1. All possible efforts will be made to hold free and fair elections; according to the schedule of the Election Commission and decided by the central coalition government.

2. Proprietary rights in Sindh to be conferred upon the peasants’ occupants of evacuee agricultural land, the price of the land may be recovered from them within ten year in equal yearly installments.

3. Wherever possible, the state lands, as a matter of principle, shall not be auctioned, but sold to local peasants and local small khatadars, whose holding is uneconomical. The sale price shall be recovered from them in equal installments within ten years.

4. Immediate measures to be adopted for intensive cultivation, of food crops, for reclamation of lands not under plough, preventive measures against water-logging, seepage, and flood, strengthen of bunds, necessary repair to barrages and canals, power production revision of proposed enhancement of land assessment, upholding of tenancy rights and necessary agrarian reforms.

5. Refugees’ rehabilitation and notification of legitimate compensation of claims.

6. Adoption of measures to combat increase in prices of essential commodities, and checkmating black-market and hoarding.

7. Devise method to eradicate corruption in administration.

8. Measures to put-down lawlessness.

9. Appointments to be made locally.

10. Advisory committees for commissioners of divisions for the redress of public grievances.

11. Implementation of promises made to staff from minor provinces in the Secretariat.

12. The reconsideration of orders issued by the previous government relating to the suspension and transfer of officers or head of departments, or reappointment of retired officers for political and other considerations.

13. Withdrawing the orders concerning the opening of West Pakistan Apex Bank with a view to hit the oldest Sindh Provincial bank for political reasons. The oldest existing bank to be strengthened and its headquarter to be shifted to Hyderabad.
14. Rules of business to be amended so as to make the Ministers the final authority in the discharge of their duties.

15. Schemes and projects pertaining to various departments for the purpose of development at the time of unification of provinces, in the smaller provinces, should be implemented at an early date.

16. Civic rights of the peoples will be safeguarded and all orders infringing those rights shall be revised and withdrawn.

Signatures
1. Sardar Bahadar Khan 1. G. M. Syed
2. Mumtaz Daultana 2. Pir Ilahi Bakhsh
3. Ayub Khorho 3. Mustafa Burgury
4. Abdul Qayum Khan

The Muslim League and the National Awami Party are also agreed to the following conditions:

i. That a coalition ministry shall be formed in West Pakistan, in which both the parties shall have equal opportunities, excluding the chief minister who shall belong to the Muslim League Party and shall be selected by the approval of the leader of the NAP.

ii. That the NAP minister shall be persons recommended for nomination by the NAP leaders.

iii. The portfolios shall be assigned to respective Ministers by mutual agreement of the leaders.

Signatures
1. Sardar Bahadar Khan 1. G. M. Syed
2. Mumtaz Daultana 2. Pir Ilahi Bakhsh
3. Ayub Khorho 3. Mustafa Burgury
4. Abdul Qayum Khan

Source: *Dawn*, March 20, 1958
Appendix No. 3

Speech of Prof. Muzaffar Ahmad, President NAP (Wali) East Pakistan, at the RTC (1969)

Mr. President and the fellow delegates:

I do not like to repeat that has been said by Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujib-ur- Rahman regarding the history of deprivation of the people of East Pakistan for the last 21 years. Facts and statistics of disparity between East and West Pakistan are all before you. Sentiments expressed and demands placed here by Sheikh Mujib-ur- Rahman and myself are the sentiments and the demands of the people of the whole of East Pakistan and I have no doubts, the people of West Pakistan share the same sentiments.

As to the present political and economic situation of Pakistan I know gentlemen, it is crystal clear to all of us, I do not like to elaborate on this point. No doubts your government has taken certain steps to bring normalcy in the country, but certain urgent and the immediate steps are yet to be taken. These steps I suggests are:

1. Withdrawal of all warrants of arrests against political leaders, workers and students.
2. Withdrawal of all pending political cases against political leaders, workers and students.
4. Repeal of University Ordinance, Black Trade Union Act, Press and Publication Ordinances, Abolition of Press Trust, etc.
5. Compensation to be paid to the victims of shootings, lathichargs, teargasing and setting up of committee for judicial enquiry.
6. Fulfillment of the students Education Demands.
7. Fulfillment of the urgent and pressing demands of the workers, peasants and other sections of the people.
8. To take into consideration the imminent food crises in the East Pakistan and to make necessary provisions for the supply of food and rice to East Pakistan. And
9. Restoration of the Pakistan Times to its original owners.

I fully agreed with Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman as to the framing of the future constitution of the country on the basis of points No 2, 3, and 4 of the Eleven Points Program of the students. Points No 2, 3 and 4 of the Students Program are (2) Parliamentary democracy must be established in the country on the basis of universally direct adult franchise, freedom of expression and individual liberty and freedom of press must be secured. Ban on the Ittefaq must
be withdrawn. (3) Full regional autonomy must be given to East Pakistan on the basis of the following demands (a) country’s administrative setup would be a federation of states and the legislative assemblies must be sovereign. (b) The power of the Federal Government would be limited to defense, foreign policy and currency. In other subjects the states would exercise unrestricted powers. (c) The federation would have one system of currency. Under this the currency would be a federal subject. But there must be a clear and definite provision in the constitution prohibiting the flight of capital from East Pakistan to West Pakistan. Under this there would be a Federal Reserve Bank in Pakistan and in the two constituent units; two separate Reserve Banks would operate. For East Pakistan a separate economic policy must be introduced. (d) All powers of levying and realizing all taxes, revenue, cess and so on would be exercised by the federating units. Federal Government would possess no power to levy tax. A pro-determined portion of the revenues and taxes collected by the regional governments would be deposited with federal exchequer immediately. Obligatory provision on the Reserve Banks would be stipulated in the constitution. (e) Each constituting units of the Federation would maintain separate accounts of foreign trades and the earnings through the jurisdiction of the states. The foreign exchange required by the Federal Government would be contributed by the federating units on an equal basis or accordingly as would be stipulated in the constitution. As for goods produced within the country, import and export between the federating units would be conducted without any kind of duties and taxes. The Constitution must also provide that the federating units must be entrusted with the authority to enter into trade agreement with foreign countries, to setup trade missions abroad and to conduct import and export unrestricted by the Federation. (f) East Pakistan must be given the powers to raise militia or a Para-military defense forces. Ordinance factories and Naval Head-quarters must be established in East Pakistan. (4) Full regional autonomy must be given to the former provinces of [former] N-WFP, Balochistan, Sindh and all other provinces and a sub-federation must be formed.

Mr. President,

Sir, the history of parity between East and West Pakistan and the history of One Unit in West Pakistan is the history of deception and treachery. The leaders were forced to agree to the principles of parity and One Unit at the point of threat in the Marree Hill. The principle of parity and One Unit is a fraud perpetrated on the people of East Pakistan and the people of smaller provinces. This sort of denial of the rights of nationalities is unheard of and an unparalleled in
the history of the world. On certain occasion I had the opportunity of visiting Sindh. The people of Sindh feels that their province has been taken away from them and their civilization and culture which is a heritage of 4000 years old Mohenjo-Daro civilization are being ravaged and destroyed. Their language has been taken away from them and their lands are being distributed to the non-Sindhis.

As to the three subjects Centre envisaged in the 3rd point of the Students’ 11-point Program Mr. President, Sir, your Law Minister wanted to know through you whether it is still to be called a federation, what is in a name’ whether you called it a federation or confederation.

Mr. President,

Sir, I beg to state that politics is not a dogma. It is a creative science. While framing the constitution of a country, the peculiarities of the country are to be taken into consideration. Taking notes of geographical peculiarities of Pakistan and the history of deprivation of the last 21 years, I on behalf of my party and myself reiterate the following demands:

1. A federal and parliamentary form of government.
2. Direct and universal adult franchise.
3. Autonomy.
4. Dismemberment of One Unit. and
5. Representation on the basis of population.

Mr. President, Sir, so far these demands are concerned, I want to make it perfectly clear to you and to the honorable delegates present here that to me and to my party these demands are not negotiable.

Thank you.

Source: *Pakistan Observer*, Dhaka, March 21, 1969
Appendix No. 4.
Pre-election Radio Speech of Maulana Bhashani
President National Awami Party (Bhashani)

The object of the next elections is to frame the best possible constitution for Pakistan. A constitution serves as a heart for the country. A country cannot be administered without a constitution, as a man cannot live without a heart. I appeal to the people, and request them that the election should be completed in a peaceful manner and in a democratic fashion. The people should place their demands before the candidates contesting the forthcoming elections, so that these demands are implemented. I also appeal to the candidates that the election process should be completed peacefully; there should be no trouble, so that the nation does not have to face more chaos. Nothing should be done to make bloodshed in the country, and all possible steps should be taken to complete the elections in an atmosphere of love and affinity. In spite of ideological differences, friendships can be maintained.

In every country of the world, democracy is established through, election, and we should feel it our duty to maintain law and order, and make every effort for this purpose.

I had even earlier asked President Yahya Khan, that whether you are from East or West, you should call a national convention of all political parties, minorities, trade unions, peasants and student leaders, so that they can present their viewpoint for the formulation of an agreed constitution. Even if there are thousands of differences among us, all should love Pakistan. We have to formulate such a constitution as could safeguard the integrity of the country, by way of meeting the demands and needs of peasants, workers, Class III and Class IV employees, primary, secondary and higher teachers, and their demands are implemented. Capitalists and moneyed people should not become people’s representatives.

I had suggested earlier that through mutual consultations, if an agreed portion of the constitution was first framed at a national conference, the remaining constitution-making work will become easier inside the Constituent Assembly. But the Government has not accepted my request till today.

The name of this country is Pakistan. There is no such country anywhere in the world. If somebody indulges in getting bribes, and tries to represent the people, he will never frame a law to punish corrupt officials. The one who himself is corrupt, can never have a good advice for
others. The persons, who dabble or indulge in black-marketing and exploit the people, are destroying the country. The people who have connection with foreign countries, and even with enemy-like countries, they can never do anything for the welfare, prosperity and progress of Pakistan. That's why it should have been arranged that black-marketers, drunkards, and those who do not love Pakistan, or spy for other countries should not be allowed to become people's representatives.

It is regrettable that it has become a custom in my country that those who come in power do not properly represent their people. Since the creation of Pakistan no honest, poor Pakistani could get a chance to become a representative. The reason is quite clear. The government has imposed a restriction that any one desirous of fighting elections must deposit a sum of Rs.1, 000 as security. The peasants who constitute 85 per cent of population do not have even rice or flour, how can they deposit a security of Rs.1, 000. Therefore, they remain completely deprived. The workers who constitute 10 per cent of the population also live a miserable life and the wages they get are the lowest in the world.

Condition of peasants and laborers in both wings of the country is similar, and both wings of the country is similar, and both lack even basic facilities of life, including food, education, alike. Ninety-five per cent of the population is illiterate. They cannot write even their names. Therefore, I had demanded that on population basis 95 per cent seats in the assemblies should be reserved for peasants and laborers.

A peasant or a laborer cannot contest elections against jagirdars, industrialists and corrupt retired government officials. Therefore, in the prevailing circumstances he can never have an access to the assemblies. They can neither have a hand in the affairs of constitution-making nor in law-making. In West Pakistan jagirdars own land and cultivators have nothing. If a cultivator dies he does not even have a small piece of land for his grave. In such circumstances if he opposes jagirdars or nominates his own representative or he votes against the landlord, the landlord will subject him to forceful eviction from the land.

It is an old custom that the peasants are forced to favor their landlord. They are considered duty-bound to vote for the man who happens to be their landlord. If we do not do so we will have to suffer, we will die unfed, we will be forced to die along with our hungry families.
Under such conditions, no peasant will vote against his landlord. Neither will he contest elections nor will he support anyone other than his jagirdars, because everyone is aware of the consequences to follow. Even during the British rule over the Indo-Pak sub-continent, a few seats had been reserved for laborers, but after that the laborers of Pakistan could not get even that right.

I appeal to the Government and all political leaders, in the name of God, to make a Constitution which could ensure food, education, and provision of all fundamental rights to the peasants and reserve seats in the Assemblies for the laborers and peasants on population basis. The minimum wages of laborers should be fixed at Rs.250.00 per month. In our country, big officials get high salaries, live a luxurious life and possess big buildings, but on the other hand school teachers, other government employees and laborers are starving.

You cannot send your children to schools even up to primary standard. Education up to secondary standard should be made compulsory, free and without any expenditure. This demand should be fulfilled. I request that land should be distributed among the landless peasants and agricultural labors. Those jagirdars, who possess 10 or 12 bungalows and have six sons to augment the income of their families, will not fall short of money if their jagirdari are abolished. But, how landless peasants whose number runs into thousands and lakhs can make both ends meet should be realized by you.

If the state of confusion continues, the Constitution would not prove useful. No Government will be permanent. The poor people will continue lamenting. The problem will continue to increase. The confusion will increase. In this state of affairs, no government backed by imperialism or by capitalists will be able to survive for more than two years. Such a government will not last even for one year. The government will be compelled to call in the Army again. It is better that we should create conditions so that we do not call the Army in for the second time. It is, therefore imperative that the demands of the working classes should be included in the Constitution in full. The demands of the peasants and the students should also be included in the Constitution.

Education has become so costly that poor people cannot afford to send their children to schools. The expenditure side has gone up 100 times higher. Therefore, I demand from the government and the future representatives of the people that they should frame such a Constitution which could become popular with the peasants, the labor classes and the low-paid
employees. If it is not done, you will have to call in the Army again, and the government will have to be run with the help of the Army, It is a matter of shame.

The Quaid-e-Azam had declared more than once that Pakistan would be a democratic country. There would be no dictatorship in Pakistan nor there a military government. The Quaid-e-Azam had also said that the government in Pakistan would be run by the people. The sufferings of the peasants would end. The difficulties faced by the laborers and the students would be removed.

The Quaid-e-Azam had said that every citizen of Pakistan would have equal opportunity to educate his children. But it is a pity that despite the passage of 23 years during which several governments came and went no one realized that 95 per cent of the population neither knows Urdu nor Bangla nor English nor Arabic. No step was taken during the past 23 years in this direction. It was the duty of the Government to educate the people on the significance of the vote. The people should have been taught as to why a vote is cast. This should have been done through education and publicity media.

The people should have been told as to what the meaning of vote is, and what qualities are required in a person seeking votes from the people. This is my conviction that while the government is controlled by the jagirdars and capitalists, nothing will be done for the betterment of the peasants and the laborers. Therefore, I am of the firm belief that the salvation of the poor lies only in the path of socialism. But, now when the elections have started I will call upon the people that there should be no corruption in the elections.

Corruption has increased more than 100 per cent. The corrupt people, whether they are in the mills, or happen to be jagirdars or businessmen or black-marketers, all of them are destroying Pakistan. You should be aware of such people and should not cast your votes for money. If all the people turn corrupt, and the corruption spreads among the peasants also, this country will be ruined. The remedy is that the people should think collectively as to how the future Constitution for the country is to be framed. If possible, political leaders should afford an opportunity to meet and discuss the question of framing of the Constitution. If Pakistan survives, we will survive. If Pakistan is ruined, everybody including the peasants, the laborers and jagirdars, the capitalists, educated and the uneducated will be ruined. Therefore, you should move unitedly to save the country from the external and internal enemies.
You, therefore; should unite to save Pakistan from internal and external enemies, make efforts to preserve the security of Pakistan, to make Pakistan prosperous, to promote unity and to do away with disruption. Unity is the most needed thing. We pray for guidance of Allah to unite all of us, to create understanding between all the political parties, to unite them so that they are on their guard against external enemies. We are surrounded by enemies from all nooks and corners who are out to destroy Pakistan. If Pakistan exists, all the political parties in it will exist. Nobody can even dare to set up a political party of his own choice to achieve its objective if Pakistan is merged with India, or assumes any other shape or becomes a confederation. We, therefore, should stand united to make Pakistan strong and prosperous, to eliminate drinking from Pakistan, to cut down unnecessary expenditure, to drive out corruption, to wipe out black-marketing and to prevent smuggling of edibles like rice, pulses, chilies, ghee and other articles of daily use worth lakhs of rupees to India. We should unite to award exemplary punishment to defaulters. Whosoever loves his homeland, namely, Pakistan is a true Pakistani.

But, the one who lives in Pakistan and want to harm it is a traitor, dishonest and an enemy of Pakistan. I repeat my appeal to you that at least 95 per cent of you should strengthen our organization so that we can establish with God's help the rule of peasants and laborers. We will definitely establish it. May God enable us to do so. Oh God! Grant us the power to become honest. We may abhor what been prohibited by You. Oh God! Guide us, give guidance to our nation, and give guidance to all the Pakistanis give guidance to the people at the helm of affairs so that they should ignore selfish gains, should rise above their personal ends and losses, should give up gambling, and should give up corruption, black marketing and smuggling. Oh God! Grant us the power that we the 13 crore Pakistanis, should stand united, become strong to preserve the integrity of Pakistan and to make it a strong and prosperous country In the event of an aggression against Pakistan we will fight to the last and never accept subjugation. We are a free nation, and we will live free-thinking and in accordance with the dictates of God and the Holy Prophet.

Source: *Political Parties, their Policies and Programmes* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1971)
Appendix No. 5
Televised Pre-election Speech of the President National Awami Party (Wali)

Khan Abdul Wali Khan

It must be very heartening to all lovers of democracy to see healthy traditions being laid in this country for the first time, when a line has been drawn between the state and the government and where all parties have equal claim on government agencies. Odd still, that it should come from a Martial Law regime led by President Yahya who is out to create healthy and enlightened public opinion by asking the different political parties to address the nation on Radio and Television. Even before this he has given a slap on the face of those politicians who ruled this country for the last 23 years by promulgating MLR 60 whereby the Chief Martial Law Administrator has tried to teach us politicians political morality.

Before I proceed to elaborate what the National Awami Party stands for, I would like to give the background and history of this organization. There was a get-together of the democratic forces in 1948 in Karachi when the need for forming a party was felt; the first preliminaries were gone into and the People's Party of Pakistan came into existence. Soon afterwards there were wholesale arrests in the [former] NWFP and it was in 1956 when the threads were picked up again and the actual party took a concrete shape when several political organizations from the Western Wing combined to form the National Party of Pakistan. The constituent units were the Khudai Khidmatgars from the [former] NWFP led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan; from Baluchistan came Wror Pakhtun led by Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai, and Ustaman Gal with Prince Abdul Karim at its head; from Sind came the Sind Hari Committee led by the late Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi and Sind Awami Mahaz led by Mr. G.M. Syed and Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi; from the Punjab came the Azad Pakistan Party led by the late Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din.

This party assumed a truly national complexion when a year later, i.e., in 1957 a splinter group of the Awami League led by Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani and another organization Gantantari Dal from East Pakistan joined it, and its present name the Pakistan National Awami Party came into existence with Maulana Bhashani as its first President.

It had four distinguishing features:

1. Its membership was open to all citizens of this country irrespective of their caste, creed, region or religion.
2. It stood for an independent and non-aligned foreign policy and demanded immediate withdrawal from the two military pacts, CENTO and SEATO.

3. It felt that the One Unit in West Pakistan had been thrust upon the smaller provinces without ascertaining their wishes and, therefore, it asked for restoration of the former provinces.

4. The party felt that the economic policy of the government was encouraging monopoly capitalism which concentrates wealth in a few hands, making the rich richer and the poor poorer. So it asked for immediate steps to check this trend and demanded a more equitable distribution of national wealth. It asked for a ceiling on land holdings and pledged itself against all exploitation of man by man.

So here in actual fact a real opposition party to the Muslim League was born, national in outlook, Awami in character and one which refused to be dictated by the world powers and had only the interests of Pakistan at heart. Now in order to assess the political history of this country, certain facts have got to be considered. The first one is the country's geographical position itself. The picture of the sub-continent as it emerged was Pakistan split in half and India flanked by Pakistan at both its vulnerable points in the west and east, Pakistan's own Eastern Wing extending into South-East Asia and the Western Wing into the Middle East, strategically lying in the neighborhood of two great powers, Russia and China.

The sub-continent had hardly recovered from the shock of being torn asunder when China fell to Communism barely two years after Partition. This warranted a change in the global strategy of the world powers. Pakistan's geographical and strategic position put it on the global chessboard at once. At the international level, the infant country had scarcely established its normal contacts till then. Its only leader of any international standing, the Quaid-e-Azam had died in 1948. Internally the country had to start from scratch. It was almost crushed under the heavy influx of millions of refugees who came pouring in from across the border, and its economy received a severe setback. Almost the entire political leadership came from across the borders, which did not have their roots in the country of their choice, so they had to rehabilitate themselves first.

Similarly, leaders in the administration, industry and commerce also came to a new country—full of enthusiasm and patriotisms but to a new social and cultural environment, ignorant of the sentiments and aspirations of the different regional societies and the linguistic and
cultural attachments of the different regions. The country's politicians proved themselves thoroughly unworthy of the sacred trust reposed in them and what a trust! The country gave them a blank cheque; put up with economic hardships even compromised on their civil liberties and fundamental rights; tolerated inroads on their political, democratic and constitutional rights. And yet the politicians started what a foreign correspondent called "political musical chairs'. Palace intrigues started and that was the beginning of the surrendering to the bureaucracy gradually. The country was still without a Constitution even in 1958—a country claimed to be an ideological State. In the process we witnessed the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly over which had presided no less a person than the Father of the Nation.

So political pressures started building up gradually. The country was promised elections under a Constitution in the beginning of 1959. At last some hope of subjecting the country's political leadership to the bar of the public opinion was kindled. The Martial Law of October, 1958, came in the way of fructification of democracy and transfer of the sovereignty to the people of this country. Even Martial Law was hailed if it would keep its promise of getting rid of those corrupt and self-seeking politicians who ruled this country.

But the first man arrested by Martial Law was Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan followed by Abdul Samad, Prince Karim and Maulana Bhashani, even though these people were in no way connected with the government. They were, on the contrary, their bitterest critics. So Martial Law was not against the past political regimes but their bitterest and consistent critics, and was directed against those political elements that might have emerged in some effective power if democracy were restored.

Rift in the Socialist camp brought about a second fundamental change in the global strategy of the world powers. Was it surprising that Field Marshal Ayub Khan's Government started talking of common defense with India, and which was turned down by Pundit Nehru in his famous retort, "Common defense against whom"? The notorious Badber base near Peshawar was a glaring example, when the government surrendered a part of its own territory to a foreign Power, which was outside the jurisdiction of the country's law courts and here even Pakistan's currency was not a legal tender, here even the country's Foreign Minister was refused admission once. Then William Powers' U2 spy plane was another incident which forced a friendly country to put a red circle round Peshawar. It is for the same reason that the wrath of the government fell on the political elements from this region because it suited certain world powers strategically.
East Pakistan surrendered part of its sovereignty by agreeing to parity and so did West Pakistan when Provincial Legislatures Governments were done away with and One Unit established. Surrendering power to the Centre, the result of 15 years showed that a new class of feudalists and monopoly capitalists was created which not only held the bulk of the wealth of this country but evolved a new system of election which also concentrated political power in the hands of the moneyed people, so that a situation developed where our friends from East Pakistan, although being a majority, had to clamor for safeguarding their rights. It was the majority and not the minority demanding protection.

Similarly, in West Pakistan the smaller province were feeling the pinch of this policy, they were robbed of their economic and political rights. These policies cut at the very roots of our national integrity. There was mutual suspicion, mistrust and even hatred between the different regions when we refused to think and feel as one nation. The NAP felt that the only way by which we could get rid of this dictatorial regime was to forge a united front of the political forces by mobilizing public opinion, which ultimately resulted in the formation of DAC and the RTC. It was a very healthy aspect of our political life when different political parties acted as one group to dethrone a dictatorial regime.

It paid its dividend when former President Ayub not only promised to step down from power but also gave up his Basic Democracy system which had been hailed by his sycophants and courtiers as a philosophy which even England was planning to adopt. But I suppose the most significant aspect of the deliberation at the RTC was that it pointed out a more constructive and human, way of indulging in political activity as against ‘Gherao, Jalao’ or sending urchins and young men on to streets to stone and burn whatever came their way. The country wide agitation against Ayub Khan's regime had proved that his politics had failed miserably and it was in these circumstances that the Army had to come to the country's rescue and enforce sanity.

Now, before we go into elections, let us pause for a minute and take stock of the political situation as it is today and let us assess objectively the condition in which the Muslim League Party has surrendered to the Martial Law.

At the international level they have been shouting themselves hoarse about an independent foreign policy and yet we are still member of not one but two military pacts, SEATO and CENTO, Another very intriguing question is whether we have been able to develop paternal and brotherly relations with the Muslim countries and whether we have been able to
bring the different Muslim countries close together, which we claim to be our only mission.

The country is under debt to the tune of about Rs.2,000 crore but only a certain class of vested interest has been benefited by it. Their only consideration has been the accumulation of wealth with the result that there are these yawning disparities between the two wings of the country and also among the different regions and provinces of West Pakistan wherein the per capita income varies from approximately 300 in the [former] NWFP to 400 in Baluchistan, over 600 in the Punjab and 800 in Karachi and Sind.

We find that the policies of the past government killed democracy here and tried to eliminate politics completely by introducing the B.D. system where the concept of collective and national thinking was replaced by going back to our family and tribal loyalties. This cut through the vitals of our national integration and with a limited number of voters money began to play a more effective and rewarding role than policies or political parties. Little wonder there is not a single party in this country which can deliver the goods at the national level today.

But the most damaging part of all this is that this country was not given a chance to throw up young and dynamic leaders with vision and foresight who could rise from amongst the people, rise above their provincial prejudices and interests and, crossing the local frontiers, function at the national level. This fact became more conspicuous when on January 1, 1970 President Yahya gave a green signal for the resumption of normal political activities in the country. It was painful to see those old or rather ancient leaders jumping into the arenas with the same old emotional slogans and sentimental appeals which may have been effective in 1946 but which are totally out of context in 1970. The country has undergone a tremendous change in the last 23 years of its existence and people have learnt quite a lot by bitter experience and have grown older in the process, but the only people who have not learnt anything and have not grown a day older are these old politicians. The country is faced with these very serious challenges, both at the national and international level. Inter-wing and infra-regional prejudices, suspicions and hatred are there as a result of defective economic planning and lack of political activity. How are we going to meet this challenge is the prime question.

When the NAP gave a call in 1957 for a non-aligned independent foreign policy, it was accused of trying to isolate the country and offering it on a silver platter to India. Yet the military pacts, SEATO and CENTO, did not come to our rescue in the case of a war with India. And then Field Marshal Ayub Khan wrote his famous book, "Friends not Masters", wherein he endorsed
the NAP’s foreign policy stand.

Again, when the NAP demanded the restoration of the smaller provinces of West Pakistan, it was accused of dismembering Pakistan. Yet by 1969 all those leaders and parties who swore by One Unit and considered it an article of faith, took a more realistic step of agreeing to restore the smaller provinces.

And yet again when we protested against the economic policies of the government and suggested a more equitable distribution of wealth, we were accused of being agents of Russia and China who were out to cut at the very roots of this Islamic State. Yet today if one picks up the election manifesto of any of these political parties one can easily see that they are promising more radical and revolutionary economic reforms than the NAP did then. In this context I am reminded of a Persian proverb: ‘Har keh dana kunad, kunad nadan lek ba’ad az kharabi-e-bisyar’ (A stupid man will do exactly the same that the wise man does but only after a lot of damage has been done).

Now how are we going to meet this serious challenge, when the country has not got its own Constitution as yet? By raising slogans appealing to the sentiments or playing on people’s emotions or as quite a lot of these stalwarts are doing, indulging in mud-slinging and accusing one another of being agents of one country or another? Pro this and anti that—or even coining additional slogans, some Islam-loving elements thereby suggesting that those outside the fold of those political parties are Islam-hating. Some so-called custodians of the ideology of Pakistan are harping on a strong or weak Centre, never caring to define what a strong Centre actually means—forgetting conveniently that our present ills are entirely due to this administrative regimentation and concentration of power in one hand. We should be talking of strong Pakistan and that certainly does not mean a strong Centre of former President Ayub Khan.

The NAP feels that the integrity of this country is directly linked with national integration, and that can only be achieved by conscious and effective sense of participation, by all citizens in the political and economic policies of the State. All citizens are to be treated as equal, irrespective of caste, creed, region, language, culture and religion.

Speaking from personal experience, when I was detained without any trial, there were thousands like me although accused of anti-state and disruptive activities and of being enemy agents and all sorts of other crimes in the Press; but not one was ever tried in a court of law. And they include the Chief Minister of a Province, Dr. Khan Sahib, who suffered the same fate from
1948 to 1954; also Qazi Attaullah Khan, our Revenue Minister who died in detention; and members of the Legislature also detained so that the province could be ruled with minority support in the Provincial Assembly.

Now let us approach our problems in a scientific manner. Religion and the state cannot be controversial issues under any circumstances and they certainly are not the issues under any circumstances and they certainly are not the issues involved in the coming elections. The two basic issues are the system of government and the pattern of the country’s economic structure. There are scores of Muslim countries stretching from Indonesia to Morocco and Algeria and they all have different systems of governments. Which one of these could be called Islamic and others un-Islamic? And the same could be said about the economic systems of these Muslim countries.

We want friendliest relations with all countries including our neighbors. In Kashmir we stand by the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir, we feel that we have to make Pakistan itself a democratically based state before we can tempt leaders like Sheikh Abdullah and the rest to join us.

We have many problems with India besides Kashmir; Farakka Barrage is one of them, also other rivers flowing into Pakistan with their source in that country. Most important is the Muslim population there who made sacrifices in order to give us our homeland. To them, we owe a special responsibility. It is imperative that we solve our problems with India to our mutual satisfaction so that those Muslims could be ensured peace and security in their own homes. Both the countries have suffered tremendously for the last 23 years and the sufferers are the common people—the ‘have-nots’.

We are sure that with goodwill and determination on both sides solution could be found to all our problems. Islam could not come in the way because we are quite friendly with other non-Muslim countries and also with ideologies opposed to ours. America and China are both good illustrations, to pick only two, as against Afghanistan—although a Muslim neighbor but with whom our relations have not been that friendly or cordial.

The nation is being asked to elect a Constituent Assembly to give this country its first democratic Constitution. There are doubts about the sovereign character of this House, Our stand is that a Constituent Assembly elected directly by adult franchise is sovereign by its right and status and its verdict should be supreme. It is to be trusted for it will be the’ trust of the people of Pakistan.

Source: Political Parties, their Policies and Programmes (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1971)
Appendix No. 6

Text of President Yahya Khan’s Statement Banning the NAP (1971)

The National Awami Party has for a long time been acting against the interest and security of Pakistan. Some of its leaders fought against the creation of this country, did not reconcile to its existence and never missed a chance of harming it. Now when Pakistan is engaged in dealing with internal subversions in her Eastern Wing and when Indian forces have attacked Pakistani territory and its leaders are talking of capturing and retaining our territory, some leaders of the party are plotting and planning to dismember and destroy Pakistan in collusion with its enemies.

Professor Muzaffar Ahmad is at present leading a rebellion against the country. Bhashani was among the first to propagate secession of East Pakistan and is now living amongst our enemies.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the most inveterate of all the opponents of Pakistan, never relented in his hostility to the country and is now acting with open alliance with its enemies. Some of its other leaders are conspiring to start insurrection in parts of West Pakistan.

I have been patiently hoping that in this hour of peril when we are fighting for our existence, good sense will prevail and leaders of this party, who are still in Pakistan, will join us against a common enemy, or at least desist from active hostility.

But now when external aggression has taken place, we can no longer take the risk of allowing the continued existence of a political party whose aims are similar to those of our enemies, who are in constant touch with them and are engaged in preparing pans to actively assist them in achieving those aims. It is necessary, therefore, that this threat from inside the country is removed. I have therefore, decided to ban all groups and factions of the National Awami Party. I have already ordered the detention of some of its leaders.

In spite, however, of the ban on the party, those who were elected to the National and Provincial Assemblies on its tickets will retain their seats. It is expected that they and other members of the party, freed from the influence of those who have been indulging in anti-State activities will play their part fully and unreservedly in the defense and for the betterment of the country.

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