Pakistan People’s Party Ascendancy to Power in Sindh, 1967-1972

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

By
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2016
DECLARATION

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

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Approval for Thesis Submission

Dated: 2016


__________________________
Dr. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah
Supervisor
Dedication

For

My
Ammi Jee
&
Abba Jan
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>AIML</td>
<td>All India Muslim League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>Awami League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>Awami League’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AML</td>
<td>Awami Muslim League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APHF</td>
<td>All Pakistan Hindu Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APP</td>
<td>Azad Pakistan Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM</td>
<td>Bengali Nationalist Movement’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BP</td>
<td>Bombay Presidency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ConML</td>
<td>Convention Muslim League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWC</td>
<td>Central Working Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DSF</td>
<td>Democratic Students Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMS</td>
<td>Hindu Mahasabha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>Indian National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JI</td>
<td>Jama’at-i-Islami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSM</td>
<td>Jeay Sindh Mahaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI</td>
<td>Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI-H</td>
<td>Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUP</td>
<td>Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMC</td>
<td>Karachi Municipal Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LFO</td>
<td>Legal Frame Work Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAI</td>
<td>Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIM</td>
<td>Muttahida Islami Mahaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MKT</td>
<td>Markazi Khaksar Tehrik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLR</td>
<td>Martial Law Regulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>Mutahidda Mahaz</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSF</td>
<td>All-India Muslim Students Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAP</td>
<td>National Awami Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDP</td>
<td>Qaumi Jamhoori Party (National Democratic Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIP</td>
<td>Nizam-i-Islam Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>North West Frontier Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDM</td>
<td>Pakistan Democratic Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>Pakistan National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PoW</td>
<td>Prisoners of War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>Pakistan People’s Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRODA</td>
<td>Public Representative Officials Disqualification Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptv</td>
<td>Pakistan Television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RP</td>
<td>Republican Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTC</td>
<td>Round Table Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAM</td>
<td>Sindh Awami Mahaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHC</td>
<td>Sindh Hari Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHP</td>
<td>Sindh Harijan Panchait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SL</td>
<td>Sindh League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>Sindh Legislative Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMM</td>
<td>Sindh MutahidaMahaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUF</td>
<td>Sindh United Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUP</td>
<td>Sindh United Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UP</td>
<td>United Province</td>
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**Glossary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adl-o-Ehsan</td>
<td>Justice and fair play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmadies</td>
<td>Religious creed (declared in Pakistan under Constitution 1973 as non-Muslim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajrak</td>
<td>Traditional chader (piece of cloth) in Sindh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akhuwat</td>
<td>brotherhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ansar</td>
<td>Helpers/ term used for Muslims of Madina how were hosts of Prophet (PBUH) and other Makkans Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baba-i-Qaum</td>
<td>Father of the Nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baidari</td>
<td>Awakening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biddat</td>
<td>Islamic concept about phenomena which is not actually the part of Islamic code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dewan</td>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhamals</td>
<td>Mystical dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esaar</td>
<td>Sacrifice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eid Milan Party</td>
<td>Party at time of Eid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatwa</td>
<td>Religious decree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firman</td>
<td>Official/Royal Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaddi</td>
<td>Spiritual Seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghareeb awam</td>
<td>Poor Public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gherao jalao</td>
<td>Violent agitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gupsup</td>
<td>Chit chats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadith</td>
<td>Sayings of Prophet (PBUH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haris</td>
<td>Tenants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hassar</td>
<td>Defending wall of a city or fort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haqq-i-shufa</td>
<td>Right to purchase, because of neighbourhood or relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insaf</td>
<td>Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurs</td>
<td>Disciples of Pir Pagaro belong to Qadri Sufi Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagir</td>
<td>Granted land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagirdarz</td>
<td>Land lords</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalsa</td>
<td>Political gathering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamhuriat</td>
<td>Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janta</td>
<td>Masses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jialaz</td>
<td>Political followers of Bhutto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jihad</td>
<td>Holy war in Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kafir</td>
<td>Non-believer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kisan Tehrik</td>
<td>Peasants Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kot</td>
<td>Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kufir</td>
<td>Non-believers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kufr</td>
<td>Non-believers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahabharatha</td>
<td>Epic in Hindu Mythology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazdoor</td>
<td>Labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohalaih</td>
<td>Unit of locality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohim</td>
<td>Expedition/Campaign</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Muaziz             Respectable
Muhajreen          Immigrants
Mukka              Fist
Murids             Disciples
Musawat            Equality
Musawat-i-Muhammad A term used by PPP for Islamized version of Socialism
Pir Pagaro         Saint with Turban, (title of renowned Pir of Sindh)
Pirs               Spiritual Mentor
Pundit             Theocrat of Hinduism
Roti, Kapra aur Makan Bread, Clothing and shelter
Ribah              Interest
Sadat              The linage of Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH)
Shoora             Council of Advisory
Sindh, Sindhion ke liay Sindh is for the sons of soil
Sufi               Spiritual Teacher/Saint
Sunnah             Traditions related to Prophet (PBUH)
Talaba             Students
Talwar             Sword
Tehrik             Movement
Tehsildar          Administrative head of sub division
Thanedar           Administrator of police at sub division level
Ulema              Islamic Scholars
Urdu Ka Janaza Hai This is funeral of Urdu, must be commenced with pom
Zara Dhoom Se Nikly and show
Wadera             Feudal lord
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INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The political dynamics in Pakistan are unique in nature. Pakistan has multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-cultural society. There are a variety of ideologies and numerous other factors that simultaneously shape the political scenario. The people in Pakistan trace their roots in Islamic traditions at one side and in Indus Valley Civilization on the other side. The Raj experience also contributed in political evolution of the masses. Therefore, a model of political theory cannot be singularly applied on Pakistani political situation. An irregular and unorganized mixture of different models and ideologies influenced the politics of Pakistan. The mix of various ideologies and models provides for the ideological birth of various political parties. On the other hand, the military had a significant share of national governance since independence. Therefore, same major political parties that emerged after 1947 had their roots in military authoritarianism.

Pakistan inherited Indian brand of western democracy through the ‘Raj Period’. The Muslim India had monarchy system of governance. The British penetrated in to the power corridors and brought the experience of democratic system of governance. However, they did not introduce the political reforms forthwith. The process of political reforms was gradual.

The first political party established on the behest of the British in India was Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885. The Muslim elite gradually entered in the only political party of the time. Therefore, the nursery for future political stalwarts was the singular
political party. Muhammad Ali Jinnah also started his political career from the same party. Soon, the Hindu mentality of the INC leadership got exposed and their insensitive ‘Mahasabhai’ thinking deterred the Muslim mind. Partition of Bengal in 1905 brought the Muslim leadership on early conclusion to develop its own political party. The lesson of Simla Deputation pushed the Muslim political elite to form All-India Muslim League (AIML) in 1906. Gradually, AIML took over the major role in the political arena of British India.

At that point, the people having political orientation and tendencies had two platforms, i.e. the INC and AIML. The British India had multi-ethnic and multi-cultural demography. The areas where education was comparatively better were far ahead in accepting politicking. In Muslim areas of South Asia, Bengal had the advantage of being far ahead in modern education trends and consequently political awareness also appeared there, earlier than other areas. As the agriculture based labours in Bengal were in dominance, the Krishak Praja Party evolved a socialistic orientation in the struggle for more constitutional reforms. In the same period North West Frontier Province saw the establishment of Pakhtoon nationalist fervor in the shape of Khudai Khidmatgar, who dominated the provincial politics, was having secular inclination. Muslims in Balochistan were organizing Baloch conferences to plan future course of political struggle. The Punjab brought out Unionist and Akali Dal parties. Despite the fact that Sindh had rich ancient archaeological background and its own socio-political dynamics, its politics submerged in the larger political arena of Bombay. Various political entities of Sindh in their own capacities contributed to the restoration of Sindh identity in the shape of demanding a separate province from Bombay Presidency. Ultimately, they achieved their
objective in 1936 and Sindh was separated from Bombay Presidency. It was restored as full-fledged province. That drastically changed the dynamics of provincial politics. Waderas and business tycoons became active in political race. “They were more concerned with personal rivalries and struggle for power than with political and party programs.”¹ At that time there were two groups of the political parties, i.e. provincial and federalist. The political situation in Sindh was in favour of provincial style of politics. That is why political parties popular in federal level, e.g. INC, AIML could get little support in the masses of the area. The elections in 1937 depicted separate set of preferences of Hindu and Muslim communities respectively. The Muslims supported local parties while Hindu voters were in favour of INC and Hindu Mahasabha (HM). The far reaching impact of that divide decided the future course of politics in Sindh. The election results proved that Muslim voters supported Sindh United Party, Sindh Muslim Political Party and Sindh Azad Party. AIML and INC could not perform well. Although Hindu voters claimed to be supporters of Sindhi nationalism, the election results showed an opposite tendency i.e. clear support to HM by Hindus in Sindh instead of nationalist groups.

The separation of Sindh from Bombay was a turning point in the provincial politics that changed political landscape of Sindh. The provincial politics was dominated by parties confined to Sindh. However, AIML got better position after 1942 because the party established its Ministry in the province which continued till the creation of Pakistan, 1947. Furthermore, Sindh Assembly adopted the ‘Pakistan Resolution’ in 1943, which paved the way not only for AIML upward escalation but also the creation of Pakistan. Politics in South Asia is generally controlled by feudal and Jagirdars and the
pattern of Sindh politics was the same. They frequently changed their loyalties for personal gains. They saw through their foresight and experience that Pakistan would be a reality. Therefore, they supported the cause to secure their vital role in Sindh, even after the creation of Pakistan.

Partition of India and emergence of Pakistan entirely altered the political landscape in Sindh. ‘New Sindhis’ settled in Sindh in great number. The new entrants having better education and vast experience of business adjusted themselves in to the economics and power corridors. The issues related to the settlement of Muhajirs/ New Sindhis spoiled the relationship between centre and the province. Furthermore, the decision of designating Karachi as capital of the country attracted Muhajirs to the city. Sindh government undertook to disperse Muhajirs throughout the province and prevent their accumulation in a single city of Karachi. Nonetheless, Muhajirs thronged towards Karachi. The disagreement on the issue of refugees’ settlement aggravated the already unpleasant relations between Mohammad Ayub Khuhro and Liaquat Ali Khan. The allotment of the evacuee property and maintenance of law and order situation added fuel to the fire. It became the federal issue of Sindh politics as the indigenous political entities considered the decision of separating Karachi against the unity and integrity of the province. All major political parties represented the feelings of the people of Sindh and strongly opposed the division. The idea was strongly opposed by Sindh Muslim League Council. The Constituent Assembly members of Sindh also strongly opposed the move in categorical terms. “Sindh Assembly opposed the separation of Karachi and passed resolution unanimously on 2nd February 1948.”
Sindh Awami Mahaz (SAM) organized protest meetings and processions in Karachi as well as in interior Sindh. The federal government reacted violently against these protests. G. M. Sayed was sent behind the bars. Sindh Hari Committee (SHC), another important group, also condemned the proposal. The ‘Day of Karachi’ was observed all over Sindh on July 2, 1948. Khuhro, a strong critic of the proposal, was in a strong position to represent the grievances of the masses of Sindh. He severely opposed the separation of Karachi as well as further settlement of Muhajirs. The federal government could not put up with the stance and dislodged his government on April 26, 1948. “Jinnah authorized the Governor to dismiss Khuhro under the special emergency powers noted in section 51(5) of the Government of India Act 1935 and amended by the Pakistan Provisional Constitution Order 1947.” Pir Elahi Bux replaced Khuhro as Chief Minister of Sindh and was a willing subservient of the federal government. Liaquat Ali Khan, the main architect of the idea, became successful to convince Quaid-i-Azam and Constituent Assembly members for the separation of Karachi because of his strong party position and premiership. Resultantly, Karachi was separated from Sindh and went under direct control of the federal government. The impact of the arrangement upon Sindh was far reaching and to some extent negative in the context of Sindhi culture and tradition. Sindhis were proud of their rich cultural heritage and language. When Karachi became the federal capital territory, majority of Sindhi medium educational institutions were either converted in to Urdu or were closed. Furthermore, Sindhi language was intentionally marginalized which brought wrath and hatred among the Sindhis. The grievances of Sindhis were intensified in the early years of Pakistan’s creation because of
the sequence of events, viz a viz, settlements of the Muhajirs, allotment of the evacuee properties, separation of Karachi and suppressing the Sindhi language.

Nationalism had its deep roots in Sindhi culture and society. Emerged from the passion was the struggle of Sindhi masses under the nationalist leadership remained visible during the whole British era. Sindhis’ in one way or the other protested, fought and sacrificed for the cause of protecting their Sindhi identity. The political struggle in Sindh had different shades and phases. After the creation of Pakistan, there were three main streaks of political parties in Sindh, i.e. nationalist, religio-political parties and parties of national stature. Sind Awami Mahaz, Sind Hari Committee and Muhajir Punjabi Pathan Mahaz, were the nationalist parties; Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam, Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan and Jamat-i-Islami were among the prominent religio-political entities and different groups of Muslim League and National Awami Party were mainstream political parties. In that context, a new party having socialistic tendency, emerged with pomp and show, i.e. Pakistan People’s Party.

Political maneuvering and mobilizing the masses on grass root level through different ideologies could be seen in Pakistan during 1967-1970. PPP emerged with an amalgamation of socialism, western democracy and Islam. Manifestation of different ideologies and response can be observed in the first general elections in 1970. Among others, Pakistan People’s Party’s ideology of ‘socialism’ had become constant source of hot debate during the election campaign. There were peculiar socio-political environment prevailing, generally in Pakistan and particularly, in Sindh. There was a huge gap between the masses and their issues and existing political entities with their performances which were filled by the new entrant, i.e. PPP. Bhutto had a hectic political voyage in
In that journey, till 1966, he remained a staunch supporter of President Ayub regime from very outset of his political career. However, he dissociated himself from the regime on the issue of Tashkent Declaration in June 1966 and was not sure as to what course to take. He was considering various options open to him and was not clear about his political career. According to popular perception there were then three options for Bhutto; to join any faction of Muslim League, to join National Awami Party or to make his own political party with a clear stand on national and international issues. Because of the opposition of Tashkent Declaration, Ayub regime planned to defame Bhutto. He was personally harassed and his public meetings were often disrupted. Bhutto eventually decided to form a new party and indicated that it would be radical, reformist, democratic, socialist and egalitarian party.

Pakistan People’s Party was launched at its founding convention held in Lahore on November 30 - December 1, 1967. At the same meeting, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was elected as the Chairman of the party. Among the express goals for which the party was formed were the establishment of an egalitarian democracy and the application of socialistic ideas to realize economic and social justice. A more immediate task was to struggle against the hated dictatorship of Ayub Khan who was at the peak of his power at that time. The party also promised elimination of feudalism in accordance with the established principles of socialism to protect and advance the interests of peasantry.

At the time of inception of the party, important associates of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who belonged to different walks of life and included, J.A. Rahim, Dr. Mubashir Hasan, Mumtaz Bhutto, Mustafa Khar, Miraj Khalid, Hanif Ramay, Mairaj Mohammad Khan, Rafi Raza, Abdul Razzaq Soomro and Hayat Sherpao. The motto adopted by the group
for the newly-created party was: “Islam is our faith; Democracy is our polity; Socialism is our economy; All power to the people.”\textsuperscript{16} Later, Roti, Kapra aur Makan (Bread, Clothing, and Housing), became the rallying call of the Party. Bhutto, being elected chairman of the party, went ahead with full speed, touring the country to spread his message. His message was focused on highlighting the plight of the common man and promising that his PPP had the solutions to the people’s problems. A second focus of the message was condemnation of all aspects of the Ayub regime.

It was for the first time in the history of Pakistan that political parties had mobilized masses on gross root level through different ideologies, particularly in West Pakistan, during anti Ayub movement and election campaign of 1970. PPP’s ideology of socialism had become a constant source of hot debate before and after the election campaign. Although the Awami League of Mujeeb-ur-Rehman won the elections by occupying 160 seats as a whole in the House of 313 but had no representation in the West Pakistan, whereas, the PPP had emerged as the majority party in West Pakistan, having no representation in East Pakistan. The main sources of power of the federal government of PPP were Sindh and the Punjab because in the NWFP and Balochistan the nationalists won the day. Later on, the dilemma of East Pakistan had changed the whole political scenario of Pakistan. Consequently, PPP had emerged as majority party in Pakistan after December 16, 1971 and formed the government. The Punjab and Sindh played the pivotal role for PPP’s rise to power. Sindh being the native province of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was very important for PPP in this power struggle.

The present study deals with the PPP’s ascendancy to power in Sindh. The efforts would be made to assess the factors contributed for the party’s rise to power. The
backdrop of the party formation would be assessed thoroughly. The critical analysis of
the general elections 1970, in the perspective of Sindh would be carried out. Moreover, it
would be evaluated that how much PPP’s ideology could work in Sindh? It would also be
evaluated that how PPP’s relationship with other political parties in Sindh contributed in
its rise to power? The present study would also be focusing on the implementation of the
party manifesto. Furthermore, the analysis would be made upon the main slogan of the
eradication of poverty and emancipation of the suppressed classes.

Scope of the Study

The present study covers the period of 1967-72 with reference to the emergence of
Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) on national level, the party that just after its inception
became so popular that in general elections defeated all other existing political parties in
West Pakistan. It was mainly possible with the support of Sindh. Furthermore, it is the
only party which captured power corridors for four times. The primary focus of the study
is PPP’s ascendancy to power in the province of Sindh. The study covers the prevailing
political panorama of the time, political dynamics and relationship among different
political groups and entities. It also deals with the formational voyage of the party and its
structure and organization throughout the province. The 1970 elections with primary
focus on PPP’s election manifesto, campaign, political maneuvering, performance and
particularly its success in Sindh are also included in the study. The emergence of PPP
activated religio-political parties to come forward and involve in an ideological debate
with the emerging party and its thought, which generated a healthy debate. PPP being
engaged in the assertive ideological onslaught modified its ideological stand from
socialism to Islamic socialism and then to ‘Musawat-e-Muhammadi’.
The study also discusses the election results and their impacts on the future track of political journey. The implementation of manifesto and programme of PPP after the formation of its government in Sindh is focused and its performance have been evaluated up to the introduction of 1972 Interim Constitution.

**Significance of the Study**

The period under discussion i.e.1967-1972, is important because then Pakistan was passing through very important juncture of its history. Ayub Khan’s authority and power was then sliding towards its ultimate downfall. Yahya Khan’s entry into power corridors of Pakistan, his Legal Framework Order and his lust for power resulted into the debacle of East Pakistan. First ever general elections of Pakistan were held in 1970, which became the preamble of the separation of East Pakistan. Political chaos and anarchy provided a suitable nursery for the new born party, i.e. Pakistan People’s Party. In that scenario, it is substantial to study PPP’s role in the political arena of Sindh, which was the native province of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The study has discussed and analyzed anti-Ayub Movement in Sindh as well. It has also been discussed that how the movement mobilized and energized the masses in Sindh. To study that puzzle is significant for further academic research.

In the same period, ideological debate erupted between PPP and religious parties and intensified during the course of electioneering in 1970. The deep study of this relationship between PPP and the ideological foes would also be beneficial for further course of research. During election campaign, new adjustments and groupings among political entities and their further branches emerged. Moreover, the factors which played
a part in the success of the party were also discussed in detail in the study. These factors are equally important to understand political developments of the period. Another important contribution of the party under study in national perspective is that it submerged Sindhi nationalist/separatist approaches and tendencies. This phenomenon has been analyzed and evaluated. It would be a significant addition to the body of knowledge in the field.

The pros and cons of the reforms introduced by PPP in different field have also been studied. Detailed analysis of the reforms is important for better understanding of the political panorama of Sindh of the time.

**Review of Literature**

A handsome literature is available on history, society and politics of Sindh. Historical accounts are important to understand the dynamics of the politics of the province. However, the material available on the politics is generally related to national politics rather than specific to Sindh. Moreover, the existing works, specifically on Sindh, can be divided in many categories, i.e. journalistic books, history of Sindh highlighting rich culture of the province, writings having ethnic and religious approach and works of different political parties. Overall, a lot of material is available on the party politics and even on PPP. Though, the work done during 1967-1972 was semi-scholarly and journalistic. When the phenomenon became important with reference to the advent of PPP, fall of Ayub Khan, 1970 elections and finally the separation of East Pakistan, the scholars contributed their views and works by analyzing pros and cons of those historical events.
The primary and secondary sources, published and unpublished material have been collected. In the primary sources, *Foundation Meeting Documents, Resolutions* passed by PPP, *private collections, Speeches of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, conventions of PPP, PPP’s Manifesto* and *Interim Constitution of 1972* have been consulted. Moreover, books, journals, magazines, periodicals and newspapers have been collected. Some interviews have also been conducted.

Research articles have been helpful to understand further deep rooted sources on any field. There are a lot of articles written on the themes relevant to the area of the study. Few important research articles are reviewed for the purpose. In the article, Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah “Pakistan People’s Party: The Twin Legacies of Socialism and Dynastic Rule” in Subrata K Mitra, Mike Enskat, Clemens Spieb, eds., *Political Parties in South Asia.* (London: Praeger Publishers, 2004), the dual identities of the party which were otherwise having no commonalities are highlighted. Socialism is a system in which there is no room for authoritative dynastic rule but in the case of PPP both were flowing side by side. One of them must be cosmetic philosophically, which was evaluated by the author. The article by Tariq Rahman, “Language, Politics and Power in Pakistan: The Case of Sindh and Sindhi” in *Ethnic Studies Report,* Vol. XVII, No. 1, January 1999, provides important information about status of Sindhi language and its implications on the ethnic political affairs of the province. In the article, of Amir Ali Chandio and Ali Nawaz Soomro, “Politics of Sindh: An Analysis of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s Government”, in *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business;* June 2012, Vol. 4 Issue 2, an analysis of Bhutto’s strategy in opposition to the Sindhi nationalist leadership is presented with which PPP got benefits in the national politics. The article of

Many scholarly works are available on the politics of Pakistan which are helpful for the study but are not entirely related to the work. The scholarly study of Lawrence Ziring, Pakistan an Enigma of Political Development,(Folkestone: Dawson Publishing, 1980), gives some information about the rise of PPP and the parting of ways of Ayub Khan and Bhutto. Another work by the same author entitled, Pakistan in 20th Century: A Political History (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), covers Pakistan’s political history of fifty years and it has discussed different stages of politics related to Bhutto era but in passing. Anwar H. Syed in his book, The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), mentions a few facts about the technicalities applied by Bhutto in party establishment and election campaign, in general. Pakistan under Bhutto (London: The. Macmillan Press, 1988) by Shahid Javed Burki presents comparison of Ayub and Bhutto regarding institutional development and parting of the ways between the both, which is an important account but only covers the area of
institution building. The book, *We have Learnt Nothing from History* by Asghar Khan (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006), contains one sided view of the story. He explains the faults of Bhutto in a critical manner. *Pakistan: A Modern History*, by Ian Talbot (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), is another important study about the politics of Pakistan. The author has paid tribute to Z. A. Bhutto and has also analyzed causes of his rise and fall. He has discussed the role of “hidden hand” of the establishment in the politics but it provides general information. *The New Pakistan* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishers, 1978) by Satish Kumar describes the story of uneasy federation during Bhutto rule. The author has mentioned the pressures faced by federation and he has much insight about the internal problems of Pakistan with reference to federal and regional issues but the focus is of federal government-province relations. *Politics and the State in Pakistan* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1989) by Muhammad Waseem is an overall review of the Pakistani politics since 1947 to 1988. The author has rationally described Bhutto’s role during and after 1971 War. He also discusses some facts that how Bhutto made his way to power corridors. *Pakistan’s Other Story: The 1968-69 Revolution* by Lal Khan is an important source on the condition of state and society, during Ayub regime. The book contains the efforts of labourers, peasants, students and civil society for the revolution, 1968-69. According to the author the movement needed just leadership. It is a valuable work but it just covers the factors contributed for President Ayub’s grabbing of power. Moreover, the author himself was socialist activist; therefore, the account has biased approaches. Aqeel Abbas Jaffri’s work, *Pakistan ke Siyasi Waderay* (Urdu) is an account of Pakistan’s political system dominated by land lords and waderas. The writer evaluates that the high ups are unaware about the issues and problems at the level of masses and he
explains the discriminatory attitude of waderas and evils of class structure, particularly in the Punjab and Sindh. However, the work is just associated with one specific phenomenon, i.e. feudal in politics. Another work by the same author, Pakistan ki Intikhabi Siyasat, (Urdu) is a study of electoral politics in Pakistan. The work contains description of the general trend of people and candidates. The author highlights the means adopted by different parties and candidates and their maneuvering in the election process. But the book only depicts the election process and results.

The books related to politics and history of Sindh are helpful for the study of the period. The Growth of Muslim Nationalism in Sindh (Karachi: Mehran Publishers, 1995) by D.A. Pirzada is a valuable work with reference to growth and rise of Muslim nationalism in Sindh. The author describes that Sindh had generally Muslim dominated society because of which socio-economic conditions of the province were favourable for the development of Muslim nationalism. The book also explains the causes for the establishment of Sindh Muslim League which later on was successful in Sindh’s joining Pakistan, passing through tough and complex developments, despite of strong obstacles but its scope is just limited to Pakistan Movement. Sindh: A General Introduction (Hyderabad: Sindhi Adbi Board, 1964) is the work of H.T. Lambrick which mainly explains the geographical and cultural traits of Sindh through ages. The author, after a long and careful observation has explained the physical features of Sindh which had played a decisive role with regard to anthropological conditions. But it has only description about ancient history and civilization. Ahmad Salim’s Sulagta hua Sindh, (Urdu) is a valuable work on the social and political conditions of Sindh but the book only contains the narrative about Sindh’s deprivations.
Biographies have their own status in historical research. The biographies of Bhutto by different scholars provide information about life-story of Bhutto, his family and details of his political journey. Rafi Raza’ book, *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), explains about Bhutto’s struggle in his political life. The author explains about the significance of the period with reference to Bhutto. He has narrated the causes for formation of PPP, 1970 elections, episode of 1971, tenure of PPP in power and its decline in 1977. His book is a sympathetic account and justification of his own role during Bhutto era. Mubashir Hasan; *The Mirage of Power: An Inquiry in to the Bhutto Years, 1971-1977* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), is the inside story of Bhutto’s period and provides information how Bhutto’s mind worked but a compassionate account. Salman Taseer’s book, *Bhutto: A Political Biography* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishers, 1980), gives one-side picture of Bhutto’s political career. The author claims for being mesmerized by the strong and charismatic personality of Bhutto. However, it is a detailed account on the political career of Bhutto and provides information regarding his achievements. Rasheed Ahmad Nadvi’s work, *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: Siyasi Swaneh Hayat* (Urdu) comprising of two volumes is a detailed study of Bhutto’s struggle against Ayub Khan, then election campaign and each and every aspect of Bhutto’s life. The author is not just sympathetic but seems to be partial, depicting Bhutto as the only hero and savior of the nation. *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto ki Khani Ghulam Mustafa Ki Zubani* (Urdu) is a firsthand knowledge about Bhutto. Being a close associate of Bhutto, he was aware of his personality. The book contains the story of struggle of Bhutto and his associates. But the author is sympathetic and the focus of the study is the province of Punjab. The works like Piloo Modey, *Zulfi My Friend* (Karachi:
Bhutto himself wrote a few books and few others comprise of his speeches and statements delivered in different times. Being the founder of the party all material is important to understand Bhutto’s own understandings and philosophical thoughts behind the idea to establish new party and taking it up to the landslide success in the elections 1970, in the province of Sindh but after all it is not telling the whole story and truth because the grey area or weaknesses are not highlighted. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Politics of the People, Vol. I, 1948-1956, Vol. II, 1966-1969, Vol. III 1970-1971: Awakening the People, Reshaping Foreign Policy and Marching towards Democracy, A Collection of Articles, Statements and Speeches, edited by Hamid Jalal and Khalid Hasan (Rawalpindi: Pakistan Publications, n.d.), shows the true story and mind set of Bhutto himself. In the The Myth of Independence (Karachi: Agha Amir Hussain Classic, 1967), that is an important source with reference to Bhutto’s vision and policies, mainly deals with the issues of foreign relations and policies. If I am Assassinated is also an important source for Bhutto’s political thoughts. The book mostly deals the narrative of politics and bitter relations with the regime but provides justification of his policies. Commitment to History

An important chunk of the literature available in the area of study is books directly written on PPP by variety of authors including followers of the party, critics and some indigenous impartial and foreign authors as well. Khalid Kashmiri’s, *Pakistan People’s Party: Aik Tarikhi Jaiza, 1967 ta Hal* (Urdu) is specifically a review about Pakistan People’s Party’s establishment, working and performance. The writer has witnessed the decade of 1960 which was the period of struggle of deprived classes against exploiters. However, the work provides journalistic information.

Though numerous works is being done on PPP and the personality of Bhutto but a lot of it is either hagiography or work of opponents. Furthermore, the academic works on PPP and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto do not cover the whole story of PPP’s ascendancy to power. The only scholarly work, *The Pakistan People’s Party: Rise to Power* by Philip E. Jones (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), provides an analysis of organization and policies of PPP, by mentioning different aspects of Pakistani politics. The book describes the formation of PPP during the politically turbulent post 1965 War period justifying it with the background from 1958 to 1966 and the personality of Bhutto. It includes detailed explanation of PPP’s ideology and its implementation in the Punjab. It also gives the
description and analysis of 1970 elections related to the same province. However, the work particularly focuses on PPP’s rise to power in the Punjab. Therefore, the study on the PPP’s ascendancy to power in Sindh is valuable and worthy because of the absence of any academic research based on the focused area. The study also unveils the inter-play of regional and provincial interests in the political arena.

Methodology

A good volume of literature is available on party politics and on PPP. However, there is a dearth of research on the rise of the party in Sindh that has been the power hub of the party. The available literature on politics of PPP in Sindh primarily disregards the Sindh specific and unpublished.

The study in hand is descriptive as well as analytical and qualitative in nature. It is fundamentally based on the published resources available in libraries. The primary information on social factors that contributed to augment the party is collected by interviews, diaries and oral history. The consulted resources include: *PPP Foundation Meeting Documents*, *The Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The Former Province of Sind including Khairpur State*, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s, *Commitment to History: Text of the Affidavit*, *Politics of the People, Vol. III, 1970-71, Marching Towards Democracy: A Collection of Articles, Statements and Speeches*, *Awakening of the People: A Collection of Articles, Statements and Speeches, 1966-1969*, *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates*, *Malik Aslam Hayat Private Papers*, *Election Manifesto of the Pakistan People’s Party, 1970*, *PPP’s, Foundation and Policy*, *Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan*, *The Sindh Government Gazette*, *Directory of Members, Senate of Pakistan*,...
Biographical Encyclopedia of Pakistan, National Assembly Elections in Pakistan, 1970-2008: A Compendium of Elections Related Facts and Statistics, Report on the General Elections 1970-71, by Election Commission, Government of Pakistan, Speeches and Statements, April 1-June 30, 1972, Government of Pakistan, President of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Speeches and Statements. Election Manifestos and documents related to different political parties, journals, magazines, newspapers and scholarly and semi-scholarly books in English, Urdu and Sindhi languages have also been benefited to complete the study. Moreover, biographies, autobiographies, personal interviews and oral history have also been important source for the study.

The chronological approach has been adopted with reference to the growth and rise of PPP. Both narrative analytical techniques have been used for detailed description of the events so that the self-explanatory record may be developed for future research on PPP. Moreover, the study explains the electoral process of 1970 in Sindh, the only undisputed general elections in Pakistan so far. The elaboration of election campaign has revealed many facts about other parties as well. The descriptive and analytical approach has been applied to study the co-relationship between the party ideology and the prevailing situation in Sindh at that time.

Organization

The study is comprised of five chapters which are preceded by an introduction and a conclusion at the end. First Chapter entitled “Historical Background”, deals with a historical background of Sindh from ancient times to the advent of Pakistan People’s Party. The chapter is further divided in to three major parts, i.e. Ancient Sindh and
Muslim Era, Sindh under the British Rule, 1843-1947 and Political Development in Sindh, 1947-1967. Second Chapter, “Emergence of Pakistan People’s Party: Structure and Organization in Sindh” is a study of Z. A. Bhutto’s legacy, his rise to power, formation of the PPP, the components contributed to the augmentation of the party including different personalities, institutions and organizations and anti-Ayub movement in Sindh with a special reference to PPP. Third Chapter, “Pakistan People’s Party: An Ideological Debate” is an effort to discuss socialism, its propagation in Sindh before the formation of PPP, ideological orientation of PPP and its shift from socialism to Islamic socialism and then to Musawat-i-Muhammadi and its accusation and counter accusation with religio-political parties. Fourth Chapter, “Elections of 1970: Manifesto, Campaign and Performance of Pakistan People’s Party” is a detailed study of PPP’s strategy to contest elections, party manifesto, PPP versus others political powers in Sindh, election campaign in Karachi and interior Sindh, PPP’s performance in the elections and factors contributed for its success. Fifth Chapter, “Pakistan People’s Party’s Rise to Power: Allegiance and Deviation from Ideology” is the evaluation of PPP’s consolidation of power, meeting the early challenges, tackling the opposition, implementation of reforms, introduction of interim constitution and dealing with the ethnic and lingual issues. Finally, a brief overview in Conclusion, which analyses the whole study, is presented in the light of PPP’s ideology and manifesto.

Notes & References

2 Due to the consequence of partition, Urdu speaking migrants mainly from Utter Pardesh and Central Provinces preferred to be settled in generally in whole of Sindh and particularly in Karachi and Hyderabad in 1947 and onwards.
Mohammad Ayub Khuhro was a veteran politician and Chief Minister of Sindh at that important juncture in the politics of Sindh. 

Liaquat Ali Khan was then Prime Minister of Pakistan. He had been also Secretary General of AIML for a long time.


Ageef, _Sindh Tareekh Kay Aaine Mein_, p.191.

G.M. Sayed was founder and federal leader of SAM. He belonged to a renowned Sayed family of Sun (a town in Sindh) and stalwart nationalist having strong following base particularly in rural interior Sindh.

Lawrence Ziring, _Pakistan in the Twentieth Century_, p. 83.

The constitution was amended by the Governor General on July 23, 1948, under sub section (1) of section 290 A, (Independence Act 1947) 24, a law was made, known as Pakistan (Established of the Federal Capital) order 1948 through which Karachi was taken over by the federal government.

Qudratullah Shahab was an eye witness of the political ambitions of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was just searching the way to enter in to power corridors of Karachi. For details see Qudratullah Shahab, _Shahab Nama_ (Urdu) (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2009).


Dur Muhammad Pathan, “Chronology of Pakistan People’s Party”, unpublished draft in Hayat Gul Institute, Arija, Larkana.
CHAPTER 1
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The word Sindh is generated from Sindhu, the river flowing in this part of the world since unknown time. Even the term was used by Greek after Alexander, as early as first century after Christ. Arabs also used the term Sindh wa Hind in their literature. This valley is bounded eastward to the edge of Thar, on the western side it is bordered with the mountains of Balochistan, while on northern side it borders with the Punjab and on its south mighty Arabian Sea is situated. The area has great civilization that traces its roots to the cities of Mohenjo-Daro and Harrapa, the world’s popular heritage. People of the area mainly consist of Shindhi and Baloch ethnic groups. The cultural continuity is so consistent in this part of the earth that the chieftain of thousands of years back was wearing Ajrak and the particular shape of beard as well as moustaches which can easily be visible in the present day Sindh.

Part 1: Indus Valley Civilization to the British Advent (1843)

The recent discoveries of fossils and rock carvings have brought into light the fact that early stages of human civilization were established in India. Moreover, the Indus valley civilization was vital in bringing up those historical phases. Hence, Sindh that has such a rich historical heritage and ancient roots is very important to study. The evidences from Indus valley civilization have established that it had a highly sophisticated knowledge of urban planning and resource management. This is a matter of pride and great significance not only for Sindhis but rest of the mankind. At the terminal of Indus valley period was the Vedic age in which a philosophic and mythology-based religion emerged that gave birth to a religious identity instead geographic one. The outcome of Vedic age was the
Brahman rule that provided a cradle for a rich civilization based upon a religious code and made ‘Puritanism’ a basic characteristic of the region.

**Sindh in Ancient Times**

The Indus Valley Civilization reached its climax during the Bronze Age. It had different centers all over India. The most prominent places were Harrapa and Mohenjo-Daro. The excavations in both the places have established that the Indus valley civilization had characteristics that were common in mature civilizations in ancient times. However, to reach the status, civilization passed through different stages.

Sindh was mentioned in the popular Hindu epic *Mahabharatha* as part of Bharatvarsha. It was conquered by the Persian Achaemenid Empire in the sixth century BC. In the late 300s BC, Sindh was conquered by a combined army led by Macedonian Greeks under Alexander the Great. However, it remained under Greek satraps for just a few decades. After Alexander's demise, there was a brief period of Seleucid rule, before Sindh was tagged to the Mauryan Empire of Chandragupta in 305 BC. During the rule of Ashoka, the Buddhist religion reached to Sindh. In 185 BC when the Mauryan rule was over, the Greek rule returned with Demetrius I of Bactria led a Greco-Bactrian invasion annexed most of northwestern lands of India, as well as Sindh. Demetrius was later defeated and killed by a usurper, but his descendants continued to rule Sindh and other lands as the Indo-Greek Kingdom.

Scythian tribes shattered the Greco-Bactrian Empire in the late 100s BC. They seized Sistan and invaded South Asia through Sindh, where they became popular as Indo-Scythians followed by the Tocharian Kushan Empire in the first century AD. The
Kushans were replaced by the Sassanid Empire of Persia in the mid-200s AD who was defeated by the Kidarites in the late 300s AD. It then came under Gupta Empire after dealing with the Sassanids. By the late 400s AD, Hephthalite tribes broke through the Gupta Empire's north-western borders and occupied much of northwestern India. Later, Sindh came under the rule of Emperor Harshavardhan, then the Rai Dynasty around 478 AD. The Rais were overthrown by Chachar of Alor around 632 AD.\(^8\)

Before the Muslim conquest of Sindh, the Brahman Era was prevailing in the region. The era started when a Brahman Chach son of Selaij was enthroned as a ruler of Sindh. The territory comprised of Sistan, Kashmir, Gujrat and the Arabian Sea. Chach was succeeded by his brother Chandar who was replaced by the last ruler of the dynasty named Dahir.\(^9\)

Brahman Era was comparatively peaceful for Sindh in which Brahmans and Buddhists coexisted. Friendly relations of the two beliefs went to such an extent that many families had members belonging to both religions.\(^10\) However, due to the lust for long rule, Raja Dahir indulged in such activities that caused premature downfall of the dynasty.\(^11\)

**Muslim Era**

Muslim era is significant in many respects in the political history of Sindh. In fact, Muslim period makes up the medieval ages for India. Sindh was the principal corridor for Muslim entry in India and received deep impact of Islam at the end of Muslim Era.

With the expansion of Muslim empire of the Arabs,\(^12\) annexation of India became unavoidable for many reasons.\(^13\) However, abduction of Arabs’ fleet by pirates of Sindh
which were sent to the Governor of Iraq Hajjaj bin Yousef \(^{14}\) by the ruler of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) triggered the expedition to Sindh. The fleet had presents for Hajjaj and orphans of some Arab traders. Muhammad Bin Qasim defeated Sindhi army at Debal (near Karachi) in early days of 712 AD. After conquering Debal, he advanced towards Brahmanabad.\(^{15}\) Jai Singh, Raja Dahir’s son, mustered an armed resistance but was defeated. Muhammad Bin Qasim advanced towards east and conquered Multan. In the meantime, Sulaiman had ascended the throne, who called back Muhammad bin Qasim, replacing him with Yazid bin Abi Kabsha.

Arab Caliphate rule strengthened in Sindh after the victories of Muhammad bin Qasim. When Amr, son of Ibn Qasim became the governor of Brahmnabad, he renamed it as Mansura\(^{16}\) and declared it the new capital of Muslim statehood in India. Abbasids got the throne of the Caliphate after Umayyads. Therefore, it is an erroneous on the part of modern historians that Arab rule finished with the debacle of Umayyads.\(^ {17}\)

Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi \(^{18}\) (971-1030 AD) attacked eastern Punjab and advanced towards Multan in 1005 AD & 1011 AD to defeat Karamati Shiite.\(^ {19}\) After Multan, he went on to conquer Sindh. However, after him, the north of India had become focus of Muslim conquerors. Therefore, successors of Ghaznavids, Muhammad Ghori\(^ {20}\) (1150-1206 AD) and his descendants neglected Sindh.

Qutub al-Din Aibak, a slave of Ghori, established the Delhi Sultanate and some other slaves of Ghori established small strongholds in other parts of India. Nasir al-Din Qabacha, a lieutenant of Ghori, established capital in Uch (near Multan) and ruled Sindh. Iltutmash defeated him in 1228 AD and consequently, Sindh was annexed to Delhi.
Sultanate. However, as it was at huge distance from Delhi, it could not be governed properly. That is why, most of the time Sindh remained under the local rule.

Mongol invaded Sindh and separated it from Multan as Delhi Sultans set their final defense line at Multan, leaving Sindh under the feet of Mongols. Therefore, local rulers continued to rule in the name of Mongols. The situation remained unchanged till the times of Alau al-Din Khilji (ruled 1296-1316), who mustered a formidable military administration to fight Mongols. After Khilji, Ghiath al-Din Tughlaq (1320-25) asserted the authority of Delhi that lasted for a very short time. Both Khilji and Giath could not take lower Sindh under control during the two respective periods.

Ancestors of Soomra Dynasty belonged to the city of Samra in Iraq. They established their capital at Thatta. The empire ended in 1351 and was replaced with Samma dynasty. Soomro jurisdiction ranged from Multan to the Arabian Sea and from Rajasthan to Balochistan. The role of women in administration was a prominent feature of this dynasty. The history witnessed that the Princess Zainab Tari was made the first ever Muslim queen of Soomro dynasty of Sindh who ruled Sindh for ten years.

Soomra were replaced by Samma dynasty around 1335. The Tughlaq Sultanate of Delhi fought hard to retain Soomras as rulers of Sindh. Muhammad bin Tughlaq led an expedition in that connection in 1351 but was failed to surmount Samma. Firoz Shah Tughlaq succeeded to make Sammas surrendered around 1367. However, the surrender lasted for a short time and Samma soon restored them when after Timur’s invasion Delhi lost her holdings. Instead of Delhi, Sammas preferred Gujrat as their center. A Mughal army from Kandahar under Shah Beg Arghun invaded parts of Jam Nindo’s empire. The
Mughals were defeated and therefore retreated. They did not invade again as long as Jam Nindo ruled the area.²²

Sindh proved to be an omen for the Mughul Empire. When Mughul Emperor Humayun escaped from India, he took asylum in Sindh. During his asylum at Umerkot, Akbar was born in the year 1542. Perhaps it was due to this emotional effect that the King had many learned personalities in his court from Sindh. Mughal chronicler Abul Fazal and his brother the poet Faizi was descendant of a Sindhi Shaikh family from Rel, Siwistan in Sindh. Abul-Fazl ibn Mubarak was the author of Akbarnama ²³ and the Ain-e-Akbari.²⁴ After the death of his father Jahangir, Shahjahan visited Sindh in 1603. He was generously welcomed at Thatta by the locals. Shah Jahan ordered the construction of the Shahjahan Mosque. In 1701, the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb appointed Nawab Kaloharian as administrator of Sindh.

Kalhoras claimed that they were Abbasid and had Arab origin. A branch of Abbasids established their rule in Bahawalpur during the British rule. The dynasty started in Sindh with Mian Nasir Muhammad Kalhora in 1657. The spiritual blend of Sindhi culture flourished in this period. Kalhoras themselves were prominent in spirituality. They also fought against the Mughul imperialism.²⁵ Initially, Mughals had good relations with the Kalhoras but later on overthrew the Kalhora after the Battle of Halani. However, the Mughal Emperor Akbar Shah II, through a firman in 1783 settled the tussle between both the tribes by declaring Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur as the new Nawab of Sindh. Sindh had peaceful administration under Kalhoras and Talpurs, respectively. Talpur dynasty was overthrown by the British in 1843 after the wars of Miani and Duba. Sindh’s annexation became a prelude to Anglo-Afghan War.²⁶ Regarding the conquest of Sindh,
Sir Charles Napier confessed the immoral annexation of Sindh, “We have no right to seize Sindh, yet we shall do. Therefore, a very advantageous, useful and human piece of rascality, it will be.”

The two important Indian figures helped the British for the annexation of Sindh were Sheikh Naun Mal and the Aga Khan I. According to Sir Shah Mohammad Aga Khan “…during the earlier part of his wanderings my grandfather was accompanied by a troop of cavalry, who fought under his command in Persia and in Afghanistan, and later rendered redoubtable assistance to Sir Charles Napier in his conquest of Sind.” Later on, Napier remarked that the “(mizra)…did as much towards the capture of Sind as a thousand men, for as a fellow Muslim he was able to enter the enemy camps and bribe some of their best forces to desert the battlefield.” Regarding the battle of Duba, Hugh Murray writes, “The enemy stood their ground well and defended themselves with the utmost bravery, so much so that the victory has been pronounced by officers as perhaps the most strongly contested of any in which British troops have ever been engaged in India.”

**Part 2: Sindh under British Rule, 1843-1947**

By the mid of Nineteenth Century, Sindh came under British occupation and was brought under the direct domain of British East India Company. In 1847, Sindh was included in Bombay Presidency. By the time, the number of standby British army in the area reached almost up to fourteen thousand. Due to the long-standing public demand; the colonial rulers were compelled to restore full provincial status to the province on April 1, 1936, under the Government of India Act of 1935.
Sindhis did not accept the supremacy of British Colonizers for a long time. Even after the annexation of Sindh in January 1843, the guerrilla warfare developed in the north-western part of the province. British not only retained large contingents of the soldiers but had to recruit new regiments to control the situation as well. During the War of Independence (1857) the political situation of the province of Sindh deteriorated to the extent that the security contingents of Mir Sher Muhammad Khan\(^34\) started to launch repeated attacks on the British army convoys in the areas of Hyderabad, Mirpur Khas, Sukkur and Shikarpur. In order to counter those activities, British administrators introduced draconian war laws against the freedom fighters and they were punished under harsh laws.\(^35\)

In 1893, under the leadership of local Sufi order the *Hurs*\(^36\) started anti-feudal and anti-imperialist movement which converted into mass civil disobedience in 1896 that continued for more than a decade. The introduction of western political system, however, played an important role in normalizing the situation to some extent. In the beginning of twentieth century, like other areas of the subcontinent, political activities of modern European style started to gain popularity in the province of Sindh. Following the footsteps of political leaders of the day, Sindhi feudal lord also inclined towards political parties like Indian National Congress (INC), Hindu Mahasabha (HMS) and All India Muslim League (AIML) and hence the structures of these parties started to spread in the major cities of Sindh.

The first annual meeting of AIML held in Sindh at Karachi, on December 29-30, 1907, where the party constitution was formally approved. Through the forum of AIML, well-known Muslim feudal lord of other regions of India tried to establish their influence
in the area as well. For example Ali Muhammad Khan Dehlvi was appointed Secretary of the Karachi Branch of the party.\textsuperscript{37} Khawja Musa Khan took charge of the Central and North Sindh.\textsuperscript{38} On the other hand, some anti-imperialist forces were at work, in the province, for direct revolution.

**Ubaidullah Sindhi and the British**

Just before the outbreak of World War I, Maulana Mahmood ul Hassan,\textsuperscript{39} Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi\textsuperscript{40} and the like-minded leaders established their under-ground political organization.\textsuperscript{41} While planning for uprising against colonizers, they strived for political and military support from the neighboring countries against British rule in India. Ubaidullah Sindhi was deputed to establish armed contingents in Sindh and north-western areas in 1915.\textsuperscript{42} He went to Afghanistan to get the support of Afghan Government. In the same year, he became Home Minister of independent Indian Government in exile, which had already been established by Indian revolutionaries\textsuperscript{43} to topple English Government in the subcontinent.\textsuperscript{44}

Under the influence of Russian Revolution 1917, Sindhi adopted socialist thought and contacted under-ground revolutionary outfits which were already active in Sindh. Meanwhile, he also visited Soviet Union in October 1922.\textsuperscript{45} Influenced by the Soviet revolution, he led the exiled revolutionary group to compile the draft “Constitution of United States of India.”\textsuperscript{46}

In 1939, Sindhi came back from exile after twenty four years. A considerably large crowd gathered for the reception of Ubaidullah Sindhi. In such gatherings, anti-British rule slogans were publicized, e.g., Indians were ‘slaves of the British’, people of India in
general and Muslims in particular would remain slaves forever at the hands of the servants of colonial administration who were stooges, shameless and spies.\textsuperscript{47} Sindhi’s thoughts were an amalgamation of Pan-Islamism, communal unity and anti-imperialism to curb exploitation as desired by the Holy Prophet (Peace be Upon Him).\textsuperscript{48} He was of the view that if India could get freedom, that would bring a wave of liberation in the Middle East as well. He tried to organize his party with expectations to include other communities also who were anti-imperialist. For the purpose, he contacted Abdul Majid Sindhi,\textsuperscript{49} Abdullah Laghari\textsuperscript{50} and G.M. Sayed\textsuperscript{51} frequently. He was one of the pioneers of concepts of ‘Islamic Socialism’ in South Asia.\textsuperscript{52} Though, he could not succeed in his main objective, yet he influenced the politics of Sindh to a greater extent.\textsuperscript{53}

**Khilafat Movement and the Emergence of Party Politics in Sindh**

Khilafat Movement left remarkable impacts on national political purview and so on the politics of Sindh. Sir Abdullah Haroon became president of Khilafat Committee Sindh Chapter.\textsuperscript{54} Leaders and workers from Sindh representing different groups and communities participated in First Khilafat Conference, on November 23, 1919 in Delhi, i.e. religious leader Maulana Taj Mahmood Amroti, spiritual leader Pir Turab Ali Shah, businessman and politician Abdullah Haroon\textsuperscript{55} and Sheikh Abdul Aziz and landlord barrister Jan Muhammad Junejo.\textsuperscript{56} In the post-conference scenario non-cooperation Movement started in India. Ali brothers and Gandhi also held a meeting at Sukkur in 1920 to convince local leadership for the cause.\textsuperscript{57} Consequently, Sindhi Khilafatists declared for non-cooperation.\textsuperscript{58} Rais-ul-Muhajreen Jan Muhammad Junejo migrated to Afghanistan along with a huge caravan of people from Sindh.\textsuperscript{59} That movement was the
mile stone for the Muslims’ political awareness and was observed as training school for their future political pursuits.

It was a result of the awareness and activities under Khilafat Movement that developed a very strong passion among the people of the province for the separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency. Prominent provincial political leaders like Abdul Majid Sindhi, Allah Bux Soomro,\(^{60}\) Hyder Bux Jatoi\(^{61}\) and G.M. Sayed along with their many other companions, participated in that campaign actively. Hence, after the separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency on April 1, 1936 different political parties and groups emerged on the political panorama of the province.

**Political Struggle in Sindh and Elections 1937**

Before the Elections 1937, like other areas of South Asia, strong political activities accelerated in Sindh. Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto laid the foundation of Sindh People’s Party in 1934, which was merged in the Sindh United Party (SUP) by 1936. Initially, Sir Abdullah Haroon was the leader of that party, but after his resignation, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto was elected as its head. Abdullah Haroon and Miran Mohammad\(^{62}\) took charge as his deputies. Another prominent political personality Abdul Majid Sindhi laid the foundation of Azad Party in 1935, which not only demanded immediate expulsion of colonizers from the province and independent ‘Sindh State’.

Indian National Congress (INC), not only, nominated its own candidates, but also supported to some of the Muslim groups who were either independent candidates or were primarily Muslim nationalists of the Sindh United Party. On the other hand, Hindu
Mahasabha criticized the separation of Sindh from Bombay and warned the Hindus of Sindh about an expected domination of Muslims in future.

On behalf of AIML, Quaid-i-Azam met Sadat, Mirs and other elites of Sindh in 1936 at Karachi. However, they could not be convinced to contest the upcoming elections on the League’s ticket. In the dinner arranged by Hatim Alavi in the honour of Quaid-i-Azam’s prominent Muslim leaders were not willing to include them in hosts’ list. Three prominent groups representing Sindhi Muslims in the elections were, Muslim Democratic Political Party, Sindh Azad Party, Sindh United Party. AIML contested elections declaring that, “The provincial scheme of the constitution be utilized for what is worth in spite of the objectionable features contained therein” Its manifesto stated;

The main principles on which we expect our representatives in various legislatures to work will be (1) that the present provincial constitution and the proposed central constitution should be replaced immediately by democratic full self-government and (2) that representatives of the Muslim League in the various legislatures will utilize the legislatures in order to extract the maximum benefit out of the constitution for uplift of the people in various spheres of national life. The Muslim League party must be formed as a corollary so long as separate electorates exist but there will be free co-operation with any group or groups whose aims and ideas are approximately the same as those of the League party.

Total seats allocated to the province were sixty, out of which thirty six were reserved for the Muslims. Muslim Democratic Political Party got sixteen seats, Sindh United Party occupied seventeen and three went to independent Muslims, whereas AIML could not even occupy a single Muslim seat in the province. On the other hand, Hindu Mahasabha and independent Hindus occupied fourteen and INC got eight, on the general seats.

Despite the fact that Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah was defeated in general elections, the Provincial Governor invited him to form the provincial ministry which
caused the enmity among the other leaders within SUP. Hidayatullah, in his half year’s
tenure, hardly managed to approve the budget and just two constitutional bills.75 During
the same period, a Hindu cabinet member was replaced with another Hindu capitalist.
Due to that, a strong propaganda of opposition started against the Ministry which resulted
in the dismissal of his government in March 1938.76

New cabinet, headed by leader of the liberal group of the SUP Allah Bux, having
support of INC took over on March 23, 1938.77 As a policy statement, the members of his
cabinet declared that they were against British Imperialism but their inclination was
towards INC. Such statements along with some of steps taken by the new ministry
annoyed not only HMS and AIML but the British authorities as well.78 Allah Bux
Ministry was facing aggressive attacks by both camps i.e. AIML and INC. Therefore, the
slogan Sindh, Sindhion ke liay (Sindh for Sindhis) was floated to win favorable response
of Sindhi nationalists.79 The slogan strengthened the rapport of the SUP.

Sindh and Proposals for the Partition

Meanwhile, Sindhi nationalists also associated their demands with their own ideas i.e.
rapid economic development along with great job opportunities for Sindhis. Muhammad
Ali Jinnah then tried to develop relations with more powerful elite. He also planned the
expansion of massive contacts by taking the above-mentioned political situation into
account.80 In order to address the alarming situation in Sindh, Jinnah called an important
AIML Conference in Karachi on October 8-10, 1938. In the session, Sikandar Hayat
Khan81 of the Punjab, A.K. Fazlul Haq82 of Bengal and leaders of same stature from other
provinces also participated.83
The proceedings of AIML Conference revealed that the resolution, which demanded political autonomy for both Muslim and Hindu ‘nations’ as well as the partition of British India was approved. As an objective of strategy, the struggle for the end of colonial rule and the establishment of federation of Hindu and Muslim independent republics were demanded through resolution in the same session. The demands were also acceptable for Sindhi ‘nationalists’. Therefore, they started to lean towards AIML.

Abdul Majid Sindhi adopted somehow a different point of view. He opposed the concept of establishment of two separate states and declared the possibility of formation of two federations i.e. Muslim and Hindu within the jurisdiction of future united state of India where every nation would enjoy maximum possible provincial autonomy. On the directions of Quaid-i-Azam, AIML Working Committee prepared a new social programme in the light of the previous one. The features of that programme were more clear and detailed i.e. reduction in working hours, fixation of minimum wages, the betterment of hygienic condition of labourers, relaxation in the loans of urban and rural workers, imposition of ban upon forced labour, steps to increase agricultural production, measures to improve the condition of unemployed persons and the development of primary, secondary and higher education with special emphasis upon technical and professional areas.

**The Impact of Socialist Thought in Sindh**

The passion of Hindu-Muslim unity did not create good atmosphere for conservative leaders in AIML. Ubaidullah Sindhi strongly observed that *Pirs* were long been
exploiting laymen economically and morally. But all the efforts, without bringing considerable fruit, evaporated with his death in 1944.

During the period of 1939-1941, Sindh People’s Party emerged on the political scene of Sindh, having harmonious approach among different communities. But as usual; the efforts to unite Hindus and Muslims faced heavy resentment by prejudice Brahmans, Ulema, hawks of HMS and AIML. To curb the trend of collective activity, HMS started campaign in June-July 1939 for the imposition of ban on Om Mandli Tehrik. Allah Bux crumbled to the pressure and declared Om Mandli as out-law movement. That was the indication of sectarian politics in the province.

**Emergence of Sectarian Politics**

In the same year, Sindh faced the sequence of sectarian riots because in Sukkur beside River Indus there were two ancient tombs-like buildings which became bone of contention. Both Hindus and Muslims were equal claimant of the place Manzilgah. AIML appealed to observe non-cooperation from the Muslims of Sindh. The Muslim mob compelled the police contingent to retreat and had captured the Manzilgah on October 3, 1939. AIML demanded that possession of the Manzilgah must be legalized immediately. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who believed non-violence, suggested Hindus to withdraw and vacate the problematic area. Hindu businessmen preferred to support HMS, which started anti-Muslim movement in the province and also demanded that Sindh must be remerged in the Bombay Presidency. Riots continued and despite massive arrests, the situation could not be controlled and resultantly, 141 Hindus whereas 17 Muslims lost their lives in Sukkur district and its surroundings.
The sectarian violence was further intensified by some political groups to fail the provincial administration of Allah Bux. Ultimately, due to unbearable pressure of circumstances, Ministry resigned and the sequence of sectarianism disappeared immediately. Many Sindhi politicians like G.M. Sayed, Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Syed Ali Mohammad Rashdi and Ghulam Mujadad Sirhindi, played role in background to develop that sectarian atmosphere, aimed at getting rid of provincial ministry of Allah Bux.

By the end of February 1940, AIML leaders raised the issue of Muslim representation in the government and in the Legislative Assembly. Because of internal differences Bandeh Ali Talpur Ministry was soon dissolved and Allah Bux again formed his ministry. In the cabinet, all the three Muslim members were non-Leaguers. Allah Bux tried to unite the interests of both the Muslims and INC. His programme included the reservation of seats for every communal group in the provincial bodies, including Cabinet and Legislative Assembly, through legislation.

In the meantime, although AIML national leadership was facing the difficulties, even then it concentrated on strengthening their massive roots in Sindh. Jinnah visited Karachi in December 1940 and summoned the meeting of AIML Working Committee. At that occasion, an Organizing Committee was formed under the Chairmanship of G.M. Sayed and famous feudal lord like Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Hasan Bux Shah, Faqir Muhammad Manghrio, Qazi Fazlullah and leading business men, like Yusuf Abdullah Haroon and Muhammad Hashim Gazdar were taken on board as the members of committee. The active provincial members of AIML were trying to detract different popular movements organized by INC. In 1940, when INC started its famous movement
against the involvement of India in World War II, Sindh chapter of AIML tried to discourage the people of province from participating in the movement.\textsuperscript{106} Therefore, MSF Sindh chapter was established and strengthened under the leadership of S.G. Mustafa and Abdullah Shakir. Its main objectives were, to have mutual trust between the students, to protect Muslim interests and to promote Muslim culture and traditions.\textsuperscript{107} In 1940, MSF started publishing its magazine named \textit{Baidari (Awakening)}, particularly for the young readers. But as a matter of fact the strength of Sindhi Muslim students, especially at higher level, was very limited and they were unable to play any decisive or basic role in the organization.\textsuperscript{108}

\textbf{Challenges to Provincial Ministry}

However, Jinnah did not stop his efforts to attract Sindhi nationalists. He offered them party positions in the provincial party chapter of AIML. As general public of province including provincial political leaders were unhappy with the policies of provincial ministry and the performance of the provincial chapter of INC was also not satisfactory, so they rapidly changed their minds and started to see towards AIML for any favourable change aimed at the betterment of Sindhis. Jinnah himself intervened in replacing right-wing Mohammad Ayub Khuhro\textsuperscript{109} with G.M. Sayed as provincial chief of AIML. Overall, British bureaucracy, under the direct control of provincial Governor Hugh Dow, was also unhappy with the provincial ministry of Allah Bux. Moreover, among lower ranks of administration, corruption had become a common phenomenon. Opposition used that entire situation in its favour and attacked government every now and then.\textsuperscript{110}
But due to the support of the Sindhi nationalists and the Muslim wing of INC, Allah Bux strengthened himself. He gained so much value, even at national level, that he was also invited to meet the Cripps Mission, which visited India in 1942.\textsuperscript{111} Allah Bux was largely admired for his open and strong campaign against British officers and colonial masters. Situation became so critical that in 1942,\textsuperscript{112} he was pressurized to resign as the CM of Sindh. Allah Bux refused to accept the demand of his opponents, but provincial Governor sacked him. He regretfully pointed out that the stay of a CM in his office had not depended upon the trust of legislature but the trust of governor.\textsuperscript{113}

That dismissal generated mixed reaction in the province, nationalists and INC criticized the extra-constitutional step of Governor. Whereas, AIML summoned its meeting in which thirty thousand people participated and the resolution was passed in favour of the decision. Trust in Jinnah’s leadership was reiterated and the support of the concept of Pakistan was also renewed.\textsuperscript{114}

On October 23, 1942 Ghulam Hussain Hidyatullah, who had announced few days earlier that he had decided to merge his group in AIML because of the ‘anti-Muslim attitude of INC’, formed a new ministry. Twenty nine out of thirty four members of the Legislative Assembly signed the agreement in favour of AIML. Sindhi feudal lord and landlord at the eve of second \textit{Hur} rebellion put their weight to the AIML side. From October 1942 till the creation of Pakistan, AIML sustained its clear majority in the house.\textsuperscript{115}

Meanwhile, forceful reflection of the left wing ideology was observed in the activities of Sindhi nationalist faction led by G.M. Sayed. During the last decade of the
British imperialism in the province, traditional Sindhi nationalist sentiments, the modern progressive minded faction present in the province and supporters of the idea of formation of Pakistan, all greatly affected the political atmosphere of Sindh. AIML adopted the Resolution of March 23, 1940 demanding the separate homeland for Muslims of South Asia.\textsuperscript{116} It became more and more popular in Sindh with the passage of each day.\textsuperscript{117} Majority of traditional Sindhis and progressive minded activists reprioritized their course of action and started to follow the political lines suggested by AIML.\textsuperscript{118} Therefore, at the time of joining AIML, many Sindhi nationalists were of the view that they would be able to maneuver party offices to promote their interests, but their actual position was totally opposite. AIML used the administrative traits of the local leaders like G.M. Sayed, Abdul Majid Sindhi and Ali Muhammad Rashdi to promote the party cause and, later on, virtually declined to dignify them with importance and status.

\textbf{Beginning of New Political Era}

On March 3, 1943 on the recommendation of AIML, Sindh Legislative Assembly passed a resolution with clear-cut majority of 24 versus 3, in which the basic points of Pakistan Resolution were reaffirmed.\textsuperscript{119} Moreover, the provincial, urban and the rural organizations of AIML continued working in social circles under the instructions of central leadership. The party programme was propagated in the public gatherings, like, \textit{Urs}, Fairs and other recreational functions.

The inclusion of local political leaders and feudal lords in the ranks of AIML strengthened the party all over Sindh and its membership increased rapidly. No doubt, general inclining trend of public further strengthened the position of AIML across the
By the end of 1944, AIML had established branches in almost all of the rural and urban centers and hence, the party had become a large party of the province.

**Haris and anti-Feudal Elements**

Simultaneously, anti-feudal and pro-peasantry tendencies also emerged on provincial political horizon of the day, but at a considerable slow pace. Famous trade unionist Abdul Qadir played primary role in convincing the *Haris*, in the area of *Taulka Tando Jam* that only solution of extra-legal actions of the feudal laid in the unity among them. In 1930, Abdul Qadir participated in Kisan Movement Conference which was held at Mirpur Khas along with Jaith Mal Pars Ram, Hyder Bux Jatoi and Abdul Majid Sindhi. The conference was hosted by INC leader Jamshed A.R. Mehta. In the conference Sindh Hari Committee (SHC) was established, and Abdul Qadir was elected its General Secretary. He, till his death, on January 12, 1965 remained firmly associated with the committee. SHC was not against the land ownership of feudal class, but it opposed the feudal system and demanded the share for peasantry class, in the harvesting. The committee, in its outlook, was neither revolutionary nor its liberal leadership was in consonance with the ultimate objectives of the movement. Few of them were impressed by social programme of INC whereas the remaining were following Abdul Majid Sindhi’s nationalistic views. Hyder Bux Jatoi, remained chairman of the committee from 1943 till his death in 1970. One of his major contributions was his successful management of continuously publishing famous daily *Hari Haqdar*, (organ of the movement). In the newspaper, the atrocities employed upon the women and children of the peasantry folk were highlighted and the financial exploitation of *Haris* at the hands of *Sahukar* (money lender) was also
unveiled.\textsuperscript{124} \textit{Hurs} also actively participated in \textit{Kisan Tehrik} (Peasantry Movement) and their main focus was upon the areas of North-Eastern Sindh.

\textbf{The \textit{Hur} ‘Rebellion’}

The \textit{Hurs} are \textit{murids} (disciples) of \textit{Pir Pagaro}, who are inhabitants of Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Sanghar, Umerkot, Hyderabad, Jaisalmer, Kutch, Bhuj Tharparkar and Rajasthan. \textit{Hurs} are well-knitted under their regional \textit{khalifas} (sub-spiritual heads).\textsuperscript{125} In 1888 and 1890, there were causalities of both the \textit{hurs} and law enforcement agencies. They refused to pay the taxes and on the action against them, there was retaliation \textsuperscript{126}

When at the age of twelve, Pir Sibghatullah, the \textit{Pir Pagaro} became the spiritual head in 1921, he and his followers took strong stand against the British Raj,\textsuperscript{127} which elevated their status in the eyes of leaders of national liberation movement. In 1929, \textit{hurs}, under their leader \textit{Pir Pagaro}, had launched very powerful movement against the policies of British Indian Government. However, the government authorities took strong measures against the \textit{pir} and his disciples.\textsuperscript{128} \textit{Pir} was arrested and remained in detention from 1930 to 1936.\textsuperscript{129} The authorities were already planning to take strict action against him. J.R.S. Hood, Collector of Sukkur, wrote to Commissioner Sindh; “If we are going to deport a gang, should be the Pir. There will never be peace or security in this part of the world, until he is dead or put completely out of the way.”\textsuperscript{130}

The militant and guerilla activities of \textit{hurs} were so strong that by the end of 1941, the communication net-work had been disrupted by them to the extent that the civil and military administration suffered from a great chaos. Sooner, \textit{hurs} got the control of fifteen percent area of Sindh. Guerilla war continued to expand day by day.\textsuperscript{131} Those
largely disturbing and chaotic activities which had spread in most areas of Sindh, strongly affected the prevailing politics. Various groups in the power corridor became united to curb the movement. In that connection, in March 1942, ‘Hur Act’ was passed to crush the Hur Movement, in the in-camera session of Provincial Legislature.

On August, 1942, Pir Sahib was arrested under the Defense of India Act. He was charged with the allegation of hatching a criminal activity. Due to the arrest of Pir Sahib a large-scale ‘mass-rebellion’ started. After his arrest, Rahim Hangoro, a hur leader was declared as leader of the freedom fighters, who continued uncompromising militant struggle for the establishment of a state based upon social justice against the British rulers and their agents in Sindh. By the summer of 1942, the imperialist forces had almost crushed the ‘Hur Contingents’ and the leaders of the movement were arrested. Apparently, normalcy was restored, but the law against the hurs sustained. On the other hand, some guerrilla groups did not yet stop their ambush activities and they were suppressed to a greater extent with the passage of time. However, the English Government, despite all its severe actions, could not succeed in controlling their activities completely. They continued to target the government installations and feudal lord in their areas randomly.

SHC remained impartial in hur issue’; AIML and Jinnah were against the stand of hurs, whereas M.K. Gandhi condemned both, the hurs for the ironical methodology and British authorities for the brutal massacre of the hurs. Nonetheless, the movement exceedingly damaged the image of the British authorities in Sindh and strengthened the radical democratic ideology that left a significant impact on future politics of Sindh.
Elections 1946 and Aftermath

The moderate Sindhi nationalists did not quit AIML but they formed a group within party under the leadership of G.M. Sayed. While negating the above-discussed slogan, they adopted the views of the establishment of Pakistan as Federal Democratic Republic with sufficient opportunities for Sindhis to utilize their taxes for their development, and a good share in the services of all governmental departments.\footnote{138}\footnote{138}

In the period under discussion, the followers of Sayed particularly focused the Muslim population of Sindh for their political campaign because they were well-aware of the fact that the suppressed, poor and illiterate components of society were greatly fertile for the campaign of AIML’s religious call, based upon communal separatism as it was evident during and after the issue of Masjid Manzilgah. The strategy of using the communal prejudice by promoting League’s objectives had also been adopted.

Meanwhile, SML was eventually divided into two major groups. First group was led by Sayed and the other by Hidayatullah, who was working as CM at that time. Sayed had mobilized masses for AIML to a greater extent. The faction led by Hidayatullah was supported by Muhammad Ali Jinnah. After sometime, because of Sayed’s differences with Jinnah, he was expelled from the party office in Sindh.\footnote{139} However, he fielded his own candidates in the elections of 1946, in his capacity as the president of SML Council, against the candidates nominated by the faction supported by Jinnah. Each faction claimed its candidates as the party representatives of Sindhi Muslims. Sayed Group fielded candidates for fourteen seats and the Jinnah group floated candidates for thirty three constituencies.\footnote{140} British administration in the region initially supported Jinnah’s view point and then after the appointment of Sir Francis Moodi as Governor, openly
supported Hidayatullah Group. INC gave much importance to the elections in the region and some members of INC Working Committee visited Sindh. In particular, Jawaharlal Nehru himself arrived at Karachi and he severely condemned separatist tendencies of AIML and HMS. Nehru faced agitation and anti-Congress slogans at Hyderabad where peasants protested against the candidature of INC nominee Tehl Ram Tek Chand who was a feudal, money-lender and a capitalist by temperament. However, INC continued to pursue the policy of depending upon elite class because in peasantry, it could not be able to get sufficient support. Nehru commented that the British authorities, present in Sindh were financially supporting their toadies and that black money would surely be used in the upcoming elections. He blamed AIML for all ill-doings in the province, though the role of Hindu feudal personalities, money-lenders and the capitalists was not different in that context. In that scenario, elections were held and the results reflected party position as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Contestants</th>
<th>Successful</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIML</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMS</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.M. Sayed Group</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalists</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Worth-mentioning aspect of Sindh elections was the smooth success of three candidates. Naraindas Anandji Bechar won over the labour seat with 2869 votes. He was moderate trade unionist and contested elections as an independent candidate although factually he was supported by INC. AIML and INC got two feudal seats respectively; Hidayatullah and G. Pritam Das. None of the HMS candidate could succeed. Continuous communal propaganda created political tension among contesting parties with high temperature all over the province. As a result emergency was imposed in different cities of Sindh. During electoral process, rigging was visible in various constituencies and even in some cases polled votes were much more than they actually registered voters.144 Majority of the voters were not influenced by the election campaign and thus the turnout of voting was 47.26% as compare to the turnout of 52.25% which was recorded in previous elections of 1936-37.145 Progressive political leadership faced difficulties to manage the elections e.g. Abdul Qadir, Chairman SHC could not perform well because of financial constraints.146

Post-Election 1946 Scenario

To understand the new political development in Sindh, the comparison of results of elections 1946 is required with the results of the elections of 1937. Smaller Muslim political parties collapsed and majority of their members joined AIML. Therefore, AIML got 27 seats as compare to none in 1936-37. HMS was on losing end, because previously it had eleven members and in 1946, none of its candidates could win. INC increased ten members in its representation. AIML leadership proved its stance that it represented Muslim masses because no Muslim candidate of INC could return to legislature. The results of 1946 elections were very disappointing for Sayed and his followers. They just
got four seats i.e. Sayed himself, Muhammad Ali Shah, Bahadur Shah and Ghulam Mustafa Bhurghari and lost ten constituencies. Sayed committed a mistake by not organizing his own political party instead of participating in electoral process as the defender of real ideas of AIML. He continuously explained that he supported the basic objectives of AIML, including the formation of Pakistan, but disagreed with Jinnah and others in administrative matters.

There was delay in the formation of provincial ministry in Sindh. G.M. Sayed had already formed Progressive Muslim League. But the leadership of AIML did not stop its efforts to bring back the members of that group as well as some of Muslim nationalists to AIML. On the other hand, INC’s efforts were very strong to unite anti-ML elements. Members of INC Working Committee Abul Kalam Azad and Vallabhbhai Patel arrived Sindh, Azad tried his level best to make adjustments with progressive party i.e. Jamiat Ulema, whose representatives in Sindh Assembly were, H.M. Bux, Dil Murad Khan Khoso, Nabi Bux Bhutto and Sardar Dad Khan. Simultaneously, Patel made his utmost efforts to convince conservative minded INC local leaders to co-operate with Muslim groups.

Hidayatullah, who was invited by Governor Francis Moody to lead provincial cabinet, continued efforts to win the support of INC members. On the other side, INC under Ghanshiam Taith Nand refused to co-operate with him having the stance that coalition government was need of the day by taking all political parties on board to normalize the political atmosphere in Sindh. Sayed supported the idea and observed that AIML and INC would be able to form strong ministry to curb the corruption and to stream line economic and social development in Sindh.
It had become too difficult for Liaquat Ali\textsuperscript{152} to settle the dispute between Hidayatullah and Ayub Khuhro and soften both of them towards central leadership. Ultimately, Khuhro agreed to retreat. So, after some delay, Sindh Provincial Cabinet, under Hidayatullah as CM was sworn in, consisting of eighteen members belonging to AIML only. Mohammad Ayub Khuhro was inducted in cabinet as the minister for Tax and Social Affairs. On September 5, 1946, Assembly session was called in which no-confidence move was put up by Coalition Group. However, AIML government was rescued with the help of European members.\textsuperscript{153}

On the other side, in order to convert the alliance of the political groups into united and well-organized party, Sayed summoned a conference, which was attended by three hundred participants. Sayed declared that the sole objective would be to compel ML Ministry to resign. The main slogan set by him to attract people was, ‘Sindhi Muslim-Hindu solidarity’. He reiterated, “Let us start new era of religious harmony.”\textsuperscript{154} After him INC Sindh Chapter chairman, Choaith Ram Gdwani also supported the view to establish political coordination between both of the communities. As none of the conflicting group was having clear majority, the result of the voting in the legislature and consequently the destiny of the government was dependent upon just two votes. Therefore, active track-II diplomacy was started and Liaquat Ali Khan revisited Sindh and suggested re-associating some of Sindhi Muslim nationalists to coup up with the situation.\textsuperscript{155}

**Cabinet Mission and Sindh**

In March 1946, Cabinet Mission under the headship of Minister for Indian Affairs and Burma, P. Lawrance started its visit to India in which it proposed to divide India into three parts.\textsuperscript{156} According to the plan, it was proposed for Punjab to join Sindh and Khyber
Pakhtunkhwa, formerly North West Frontier Province (NWFP) along with western region of subcontinent.  

G.M. Sayed reached Delhi along with other Sindhi leaders, during his negotiations with the members of Cabinet Mission; he defended the idea of retention of the then provinces with more political and economic rights. He negated the proposal of inclusion of Sindh with western region and announced, “Sindh does not wish to become slave of the Punjab after Bombay. If elections will held on the basis of proportionate representation, then Sindh will become a colony of the Punjab.” Same kind of sentiments was expressed by nationalists of left wing, represented by Ali Muhammad Rashdi.  

The popularity of Sindh government, continued to decrease due to its pro-British policies. Anyhow, Governor Sindh Sir Francis Moody maneuvered to keep AIML in power despite public protests. Meanwhile, the local leadership of AIML Sindh continued its consultative process for nominating the suitable candidates for the elections of Constituent Assembly. The decision of central leadership for recommending the names of Mohammad Ayub Khuhro and Abdul Sattar Pirzada, infuriated Hidayatullah and Elahi Bux. Later on, those issues also caused tension even in the Assembly and resultanty, Fazal Muhammad Laghari and Dil Murad Khoso were expelled from the party due to their differences with leadership. Lastly, the candidates, nominated by central leadership, enjoyed the finality of nomination. Same situation could be observed in the case of INC in connection with the nomination of party candidates for the elections of Constituent Assembly. The differences among local leaders of INC became severe. The issue gained much political significance even outside Sindh, when the central committee of INC declared all candidates from Sindh as disqualified.
Direct Action and its Political Effects

All-India Council of AIML passed a resolution on July 30, 1946, to launch the campaign of direct-action because the British declined to offer to form interim government as they promised earlier that any party among INC and AIML would accept the plan in toto. Since that announcement, religious communal strife started to increase all over Sindh. Under those circumstances, HMS and INC also became active and their extremist-minded people started to issue statements against Muslims. Consequently, so many actions, based upon lawlessness, were reported in most parts of the province. Progressive organizations warned about devastative features of those politics based upon communalism, which were coincided with economic and political issues.¹⁶¹

The leadership of AIML, considered those circumstances suitable to introduce decisive change in her favour across Sindh. The Governor dissolved Provincial LA on September 12, 1946 on the advice of the provincial head of ML parliamentary party and announced fresh general elections. Moreover, the enmity between Hidayatullah and Ayub Khuhro attracted the resignations of the rest of four provincial ministers.¹⁶² At that occasion, the election campaign of AIML was headed by Yusuf Abdullah Haroon, who was member of the Constituent Assembly and was elected as chairman of provincial branch of the party on September 9, 1946. The election campaign of the autumn season of 1946 was held in such circumstances when civil society was busy in the struggle for the independence of India. Therefore, elections were postponed for some time.
Provincial Elections December 1946

Apparently, when communal politics were being pursued in Sindh by all major political parties of the day, the conduct of provincial Governor was also brought under suspicion for keeping them distant from any agreement. Under those circumstances, the holding of free, fair and transparent general election, at scheduled time, was hardly possible. However, the provincial general election in Sindh, were held in December 9, 1946. The elections did not introduce any worthwhile change in the party position in Sindh Legislative Assembly (SLA) and thus most of the previous members retained their presence in the Assembly. However, AIML became in better position that it won all the Muslim seats in the province. G.M. Sayed was defeated in the elections and he put allegations of rigging.

INC and its allies lost two seats as compared to the previous elections. Certainly, the results of elections had far reaching effects. At last, AIML got strong position in constituent assembly. On labour seat, no Hindu could be elected since 1938 but a Muslim favoured by AIML and communists got elected. INC lost one out of two seats reserved for landlords because the candidate of Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam (JUI) was succeeded by Mukhi Gobindram Pritamdas.

Some feudal lord joined AIML, who had earlier been defeated in January 1946 Elections. Moreover, other smaller segments of society also supported AIML at large scale. According to Dawn, “The dismissal of Sindh Legislature and holding of new elections at the end of 1946 is such an incident that will ever last in the struggle for
establishment of Pakistan.” Clear majority in Provincial Assembly enabled AIML to form government.


After the establishment of Pakistan in August 1947, Governor General, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah nominated Hidayatullah as Governor Sindh and Khuhro as CM, who then inducted the leaders of all the other three groups of AIML Sindh in the cabinet, i.e. Elahi Bux, Ghulam Ali Talpur and Qazi Fazlullah. In the cabinet of Liaquat Ali Khan, Abdul Sattar Pirzada was having portfolios of Food, Agriculture and Health.

Migration and Counter Migration

During the last months of the British rule, communal riots were recorded at very large scale, especially in North Western provinces. Meanwhile, when the Punjab was facing the worst ever observed historic riots, Government of Sindh repeatedly assured its protection to Hindu population living in the province. But both of fighting communal groups with the support of their well-wishers from outside Sindh continued to spread lawlessness and agitation all over the province. Therefore, due to the fear of disturbance, two million Hindus had migrated to India in 1947.

In 1948, Provincial Government issued a policy for the individuals and families, who wished to migrate to India. The policy included the regulations, like the production of certain documents showing clearance by the banks and private money-lenders. In addition to that, they had to prove that they were not having any asset pledged by them in lieu of any loan to Muslim population. Peasants were also disallowed to take their animals along with them. Therefore, with the passage of time gradually the flow of
migrants was decreased after the issuance of that policy. But in August 1949, Shikarpur and Sukkur saw new wave of communal clashes, which resulted in to influx in migration rate. According to an estimate in 1949, almost 27297 Hindu inhabitants migrated to India, in 1950, round about 9099 people migrated to India and in 1951, the number of migrants reduced to 644.\textsuperscript{169} According to some other estimates in 1947 total population of Hindus in Sindh, was 1.4 million, out of which 1.25 million preferred to migrate to India. Moreover, almost whole of Sikh population of Sindh, also preferred to migrate to India. Overall, after that massive migration, the ratio of Hindu population in Sindh, decreased from 25\% to 4\% of the total provincial population. Sindhi migrants were in more miserable condition as compared to Punjabi migrants, because they were not having their historical claim on any specific area, so they were compelled to be settled along with other ethnic groups, who were residing in different territories like western or north-western India, including the area as of Bombay and United Province (UP).

In the same period, on the other side, almost six hundred thousand Muslims migrated to Sindh from central and western parts of India. That massive reshuffle of provincial population significantly changed the ethno-demography of Sindh. According to the census of 1951, there were 110000 \textit{Muhajirs} in Sindh.\textsuperscript{170} Their ratio in population was 16.11\%. In 1947, the Governor Sindh, Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, in his letter to the Governor General of Pakistan, while indicating the refugees’ influx in Sindh wrote;

\begin{quote}
The refugee problem had a direct bearing the maintenance of law and order in Sindh…. Sindh from centuries had enjoyed an enviable reputation for sanity and inter-communal harmony, it was not the business of Sindhi Hindu to create any upheaval but the heat and passion in to the placid life has been brought directly or indirectly by refugees.\textsuperscript{171}
\end{quote}
Ultimately, following the immigrant tendency, a lot of people from other parts of West Pakistan rushed to Sindh as well. After 1947, a large influx of migrants occurred from all areas of West Pakistan, which drastically changed the demography of Sindh. Major demographic change was observed in urban Sindh because cities were having better job opportunities and so were more attractive for new Sindhis.

The number of incoming migrants to Karachi was much greater than the outgoing Hindu migrants to India. It was for the first time in history that the Sindhi population reduced to less than half of the total population of their capital. Except some of the stabled industrialists, the majority of Muslim migrants were in poor economic condition. Almost all of them were jobless. Few amongst them occupied properties left by the outgoing Hindus. The Government of Sindh established a special department to address the issues of immigrants.

**Karachi as Federal Capital and Reaction**

The issue of designating any city as federal capital also became an important political aspect of the day, at the time of independence. In that context, different cities were brought into consideration, by the establishment. The cities of Rawalpindi and Lahore were also thought to be dignified as federal capital but the leadership of PML, finalized the city of Karachi as federal capital, due to its greater strategic, economic and political significance. Majority of the ruling persons were not having their ethnic roots in Pakistan so they could expect the support of migrants of Gujarat, Bombay and other areas of former British India, for the decision. Furthermore, the accommodation of governmental departments, officials and their families in a very large number was not possible in
anyone of those under viewed cities. In addition to that, Jinnah was closely associated with different business tiers of Muhajirs. He also supported the name of Karachi.\textsuperscript{173}

At early stage, political leaders of Sindh, including newly formed Sindh Awami Mahaz (SAM), mainly representing the nationalist segment, opposed the separation of Karachi from rest of the provincial area. On February 2, 1948, with the efforts of Sindhi nationalist class, members of the Provincial Assembly of Sindh passed resolution to oppose the decision of Federal Government. Moreover, the Provincial Working Committee of ML declared that they would continue to consider Karachi as a part of Sindh as earlier.\textsuperscript{174} Very prominent feudal lord and provincial head of League, Ayub Khuhro also agitated officially. SAM organized processions and gatherings against the decision, in Karachi and other cities of Sindh.\textsuperscript{175}

However, on July 23, 1947, under the order of Governor General, Karachi along with its adjacent areas, consisted of 812 square miles, was declared as Federal Territory after it was separated from rest of the Sindh.\textsuperscript{176} Sindh faced considerable financial loss because of that decision, as Karachi was contributing major share in provincial income in different means and ways. So, because of the separation, the approximate loss to Sindh reached between six to eight hundred million rupees.\textsuperscript{177} After the implementation of the decision, provincial budget faced great deficit for many consecutive years.

**Tenants in Early Years of Pakistan**

The continuous exploitation of peasantry class promoted progressive ideas among the people, living in interior Sindh. Provincial elites realized that those virtually intensifying traditions based upon class difference and exploitation might develop the revolutionary
ideas among their peasantry class. Jinnah advised to prevent the rising communist influence among labour class belonging to all fields. The issue of their betterment was taken up in 1947 as per directions of Jinnah. Sindh legislature established a famous committee namely *Committee Barai Hari Massail* (Committee for Tenant’s Problems).\(^{178}\)

That committee did not touch all the basis of age-old problems of *haris* and presented its superficial report in January 1948 under the observation of feudal elements. It attributed the difficulties of *haris* to natural compulsions and their grievances were beyond human control. However, the report somehow, mentioned the policies of Government and the collective working and social conduct of *haris*, as the roots of their miseries. While defending the role of provincial feudal lord, that report described feudal as friend of the peasant, who protected his interests and satisfied his needs as his guardian. That under viewed report further suggested fixing *faslana* (the share of crop) for the feudal.\(^{179}\)

Muhammad Masud Khadar Posh, a member of the committee, criticized the official report. He left the committee in protest and published his review on the official report in 1949. He highlighted the loopholes in the recommendations regarding the unchangeable conditions of landownership and he announced that the main hurdle in agricultural development was the traditional system in which tiller was tilling the land since generations without reserving the right of ownership. However, he did focus on permanent right of *batai* (distribution) for the tenants and ban on the imposition of extra taxes upon tenants. Civic circles largely criticized the official version of the report and its suggestions.\(^{180}\)
Meanwhile, in the period of 1948-1950, SHC, mainly due to the publishing of that report, became the most popular forum of peasantry class, throughout the province. In collaboration with other progressive parties and organizations, SHC organized various protest processions and gatherings to highlight the problems faced by *haris* in different cities of the province, which were largely attended by thousands of peasants all over Sindh. In 1950, the committee held annual meeting of its basic members, who were representing the peasantry class all over the province. The delegates belonging to various trade unions and social organizations also participated in the conference. The resolution approved by those participants, included demands like the end of despotism of the officials, snatching of land from feudal and subsequently distribution of the same amongst the landless and peasants and small tillers. Furthermore, it was also demanded that the land left by outgoing Hindu feudal lord, who migrated to India and occupied by local feudal persons, should be distributed among incoming Muslim peasant *Muhajirs*. The participants of the conference also laid emphasis upon the nationalization of the industry, abolishment of brutal laws and release of the *Kisan* leaders. While commenting foreign policy of country, the committee forcefully suggested the exclusion of Pakistan from the British Commonwealth of nations as well as from American block and the development of much closer relations, with Soviet Union, was recommended. Beside other factors, it was also due to the activities of the committee that pro-Communist ideas developed among the people of Sindh at large scale, during that period. On the other side, SLA passed the Sindh Tenancy Bill in 1950. According to the bill the right of permanent *batai* was given to the *haris* who had been cultivating the same patch of land for three consecutive years, having at least 1.6 hectors areas. The rest of *haris* were considered as
having the right of their *batai* under a custodian and even they could be expelled from the land, at the end of agricultural season without prior notice. The further increase in taxes was also banned. In the tenth annual conference of SHC, held in 1955, the participants demanded the end of *baigar* (unpaid labour), end of feudal economy, the cancellation of the defense act of public safety and the release of *haris* from all over Sindh.\(^{181}\)

The agricultural reforms did not introduce any worth-mentioning change in the traditional system of ownership of land in Sindh. According to the official facts and figures, there was no change in their percentage of agricultural population since 1948. There were 79% landless *haris*. The individual and family cultivation was about to finish and consequently small land ownership also decreased as well. Keeping in mind the promises made by the League leaders, the farmers hoped that after the departure of Hindu money-lenders, their lands confiscated due to loans, would be returned to them. However, it could not happen practically. Local feudal lord occupied the major portion of land left by Hindu money lenders and remaining portion of land was distributed among *Muhajirs*.

According to a member of Agricultural Commission, the condition of *haris*, was comparatively better than small landlord. He said that the small size of fields, non-availability of modern cultivating equipment and un-affordability of fertilizers made the economy of small landlords almost totally un-profitable. By the end of 1950s, small land ownership could not play much significant role in agricultural development, he added. In addition to that he mentioned that the circumstances for peasantry class and for the small landowners were not favourable.\(^{182}\) They were unable to engage their selected labour at most of places. The trend of *baigar* was also observed. The harvested crops were also purchased at very low rates under the influence of the agrarian masters. The role of public
employees including the bureaucracy was also not up to the mark in that context. The influx of *Muhajirs* further deteriorated already poor economic condition of peasantry class.

In 1954, Provincial Government announced its intension to eliminate feudalism from Sindh.\(^\text{183}\) Under the pressure of semi-autonomous press on February 8, 1955, the government of Sindh informed that the draft of law to ban feudalism had been finalized. But there were so many loopholes to protect already existing feudal class in the province and very little was to be changed after the implementation of the proposed law.\(^\text{184}\) Meanwhile, One Unit plan was vigorously preceded and it was implemented on hasty grounds. Therefore, the merger of Sindh, in One Unit, further provided an excuse to avoid the implementation of already made promises by the ruling class, in the context of developing the feudalism free Sindh.

Meanwhile, SHC remained busy in arranging of agitation and protests at different places, all over the province against the increasing of new feudalism. They were subject to the harassment and torture at the hands of elite feudal class. Moreover, their land was snatched by their feudal masters, on the ground of their courage to vote against the favourite League candidates.\(^\text{185}\) Even the ruling party managed to organize their own substitute *Islah Pasand Sindh Hari Federation*, as an alternate forum against SHC. But the real political motive behind the formation of that new group within *haris* could not be achieved, as the activities of *haris* continued to voice their grievances. The idea of One Unit was floated by the domineering Punjabi Group of ML and many of their like-minded Sindhi feudal lord also supported this idea of the formation of One Unit. At that stage, the leadership of SHC enjoyed great popularity as it was succeeded in combining its pro-hari
demands along with the campaign against One Unit. It was also supported by some smaller progressive forces belonging to Sindh in that context. In May 1958, SHC organized a large conference in collaboration with National Awami Party (NAP), and passed a resolution demanding the immediate solution of the problems faced by the peasantry class of the province. That conference was attended and reported at large level, so political parties could not altogether ignore the demands of the conference. 

The Politicization of Industrial Labour

After the partition of the British India, a new suppressed class of industrial labourers emerged all over Sindh. They were mostly engaged in labour-work on seasonal basis. Their condition was far from satisfaction and they were mostly deprived of their fundamental rights as well. Gradually, the struggle of lower suppressed class, under the banner of SHC, was strengthened due to the massive participation and the government had to take some initial measures to improve the socio-economic condition of peasantry class in Sindh. By 1948, majority of Hindu trade unionists had migrated to India, so due to their rapid and massive migration; most of the organizations of trade unions became ineffective. On the initiation of Communist Party, Pakistan Trade Union Federation was formed and it was strengthened by amalgamating all the existing trade unions in it. A prominent communist leader of the region, Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim became its president on January 14, 1948. At official level, the activities of the leaders and workers of the newly formed forum the trade unions were continuously brought under suspicion and especially after Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case, those people had to face the wrath of government at large level and eventually, Communist Party was also banned in July 1954. Government throughout the province strongly checked and controlled the
activities of pro-communist and leftist activists. It is generally believed that ruling feudal
class also supported the actions against those people to suppress the voices of peasantry
class. The newspapers, which highlighted their problems, had also to face governmental
covert actions aimed at suppressing them. Meanwhile, due to efforts of anti-communist
elements, some strong organizations came into existence like Anjuman-e-Insidad-e-
Communism (organization to prevent Communism) and Anti-Communist Front etc., to
somehow balance the political situation all over the province, in favour of the ruling anti-
communist elite. But despite those actions of political nature, the leftist minded and pro-
peasantry ideas were getting popularity with the passage of time among all walks of
society. Students, workers, farmers and many other people belonging to downtrodden
class, continued to play their role in spreading of those ideas. Without having
governmental support or encouragement, those people started to observe May Day from
1953 and large public gatherings were witnessed at such occasions to invite the people
belonging to all segments of society, to come out for getting rid of the exploitation.

Agricultural Sector and feudal class of the province were annoyed with the
governmental policy of transferring the large pieces of land to incoming Muhajirs,
vacated by the outgoing Hindus. Sindhis also observed that local intelligentsia willfully
attempted to minimize the representation of Sindhi population in federal institutions.
They also developed serious differences on the efforts of declaring Urdu as superior
language. It is worth-mentioning that they were not against Urdu as a language of
communication but they were complaining against its superior status, dismissal of mother
tongue from socio-political life as well as education system and hindrances in the
development of Sindhi literature was unexpected for them. The ban on option of
attempting papers at higher educational level, in Sindhi language automatically accommodated Urdu speaking people. Urdu speakers were preferred while selecting government servants of all the ranks. In the cities other than Karachi, those Urdu speaking people dominated Sindhi people and the ratio of Sindhi population was continuously decreasing. The situation further annoyed Sindhi people.

**Frequent Replacements of Ministries and Emergences of New Controversies**

The inclusion of Karachi along with its adjacent areas, into federal zone under Federal Government was also accepted by Sindhis with great pain and unwillingness. When, under an order issued by Governor General Karachi, adjacent areas were separated from rest of Sindh and it was declared as Federal Zone, CM Pir Elahi Bux, along with his cabinet, supported the decision and also validated the transfer of provincial secretariat to Hyderabad. Elahi Bux, by that gesture invited the wrath of Sindhi masses. SAM started campaign for the resignation of Provincial Government. Mohammad Ayub Khuhro with the support of SAM succeeded in initiation of enquiry about the membership of Elahi Bux and consequently his chief minister-ship was also been under fire. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan suggested replacing Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah with Din Muhammad, renowned lawyer from Punjab, as provincial governor, which created more anxiety among Sindhis. For example, in December 1948, against the will of Centre, Ayub Khuhro was elected as chairman of Sindh ruling party. In the provincial legislature, all prominent groups supported him including Talpur, Bhutto, Pirzada, Chandio, Soomro, Bijarani, Laghari, Wasan, Mahar, Hidayatullah, Mari, Jatoi, Durani and Buzdar. At last, enquiry commission declared the candidacy of Elahi Bux, as illegal; therefore, he was disqualified for CM in 1949.
Then centrally nominated candidate Yusuf Abdullah Haroon was finalized for the chief ministerial slot, who was not even member of the Sindh legislature at that time. He tried to satisfy both of central and Sindhi nationalist elements but he could not succeed in the mission. Haroon assumed the charge of Pakistan’s High Commissioner to Australia on May 8, 1950.194

Qazi Fazlullah, another renowned politician belonging to Sindh elite class, replaced Yusuf Abdullah Haroon, as Chief Minister. Ayub Khuhro, along with some other influential persons, also supported him but he stayed in office, for the period of less than one year as CM. On March 25, 1951, Ayub Khuhro again started to play leading role in provincial politics after the expiry of ban, which had been imposed upon him as a politician. He had forgotten Sindhi national interests and he focused upon suppressing his political rivals. The law of Public Representative Officials Disqualification Act (PRODA), which had banned him three years earlier, was now an important tool in his hand and he had started investigations against all previous provincial chief ministers with clear intention to disqualify them. Ayub Khuhro was also provincial head of the party. During that period, military operation against the hurs was intensified who were again raising head. On his orders workers of SAM faced police besiege, Hyder Bux Jatoi, Abdul Majid Sindhi and likeminded were also sent to jail.

The aggressive policies of Ayub Khuhro ultimately shook his own position as well. Taken the advantage of dissatisfactory condition of law and order throughout Sindh, Governor Din Muhammad, dissolved the Provincial Legislature, imposed Governor Rule and dismissed the Provincial Cabinet. Moreover, fresh general elections were also announced in Sindh. It was declared that the elections would held in Sindh with the
improvement of law and order situation. The political instability in Sindh, which caused the frequent change of provincial ministries, was not only because of the Central interference in provincial matters but also due to the internal rift between different political and ethnic groups in provincial ML power corridors. Hidayatullah, Khuhro, G.A. Talpur, A.S. Pirzada, Elahi Bux, and Haroon Brothers were leading those internal groups. Furthermore, political loyalties were also changed frequently, hence the political and administrative institutions faced instability and deterioration throughout that period, with almost little or at sometimes with no hope of improvement by the masses. None of the major and long-standing socio-economic problems of Sindh could be solved. The imposition of Governor Rule in the province reflected a severe political crisis among the leading personalities of ruling Muslim League. The situation also developed unhealthy relationship between Central and Sindh branches of Muslim league. Consequently multi-party system emerged during those years.

**Preparation for Local and General Elections**

On the instigation of Ayub Khuhro, Elahi Bux who had been dismissed from ML, on March 17, 1951, established a new political party namely Sindh Muslim League (SML). The expelled liberal feudal elements by ML joined that newly established political party. SML maintained closer contacts with Awami Muslim League (AML) and then after sometime, declared itself as AML Sindh Branch by merging in it. The manifesto of AML included the eradication of feudalism, tax relaxation for workers, and betterment in health and education sector. SML also demanded the immediate elections of provincial legislature and municipal institutions, urgent steps for protection of handicraft and
industrial production, reduction in unemployment and Islamic socialism was suggested to be adopted. Moreover, the issues of the betterment of artisans, tenants and workers were also highlighted. Another important demand was to establish separate contingents of military and police comprising of Sindhi personnel.

Most of points in the manifesto were common with the manifesto of SAM under the leadership of G.M. Sayed, which was representing liberal feudal, nationalist intelligentsia, along with lower and middle Sindhi classes. It was also supporting some of the demands of worker class. SAM made an attempt to create connection between Sindhi nationalist slogans with modern democratic sayings and slogans. It was stressing upon the end of feudalism, steps for more employment, encouragement of handicraft and small industry, nationalization of foreign companies, promotion of industry and reforms in taxation. Regarding foreign policy, SAM’s views were: to create strong bonds with Soviet Union and other socialist countries, support for national freedom movements and positive non-alignment highlighted. SAM also demanded the unification of all Sindhi populated areas as ‘Greater Sindh’ with maximum provincial autonomy, within the jurisdiction of Pakistan.

In view of the objective of defeating ML in upcoming elections, Sayed started his strong efforts to unite all opposition parties and groups. Those efforts proved fruitful in the form of the emergence of an alliance, namely; Mutahida Mahaz (MM). MM fielded its own candidates and finalized its election manifesto. Though on the demand of SML, it diluted the demand of agrarian reforms, but even then some of liberal feudal lords refused to support the candidates of MM.¹⁹⁶
Elections for the local bodies were held in January 1953 throughout Sindh and those were considered as preamble to the general elections for Sindh Legislative Assembly. The leadership of ML faced much unexpected results. As compared to the candidates of ruling party, the candidates of MM succeeded considerably. Moreover, the independent candidates also came out victorious at many places. ML Central Working Committee (CWC) decided to address the specific problems of Sindh by rising above traditional group politics. On the other side, Governor General Ghulam Muhammad Malik, unexpectedly targeted Ayub Khuhro, who was controlling Working Committee in Sindh. Under the law of PRODA, he and Qazi Fazlullah were again banned for six and four years respectively from contesting for any public office. In addition to that, inquiries were also initiated against Ghulam Ahmad Talpur and Ghulam Nabi Pathan, both of them had worked as former provincial ministers. But Ayub Khuhro, meanwhile gathered his allies in ML Sindh branch, which was formally considered as part of All Pakistan ML and fielded his own candidates in contrast with the candidates nominated by the central party leadership. In the federal capital, reaction of the central leadership of ML was very strong. Ayub Khuhro was severely condemned for his violation of party discipline. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, a federal minister initiated special propaganda campaign, aimed at defaming Ayub Khuhro and his actions.

The Role of Sindhi Students in Provincial Elections

Sindhi students, for the first time, during the provincial election campaign of 1953, played very active role in political controversies. Before that, student organizations were developed in the form of federations associated with Congress and ML. Now because of the emergence of new political parties, couple of new student organizations appeared at
Few of them were part of All-Pakistan level federations. They established their branches in educational institutions of the province. Democratic Students Federation (DSF) called a grand meeting of students in Karachi on January 7, 1953. At that occasion, the speakers demanded jobs for graduates, free medical facilities and increase in hostel facilities. Simultaneously they condemned the corruption of ruling class and started marching towards the residence of Minister for Education. On the way, police attacked the peaceful procession of students with batten-charge and tear gas. Both male and female students sustained injuries. As reaction to police action, strong wave of anger was observed among the masses. Next day, a grand protest procession was attended not only by students, but also general public was seen in the protest at large level. They faced brute firing by police, as a result, twenty seven students were killed and hundreds of other people sustained injuries. Furthermore, more than one thousand people were arrested and they were sent to jail.\textsuperscript{199} In those processions \textit{Pashtoon} and \textit{Muhajir} students also participated along with the Sindhi youth. Curfew and emergency were declared throughout Karachi. Educational institutions were also closed for unlimited time. However, that severe state action could not deter public activism. The action committee started the finalization of preparations for its already planned strike, which had scheduled to be observed on January 26, 1953. Agitation meetings and processions were brought out at large scale in different cities of Sindh, Punjab and East Bengal. On the orders of Prime Minister Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din, just one day before the proposed strike on January 25, 1953, all the arrested agitators were released, the cases filed against them were withdrawn and the demands of students were considered genuine. The violence against peaceful students could not be forgotten throughout the history. Since then, now
every year on January 8, progressive student organization celebrates the day as ‘martyrs day’.  

To curb the rising influence of progressive elements in Sindh, conservative forces started their traditional propaganda of exploiting the communal differences aimed at defaming the progressive and leftist elements. To organize such activities not only conservative parties like, Jama’at-i-Islami (JI) and Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam (MAI) played their role, but many prominent leaders of ML Punjab Wing were also active participants. In that regard, the groups of Ulema were sent from Punjab to Sindh. On the occasion, the attempts were made to develop the differences among progressive forces, on the basis of Hindu-Muslim diversity and among Muslims, the cleavage of Shia-Sunni was attempted to be deepened and sharpened. At some places, Ahmadies were also criticized publicly.  

However, immediately communal riots did not erupt and overall atmosphere remained peaceful in Sindh. On the appeal of religio-political parties in All-Pakistan Conference, the movement of civil disobedience was started. Its schedule was very important because parliamentary elections were just ahead. In specific political atmosphere of Sindh, it was observed that by such sort of movements, both of progressive forces and ruling ML were to be defamed, beside any other apparently announced purpose of movement. During the civil disobedience movement, anti-government slogans were chanted. Agitators attacked official buildings, post offices and telegraph centers. The routes of trains and buses were also disrupted.

Governor Habib Ibrahim Rehmatullah, observed that nationalist elements in Sindh, were creating the risk of security more than the agitators of disobedience movement. Those elements were considered as hurdle for ruling ML in the province.
Under his orders the political activities of the opponents of Provincial Government, were checked and curtailed strongly, by traditional methods. The feudal lord also stressed upon their subordinate peasantry class, to vote for their advised candidates.

**Provincial Elections, Results and Aftermath**

As the election campaign was about to conclude in the province, the situation was getting intensified gradually. The elections were scheduled to be held in two stages, on May 4 in upper Sindh and May 10-11,1953 in central Sindh. The electoral process was to be held on the basis of universal adult franchise. General public, all over the province, was very much interested in election process. The number of seats, in legislative assembly, was made double and the constituencies were also redefined accordingly. Lot of election gatherings and corner meetings were held in different parts of the province and most of such gatherings were culminated into clashes among rival parties. Due to sensitive condition of law and order, the services of Bahawalpur police, were also hired at large level. During voting process, 250 fake voters were arrested. At some places, clashes among political parties were also witnessed.204

The result of first round of provincial elections was disappointing for both of major players, including Sindh ML under Ayub Khuhro and SAM under Sayed. SAM only got seats in the constituencies of Dadu.205 In Sehwan, Sayed was elected unopposed. Most of the feudal lords, who were sympathizers of Ayub Khuhro, under the fear, refused to face open confrontation with Centre. The results of upper Sindh, motivated political passions more than the passions, which had earlier been witnessed in central Sindh, where forty eight Muslim seats, out of which, two reserved seats for Muslim women and
nine reserved seats for minorities, had to be contested. The candidates were 169, 6 and 35 respectively. Whereas party wise strength of contestants was: ML 50, SML 25, SAM 25 and independents 113. The appearance of independent candidates in large number was not an unusual practice in Sindh, because many of local feudal lords did not like to be associated with any particular political party. It had also been observed that most of those independent candidates, after winning of general election used to join victorious party, so that they could be able to protect their concerns in a much better way.

Seven out of one hundred and ten seats, was the exact party position of SAM in the house. The ratio of representation of SAM was 6.3%. Official results showed that ML got 49.3 percent votes and consequently, the presence of ML was very noteworthy in the house. At large level, the allegations of rigging and harassment of voters were complained. Consequently, SAM did not accept the results of elections and organized the series of agitations and strikes throughout the province, as its protest campaign. However, with the help of law enforcing agencies and volunteers, government was succeeded in suppressing the agitation campaign. Sindh Harijan Panchait (SHP) and All Pakistan Hindu Federation (APHF) also strongly agitated against the results of provincial elections. They maintained that the favourite Hindu feudal were managed to be elected on non-Muslim seats, due to bribery and interference by the establishment.

The condition was even worse in Karachi, where in Municipal elections the candidates nominated by ML succeeded. But severe rigging was also allegedly reported in the most of constituencies. During short span of time, twenty four objections were submitted, five out of which were entertained and re-elections were declared in the admitted constituencies. At that time, both of national and International observers,
travelled to Sindh to observe the process of elections. They viewed that the results were indicating the strengthening position of Muhammad Ali Bogra’s group, not only in establishment but also in the party too.209

**Formation of Ministry and Challenges before it**

The official results were yet to be notified and struggle for ministries had started meanwhile. Majority of independent members, were wishing to join ruling party. The newly elected members of SML started showing their cold shoulders to Ayub Khuhro. Potential candidates for ministerial slots were in such a large number, that the strength of provincial cabinet had to be doubled. Even then three basic groups headed by Ghulam Ali Talpur, Abdul Sattar Pirzada and Ali Muhammad Rashdi could not be satisfied. After considerable deliberations, in the cabinet of Abdul Sattar Pirzada as Chief Minister, portfolios were distributed as: Imam Bux Talpur Finance, Rahim Bux Soomro Industry, Noor Muhammad Shah Food, Ghulam Hyder Shah Education, Najumuddin Laghari Excise and Taxation, Abdul Manan Social Welfare, Yousaf Khan Chandio Health, Ahmad Khan Rajput (migrated from Patiala State) Forest and migrants and Hameed Hussain Farooq Agriculture, provincial ministers. So, practically Talpur’s right wing group and Pirzada’s pro-centre group formed the cabinet in Sindh.

Two among those literate cabinet members, Abdul Sattar Pirzada and Bandeh Ali Talpur, were educated from London, four had completed their education from Aligarh University and the remaining ones had graduated from British Indian Colleges. Prominent lawyers like Abdul Sattar Pirzada, Abdul Mannan and Hameed Hussain Farooq had their different backgrounds among their rest of colleagues, who belonged to
well-known feudal families. Speaker of the newly elected Sindh Assembly, Ghulam Ali Talpur was an active and well-known businessman and even after taking over the charge as provincial speaker, he remained present in more than one office as director and vice president of various financial and industrial firms.

By the end of May, all those government employees who had not supported ML candidates during elections, found themselves in hot waters and their transfers were started on political grounds. Even All Pakistan Hindu Federation (APHF) Sindh chapter approached the Central Government for help, they were promised for help but it did not materialized and the sequence of revenge was continued. On the other side, workers continued struggle for their rights, agitation of SAM and Ayub Khuhro group’s, harsh statements against Provincial Government by different sections, internal rift within ML Sindh branch, were the major factors, which culminated into the destabilization of government. In a resolution passed by the SML (WC) Abdul Sattar Pirzada was held responsible for food crisis in the province. The resolution also appealed to masses of Sindh to struggle against Nazimuddin-Pirzada dictatorial nexus. Even the members ML group, also criticized Pirzada’s policies and observed the negative impacts of his administrative policies, upon the socio-economic condition of the province.210

Abdul Sattar Pirzada, who was basically associated with liberal wing of Sindh Qaumi Tehrik had managed to get some laws and resolutions passed by the provincial assembly. Return of Karachi to Sindh, protection of Sindhis against discrimination on ethnic basis in federal services, the installation of two more irrigation systems for Sindh and ban on transfer of irrigated lands to the officers of armed forces.211 During that tenure, the developmental funds for education and culture were also increased. In that
connection, fourteen new colleges and various new departments in Sindh University were established. The sum of Rs. 3.5 million was allocated for the development of publishing houses and cultural centers.\textsuperscript{212} Nationalist democrats welcomed all those governmental decisions and actions, but all efforts of Pirzada Ministry to reconcile with SAM could not succeed, because they were considering all of his aforementioned steps too minor to be appreciated.

**Opposition Leaders and Language Controversy**

The worth mentioning feature of the politics of Sindh of that time was the defeat of SAM in provincial elections which aggravated internal differences within the party. In 1953 the leader of SHC, Haider Bux Jatoi leveled allegations of political nature, against Pir Elahi Bux and Sayed. He stated that they were tilted towards liberal feudal lord and neglected the social issues. He further maintained that they could not correctly understand the real political power of economically lowest classes in rural areas. In the election manifesto, the problems of rural poor classes were not highlighted. However, Sayed presented a relatively moderate view because his first priority was to minimize the differences within Sindhi civil society and he prioritized the preservation of Sindhi nationalist identity. By June, SHC had quit from SAM, resultantly liberal Wadera group managed to strengthen their position in the SAM by filling that gap.\textsuperscript{213}

The success of nationalist elements, in Eastern Bengal played very important role in motivating Sindhi nationalist movement. Not only provincial opposition supported their viewpoint, but some of the local leaders belonging to ruling party also supported the politico-nationalist sentiments. The slogan *Sindh Sindhion ke liay* once again got
popularity. Strong voices were raised in the provincial legislature to expel Punjabi employees from Sindh and to fill their vacancies with their Sindhi counterparts. Furthermore, another vital demand was to induct Sindhis in federal services.\textsuperscript{214}

In 1954, Karachi Municipal Corporation (KMC) passed a resolution to declare Urdu as an official language. In the draft document of resolution, it was mentioned that under the guidance of Quaid-i-Azam’s statement, “From today onward the business of the municipality will be in Urdu language.”\textsuperscript{215} Although the majority of members and employees of the corporation were not well versed in Urdu language and the sessions were continued to be conducted in English language as earlier. Sindhis had continuously been complaining about the discriminatory behaviour at the time of selection of candidates against the vacancies in federal institutions. They also complained that many of them were compelled to leave the city of Karachi. When Sindhi language was officially excluded from the examination structure of Karachi University, strong protests took place and agitations were erupted at large scale. Sindhi Protection Movement was started in 1954 in which Sindh Muttahida Talba Mahaz and local cultural and literary organizations actively joined hands.

Meanwhile, One Unit Scheme was brought under consideration by central leaders and smaller provinces were also asked to support it. They made their mind to merge the provinces of Punjab, Sindh, KPK and Balochistan into a single federating unit namely ‘West Pakistan’. The prominent leaders of ML were propagating that the sentiments of provincialism were damaging the country’s integrity. Therefore, many articles were published to portray the danger of East Pakistan domination upon rest of the country on permanent basis and that the One Unit scheme was an alternate solution against the
domination. Abdul Sattar Pirzada, Ghulam Ali Talpur and Qazi Fazlullah opposed the idea. Similarly SAM and SML opposed any kind zonal merger and instead demanded maximum provincial autonomy for the existing provinces. Although some Bengali, Sindhi and Pashtoon elements in ML also opposed the merger of provinces into One Unit but the issue was tabled for discussion in the legislature. However, out of 110, 74 members of Sindh Assembly in written supported the CM viewpoint. The youth was also against the move; prominent amongst them was a Sindhi barrister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Various leaders of local bodies were also having the same passion.

At that time, Khuhro and Rashdi groups decided to exploit the situation in their interest. They backed out of their own previous stance and supported the idea of One Unit and severely criticized Pirzada and leveled allegations of destabilizing the administration and mismanaging the financial resources against him. They were succeeded in their objectives and central ML leadership eventually replaced Abdul Sattar Pirzada with Mohammad Ayub Khuhro as CM. Khuhro’s disqualification ended due to his deal, i.e. to facilitate for One Unit plan. In a secret document by Sardar Abdul Rasheed ex-Chief Minister NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) it was already suggested, “Pirzada … must be immediately replaced by a person who has the character and authority to prepare the ground for Sindh acceptance of One Unit.” Governor General also lifted the ban on political activities of Ayub Khuhro. Therefore, it was all set for him to be the Chief Executive of the province. This is amazing that the same Khuhro whom they disqualified and arrested various times was then their only choice. However, soon afterwards emergency was imposed and assembly was dissolved on October 24. But even then the supporters of One Unit were not sure about their success until Ghulam Ali Talpur group
was against them. Meanwhile, Federal Government offered him ministry of Information in the federal cabinet, so he also started to support the idea.\textsuperscript{220} Nawab Iftikhar Hussein Mamdot a Punjabi feudal lord replaced H.D Rehmatullah as governor Sindh who dismissed provincial ministry of Abdul Sattar Pirzada on November 8, 1954 and soon Ayub Khuhro once again became CM of Sindh.\textsuperscript{221}

For the upcoming local body’s elections, Ayub Khuhro revised the list of candidates and he deleted the names of his political opponents. During his early period, previous government was targeted for different kinds of malpractices. The task of improvement in the governance and political reforms was announced. When the issue of One Unit was under process, in the legislature, the assembly building and the adjacent areas were cordoned off and it is observed that ruling group used authoritative influences to get the bill passed. The opposing persons of that bill were also targeted in different ways. After all, SLA finally passed the bill. SAM declared it as illegal and demanded referendum throughout Sindh, on the issue, but government forcefully rejected the demand of holding referendum.\textsuperscript{222}

‘Sindh Day’ was celebrated throughout the Sindh and particularly in big cities. Processions were held against the unification of provinces under the umbrella of West Pakistan. To strengthen the strategy of movement, SAM, SHC and Progressive Students Organization established their Advisory Committee. Ayub Khuhro victimized democrat nationalists and many important leaders of the movement. They were arrested under Public Safety Act, on the charges of creating public disorder and chaos. The prominent arrested leaders included, Hyder Bux Jatoi and Sayed. Apart from this, young students were also arrested in a large number. The strong actions of Ayub Khuhro administration,
aimed at suppressing the opposing persons of One Unit Bill, were criticized at large level within and outside the province. On March 11, 1955 Sindh High Court issued verdict in which Ayub Kuhuro’s appointment was declared illegal. Court accepted the petitioner MLA Ghulam Mustafa Khan’s viewpoint that Ayub Kuhuro’s appointment as CM, “….is unconstitutional, against the law, forceful and against the merit without any legal ground.”

Despite that verdict of Sindh High Court, Ayub Kuhuro not only managed to stay in office, but political opponents were dealt with iron hands also. Thousands of protesters including the members of LA and ex-provincial ministers were arrested and cases were registered against them, on different charges. All over the province, strong wave of threat and fear was spread. His opponent, federal minister Ghulam Ali Talpur was sacked due to the development of political differences with Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra. On March 18, 1955 he was arrested on the way to Sindh and was sent to jail directly. It was generally observed that all of counter-actions of Ayub Kuhuro’s Provincial Ministry, on the opposing persons of One Unit scheme, were encouraged by the Provincial Governor and the like-minded federal ministers as well. Policies of Kuhuro created strong resentment even within ruling party. Though he sustained as CM but he had to release all of his political opponents, belonging to ML.

**Proposed One Unit Scheme and Subsequent Politics**

During the elections for Second Constituent Assembly, those candidates enjoyed success from Sindh, were the strong supporters of One Unit scheme. Important elected members from Sindh were, Ayub Kuhuro, Ghulam Ali Talpur, Ali Muhammad Rashdi, Muhammad Bux Soomro, Aftab Hussain Shah Jilani and Yusuf Abdullah Haroon.
Afterwards, during the discussion on the modalities of One Unit’ differences among those leaders were also observed. Alternate proposals of maintaining the former administrative division and introducing zone system were presented. In case of the adoption of last proposal, three administrative units, Sindh, Khairpur and Karachi, were supposed to be controlled by one governor.\textsuperscript{224} Members of the Constituent Assembly, belonging to Sindh voted in favour of One Unit. Just like other members belonging to ML, in the assembly they maintained that the federal system was inappropriate for West Pakistan. According to their opinion the federal system was promoting the sentiments of provincialism among the people. Furthermore, the system was too much complex, that it could not be applied there. They were of the opinion that the imperialists separated Sindh from Bombay, because of their policy of ‘divide and rule’.\textsuperscript{225}

During the discussion, Karachi issue was also addressed. It was observed that certain factors like, activism of Sindh National Movement, ineffectiveness of administrative system of the city, dynamism of labourers and employees in Karachi, economic differences among industrialists, feudal lord and bureaucrats had provoked the issue once again. However, no unanimous opinion was adopted for the future of Karachi. Hameed-ul-Haq Chaudari, the leader of Krishak Siramik Party from East Bengal, which was a coalition partner of ML in the Constituent Assembly, reluctantly opposed the idea of inclusion of Karachi into United West Pakistan.\textsuperscript{226} Majority of the other members belonging to East Bengal also demanded the continuation of the status of Karachi as Federal Area. Leaders of the left wing in Awami League (AL) demanded for the transfer of Federal Capital to East Bengal and also offered land free of cost for the purpose. In case of rejection of that proposal, they were in favour of Karachi having the status of
Federal Area because they were concerned that Punjabi industrialists’ and feudal lords would dominate in Karachi, in case of amalgamation of Karachi, into One Unit.\textsuperscript{227}

In KMC, 78 out of 100 members voted for merger of the city into One Unit. Yusuf Abdullah Haroon was representing KMC, in the session of Constituent Assembly. Majority of \textit{Muhajir} organizations including All Pakistan Muhajir Bureau were also supporting the stance of merger, with the condition of proportional representation in the LA. Leaders of Karachi \textit{Muhajirs} were of the view that the proposed formula of one representative from 200,000 people of the city, was unreasonable. They were struggling for the enhancement of the proposed quota of representation.\textsuperscript{228}

Finally, after great deliberations, under the law of 1955, Constituent Assembly and Provincial Assemblies were dissolved. Sindh was distributed into two areas Khairpur-Hyderabad and the Capital, Karachi. The city remained capital of the country and found representation in West Pakistan legislature but its administrative control remained under Federal Government.

\textbf{The formation of NAP and its Impacts upon the Provincial Politics of Sindh}

Then afterwards, the most important purpose of Sindhi nationalists was to struggle for the revival of autonomous provinces in the West Pakistan. Hyder Bux Jatoi, Sayed and other nationalist leaders actively participated in the formation of Anti One Unit Front. Certain political parties from NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Balochistan also joined the new organization soon after its formation. Sindh chapter of Azad Pakistan Party (APP) and AL were also having their sympathies with the objective of the Front. On February 29, 1956 Second Constituent Assembly passed the constitution of Pakistan, which is
generally remembered as the constitution of 1956. Anti-One Unit Front declared to continue their struggle, as they were of the view that the constitution was not framed according to the demands and expectations of the people of Pakistan. Hyder Bux Jatoi, Sayed and Abdul Majid Sindhi were the representatives of Sindh, in anti-One Unit Front. Those nationalists were observing the formation of One Unit and the inclusion of Sindh into it, as the skillful attempt of Muhajirs and Punjabis to usurp the resources of Sindhi people and to convert the Sindhi areas, into their colony. Therefore, they felt the need to get the province of Sindh, revived in its earlier position.

The progressive minded wing leaders of national movement were of the view that the main reason behind previous failure was the localization of their issues and movements. According to them, the lack of coordination with nationalist democrats belonging to the other parts of Pakistan did not enable them to succeed. The majority of the leaders of Anti One Unit Front decided to form a new party at national level. It was named as Qaumi Jamhoori Party (National Democratic Party) (NDP). But ruling class, eventually started to take traditional steps of confinement and restraining of the activities of the leaders of movement, so that they might not be in the position to spread their ideas, at large level. However, in spite of great challenges, on November 30, 1956 veteran leader of National Awami Party (Khuda-i-Khidmatgar Tehrik), Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan initiated the idea and consequently Pakistan National Party came into existence, which was consisted of six parties and organizations, including SAM and SHC. During early days of that party, its branches were established in Hyderabad and Karachi.

In July, 1957 the nationalist progressive political forces came together at Dhaka and formed the National Awami Party (NAP). SAM, SHC and the group of liberal
waderas under the leadership of Pir Elahi Bux and Qazi Faiz Muhammad, also maintained their noteworthy presence in that newly emerged political party. Other important progressive nationalist figures who were present at the occasion were; Abdul Hameed Bhashani, Abdul Gaffar Khan, Mian Iftikhar-ud-din and G. M. Sayed. Soon after the emergence of the party, Sindh branch of NAP became the most active power in Sindh National Movement. The newly formed party attracted small groups and parties in Sindh, who were lining towards democracy. Majority of students, workers and peasantry class sympathized with this party, because of its agenda which was based upon social reforms. NAP promised to develop country on the lines of democratic and welfare state in case of winning the general elections. They also pledged that if they would come in to power, they would implement real agricultural reforms, adopt anti-imperialist foreign policies, undo One Unit and introduce provincial autonomy.

In the back drop of continuous weakening of ML, nationalist parties were getting stronger eventually. Meanwhile, on April 23, 1956 Republican Party (RP) came into existence. Ghulam Ali Talpur and influential Sayeds from Nawab Shah under the leadership of Noor Muhammad Shah along with their followers joined the new party. The Khairpur branch of ML completely merged into RP under the leadership of ex CM, who was a renowned feudal lord Muntaz Hasan Qazalbash. Abdul Sattar Pirzada, who was minutely observing all those political developments, also joined RP and subsequently, he was succeeded in getting the portfolio of Justice in the West Pakistan Cabinet. Some of the leaders of Hindu community also supported the new party. The programme of RP was almost similar to the programme of ML. Qazi Faiz Muhammad
General Secretary AL Sindh branch, observed the formation of the new political party as ‘old wine with new label’.  

NAP’s standpoint regarding anti One Unit was getting popularity, even in the ranks and columns of ML and RP. Furthermore, the merger of nationalist workers’ organizations and peasant movement developed the bright chances of the success of democratic forces, in the upcoming general elections. Different segments of society were pressing for the holding of general elections. The emergence of new parties, the trend of changing of loyalties frequently and the continuous weakening of ML, caused loss to all state institutions. In the then prevailing circumstances, the ruling personalities at central level and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces got golden opportunity to enforce Martial Law throughout the country on October 7, 1958.

**President Ayub Regime and Sindh**

Imposition of Martial Law created annoyance in Sindhi society’s different classes. Leaders like Hyder Bux Jatoi, G.M. Sayed, Abdul Majid Sindhi, Pir Elahi Bux, Qazi Faiz Muhammad and Ayub Khuhro who were forced to keep themselves aloof from politics, raised voices against military rule. They were against Martial Law because they were not politically comfortable; therefore, they opposed the dictatorship and were dreaming to have their previous political position again after expected restoration of democracy.

Workers went for strike in Karachi during January 1959, in the same year in August, students stood up for agitation. Every such step could be considered as violation of emergency law and challenge to the Military Government. Therefore, on the other
hand, Sindhi moderates and members of the government were looking forward with their appeals to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, as they were considering him representative of Sindh in the Centre. However, to prevent opposition struggle against the government and to stop unity among different groups of the opposition, ruling janta decided to continue political process with their own intentions in the garb of constitutional and parliamentary institutions. On March 1, 1962 President Muhammad Ayub Khan proclaimed the new constitution. In the very first article of the constitution country was declared as a Republic, consisting of two provinces i.e. East Pakistan and West Pakistan. On June 16, 1962 the law was introduced permitting political activities of the political parties who were having their legal existence till October 1958 i.e. ML, JI, Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam (JUI), Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP) and Markazi Khaksar Tehrik (MKT). Therefore, those parties not only restarted their political activities but accelerated with more strength. Sindhi nationalists and other political activists started accusing the regime for the exploitation of Sindhi resources.

Sindhis got the brunt of both the One Unit and first Martial Law; they thought that they were marginalized in government services. The senses of deprivation expedited their tendency towards awareness of Sindhi nationalist identity. According to an estimate, Sindhis were getting just ten percent of superior services, the major beneficiaries were; at the top Muhajirs, then Punjabis and then Pashtoons. At the annulment of One Unit the leader of SHC Hyder Bux Jatoi claimed that in the period 1956-1969 Sindhis were deprived totally. He said that in the railways, airline, telephone and telegraph and postal services Sindhis were absolutely nominal. Jatoi added that the police department was totally unreachable for them. According to him, revenue collected from Sindh majorly via
Federal Government made the way to non-Sindhi exploiters. He further declared that during the Ayub regime in the five members of the Board of Revenue none was Sindhi, while in six secretaries, nine deputy secretaries and three assistant secretaries’ only one in each category was Sindhi.240 Shah Mardan Shah, the Pir Sahib Pagaro Seventh was also of the opinion that One Unit was main cause for creating hatred in Sindh.241

Moreover, the story of ‘occupation of Sindhi land’ was also highlighted from different forums. In 1962, on completion of Gudoo Barrage, it was planned to distribute Sindhi land among Mangla and Terbela Dam and Islamabad affected, retired or shortly retiring government officials, tribal, medal and title holders, departmental schemes and local people.242 The formula benefitted in what ratio, it is evident from an example that out of 172 officials who got the land in Sindh, only one was Sindhi.243 Auctioned land also benefitted the Punjab. As a result, the hatred, in the core of Sindhi’s heart against Muhajirs and Punjabis, led down in that unjustifiable plunder of Sindhi land.

The social and political agenda of the regime was perceived as against the very benefits of the people of Sindh. People were fed up with autocratic rule and opposition was uniting under the leadership of Madr-i-Millat Mohtama Fatima Jinnah at the eve of presidential elections 1965. Hence, after the Indo-Pakistan War of 1965, when the regime started losing its footing and the political parties and leaders were challenging the government, Sindhis took great interest in those developments and started putting their wait by the side of progressive forces.

In those circumstances, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who remained staunch supporter of Ayub regime from very outset of his political career to 1966 had become severe critic of
The gulf between him and the regime widened and he dissociated himself from the regime in June 1966 but was “unclear as to what course to take.” During that period, he got popularity in West Pakistan and particularly in Sindh and Punjab. The masses of Sindh started looking towards him as the liberator of all plunders in which they were indulged due to one or the other reason. The state of affairs, later on, provided basis for the formation of a new political party i.e. Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Notes and References

2 *Ajrak* is a traditional chader (piece of cloth) to wrap the shoulders, across the gender, which is coloured with natural herbal colours consisting of dark blue, red and maroon.
3 Sindhi *Ajrak* and *Topi* day is officially celebrated in Sindh and a very famous folk song is on the lips of every Sindh which sounds as; *Sindh jeay Sindh waro jean, Sindhi ajrak topi waro jean* (Long live Sindh and its habitants, those who wear ajrak and Sindhi topi may live long).
4 Following are the important features of Sindh Civilization: Wheel-made pottery, baked to red colour, thick walled. Some pots were painted black; and there were certain popular motifs painted in black on the pottery. The Indus script, appearing on seals had no variation of different regions. Baked bricks, standard weights, and tendency to lay out straight roads and drainage were important characteristics of the civilization. Citadel built adjacent to towns, wells and tanks and cemeteries are also worth-mentioning features. Irfan Habib, *People’s History of India: Prehistory*, Vol. 2, (Lahore: Fiction House, 2004), p.14.
10 Mirza Kalichbeg mentions the Chachnamah is a valuable record which declares that Buddhism was the dominant religion in Sind, in the 7th century. See Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, trans. *The Chachnamah: An Ancient History of Sindh*, (Lahore: Vanguard, 1985), p.i.
11 In the words of Dayaram Gudumal, Dahir announced to marry with his own sister. The act was one of crass stupidity, Dahiri, the term used in Sindh which signifies as unmitigated fool. *Ibid*, p.vii.
12 At the time of Sindh’s conquest Umayyad Caliphate was in power at Damascus, and Arab armies were simultaneously knocking at the doors of France (under the command of Tariq bin Ziyad and Musa bin
Nusair) in the West and were reaching the boundaries of China (under the command of Qutaiba bin Muslim Buhili) in the east.

First of all Arab Muslims victories were in full swing, therefore, sooner or later India would have come in the way of Muslim expeditions. Secondly, there was no strong government which could satisfy the needs of the masses in the region. Muslims were well equipped with modern tactics as well as arms. Thirdly Arab traders were far ahead to any other competitors in trade relations with different states of India.

Hajjaj was governor to a mighty Umayyad Caliph Walid bin Abdul Malik (d. 715 AD), Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik succeeded him who dismissed Muhammad bin Qasim from the governorship of Sindh.

The remains of Brahmanabad are near Shahdadpur in Sindh.

Mansura was the first Sindhi Muslim capital from the year 711 AD to 1006 AD. According to geologists an earthquake struck both Debal and Mansura in the year 893 AD.

The last Abbasid governor who conceded to the Caliphate was Umar bin Abdul Aziz Habbari. After him his descendants established independent government. This was the end of Arab rule in Sindh. For details see, Abdul Haleem Sharar in his Tarikh-i-Sindh (Urdu) (Karachi, City Book Point, 2008), p. 196.

Mahmud of Ghazni was the most prominent ruler of the Ghaznavid Empire. He conquered the eastern Iranian lands and the northwestern Indian subcontinent from 997 to his death in 1030. Mahmud established a strong empire consisted of present day Afghanistan, eastern Iran, Pakistan and northwestern India.

Sultan Mahmud was supporter of Abbasid caliphate and an enemy of rival caliphaties. His aim to attack Multan was to subdue the strength of Karamities. With the fall of Multan, Sindh was supposed to come under Ghaznavid.

Sultan Shahab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghori, was one of the rulers of the Ghurid dynasty. He is credited with laying the foundation of Muslim rule in India that lasted for several centuries. He reigned over a territory spanning present-day Afghanistan, Pakistan, and northern India.

Coins struck by the Samma dynasty show the titles ‘Sultan’ and ‘Shah’ as well as ‘Jam’.

The Sindh Samma Welfare Organization paid tribute to Jam Nindo on his 503rd death anniversary. The account is an official biography of Emperor Akbar.

This account provides details of Mughal administration.

Mian Nasir Muhammad Kalhor was sent to the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, who kept him in confinement at Gwaliyar for some time.

Mainly located nearly six kilometres far from Hyderabad and Dadu, near Mirpur Khas. For details of the British expeditions in Sindh and occupation see, H.T. Lambrick, Sir Charles Napier and Sind (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).


The Sheikh Nau Mal helped the British only financially while the Aga Khan I extended both financial and armed support to the British.


Edward Rice, Captain Sir Richard Francis Burton (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1990), pp. 74-79.


He was a Sindhi feudal and anti-imperialist. For details see, Faiz Mohammad Soomro, Cultural History of Sind (Karachi: National Book Foundation, 1977), pp. 2-3.

Ibid, p. 3.

Hurs are disciples of Pir Pagaro of Sindh, who belongs to Qadri Sufi Order. They fought against British imperialism and were brutally suppressed and kept in concentration camps. Their spiritual and political head Sibgtaullah Shah Pir Pagaro was hanged. In the Pak-India 1965 War Hurs were the defender of Pakistan in Rajasthan sector.


Soomro, Cultural History of Sindh, p. 6.
Abdul Majid Sindhi was a Sindhi nationalist, socialist and political activist. He formed Sindh Azad Party after the separation of Sindh from Bombay. For details see, Khan Mohammad Panhwar, Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi: Life & Achievements (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1984).

Abdullah Laghari was Khilafatist and anti-imperialist figure of Sindh. See, Suhail Zaheer Lari, A History of Sindh, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Ghulam Murtaza Sayed (G.M. Sayed), belonged to Dadu district of Sindh and was popular as Sindhi nationalist. His political thoughts included non-violence, democracy and socialism. He remained active in pre-partition as well as post-partition Sindh politics from different forums, i.e. Sindh People’s Party, All-India Muslim League, Progressive Muslim League, Sindh United Front, Sind Awami Party and Jeay Sindh Qaumi Mahaz. He delivered lectures in Theosophical Society and was author of forty nine books on politics, literature and sufism. For details see, S. Mohammad Soaleh Korejo, G. M. Sayed: An Analysis of his Political Perspectives (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Weekly Nusrat, Lahore, August 31, 1969.

Nusrat, Lahore, August 31, 1969.


Sir Abdulah Haroon belonged to Karachi, Sindh. He became member of Indian National Congress in 1917, President, Khilafat Committee (Sindh Chapter) 1919-24, , Member Bombay Legislative Council, 1923, Founder, Sindh United Party 1936, President, AIML Sindh Chapter, 1920-1939 and organized Muslim League Conference in Sindh.


Allah Bux Soomro belonged to Shikarpur, Sindh and played vital role in the pre-partition politics of Sindh. He remained Chief Minister of Sindh for two terms, i.e. March 23, 1938 to April 18, 1940 and March 7, 1941 to October 14, 1942. For details see, Khadim Husain Soomro, *Allah Bux Soomro: Apostle of Secular Harmony* (Sehwan Sharif: Sain Publishers, 2001).

Hyder Bux Jatoi belonged to Larkana, Sindh, also known as Baba-e-Sindh. He was socialist, revolutionary and peasant leader. Jatoi remained president of Sindh Hari Committee. (Sindh Peasants Committee) and was also member of National Awami Party. He was also writer and poet of Sindhi language. For details see, Zahid Choudhry, *Pakistan Ki Siaysi Tareekh: Sindh Maslah Khodh Mukhtari Ka Aaghz* (Urdu) (Lahore: Mustafa Waheed Press, 1994).

Syed Miran Mohammad Shah belonged to Hyderabad, Sindh. He was a lawyer and Member of Bombay Legislative Council, 1928, and 1933, Member Constitutional Commission for Indian Reforms 1928-29, Speaker Sindh Assembly 1938-48, Minister Sindh Government 1948-52 and ambassador to Spain 1952-53.


Governor’s choice of Hidaytullah was due to the reason that he was more suitable politician to the authorities in the wake of more autonomy to the provinces according to the Act 1935. It was not possible for the Governor to run the affairs smoothly without a trustworthy chief minister. See, R. R Sethi, *Constitutional History of India* (Delhi: S. Chand & Co, 1954),p.149.

Central leadership of AIML built pressure through their supports and demanded new elections. Hindu Mahasabha was demanding immediate Governor Rule, whereas central leadership of INC was in doldrums. In 1938 Congress Working Committee members, Vallabhbhai Patel and Abul Kalam Azad visited Sindh to bring the Ministry from hot waters out but in vain.

In January 1939 no confidence move could not succeed and just seven members supported the move while thirty two casted their vote against the resolution (Other members did not participate or were absent) Riaz Hussain, “The Sindh Muslim League: Formation, Problems and Role in the Freedom Struggle of Pakistan”, pp.133-155, *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. XXXII, No.2, 2011, p.143.

For the purpose of the contact with masses and opening AIML branches in maximum cities of the provinces Ayub Khuwro, Kazi Fazlullah, Abdul Majid Sindhi and Abdullah Haroon played vital role. See, Jones, Politics in Sindh, p. 98.

Sikandar Hayat Khan was a renowned Muslim politician of pre-partition Punjab. He became member of Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1921. He was leader of Unionist Party, the symbol of communal harmony in the province. For details see, Itikfar H. Malik, Sir Sikandar Hayat: A Political Biography (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University, 1985).

A.K. Fazlul Haq was popular by Sher-e-Bengal (Tiger of Bengal). He remained Secretary General of Indian National Conference, first Prime Minister of Bengal in British India, joined All-India Muslim League and moved popular Lahore Resolution in AIML session 1940. After the partition, he remained Chief Minister of Bengal, Home Minister of Pakistan and Governor of Bengal. For details see, A.S. M. Abdur Rab, A.K. Fazlul Haq: Life and Achievements (Lahore: Feroze Sons Ltd, 1967).


For details see full text of the resolution in G. Allana, Pakistan Movement Historic Documents, appendix IV PP.193-96.

Beside G.M. Sayed, Khair Shah and Muhammad Shah of Nawab Shah and Haider Shah of Tharparker also joined AIML.


The previous programme had the features of religious rights of the Muslims, propagation of Urdu to improve the economic condition of the Muslims, the steps for the betterment of the financial position of the Muslims, favour of the steps for the relaxation of loans in the field of agriculture, the deduction in the expenditure of the Central and Provinicial administration, implementation of free and compulsory primary education, increase in the production of handicraft and industries and annulment of the cruel laws. C.M. Philips and Mary Doreen Wainwaright, eds., The Partition of India: Policies and Perspectives, 1935-1937 (Karachi: Afro-Asian Book Company, 2005), pp.261.


Rashdi, Do thi Ho Dain, p.372.

Actually Maulana himself was an institution in his own but his mission could not be carried out after him. It was not possible in the feudal culture of Sindh to propagate the progressive ideas or reforms which was against the interest of wadera.

In this movement people from different religions had been participating to agitate against out-dated rituals and ill treatment of the women.


Jones, Politics in Sindh, p.136.


Sayed, Struggle for New Sind., 36.


He remained member of Sindh Assembly and Senator. For details see, Soomro, Cultural History of Sindh.


Mohammad Ayub Khuhro belonged to Larkana, Sindh. He was one of the most important politicians who left great impacts on the politics of Sindh. He was elected to Bombay Legislative Assembly in 1923, to Sindh Legislative Assembly in 1937, and in 1946. He remained active in the politics from different platforms, i.e. Sind United Front, Sind Muslim Party, All-India Muslim League and after partition of India Muslim League. During his political career, Khuhro worked on variety of portfolios, in different capacities, i.e. Fellow, Bombay University, 1928-35, Member, Governor of Sindh Advisory Council, 1936-37, Minister, Sindh Government, 1942-46, Chief Minister of Sindh, August 1947-April 1948, March 1951-December 1951, November 1954 and Defense Minister of Pakistan, 1955-58. For details see, Hamida Khuhro, *Muhammad Ayub Khuhro: A Life of Courage in Politics.* (Karachi: Ferozesons, 1998)

AIML started propaganda against Allah Bux Ministry, accusing it for all the ills. See, File L:\P\&J\S\258, National Archives, Islamabad.


Meetings and gatherings were arranged in every nook and corner of the province to make Pakistan Resolution popular. See, Riaz Ahmed, *The Sindh Muslim League 1940-47, Secret Police Abstracts,* ed. (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University, 2008), p. 6.

In 1943 political leaders of all shades were part of AIML Sindh chapter, i.e. G.M. Sayed, President, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur and K.B. Ghulam Muhammad Khan Isran, vice presidents, Yousaf Abdullah Haroon secretary, M.A. Khuhro, and G. Allana joint secretaries and Mahmood Abdullah Haroon treasurer.


These were; Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah, Pir Elahi Bakhsh and Pirzada Abdul Sattar. K.F. Yusaf, ed. *Pakistan Resolution Revisited* (Islamabad: National institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University, 1990), p.198.


Yusuf Abdullah Haroon was Karachi based businessman and politician. He became Member, Karachi Municipal Corporation 1940, Member, Indian Legislative Assembly 1941, Mayor of Karachi, 1944-48, First President of Pakistan Stock Exchange, Chief Minister, Sindh1949-50 and Governor West Pakistan, March 22-26, 1969.


*Murids* are further divided into two kinds, i.e. Salim, following the word of *pir* and participating in *urs* etc. and *Farq*, the hardliners; ready to sacrifice each and every thing for the *pir*. See, N. Shah and H. Mujtaba, “Raiders of the past”, *Monthly Newsline*, Karachi, Vol. 6, No. 9, 1995, p. 69.

Kenneth Ray Eates, “The Kingri Pirs and Hurs of Sind”, Eates Papers at the Asia and Pacific Collections of the British Library, Chapter XVIII, p. 2. Kenneth Raye Eates was Superintendent of Police, who worked in various regions of Sind, as SP CID Sind in the 1940’s. He wrote confidential reports in the context of Hur insurgency of the 1940’s and in making the case against Pir Sibghatullah Shah, the *Pir Pagaro*. Referred in, Aftab Nabi, “Policing Insurgency: The Hurs of Sind” *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 61, No. 4 (October 2008), pp. 27-55, Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi, p.28.

Kenneth Ray Eates, “The Kingri Pirs and Hurs of Sind”, Eates Papers at the Asia and Pacific Collections of the British Library, Chapter XVIII, p. 2. Kenneth Raye Eates was Superintendent of Police, who worked in various regions of Sind, as SP CID Sind in the 1940’s. He wrote confidential reports in the context of Hur insurgency of the 1940’s and in making the case against Pir Sibghatullah Shah, the *Pir Pagaro*. Referred in, Aftab Nabi, “Policing Insurgency: The Hurs of Sind” *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 61, No. 4 (October 2008), pp. 27-55, Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi, p.28.

127 Ansari, *Sufi Saint and State Power*, p.130.

128 184 cases were registered against them and the list of cases comprised of twenty pages. For details see, G.A. Thomas, Commissioner Sindh to J.R. Hood, District Magistrate Sukkur, December 24, 1929, in File No. S-163, pp.129, 181-200, National Documentation Centre, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad.

129 Aftab Nabi, “Policing Insurgency: The Hurs of Sind”, p.32.

130 File No. S-163, pp.32-33, 151-152, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad.

131 For details see, Aftab Nabi, “Policing Insurgency: The Hurs of Sind”, pp.34-36.


139 *Dawn*, January 30, 1946.

140 *Musalman-ek Hind ka Tarikh Faisla*, p.197.


142 Congress was showing socialistic creed as its ideological outlook but in this case it deviated from the stance so the agitation was inevitable.

143 *The Times of India*, Bombay, January 1, 1946

144 The total number of registered voters in all the constituencies of Sindh was 947924 and total number of votes casted was 447996. See, *Sinners of Sind* (Bombay: Indian National Congress, 1946), p.22.


146 *The Times of India*, January 22, 1946.

147 Abdul Wahid Qureshi, ed., *Tarikhi Faisla* (Islamabad: Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, 1976), p.120.


149 Progressive Muslim League was formed on February 3, 1947; press reported it as Progressive Party instead.

150 *The Times of India*, February 9, 1946.

151 Ibid, February 1, 1946.

152 Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan was lieutenant of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and had been general secretary of AIML for long time. In the elections 1946, he got a seat in Central Legislature and became Finance Minister of United India. He presented budget 1947 which became popular as *ghareeb aadmi ka budget* (budget for the poor). After the creation of Pakistan, he became first Prime Minister of Pakistan.


154 G.M. Sayed was champion of communal solidarity in India from very outset of his political career while participating and delivering lectures at Theosophical Society, which was established in India by Ms Annie Besant in 1894. Annie Besant’s role in Theosophical Society may be seen in Anne Taylor, ‘Besant, Annie (1847–1933)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 2004).

155 *The Times of India*, Bombay, March 7, 1946.

92
AIML accepted the groupings proposed by Cabinet Mission Plan while INC though initially accepted the plan with reservations and decided not to join interim government. Afterwards, Nehru renounced ‘compulsory grouping’ of the provinces. P. Hardy, The Muslims of British India (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p.249.


The Times of India, April 2, 1946.


Abdul Majid Sindhi, a progressive Sindhi leader, was of the view that such protest could create unrest in the province and would damage the image of Muslim community.

The Four ministers were, Ghulam Ali Talpur, Bande Ali Talpur, Abdul Sattar Pirzada and Pir Elahi Buksh.


Mukhi Gobindram Pritaml was a merchant and politician from Hyderabad Sindh. He won the Sindh Legislative Assembly seat and as HMS leader also became Minister in Hydiatullah’s Cabinet in 1937. Dur Muhammad Pathan, “Freedom Fighters’ List” Unpublished, Gul Hayat Institute, Arija, Larkana.

Dawn, October 14, 1949.


Migrants to Sindh from different areas of India at the time of partition gradually became independent ethno-cultural group, initially they were called Hindustani and Urdu-speaking but later on adopted the title of Muhajir themselves.


Ahmad Salim, Sulagta hua Sindh, p.70.


There was a long struggle during the Raj period for the rights of haris which at one side contributed as a fuel in the freedom struggle as well as on the other side because of untiring leadership of Hyder Bux Jatoi and others brought acceptance of purely ‘socialist’ ideology in the minds and hearts of their political opponents and elite who were mostly in ML. Government Hari Enquiry Committee (Karachi: Government of Sind, 1948), reproduced by Pakistan Law Society, Karachi, 1965.


Nazish Brohi, Gender and Land Reforms in Pakistan (Islamabad: The Sustainable Development Policy Institute, 2010), p.11.

Ibid, p.15.


Ibid, pp.773-774.

The Pakistan Times, Lahore, February 22, 1953.

Agef, Sindh Tareekh Kay Aainay Main, p.175.

Ibid, p.178.


The Pakistan Times, Lahore, May 3, 15, 1953.

Agef, Sindh Tareekh Kay Aainay Main, pp.188-189.


It consisted of SAM, SL, SHC, Sindh Labour Party (SLP) and a few student organizations. Sayed, Janab Guzariun Jin Seen, p.255.

The Pakistan Times, February 25, 1953.

Ibid, February 18, 1953.


The Pakistan Times, Lahore, January 9, 1958.


Ibid, May 21, 1953.

Ibid.

Ibid, May 16, 1953.

The elected candidates were Pir Elahi Bux, G.M. Sayed, Muhammad Shah and A. Khan.


Among the defeated ones the famous leaders of SAM and SHC Abdul Majid Sindhi, Qadir Bux Qazi, Wali Muhammad Lachari and Allah Bachaio Joharwar. The Pakistan Times, Lahore, May 20,21, 1953.


The Statesman, Delhi, May 12, 1953.

The Pakistan Times, Lahore, May 23, 1953.


Sayed, Janab Guzariun Jin Seen, p.239.

Agef, Sindh Tareekh Kay Aainay Main, p.206.

Ibid. p.207.

Dawn, Karachi, June 18, 1954.


Agef, Sindh Tareekh Kay Aainay Main, p.209.

Ansari, Life After Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sindh, p.157.


231 The Hindustan Times, Delhi, July 28, 1957.


233 The Pakistan Times, June 30, 1956.


236 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the son of Shah Nawaz Bhutto, a Sindhi feudal and politician. He was taking off towards the political echelon and Sindhi political activist were eagerly watching towards him. He was Minister for Commerce and Trade at the time.


239 Muhammad Musa Bhutto, Sindh ke Halat ki Sachi Tasvir (Urdu) pp. 90-91.

240 Ahmad Salim, Sulagta hua Sindh, pp.72-73.


243 Ibid, p.93.

244 After the Pak-India War 1965, USSR intervened and President of Pakistan Muhammad Ayub Khan, with his delegation met Indian Premier Lal Bahadur Shastri and an agreement was finalized which included cease fire and restoration of the areas captured by both the forces. Furthermore, as Stanley Wolpert mentioned in his biography on Bhutto (For details see, Stanley Wolpert, Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: His Life and Times (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993), that Bhutto was not agreed upon the ‘humiliating clauses’ of the agreement and was mal-treated by the president. While Bhutto was kicked out from the cabinet and was sorrowfully packing his luggage as Roedad Khan (For details see, Roedad Khan, Pakistan: A Dream Gone Sour (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997) who visited his residence at civil lines Rawalpindi, along with Ghulam Ishaq Khan (later President of Pakistan) depicted that the daughter of Bhutto who was young child at the time asked her father kiya ham bhi awam ho gae haen (have we also become commoners). The sharp mind of Bhutto was designing his future political course in which he had to lead agitation against Ayub Regime and to exploit Tashkent Declaration.

CHAPTER 2
EMERGENCE OF PAKISTAN PEOPLE’S PARTY: STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION IN SINDH

To know about any political party and its emergence, it is pertinent to have an overview of its founder, his family background, upbringing and political grooming. The personality traits of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto reflect the ancestral influence. His sharpness, feudal basis, foreign education and self-confidence set the future discourse of his career. Therefore, it would be appropriate to have an over view of Bhutto’s legacy before going into the details of his future course of action and founding of Pakistan People’s Party.

Bhutto’s Legacy

The ancestor of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who first settled in Sindh was Sata Khan Mitha Khan who migrated from a village named ‘Bhutto’ or ‘Bhatt’ of district Hassar and came to Sindh. He selected district Larkana most probably because of the spiritual relationship with a Sufi of Kalohro whose name was Mian Shah Ali. In the region, Mitha Khan was very close to the ‘Mian’. According to Tuhfa-tul-Kiram\(^1\)Mian Shah Ali after the demise of his brother Mian Ilyas bin Daud succeeded as Gaddi Nasheen, who was much popular for his spiritual possessions, his year of martyrdom is 1068 A.H. Mian Ilyas was contemporary of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir. Nabi Bux Bhutto is also of the view that their ancestors came to Sindh about three hundred years ago.\(^2\) So, it can be said that Bhutto clan left Hassar in the reign of Alamgir.

This is true that racially the Bhutto clan is of Rajput origin and sub caste of Bhutt. Bhutt were settled at Bhattia which was close to Alor. A large number of the tribe was also residing in the surroundings of Multan and even a Raja of the clan had fought war
with Mehmood Ghaznavi. Ultimately, they were defeated by Ghaznavi, led probably to leave their place and via Run of Kutch went to Hassar.\(^3\)

The place where Mitha Khan settled in Sindh was named after him as ‘Mitha ka Maqam’ (Mitha Khan’s Place). Mitha Khan was so inspired by his *pir* that he named his son as Pir Bux (given by *pir*). Because of the bravery of Pir Bux, Mian Naseer Muhammad successor of Mian Shah Ali granted him a huge *jagir*. The *jagir* stretched ‘Mithaka Maqam’ to present day Mirpur Kot. It was Pir Bux who shifted from Mithaka Maqam to Mirpur Kot, after the death of his father Mitha Khan and constructed kot (fort) over there. The remains of the *kot* are still present. According to Nabi Bux Bhutto, Pir Bux bin Mitha Khan was having two sons Doda Khan and Allah Bux Khan. Doda Khan got three sons Elahi Bux Bhutto, Khuda Bux Bhutto and Ameer Bux Bhutto. The date of birth of only Khuda Bux is available which is carved at his grave as 1821 A.D. at Garhi Khuda Bux. Ghulam Murtaza was the son of Khuda Bux Khan who had two sons, Sir Shahnawaz and Ali Gauhar Khan. Both of them were aspirants of having cordial relationship with the British.\(^4\)

**Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto**

Sir Shahnawaz was born on March 3, 1888. Contrary to his father Shahnawaz was futuristic and sharp enough; he developed cordial relations with the British. He also extended his socio-political circle to almost all notables in Sindh to frame futuristic political strategy. He started his political journey from Larkana District Board and gradually reached to Bombay Legislative Council.\(^5\) Shahnawaz headed the delegation
from Sindh, in the Round Table Conference (RTC) 1931. Due to his request, ‘A Brief Note on the Separation of Sind’ was circulated to the Sub-committee.

Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto established the first political party in Sindh, i.e. People’s Party, which was later on merged in Sindh United Front (SUF). He became President of SUF and played vital role in its organization. But, he and deputy leader of SUF, Sir Abdullah Haroon, both had lost their constituencies, in the elections 1937. Shahnawz Bhutto, felt the defeat deep in his heart and relinquished Sindh politics for good. After that defeat, he kept himself aloof from active politics for rest of his life. His son Zulfikar Ali Bhutto continued his political legacy in much improved manner.

**Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s Rise to Power**

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the son of Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, was born on January 5, 1928. After acquiring education abroad, he returned to Pakistan in 1953 and began his carrier as lawyer. He also professed law at the Sindh Muslim Law College for some time. He neither liked legal profession nor did he consider suitable for him, to teach. He was very interested to take part in national politics.

Bhutto succeeded to reach power corridors of the time through his continuous sharp efforts. He established association with President Iskandar Mirza and eventually in 1957; Bhutto went to New York being member of Pakistan delegation in the twelfth United Nations General Assembly. As well as in 1958, he headed Pakistan delegation to the UN Conference on the Law of Seas. When Martial Law was imposed in the country in 1958, president Ayub Khan was in need of some loyal and well-qualified figures, to assist him as ministers. Ayub Khan also wanted that those nominees should not be
associated with previous rulers. Therefore, on the recommendation of Iskander Mirza, he inducted Zulfikar Ali Bhutto into his cabinet.\textsuperscript{14} Therefore, by the virtue of circumstances, young Bhutto found himself sitting among the federal ministers. Bhutto held different important portfolios from 1958-1966, under president Ayub Khan.

Initially, Ayub Khan assigned him the portfolio of Commerce and Industries.\textsuperscript{15} Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had a strong wish to work as Foreign Minister. In October 1959, he was sent to United Nations as the head of Pakistani delegation. At that occasion, he effectively and strongly clarified Pakistan’s position on American and Russian proposals regarding disarmament. In January 1960, he took over the charge of Ministry of Information and National Reconstruction. Later on, the portfolios of Fuel, Natural Resources and Electricity were also assigned to him. He also worked closely with Law Minister Barrister Manzoor Qadir Sheikh, while finalizing the constitution of 1962. The constitution was prepared under the wishes and requirements of president Ayub Khan. In 1963, President Ayub Khan conferred upon Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the medal of Hilal-e-Pakistan, which is the country’s highest civil award.\textsuperscript{16}

In 1963, Bhutto was appointed as Pakistan’s Foreign Minister.\textsuperscript{17} In this capacity, he improved Pakistan’s ties with the Communist Block and made significant headway in promoting cordial ties with China.\textsuperscript{18} During his tenure as foreign minister, he provided a new direction to foreign policy of Pakistan. Therefore, he is also known as one of the architects of the foreign policy of Pakistan.

Bhutto remained a hard supporter of the regime till March 1966. Differences appeared after Tashkent Declaration in early 1966 which was signed between President
Ayub Khan and Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri. The declaration was not welcomed by a section of society, particularly by the people of Punjab. Resultantly, large protests were organized in the province and number of deaths occurred by police firing in Lahore. Bhutto, as Foreign Minister of the country, forcefully defended the declaration, not only in the parliament but also in public. Though rumours were there that he was not in favour of the declaration and might leave the regime. Altaf Gauhar disclosed that Bhutto was involved throughout the negotiations at Tashkent including drafting and adoption of the accord. By the March 1966, Bhutto was directed to step down from the rank of Secretary General of ConML, which eventually emerged as ‘parting of ways’ in June 1966. He was further directed by the regime to take ‘sick leave’ and go abroad with lips-tightened.

Throughout his stay in office as minister, Bhutto worked quite efficiently. During that period, from 1958-1966, he was regarded as right-hand man of Ayub Khan. His extra-ordinary potentialities and convincing speeches made him popular at home and abroad. Particularly, he left good memories in the minds of people during his Foreign Minister ship for his anti-India stance. His role and speeches at international level, as Pakistani foreign minister during the war of 1965, were also highly appreciated. Meanwhile, he also worked as the Secretary General of Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan’s Convention Muslim League (ConML) and was in the forefront of the campaign of imposing the restrictions upon the opposition parties. He also strongly contradicted, with the Combined Opposition Parties on their stances on certain national issues.

Later, in June 1966, the resignation of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as Foreign Minister was accepted by president Ayub Khan. Bhutto’s resignation under those critical
circumstances was taken as noteworthy political change at national level. Whole of political conditions took a new turn, thereby decreasing the popularity of President Ayub Khan. Masses of Pakistan began to support Bhutto, because he had started saying that he would open the secrets and deal of Ayub Khan at Tashkent. It is worth mentioning, that after the forceful exit of Bhutto from the federal cabinet, while going back to Larkana, when Bhutto stopped for some time at Lahore Railway Station, then there he came across a large crowd, expressing their utmost sympathies to him. Otherwise, during those years, the nominated ministers did not enjoy the public popularity.22

In the wake of student demonstrations just after the announcement of Ayub Khan on September 22, 1965 for ceasefire as urged by United Nations Security Council, Bhutto observed that the regime had become unpopular and Ayub era was in dying days. In those circumstances, Bhutto’s ejection from the Ayub cabinet provided him opportunity to exploit it politically. After November 30, 1966, when Bhutto was ousted from power, he started thinking about his future course of action. Even, he made efforts to make a forward block within the ranks of ConML but the stalwarts of the party were considering the formation of ‘any block’ within party as rebellion against Ayub Khan. Even the West Pakistan ConML declared that there was no place of ‘any block’ within the League.23

The end of 1966 and the beginning of 1967 were to some extent characterized by a propaganda duel between the President and Bhutto. From November 1966, the President had carried out a strenuous tour, which was made necessary, partly by the imminence of the removal of the ban on disqualified politicians and partly by the proximity of the elections to the Council of ConML. Ultimately, he was sacked from the cabinet as well as from the office of secretary ship of the ConML on February 27, 1967.24
That was the turning point for Bhutto’s political career; consequently, the idea of new political party came to his mind.

**Formation of Pakistan People’s Party**

The establishment of Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) was a defining moment in the political history of Pakistan. It was unique in a sense that the opposition mainly was comprised of right wing parties. On the other hand, all the progressive forces could not assemble under one banner and were labeled as anti-state; however, they were in search of an opportunity to enter in the main stream political arena. Due to the prevailing circumstances, it was ripe opportunity for them to realize their far awaited dream under the flag of a new party. Therefore, they gathered around Bhutto, who was also in search of new avenues. In that backdrop, PPP emerged as a better alternate in Pakistani politics generally and in Sindh particularly.

Before finally deciding about launching a new political party, Bhutto was considering various options open to him but still was irresolute about his political career. “According to popular perception, there were then three possibilities for Bhutto: to form a ‘forward block’ within the Convention ML, to join one of the opposition parties or to form his own political party with a clear stand on national and international issues.”25 For the next few months, Bhutto silently observed and analyzed the political situation in the country. Being the member of a wadera family, Bhutto had close intimate ties with all the influential figures of Sindh. The educated people of Punjab had a great deal of sympathy for him because of his reaction against the signing of the Tashkent Declaration. He was intelligent, dynamic in his political pursuits. He was widely known in other countries as
Pakistan’s Foreign Minister. He was fully aware of those international factors which were influencing the domestic politics of Pakistan. Few months after his resignation as Foreign Minister, he visited European countries and America, where he held detailed consultations with his foreign friends, Shah Faisal, Colonel Muammar Qaddafi and overseas Pakistanis, J.A. Rahim etc. On his return, he announced his intention to pursue his future political career, in his own way.

On the other side, after Bhutto’s return to Pakistan, Ayub regime organized campaign to defame the personality of Bhutto. “He was personally harassed and his public meetings were often disrupted. Bhutto eventually decided to establish a new party and indicated that it would be radical, reformist, democratic, socialist and egalitarian party.”

However, first direct indication for the formation of a political party was given in the press conference on September 16, 1967 at the residence of Mir Rasul Bux Talpur in Hyderabad, where Bhutto announced for the formation of a new political party. Socialist stance for the proposed political party was highlighted in the speech of Bhutto, however, it was emphasized that the ‘socialism’ would be peaceful and reformist.

In a Press Conference on October 28, 1967 at Lahore Zulfikar Ali Bhutto announced for the formation of a ‘new political party’. He indicated that the party would introduce ‘socialism’ based on Islamic principles to solve political, social and economic problems of the country. He declared that the socialism would not be of communist style because the people of Pakistan were Muslims and had thousands years old cultural and traditional values. There, in the same week it was finalized that the convention for the
formation of new political party would be on November 30-December 1, 1967 at Lahore and Malik Aslam Hayat, the then president, District Bar Association Lahore would be its convener. Following the decision, a meeting was held in Sant Nagar Lahore, at residence of the convener, to decide for the arrangements and procedure of the proposed convention. Along with other pro-Bhutto elements, two revolutionary poets i.e. Habib Jalib and Aslam Gordaspuri participated in the meeting and presented their radical poetry.29

As a reaction by the regime, organizers of the convention were harassed, hurdles were created and finally article 144 of law was imposed to avoid an open gathering. Because of the actions taken by the government there was no option left for organizers, but to convene the convention within premises and the best option chosen was the residence of Dr Mubashir Hassan, having sufficient space for the purpose. Therefore, after deliberations, Malik Aslam Hayat advocate, the convener of the convention also extended a general invitation through the newspapers. Besides dignitaries, the admirers of Bhutto were assembled at the house of Mubashar Hasan.30

Although, certain measures had been taken by the regime, but even then delegates from all over Pakistan participated in the convention. Around 300 delegates approached the convention from different shades of political belief 31 i.e. leftist, rightist, feudal and reformist etc. Dozens of delegates from Sindh participated in the convention. Two prominent personalities among them were from Karachi, an ultra-socialist J.A. Rahim, and a socialist and popular student leader Mairaj Muhammad Khan, from Hyderabad, a close companion of Bhutto, in the time of trial and also feudal but having tilt toward socialism, Mir Rasul Bux Talpur and his brother Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur, from Larkana a
middle class representative Abdul Waheed Katpar and an intellectual, Chakar Ali Junejo.32

In the opening session, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said in his address, “….this country is of hundred million Pakistanis. Only they have the right to rule over it….Pakistan is an Islamic state. Its unity and harmony is a sacred deposit. Service and protection of Pakistan is a religious obligation.”33 In the Foundation Meeting, ten Documents and twenty five resolutions were passed after lengthy discussions and deliberations.

The foundation documents mainly comprised of the socialist agenda of the party. The first and second documents were regarding the name and flag of the party which were decided in the convention.34 The name ‘Pakistan People’s Party’ was decided unanimously after discussion of the important participants; but the flag was designed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and J. A. Rahim. However, if we peep through the history of Pakistan, a political party in the name of Pakistan People’s Party was formed just after partition by veteran leader of NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan known as Bacha Khan, which vanished after 1948, and even before partition Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto had formed a party named People’s Party in 1934,35 which was later on merged in Sindh United Front in 1937. It means that the name People’s Party was not a new title of any political party of that area but the zeal and ideological basis were new, i.e. socialism. Though, Bhutto presented the justification of the new party on the basis of ideology of Pakistan but his more stress was on socio-political crisis.

The third document entitled ‘Why a New Party?’36 was written by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The document explained the philosophy behind the formation of a new party. In
the document it was stressed that the party was launched with ‘a fresh approach and a new style’. It was declared that the pre and post partition proclamation of the Muslims of Sub-Continent were that the foundation of Pakistan would be on the Islamic principles and its political, social and economic structure would be organized in the light of those principles. The problems while finalizing 1956 Constitution were highlighted in the document. The social evils and suppression of lower classes and in that regard ‘selfish’ and ‘irresponsible’ attitude of the bureaucrats and politicians were severely criticized. However, Army and Judiciary were declared exceptions while discussing the institutional crisis. Somehow, the document appreciated early period of Ayub Khan but severely criticized the flaws of 1962 Constitution, ‘dual political system’ and 1965 Elections of the regime. Moreover, ‘the worst’ law and order situation, concentration of wealth, tyranny upon lower classes, provincial differences, tensions among students and negative impacts of Tashkent Declaration on the country were declared some of the major demerits of the then regime.

On one hand, the document appreciated the formation of Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM) in May 1967 at Dhaka but on the other, declared it the combination of conservatives having no representation of the left minded people. So, on the basis of ideology the progressive forces would also have a block and both the groups would develop consensus on certain issues and ultimately make a combine front for the restoration of a real democracy. It was painted in the document that already existing progressive forces could gather around PPP for the success of the ultimate cause.

The document said that in the presence of the then existing chaos and political differences, unity among the existing political parties was impossible. It stated that the
differences between the groups of NAP, Awami League’s (AL) narrow provincial thinking and controversies regarding economic and social issues with other large political parties were the reasons behind least chance of their amalgamation as national alliance. Hence, there was need of new political party with highly positive approach, so the new party having those features would play the role of a mediator for the formation of grand political alliance against the ‘despotic regime’.

Another deliberation for the formation of a new party was mentioned that the young generation had no expectation from the existing political parties to meet the challenges which the country was facing. So, the new party having radical approach would stand for the solution of economic and social problems of Pakistan. It was concluded that the party would not only play role for ‘unity’ but would also make efforts for the reformation of the society in the light of Quaid-i-Azam’s thought.

The founder of the party with argumentative sequence justified the need for a new party. The style and picking up of words were impressive. The impact of this document had been proved in the shape of the response of the people throughout the country in general and Sindh in particular. Nevertheless, the document also foresaw the future vital role of the party against the unlawful regime by giving the argument that there was no binding force in the political panorama to unite at one hand right wing parties and to another left wing political groups which the party would provide. However, interestingly, while criticizing the regime he intentionally spared Army and Judiciary for being futuristic. Furthermore, like an expert on socio-political sciences, Bhutto analyzed the politics in general and politics of alliances in particular. While commenting on PDM, he was of the point that hotchpotch of conservatives and progressives would not bore fruit.
Bhutto was making his own way but identifying left and right politics of the day and justified that left forces could gather around PPP.

Fourth, fifth and sixth documents were mainly written by J.A. Rahim. In the fourth document ‘Why Socialism Necessary for Pakistan?’ the problems of Pakistan particularly the economic crisis was highlighted and presented its resolution in social democratic program. The objective of PPP was declared as ‘the introduction of socialist system’ in Pakistan. Then the explanation of ‘socialist system’ was mentioned as; equal rights for the people and social and economic justice: It was said that the proposed system would liberate people from class struggle. While comparing private enterprise in the country with the ‘partly introduced socialism’ in western countries, the document remarked that the ‘socialism’ was consisting of scientific principles and would provide basis for the solution of all the social and economic problems of Pakistan, which was under the exploitation of capitalism.

The document stressed upon that the country was established on the Islamic principles of musawat (equality) and insaf (justice) and thus capitalism was in contradiction with its ideology and socialism was in agreement. The document stressed upon the introduction of socialism to solve the social problems of Pakistan, which would bear fruit and open new corridors to progress. Moreover, it was affirmed that basic rights of every individual and freedom would be the foremost priority of the party. The document beautifully took Islamic terminologies of jihad and Musawat for justifying the acceptability of socialism in the Pakistani society at larger. So, regarding the development of means of production it was stated that there was need of jihad on two directions i.e. take Pakistan out from underdeveloped industrial and agricultural status
and introduction of a social and economic system on the basis of justice. Nationalization of heavy industries and agricultural industries was suggested in that regard.

The fifth document ‘Draft Declaration of Principle’ stated that the objective of party was to mould Pakistan into a socialist society according to wish and will of the people. The guiding principles were; classless society and adaptation of socialist ideology to achieve social and economic justice. It was declared that the constitution of Pakistan must be democratic and the government must be answerable before the elected representatives of the people. The document further explained that the constitutional crisis of early democratic phase was due to the inability and negligence of the politicians and ill will of bureaucrats. However, it was affirmed that the party would avoid any confrontation in finalizing the proposals for future constitution which could cause constitutional crisis. But, the document clearly mentioned that constitution making was the right of people’s representatives, being elected through direct elections, on the basis of adult franchise. It was particularly stressed upon that the fundamental human rights must be protected, the dismissal of those rights by the regime was condemned and cooperation of political parties of all shades in that context was emphasized.

Furthermore, the document highlighted the need for social and economic justice. It was stated that all projects must be made for the welfare of the people rather than for promoting any particular group or individual. The document stated the need for nationalization of heavy industries to expedite industrial development in the country. The monopoly of some big entrepreneurs in heavy industries, medicines and banks was severely criticized and it was suggested that healthy competition in private enterprises
having check by government could bear good fruit but must not be under the influence of foreign aid.

The document declared to stop exploitation of kisan by jagirdars and suggested the implementation of revolutionary agricultural reforms in that regard. The reforms already introduced by the regime were appreciated but the need to promote farmers’ condition by providing them latest machinery and seed and ‘guarantee’ for reasonable price of their production was emphasized.

The document also emphasized in the need of strengthening the trade unions and suggested to have country wide trade unions of each and every category e.g. steel, looms etc. and there should be a national level council binding all the trade unions in a single unit. The document said that the party would give right of strike to the unions which was only tactic with them to build pressure for their rights. It was also suggested that ILO principles were according to the fundamental human rights and hence, be implemented in the country. To provide exploitation of the labourer, fixation of minimum wages and provision of health facilities were also included in the text.

The document further reiterated that the masses should be stimulated and unemployed people be engaged in positive activities and their productive qualities be utilized. The objective of education was interpreted as eradication of illiteracy and attainment of classless society. The document stated that Pakistan was enriched with multi-colour culture and languages and there was need to develop, patronize and promote the indigenous culture as well as languages. It was also affirmed that Pakistani women being half of the country’s population could play her role in the development if their
rights were protected and education could be promoted. Furthermore, separation of judiciary from executive, repeal and amendment in out-dated laws, autonomy for universities, inspiration of youth for national development and public share in national defense were also mentioned in the same document.

The fifth document\textsuperscript{40} was an important one because it declared the objectives of the propose party, mainly, it addressed the oppressed masses and penetrated deep in their hearts, whether peasants or industrial workers. At the same time the proposed role of the masses, first in choosing their real representatives, then in their direct role in constitution making. To some extent every facet of society had their problems with solutions depicted in the hope of golden imaginary paradise like society.

The sixth document\textsuperscript{41} ‘Evolution of the Economy’ criticized the economic policies of early democratic phase (1947-1958) of the country in which the focus was just on two industrial sectors i.e. jute and cotton, due to which increase in the foreign exchange during Korean War and consistent decline after that was evident.

The document further criticized concentration of wealth in the hands of few families because of Bonus Voucher Scheme, low wages for workers, subsides in raw material and high cost of finished products. It was calculated that during Ayub Regime multiplication of individuals’ profit was at the cost of national loss. It was further analyzed that due to non-productive expenses, brushing aside heavy and mechanical industries, neglecting educational sector and particularly professional education caused great loss for national saving and foreign exchange. It was further highlighted that
domination of West Pakistan over East Pakistan, particularly in the industrial sector had caused exploitation of the people of Eastern Wing.

Furthermore, it was remarked that the policy-making flaws of the Regime for choosing some specific fields for investment had ultimately caused great setback for Pakistan when international market saw constant decline in textile and that the efforts to strengthen it with foreign aid would further deteriorate the situation. It further dissects the then prevailing economic realities and diagnosing real ills with the sole solution and interpretation of socialistic designs.

The document seven ‘Declaration on the Unity of the People’ prepared by Hanif Ramay, stated that the Muslims of India had been plundering in slavery and living below average life. Each and every social group had made struggle for Pakistan, where they thought to live according to their beliefs, free of economic exploitation and with musawat but Indian Muslims faced the same even after independence. Even the leadership could not play effective role to solve problems of the people.

The document then declared that the ‘new era’ had started in the country with the emergence of PPP. It was reiterated in the document that the party would bring revolutionary change through musawat, nationalization, and economic parity between both the wings. In fact, the need of jihad against exploiters, oppressors, injustices and social evils, was declared. Lastly, solidarity was affirmed with the Muslims of Kashmir, India and with those nations struggling against colonial powers and imperialists. The most stress was given upon the historical analysis of the Muslims in South Asia that they were being plundered and exploited not only in pre-partition but in post-partition era as
well. The down trodden had now ray of transformation and change in the shape of PPP. The further course of action was also designed by the architects of the documents that Bhutto would become leader of the Muslims and third world by teaching solidarity among oppressed throughout the globe, along with party leadership.

Eighth document ‘Jammu and Kashmir’ was authored by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was already pleading Kashmir case before the masses, particularly in the context of Tashkent Declaration. In the document, India’s occupation of Kashmir and later on her promise of holding the plebiscite to ascertain the will of the people of Kashmir and then deviation from self-imposed obligation, had been elaborated. The document stressed upon Pakistan’s stand on the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir and pledged that the party would consistently support the Kashmir cause and Pakistanis would stand for the right cause of the people of Kashmir. It was declared that for the party, ‘the mission’ was up and above all the other responsibilities. Furthermore, it was warned that as Kashmir was the part of Pakistan, so any negligence on the matter would be disastrous impacts for the country.

The document criticized that ‘some people’ in the Government were deviating from the nations stand on the issue and stated that although the party was also torch-bearer of peace but not at the cost of Kashmir. In the end, it was expected that the time would come when India would be compelled to give up her wrong stand and the people of Kashmir would get the right of self-determination to decide about their future. In the document, very forcefully, the founders of the party had put their hands on geo-ideological pulse of the nation by pleading the case of oppressed Kashmiri brethren and India’s hegemonic designs and negligence of the regime, while referring Tashkent.
The ninth document ‘The Need for Pakistan to have Special Relations with Assam’ produced by J.A. Rahim discussed that although Pakistan had accepted the decision of referendum only in Sylhet and not in the whole of Assam but other than the popular favoritism of the Radcliffe Award in the Punjab and Bengal, the inclusion of Assam in India was also discrimination. The document referred to the 1941 Census according to which the difference between Hindu and Muslim population of the province was marginal and there were 24.7% people who were not accepted nation by the British Government, who had been fighting against the Hindus before the British occupation and were fighting against them even after the partition. The British Government was accused for not conducting referendum in the whole of Assam deliberately, to secure their investment made there. Having experience as Foreign Minister of the biggest Muslim state on the map of the world, Bhutto very sharply took up the grey area in Indian Assam and stressed to have special concentration in relation with Assam. This reflected the intellect and attachment of Bhutto’s comrades in general and J A Rahim in particular.

The last document ‘The Six Points Formula’ elaborated the reasons behind the demand of ‘autonomy’ by the Bengali people. It was argued that because of ills of incorrect policy-making the monopoly of West Pakistan bourgeois’ over trade, business and economy of East Pakistan had become possible which created hatred for the Western Wing. According to the document the ‘Six Point Formula’ written by Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman President of AL, was the result of that hatred, although he was imprisoned for a long period but ideas were not to be constrained and people of East Pakistan joined him in bulk. However, the document suspected that the formula would have been disastrous to
be followed, as it suggested inclusive constitutional and executive alterations in the then existing state structure.

According to the document the ‘Six Point Formula’ gave no solution of social, economic and political chaos in Pakistan in which the masses of both the wings were indulged. It suggested that solution of all those problems laid in ‘socialism’ and nationalization of the entire major industries of Pakistan to balance the oppression of East Pakistanis in the past.48

In fact, the intellect behind the formation of the party did not forget an important issue of that time. Commenting upon the socio-political tendencies in East Pakistan, the document suggested that West-Pakistani business- cum- industrial class exploited East Pakistanis and brought them to the state of Awami League’s six points. This proved to be fatal for country’s political structure. However, the sole remedy which was suggested was the neutralization policy under the umbrella of socialism to engulf the day by day spread of hatred between the masses of both the wings.

**Critique on the Resolutions Passed in the Convention**

Another important event in the convention was resolutions, which were the important high liners for the future strategy, objectives and course of action. They were twenty five in numbers. The details are as following;

i) The first resolution was a tribute to the Pakistan Army for their bravery and sacrifices in the 1965 War against foreign aggression. In addition to that the nations who supported Pakistan in the time of trial were acknowledged. The resolution further paid bounties to the late *Mader-e-Milat* Fatima Jinnah.
As it was evident that in Indian history the first ever political party INC on the eve of its inception, solemnly declared its faithfulness to the then power hub, i.e. the British. To follow the suit, PPP passed the resolution to pay tribute to *Mader-e-Milat*. This was to adopt an approach in contrast to the government.

ii) In the second resolution there was condemnation of the Regime for creating hurdles in convening the convention, for declaring sanction 144 and for not allowing arrangement of the convention at *Mochi Gate* ground and for using the press for portraying the party convention negatively. In the resolution, party, in fact, displayed its future course of action.

iii) Third resolution declared that the people of Kashmir must be given the right of self-determination according to the resolutions of United Nations and that there was no alternate solution. It further reiterated that the solution of Kashmir dispute must be first condition in Pak-India relations. According to the Foundation Meeting Documents and Bhutto’s experience as Foreign Minister, it was important to declare priorities for foreign relations.

iv) In the fourth resolution, as in the foundation document, it was declared that the partition of the subcontinent was not based on justice and Assam having majority of non-Hindu population was handed over to India. It was remarked that majority of the province still wanted to become sovereign and the convention opined that the government should have special relations with the people of Assam. It was important to build pressure on enemy country very intelligently.
v) The convention demanded the government, in the fifth resolution, to withdraw from SEATO and SENTO because the pacts could not help Pakistan in the time of aggression and that the Bada Bair Air Base be taken back from America. It reflected the quite changed perspective of PPP regarding relations with west and US.

vi) The sixth resolution asked the government to have urgent measures for the defense of Pakistan against any threat on the borders. It suggested increase in the Defense Budget and training of the people against any foreign aggression. In the wake of the then recent war with India it was vital resolution.

vii) It was announced that the jagirdarana (feudalist) and zamindarana (land-owning) exploitation could only come to an end through socialism and demanded the government land be distributed among kashtkarz (tenants). It was further recommended that reforms should be introduced for kashtkarz including minimum fixation of wages and concession of taxation for those possessing small units of land etc. As depicted in party documents the ideology of the party would be socialism which was reiterated in the resolution.

viii) The convention demanded to make amendments in the Trade Union Act as per standard of ILO, to give rights of labour unions, and strikes and to cease child labour at once. Party founders were well aware of international conventions and obligations.

ix) It was requested to the then existing political parties to have cooperation in restoring back the fundamental rights of the people of Pakistan i.e. freedom of
speech, gatherings, making political parties and free press. Clear explanation to uproot the military autocracy with democracy.

x) The Defense of Pakistan Rules was demanded to be abolished immediately as it was against the freedom of the masses and all the political prisoners were demanded to be released. It was popular demand and party opted for the resolution.

xi) It was declared that Criminal Law in its amended form was against the fundamental rights of people so it must be canceled and it was clear cut challenge to the regime.

xii) It was demanded from the government to implement constitution throughout Pakistan and the existing discrimination should be discontinued. To get popular support of the discriminated areas that resolution was passed.

xiii) The convention condemned Azad Jammu and Kashmir Act 1964 and demanded abrogation of the act. It was also demanded that democracy must be introduced in Azad Kashmir, giving representation to refugees from occupied Kashmir as well. As party was planning to be the party of the whole country and in that context Kashmir was the important area and vital too as Quaid-i-Azam said it juggler vain.

xiv) It was demanded that the families of those who sacrificed their lives for restoration of democracy must be compensated. Party was giving due importance to the martyrs of democracy.49

xv) The convention called for the annulment of University Ordinance and asked that all the rules, creating obstacles for teachers and students in their
educational activities were also required to be revised. Expected power base for the party was universities and military rulers always afraid of student politics that is way they introduced the said ordinance.

xvi) The freedom struggle of Vietnam against a super power was appreciated and it was demanded to restore back peace in that territory, according to Geneva Accord. The resolution reflected the global insight of the party founders.

xvii) In the wake of Arab-Israel conflict, the colonial policy of Israel was condemned and convention demanded that the Arab areas must be vacated. The principle stance of Pakistan was taken into account in the resolution regarding Israel.

xviii) The convention maintained that Pakistan would play decisive role in the solidarity of the ‘third world’ and would pursue non-aligned foreign policy aimed at protecting an internal sovereignty. It reflected the party stance regarding vision of the Chairman about ‘third world’.

xix) The solidarity was declared with Cyprus and it was claimed to support the Turkish nation in the struggle for their rights. The vision of the party about real friend countries was evident by adoption of the resolution.

xx) Abrogation of Press Trust and all the rules effecting freedom of trust were demanded to be amended. In the light of UN Charter of Human Rights the party passed the resolution which was the demand of the day.

xxi) The convention condemned the government for high prices of basic necessities. Because PPP wanted to be the popular party of the masses, so, in
that regard basic needs of the people were far away from them. Convention opted to pass the resolution.

xxii) According to the principle of equality, the protection of rights of minorities were affirmed and according to the famous August 11, 1947 address of Quaid-i-Azam to the Constituent Assembly of the newly born country, Pakistan, the rights of minorities would be protected. In that regard the resolution was in fact reviving Quaid-i-Azam’s thought.

xxiii) The menace of bribery, nepotism and jobbery were condemned and it was demanded that government functionaries must declare their wealth to prove their transparency. In the history of Islam Hazrat Umer (R.A), for the very first time introduced the principle of declaration of assets before resuming an public office. Probably, PPP passed the resolution to show that it was following the pious caliphate.

xxiv) The political role of government employees was criticized and it was demanded that they should be neutralized. Quaid-i-Azam’s directives to the public servants was total abstain from politics, the party reiterated Quaid’s vision in the resolution.

xxv) The convention criticized that the settlement of refugees was still in pending and demanded their settlement without any further delay. The founders of the party deeply attracted all walks of life in the society towards their future political plans and the resolution showed the same spirit.

In the same meeting, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was elected as chairman of newly formed Pakistan People’s Party. Party’s leftist mind-set was very clear in the convention as the
resolutions raised there were anti-capitalist and radical in nature. However, Sindhi feudal lord, who later on dominated the party, were not present in the convention. These include Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman Tailb-ul-Mola (Pir of Hala).52

The future catch words of the party were designed in the meeting. The slogans included ‘Islam is our faith; Democracy is our polity; Socialism is our economy; and all power to the people’, theoretically. Later, Roti, Kapra aur Makan (Bread, Clothing, and Housing), became the rallying call of the Party.53 Bhutto, being elected chairman of the party, went ahead with full zeal and passion, touring the country to spread that message, which was focused mainly on highlighting the dilemma of the common man and promising that PPP had the solutions to the people’s troubles. Another appealing spotlight of the message was denunciation of the despotic regime.

The convention was concluded with optimism of the party’s popularity, but the coverage in the press was nominal. The Pakistan Times wrote with mockery about the birth of a new party under the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and considered the convention, “faceless gathering of political romantics.”54 Weekly Asia severely criticized the political background of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, his socialist ideas and blamed for the Islamization of socialism to exploit sentiments of Pakistani people.55 Ayub Khan noted in his diary that “…it was a tame and childish affair…his major attempt is to misuse the student community.”56 Only bi-monthly Nusrat (later on weekly) highlighted the full proceedings and appreciated the formation of a radical party with socialist ideas.57 Yet, in spite of severe criticism and less reporting by the press, the party managed to spread its message effectively, among diverse classes, groups and factions of the masses, in amazingly short period.
Attachment of Different Groups with the Party in Sindh

At early stages, Pakistan People’s Party adopted multi-facet propaganda strategy; for peasantry they promised end of supremacy of waderas, in the gathering of industrialists and economists, the program was strengthening of the national industry, in the gatherings of students and youth the deliberations were about the struggle led by the young leaders. At Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur, in labour slums party workers were presenting future good impacts of ‘Islamic socialism’ and in the gatherings comprises of Sindhi nationalists, focus of party was anti-One Unit. The first ever political party who adopted that multi-dimensional policy to address divergent tears of society, which were even at some points staunch opponents. The beauty of the thought was in managing all effected groups and personalities towards party’s program and objectives.

The supportive factors for a socialist party in Sindh were the largest industrial city i.e. Karachi, where workers were interested in social reforms, across-the-board, having historical struggle for social reforms in the province by certain parties, organizations and personalities i.e. Sindh Hari Committee, Sindh Awami Mahaz and personalities like Ubaidullah Sindhi, Hyder Bux Jatoi and G.M. Sayed. So, in the wake of emergence of a country-wide socialist party i.e. PPP was warmly welcomed by different social groups in the province. Students, urban small bourgeoisie class, intellectuals and rural bourgeoisie classes joined PPP during its early years.

Pirs, Zamindars and Urban Middle Class

The leader of the party having agro-elite background was succeeded to attract a lot of waderaz and feudal lord to the party from Sindh, though not in accordance with party
Foundation Meeting Documents, e.g. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, whose family was dominating the politics in Nawab Shah since 1940s, two big landlord of Larkana Mumtaz Bhutto, cousin of Bhutto and Chakar Ali Junejo\(^59\) other than those landlords there were two other very important personalities of Larkana, who played significant role in popularizing and promoting the party in Sindh, i.e. Abdul Waheed Katpar,\(^60\) and Barrister Abdul Razzaq Soomro.\(^61\) Moreover, most important influential pirs in Sindh\(^62\) and big land-owner from Hyderabad, Makhdoom Tailbul Mola (Pir of Hala) and Syed Abdul Qadir Jilani, Pir of Ranipur also joined the party. Karachi based, Jalal-ud-Din Abdul Rahim (J.A. Rahim), who was a prominent activist in the struggle against colonialism, had already become General Secretary of the Party, who had been Secretary Foreign Office Government of Pakistan. Abdul Hafiz Pirzada, son of a stalwart in pre and post partition Sindhi politics, Abdul Sattar Pirzada, became Chairman, Karachi Chapter of the party. On the other hand, Sindhi intellectuals who were already active in promoting ‘Sindh cause’ were gradually attracted toward political philosophy of the PPP.

**Sindhi Intellectuals and the Formation of Pakistan People’s Party**

Pakistan Movement was ‘the movement’ of the (Muslim) people, by the people and for the people. No doubt, it was led by politicians; however, it was guided and ideologically supported by intellectuals. While going through the annals of history of Freedom Movement in Sindh, we find so many poets, writers and intellectuals offering their valuable services for that noble cause. For example Allah Bux Abojho, Kazi Abdul Razak, Hakim Fateh Muhammad Sehwam, Din Muhammad Wafai, Sarshar Naseri, Miran Muhammad Shah Mahjoor, Ghulam Muhammad Nizami and so many other writers ensured the positive role in freedom movement through literature.\(^63\) The creation
of Pakistan brought a lot of new literary terms, subjects and objects for Sindhi literature which proved to be a wonderful change in the concepts, quality of Sindhi literature, politics and political influence being the dominated one.

The question of selecting Urdu language as the ‘national language’ was dealt and taken politically. The first Prime Minister of Pakistan was capable to convince the policy makers of the newly created country that Urdu language qualifies for the status of the national language. The father of nation not only supported the idea but even made clear announcements in that regard. Sindhi intellectuals considered the decision of declaring Urdu as national language of Pakistan as threat for Sindhi language and heritage. So, taking that as a challenge they started movement for the restoration and recognition of socio-cultural and historical status of Sindhi language. One unit was another key issue, which attracted the attention of almost all eminent Sindhi scholars. At that stage, the Sindhi intellectuals contributed a lot by exhibiting their faculties in the shape of poetry and arranging literary sittings against merging of the provinces in One Unit, which was some sort of new phenomenon in Sindhi literature as well. As, later on, PPP acknowledged that stance opposing One Unit by Sindhi intellectuals was on honest basis and solid grounds. Because they were taking into consideration that variety of Pakistani languages, cultures, art and literature were not only ignored badly after the imposition of One Unit but was under constant threat of decay.

Although, the Sindhi intelligentsia had been delivering for social, cultural and political movements but politics and political parties never remained near and clear to them. Obviously, the reason was that Sindh remained separate province for a few years after the inception of Pakistan, i.e. 1947-1955. Implementation of One Unit changed not
only its provincial status but also the political centre. Just after three years of the
unification of West-Pakistan provinces, Martial Law was imposed in the country,
political parties were banned and political activity was declared unlawful. Therefore, for
a long period there was no provision of any political contribution by any segment of
society. Hence, intellectuals of Sindh also remained aloof from any political involvement,
attachment and affiliation. That status quo prevailed in the former province of Sindh
generally, till the presidential elections 1965 and particularly up to the formation of
Pakistan People’s Party on November 30, 1967.

The architecture and then formation of PPP by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a turning
wave in the activities and performance of Sindhi intellectuals. Those who were already
busy in self-assigned motive of curbing anti-social traditions and were active in
advocating the fact that jagirdars and pirs were the sole source and promoter of social
evils; now, with the formation of PPP, got wonderful ideological base line.

PPP Chairman Z.A Bhutto issued first manifesto of his party in Karachi and
announced the initiation of membership campaign. The manifesto contained four
principles; Islam is our faith; Democracy is our polity; Socialism is our economy and all
power to the people.67

Sindhi intellectuals found those slogans as something of their own, which they
were pleading for years. Therefore, apart from their ideological camps68 they started
supporting Pakistan People’s Party and its chairman Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The charisma of
Bhutto exhibited itself by attracting suppressed classes of Sindhi intellectuals as well as
elite group of intellect i.e. Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman Talab-ul-Mola’s (Pir of Hala),
who was a renowned pir, poet and intellectual joined PPP. It was a great turning point not only in the political history of PPP but it also provided so many scholars and writers as supporters and preachers of the cause of PPP in Sindh. He, later on, hosted great ‘Hala Conference’ and provided solid basis for PPP and in making Zulfikar Ali Bhutto a popular. However, it is noteworthy that Bhutto himself was an orator as well as author of many books. Therefore, the scholarly personalities in Sindh counted him as one of the members of ‘intellectuals’ comity’.

Sindhi intelligentsia belonging to almost all parts of Sindh played their potential role in popularizing PPP and taking Bhutto to the stature of savior of oppressed masses in the province. If one peeps through the pages of current literary history of Sindh, he will find several intellectuals closely associated with PPP and engaged in supporting Bhutto. Among them Zaib Aaqli, Muhammad Ali Johar, Luqman Hakim and Abid Aaqli from Larkana, Sheikh Ayaz, Fateh Malik, Rashid Bhatti from Khairpur, Dr Tanveer Abbasi and Inayat Baloch, Parwano Bhatti, Manzoor Naqvi, Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo and Ein Qaf Sheikh from Hyderabad, Ustad Bukhari, Ahmad Khan Asif and Nashtar Nathanshah from Dadu, Sarshari Sajid, Muhammad Hassan Saz and Muhammad Hussain Souz from Karachi, and Sarwech Sujawali and Muhammad Khan Majidi from Thatta were the scholars of letter and spirit. Almost all the associated and attached Sindhi intellectuals, by virtue of their writings and composing poetry contributed in making Bhutto a legend and bringing the PPP into power corridors. It would be amazing to note that under the strong influence of Sindhi intellectuals some PPP leaders like Abdul Waheed Katpar, first ever PPP Sindh Zone Chairman was not poet by birth but he started writing poetry to promote the party cause and the poetry was even sung by many famous singers.
Moreover, lower classes and students of the province also had special attractions in the newly formed party.

**Students, Haris and Labourers**

PPP’s ideology i.e. socialism was getting popularity in certain areas of Sindh among the students, peasants and labourers. However, the party required support of industrial workers of Karachi to let down Ayub Khan Regime. Karachi, being the country’s largest industrial city was hub of workers. Hence, PPP’s socialist programme was of great attraction for them. To make PPP popular and get anti-Ayub support in Frontier Colony and Pathan Colony of Lyari, Bhutto used to get tips from Usman Baloch.73 As per Usman Baloch’s suggestions, Bhutto started visiting those areas occasionally, taking tea, lunch and having gossips with industrial workers in light mood. Moreover, sometimes he had ‘surprise visit’ of the cinema in the area, at the end of the show. Therefore, getting benefit of the gathering, Bhutto used to address them highlighting their grievances and solution in supporting PPP to get rid of the regime.74 That was the initial step of PPP in the Layari area of Karachi, which not only provided support for the party in its early years and 1970 elections but its permanent strong hold in time to come.

Potential activist groups who were sacrificing for their cause continuously in Sindh comprised of students, Haris and labours. Bhutto in his fiery style demarked forcefully by pleading his versatile approach having solution for all groups of society. Deprivations and demands of each and every section of society, i.e. *ghareeb awam, mazdoor, kisan* and *talaba*, all were addressed properly by the Chairman of PPP. The then current incident of student massacre by ‘Kamora Shahi’ (administration) was severely condemned by Bhutto. He blamed that while investigating the arrested students,
they were pressurized to give statements against him and other opposition leaders for instigating them to organize strikes. He asked the students to take his name if ‘Kamora Shahi’ was ready to release them on that condition.\textsuperscript{75}

In Sindh, already influential political families and personalities joined PPP and played important role in inducting its political philosophy in the masses of Sindh. Those politicians, particularly big wigs of the region, not only provided place in the people of Sindh, for newly emerged party but also secured their own political future, having farsightedness that PPP was having dynamics even to let down the waderaz.\textsuperscript{76}

\textbf{Sindh PPP: Influential Political Families and Figures}

The dynamics of Sindh interior politics was based on tribal cum traditional and feudal had their own important place. Though researchers often criticize Bhutto of deviation from classless ideal of socialist theory compromised while not only absorbed but also gave important places to the feudal in to party offices. But it was the need of the day to utilize the sphere of the influence of the elitist class in Sindh. In that regard few examples are mentioned below.

Arbab was the most influential feudal family in the Thar Desert. It is sub-tribe of Sammah, which ruled Sindh for three hundred years. In the elections of 1970, Arbab Amir Hassan contested provincial assembly elections from the constituency of Tharparkar V, on the ticket of CML. However, after becoming member of the legislature, he joined PPP.\textsuperscript{77} Bajrani was also an important tribe. Sardar Noor Muhammad Khan Bajrani contested the elections for provincial assembly being candidate of PPP and became member of the legislature from Jacobabad. By mid of 1973, he vacated his seat
for his son Mir Hazar Khan Bajrani, who not only became member of Sindh Assembly but had become Minister for Communication, Transport and Agriculture Department in Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi’s Cabinet, immediately.

Pathans in Sindh are still in the power corridors. Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan contested the elections 1970 on PPP ticket. Before elections a right wing weekly had commented on his personality as “Very big capitalist and a feudal has no match in changing political parties, first he was in ConML and supported dictatorship, after that started worshiping G.M. Sayed and then suddenly became the devotee of Bhutto.” In the elections, his opponent Mola Bux Soomro succeeded, however, Bhutto did not forget him and to let down Soomros, he brought him in the Senate in 1973.

Pirzadas were leading political figures in Sindh. Abdul Sattar Pirzada played vital role in Sindh politics at the time of the British Raj as well as after creation of Pakistan. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada started his political career from the platform of PPP and was its pioneer member. He had been pleading Bhutto cases in Ayub Regime. He was son of Abdul Sattar Pirzada, former CM of Sindh. He was General Secretary of PPP Karachi Zone. He contested elections from Karachi for National Assembly, succeeded and became Minister for Education, then for Law and ultimately for Finance.

Sindh was ruled by Talpurs for a long period and the legacy continued in Sindh politics. Accepting the new wave in Sindh politics and sensing ray of hope, Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur joined PPP in 1968. He was defeated in the Elections 1970 but afterwards, when Bhutto vacated the NA seat of Hyderabad, Ali Ahmad Talpur was elected on the same seat in bye-elections. It is note-worthy that he was the only NA
member who wrote note of dissent on 1973 Constitution. The Muslim society of South Asia in general and Sindh in particular had a lot of respect for Syeds, thus, the families had great role in politics as well. Qurban Ali Shah son of Ghulam Nabi Shah started his political career with PPP and was elected Senator in the first Senate of Pakistan in 1973.

Another influential feudal family of Sindh was the Jam dynasty. During 1970 Election campaign there was an attempt on the life of Bhutto in Sanghar. It was one of the rumours that Jam Sadiq Ali was behind the attack. In the elections, he contested as an independent candidate defeating both the PPP and Pir Pagaro’s candidates and became member of Sindh Assembly. However, very soon he joined PPP and became Minister for Irrigation, Revenue and Local Government in Mumtaz Bhutto’s Cabinet and even sustained position in Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi’s Ministry, having portfolios of Local Government, Housing and Town Planning. Some sardars of Sama tribes add the title of Jam as prefix to their names and few Syed families added Jamot as suffix. One of such family of Syeds belong to Matyari also adopted the same title. One prominent figure of the family, Imdad Ali Shah Jamot got elected from Hyderabad on PPP ticket unopposed. But unfortunately, before the formal oath taking, he expired. His son Ameer Ali Shah Jamot became member of SA in the bye-elections.

Jatoies are always very much active in the politics of Sindh. The entrance of the tribe into the arena of politics was started by Haji Imam Bux Jatoi. He was Arabic and Persian poet with pen-name Sabir. He had very good relations with the British, so got the titles of Khan Sahib and Khan Bahadur. He had been also acted as Special Magistrate from 1916-1938 Member Legislative Assembly Bombay, 1921-1932 and also Chairman District Local Board Nawab Shah as well as School Board 1933-1936. He died on
November 7, 1938. After his death the political heritage was sustained by his only son Ghulam Rasool Jatoi (d May 1965). He was active politician and was elected Member SA in 1946 and also in 1953. After the imposition of One Unit, in 1955, Jatoi political heritage transferred to Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, the eldest son of Ghulam Rasool Jatoi. He became Member of West Pakistan Assembly in 1956. Before that, he had been Chairman District Council Nawab Shah. Jatoi succeeded to become MNA in 1962. In those elections after Muhammad Ali Bogra, he got maximum votes in Pakistan. After the elections, when political parties restored, because of friendship with Bhutto he joined ConML. Elections held under Ayub Regime again in 1965, he re-entered in the Assembly and remained in ConML till Bhutto was there. When Bhutto established PPP in 1967, though Jatoi did not participate in founding convention, however, he remained part and parcel in discussions for the purpose. In the General Elections 1970, Jatoi became MNA on PPP ticket. Bhutto picked him in his Cabinet and gave him the portfolios of Communication, Railway, Ports, Shipping, Irrigation, Electricity and Gas and as well as Political Affairs. Sindh saw language riots in 1973 and Mumtaz Bhutto tried to suppress it by force which resulted into more deterioration, so, Bhutto decided to shift the Chief Minister ship to Jatoi. On December 24, 1973, he got the responsibilities, while Sindh was in turmoil. Afterwards, he also got elected as SA member on vacated seat of his brother, Ghulam Mujtaba Khan Jatoi. He remained active politician and became CM and Care-taker PM later on.

There is another streak of Jatoi tirbe based at Dadu. The prominent among them are Abdul Hameed Jatoi and Abdul Majeed Jatoi, sons of Qadir Bux Jatoi, who had been Member of Bombay Legislative Assembly. Abdul Hameed became Member of West
Pakistan Assembly in 1956. He had nationalistic tendencies which were shown at the time of voting for One Unit, he declined to vote in favour, thus expunged from ML, which was preamble to his future approach to politics. He was at fore front in the *Mahaz* against One Unit and then established Pakistan National Party (PNP) in collaboration with the progressive elements in Sindh. The party was at bargaining position in West Pakistan Legislature which was evident at the time of the resolution on the floor for dissolution of One Unit. ML had to boycott and with the help of the Republicans the resolution was passed in the Assembly. In the meantime, Maulana Abdul Hameed Bhashani also joined ranks in PNP which resulted in renaming the party as National Awami Party (NAP). In 1963, Abdul Hameed Jatoi contested election against Pir Bux Bhutto with the support of Qazi Fazlullah and Ayub Khuhro groups, even then could not succeeded. In the Elections 1970, he had been elected as MNA on PPP ticket but in the whole reign of PPP, he consistently criticized Bhutto’s policies. On the issue of Martial Law, he had difference with the party and he made a group consisting of Ali Ahmad Talpur, Rao Khursheed and Mian Mahmood Ali Kasuri. In Elections 1977, he refused PPP ticket and his son Liaquat Ali Jatoi contested the Elections.

Another influential feudal worth-mentioning caste is Chandio. They have their own socio-political sphere of influence. Sardar Ahmad Sultan Chandio became Member of SA in 1953 and his opponent was his uncle Mahar Ali Khan who faced confiscation of surety bonds while contesting him. In 1962, he became Member of West Pakistan Assembly. In 1966, he again succeeded from the same constituency. In Elections 1970, Bhutto tried to convince Sultan Ahmad Ali, to contest elections on PPP ticket but he refused and contested rather independently. He lost provincial Assembly seat PS
Larkana II. After the elections when Bhutto made his government, he faced allegations of having relations with dacoits and was confined for a month and four days under 16 MPO. Later on, he joined PPP on September 1976 and got elected unopposed on PPP ticket as MNA in 1977.100

In the politics of Sindh in general and Khairpur in particular, pirs are prominent. Pir of Ranipur, Abdul Qadir Jilani was one of them and quite active and successful politician. He started political career by contesting Elections 1965 but lost NA seat to the opponent contestant Pir Nadir Ali Shah, the younger brother of Pir Pagaro.101 Later on, Pir of Ranipur joined PPP and consecutively won 1970 and 1977 elections.102 Another famous Syed family of Khairpur, who played vital role in Sindh politics, is Qaim Ali Shah’s. He originally belonged to middle class family of Khairpur. He achieved his political status through consistent adherence to ideology and hard work. From the very initial days of PPP’s emergence, he was with the party and consecutively won NA seat on PPP ticket in the Elections 1970 and 1977. He had been part of Federal Cabinet also.103

Though lots of Baloch tribes are inhabitants of Sindh but few of them are more prominent politically, like Zardaris. Hakim Ali Zardari104 was born in 1929 in District Nawab Shah.105 Being Sardar of his tribe his ancestral profession was jagirdari but personal interest was in business. In 1960s, he was known in Karachi Film Industry as distributor of English movies. In no time, he became owner of the biggest cinema in Karachi. He also developed interest in politics and became Member of Nawab Shah Municipal Council and Chairman Union Council Jamal Shah. When in 1967, PPP emerged; he joined the ranks in the party.106 In Elections 1970, he was able to get PPP ticket. At that time Nawab Shah had two NA seats, on the other seat PPP nominated
Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi as its candidate. In those elections, whole West Pakistan in general and Punjab and Sindh in particular were mesmerized by Bhutto’s charisma, so, Hakim Ali succeeded on the seat by defeating Shabbir Ahmad Shah, independent, Haji Ali Ahmad Shah of JUI and Muhammad Salim of JI.107 When the party established its Government in 1971, Zadari’s reputation was of back-bencher in the National Assembly, who was just drumming the benches in favour of party policies. He had been Member of Public Accounts Committee as well.108 Because of inefficiency in the parliament, he could not be able to get ticket in 1977 and Syed Shabbir Ahmad Shah, who was defeated by Zardari in 1970, got ticket of the party, which annoyed him. He not only joined NDP but became its organizer in Sindh. In a press statement in November 1977, he said that PPP became scarred and advised PPP workers to join NDP.109

Abbasi family in Sindh is also a famous one, particularly, because of their contribution in education sector as well as in politics. One such family of Larkana is of Begum Ashraf Abbasi who was the daughter of Hakeem Saeed Abbasi, a renowned Zamindar and Hakeem of Larkana, born on January 2, 1925. During her period in Dow Medical College Karachi, she was active in student politics of the left, which later on influenced her political career.110 Her political career started by becoming Member of Division Council, Khairpur in 1960. In 1961 and 1965, she became Member of National Assembly on Women Seat. When PPP was formed in 1967, she became active Member of the party and although she herself had not contested election in 1970 but played dynamic role in the PPP election campaign at Larkana. Later on, she was again elected on special seats for women, when National Assembly started working in 1972. She was the
only woman member of the Constitutional Committee in 1973 and after the implementation of the constitution; she became Deputy Speaker of the House.¹¹¹

Sindh is known for *Pirs* and feudal, and some personalities are having both status like Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman Talib-ul-Mola, who acquired the *Gaddi* at the age of twenty four, after the demise of his father Makhdoom Mian Ghulam Muhammad in 1943 and the political legacy of his uncle Mian Ghulam Haider after his death in 1953.¹¹² He got elected for SA in 1953 and for NA in1962 and 1965, consecutively. When Z. A. Bhutto quit Ayub Cabinet and stepped in to political voyage Talib-ul-Mola was from the day one, his companion. When party was established in 1967, the first centre in Sindh was Talib-ul-Mola’s Bungalow at Hala. Bhutto became the Chairman and Talib-ul-Mola Senior Vice Chairman. The major contribution for clean-sweep in 1970 Elections in Sindh goes to Talib-ul-Mola. Not only he himself snatched the NA seat but his eldest son Makhdoom Amin Fahim also got elected on Bhutto’s vacated seat from Badin. Talibul Mola was a modest person always stuck with his principles. In Bhutto era, he had differences with the Chairman at various times and was angry too on policy matters but never dissociate with the party.¹¹³ He sustained his relationship with party till his last breath.¹¹⁴ After his demise, the political legacy of Talibul Mola transcended to Amin Fahim. He started his political career in 1970 as MNA, afterwards became Advisor to Governor Sindh for some time, and then elevated as Federal Minister of State.

Another prominent personality who left immortal imprints on the politics of the province was Malik Sikandar Khan who born on March 1, 1927 in Dadu District at *Thana* Ahmad Khan.¹¹⁵ He was elected unopposed SA Member in 1953¹¹⁶ and joined Pirzada Abdul Sattar Group of Muslim League. In 1956, he got elected as member of
West-Pakistan Assembly and joined Republican Party. In 1962 Elections, he could not manage to become member but in 1965, he was elected member of West Pakistan Assembly on the ticket of ConML. When PPP emerged in 1967, Sikandar Khan joined the party. An important feather on his cap was that in the 1970 Elections, he defeated a stalwart of Sindhi nationalist politics, G. M. Syed from Dadu, by heavy lead. That defeat had so much impact on Sindhi politics that afterwards G.M. Syed never participated in any election.

Though versatility and charisma of Bhutto was there but the success in mass contact was due to capable, influential and most importantly sincere team who generally in whole Pakistan and particularly in Sindh worked day and night to manage anti-Ayub campaign, impressively.

**Anti-Ayub Campaign and PPP**

Bhutto had been part of Ayub cabinet, moreover witnessed international and national maneuverings and behind the curtain compromises as well. Tashkent Declaration and deliberations behind were turning point not only in the Bhutto’s life but also in the political panorama of Pakistan. Nation at large was also feeling their contentment up to the brim because of socio-political conditions prevailing under the whims of regime. Particularly, masses in Sindh because of tyrannical environment for Haris as well as workers and labourers, intellectuals, poets and artists were suffocated and waiting for genuine saviour. The political scene was suitable for a genius young barrister to launch anti-dictator campaign on the platform of newly born vibrant party.
Bhutto once said, “…Confrontation is the essence of our faith.” Practicing this verdict and getting benefit of Bhutto’s fame in the students and labour, PPP started country-wide campaign and more focus was on the Punjab and Sindh to defame Ayub regime. The movement intensified after the inclusion of EBDO affected politicians in the campaign. Council Muslim League, Jammat-i-Islami, Nizam-i-Islam and Awami League formed Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM). Bhutto did not join them probably because they had nothing up to mark to solve people’s problems and to meet the challenges of the new era. However, PDM also played an important role in the struggle against the regime and according to Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Bhutto in spite of time and again promises had not participated in the activities of PDM.

From very outset, PPP adopted policy of stimulating different segments of society in the campaign against the regime. So, while criticizing the regime, it carefully highlighted deprivations of different social groups.

The press is in chains…political leaders are victimized and political parties suppressed. Abusive language is employed against those who fought for Pakistan …the working classes are bled to fill the bank values of the new industrialist class…. The legal structure has been tampered….the students have been central butt of this Government….academic freedom has been taken away…. The poor cannot much longer endure the growing burden of corruption, nepotism and lawlessness.

These tactics were to involve maximum social groups in the anti-Ayub movement. The strategy employed by Bhutto to attract people from all walks of life in the society against the regime became fruitful. PPP, vigorously, not only pointed out the real problems of different classes but also presented practicable solutions, mainly in the theory of socialism, branded as Islamic socialism. The idea was eye-capturing and the situation was ripe, so, massive inclusion of the bulk of people in to the ranks of the movement.
“Pakistan is caught in a whirlwind.” Bhutto reiterated while discussing the problems country was facing. He declared that the PPP’s slogan ‘All Power to the People’ was actually the way to meet the then existing challenges and reformation of society afresh. He continued blaming Ayub Khan for misdoings during his reign and accused him ‘lusting for power’ and ‘avid for money’

Bhutto continued accusing the regime responsible for all ills in society.

Instead of exposing abuse of power, the cancerous growth of corruption and open-door smuggling among other evils, a curtain of ignorance has been drawn between the people and the reality. Crime and violence are increasing menacingly. Corruption has reached a peak. The ordinary man is unable to earn sufficient wages to afford a decent livelihood. The burden of taxation grows; telling heavily on the middle classes....Life in the villages has become unsafe. The worst sort of ghetto conditions prevail in the cities and slum areas are spreading far and wide, affecting the health and hygiene of the people. Hospitals are unable to provide treatment for the graver diseases....Innocent young boys are forcibly netted into slave labour camps, which abound in the country-side near town settlements. Witnesses are murdered in the precincts of courts of law in large cities... Members of the Legislative Assemblies are assaulted and shot at, but the miscreants escape undetected.

While addressing Sindh Provincial Convention, Hyderabad, on September 21 1968, Bhutto appreciated workers of PPP Sindh zone for convening such a successful convention. He reminded the people that a year before at the same place he had announced for the formation of a political party. He said that it could have been possible just because of sincerity of the workers and their social circle. Then Bhutto mentioned that the differences started between him and Ayub Khan, just because of political, economic and foreign policy and not for personal benefits.

Bhutto responded to the allegations leveled against him. He explained that if he was taking stand for the honour of the nation he was declared ‘emotional’, he remained in the cabinet for a long time and all of a sudden he was targeted for being ‘Indian citizen’
he was accused for financial corruption but all without any proof. After that, he referred to the meeting with Ayub Khan and claimed that he was offered high status and monetary appeal but to no avail. Then, he said that when not convinced with those offers, Ayub Khan said, “…it is last warning for you, if you indulge in politics on your return from leave, I will destroy you. Don’t forget that you are from Sindh, where a tehsildar or thanedar is sufficient to deal with the biggest Pir Pagaros.”  

Bhutto said that he responded to the General,

Thank you for the appreciation to Sindh and the Sindhis but remember I don’t believe in class, creed and parochialism. I don’t believe in the out-dated British theory that any nation can be brave or coward on the basis of colour, race or region. All are equal before me….Don’t make me fear on the basis of Sindhi or non-Sindhi. You are unaware of the people of this desert. How do you have right to say ‘coward’ to the people of Sindh? 

Bhutto did not ignore the fact that although he was addressing the PPP Convention but it was in Sindh and how he would have to instigate the people against the regime and to earn more and more sympathies from them. On one hand, he provoked common Sindhis having nationalist sentiments and on the other hand, the ‘Hurs’ by taking name of their spiritual head, the Pir Sahib Pagaro. However, by declaring that he did not believe on those things, Bhutto also tried to make him acceptable throughout Pakistan rather than just in Sindh. Moreover, it was for the first time that Bhutto started accusing the president directly rather than just the regime. Sindh PPP workers and the close associates of Bhutto were also following the same tactics as their leader, declaring their own perspective and point of view in a way that it was people’s point of view.

Bhutto’s statements and speeches, in large public gatherings, were so bold that the situation had become threatening and shaking for the Government. In Pakistani politics,
he was the only person after Jinnah who used to address large rallies and processions, and
had charisma to move the people with his words and actions. His public meetings and
processions were flogged and disrupted by police and other law enforcing agencies. On
the other hand, Bhutto established a security wing of his party, comprising of young party
devotees i.e. ‘People’s Guards’ its main duty was the peaceful holding of different
gatherings and meetings and to curb down the ‘use of force’. The allegations put against
the regime were to pressurize the ‘opponents’. The party programme on the other hand
was an amalgamation of tricky politics and catch word, which had never ever been used
before. PPP entangled the people’s mind with catchy slogans of *roti, kapra aur makan*,
*musawat-i-Muhammadi* and ‘Islamic Socialism’, which started a new discussion on
Pakistan’s political panorama. The masses got attracted and gathered under the banner of
PPP. Every popular leader has to face suppression of the ruling juntas, so, Bhutto also
faced the same when he was arrested by the regime.

On November 13, 1968, Bhutto, Abdul Wali Khan and certain other leaders of
opposition were arrested under the Defense of Pakistan Rules and kept at Mianwali Jail.
That was first detention of the highest leadership of PPP and the regime was expecting to
suppress the other central, provincial and local leaders.\(^{129}\)

Home Secretary stated that Bhutto’s imprisonment was due to his speech at PPP
Sindh Provincial Convention, Hyderabad on September 21, 1968, in which he instigated
masses against the regime.\(^{130}\) He stated in the court that Governor West Pakistan ordered
about Bhutto’s arrest. He further accused that while delivering speech at Municipal Park
Kohat, Bhutto said that the then Government did not withdraw in his favour, he would
capture power with force. Bhutto responded that although he did not have pistol, he would use his ‘brothers’ i.e. Student, labourers and farmers for the purpose.\textsuperscript{131}

Home Secretary further accused that Bhutto had stated on October 1968 at Charsada that there was a common quality between him and \textit{Pathans} that both were ‘revengeful’. It was further blamed that on November 11, 1968 at a gathering of Lahore District Bar Association Bhutto was asked to direct students not to be indulged in unlawful activities during agitation and he, not only denied to do so but instigated the students by declaring that their demands were just and that he was standing shoulder to shoulder by them. Moreover, Bhutto was accused to give the statement that the sacrifice of the students murdered by police firing would not go fruitless. Home Secretary further added that Bhutto not only threatened the regime by violating the Section 144 but actually despoiled it. He held responsible Bhutto for addressing large gatherings at Dera Ismail Khan and Peshawar Airports again violating Section 144. Secretary said that Bhutto instigated the people for unlawful activities by not only using words for the purpose but also exploited the public and spread hatred against the Government with the physical gestures e.g. at Hyderabad he took off his coat folded sleeves and proclaimed that he would use power against the Government. Secretary said that Bhutto’s special supporter Haq Nawaz raised gun and declared that he was ready for any challenge. Bhutto was also accused for showing his \textit{Mukka} (Fist).\textsuperscript{132} The same source further added that Bhutto had also opened the ‘official secrets’, which was a criminal act under law e.g. ‘Indonesia supplied us planes and sub-marines’, due to which Pakistan was deprived from internal and external sympathies, therefore Iran, China and Indonesia would not
give a single tool in any time of trial, in future. According to Home Secretary, such type of proclamations were an effort to damage Pakistan’s relations with other nations.\textsuperscript{133}

Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur in a statement condemned the Government for putting Bhutto, other leaders and workers of PPP behind the bars. He declared, “…by these arrests the ruling party’s desire resembles to frighten the ‘people’…if the ruling party through these measures thinks that the ‘people’ will surrender their fundamental rights, then they are wrong….ultimately rule of ‘people’ will restore.”\textsuperscript{134} He further reiterated that Bhutto had asked him a day before arrest that the ‘people’ would replace the rulers through elections.\textsuperscript{135}

The arrest of Bhutto opened a new chapter in the politics of Pakistan. Bhutto himself wanted to get the fame like Mujibur Rahman during Agartala Trial.\textsuperscript{136} Moreover, the regime launched propaganda campaign against PPP and Bhutto. He was accused of every political crime in the calendar.

At the situation, the controversy for the slot of acting Chairman due to the arrest of Bhutto started between J.A. Rahim and Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur. Although, both hailed from Sindh but the former was ‘new Sindhi’ and even the news of ‘Acting Chairmanship’ was just a rumor but even then Sindhi press took the side of Talpur and the title was used with his name in press statements.\textsuperscript{137} However, PPP started intensive campaign against the political arrests and as well as against the regime in a way to be packed up in due course.

J.A. Rahim, Acting Chairman PPP, stated that Ayub Khan regime’s days had been numbered. He said that president Ayub should accept the only demand of withdrawal
from power so that the largest obstacle in the way for better system could be removed.\textsuperscript{138} Bhutto himself have assessed the then forth-coming situation in one of his writings that by the departure of Ayub Khan and release of political prisoners, a transitional period could be started easily, having a clear programme to establish popular Government. It can be said that wherever great constitutional changes had been brought, historically, the start of transitional age had been a practice.\textsuperscript{139} He was of the view that presidential system in Pakistan had proved the curse and the parliamentary system which had been in practice prior to 1958, was also unsuccessful. People must be given freedom of expression, so that they could participate to solve the issues by public debates and discussions. Would those ideas have been given practical shape, then the Pakistan’s democratic journey could be set on right path. Despite of all the claims and statement, Bhutto’s advent in power corridor was under presidential system, which continued above than a year. Later on, the parliamentary system under which he himself accepted the office of Prime Minister had the tilt of centralism.

The regime tried to suppress the party workers and leadership by more arrests in the province of Sindh. Mushtaq Ali Bhutto, a member of PPP Organizing Committee of Sindh Zone and Chairman PPP Sukkur, was arrested on November 24, 1968.\textsuperscript{140}

PPP started agitation against the arrest of Bhutto and was successful to bring out a large faction of people from labourers, lawyers, traders, students and from many other walks of life. Government tried to meet the situation with iron hand. According to Mahmood Ali Qasuri, who was defense lawyer, “the provincial Interior Minister stated that Bhutto would be house arrested under Defense of Pakistan Rules”.\textsuperscript{141} Furthermore, during the case hearing, Qasuri supplemented his argument with the cutting of the
statement of Interior Minister that Bhutto would be arrested under the same rules. In fact, Government had bad intention against Bhutto to fix him in one way or the other. It is amazing to know that Bhutto was charged on holding of unlawful arms, allotment of tractors and lands and transportation of rice from Nodero to Rawalpindi.

On November 25, 1968, in spite of the sanction, a procession of one thousand party workers was organized at Hyderabad, against the arrest of Bhutto, by Mir Rasul Bux Talpur and other leaders, party workers and students. A student gathering also joined the procession. The protesters demanded for immediate release of PPP leadership, workers and students. They asked for lifting of emergency laws and announced for organizing regular processions like that.

On the other hand, the house arrest was challenged on the basis of the fundamental rights of speech and write. It was declared that single person or even a party could not become threat for any ‘system’. A writ petition was filed in the High Court of West Pakistan against the arrest of Bhutto. During the hearing, Bhutto submitted an affidavit against the charges. In the verdict before the court, Bhutto denied the charges of his detention:

…the charges contained in the grounds of detention furnished to me on November 13, 1968 are a tissue of lies, malicious intent and dishonest in purpose. My…long speeches made in many places, have been deliberately torn out of context and even fabricated. I have not made any disclosure of the affairs of State which would prejudice Pakistan’s relations with foreign powers. Nor have I incited the masses, in particular, the students, to violate law or create disorder by resort to violence.

In the meantime, Democratic Action Committee (DAC) pressurized the regime for dialogue to introduce democratic reforms in the country and after the demand was accepted, it put condition of the release of political prisoners. Consequently, all the
political prisoners including Bhutto, Talpur, Abdul Wali Khan and Ajmal Khattak were released on February 16, 1969.\textsuperscript{145}

Compelled with the circumstances there was no way out for Ayub Khan but to resign and hand over the reins of government to Yahya Khan, the then Commander-in-Chief. In a letter to Yahya Khan, Ayub said that there was no alternate in that chaos but to hand over government to the Army, the only ‘effective’ and ‘constitutional’ method. He criticized the ‘elements’ responsible for the mess in the country and ruining the economic structure and social life. He confessed that there would have been ‘some mistakes’ on his part but ‘they’ were going to spoil each and every thing and even the country.\textsuperscript{146} Then, he described the efforts to handle the crisis through ‘constitutional means’ including Round Table Conference but according to him ‘emotional elements’ had sabotaged each and every effort to normalize the situation.\textsuperscript{147} Ayub Khan declared that due to that complex situation the forces must intervene and perform their duty to meet the internal threat as well as the external because the people had great expectations from them.\textsuperscript{148}

Under those circumstances, Bhutto was moving ahead with his political strategy. He was aware of the weaknesses and short-comings of the regime. The regime was on weak footings and Bhutto was well aware of the fact. For the reason, he used to issue fiery statements and thus was charged for the same. That made him popular and he emerged as a national leader on political scenario in West-Pakistan. Moreover, due to the regime’s suppression of Bhutto and PPP’s strategy of addressing grievances of each and every section of society, the party was making progress over night. Particularly, rural population was focused and abolition of zamindaries was promised time and again. Due
to successful strategy, only in Sukkur District, party membership reached to ten thousand in a year’s period. The Students were motivated to approach far flung villages to convey the party message of ‘socialism’ and end of exploitation of tenants and kashtkarz.

Meanwhile, multi-dimensional suppression of all segments of society in Sindh by the regime brought harsh reaction. Since long Sindhi nationalists, who were dominating the political activity in Sindh on different platforms like AOUF and SHC, were making efforts to bend the brutal regime on its knees. Hence, PPP had to manage not only it’s survival but also to ascend its status in general, throughout the country and Sindh in particular. For the purpose, sometimes it had to do swift turbo turnings on standpoints about certain issues, e.g. stance on Sindhi nationalism and One Unit.

Ayub Khan in his whole regime suppressed Sindhi nationalists severely. Local waderaz were helping him in his anti-nationalist drive. Government specifically attacked Sindhi nationalist movement’s democratic wings i.e. AOUF and SHC. Various student organizations were compelled to work under ground. But when students at Rawalpindi faced firing while agitating on November 7, 1968, Sindhi students came out on roads, lot of them were arrested but disturbances continued till the end of the month. PPP Sindh exploited those agitations to defame Ayub Government and shaking it too.

In early 1969, under the pressure of masses, government released G.M. Sayed who was under house arrest for ten years. In March 1969, AOUF restarted its activities under the law. Leadership arranged district level conferences for workers. At that stage not only the followers of G.M. Sayed but renowned political leaders of Sindh also supported the cause, including the leader of SHC Hyder Bux Jatoi, famous poet and
social worker Sheikh Ayaz, Provincial Ministers Abdul Sattar Pirzada, Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Khair Shah, Council Muslim League leader Badar-ud-Din Pathan, NAP Sindh President Hafiz Qureshi, National Assembly Members i.e. Makhdoom Talibul Mola, Sadiq Ali Memon and Abdul Hameed Jatoi an ex-President Student Union, Sindh University.\(^{150}\)

The leadership and the people of Sindh thought that the main loss during the era of One Unit was that many injustices were done with educated youth of Sindh in Public Service Commission. It was observed that the conditions were so crucial till 1965 that among Superintendents of Police and Deputy Commissioners in Sindh, hardly one was Sindhi. Similarly, in the other departments of the province, the Sindhis were nominal in number particularly on important posts. Due to the treatment mended upon Sindhis, youth felt that injustice was done with them. The sense of deprivation later on changed into hatred. Although, the main reasons for lagging behind in employment were; that Sindhi Muslims entered in education much later and Hindu intrigues as well.

SHC workers were full of passion and vigor. In his statements, Hyder Bux Jatoi stressed that without provincial autonomy there would not be revival of democracy, as for last twelve years, the rights of Sindhis were denied. SHC was of the same opinion as G.M. Sayed that Sindh got nothing except the interests of wadera class. In government departments like Railways, PIA, Telephone and Telegraph and Postal Services there was no representation of Sindh. The department of police was prohibited for them. In media their representation was not up to the mark, whether print or electronic. The revenue collected from Sindh was also utilized by federal government. In the wake of that situation, Hyder Bux Jatoi was not ready to accept, the sustaining of neither West
Pakistan Province nor the separation of Karachi from Sindh. He was also against the privileged status of Urdu speakers. The leaders of SHC were of the opinion that Sindh faced rigorous economic exploitation. The tenants were the most severe victim who were used to be expelled from their land through force by waderas and government officials.\footnote{151}

In those circumstances, PPP had to make room among the masses of Sindh. Particularly, as it was the early phase of PPP and there were serious reservations in Sindh regarding One Unit. G.M. Sayed who had raised catchy slogan of ‘Jeay Sindh’ and was ruthlessly criticizing One Unit, he used ‘Sindh card’ to let down PPP and Bhutto. In that regard, he advised young Sindhi students to ask Bhutto’s opinion about One Unit because it was quite clear that One Unit had full support of Punjab, and Bhutto’s main strength was also in the same province. So, it would have been disastrous for PPP either in Punjab, if criticizing or in Sindh if not. At the outset, Sindh PPP adopted the policy of justifying One Unit by writing articles in its favour and by declaring the theory of ‘Punjab’s domination’ as false. As Aslam Khayal Zaidi, a member of PPP Organizing Committee Khairpur wrote,

The misconceptions found in the minds of Sindhi leadership seem to be baseless with regard to Punjab’s domination in One Unit. They blame Punjab for capturing the resources of other provinces. Actually, in One Unit the population of Punjab was fifty seven percent of the total population of West Pakistan and its share in provincial treasury was seventy percent but in practice only forty percent representation was given to Punjab and consequently the ratio of employment was lower as compare to its population. The other astonishing facts regarding Punjab’s deprivation are eye opener for all Pakistanis that how the situation was exploited. The torch bearers of Jeay Sindh and Pashtunistan blamed Punjab without facts and figures. That was the maneuvering of special mindset having regional prejudice. This mindset also created difference between new and old Sindhis in Sindh which also created political rivalry, regionalism and assbiya (prejudice). These people who were creating Muhajir-Sindhi differences were actually opportunists who were highlighting the issue for their vested interests. Sindh had always welcomed immigrants on its land.\footnote{152}
At that time, it was another burning question that if One Unit would be dissolved then would the peoples’ issues be solved and moreover, prior to One Unit whether there were no problems for the people of Sindh? The issue of One Unit had been dealt considerately and it might not have taken place if the people had not entangled merry go round of feudal class, after getting rid from bureaucracy.

PPP had the viewpoint that neither One Unit was made for the welfare of the people of Pakistan nor there was demand of undoing it for their benefit. It was calculated in weekly Nusrat that in both the cases there were different exploiters who were working for their own benefits i.e. One Unit was made by the imperialist agents, naukar shahi and industrialists to exploit easily without provincial barriers and, on the other hand, those who were working to undo it were qabaili sardar and jagirdar who could occupy power position in small units and were not having important position in One Unit.153

According to PPP, ‘the power lust leadership’ was enemy of Sindh who remained on authority during the One Unit period, they ignored the rights of Sindh by promoting their personal property and interests, they had no concern either with One Unit or with the interests of the masses of Sindh rather they were using One Unit as a tool for exploitation. The members of Assembly and other nationalist leaders tried to just narrow down the personality of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and PPP up to Sindh. The party calculated that the exploiters checked the democracy in Sindh but they did not know that ‘whole of the Punjab, NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Sindh was with Bhutto except some Sindhi opportunists’. It was the turning point in the politics of Pakistan. However, the opportunist politicians were mourning over the cruelties done with Sindhi masses during One Unit. They were raising anti One Unit slogans, so that Sindh might become separate
province and they would be enjoying like previous times and continue exploitation even in future.\textsuperscript{154}

The strategy of justifying One Unit could not work successfully and Bhutto was well aware of sensitivity of the issue. So, for political maneuvering, he advised Sindh PPP to support ‘Jeay Sindh’ and also advised his workers to raise the slogan of ‘Jeay Sindh’ along with the slogan of ‘Jeay Pakistan’. Meanwhile, PPP tried to convince people of the Punjab that One Unit was not advantageous for the Punjab.

Would Punjab prefer for herself the role of a thanedar? Would it not respect the emotions of brothers who are demanding separate provinces for their development? And then there is another question, whether will of the people of Punjab was accommodated while making One Unit.\textsuperscript{155}

Those efforts were made to counter G.M. Sayed’s attacks on PPP and particularly its Sindh Branch. Ultimately, Bhutto convinced Punjab PPP leadership that One Unit was not in the best interest of Pakistan and it was main cause of discord between the units, so, it must be abolished. As a result, Punjab PPP was predecessor in passing resolution against One Unit.\textsuperscript{156} Afterward, it was followed by the politicians of other regions also. Later on, the central committee of PPP had also passed the same resolution.\textsuperscript{157}

After having consensus on the issue within party, Bhutto became a staunch advocate for the abolition of One Unit and for the restoration of provincial status in the respective provinces. The decision raised the bar of PPP’s popularity, particularly in Sindh. The slogan of ‘Jeay Sindh’ was then no more property of G.M. Sayed but was popular slogan of every Sindhi. The political tactic of Sayed to defame PPP in Sindh was defeated by Bhutto’s smartness.\textsuperscript{158} However, according to a survey of \textit{Herald}, it was
estimated that PPP would manage to get 35 percent votes in Sindh, due to already established political forces in Sindh, i.e. SUF and nationalists.159

Following PPP’s strategy to counteract against nationalists in Sindh, there was another big challenge to make room among the masses in Sindh. From very outset, PPP was facing severe ideological criticism by religio-political parties and particularly, from Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) and Jammiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP). As both the parties were having roots in the province and predominantly among the ‘New Sindhis’, so, they were great political threat for PPP. Hence, the party tried to respond to the charges labeled against it. Consequently, the accusation and counter accusation started between PPP and religio-political parties, JI in particular, which played important role in the elections 1970.

Furthermore, the bone of contention between PPP and its ideological rivals was socialism in general and the PPP modifications like ‘Islamic socialism’ and musawat-i-Muhammadi in particular. The future political stage in Sindh was in offing and the ideological debate and differences were initially emerging and architecting new discourse in to the political arena. To understand the political upward journey of PPP, its ideological basis, strategy and ultimately game in the elections 1970 would be discussed in the upcoming chapter.

Notes & References

5 He became the president District Board Larkana in 1920 and occupied the position till 1934. In 1921, he became member of Bombay Legislative Council, and continued on the position for fourteen years. In 1919, he attained the title of O.B.E (Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire) and also got the title of Khan Bahadur in 1921. The journey continued with the blessings of the Raj, in 1925 he got C.I.E. (Companion, Third category of ‘Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire’) and in 1930, the title ‘Sir’. 
6Ibid, p.73.
7“Sindhi’s Role in Freedom Struggle” in The Pakistan Times, March 25, 1972. He participated as head of the delegation; it was due to the reason that the people of Sindh had trust upon him. He actively participated in the conference because of which, he was made member of four different committees in RTC, where he argued for the separation of Sindh from Bombay. Morning News, Karachi, November 19, 1973.
8 He pleaded the case with full zeal and argument and his stand point became his passion during the RTC. He argued the case not only in the session but as well as in Privy Council. His dream was that when the conference would be over the issue must have been resolved. A pamphlet circulated among members of the Sub-committee. Jamiludin Ahmad, Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah Vol. I (Lahore: Ashraf Press, 1942), pp.65-66.
9 Foundation Meeting Documents, Unpublished, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto Collection, Gul Hayat Institute, Arija, Larkana, p.1.
11 Afterwards he became Chairman, Bombay-Sindh Public Service Commission and remained on that position till 1945. In the beginning of 1947, he accepted the offer of Nawab of Junagarh and became Dewan (Prime Minister) and in that capacity; he had to perform handing over the state of Junaghar to Indian government under an agreement. Shahnawaz passed away in November 1957. Rasheed Akhtar Nadvi, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: Siyasi Sawan Hayat, pp.96-105.
12 Sir Shahnawaz strongly wished to see his son Zulfikar as a successful politician and for the purpose; he paid special attention towards his education and training. An intelligent and talented Zulfikar acquired his early education in Bishop’s High School, located in Karachi. In December 1946, he passed the Senior Cambridge Examination from Cathedral High School Bombay. In September 1947, he was admitted to the Southern California University Los Angeles U.S.A. In 1950, he did B.A. Honors in political science. Afterwards, he was admitted to the Christ Church College, Oxford University, from where, he got M.A. Honors Degree in 1952. Salman Taseer, Bhutto: A Political Biography (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1980), pp.16-24.
13 Quadratullah Shahab was an eye witness of the political ambitions of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was just searching the way to enter in to power corridors of Karachi. For details see Quadratullah Shahab, Shahab Nama (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2009), pp. 480-481.
16 Taseer, Bhutto: A Political Biography, p.35.
18 For details see, Wolpert, Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan, P.73.
19 Pakistan and India agreed upon the Soviet Draft which included cease-fire and no war in future. The declaration was silent on Kashmir dispute, though it was discussed but both the sides took their stagnant positions. Exchange of Prisoners of War and withdrawal of the forces at the position held earlier to August 5, 1965. Wolpert, Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: His Life and Times, pp.107-108. Also see, Anwar H. Syed, The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (London MacMillan Press Ltd., 1992), p.53.
He was Information Secretary and eye-witness of Tashkent, further details can be seen in his biography, Altaf Gauhar, *Ayub Khan: Pakistan’s First Military Ruler* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp.243-281.


30 Taseer, *Bhutto: A Political Biography*, p.84. also see Wolpert, *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan*, p.115.


35 A meeting of Muslim leaders of Sindh under the presidency of Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto held on June 12, 1934, at Haider Manzil Karachi, in which a political party named People’s Party was formed. Others who attended the meeting were K.B. Allah Bux, Syed Miran Mohammad Shah, Hatim A Alvi, Moula Bux, Muhammad Ali Shah of Darhdo, Muhammad Ali Shah of Matyari, Pir Bahadur Shah and G. M. Sayed. *Foundation Meeting Documents*, Unpublished, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto Collection, Gul Hayat Institute, Arija, Larkana, p.1.


37 None of the National Awami Party faction had joined PDM.


40 *PPP, Founding Documents November 1967*, 28-41.


44 *Foundation and Policy*, p.64.

45 The decision about the partition of India was finalized by considering the population of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Dalit and Indian Christians, and other communities were believed too nominal to be given weightage.

46 The British were possessing tea orchids there which might have been divided between India and Pakistan, because some were in Assam and other in adjacent areas to be included in India.

47 *Foundation and Policy*, p.75.


49 Later on, the placement bureau is reflection of the same idea.


He had been a friend of Bhutto when both were students in London and when Bhutto decided for launching the political party, Junejo was in close association with him. See, Junejo, *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*, pp.26-32, 66.

He organized the party on firm footing in Larkana. Personal Interview with Abdul Razzaq Soomro: March 8, 2010.

He was one of the earliest devotees of PPP and played vital role in bringing influential figures in the party including Qaim Ali Shah and Syed Abdullah Shah. *Personal Interview with Abdul Razzaq Soomro: March 8, 2010*.

Makhdoom of Hala and Pir Pagaro have been the most important and influential pirs of Sindh.

Other eminent poets, writers and intellectuals were; Mirza Kalich, Haji Imam Bux Khadim, Muhammad Sidik Musafir, Muhammad Hashim Mukhlis, Mukhdoom Muhammad Saleh Bhatti, Muhammad Bux Wasif, Dr Ibrahim Khalil, Comrade Hyder Bux Jatoi, Lutfullah Badvi, Pir Ali Muhammad Shah Rashdi and Muhammad Usman Deepali.

*Sindhi Adhi Siyasat, Bazm-i-Talab-ul Moula* and other literary organizations organized seminars, public meetings and literary sitting. Sindhi press gave a wider coverage to the demands.


In the period under study Sindhi intellectuals were divided into two main groups, i.e. Progressive Group and anti-progressive Group. The progressive group consisted of Sheikh Ayaz, Tanveer Abbasi, Ibrahim Joyo etc. and Reactionary/ Anti-Progressive Group of Dr Ibrahim Khalil and Sardar Ali Shah Zakir etc.

Makhdoom Talibul Maula was first Vice-Chairman of PPP and remained on this position until his death 1993. He was elected as MNA for three times. He contributed more than anyone else in PPP’s rise to Power in Sindh. Mohsina Naqvi, *Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman Talibul Maula* (Islamabad: Purab Academy, 2008), p.44-45.

Hala Conference was hosted by Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman Talibul Mola, Pir of Hala, Hyderabad at his residence on July 1-2, 1970. The conference was of great significance for PPP because the party election manifesto was finalized there and Parliamentary Board of Sindh and Balochistan were established to award party tickets for the upcoming elections. Moreover the decision was taken to form ‘People’s Guards’ under the command of General Akbar.”Hala Conference ki Tarikhi Ahmiyat” in *Weekly Nusrat*, July 19, 1970, pp.3-4.

Pathan, “Chronology of Pakistan People’s Party”, pp.43-44.

Personal Interview with Dur Muhammad Pathan: March 8, 2010.

Usman Baloch was a veteran industrial workers’ leader, who organized workers’ union in certain industries of Karachi.

Agef, *Sindh Tareekh Kay Aainay Main*, p.245.


Personal Interview with Mumtaz Bhutto: March 9, 2010.


*Monthly Herald*, Karachi, Elections 1990 Special Issue, p.84.


Altaf Hussain Qureshi, “Balochistan aur Sindh ka Intikhabi Jaiza” (Urdu) in *Weekly Zindgi*, Lahore, 23-29, 1970, p.120.


Taseer, Bhutto: A Political Biography, p.56.


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89 He was grandfather of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi.
91 Khalid Shamsul Hassan, Sindh’s Fight for Pakistan (Karachi: Shamsul Hassan Foundation for Historical Studies & Research, 1992), 245-246.
93 Nazir Laghari, Siyasat-e-Dauran, pp.22-25.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid.
98 Abdullah Al-Asari, Aalmi Maalumat, p.41.
100 Zaheer, “Chandio ke Inkishafat”, p.21.
101 Interview with Pir Abdul Qadir Jilani
103 Hakim Ali Zardari was father of Asif Ali Zardari, Ex-President of Pakistan.
104 Akhtar Ali Baloch, Balochistan ki Namwar Shakhsiyat, Vol. III, p.188.
105 Ibid.
107 Ghafoor Ahmad, Benazir Hakoomat Ka Urooj-o-Zawal, (Urdu), (Lahore: Al-Qamar Enterprises, 2001), 468.
108 Laiq Zardari, Tareekh-i-Zilla, 403.
110 Abdul Sattar Bhatti, Larkano Amar Shakhsiyat, pp.113-115.
111 Zaheer Ahmad, Ab Bhi Zinda Haen, p.53.
114 Khadam Hussain Chandio, Maru Jee Malir Ja, p.305.
119 Amwi Laeague soon left PDM.
122 Ibid. p.5.
123 Ibid. p.8.
124 The provincial conventions were organized by PPP for all the provinces, for the Punjab and Balochistan on August 22, 1968 at Lahore, for Sindh on September 21, 1968 at Hyderabad and for the NWFP on November 3, 1968 at Peshawar.
126 Ibid.
127 Ibid.
128 Ibid.
130 Weekly Nusrat, Lahore, January 26, 1969, p.11.
131 Ibid, p.20.

132 Showing Mukka (fist) is the sign of showing power since the times of Liaquat Ali Khan and during the 1970 Election campaign Bhutto consistently used the symbol.

133 Weekly Nusrat, January 26, 1969, Lahore.
134 Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, November 17, 1968.
135 Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, November 17, 1968.

136 In 1968, the case was initiated against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and companions accusing them of conspiracy against Pakistan in connivance with India. The Government of Pakistan charged thirty five political figures and civil/ military bureaucrats.

137 Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, November 17, 1968.
139 Ibid, p.11.
140 Jang, Rawalpindi, November 25, 1968.
141 Pakistan Press International (PPI), March 3, 1968.
142 The Pakistan Times, Lahore, October 3, 1968.
147 Pakistan Times, Lahore, March 26, 1969.
148 Ibid.

149 Mushtaq Bhutto, Chairman, PPP Sukkur, after a month’s detention was released from jail and he told the number of registered PPP members in a Press Conference at a local hotel at Sukkur. For details, The Pakistan Times, Lahore, December 12, 1968.
154 Ibid, p.5.
155 Ibid, p.3.
158 Khurshid Junejo, Yadain Bhutto ki, p.195.
CHAPTER 3

PAKISTAN PEOPLE’S PARTY: AN IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE

Founding-fathers of PPP, relate the formation of the party with the eradication of injustice and exploitation from the country to provide better living-standard to toiling masses of Pakistan. Therefore, during the whole process of party formation, PPP’s ideology played great role, in getting popularity and to be able to contest upcoming general elections successfully and rise to power. PPP’s political ideology revolved around its basic slogans like Socialism, Islamic Socialism and Musawat-i-Muhammad. The deep-rooted bases of those slogans and working of the PPP ideology, in accordance with the circumstantial and politically soothing atmosphere in Sindh, debate around different viewpoints, whether in support of or in opposition to the ideology, were very important.

Socialism

‘Socialism’ refers to the political and economic theory that advocates a system of collective ownership and management of the means of production and distribution of goods. Because of the collective nature of socialism, it is in contrast to the doctrine of the sanctity of ownership of private property that characterizes capitalism. Whereas, capitalism stresses competition and profit, socialism calls for cooperation and social service.1

In a broader sense, the term socialism is often used loosely to describe economic theories ranging from those that hold only certain public utilities. Natural resources must be owned by the state because it had to assume responsibility for all economic planning and implementation. This control of state over the means of production, with special
reference to industries, corporations, enterprises, companies and departments, which provide basic services to society, is usually administered by democratic setup. Socialism opposes the private ownership of industries, so that the owners may not be able to monopolize the structure by exploiting working class (labourers), who are also terminologically known, as proletariat class. This system is also recognized as counterbalance to capitalism, under which private ownership and the spirit of competition among the industrialists, is encouraged thereby indirectly allowing the exploitation of proletariat classes of society. Under socialism, all important means of production including industries, natural resources, public and utility services, banks including other financial institutions like insurance corporations are encouraged to be nationalized. So that, the whole economic structure can be run under a judicious way and any dominant group, may not be able to cause harm to the economically deprived people. Working or proletariat classes, were oppressed by the hardships inflicted by their masters namely industrialists. They were oppressed and they did not have the opportunities to make progress throughout their lives. So, as resentment against the hardships and miseries caused by the impact of capitalist economy, socialism got popularity in many countries of the World. In many important countries, socialism had been adopted as counterweight to capitalism. In twentieth century, especially, after the Russian revolution, working classes, who also had somewhat similar ideas, were so much impressed by the propaganda of the socialist agents that they began to develop wishful thinking, for the adoption of socialism to get rid of their miseries.

Socialism was also getting popularity in other countries, particularly in China. The Chinese and Russian background of socialism was derived from the same source.
However, the personality differences of Maotse-tung and Vladimir Lenin took China and Russia much apart. The differences of both these powers also affected the political scene in the Sub-continent. The USSR supported Nehru’s Congress government in India, following the Lenin’s policy of internationalism. In reaction to that the Chinese government provided unconditional support to the then Military Regime in Pakistan. The Chinese Prime Minister Zhou En Lai, along with a special delegation, visited Pakistan before and after 1965 Pak-India war. Mutual positive sentiments were shared. At that time opposition in Pakistan was pro-Peking and so it had favoured Ayub Khan.  

However, the situation in Pakistan to follow socialism was strange in nature. The main stream leadership and followers were interested in activism rather than building a sound foundation with comprehensive framework of theoretical and political nature of the socialist ideology. They were impressed by the rapid development under planned economy. In USSR and China, the development and progress was much faster as compare to Pakistan. They both followed the path of socialism to get the required results. The society in Sindh because of exploitation by feudal and industrialist for long was more receptive to the socialist ideas.

**Propaganda of Socialist Ideas in Sindh before the Formation of PPP**

Sindh was considered as one of the most under-developed area of the British India, economically. In the region, a large number of population belonged to traditional rural and agrarian background. Due to the strong influence of feudal lord, who may also be taken as an ‘agrarian bourgeois class’, were taking their peasantry or ‘agrarian proletariat’, as their subservient class. Besides this agrarian setup, industrial bourgeois
and proletariat classes also existed in the province since centuries, according to the socialist version.

In the beginning of twentieth century, some leaders in Sindh like Ubaidullah Sindhi started to raise the voice of socialism to enable the working classes to get their due share in production of every kind. The ideas were begun to be spread, in Sindh, especially after the success of Russian revolution. Ubaidullah Sindhi and his companions gathered a large number of like-minded people around them. The idea of adoption of socialism was popularized along with Muslim and Sindhi traditions. During his life-time and afterwards Abdul Majid Sindhi also attempted to popularize the socialistic ideas in the politics of Sindh. When AIML and INC, got the massive popularity, especially during the last decade of the British, then a large number of socialist minded Muslims and Hindus, also joined both of the larger parties. But, they could not succeed in winning the formidable strength, due to the domination of right wing elements upon both of the parties. So, most of socialist minded leaders in Sindh, gradually distanced themselves from the larger national parties like INC and AIML.\textsuperscript{3} Socialist element in Sindh was mainly represented in the province, by G. M. Sayed along with his SAM. This group as studied in chapter one, had succeeded in winning the massive support in province by the time of partition. However, due to the strong influence of right wing elements and because of strong feudal resistance, socialist element could not succeed in getting something remarkably and finally Sindh was included in Pakistan along with its traditional agrarian culture, as it has been discussed earlier at length.\textsuperscript{4}
Post-partition Sindh and Socialism

After the partition of Subcontinent, due to certain political and economic reasons, the condition of Sindhi working classes could not be improved and socialist ideas continued to flourish under the then prevailing circumstances. The declaration of Karachi as federal capital, domination of Urdu speaking migrants in Sindh, supremacy of Urdu language and other factors like these, had contributed to the deprivations of Sindhi people. Under the instructions of Quaid-i-Azam, a committee was formed to suggest agrarian reforms aimed at the betterment of tenants, but it also had not produced worth-mentioning fruit.

Socialist element found an opportunity under those circumstances, to develop their propaganda before the elections of local bodies in Sindh, which were scheduled to be held in 1953. Many smaller political parties formed an alliance namely Sindh Mutahida Mahaz (SMM) led by G. M. Sayed. That grand alliance against Muslim League, along with many other demands, also demanded the adoption of socialist system under Muslim values. However, the alliance could also not bring about any radical changes in Sindhi feudally dominated society.\(^5\) Before and after that occasion, socialist elements deeply impressed by the patron set by Soviet Union at international level, continued to raise the voice of the adoption of nationalization of industries and other resources along with the implementation of genuine agrarian reforms to empower the working classes. During the reign of Ayub Khan, due to rapid and unrestrained industrialization and due to the impacts of green revolution,\(^6\) the condition of industrial and agrarian working classes continued to worsen and strong sentiments were developed against the domination of bourgeois class in every field, across the province.\(^7\)
Therefore, when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came back to his native area, after the expulsion from the cabinet of Ayub Khan, many of his Sindhi friends also advised him to form a party based upon the empowerment of working classes through basic structural reforms. He carefully watched the conditions around him and the worsening condition in his native province, laid strong impacts in his mind with special reference to the formulation of his party policies. Under the circumstances, Bhutto tried to get the support of the people of Sindh as well as in the Punjab, by the adoption of the agenda of the implementation of socialism in the country.

**Bhutto and Socialism**

Z. A. Bhutto’s personality was manifold being severe opponent of Ayub Khan but brought unity among the masses. He established parliamentary democracy again in Pakistan. Bhutto tried to bring progressive, democratic and socialist state and structure in Pakistan, who with the help of a political party was in a position to rebuild the economy and society of Pakistan. In fact, he was in favour of a movement rather than mere political party. He was smart enough to play with different size and worth of different political entities. He had interactive discourse with the political leaders and small factions, separately with respect to their position in the society. He showed capability as a leader to keep all of the groups intact. Initially, he tried to be accommodative politically with other groups of the left. The ideology and organization set by Bhutto was adjustable which is quite evident from the founding convention of PPP. The later events also proved that fact.
Bhutto toured the whole country and felt that the people were anxiously waiting for a radical change. He presented himself as a staunch radical socialist who was capable of transforming the society. In one of his speech, he said that he believed in socialism and was ready to leave his class and be with labourers and peasants. He believed that socialism stands for justice, equality and supremacy of man.9

Bhutto’s speeches and writings strongly projected socialism as the only solution of socio-economic problems of Pakistan. It can be observed that in his speeches and writings secular ‘Fabian Socialist’ content of Bhutto’s message is clearly reflected. While addressing the Muzaffaragarh10 Bar Association on January 1968, he said that without scientific socialism eradication of all sort of exploitation was out of question.11 In April 1968, Bhutto wrote in a pamphlet;

The universality of the precepts of socialism is essentially due to two reasons: first, the basis of modern socialism is objective; second, socialist thinking is relevant to all countries in every part of the world in their actual economic and political condition. Socialism is, therefore, of direct interest to Pakistan, and underdeveloped countries marked by internal and external exploitation…. The region of the earth with the highest concentration of poverty is Pakistan. This stigma has to be wiped out by socialism. The immediate task would be to end predatory capitalism and put socialism into motion…. ‘Socialism is our Economy’ because without socialism we shall not be able to attain genuine equality and unity.12

At another occasion, in his address to PPP Sindh convention at Hyderabad in September 1968, he said, “no power on earth can stop socialism…the symbol of justice, equality and the supremacy of man…from being introduced in Pakistan…..It is the demand of time and history… I am a socialist.”13

Bhutto took advantage by measuring the pulse of the masses, introduced the need of socialism and other radical slogans. The planning of PPP remained effective according
to the expectations of masses. The likeminded people in Sindh i.e. Mairaj Muhammad Khan, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, Ghulam Mustfa Jatoi, Nawab Rasul Bux Talpur etc. joined the party and supplemented the efforts of Bhutto. PPP became the main stream party of the country. Different other activists belonging to the left provided strong base to the party. Mubashir Hassan, J.A. Rahim, Sheikh Rashid Ahmad and other members of “Principle’s Committee” were very much clear about socialism. They demanded social change as aim and objective of PPP.\textsuperscript{14}

Later on, Bhutto himself started pleading the links of Islam and socialism. While explaining that why socialist parties could not get support in India, he said that Hinduism was against socialism as against Islam, since there is no tolerance in Hinduism and it can never adjust with socialism because Islam and socialism has common and social doctrine. He declared that the Islamic economy is based on charity by rich to the poor and it is Islamic social norm to equalize different classes of society. He clarified that if there had been any conflict between Islam and socialism, he would prefer Islam and give up socialism.\textsuperscript{15}

Bhutto affirmed that the threat of communism could not be checked until the prevalent system of economic exploitation would not have been ended. Islamic socialism is the only key to check communism. He declared that the socialist system was the safeguard of Pakistan’s ideology which was based on equality. He further intimated that democracy and equality were much stressed in Islam and if English word democracy was used for \textit{jamhuriat} then why socialism was not acceptable as similar to \textit{musawat}. Bhutto also mentioned that if socialism would have been against Islam, we would not have favoured it. According to him Quaid-i-Azam also stressed upon socialism. Moreover, he
declared that Bhashani and Mujib demanded for the same. Soekarno and Nasir also
adopted socialism at Indonesia and Egypt respectively, did they quit Islam? Bhutto
further declared that equality could not be established by just calling a labourer a brother
but practical steps should be taken for the welfare of working classes.\textsuperscript{16}

These speeches and writings suggest that Bhutto was mentally quite clear about
the suitability of socialist system in Pakistani society. In the struggle, many other
stalwarts were there in Sindh who worked to spread the socialist ideas throughout the
province.

After considerable deliberations, PPP was formed on November 30, 1967; many
of the Sindhi socialist minded influential leaders greatly admired the newly formed party
along with its pro-socialism agenda, which was their long-standing desire. Even the grand
meeting administered at the residence of Dr. Mubashar Hasan, in Lahore, was also
attended by influential feudal and pro-socialism Sindhis. Besides, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto a
Sindhi pro-socialist land lord, i.e. Mir Rasul Bux Talpur.\textsuperscript{17} PPP Sindh leadership
propagated the socialist ideas from the party platform. According to PPP viewpoint, the
solution of plundering of the people in Pakistan was socialism as elaborated in its
program:

The limited resources of this overpopulated country are being wasted
and the falling commodity prices in the international market diminish
its capacity to purchase essentials from industrial countries. In such a
situation socialism is the only answer to our economic problems.
Socialism offers the only way to end exploitation and to foster unity.
Unity will remain a slogan and an illusion until exploitation is ended.\textsuperscript{18}
Socialism was the basis of both the Foundation Meeting Documents and 1970 Election Manifesto of the party. In the Foundation Documents the need of the adoption of Socialist system had been explained as: “Why Socialism is Necessary?”:

The aim of the party is the transformation of Pakistan into a socialist society… only socialism creates equal opportunities for all, protects from exploitation, removes the barriers of class distinctions and privileges—can establish economic and social justice. Socialism is the highest expression of democracy and its logical fulfillment….Socialism is, therefore, of direct interest to Pakistan, which is an underdeveloped country marked by internal and external capitalist exploitation.¹⁹

In the light of above-mentioned quotation from Foundation Meeting Documents, the stance of PPP can be clearly explained about the adoption of socialist system in its earliest time period. The party was of the view that only socialism, which creates equal opportunities for all, protects from exploitation, removes the barriers of class distinction, and was capable of establishing economic and social justice. The prime objective of the party was declared to establish a classless society and that it was possible only by following the principles of socialism.²⁰

PPP was of the view that socialism was the highest expression of democracy and its logical realization and its range was as wide as conceivable. The party had the standpoint that apart from those that have undergone the process of revolution there were many countries, even among constitutional monarchies, where socialist requirements had been progressively realized without violent changes. Therefore, it was calculated that the universality of the precepts of socialism was vital due to two reasons; i.e. the basis of modern socialism was objective; and, socialist thinking was relevant to all countries in every part of the world in their actual economic and political condition. It was concluded
that socialism was, therefore, of direct interest to Pakistan, an underdeveloped country marked by internal and external exploitation.\textsuperscript{21}

According to PPP perspective, the socialism applicable to Pakistan would be in conformity with its ideology and would remain democratic in nature and there would be no foreign dictation. The party asked that if there could be a Scandinavian form of socialism, there was no reason that there could not be a Pakistani form of socialism suitable to our genius. It was affirmed that “Socialism is our economy” because without socialism we would not be able to attain genuine equality and unity, which was more precious to a nation geographically divided in two parts.\textsuperscript{22}

**Shift from Socialism to Islamic Socialism**

After the creation of PPP in 1967, party formulated certain guiding principles for the preparation of its manifesto. Under those guiding principles one was about economic issues, being faced by the people. To tackle with the economic issues and problems, party adopted guiding principles; democracy based on equality, classless society and use of socialist way of action to get economic and social justice.\textsuperscript{23}

Bhutto under the banner of PPP raised the slogan of socialism as system of the economy. That might have been under the influence of those states which had already adopted socialism as the system of government. At the time, socialism was practiced successfully in China, USSR and in certain Eastern-European countries. It was being considered as threat to capitalism, at that time. The think tanks of PPP included the implementation of socialism in Pakistan in their agenda, which was, later on, amended as Islamic socialism. The terminology created confusion among the masses. A large faction
was of the view that socialism was an un-Islamic practice. Therefore, the party modified the terminology as ‘Islamic Socialism’.\textsuperscript{24}

PPP was of the view that Islam and the principles of socialism were not mutually repugnant. The party was of the view that Islam preaches equality and socialism was the modern technique of attaining it. The party had the stance “Objective study shows that there is no conflict between Islam and socialism. If there were any incompatibility, neither the poet-philosopher of Pakistan nor its founder would have advocated socialism”.\textsuperscript{25} It was claimed that Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Pakistan’s great poet-philosopher dreamed of Pakistan as an Islamic state having a socialist system. It was calculated that only a part of his dream had come true. The party alleged that Pakistan was a Muslim state but it had practical form of capitalism, which had wrought havoc upon the people and it was a violation of Islamic doctrine. It was also declared that the founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah declared on more than one occasion that Pakistan would be an Islamic state with a socialist form of government.\textsuperscript{26}

On the other hand, communists were propagating for the influence of communism in the country. They were of the view that there was no solution for the economic problems in Islamic economic system. Those views were used firstly by PPP to influence the masses. That created a hot debate among all classes of society, particularly between PPP and religio-political parties. The divine Islamic Laws had enabled Islam to create a successful Government in large part of the world for about one thousand years. Long before the birth of Karl Marx, Shah Waliullah presented his political views about the solution of economic issues during later-Mughal period in India. He divided economic
cycle in different stages, i.e. the production of wealth, accumulation of wealth and distribution of wealth.\textsuperscript{27}

The people who were unaware of religious knowledge raised the slogan of socialism, just to gain the public sympathies. Major opposition of PPP in this regard was by JI. Maulana Maududi proclaimed to fight against ‘socialism’ at any cost.\textsuperscript{28} On the other hand, Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi, the leader of Jammiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI-H) was also apprehensive about opposition to socialism at the time. He said that anything could not be given objective importance until it had not been adopted. Hazarvi said that the objection of JI was un-reasonable. All-important leaders of PPP including Hanif Ramay, Shaikh Rashid, J. A. Rahim etc. firmly accepted; Islam as a religion and if there would have been any part of socialism as un-Islamic, they would not accept that.\textsuperscript{29} Maulana Hazarvi informed that JUI-H had appointed Maulana Mufti Mahmood as Nazim (Chairman) of the Central Body of JUI-H, who would prepare report on all issues within six months to justify the relation between Islamic economic system and the socialist economy.\textsuperscript{30} Maulana Hazarvi’s such statements were supportive to PPP’s agenda and party line.

A group of intellectuals and political analysts were worried over the economic circumstances which had been developed before and under the policies of Ayub Khan. Among the leftists’ there was a general consensus that the implementation of socialist order could solve the social and economic problems of the day. However, some PPP intellectuals like Hanif Ramay, Maulana Kausar Niazi, Professor Muhammad Usman, Maulana Ghulam Rasul Mehar and Professor Fateh Muhammad Malik were pleading the case of ‘Islamic Socialism’. They chose a term \textit{Musawat-i-Muhammadi}, which sounds
purely Islamic and merged socialism with the term and branded socialism as ‘Islamic Socialism’.  

**Further Shift to Musawat-i-Muhammad**

The term *Musawat-i-Muhammad* means the equal social standards set out by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). In fact, the Prophet (PBUH) himself preached and practiced *musawat* (social equality) throughout his life. In the battle of *Ahzab*, the Prophet (PBUH) dug trenches with his companions and before that in the construction of *Masjid-i-Nabvi*. Particularly, in the last sermon he gave clear verdict regarding the equality of human being up and above castes and creeds, abolishing all the sources of pride. Therefore, the Islamic interpretation of ‘*Musawat-i-Muhammad*’ can be considered as ‘social equality’.

At early stages, no clause had been inserted in any document by PPP using this term. In the Foundation Meeting Documents, just socialism was considered and appreciated. Later, the concept of Islamic socialism was adopted, as mentioned above. Before the general elections of 1970, the party manifesto for elections was issued and strong public campaign was organized in whole of Sindh and everywhere in the country. Rightist political parties strongly targeted the socialist manifesto of PPP and declared it against the ideology of Pakistan. These parties included ML, JI, JUP, JUI (Thanvi group) and other lesser significant political factions. As socialism was generally disliked in Pakistan, so, the thinkers of PPP under the specific political need of the hour coined the term Islamic Socialism and then another term *Musawat-i-Muhammad*. So that the massive popularity of PPP endangered by the counter-propaganda of rightist political parties, could be protected. Earlier, the concept of Islamic socialism was developed to
make socialism compatible with Pakistan’s political culture and traditions. But it was observed that the propagation of ‘Islamic socialism’ was insufficient to meet the propaganda of the opponents of PPP within and outside Sindh. So, before the elections, the concept of *Musawat-i-Muhammadi* was evolved to win the sympathies of Pakistani masses in response to the strong objections and allegations leveled by most of the right-wing religio-political parties.³³

This term *Musawat-i-Muhammadi* was further Islamization of socialism. Earlier, socialism was attempted to be Islamized by the evolution of the concept of Islamic socialism. But when this term did not meet the political requirements of the day, then it was declared that socialism was not against the teachings of Islam. Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) also preached the social equalities in his lifetimes and the concept of classless society, was also in conformity with the teachings of Islam. In other words propagators of *Musawat-i-Muhammadi* maintained that the earliest foundations of socialism were laid during the lifetime of Prophet (PBUH). It was also upheld that the abolition of feudalism and the nationalization of industries, was not against the teachings of Islam.³⁴ So, the PPP’s concept of socialism was narrated and explained to masses, as *Musawat-i-Muhammadi*.

The opponents of this idea did not agree with the clarification offered by PPP. They maintained that PPP tried to disguise its manifesto of the implementation of pure socialism under the garb of Islamic socialism and *Musawat-i-Muhammadi*. These concepts were totally dubbed by the opponents as the treacherous names and terms of socialism of western style.³⁵
Across Sindh, the very concept of *Musawat-i-Muhammadi* was largely focused by the propagators and opponents of this concept before, during and after the first ever general elections, which were held in Pakistan during the year of 1970. Particularly, during the election campaign blistering and extensive intellectual debate had taken place, engaging PPP and its anti-forces.

PPP was advocating for socialism, for the reason that according to them it was the only solution of different economic problems in Pakistan and without socialist economic change; no development was possible in Pakistan. Socialism was an economic programme just like democracy was a political programme. Bhutto said that if there could be Muslims remain Muslims even by accepting democracy then there was no reason that they could not be Muslims while accepting socialism. As Muslim countries like Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Algeria were Islamic, despite of adopting socialist economy, then why Pakistan could not do the same. He said that if Quaid-i-Azam had opposed or rejected socialism, he would have followed him. Allama Muhammad Iqbal also favoured socialism by saying that Islam was not in contrast to socialism and Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy had also advocated for socialism, he reiterated. Bhutto added that when Mujib-ur-Rahman talked about socialism, no one declared him *Kafir* but when PPP took the same stance then they declared that ‘Islam was in danger’. 36

According to Bhutto, the economy of PPP was based on the basic Islamic principle of *Musawat*. Islam is the only religion which conveyed the message of equality to the whole humanity, he stressed. He said that the life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and the Pious Caliphs was based on the principles of equality and they were preaching for the same. Bhutto claimed that he not only demanded for Islamic socialism but the Quaid had
also promised to introduce ‘Islamic Socialism’ in the country and Liaquat Ali Khan announced the same too. He proclaimed that PPP believed in equality because it was the principle of the religion as well as the belief of the Quaid.37

PPP’s justifications regarding socialism and its Islamic interpretation can be objected, firstly; that the Islamic State of Madina established by Prophet (PBUH) was a social welfare state in which Akhuwat (brotherhood) was introduced, where there was esaar (sacrifice) rather than any compulsion to surrender the belongings, whereas social discrimination based on class, creed or status was totally banned.38 So, the equality observed in that particular state was social rather than economic. In this context the proclamations of Bhutto and PPP can be considered as misunderstanding of the Sunnah (Traditions) of Prophet (PBUH). Secondly; PPP’s stand for socialism was materialistic and worldly in nature. On the other hand, the state and society established by the Prophet (PBUH) was purely based on the divine principles, established for all walks of life. There could be no replica of the state of Madina because it had been established and working on high spiritual level which had no comparison with materialistic approaches for worldly vested interests.

Interpreting Iqbal’s views in favour of socialism by PPP can be considered either misinterpreting or misunderstanding of Iqbal’s thought. Firstly; because of the criticism of Iqbal on both the capitalism and socialism, Iqbal wrote certain poems against socialism like Karl Marx ki Awaz, Ishtrakiat, Bolshevik Roos39 etc. Secondly; Iqbal said that there was no place of fascism, communism or any other ism before him. Thirdly; the misconception about Iqbal is that God + Bolshevism = Islam. It is not actual depiction of
Iqbal’s version. Actually, he said that if God self is included in bolshevisvism then it comes closer to Islam rather than ‘it becomes Islam’.40

According to PPP’s verdict, the so called defender of Islam could not ever prove that socialism was contradictory to Islam, they were of the view that as Islam was complete conduct of life and if socialism was of any importance then it would also have been mentioned in the Islamic doctrine. Bhutto said if they were interpreting so, then why they were demanding for the restoration of 1956 Constitution and the parliamentary system, which had not been mentioned in the Holy Quran.41

Bhutto, while giving the justification of PPP’s stand for socialism stated that propaganda against socialism was evident in Pakistan only. He said that socialism was in practice in U.K. also but no one said that it was against Christianity. He further added that even the critiques of socialism never declared it as contradictory to religion.42

Bhutto said that the think tanks of PPP created such basic principles and ideological foundations which were comprehensive and based on truth. According to him, they clearly dissect the views of opponents of ‘Islamic Socialism’. He said that, according to their views, it becomes clear that the opponents of Islamic socialism propagate capitalism. Bhutto while accusing the same group said that they were making the exploiters stronger by enslaving twenty million and serving as agents of international imperialism.43 According to Bhutto, “Socialism is a comprehensive and universal ideology. There are many ways to attain it and it has firm links with religious beliefs and socio-economic, political and historical background of the country.”44 While explaining world view of the theory, he divided the World in to three main groups; firstly, the
Capitalist Developed Group, secondly’ Socialist Developed Group and thirdly, Developing Countries Group. He further explained that as Pakistan lies in the third group, having targeted of internal and as well as external economic threats, so the solution of all ills depended upon an ideology like socialism. Though people at large misunderstood the suitability of the ideology because of false propaganda of intellectually illiterate opponents, he added. He further reiterated that the opposition new that Pakistan came in to being on the basis Islamic ideology and the only way to prevent well-being of the society would be using ‘Islam in danger’ slogan. He said that, at the same time the conspiracies were in operation to strengthen western capitalism.\textsuperscript{45}

Bhutto said that capitalism was based on the Jewish-Christian imperialist thoughts, so it was quite logical to go for another better option and that was ‘Islamic Socialism’. He justified his argument in rationale style by criticizing religious elements who forcefully tried to hinder the flourishing of the socialist ideology. He declared that though they accepted that Islam and socialism both demand classless society but they were supporting such ‘Islamic system’ in which private ownership exist, \textit{zakat} taking and \textit{zakat} giving practice must continue. In a way, originally they wanted to protect class system in society under the banner of Islam.\textsuperscript{46}

The concept of socialism and, later on, Islamic Socialism was adopted by think tanks of PPP and they included it in the party manifesto. However, the ‘socialist hard-liners’\textsuperscript{47} were not in favour of the shift from socialism to ‘Islamic Socialism’. On the other hand, the progressive leaders and think tanks\textsuperscript{48} were providing guidelines for the shift from socialism to Islamic socialism and later on to \textit{Musawat-e-Muhammadi}, keeping in view the then prevailing situation, aspirations and demand of the people.\textsuperscript{49} They
respected the public opinion because it is the public opinion which makes any party popular. While propagating ‘Islamic Socialism’ Hanif Ramay stated:

Islam and Socialism has the same relation as between Islam and democracy. Socialism like democracy is such a word which is neither mentioned in Quran nor in Hadith. But the way, in which we have adopted democracy in political life, in the same manner we should not be hesitant to accept socialism in our economic affairs, because Holy Quran has clarified; “you must consult with others in your collective affairs.” Holy Quran guides us above the Adl (justice) and teaches us regarding Ehsan (Sacrifice). It is worth-mentioning that the word Mashwarah (Democracy) has been mentioned twice in Holy Quran very briefly, whereas the word Adl-o-Ehsan (Socialism) has been mentioned time and again.\(^{50}\)

Hanif Ramay’s interpretation of socialism as an alternate of Adl-o-Ehsan can be objected for certain reasons. Firstly; according to Islamic concept of Adl-o-Ehsan it is not necessary to have bulk of wealth and then its distribution but even someone may surrender his only morsel of bread to the other, whom he considers needier. Secondly; in socialism wealth is collected and then distributed whereas in Islam Adl-o-Ehsan is not dependent of any forcible collection.\(^{51}\)

Hanif Ramay, while referring to a verse of Holy Quran mentioned that the source of national wealth was neither capital nor land but the labour and same was the socialist point of view. He remarked that the concept was called, ‘value of labour’ in economics. He further narrated that the idea was common in Islam and socialism. Therefore, any economy based upon that ‘economic belief” would be according to both Islam and socialism, he supplemented. According to his views Quran rejected the concept of capitalism and feudalism by declaring the importance of ‘labour value’ in means of production just like socialism.\(^{52}\)
While having comparison of Islam and socialism on the ‘distribution of wealth’ Ramay declared that both Islam and socialism believed that people should have resources according to their necessities. According to him, the surplus property or wealth should go to the deprived people, which is also according to the divine command.53

PPP was of the view that interest is strictly banned in Islam and has been considered as ‘war against Allah Almighty and His Prophet S.A.W.’. It was further mentioned that Quran has differentiated between interest and trade, in trade both profit and loss are possible along with input of labour. Whereas, in interest there is only profit without any threat of loss and there is no input of labour, according to the party interpretation. PPP stance was that if we want to eradicate interest then we have to abolish capitalism and feudalism and have to put a limit on private property, and if the private property is unlimited then rich becomes richer and poor, the poorer. When anyone’s private property is more than his necessities it gets on increasing by itself. According to the party viewpoint, in the theory of socialism that is called surplus value of wealth and economists call it interest. The party said that it was necessary to fix any limit of private property according to human needs then interest can be abolished from society. PPP said that Allah Almighty, for the same reason ordered to give surplus wealth to the poor and needy. The party had the viewpoint that economic system which has the capability to finish interest would be based on labour instead of capital and land. Such economy is called socialist system according to the discipline of economics.54

One of the think tanks of PPP stated that the Islamic political system was based upon the democratic system of the Caliphate and its economy rooted on the socialist system of equality. He said that Islam has room for democracy under the principle of
Shoora. Therefore, not only the principle of democracy but the word ‘democracy’ itself was accepted. In the same manner, he alleged that the system of Socialism was closer to equality than Capitalism. Thus, he stated that the countries like Egypt, Aljazeera and Syria adopted the Socialist principle with its actual spirit. He said that if the word Jamhuriyat was replacement of Shoora then why Socialism might not be used in the place of economic Adil-o-Ehsan?55

One of the PPP stalwart assumed that the example of Socialism can be seen on the eve of great migration of Prophet (PBUH), when Ansar equally distributed all their belongings with the Muhajreen.56 It is stated that private ownership finishes under socialism. He said that there was a lot of difference in putting limits on the private ownership or finishing that completely. According to him, the fruits of Socialism give everyone the right of ownership and every person could have his own house, education and job under socialism. He stated that the real equality be maintained at spheres and levels which was also propagated in Islamic teachings. It was observed that if the actual Islamic economic system would have been adopted then the structure which would emerge would resemble socialism.57

PPP took the stance that the teachings of Hazrat Abu Zar Ghaffari (R.A) and famous Islamic scholar Imam Ibn-e-Hazam were in accordance with socialism. It was further explained that the Islamic scholars of most recent times i.e. Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, Shah Waliullah, Ubaiddullah Sindhi, Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam had also pleaded the same case. It was concluded that PPP had come out with the same message.58
Bhutto said:

Practical implementation of socialism escapes people from exploitation by creating equal chances for all. It can break the barriers of class discrimination and can maintain social and economic justice. Socialism is the real and best expression of democracy and its logical fruit also. The span of Socialism is very wide. The countries which have passed through different stages of revolution have experienced the gradual completion of Socialist demands without violent changes. The universality of the principle of Socialism depends upon two things, firstly; the base of modern Socialism is objective secondly; the Socialist way of thinking can be in accordance with the economic and political conditions of every country of the region. According to it Socialism is directly under consideration for Pakistan. Pakistan is such a developing state where both the internal and external exploitation is common.59

PPP propagated effectively for the implementation of Socialism in country and did its best to introduce that new theory and system at all levels. Due to low literacy rate, the simple and uneducated people were unable to understand the message. For the purpose, print media was an important source. The information section of PPP printed matter in favour of socialism and distributed the same all over the country. It remained successful in delivering its message to different classes of society. PPP with the help of students, lawyers, trade union organizations and religious scholars made the contradictory issue of socialism acceptable in the masses.60

According to the different statements of Bhutto the socialism which could be implemented in Pakistan must had been in accordance with the way of life of its people and be democratic in its nature. In this way there might be no chance of foreign interference. Bhutto stated “If there can be Scandinavian sort of socialism then why not Pakistani sort of socialism, which can be according to our temperament”.61 While interpreting the need of musawat, Bhutto said that without socialism true unity and true equality (musawat) could not be achieved. The geographical division of the country was also stated as the justification for the requirement of socialism. It was further elaborated
that the principles of Islam and Socialism were not contradictory to each other. Bhutto affirmed that Islam teaches equality whereas socialism was a modern way to achieve the same.62

PPP while propagating its viewpoint, ‘Islam is our religion’ ought to make it clear to the international community that Islam is basis of Pakistan and its solidity depended upon it. The socialist perspective was not conflicting to the superiority of religion. Socialism would further make stronger the Islamic virtues. The concept of ‘Islamic Socialism’ floated by PPP think tanks broke a new ideological debate in the country between ‘left’ and ‘right’ wing intellectuals. Mainly, PPP and JI were at loggers head in that context.

**PPP’s Ideology and Response**

The formation of PPP marked the beginning of a new era in the ideological and political history of Pakistan including Sindh. Since its inception, PPP was regarded as leftist party throughout the history. Furthermore, due to the participation of pro-socialist element, the leftist position of PPP was further exposed. Most of the founding fathers were educated in western universities and they were influenced by the western patrons of democracy and governness. In Sindh, Sindhis supported PPP at large level since its formation. However, a lot of unintentional ideological divisions appeared in society due to the emergence and expansion of PPP at grass root level. While on the other hand, as the Muhajir community was influenced mainly by the right wing elements, so their support was divided among the rightist parties. In addition to that, the ideological difference further deepened the already existing social gap between Sindhis and Muhajirs. Overall,
the formation of PPP got the greatest significance, in the political and ideological history of Pakistan due to its progressive viewpoint. Until then Pakistani politics and administration were largely dominated by the rightist political forces. But with the birth of PPP, the balance of power and influence got change and leftist elements were strengthened to an extent. Later within and outside Sindh, so many other leftist political groups and parties got strength, which were either directly or indirectly influenced by the environment set by PPP. If PPP had not been formed, then other leftist and nationalist political parties could also not have got momentum as they had. Many prominent and well-educated personalities belonging to Sindh, attached themselves with PPP and they remained committed to the ideology of the party for long.

The emergence of left and the extreme provincialism had instigated the process of political polarization in Pakistan in 1969, when both right and left increasingly sought alliance with like-minded parties. While Ayub regime decided to negotiate with the opposition leaders, the inter-party rivalries emerged as well. Political arena had been supplemented with new slogans. Bhutto and Bhashani, who were not a party in Round Table Conference, wanted socialist solution of the problems related to common man. However, Bhashani believed in direct action, whereas Bhutto was seeking for socialist revolution through ballot. On the other hand, the demands of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Khan Abdul Wali Khan were also not acceptable as both were being declared as ‘separatists’ by establishment. In that scenario, expulsion of Ayub Khan was secondary than to defuse the ideas of politico-intellectual opponents. Therefore, when Maulana Maududi found the air thick with the socialist slogans, he decided to launch an anti-socialist movement.
It was proclaimed by Maulana Bhashani in March 1969 that socialism was to be enforced in the country even if it needed sacrifice of a million of Pakistanis.\(^{65}\) Maulana insisted that the constitutional struggle for rights of the people was outdated and there was a need of violent revolution.\(^{66}\) His party’s General Secretary, Masih-ur-Rahman had also referred to the events before French Revolution and expressed his none-reliance in the constitutional means.\(^{67}\) These statements definitely created a thrill in the country that a violent socialist revolution was ahead.

The pro and anti-socialism hot debate started among PPP and religio-political parties which were having more support in Karachi and Hyderabad. Particularly, JI was in forefront and it showed much enthusiasm to resist against the ‘socialist revolution’ and was therefore, considered by the left to be the most reactionary element in the country. Maulana Maududi, while criticizing PPP’s claim for the solution of people’s economic problems through socialism, said:

Islam is totally in contradiction to capitalism, no other system confronts Islam as capitalism. Islam has explained the methods to eradicate capitalism. If socialism solves the issues of capitalism then it wipes out many capitalists and creates a big bourgeois. There is concentration of wealth in it hands and common people become so much helpless just like in capitalism. The nations which have tasted socialism are trying to get rid of it and those who have not tasted it are yearning for it. Our nation has its own excellent economic system, only there is need to implement it. Islam has provided such a system which protects the individual’s liberty but not leave him at the tyranny of capitalists and feudal.\(^{58}\)

JI did not accept that there was any solution of economic problems in the socialist system. Being severe critic of socialism it declared that there was accumulation of money even in socialism because socialism empowered state in all respect and when industrialists, businessmen and ruling class are the same, then the oppression and tyranny
has no limits.\textsuperscript{69} Maulana Maududi compared the Islamic system of justice and justice in socialism;

\begin{quote}
The socialists are trying to prove that Islam has socialist concept of justice. It is not true, actually, only Islam has true spirit of social justice. The real justice is in Islam, established by Allah the Almighty is that no one else has authority to propose the standard of justice. Socialism empowers a person or a group of persons to frame a collective philosophy by utilizing unlimited authority of government and implement this philosophy forcibly on people, there is no other party, organization or a platform in opposition. No liberty for press to express the ideas and no court for justice. This is the real essence of socialism. It has produced tyranny instead of social justice.\textsuperscript{70}
\end{quote}

Due to JI’s severe condemnation of ‘any sort of socialist revolution’ a PPP leader, Amanullah Khan had declared that like eliminating feudalism and capitalism from the country it was equally necessary to finish JI. He also proposed to fight an armed struggle for the purpose.\textsuperscript{71}

JI, after the declaration of \textit{Amir} to fight against socialism, resisted the socialist movement with zeal and passion and in that context had brutal clashes with the left. Its workers clashed with the leftist students on the arrival of Tariq Ali, the well-known socialist student leader in U.K., on February 22, 1969. On March 10, 1969 a combine group of NAP-PPP attacked on JI’s Lahore office. JI charged that the office furniture and literature was put on fire which included a volume of \textit{Tafhim-ul-Quran}. The allegations laid by JI were to prove that socialists could go to the extent of burning the \textit{Holy Quran}.\textsuperscript{72}

In August 1969, it resisted against the PPP’s opposition to the education policy introduced by Yahya Khan on the ground that exhibited pro-Islamic colour.\textsuperscript{73}

The fall of Ayub regime in 1969 was a time to prepare for elections and to calm down the reactionary and revolutionary temperament of the people. The differences between PPP and JI were at peak on that time. When Bhutto was attacked in Rahim Yar
Khan on November 28, 1969, JI was blamed for the incident. After it PPP managed the security of its leaders. This incident became the reason of forming ‘People’s Guards’ under the command of Major General (Retd.) Akbar Khan.74

In this blame game Bhutto warned Maulana Maududi that if he wanted to make Pakistan a second Indonesia it could be changed into another Vietnam as well. He also called him ‘pandit Maududi’.75 On the other hand, JI celebrated Shaukat-i-Islam Day, where socialism was severely criticized and the slogan chanted very loudly; socialism ka qabristan, Pakistan, Pakistan (Pakistan is the graveyard of socialism).76

The clashes between political parties indicated that the pause of political activities had not softened the atmosphere and the country was not prepared for a peaceful election campaign. Hence, the Government was unable to resist the growing demand of politicians to hold the elections. Therefore, it was decided to compel the politicians themselves to face the situation. However, the Government was aware of the grave threat to political peace and the President had himself stated that if Martial Law were not there the political opponents would have started breaking one another’s head.

The rift between PPP and JI erupted at all levels, i.e. trade union elections of different departments, both the parties were stake holders. In January 1970, JI’s PIA employees union managed to win elections against Air Ways Employees Union baked by PPP. This success was remarkable for JI to infiltrate in Labour Movement activities in Pakistan.77 However, PPP was more successful in labour circles because it paid attention on newly established industrial sectors and industrial zones, where trade union activities had not yet been started.78
By the time, the workers of PPP, with a pride of having popularity among the masses, desired aggressive attitude for the opponent groups and parties. They intruded in the public meetings of those leaders who used harsh language against their leader or creed. In a public meeting of JI, when one of its leader Maulana Gauhar-ur-Rehman uttered that ‘socialism led to hell’ the PPP workers stood up to stop him. Due to JI’s severe condemnation of ‘any sort of socialist revolution’ a PPP leadership had also responded heavily by announcing to eliminate JI because it was justifying and defending feudalism and capitalism. Public meetings of JI were disturbed at many occasions and the party accused that the disruption was always been made by the PPP. The JUI workers had also been involved in some events. JI complained about repeated attacks on its offices and public meetings at various places from September 1970 onwards.

Due to the situation, the Government decided to put some leaders of the PPP behind the bars, who indulged in ‘reckless utterances’ at public meetings. Maulana Kausar Niazi, editor of the Weekly Shahab, Lahore, was arrested on September 28, 1970, for his ‘loose journalism and defamatory utterances’. On the charge of violating Martial Law Regulation, Ali Ahmad Talpur and Tariq Aziz were also arrested. Bhutto protested on the arrest of his party leaders and apprehended that he himself feared to be arrested. He warned that if he was put in jail, Punjab, Sindh, Sarhad (Khyber Pakhtunkhawa) and Balochistan would be aflame. He asked why Maulana Bhashani’s threats and ultimatums went unnoticed. Party workers and leaders of JUI and NAP (W) had also been arrested on violation of Martial Law Regulations. But these parties had strengthened their position and their workers were not taking any notice of government warnings. The verbal war between right and left school of thought was then transited in to real fights, so,
the religio-political parties also came out with fatwa (religious decree) which had its own socio-religious impact upon the masses.

**Fatwa against Socialism**

Bhutto’s slogan of ‘Islamic socialism’ initially had great impact. The disoriented educated classes gathered around him. Unemployed urban masses and millions of tillers and tenants rallied around him to get rid of the tyranny of capitalism. However, the term became a controversial subject and many articles in its support and against appeared in the press. PPP’s arguments in support of ‘Islamic Socialism’ were so vigorous that the religio-political parties and Ulema, on the move of JI, had become alarmed on the issue.

They declared a ‘Fatwa’ against socialism in order to keep the masses away from the PPP. 113 Ulema signed the ‘Fatwa’ which appeared in the press on February 26, 1970, declaring socialism as the greatest danger to the security and ideology of Pakistan. The fatwa declared that:

> At present for Islam and Pakistan no other challenge is as vital as socialism is, and to wage *jihad* is responsibility upon every Muslim as much as he has capability and capacity but it is awful that socialist elements has united them even though having differences....At present this is dire need that all Islamic groups and parties must form a united front to coup with the challenge...[of] socialism with all its ills like hatred among different classes of the society, looting, plundering and opposing the private ownership as well as forced nationalization policy...The parties who are against both the capitalism and socialism are committed to real Islamic system...The second types of political parties are those who categorically deny the existence of Allah Almighty or deny the practicability of Quran and finality of *Hadith*...To co-operate, fund and vote them is against Pakistan and illegitimate as well as sinful.\(^87\)

It was estimated that then for Islam and Pakistan no other confrontation was as imperative as socialism, and to wage war against that *biddat*\(^88\) was duty of the Muslims. However, it seemed that leftist groups were uniting while having differences amongst
them. Whereas, according to the fatwa, the parties claiming of the Islamic identity and cult were busy in their sectarian differences and they were not united against their opponents. It was claimed that no Islamic party could confront the challenge single handedly and at that moment not only Islamic values in Pakistan but Pakistan itself was striving for its survival.89

Subsequently, it was the dire need that all Islamic groups and parties must form a united front to coup with the challenge otherwise the ‘right vote’ would be divided and weakened as well, as per ulema’s verdict. According to them, the differences based upon religious interpretation must be confined to academic institutions only and all the groups who were in favour of Islamic system’s prevalence in the country must be united to support such candidates in the upcoming elections who were having the same ideology, so that they could on one side block the capitalism with all its exhibitions like ribah (interest), gambling, betting, black-marketing, exploitation, suppression of the poor, alcohol and obscenity and would use their all energy to establish economic equality and, on the other side, they would also be the protection shield against socialism with all its ills like hatred among different classes of the society, looting, plundering and opposing the private ownership as well as forced nationalization policy.90

The socialism was declared great ill and people were asked not to mislead themselves by the so called Islamic slogan and not to tolerate socialists anymore because all that was revolt against the norms of Quran and Sunnah, as denial of private ownership was in fact denial of Quran. It was claimed that the parties who were against both the capitalism and socialism were committed to bring real Islamic system. So, according to them, to fund or to vote such party was in accordance with the injunction of Islam. Fatwa
while blaming other parties said that second types of political parties were those who categorically deny the existence of Allah Almighty or deny the practicability of Quran and finality of Hadith. It was claimed that such people wanted to introduce nationalism or secularism in Pakistan. It was blamed that there was no doubt about it that they were opposing the ideology of Pakistan and had been deviated from the right path, therefore, to co-operate, fund and vote them was against Pakistan and illegitimate as well as sinful. They claimed that “Islamic Socialism” was a distorted interpretation of Islam.91

Responding to the challenge, PPP projected its dedication to Islam. Moreover, it convinced a number of ulema and pirs to give support to the party and help to counter the charges that ‘Islamic Socialism’ was anti-Islamic. The party was successful in getting the support of the majority in West Pakistan through the slogan of ‘Islamic Socialism’ and further modifying it into ‘Musawat’ and ‘Musawat-i-Muhammad’. Hanif Ramay while justifying ‘Musawat-i-Muhammad’ declared that if democracy was the substitute of ‘Shora’ then socialism should also be considered compatible with ‘Musawat’ in principle and it was in fact ‘Musawat’ of Prophet (SAW) from whom those leaders had been terrified.92 Bhutto himself tried to provide justification of Musawat-i-Muhammad and Islamic socialism. He said;”

I respect the Ulama, but those who give fatwas after receiving money have served the kafirs. Islam is not in danger. Those who are in danger are capitalists and the landlord and their puppets who cannot sleep at night…. The conditions of our people are getting worse and worst. One section, after sucking blood of the people is now licking and sucking the bone.93

During that ideological discourse, some differences among religio-political parties appeared regarding the concept of socialism, which were helpful to PPP in the long run, particularly, in the Elections 1970. When RTC in Rawalpindi was in progress, Maulana
Mufti Muhammad Shafi invited attention of JUI, JUP, JI and Nizam-i-Islam Party (NIP) to unite themselves for their common goal of implementation of Islamic order in the country.\textsuperscript{94} Maulana Maududi, however, responded that as the JUI (H) had become closer to the NAP and PPP, both the left parties, so, there was no possibility of cooperation between JI and JUI (H).\textsuperscript{95} The religio-political parties could not come closer to each other and, in the meantime, PPP consolidated its position in Sindh and Punjab.

Maulana Maududi’s charge on JUI (H) became true when on January 19, 1969 Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi had given his first clear statement in favour of Islamic socialism in a press conference. He told that the central committee of JUI, at its meeting in Dhaka on January 5, 1969, had appointed Mufti Mahmood to find out the ‘Socialist solution’ of national problems in the light of Islam.\textsuperscript{96} He also advised the ulema to abstain from frightening the people from socialism and to devise the solutions of economic problems.\textsuperscript{97} On the following day newspapers commented that the Maulana had approved the Islamic socialism of Bhutto.\textsuperscript{98} Hazarvi’s views were widely opposed by the religious circles and he was constrained to say that his views were distorted by the journalists.\textsuperscript{99} To clarify his position, he further issued a detailed statement that the reason of having good faith about the protagonists of Islamic socialism was that Dr Mubashir Hassan had, in presence of Bhutto, expressed that their socialism would not impart anything repugnant to Islam. He had also referred to his meeting with Hanif Ramay and his clarification regarding the three-fold slogan of the PPP i.e. Islam, Socialism and Democracy, Islam was the first preference of the party and, hence, the latter two systems were definitely to be in accordance with the first.\textsuperscript{100} Another justification was declared by JUI that in his meeting with Bhutto, Hazarvi had persuaded that, hence, Islam was a complete code of
life, there was no need of adopting socialism. In another article it was stated that the meeting of Hazarvi with Bhutto had been a success as the latter agreed to restrict his socialism in accordance with Islam. Furthermore, JUI, in its meeting on January 24, 1969, at Lahore, in a resolution upheld the position of Hazarvi on the issue.

On the other hand, JI was calculating that the pro-left attitude of JUI would definitely minimize the impact of its anti-socialist movement. JI referred to the Soviet and Chinese revolutions, which caused great loss to the Muslim states and Islam itself, in the regions of Russian and Chinese Turkistan. JUI was requested to review its pro-socialism policy and to join hands with JI against ‘socialist elements’.

JUI, however, categorically denied its linkage to socialism and argued that its desire to eliminate the prevailing exploitative economic system and favour of anti-socialist forces did not prove the allegations of its opponents. Hazarvi, who was the target of JI’s propaganda, declared that Pakistan was neither achieved for imperialism nor for communism, its purpose was to enforce Islam only. In its editorial titled, “Bhutto ka Socialism”, Weekly Tarjuman-i-Islam categorically declared that both socialism and communism had no relevance with Islam. JUI leaders did not like to be termed as socialists. They refuted the charge and rebuked angrily against their opponents. Hazarvi charged that those who called him and his party leaders ‘socialists’ were actually agents of Jews. He heaped reproaches on socialism to eliminate the charge of his being socialist. JUI leaders, further, declared that Islam need not help of socialism, communism or capitalism and said that they advised Bhutto to desist from the slogan of socialism. Hazarvi, in an interview, regretted that as a result of false propaganda that ‘a section of Ulema’ approved socialism, many people had inclined towards socialism.
and hence the cause of Islam had been injured. In his various meetings, Hazarvi, emphatically, declared that his party was opposed to socialism alike western democracy, as both were alien to Islam. JUI leaders continued their efforts to disprove the blame of being pro-socialist by insisting that Islam was a complete code of life and the man-made ‘isms’ could not compete with it. Mufti Mahmood, in a public speech, stated that all ‘isms’ were devised by men, while Islam was created by Allah Almighty. His party, he said, was all out for Allah’s made system in preference to man devised ‘isms’. JUI leaders were of the opinion that if true Islamic order was sincerely enforced in the country, socialism would die its own death.

In spite of all that justification by JUI (H), its anti-circles insisted that dubbing JUI as socialist party had been correct. At a joint meeting of Islam pasand parties at Lahore, in September 1969, where Maulana Ehtisham-ul-Haq Thanvi, Mufti Muhammad Shafi, Maulana Athar Ali, Maulana Maududi and Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan were present, it was illustrated that the leftist media had used the statements of JUI leaders to prove that the patch of socialism with Islam was possible. Moreover, it was declared that JUI leaders had congenial stand on various issues with socialists. Furthermore, it was blamed for having secret and open terms with the socialists. In that regard, certain events were referred when JUI had tilt toward socialism.

Particularly, JUI’s (H) alliance with Pakistan Labour Party on July 14, 1969, which was considering awami jamhuriyat as first and socialism as second step, was another instance which authenticated its terms with the left. PPP and NAP (W) leaders were also present on the occasion. JUI had already offered an agreement to PPP and NAP (W) but neither had accepted the proposal. Maulana Abdul Karim stated that the
agreement was within the limits of *Shariah*. He said that Islam even permits for agreements with the non-Muslims and in the then present case it was not so. Other leaders of the party expressed that signing agreement of the party with the left oriented party was a service to Islam, as it had saved a section of people from the embarrassment of socialism.

In the context of JUI’s incline toward left, certain other occasions are evident. The party had similar views with the left on Legal Frame Work Order (LFO). Mufti Mahmood viewed that it would paralyze the Constituent Assembly, while Bhutto had termed the same as *Panj Shella*. Bhutto wanted the Presidential Cabinet to be dissolved and Hazarvi, too, was in favour of the demand. When Bhutto indicated that the foreign policy of Pakistan was being changed, Hazarvi also supported his apprehension. JUI was also in voice with the left in their demand to confiscate the fund for preservation of ideology of Pakistan. The *fatwa* of 113 ulema against socialism was criticized by JUI. The observance of *Shoukat-i-Islam Day* was opposed by the party and it testified the bid to dub it birthday of *Firaun* and *Yazid*. After the successful observance of the day it participated in the *Jihad Day Celebrations* of June 6, which manifested hatred against JI. Furthermore, Hazarvi was amongst the speakers who addressed the meeting held by the Ghazi Tehreek on Soekarno Day in Lahore, whereas all the other speakers were of the left organizations.

In spite of all the above mentioned facts, JUI, however, insisted that its relations with the left did not mean that it had desisted from its Islamic principles. But JI, being severe critic of PPP and the left, insisted on their allegations against JUI, time and again. Referring to Bashir Bukhtiyar’s interview to *Weekly Kahani* it was calculated that JUI...
principally agreed with PPP, when JUI leader, Bukhtiyar said that socialism presented the best solution of the economic grievances of the peasants and labourers. It was further observed that the interviewee declared that Karl Marx presented his theory only after studying Quran and Sunnah but the *ulema* of Pakistan did not permit to utter the word socialism. In that connection, PPP and NAP (W) were invited by JUI to come to forge an alliance with it, for the enforcement of an economic system based on Quran and Sunnah. But both the parties had not responded for a formal agreement with JUI. However, JUI was confident enough that PPP, NAP (B) and AL, whom some elements charged for being anti-Islam, would not adopt the system repugnant to the Quran and Sunnah. It seemed that JUI was agreed to forge election alliance with PPP if it desisted from the term ‘Islami Socialism’. JUI leaders rejected the so called danger to Islam and expressed that American imperialism was at the back of anti-socialism movement and that the American agents were in their effort to placate America by grumbling against socialism. At one hand, religio-political parties, JI and JUI were in open verbal fight upon the ideological debate on socialism, at the other hand, PPP was justifying its ideology by branding it ‘Islami’ but in the result of that effort confusion prevailed.

The leadership of PPP, time and again, tried to justify its stand for ‘*Musawat-i-Muhammadi*’ and claimed that its demand for economic justice, social equality, and love for the poor was strictly in accordance with the Quran and Sunnah of Prophet (SAW). However, nothing could be found in the speeches and writings of Bhutto and his comrades that what methodology would enable them to Islamize socialism. ‘Islamic Socialism’ ever remained vague and philosophically confusing, so, PPP was often charged of exploiting Islam for its political ambitions. As Maulana Maududi reflects;
They found out that their socialism cannot dance naked...After realizing this, they started calling socialism ‘Islamic...If it is really based on the Qur’an and the Sunnah then what is the need for calling it socialism? ... Now when they can see that this does not work, they have started calling Islamic equality [Musawat] and ‘Muhammad Musawat’. The object is the same pure socialism.\textsuperscript{137}

The Party’s slogan, ‘Islam is our Faith’, ‘Socialism is our Economy’, ‘Democracy is our Polity’ and ‘All Power to People’ is even having contradiction in itself. ‘All power to People’ is not in conformity with Islam. ‘All Power to People’ is also denying sovereignty to Allah \textit{Subhan-o-hu Wa Taala}, which had been and is the part of the constitution.

The Party leadership while interpreting ‘Musawat-i-Muhammad’ had taken examples from Holy Quran and the life of Prophet (SAW). However, the examples being mentioned were related to social equality, but the argument developed on the basis of those examples was related to economic equality. \textit{Musawat} was a baseless blame on the actual socialism. Stalin rejected the idea of equality just after the Socialist Revolution in Russia and had stated; “Marxism is enemy of equivalence.”\textsuperscript{138}

Even PPP’s conviction of socialism is also questionable, the evidence is that the constitution of 1973 which was drafted under direct supervision of Bhutto himself, included term ‘Islam’ many times while term ‘socialism’ had not been mentioned anywhere. Although this ideological shift from socialism to ‘Islam’ benefited PPP but had created rift even within its own ranks and many radical leftist like J. A. Rahim, Dr. Mubasher Hasan, Mairaj Mohammad Khan left the party in the initial years after ascendancy to power.

Moreover, in the scientific sense of the term ‘socialism’, PPP cannot be declared as a ‘socialist party’. The reason is that while introducing left wing ‘ideology’ it was
careful enough to consider the fact that the people who were going to be addressed were basically religious and any economic system which excluded some of the basic beliefs of Islam would evoke an unfavourable response. Therefore, the theory of ‘Islamic Socialism’ according to ‘Marxist’ point of view was a clear contradiction.

Bhutto and his associates were ideologically confused due to contradictory ideas and aptitude. It is clear that when PPP introduced ‘Islamic Socialism’ there was countrywide severe criticism by religio-political circles. Bhutto seemed to be under the influence of Maoism, left and other ideas. The thoughts seem to be hotchpotch of socialism, nationalism and pan-Islamism. Due to the shift in ideological framework the deviation from socialist ideas became inevitable. It is clear from his speeches that Bhutto was not clear about socialism. At one place, he talked about classless society whereas on other place he talked about the future conflict between Muslims and Hindus for thousand years.

In the elections 1970, the Party’s so called ‘Socialist Leadership’ worked out deals with land lord of other parties, however, no such adjustments were offered to the recognized leaders of the working class and to other known leftist candidates. In Multan, Bhutto decided to contest himself rather than giving the ticket to Babu Ferozuddin Ansari, the leader of weavers, despite the fact that Bhutto was running from five other constituencies. In Lahore, the veteran leader of Railway Workers’ Mirza Ibrahim, was opposed and soundly defeated by Dr. Mubasher Hasan. In Karachi because of the rank and file pressure, the party decided not to run a candidate against the labour leader Kaneez Fatima. But the PPP workers campaigned for a right wing candidate, Mufti Muhammad Shafi, on the pretext that Kaneez Fatima had no chance to win and in order
to ensure the defeat of another ultra-rightist, it was necessary to support Mufti Shafi. Revolutionary poet Habib Jalib, running on the ticket of the NAP (B), was also opposed and beaten. In NWFP, the PPP’s intransigence resulted in the defeat of the NAP and victory of right-wing party, Muslim League in several constituencies.\textsuperscript{141} So, the Party’s resolution for socialism can also be stated as ‘manipulation’.

However, it can be safely calculated that despite the sharp propaganda and even threatening allegations leveled by the opponent political parties, the terms like Islamic socialism and \textit{Musawat-i-Muhammadî}, worked convincingly and people in the West Pakistan, including the people belonging to Sindh were won over by PPP. Moreover, in Sindh a large strength of population, was oppressed by the impacts of feudalism and the slogan of Roti, Kapra aur Makan, (food, clothing and shelter), was very attractive for them, so, in the atmosphere of fierce ideological clash, they cherished PPP at large level during the election campaign 1970.

The political temperature in Sindh was high because of ideological on-going debate. It was for the first time that visible divide between the right and the left wing political identity could be seen. In fact, election campaign brought awareness as well as thrill in the masses because of arguments and counter arguments leveled by both the groups. A healthy ideological literature came forward, \textit{Musawat} and \textit{Jasarat} were the main organs to publicize left and right viewpoint respectively. To have insight about the dynamics of the campaign before the elections 1970, it is essential to describe as well as analyze the details of PPP’s strategy to coup with the crucial juncture in its political nascence.
Notes & References

3 For example, two popular personalities of Sindh, Hyder Bux Jatoi and G.M. Sayed worked for the rights of Sindhis. Both were nationalist as well as socialist. The former refrained both from INC and AIML, whereas the later remained active in AIML for a very short period, 1938-1946.
4 From October 1942 till the creation of Pakistan, AIML sustained its clear majority in the house with the help of Sindh feudal lords like Ghulam Hussain Hidyatullah and Muhammmad Ayub Khuhro. Ultimately, with the help of Sindh elite Sindh Legislative Assembly passed a resolution to join Pakistan. R.R. Sethi, *Constitutional History of India* (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1954), p.196.
6 Pakistan is an agricultural land and Ayub Khan introduced agriculture development plan known as ‘Green Revolution’ in which multi-dimensional strategy was adopted; better seeds, use of fertilizers and above all proper enhanced irrigation. It brought a phenomenal 3.8 per annum increase. For details see, Akmal Hussain, “The Green Revolution”, in Ayesha Jalal (ed), *The Oxford Companion to Pakistani History* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.1.
8 *Personal Interview with Mumtaz Bhutto*, on March 9, 2010.
9 Stanley Wolpert, *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: His Life and Times*, p.124
10 A small city located in the southern area of Pakistani Punjab
13 *Ibid*, p.34.
15 Bhutto, *Awakening of the People*, p.179.
21 *PPP Program*, p.7.
25 *PPP Program*, p.9.
26 *Ibid*.


The term Musawat-i-Muhammad was frequently used in conservative gatherings of the society. For example, while addressing such section of society at Karachi Bhutto reiterated that the PPP workers would sacrifice their lives for Islam. Pakistan Times, January 5, 1970.


“The intellectuals of PPP frequently wrote articles in favour of Islamic Socialism.” For example, Professor Muhammad Usman, Hanif Ramay, Professor Fateh Muhammad Malik and Bhutto himself were writing articles in favour of Islamic Socialism.

Personal Interview with Fateh Muhammad Malik: April 21, 2011.


Ibid, pp.16-17.

Ibid. p.17.


Ibid.


After the creation of Pakistan, Communist Party of India was divided into two parts, i.e. Communist Party of India and Communist Party of Pakistan. However, leftist could not occupy remarkable place in politics of the country. After Ayub-Bhutto ‘parting of the ways’ Pakistani left developed close ties with the later and played important role in the formation of PPP and its ideologue. In the election campaign of PPP and early years of Party government they were enjoying important place in the politics of Pakistan.

Nawa-i-Waqt, Rawalpindi, February 26, 1969.


Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, February 17, 1969.


Amanullah Khan’s statement in Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, November 22, 1970.


Akbar Khan was sentenced because of Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case and remained behind the bars due to left politics.

Jang, Rawalpindi, December 2, 1969.


JI, in its Election Manifesto, had included rights of labour in detail to make room in labour unions, see Manifesto Jamat-i-Islami Pakistan (Lahore, Shoba-i-Nashr-o-Ishaat, Jamat-i-Islami, Pakistan, 1969), p.29-30.


Mashriq, Lahore, April 13, 1970.

Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, November 22, 1970.


For details, see, Jasarat, Karachi, September 6,11,22,23, 1970, Mashriq, Lahore, September 1,9,22 and 28, 1970.


Nawa-i-Waqt, Rawalpindi, October 1, 1970.


Ibid.

“I13 Ulema ka Socialism kay Khilaf Fatwa’’ Pamphlet (Urdu) (Mandi Bahauddin: Islamic Action Committee, n.d)

It is an Islamic concept about a phenomena which is not actually the part of Islamic code.

Ibid.

Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, February 26, 1970.


Taamir, Rawalpindi, January 20, 1969.

Kohistan, Lahore, January 20, 1969.
Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi accused that JUI (Thanvi) and JI were being supported by the Capitalists. Moreover, he charged that the JUI leaders Maulana Zafar Usmani and Maulana Ehteshamul Haq were under the influence of Maulana Maududi. The Pakistan Times, Rawalpindi, October 4, 1969.


Pakistan Times, March 27, 1970.


p.66.

Imroze, Lahore, July 15, 1970.


Musawat, August 3, 1970.


Imroze, Karachi, July 8, 1970.


See statement of JUI leader, Qari Noor-ul-Qureshi, Jang, Karachi, August 7, 1970.


Bhutto, Awakening of the People. p.169.
If PPP would have been accommodative to leftist parties on certain National Assembly seats rightist parties would have lost more seats. For example, on Peshawar 4, Maulana Abdul Haq of JUI got 29856 vote and won the seat from NAP candidate Muhammad Ajmal Khattak, who got 27109, whereas PPP candidate Nasrullah Khattak remained on third with 20004 votes. On Mardan-cum-Hazara seat, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan PML(Q) got 26415 votes, defeating NAP (W) candidate Abdul Aziz Khan who had 19815 and PPP candidate got 6009 votes. For details see, *National Assembly Elections in Pakistan, 1970-2008: A Compendium of Elections Related Facts and Statistics* (Islamabad: Church World Service Pakistan/ Afghanistan Free and Fair Elections Network, 2010), pp. 75-78.
In the last days of Ayub Khan, opposition parties put so much pressure particularly a newly born political party headed by a former dear cabinet member of the General that the regime had to resign. Ayub could not sustain the pressure and was forced to step down and transfer power to his fellow army men. Yahya Khan who was the only military ruler in the history of Pakistan whose tenure was very short and the pressure built upon the outgoing rule affected him too. He had to accept the vital demand of the opposition in general, and PPP in particular, of first ever general elections on the basis of adult franchise. The introduction of Legal Framework Order (LFO) and announcement of general elections kicked off the enthusiasm hyper activeness among the political cadre in general and specifically in PPP activists. The morale of the opposition including PPP was much high because of the stepping down of a Field Martial just after celebrating the ‘decade of development’.¹ Few years earlier when Bhutto was regime’s ‘play-boy’,² nobody could predict that Bhutto and Ayub would not be on same page rather in the situation of eye-ball to eye-ball contact politically.

Bhutto was already in contact with masses since quitting the cabinet. The turning point not only in the life of Bhutto but also in the political arena of Sindh was the emergence of PPP. Anti One Unit movement was already in full swing and PPP played an important role against the dying regime. Under the strong political pressure of the then opposition Yahya Khan had to announce elections. PPP got the short cut chance to show its muscles in pre-election panorama; in that context Hala Conference was convened at the venue of the party Vice Chairman.
**Hala Conference**

On July 1, 1970 Makhdoom Talibul Maula as Vice-chairman of PPP hosted about seven hundred delegates from all the provinces of Pakistan at Hala (Hyderabad). Overall, 250 delegates from whole of Pakistan participated in the conference. Sindh delegation was headed by Mir Rasul Bux Talpur and Karachi delegation by Abdul Hafeez Pirzada. Hala Conference discussed number of issues including the initial draft of election manifesto; the major debate was around the organization of the party and preparation for elections. A document was circulated in the conference by J.A. Rahim in his capacity as General Secretary of the party. It included the political implications of LFO, the behaviour of the regime and the impact on PPP in general and its election campaign in particular. The main suspicion upon LFO was that which sort of democracy would be appearing under the circumstance at the time of Yahya Khan, specifically the intentions to bring a new constitution either it was to protect and preserve vested interests of the regime or blaming the elected ones for not drafting a new constitution in the prescribed time limit. Another point to ponder in the document was that regarding free and fair environment to campaign which was not prevailing at the time. The biasness of the regime was evident in the terms of media coverage; both electronic and print. The ultra-anti-socialism viewpoint was accommodated on behest of the government. It was further discussed in detail that the government was supporting JI in its ‘criminal acts’ like attacking party chairman and killing socialists. In that condition elections would not be fair nor be free. The last matter which was discussed in the document was the ‘expensive elections’. It was discussed in detail that PPP had to manage smartly the election expenses. So, it was assumed that proposed candidates for national as well as provincial assemblies would be in a position
to meet their own electoral campaign expenses. But at the same time the point also was raised that the down trodden representation would not be possible, J. A. Rahim presented a suggestion that solution could be that the party leaders-cum-candidates who were well to do could support the candidates having no means to finance their own campaigns.\textsuperscript{5}

The matter and strategy discussed in and around the document started the heated differences between the hard liner left and soft Islamic socialists. The party had two options whether to go for elections or otherwise.\textsuperscript{6} However, it was decided to participate in the elections as per ‘people’s will’.\textsuperscript{7} The left group in the conference mainly comprised of Karachi NSF Group\textsuperscript{8} including Ehsanullah Khan, Begum Nasim Jahan and Ziauddin Butt from Punjab. That was the time when left element felt severely whether Bhutto was of true leftist thought or democrat socialist. Waders of Sindh had in particular joined PPP in bulk perceiving that the party would dominate in the up-coming elections.\textsuperscript{9} However, it can be said that by the huge entry of landed elite in to the party ranks alarmed the real left wing and ultimately sowed the seeds for parting of the ways in future.\textsuperscript{10}

The left tried their best to regain central place in the party by influencing election decisions like party tickets and strategic plans. Mairaj Muhammad Khan presented his arguments articulately but Bhutto having authoritative tendencies dominated upon the conference and its resolutions as well as decisions. The resolutions adopted by the conference were that provincial parliamentary boards would be established under the chairmanship of the zonal party chairmen, while granting tickets the boards would seek the recommendations of the district and city committees as well as party workers, particularly, the members who had joined party before 1970. In the case of more than one
candidates, a fact finding sub-committee would be formulated and share the report with workers and candidates as well, while taking decision. In case of the difference of opinion either by a candidate or a party committee, the case might be referred to Central Parliamentary Appellate Review Board for final decision. Balochistan and Sindh Parliamentary Boards were announced by Z. A. Bhutto at the Hala Conference, whereas it was declared that boards for other provinces would be announced soon. Sindh Parliamentary Board comprised of sixteen members with Rasul Bux Talpur as Chairman.\textsuperscript{11} Two other important decisions made in the conference, which had far reaching impacts were; establishment of People’s Guards under Major General (Retd.) Akbar Khan and to publish the party organ, i.e. the daily \textit{Musawat}, under the editorship of Hanif Ramay.\textsuperscript{12}

Based upon the deliberations at Hala, PPP started a campaign full of ideological discourse and clash. Different parties issued their manifestos comprised of their future plans designed upon their dogmas. AL presented its manifesto mainly on two points, i.e. real democracy based on justice and equality and federal parliamentary form of government based upon ‘six points’ where provinces should have complete regional autonomy with all control except defense and foreign affairs. The manifesto of NAP (W) consisted of; the establishment of socialist society based upon peace and democracy, and federal system of governance with perfect democracy where both the wings would be independent in regional affairs, only defense, foreign affairs and currency would be with the federation.\textsuperscript{13} NAP (B) declared its election manifesto as; society based upon socialism, federal parliamentary structure of state with class representation in the assemblies and all major industries must be nationalized. JI was claimant of Islamic
system of government and also in favour of federal parliamentary form of government with expanded authority of federal government including defense, foreign affairs, currency, finance, trade and communication departments. Principally against the nationalization policy but it was in favour purchasing of ownership of important industries by the government. ML (C) declared that it would form democratic system based upon Islamic teaching of brotherhood and equality and it favoured the nationalization of heavy industry. JUI (H) was idealizing welfare state based upon Islamic fundamentals, having anti-imperialism and anti-exploitation features. It was also against capitalism as well as monopolization of industry. ML (Q) was staunch supporter of federal parliamentary form of government with strong centre. Sindh Mutahida Mahaz was in favour of federal parliamentary form of government but maximum autonomy for Sindh similar to Mujeeb’s six points.¹⁴ Mainly the divide was of right wing parties and left wing parties. Both groups of NAP, SMM and to some extent JUI (H) were in favour of Nationalization as well as more provincial autonomy while right wing parties like JI, JUP and all factions of ML were in favour of Strong Center as well as less nationalization.¹⁵PPP’s intellectuals under the thought of their chairmen drafted well-articulated, in detail, focused on each and every important issue confronted by the state and the masses. Furthermore, different socio-cultural groups were also taken in to account, while finalizing the first ever party manifesto by PPP.¹⁶

The Manifesto

The manifesto of PPP for the elections 1970 was an apparent move towards more radical stance because it wanted to present an alternative, different and unique programme in front of the motivated masses who were going to have first chance to vote in the first-ever
general elections in the political history of Pakistan.\textsuperscript{17} Due to unbearable pressures, the first military ruler of Pakistan had to quit unceremoniously and succeeded by another one, who had to face the momentous pressure of the opposition to get rid of old system and to adopt adult franchise, which Yahya Khan had to implement through LFO.

Though, normally voters in particular and masses in general seldom care about the manifestos of the parties. However, the document provides the promises and pledges of the party upon whom they would be accountable, if they get in to the assembly. The manifesto of PPP was a lengthy document comprised of eleven chapters: it started with the four fold motto of the party; Islam is our faith, democracy of our polity, socialism is our economy and all power to the people. It affirmed that the party had faith in the teachings of Islam, followed by a grilled criticism of the then prevailing socio-economic and political conditions in Pakistan. The main thrust was upon economic problem being the vital cause of every ill in the society. Furthermore, it declared capitalistic economic tendency as main bone of contention between the ruling elite and the subjects. The ultimate aim and objective of PPP, according to manifesto was to attain classless society through the means of socialism.\textsuperscript{18}

This means true equality of the citizens, fraternity under the rule of democracy in an order based on economic and social justice. The aims follow from the political and social ethics of Islam. The party, thus, strives to put in practice, the noble ideals of the Muslim faith... The party’s endeavour is to bring about peacefully early changes in the economic structure, leading logically to a juster socio-economic order, by opening the gates to progressive change in the direction of the final goal.\textsuperscript{19}

Furthermore, the manifesto focused on some specific policy proposals. These were: Pakistan must adopt independent foreign policy and for that it must withdraw itself from SEATO and CENTO. To show its real independence, it had to quit from Commonwealth
as well. Regarding economic policy, which was the main thrust of the party, it suggested that though there would be mixed economy but major suggested policy would be nationalization of all major sources of wealth.\(^{20}\) Another issue on which manifesto stressed was of agrarian sector reforms. PPP main supporters were *haris*, who were constantly facing tyranny and exploitation in the hands of feudal. In the manifesto Ayub’s initial agrarian reforms were supported but also stressed for further more meaningful applicable reforms.\(^{21}\) Education and culture was also main focus of the party and it was suggested that education would be free up to matriculation and compulsory up to primary level.\(^{22}\) Health problem and deteriorated pathetic condition of basic health units and hospitals were also discussed in the manifesto. It was recommended that health facility was the basic right of the people and the party intended to improve the infrastructure and practical steps to bring the prices of the medicines in range of the masses by establishing local drug factories.\(^{23}\) Another important aspect of the manifesto was regarding constitution, it was suggested that there must be constitutional reforms in order to address practical problems of the country. The age limit must be reduced to eighteen years to vote without gender discrimination.\(^{24}\) According to Foundation Meeting Documents and consequently Election Manifesto, PPP devised its elections strategy. The party very cleverly took different stances at different provinces regarding the focal points for its election campaign.

**PPP’s Election Strategy and Ethno-Nationalism**

The political arena of Sindh at that time was predominantly ethno-nationalist. Sindhis always take pride on their strong centuries-old cultural heritage. Though certain nationalist groups were already working on the same lines but their focus was just the
province, while PPP having broader vision and national claims, managed ethno-nationalism in its own political interest. Major factions of Sindhi-nationalists already active in Sindh politics were SAM, SHC and MPPM.

**Sindh Awami Mahaz (SAM)**

Political activities were banned in Sindh during March 1969. The slogans to ‘Break One Unit’, ‘Karachi must come back to Sindh’, ‘Executive offices for Sindhis’ and ‘equal representation for every province in central legislature’ were raised everywhere in cities as well as in villages of the province in the shape of wall chalking, posters etc.\(^{25}\) Abdul Sattar Pirzada who had resisted as Chief Minister, the concept of united province in 1953-1954, again criticized openly the opponents of provincial autonomy for different sub-nationalities in Pakistan. He was of the view that, “The people of Sindh and other (people) smaller nation will never be agreed upon this…(One Unit).”\(^{26}\)

During the period April to June 1969, G.M. Sayed reorganized AOUF in the shape of SAM. Muhajirs and a few leaders of self-proclaimed new Sindhis also supported the SAM. A known Urdu poet and political leader Hakim Sham-ul-Hasan Akhtar announced that, “New Sindhis are ready for every sort of sacrifice for the cause of dismemberment of the united province and the success of Jeay Sindh Movement.”\(^{27}\)

Initially, the objectives of SAM were; annulment of One Unit, for reestablishment of completely autonomous ethno-based provinces, establishment of a short term bound government institution for the purpose. It was demanded that under the proposed institution, in the leadership of powerful representatives of the provinces, committees comprising of experts in the areas of administrative structure, finance and taxation must
be made. Further, it was said that in such committees there must be representation of SAM. The party was of the view that there must be equal rights and opportunities for all areas of Sindh and their people.28

On August 10, 1969 Working Committee of SAM in its session added more issue in its political programme. These included; struggle for holding of general elections by March 1970; cancellation of parity between East and West Pakistan to ensure representation in superior institutions on provincial population ratio and to block the revival of the Constitution 1956. Because it was not suitable with any democratic principle, release of political activists from prison, Sindhi as official language of restored province and medium of instruction in education at all levels. For creating harmony between Sindhis and Urdu speakers in 9th and 10th classes there must be a compulsory subject, in Muhajir majority areas Sindhi and in Sindhi majority areas Urdu, renaming the Ghulam Muhammad Barrage as Shah Abdul Latif Barrage and Muhammad Ayub Khan Bridge in Rohri as Sachal Bridge.29

SAM was supporting Sheikh Mujeebur Rahman’s demands of proportional representation of East Pakistan in legislature and administrative institutions.30 There is no doubt that Bengali Nationalist Movement’s (BNM) struggle for economic and political rights inspired SAM and the progressive wing of the SAM was in favour of maintaining contacts with BNM.31 But even then talks of Sayed with Awami League (AL) leaders just like with NAP President Abdul Wali Khan could not materialize in any political alliance. NAP (B) which was facing internal differences in 1967 minimized rather diminished its influence in Sindh. In Karachi, upon the shoulders of trade unions it was hyper active in 1969-1970. But further factions came out in provincial organization of NAP (B) i.e.
representing Kaniz Fatima versus Abid Zuberi faction. Towards NAP (W), the attitude of Sindhi Nationalists was very careful because its leaders supported in principle the restructuring of West Pakistan; however, they supported regional unity till October 1969, which was in a way ultimately supporting the separate identity of Karachi.

In the late 1969 and early 1970, SAM workers having the idea of restructuring as a party established regional units. In the same period, various conservative leaders like Muhammad Ayub Kuhro, Ghulam Nabi Memon, Ghulam Muhammad Wassan and Qazi Muhammad Akbar also participated actively in SAM activities. The over stress upon quantity rather than quality and relying solely upon nationalists slogans brought heavy cost to SAM, the slogans did not succeed to engulf different political groups within its umbrella. That is why the working committee could not be able to finalize social reform programme, even SHC and other trade unions supporting SAM were continuously demanding the annulment of the One Unit.

The restoration of provinces was a success of the mass national movement of West Pakistan but the autonomy was very limited. SAM appealed to the government that West Pakistan Water and Power Development Corporation, Small Industries Corporation and Railway along with their funds must be handed over in the control of provincial administration. When ban on political activities was softened, SAM concentrated on regional organization and started preparing itself for upcoming elections. In multiple gatherings, meetings and festivals G.M. Sayed, Ali Muhammad Rashdi, Abdul Sattar Pirzada, Hameed Sheikh, Ghulam Nabi Shah, Ghulam Mustafa Burghari, Sadiq Ali Memon, Ashiq Hussain Jatoi, Ghulam Nabi Memon, Hafeez Qureshi, Faiz Muhammad Soomro, Begum Muhammad Ikram and Begum Mumtaz Rashdi used to address. But the
real situation was that the restoration of provinces on the ethnic basis had fulfilled the basic demand of the SAM and due to that the rapport and influence of the party started declining after April 1970. Its first symbol was the departure of Khuhro and Kazi Muhammad Akbar from SAM. Then onward Sayed started criticism on Khuhro and declared that they would have to equip themselves with all resources to confront Khuhro in the upcoming elections.\textsuperscript{36} Another vital activist faction in the Sindh’s political panorama at that time was SHC. It not only played an important role in defaming Ayub tyranny but also brought awareness in the masses regarding socialist thought. They sacrificed enormously to get their objectives; they paid the price in the shape of police torture and persecution.

**Sindh Hari Committee (SHC)**

In early 1970, *haris* were agitating against the auction of government land in Hyderabad. Ninety-eight people were arrested including six women. SHC, Sindh Students Federation (SSF), NAP and SMM criticized the massive arrest of activists in general, and women, in particular. They warned government that if they did not accept the demands of haris the situation would deteriorate more. Thirty lawyers and intellectuals from Sukkur had given statement that government pledged to stop the auction but they were trying to create loopholes to distribute pieces of land among non-Sindhis, secretly.\textsuperscript{37}

At the time of the construction of Ghulam Muhammad Barrage in 1955, government stated time and again that the land irrigated by the barrage would be distributed among the *haris* but, as usual, when the time came nobody bothered to honor the promise. Large pieces of land awarded as prizes among the people who had no
connection with Sindh. These ‘feudal in absentia’ only used to visit their land once in a
year just to collect the income. At the time of annulment of One Unit the speed of such
plundering of Sindh land increased, immensely.\textsuperscript{38} Another worth mentioning event in
1970 was SHC’s Scrand Conference. In the conference, the effort was done to present
balanced approach regarding nationalist and the down trodden demands, Jam Saqi\textsuperscript{39}
appeared not as a student leader but as a \textit{kisan} spokesman.\textsuperscript{40}

In those circumstances, Pakistan Peoples Party’s manifesto with socialist agenda
and catchy slogans of \textit{roti kapra aur makan mang raha hae har insan} (everybody is
demanding for bread, clothing and shelter) attracted suppressed classes. Later on,
Comrade Hyder Bux Jatoi’s tribute to Bhutto as a hari leader,

\begin{quote}
Young man, I am grateful to you that you visited me, all the haris are
thankful to you because you have released them from the tyrannical
jaws of \textit{waderas and choudharis} in a very short span of time. The task
which Kazi Faiz Muhammad and I could not achieve from our whole
life struggle, you achieved in a short period of time. My prayers are
always with you. We are proud of you.\textsuperscript{41}
\end{quote}

It shows the popularity of PPP, achieved in the hearts of staunch leader of SHC, which
also played role for PPP future electoral conquests. Another factor which enhanced
ethno-based nationalism was MPPM.

\textbf{Muhajir, Punjabi, Pathan Mahaz (MPPM)}

The role of Nawab Muzzafar\textsuperscript{42} was not of lesser importance for promoting regional
nationalism. He established an organization named ‘Muhajir, Punjabi, Pathan Mahaz’
(MPPM). The contradiction was there in the personality of Nawab as he was claimant of
the champion of Islam and ideology of Pakistan but became symbol of segregation in the
society. He established the organization MPPM on the basis of caste and creed. His point
of view was that because Sindhi nationalists established Jeay Sindh Mahaz (JSM) on the basis of ethno-nationalism, so, they did the same to protect the rights the Muhajirs. He was also of the view that if there was a slogan of four sub-nationalities, then they would also raise the slogan of the fifth one i.e. Muhajirs and they would get it approved.43

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was strongly against organizations like ‘Muhajar, Punjabi, Pathan Mahaz’ and ‘Jeay Sindh Mahaz’. He advised Sindhi’s to refrain from both G.M. Sayed and his party and Nawab Muzzafar Hussain and his party. Sindhis accepted his views and rejected G.M. Sayed in 1970 elections whereas ‘new Sindhis’ preferred to support the ‘right’ leaders.44 As the result of that mindset, ethnic riots erupted in Karachi and Hyderabad. Later on, language bill was tabled in Sindh Assembly. Bhutto declared the alliance of Muhajirs, Punjabi and Pathans un-natural and predicted that the time would come when those three communities would be in conflict with each another. Particularly, he was always worried about the political role of Urdu-speaking people. He used to say that a few unseen forces would not permit them and other people of the province to join PPP and that class would be misused in the name of Islam or sectarianism. PPP also started struggle against the few families who were monopolizing the economy. The party was of the opinion that economic benefits must have been spread all along the social fabric, particularly to the down trodden. But it was calculated that those influential groups with the help of administration and other associated institutions used Muhajirs as a weapon against PPP’s struggle.45

In fact, the fashion of nationalism can be established upon two basis, hatred or fear. A person who would like to become leader of nation or any sub-nation uses both these tools to stimulate frustration, annoyance and passions. Nawab Muzaffar also
exploited masses upon the same grounds, at one hand exploited the *Muhajirs* on the basis of fear that their right would be snatched and on the other hand propagated hatred among different groups. The establishment of MPPM on the principle of ‘divide and rule’ had not only created differences between urban and rural population but it also promoted extremism in Sindhi masses which was already flared by Sindhi nationalists. It, actually, helped a lot directly or indirectly to the Sindhi nationalists and on the other hands led the *Muhajir* community to establish a faction having hard liner approach.\(^{46}\) However, even SAM could not get benefits from nationalist sentiments and PPP, not only, successfully refuted both the ‘Mahaz’ but also manipulated ethno-nationalism in its favour, in the province.\(^{47}\)

**PPP and Sindhi Nationalism**

To run election campaign successfully, PPP top leadership, after studying mindset and lifestyle of the masses provided guidelines to the party. Following those lines PPP, adopted different election strategies in different provinces. In that regard, the party purchased an old newspaper of Sindh, *Hilal-i-Pakistan*, in 1969. It was inaugurated by the Chairman of the party on August 13, 1969. In his inaugural speech, Bhutto described the policy as “*Hilal-i-Pakistan will be a true representative of masses, till today no paper has performed the duty of national interest or representation of the masses. It is need of the day that there should be a newspaper which can represent masses, impartially.*”\(^{48}\) While commenting upon ‘new Sindhis’, he said that *Muhajirs* served Pakistan superbly and presented tribute to them and accepted the rights of both the ‘old Sindhis’ and ‘new Sindhis’ on the land of Sindh.\(^{49}\) The description of the policy of the paper satisfied all inhabitants of Sindhis that, the organ of PPP, instead of playing the role
of spreading anarchy would play the role of unification and consolidation. However, the paper enhanced ethnic differences in the society of the province on lingual and regional basis. In that context, the role played by ‘Hilal-e-Pakistan’ for the exploitation of different classes in the society was much more than all the other media organs in the province. In one of its publication the paper said:

We demand liberation even at the cost of our lives; we will sacrifice our lives but not accept the rule of ‘any other’ on Sindh. Our struggle for autonomy will continue, our demand is that, our land must be governed by our own system. The domination of others is the issue of honour for us. We desire that we must not be slave of anyone. We were exploited upon the name of religion but we could not recognize. We will not accept anything less than Sindh even if we have to face bullets for the cause.50

In the light of above mentioned fact, it can be calculated that PPP policy was to take advantage of ethno-nationalist elements in its favour. The policy was used in the election campaign vigorously by the PPP candidates. For example one of the party potential candidates Hakim Ali Zardari while addressing a public gathering during his campaign reiterated:

Our beloved mother Sindh, what not faced, traitors of Sindh, mean and malicious politicians of Sindh handed over the mother land to strangers for fifteen years. At the time small innocent children were gazing upon you. Sisters and mothers of Sindh were demanding while weeping that is faithful to motherland; decorate with stars, the forehead of Sindh. The deserted trees and plants of Sindh are calling Sindhis for their help. Sheep and goats are crying for the leaves of trees. The fishermen leaving their fishing cords aside and buffalos and shepherd are waiting for clouds and alarming Sindhis to get up and regain their plundered rights for centuries. Now we must promise with motherland Sindh by swearing in the name of river Sindh that we will struggle hard for our snatched rights.51

At the time, some Sindhi student activists were arrested and sent to Punjab jails and treated miserably which also aggravated the already prevailing hatred in Sindhi masses. PPP organ in Sindh highlight even that issue to earn sympathies of the affected.52
Aware nations never accept national traitors if any nation just once forget the traitors it brings infinite chain of traitors in future. After World War II France did no [show] mercy to their national traitor Marshal Patyan and at the time of his death they did not permit to bury him in national graveyard. As they had traitor in the shape of Marshal, Sindh has Mr. Ayub Khuhro. He not only auctioned Sindh but also killed the provincial autonomy and because of this just taking the name of Sindh is now a crime. His crime is intolerable and heinous too. This is the same Khuhro who in the shelter of ‘Islam in danger’ did tyranny upon the ‘soldiers’ of Sindh and irreparably damaged to Sindhis.\textsuperscript{53}

The tendency reflected by newly adopted organ \textit{Hilal-i-Pakistan} was that PPP would adopt ethno-nationalistic fervor in its electioneering strategy. Even before the announcement of election schedule and starting of election campaign, PPP showed its muscles by massive appearance of \textit{Awami Rabta Mohim} (Mass Contact Movement) and blew off the demand of the evaporation of One Unit as soon as possible.

PPP started its \textit{Awami Rabta Mohim} in which addresses of Bhutto were arranged at certain places. The \textit{Mohim} started from party’s Central Secretariat, Karachi, where Bhutto criticized severely the segment that was in favour of One Unit. He demanded for the abolition of One Unit by declaring that the people of East-Pakistan might be given due representation in National Assembly in proportion to their population, people wished for strong and united Pakistan. While mentioning mutual differences of political parties, he made it clear that only the elected political party would be in the position to make the Constitution.\textsuperscript{54}

During the \textit{Mohim}, when Bhutto reached Shahdadkot, large gathering welcomed him. Next day, he reached Hyderabad and contacted party workers at Mir Gardez.\textsuperscript{55} The demand for the abolition of One Unit was also repeated and it was warned that anyone who would go against the public interest would not have acceptability in the masses. Bhutto also visited Korangi, Karachi, at the eve of opening party’s new branch office
Korangi, where he addressed large gathering comprising of labourers. There he advocated socialism and stressed upon solution of the ills of the people in the same.\textsuperscript{56}

On November 21, 1969 Bhutto visited his native town Larkana and contacted people at \textit{Ghareebo} near Larkana. In an Iftar Party, where he was invited, Bhutto focused in his speech that Pakistan could only develop when its economy would be based on socialism. Many countries in the West and even in the East had developed extraordinarily by adopting socialist economy. He advised people to get guidance from Quran and not to be influenced by pseudo religious scholar.\textsuperscript{57}

Bhutto along with PPP Sindh leaders had a second tour of Hyderabad where he harshly criticized Ayub Khuhro for being mouthpiece of One Unit exploiters and alleged him of under hand dealing with One Unit administration for Premiership of West-Pakistan. He further stated that in developed countries, the leaders who deceive people once were not trusted next time but the situation was opposite in Pakistan. He criticized upon rejecting the demand of the people of Sindh for printing voter lists in Sindhi language. Bhutto requested the ‘New Sindhis’ and ‘Old Sindhis’ to live with harmony. He stressed that both factions of Sindhi society were brothers and custodian of each other’s rights.\textsuperscript{58} The slogans of \textit{Sindhi-Muhajir Bhai Bhai} (Sindhis & Migrants are brothers) were raised on the occasion. Bhutto equivocally targeted SAM and MPPM by delivering warnings to their master mind for bitter results. Bhutto said that it was encouragement of class structure to conceal economic sufferings of the people and at the same time he warned that the people were united and active against them. Moreover, he said that PPP was there to meet those threats and hindrances in the way of masses’ rights.\textsuperscript{59}
Muhammad Yahya Khan announced that upcoming elections would be on the basis of adult franchise i.e. ‘one man one vote’ principle. In the proposed elections, Sindh had to elect its representatives on 28 National Assembly and 60 Provincial Assembly seats. On December 21, 1969, Martial Law Regulation (MLR) No. 60 was issued according to which political activities were resumed from January 1, 1970, while giving liberty of expression, the regulation denied right to propagate against the ideology and solidarity of Pakistan. It also dictated some pre-requisites for the campaign. It warned that suppression, violence, propagation of hatred against regions, sects or classes would be dealt with strictness. Before giving those guidelines, the President indicated that the Martial Law was supreme and it would continue on if the elected representatives failed to draft a constitution within the time limit provided to them for the purpose. The re-emerged Sindh province consisted of the former province of Sindh, Karachi and Khairpur State. On June 1, 1970 Rahman Gul was appointed as Governor Sindh. The lifting of a decade long suspension of political activities undoubtedly marked the end of an abnormal condition. The party leaders rushed to present a four-shadow of their strategies for the battle ahead.

Formal announcement of the elections and lifting the ban upon political activities kicked off the election campaign at once. The famous parks throughout the country witnessed the big meetings in the history of Pakistani politics. In Sindh, along with the cities of Larkana, Sukkur and Hyderabad, Nishtar Park Karachi became a pitch for expression of logic and intimidation. It is estimated that Sindh PPP organized thirty five public meetings daily, in which, along with other provincial and national leaders, Chairman Bhutto addressed the people. The efforts of labourers, students, local
leadership and charisma of Bhutto increased the graph of PPP’s popularity. Ambitious politicians joined the party and brought a fresh strength to the party. Landlord and peasants, industrialists and labourers, students, urban middle class and leftist from pink to scarlet colours all cemented the edifice of the PPP.\textsuperscript{65}

The first public meeting was organized by PPP on January 4, 1970 at Nishtar Park Karachi. At the meeting, Bhutto, J.A Rahim, Taj Haider, Mairaj Muhammad Khan and Abdul Hafiz Pirzada were among the prominent speakers. While speaking on the occasion Bhutto highlighted fundamental principles of the party manifesto. He reiterated that Islam and socialism were not in contradiction and that both the systems could run together. He further revealed that if Quaid-i-Azam had not favoured socialism, Bhutto would not have done so. Bhutto as a ‘political juggler’ placed a mind capturing trick by saying that if he could not follow Quaid-i-Azam then to Pundit Nehru?\textsuperscript{66}

In the same session, Bhutto blamed the regime for firing on innocent students, labourers of Gloimar and Nazimabad. He said that after the fall of Ayub regime, petty leaders were claiming themselves of being saviours of the people of Karachi falsely; whereas, actual credit would go to the people, labourers and the students, who had given sacrifices. While advocating socialism, Bhutto said that PPP had adopted democracy and socialism as basic principles and due to which exploitation of the people would stop. He reiterated that some people consider that the democracy borrowed from UK was necessary but they declared socialism contrary to Islam, although, socialism had the same principle of equality as presented in Islam. He also referred to the speech of Quaid-i-Azam on March 26, 1948, in which the Quaid mentioned that he would establish such a
society in Pakistan, which would be based upon Islamic Socialism. He referred to Allama Muhammad Iqbal and Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy for favouring Islamic Socialism.\textsuperscript{67}

In the same inaugural public meeting, in connection with the election campaign, it seemed that a new political force was emerging at the national spectrum. There, Bhutto complained to the public that whenever Shaikh Mujibur Rahman talked about socialism, no one raised objection but on PPP’s stand for socialism the ulema declared fatwas of kufr and introduced the concept of ‘Islam in danger’. Actually, the capitalism and feudalism were in danger but not Islam, Bhutto reiterated. He referred to different other countries where socialist system was in vogue along with Islamic system i.e. Egypt, Algeria and Syria. He further said that when Islam and socialism could work side by side in those countries, why not in Pakistan?\textsuperscript{68}

The think tanks of PPP favoured ‘Islamic Socialism’ in the following of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as they claimed. They were also of the opinion that the other statements of Quaid-i-Azam were not objectionable for feudal capitalists and right wing parties then why those views of Quaid-i-Azam were objectionable which he expressed in favour of ‘Islamic Socialism’. It might be due to the reason that the factions favouring socialism or otherwise were using the selected portions of Quaid-i-Azam’s speeches for their respective interests.

PPP also invited Isphahani, an old companion of Quaid-i-Azam as a witness about Quaid’s views on ‘socialism’. Isphahani revealed there that Pakistan Television (Ptv) authorities had asked him to edit the portion of the speech in which he stated that \textit{Baba-i-}
Qaum was in favour of socialism but he refused to abide by.\textsuperscript{69} He said that relevant part of his speech was even not telecasted by Ptv.

PPP arranged a discussion with Karachi Bar Association on January 6, 1970, in connection with the election campaign, in which Bhutto addressed the Bar Association. He presented comparative views of opponent parties’ strategy. That could be included as policy guide-line for the party because the basic sections of proposed constitution of the country had been reviewed and other constitutional proposals were presented before the lawyers of Karachi city, which had been published. Moreover, the session transformed into the shape of open debate between the PPP leadership and opponents, particularly JI.\textsuperscript{70}

The party arranged the largest gathering of labour community of Karachi at Gabol Park Layari, where Labour Wing of the party and main leadership had addressed the audience. The meeting deliberated upon the future policy of the party and focused mostly on the Legal Framework Order (LFO). Bhutto while criticizing LFO said that the first three principles i.e. protection of Islamic ideology, sovereignty of Pakistan, solidarity and democracy were opposite to each other and their further explanation and understanding could create obstacles in constitution making. Commenting about Islamic ideology, Bhutto stated that while implementing the ideology, who would be in decisive position in the case of controversy. About second principle, he said that the issue was also debatable because the independence of Pakistan was incomplete without Kashmir and it was necessary in that connection that Tashkent Agreement might be abolished and war be fought against India for Kashmir. About the third clause, he said that the ban on democratic temperament of constitution was undemocratic because if 313 members of assembly would prepare a constitution and the president would not consider that up to the
mark and reject then it would be like crushing the actual spirit of democracy. The best solution in case of difference between president and assembly would be people’s referendum. He further said that if the then Government was not prepared to declare the upcoming assembly as an autonomous institution then why the new assembly would prepare the constitution? He intimated that they might prepare the constitution themselves of their choice. Moreover, Bhutto said that if the then Government was abiding by its promises regarding handing over power to elected public representatives and restoration of democracy in the country then it would have to make the new assembly as an autonomous institution. While explaining the viewpoint of PPP regarding the constitution, he said that although constitution was basic requirement of the country but it was not a sacred testament, therefore they (PPP) wished that Pakistan had a constitution as early as possible, which would be in accordance with the people’s requirements.

PPP declared itself a federal party and it agreed to the right of provincial autonomy, under which the federal capital would remain effective and active and it would have complete authority regarding constitution making, administration and finance. Bhutto assured that people of Pakistan could progress only if necessary changes might be made in economic structure of the country.

On June 7, 1970 PPP held an extraordinary public meeting at Korangi Landhi which was attended by almost quarter million people, in which dominate majority was of workers, labourers and lower middle class. Bhutto delivered charismatic and public maneuvering speech and the masses had raised their hands and showed body gestures in response to his speech. Maulana Kausar Niazi, Major General (Retd.) Akbar Khan, Mairaj Muhammad Khan, Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur, Tariq Aziz, N.D. Khan, Agha Ali
Rizvi and Khawja Sharif also spoke on the occasion. The meeting was effective in the sense that speakers’ belonged to different classes of society which had a positive upshot for the masses and the media.

PPP conveyed its message according to the temperament of rural and urban population, respectively. In rural areas, Bhutto promised to fulfill certain agrarian demands and urban areas he discussed party manifesto and policies. In that connection, a large gathering of labourers, middle class and ordinary people, at Liaqatabad, is worth mentioning. There, Bhutto complained about the shift in foreign policy, especially with reference to China. The labourers raised slogans against capitalism and declared Bhutto as their savior.

A public rally held by PPP Karachi city proved a mile stone in the election campaign and history of Karachi. According to an estimate, more than two hundred and fifty thousand people participated in the rally. It was led by Bhutto himself in an open truck, decorated with the party flags and election symbol, talwar (sword). The rally started from Clifton and passed through all important places of the city, in round about five hours and ended at Marry Weather Tower. Although it was Ramzan yet people were over enthusiastic that they did not want to conclude the rally there and wanted to take the procession up to Bombay Bazar. On the other hand, Bhutto was of the view that Aftar time was very close, so the rally might end. People dispersed peacefully, on his request. It shows that either Bhutto took care of Islamic rituals or was over conscious about religio-political parties for getting benefit of the situation. However, it was a great show of power on the streets of Karachi which created strange effects on the future pathway of politics.
On January 13, 1970, PPP arranged a big public meeting at Nawabshah. On the way to Nawabshah, Bhutto addressed a casual gathering at Kotri Railway Station, where people gathered to see him for a while. They raised slogans in his favour and for Islamic Socialism also. It shows that the message of Islamic Socialism had become popular in the masses of Sindh. Bhutto, during his short speech, declared that Islamic Socialism would be implemented in the country and people would enjoy the fruits of economic justice, introduced by Islam. After Kotria large gathering of people was also present at Hyderabad Station.

At Nawabshah the workers of the party were over enthusiastic and they declared Bhutto as the redeemer of the nation. That public meeting was exemplary in a sense that the area had influence of JI and ML (C) and other parties as well. In the speech, Bhutto proved his worth of political maneuvering. The area was having proportion of both the factions of Sindhis and Muhajirs. Therefore, Bhutto adopted a new strategy by speaking both in Urdu and Sindhi languages, while speaking in Sindhi, he said that Sindhi language was his mother tongue and while speaking in Urdu, said that Urdu was his national language and both were fact. He also assured there the low salary government servants and labourers, for the increase in their wages and salary. He also criticized Sindh United Front and Ayub Khuhro by declaring them exploiters of the people of Sindh.

PPP contacted every walk of life and tried to formulate its strategy according to the desires and demands of the people. The student wing of PPP was also active and they arranged a large gathering at Nawabshah on January 13, 1970, in which Bhutto stated that the party had such a manifesto which would formulate Pakistan a welfare state where there would be no poverty and there would prosperity everywhere.
It is only criteria of PPP that it declared itself the symbol of federation, which is justified. No other party, after the creation of Pakistan contacted masses at grass-root level. Bhutto as Chairman PPP visited himself every Goth, Union Council, Taluqa and towns. It is for the same reason that PPP contests elections at all seats of Pakistan later on. On the same day, PPP Nawabshah arranged a large gathering of farmers at Terameel. While addressing the farmers, Bhutto assured them that as soon as PPP would come into power, they would be secured from the clutches of waderas and would introduce such a healthy economic system, under which no wadera could exploit farmers.\(^{81}\)

PPP arranged another public meeting at Moro, fifty eight miles away from Nawabshah. Bhutto claimed the victory of PPP with the support of the people. Especially students were motivated for work and contacts with the masses. Bhutto thanked and encouraged them personally.\(^{82}\)

The Nawabshah chapter of PPP, on the invitation of people of Pateden (a town in Nawabshah) arranged the lunch in honour of Bhutto and party leadership, where local and district level workers were invited. At that eve Chairman Bhutto explained the fact that Islam was not the property of any class or party but it was asset of the people of Pakistan and declared that Islam was as dear to them as for specified Islamist parties.\(^{83}\)

Next public meeting was organized at Tharoshah, seventy six mile away from Nawabshah. Party leadership paid tribute to the services of Bhutto for awakening the common man of Sindh to get his rights. Bhutto during his speech stressed that after coming in power PPP would eradicate poverty from Sindh and from all over Pakistan.\(^{84}\)

After that successful election campaign, the organizing committee was satisfied that the party message had been conveyed to every nook and corner of Sindh. PPP
arranged a press conference to spread the party message on regional level and countrywide. National Press was addressed by Bhutto, in which he informed about performance of mass contact campaign of the party which showed an immense confidence on his person. He also thanked journalists and newspapers for their cooperation. During question answer session Bhutto reassured that PPP would fully participate in the forth-coming general elections, on October 5, 1970. He said that the party would do the best to draft the country’s future constitution within short span of 120 days. In an answer to a query of a news reporter Bhutto reassured that the party would adopt positive strategy of the constitution and it was not difficult for them to establish democratic system in Pakistan. He said that they would be surly able to establish pleasant relations between centre and its units.  

PPP organized an *Eid Milan Party* on February 22, 1970, at residence of Bhutto Al-Murtaza, Larkana, which was attended by more than three thousand people, including representatives of every walk and class of life i.e. traders, farmers, labourers, party office bearers and workers. Juman Faqir, a classic character of Larkana was also present, who was very dear to Bhutto. While addressing to the participants, Bhutto explained that PPP was established for the prosperity and betterment of the people of Pakistan, it did not aim serve any specified area or region, but whole of the country. He stressed on national unity and highlighting the objectives of the party said that the party purpose was to keep a man save from exploitation of other man. A person might not play with the weaknesses of poor and helpless people on the basis of his status of power. The exploitation of a man by others was the basic source of all social and moral evils and source of injustice as well. He affirmed that Allah would strength and power PPP for its just cause.
After the establishment of Pakistan it was only PPP which raised voice against oppressors. Bhutto by pleading party manifesto at Thatha on March 22 declared that the days of monopoly of the exploiters were over because then the people had become conscious about their rights. He said that people who wished to maintain political monopoly along with the exploitation of the previous regimes must know that time had changed and they had to mend themselves. Bhutto warned them that if they would not come on right path PPP would deal them with iron hand. For the last two centuries the people of that region were deprived of their rights or benefits and due to that mal-practice economic disparity had emerged which needed to be addressed properly i.e. the total change in economic structure, he added. He further reiterated that that change was only possible according to the basic Islamic principles and Pakistan ideology. For the same reason PPP had declared Islamic Socialism as base of its manifesto, so that economic justice could be maintained at grass root level. Bhutto demanded small land-holders might be exempted from revenue. Furthermore, he said that network of agricultural band might be established in all rural areas and they must be bound to sanction easy loans to farmers. The auction of land in Sindh must be exterminated and those must be given to landless *haris* in easy installments. At the end, Bhutto requested as per the spirit of election campaign and realized the people to vote only those candidates who were capable for public service and had the ability to solve national issues.

The planning of PPP for the visits of different areas was thoughtfully managed. The localities on the route for higher leadership visits were kept in consideration. Hence, PPP got benefit of the charismatic personality of Bhutto, who could manage to address maximum gatherings along with the local leadership in Sindh, because of the strategy of
route-planning. Bhutto visited Sjawal in district Thatha on March 23. Sjawal is a far flung locality of Thatha and it is note-worthy that no one of national stature visited the place before him. People felt very much enthusiastic because it was their first exposure of any political public meeting of that level and so they had become an easy prey for PPP. Under the strategy of PPP, Bhutto also benefitted from the statements having religious flavor. He quite sharply used to issue statements assessing the temperaments of the audience. He said that his party would abide by the Islamic principles and that every member of his party and he himself were ready to sacrifice for Islam. Bhutto assured people of Sjawal that in case PPP’s success with their cooperation, the party would implement a system based on social equality and economic parity.\(^89\) PPP could be considered the only party which had clear plan and policy for the upcoming political model in case of getting power.

In the wake of speedy election campaign, PPP leaders visited a grand public gathering at Dadu, near Thatha, being arranged by local PPP workers and leadership. There Bhutto severely criticized the sale of government land through auction. He stressed on the dire need of equality among people of Pakistan. He again demanded to right off revenue on land-holdings of less than sixteen acres and farmers might be issued easy loans.\(^90\) The same plea regarding lands was adopted in the public meetings at Matli and other places between Hyderabad and Badin. Moreover, addressing the Dadu meeting he proposed to abolish cooperative banks and a better system based on agricultural banks might be introduced on national level.\(^91\)

The leaders of PPP moved ahead to Kotri, where the same enthusiasm of the masses was prevalent. According to Associated Press of Pakistan (APP), Bhutto stated
that the Constitution of 1956 would not be acceptable in any form, because in its approval process public at large was not consulted. He stressed that Pakistan needed a constitution prepared by the elected representative of the people keeping in view the public demands. The upcoming parliament should be an autonomous institution so that it might perform its duties perfectly. He added that if the new elected assembly could not perform its duties according to will of the masses then he would be the first one to raise objection.92

The central command of PPP, very effectively conveyed the viewpoint of the party at Badin. It was an important public meeting in the sense that Bhutto talked about constitution making. He objected that the Government had given just only 120 days for constitution making, which were insufficient. While preparing political code of conduct, four months had passed and about the same time had spent for the drafting of legal procedure about the elections. If such small assignments needed so much time then the making of constitution in 120 days was a difficult task and to bind the then upcoming National Assembly was unjust. Anyhow, PPP had promised to prepare the constitution in the prescribed time limit and would not deviate from that, he further added.93

PPP had prepared proposals regarding the issues of national importance, like constitution making, One Unit, nature and structure of the parliament and other federal and provincial issues on priority basis. In this regard, consultations have been made by the party stalwarts, i.e. Mubashir Hassan, Mian Mahmood Ali Kusuri, J. A. Rahim, Malik Mairaj Khalid, Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, Hanif Ramay, Mairaj Muhammad Khan and others. Therefore, the party was clear-headed even at the time of election campaign and the planning to address those problems was underway.
Under the pre-planned strategy of PPP, main party leaders including Bhutto himself addressed a large gathering of lawyers at Hyderabad, on March 26, 1970. Bhutto said that age had gone when assemblies ran affairs against wills and wishes of the people, the Pakistan of 1970 was totally different that of 1947 and 1953. He said that if the then Assembly did not respect and represent the public opinion then public would force the parliament to act according to the peoples’ will. Bhutto informed the lawyers of Hyderabad that important issues of One Unit and parity had already been solved. On the other hand, the issue of provincial autonomy had not been settled yet and the government had left that for the elected assembly, a better choice. The issue of the limitations of the provincial autonomy could not be settled by the then Government because it was a controversial issue and there was need to exchange mutual views and discussion of the elected public representatives. Bhutto also stressed upon the need of two houses of the parliament. He said that the representation in lower house would be on the basis of population whereas in upper house, the federating units would be given equal representation.94

The bicameral parliament is suitable for such federations which have unequal units. A suitable federation provides equal representation to all units, either big or small. On the basis of this theme, the then future parliament would be bicameral in the point of view of PPP. Consequent upon that vision of the party leadership, it settled down many controversial issues, later on, in the constitution of 1973.

In the continuation of the campaign, a public meeting held on February 27, 1970, at Mirpur Khas. On his way from Hyderabad to Mirpur Khas, Bhutto stopped at different places and addressed the people, especially; at Tando Adam where a large crowd
received him. It took about six hours to cover the distance of forty miles. In his speech at Mirpur Khas, he repeated almost same things which he had already said at Hyderabad.\textsuperscript{95}

PPP at that time seemed to contact the masses at grass-root level, so, it was the utmost effort of organizing committee of PPP to plan such a route for the visit of Bhutto, where he could contact the masses directly and at maximum level. It was style and habit of Bhutto that he used to mingle with the people, sometimes; he sat at the roadside tea stalls, had a cup of tea with ordinary people and had a \textit{gupshup}.\textsuperscript{96}

People used to receive Bhutto in very enchanting manner. Different public meetings of interior Sindh and even Punjab are its clear examples. For instance, when Bhutto reached Jhadu Sharif, ninety two miles away from Hyderabad, people attended that public meeting with zeal and enthusiasm.\textsuperscript{97} There, Bhutto stressed that the people must be united and shun the differences.

In the election campaign, while addressing to a large gathering at Tandoo Allahyar District Tharparkar, Bhutto assured people that if any constitution, economic and political framework be constituted against the will of people, the party would not allow it to be implemented.\textsuperscript{98}

An important procession was at Larkana, which was unique in a sense that Bhutto himself participated in it. The procession started from Mohenjo-Daro Airport and concluded at \textit{Al-Murtaza} Larkana City in about three hours. During the procession there were not only slogans in favour of PPP and Bhutto but also against the opponents, particularly, against Ayub Khuuro, who was a strong contestant against Bhutto at Larkana. Later on, Khuuro’s workers attacked on the shops and particularly the hotel
where Bhutto used to sit. When the procession reached at *Al-Murtaza*, it got the shape of public meeting, in which Bhutto challenged his opponents and warned them that people had defeated dictatorship and they would curb down the exploiters also. He further added that the people of Pakistan were brave and they accept only ‘the braves’ as their leader. There he also declared, “Larkana is our Sanghar, not only Larkana but whole of Pakistan is our Sanghar, even that Sanghar itself is also ours.”

He also elaborated that there were ‘two Pakistan’ one for the rich and one for the poor. In the same manner, there were ‘two Sanghars’, one for the rich and one for the poor. He said that PPP wanted to abolish that division, and wished to make all Pakistan and all Sanghars, the public property. He said that ‘all cheaters and dacoits’ were joining hands against PPP, their objective was to check the ‘people’s flood’ and that people’s leadership had emerged, new Bhuttos would come out after one another and would take the leadership in their hands.

PPP organized a series of visits in Larkana district by the leadership. In that connection, party held first public meeting on September 20, 1970. Bhutto while speaking to the gathering stressed that the condition of eighty percent population could be improved only when the feudalism would end. He further added that all liberties were meaningless until the economic prosperity was not available. About the capitalism, he said that it had been established on the exploitation of man by a man and its objective was the accumulation of money instead of fulfilling the human requirements. He further added that the prevailing system, making the rich, richer and the poor, poorer. Bhutto reiterated that the quality of the aforementioned situation was that producing the same results. He said that same was the case with Pakistan, if general welfare and prosperity of
the people was aimed at, then that troubled system would have been uprooted. The struggle of PPP regarding the implementation of socialism was for the same reason.103

The second public meeting in that series was at Memon Goth, where Bhutto warned the Government that unless political prisoners were not released, the forthcoming elections could not be declared impartial. He said that most of the prisoners belonged to PPP and if not released a movement would be launched.104 Bhutto also criticized the role of some ministers and their partial activities. He also addressed a public meeting at Nabgal Dero, thirteen miles away from Larkana. There, he said that PPP was people’s movement which believed on sacrifices and none-violence. He realized the gathering that unless and until the capitalism was not uprooted from the country, the poverty and misfortune would be fate of the people.105 He assured the people that the differences among the political parties of the country were not due to Islam and democracy, but were only due to economic disparity, so, the economic system must be free of exploitation.106

After successful campaign of PPP at Larkana, a large public meeting was arranged at Afandi Bagh Hyderabad by the party, in which Bhutto delivered prophetic speech and warned the Government very clearly that if violence occurred on people of East Pakistan, then it would be separated and even West Pakistan would divide into pieces. The people of Pakistan were politically aware and they would establish the people’s raj, he added.107 Actually, PPP was leading party to start struggle against dictatorship. It was Bhutto who raised voice against Ayub Khan whereas majority of the political leaders were underground and had not courage to have confrontation with the regime.
On November 21, 1970, PPP arranged another important procession at Thatha, in which Bhutto addressed small localities in the way i.e. Kharo, Dhapeji, Sleep, Gojra, Sundha Shaikh Ismail and Jeerak. While addressing at Thatha, Bhutto mentioned the historical importance of the city and proclaimed to defeat Raja Dahirs of new era. He said that the party was represented by labourers, poor, farmers and *haris* and that the party would establish a society based on equality and justice. He assured that PPP would struggle in an organized manner against exploitation, brutality and injustice.\(^{108}\)

In the last week of November, PPP conveyed its message to Matli, Raja Nizamani, Nawab Shah, Sehwan Sharif, Sanghar, Hyderabad, Ghari Yasin, Shikarpur and Jacobabad. After getting the positive response of people, Bhutto became quite confident that PPP would win the elections in the province. For the same expected success the people of Raja Nizamani presented him a crown of pure gold. He accepted the crown but did not wear to prove that he was savior of the poor rather than their exploiter and king. He said that PPP had commenced such a struggle in which crowns were not worn but taken off. Bhutto donated the crown in East Pakistan Relief Fund for flood victims.\(^{109}\) During his address at Matli, he openly criticized Yahya Regime and particularly the ‘conservativeness and selfishness’ of Ayub Khuhro and Qazi Muhammad Akbar. Afterwards, another public meeting was arranged by local chapter of PPP Nawabshah and Sehwan Sharif public honoured Bhutto and PPP leadership on both the places. During the trip Bhutto also visited Sanghar, the same place where he had been attacked a year before. In the visit, he went into the city with confidence, neither he opposed nor troubled for holding a public meeting.\(^{110}\)
Bhutto visited Hyderabad after Sanghar, where he addressed a large gathering at old Airport ground. He mentioned that PPP equally represented all people of Pakistan it did not believe on the nepotism and provincial boundaries, it was torch-bearer of one nation and united nationality. He further added that the party had come into existence to negate the class structure of the country and save the people from exploitation. The PPP Sukkur had also invited Bhutto in a public meeting at Garhi Yasin. There, he presented a comparative review of outlook and capability of PPP with other political parties of the country and requested people to vote for PPP because it was representative of the wish and will of people. Bhutto declared that upcoming elections were a result of the people’s struggle. He said that PPP got the right of contesting elections after a long and tough movement. It was not any grant, reward or alms but it was natural fruit of sacrifices, the party made. According to PPI Bhutto blamed that many leaders of other political parties who remained in power in previous governments, delivered nothing for the well-being of the masses. He assured that PPP would not sacrifice public interest at any stage; neither would deal on public benefit with anyone.

PPP Shikarpur arranged a reception in honour of Bhutto, where he also addressed a large gathering and claimed that if National Assembly could not prepare constitution in prescribed limit then PPP would launch movement against that. He further elaborated that PPP would launch movement for people’s rights. Bhutto further stressed that PPP’s politics was not limited to elections only; its objective was to restore the people’s rights. He argued that the party had published its manifesto even when there was no sign of elections. Bhutto having the comparison of manifestos of PPP and JI said that the upper limit of the ownership of land was not mentioned in the first manifesto of JI and it had
only fixed the limit in its second manifesto to compete with PPP. He said that according to JI fixing upper limit of land was un-Islamic but it had changed its stance later on and had made ‘un-Islamic matter as Islamic’.113

PPP arranged last public meeting in connection with the election campaign on December 2, 1970 at Town Hall Jacobabad. Bhutto along with other prominent contestants of the party addressed the crowd and assured the people that the Islamic socialism was not repugnant to Islam. He further added that it would provide relief to the poor people of the country and it would ‘harm’ only the exploiters. He mentioned that political leaders of East Pakistan i.e. Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, Maulana Bhashani and Atta-ur-Rahman Khan were openly in favour of socialism but they were not declared none-believers and ‘Islam was not in danger’ due to their statements whereas when PPP talked about socialism then ‘Islam became in danger’.114

Abdul Hafiz Pirzada, Chairman of Karachi Chapter of the party announced on December 3, 1970 that Bhutto would stay at Larkana till the elections. It was an Eid day and an Eid Milan Party had been arranged by Bhutto at his residence on December 3, 1970. Bhutto while addressing the participants severely criticized Ayub Khuhro. Khuhro was a seasoned politician, who believed in feudalism and capitalism. According to the PPP workers, it was necessary for Bhutto at that time to have criticism. Bhutto analyzed that people rejected the conservative elements and the ‘progressive forces’ had become dominant.115

If there would be a comparison between Bhutto and Ayub Khuhro, prior one had an edge of being young, energetic, western educated, sharp and shrewder as well as
having passion of revenge of his father’s befitting defeat. On the other hand, the later had primitive style of localized and limited sort of politicking which was neither proved appropriate nor successful at the time. Although, Khuhro remained at Larkana for most of the time and had interacted with the people of every mohalah and street of the constituency but he was then ‘an old lion of Larkana’. On the other hand, Bhutto’s stay at Larkana was not consistent and his only connection with the people of his native town was through the election campaign but he was offensive and knew latest techniques of canvassing the masses through his charisma. In that connection, his last and a huge ‘Eid Milan jalsa’ of the elections campaign at Larkana had proved a mile stone in his success against Khuhro. Mubashir Hasan said that PPP would get 99% seats of Sindh. He criticized Khuhro’s politics and declared him, “…more or less a dead duck in Sind.”

The new trend emerged of flag hoisting in the election campaign, the craze was at its height. Flags could be seen everywhere not only on the party offices but at roof of the house, on poles trees and upon all vehicles e.g. buses, trucks etc. The tradition was initiated for the first time in the country and PPP was fore runner in competition with other parties. PPP started that race during its struggle against Ayub regime, much earlier in 1968-69. It is worth mentioning that even the older parties like JI did not have party flags. JI prepared its flag just before the commencing of 1970 Elections that was unfolded on January 11, 1970, by its Ameer Maulana Maududi in a public meeting. Other parties also followed the suit, in due course of time. From April 1970 onward, the competition became momentous. According to a report, the party had approved a proposal in August 1970 to arrange 2, 50,000 flags other than the workers own arrangements.
The impact of that was deterring to opposition as well as government corners. Instead of healthy competition they started suggesting restrictions upon countless flags. On August 18, Nawabzada Sher Ali Khan announced that the government was thinking to impose limitations on hoisting of party flags upon the plea that the importance of national flag must be maintained. Others who were not able to compete in that row, started saying that it would increase tension, if not restricted. PDP West Pakistan General Secretary, Sayed Sabir Jaffery was also of the same view and demanded for the imposition of restrictions to hoist flag just upon party offices. However, the impact upon masses of more flags was immense. Since PPP was much ahead in that competition, therefore, it showed its annoyance to the plan of ban on hoisting flags and declared it biased. So, it was announced that PPP would not accept Government dictation on the issue. The party was of the view that the opponent religious parties could not compete with PPP, so, the government came to rescue them by imposing restriction. Due to pressure of the party, the Nawabzada stepped back and clarified that there would not be any restriction until it could not create law and order problem. The competition continued and as it was predicted; violent clashes erupted at some places. The reports appeared in press regarding arms trafficking in October, which were point of concern for the political leadership. The police even had detected confiscated the huge amount of arms not only in Karachi but also in NWFP.

It was first experience of the masses to saw general elections, due to monotonous political suffocation people were filled with passion up to their neck. So, when election schedule was announced the political temperature shot up. Some unwanted incidents occurred which had long lasting impacts. The political leadership instigated such
accidents for their political gains, at one hand to use traditional tactics of suppressing the opponents and to gain sympathies being the victim of oppression by the others.

**Sanghar Incident**

Bhutto had been on his tour of lower Sindh in March-April 1970. On March 31, PPP had planned to contact the masses at Sanghar. It is noteworthy that Sanghar and adjacent areas was the hub of *Pir Pagaro* and no social or political activity could take place without his permission. Incidentally, the *hurs* had been gathered there in connection with the annual visit of *Pir Pagaro*. The Pir had himself left Sanghar for Karachi early in the morning, on March 31. Bhutto’s schedule included addressing at Municipal Park in the afternoon. Prior to that the *hurs* had clashed with the PPP workers and had warned, not to have any meeting in the area. The local authorities approached Bhutto to inform him about the situation. When the procession of PPP under the leadership of Bhutto was approaching toward the destination from Shahdadpur in a cavalcade of cars, busses and trucks, he insisted to go on foot in a procession to address the meeting. According to the PPP viewpoint, the procession was reaching near the park, when it was attacked by a faction of people with heavy gun fire, the volunteers of the party covered Bhutto in a defensive circle. A volunteer guard and the driver of Bhutto were killed. It was stated that Bhutto was warned about the attack but he had not taken it seriously.\(^{125}\) Both the sides grappled with each other and started firing. In the incident four people died, including an ASI of police and sixty one were wounded.\(^ {126}\) Bhutto left the place and wanted to reach Shahdadpur. His cavalcade was fired near Jhol, sacrificing a driver of a jeep who was shot dead mercilessly.\(^ {127}\)
Bhutto alleged in a press conference that behind the event there had been a deep rooted conspiracy to eliminate him and stated that he never escaped death as closely as on that day. He accused the Pir Sahib Pagaro for organizing that ‘cowardly’ attack on his life. Enraged with the incident, he stated that if he would have been killed, the people had so much love and affection for him that they would have made the Indus ‘crimson in colour’. The attempt on the life of Bhutto was widely condemned throughout the country. The political workers appealed to the authorities to probe into the incident and to give exemplary punishment to the culprits. The PPP workers and leaders demanded from the Government to take effective measures to check the murderous attempts on their party chief, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The staunch supporters and workers of the party having agony and miseries took upon themselves the burden of defending their leader. In the clash at Sanghar, sixty one persons received serious injuries while four died.

Irritated with the local administration’s attitude on the incident, Bhutto passed witty remarks on the president that he had four caps i.e. the head of state; Chief Martial Law Administrator, Supreme Commander and Commander-in-Chief but he was not capable of justifying all the responsibilities. In a public meeting held in Karachi on April 12, Bhutto scorned that the whole nation was bare-headed and the president was playing with the four caps. He said that none of those four caps were given to him by the people. He added that the people had launched a movement and faced a dictator who had been “much stronger then Yahya Khan”. Such aggressive rhetoric was Bhutto’s sole enterprise and no one else could dare to challenge the head of state in such a way.

According to the stance of PPP, the apparent causes of the attack were nothing other than sabotaging the election campaign of the party because the party had toppled
the game of landlords and *Pirs* in Sindh, the party had the opinion that the attack was a reaction from those exploiters. The attack was condemned by leaders of different parties and all leading newspapers including *Dawn, Morning News, Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt*. J.A. Rahim, the General Secretary of the PPP, appealed the workers to hold protest meetings on April 3, throughout the country. The PPP workers hastily came out to protest against the murderous attack on the party leader. A band of similar protestors in Peshawar attacked on the PML (Q) workers.

Mian Tufail Muhammad, *Amir* of JI West Pakistan, in a press statement described the Sanghar incident ‘a drama’ by which Bhutto successfully befooled most of the veteran political leaders. He accused that Bhutto took his processions to a place where an *urs was* being held. He apprehended that by allowing such conspiracies a section of the government machinery was again bent upon creating conditions which might serve an excuse for not holding general elections in the country. Khuhro also blamed Bhutto for the Sanghar incident. He said that Bhutto and his associates had made provocative speech at Mirpur Khas, Samaro and Umerkot during their tour of Hyderabad Division, against very respectful *zamindars* and *pirs*, who had refused to join his party.

PPP being fore runner in the campaign was target of violence and torture by the regime as well as opponents. General Secretary PPP Karachi Zone, Mairaj Muhammad Khan was arrested in September 1970. He was one of the lieutenants of Bhutto who accompanied him in all thick and thin during anti-Ayub Movement. Martial Law Regime of Yahya Khan was indiscriminately arresting such leaders who were openly speaking against capitalism, feudalism and bureaucracy, because according to Mairaj all of these classes were supporting elements to the regime. Mairaj can be considered as stalwart of
PPP because he toured throughout Pakistan and conveyed the message of the party to each goth. He was staunch socialist who openly clarified people that elections were not solution of their sufferings. He declared that only exploiters, feudal, capitalists or ex-ruling class would be successful in the forth-coming elections rather than the people’s real representatives. He said that those classes were not real representatives of the people but their oppressors. Their main tactic for exploitation was to increase religious hatred and to strengthen capitalism, he added.\(^\text{139}\) Mairaj Khan went to jail but could not have been suppressed. The regime was actually, putting those behind the bars who could influence the people for the change. In September 1970; PPP displayed a posture of categorical hostility against the regime. Bhutto, even, referred to the possibility of civil war and boycott of elections, if the party workers detained by the government would not be released.\(^\text{140}\)

Due to the situation, the Government decided to put behind the bars some leaders of the PPP, who indulged in ‘reckless utterances’ at public meetings. Maulana Kausar Niazi, editor of the Weekly Shahab, Lahore, was arrested on September 28 1970, for his ‘loose journalism and defamatory utterances’.\(^\text{141}\) On the charge of violating Martial Law Regulation, Ali Ahmad Talpur and Tariq Aziz were also arrested.\(^\text{142}\) Bhutto protested on the arrest of his party leaders and apprehended that he himself might be arrested. He warned that if he was put in jail, Punjab, Sindh, Sarhad (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Balochistan would be aflame.\(^\text{143}\) He asked why Maulana Bhashani’s threats and ultimatums went unnoticed.\(^\text{144}\) Party workers and leaders of JUI and NAP (W) had also been arrested on violation of Martial Law Regulations. But those parties had strengthened their position and their workers did not take any notice of government warnings.
Elections were ahead and lot of aspirants came forward with their groups which transformed the political environment muddy. The conservative, liberal and progressive parties who claimed to represent larger interests of the people were determined against each other. Therefore, the election campaign remained peaceful, only for a few days. Soon the political climate deteriorated by fierce statements and brought the terminologies of *gherao* and *jalao*. Personality clashes emerged due to short sightedness of the politicians. The certain leadership started aggressive attitude which instigated the lower cadres of the party. Provoking comments, condemnation of opponents, stands and branding the others as ‘none-patriotic and traitors’ had become fashionable phenomena. The talks of blood baths and mass upsurges had spoiled the political environment and the decorum of politics was averted by the parties’ candidates. The parties had established ‘volunteer forces’ to upset each other’s *jalsaz* and generate terror amongst the other parties. Party workers were supposed from either side to create disturbance in the gatherings of opponents. Though the government tried its best to handle the parties politely, however, some workers of different parties were captured who were guilty of taking law and order in their hands. As a whole, the regime handled the situation politely and it had not showed unusual strictness.

The politeness of government did not affect the politicians so at some places state had to show some strictness to maintain its writ. On January 26, troops were called out in Hyderabad on a clash of rival groups from among ‘New Sindhis’ and ‘Old Sindhis’ on lingual grounds. The trouble arose after a procession which was taken out from Sindh University, led by Lala Qadir in favour of Vice Chancellor of the university, Professor Ghulam Mustafa Shah. All of a sudden it clashed with the *Muhajir* students and
culminated into serious riots.\textsuperscript{145} The troops were being called to handle the situation but even then the clashes continued on January 27. Maulana Maududi, in a statement, observed that the incidents in Hyderabad were an obvious indication of the increasing trend of violence in the country.\textsuperscript{146} Maulana Ehtisham-ul-Haq declared that the looting, killing and plundering in the region had exceeded the atrocities committed by Hindus on the Muslims of India.\textsuperscript{147} About the incident, Chaudhry Khaliqquzaman expressed that ‘local patriotism and regionalism alignments’ were responsible for the looting and plundering. On the other hand, Bhutto declared that ‘the mad and senseless’ disturbances had been neither the work of Sindhis nor Muhajirs.\textsuperscript{148} That balanced policy on the language issue in Sindh was just because he did not want to jeopardize ‘the Punjabi vote’ which was necessary for national leadership.\textsuperscript{149} The election strategy of PPP was successful and voters in West Pakistan brought the party as a single majority party. Mainly the vote bank of PPP was heavier in Punjab and particularly in Sindh.

**Results of Elections 1970**

In the elections, the turn out showed ‘new Sindhis’ favoured the ‘right’ while ‘old Sindhis’ were in support of the PPP.\textsuperscript{150} The upper class had much wise in selecting parties. The feudal lord joined those parties which had more chances of wooing the voters in their constituencies. In the case of Sindh, feudal lord were shrewd enough to join PPP when they saw Bhutto’s popularity and expected PPP landslide victory.\textsuperscript{151} Contrary to the Punjab and Sindh, remaining parts of the country, i.e. Balochistan, NWFP and East Pakistan showed a different tale. In Balochistan and NWFP, NAP and JUI won the scene, whereas in East Pakistan AL elevated as victorious. In Balochistan and East Pakistan PPP could not get even a single seat, whereas in NWFP it bagged just one.\textsuperscript{152}
National Election Results: Sindh Interior

In the context of National Assembly, PPP got marvelous results. Out of twenty seven seats it secured eighteen seats. Overall 2/3 of the elected National Assembly members from Sindh were PPP candidates. The panorama of politics in Sindh changed in favour of people’s interest; it can be observed that while comparing 1953 and 1970 elections, PPP took over the position from ML drastically. PPP got the support of young generation among the waderas and elite families in interior Sindh. The party floated its candidates from twenty five constituencies. PPP ran its candidates in all the constituencies of interior Sindh except Jacobabad and Sanghar. Bhutto got elected from three constituencies simultaneously. Ali Ahmad Talpur was winning candidate from Hyderabad and Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi from Nawab Shah.

Some interesting situations had been observed at Jacobabad and Sanghar. For three constituencies of Jacobabad twenty independent candidates were contesting the elections. All of them were being supported by feudal elite and they were not having interest to associate themselves with any political party for the time being. The only political party who dared to float its candidate in the constituency was JI, though the candidate got just 394 votes and had come at the bottom of the list. In Sanghar ML (Q) candidates Khalifa Muhammad Adil, Abdul Qadir and independent candidate Jam Sadiq Ali had become successful. However, Jam Sadiq Ali was being supported by PPP. The candidates of JI, JUP, CML and Pakistan Jamhuri Party could not sustain the resistance even.154
PPP was totally beaten in all the six constituencies of Sukkur. JUP’s candidate Mufti Muhammad Hussain won the election having remarkable lead on his opponents of CML and JI. ML (Q) candidate Ali Anwar Khan occupied the seat after having tough competition with PPP candidate Shamsuddin Shah. The three seats of Sukkur were won by independent candidates, one of them Rahim Bux Soomro afterwards headed Sindh Chapter of Tehrik-i-Istaqlal but at the later stage, joined ruling party (PPP) in 1975.¹⁵⁵

In Tharparkar there was different situation, PPP nominated three candidates out of whom only Imam Bux Talpur became successful. Two seats went to CML whereas rests were captured by independent candidates. It was an open secret that Rana Chandar Singh, independent candidate, was fully supported by PPP.¹⁵⁶

Nawab Shah, Khairpur, Larkana, Tharparkar, Dadu and Thatha were the areas where PPP swept while in Sukkur opponent groups got two seats out of three and one seat out of four in Hyderabad. In the other three constituencies, right wing religio-political parties got better position.¹⁵⁷ In Sanghar, ML (Q) candidate got success while in Thar, PPP saw defeat in four constituencies where PPP candidates stood second in electoral results. In Sukkur, PPP candidate Ghulam Nabi Pathan was just lagging behind from an independent candidate Khuda Bux Soomro.¹⁵⁸

According to the electoral law of the time one person could be a candidate from various constituencies, so, taking the leverage of the law Bhutto contested from various constituencies. He sustained one seat and remaining were vacated and given to influential party members like Rasul Bux Talpur who afterwards not only led the party in the province but also served as Governor. Khuhro who contested the election on the platform
of CML, was miserably defeated by Bhutto who bagged more than double votes against Khuhro. From the same constituency Bhutto also defeated another ex-CM Qazi Fazlullah of ConML. The result in Larkana was in fact closing of vigorous political career of both Qazi and Khuhro. It is worth mentioning that from the same city Khuhro once defeated the father of Bhutto Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto and compelled him to quit from active politics. So, it can be said that Bhutto got the revenge in a befitting manner.\(^{159}\)

In Karachi, the votes were divided among so many candidates, so as the result appeared PPP just got two out of seven seats.\(^{160}\) PPP got maximum votes from Karachi’s second and third constituencies.\(^{161}\) PPP’s renowned leader Kamal Azfar saw the face of defeat whereas Abdul Hafiz Pirzada and Abdul Sattar Gabol were able to get their seats from Karachi.\(^{162}\) Another worth mentioning factor regarding Karachi results was that SAM did not float its candidates in Karachi, so, Sindhi voters put their weight toward the party led by a Sindhi.

**Provincial Election Results**

On the other hand, in provincial Assembly elections, PPP got 28 out of 60 seats which were even less than half. In Nawab Shah, PPP got two constituencies out of five. The winning candidates were Ghulam Mujtaba Jatoi and Noor Muhammad Shah, whereas in Dadu, Thatha and Hyderabad, PPP was remarkably victorious. At Dadu and Thatha PPP got clean sweep success while in Hyderabad the performance was also not bad having six out of nine seats.\(^{163}\) PPP won two seats out of four in Khairpur and the successful independent candidate Pir Elahi Bux also joined PPP, later on. The fourth seat was captured by ML (Q) candidate Nadir Ali Shah who defeated Ali Mardan Talpur having
support of Pir Pagaro and other pirs. However, the chief of Qalandar Biradri and some other pirs favoured PPP. The maximum number of candidates contested elections from Karachi i.e. 243 for 15 seats and if it is counted as average of whole Sindh, it was almost 42%. It is worth mentioning that out of fifteen winning candidates from Karachi only four were Sindhis and all of them contested the elections on PPP tickets.

JUP got seven seats in to its credit out of which four were from Karachi. JUP besides seasoned candidates also floated young party workers. One of them was a journalist Zahoor-ul-Hassan Bhopali who defeated very seasoned politicians of other political parties. Renowned Muhajir religious leader Muhammad Hassan Haqani got more than 46% votes and his lead upon PPP candidate was 4578. Shah Farid-ul-Haq got historic 53.2 % votes and his superiority against the number two candidate of PPP were 10398. On provincial level JUP collaborated with ML (Q), both the parties established Muttahida Islami Mahaz (MIM) in Sindh Assembly. CML floated twenty nine out of which two succeeded from Karachi and two from Tharparkar. Qutab Ali Shah defeated influential Talpur family and PPP candidate Mir Mohammad Talpur while ex-Commissioner Karachi G.A. Madni defeated PPP renowned N. Rizvi. That was not less than an upset for PPP. For JI the election results were disappointing. Out of thirty six candidates only one succeeded. MPPM rendered thirteen candidates from big cities of Sindh but got just one seat of Muzaffar Hussain himself. MPPM was able to get votes of that part of masses those were frightened by absolute demands of Sindhi nationalists at one hand and religious extremism on the other. For both groups of NAP election results were totally disappointing.
Practically, PPP’s position was not that much strong but immediately four independents opted to support PPP and others also followed the suit. When the party came in the position to become ruling party in the centre, different groups of ML (Q) and JUI started cooperating with it. Now the party was in strong position to get passed any legislation conveniently. However, PPP could make the Government in the Province with the support of independent winning candidates.

**Party Wise Results of 1970 Elections in Sindh**

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JI, which contested elections from nineteen Muhajir dominating constituencies, won only two, i.e. Professor Ghafoor Ahmad and Mahmood Azam Farooqi who were representing moderate wing of the party. Ghafoor Ahmad defeated candidates from six
various parties’ stalwarts like M. Shahab-ud-Din of JUP, Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani of NAP (W) and Ali Mukhtar Rizvi of NAP (B).  

All groups of JUI got absolute defeat; it is worth mentioning that JUI (H) contested from almost all constituencies. AL and NAP could not be able to get any seat from the province. Whereas Christian and Hindu parties were not expecting any seat but they propagated their ideas and demands in the elections.

G.M. Sayed was very harsh upon PPP in general and Bhutto in particular during the election campaign and got the answer in the shape of electoral results. Sindhi nationalists could not be able to align themselves properly to any party; however their tilt was towards different political parties. SAM only contested on a seat that even could not get the minimum limit of votes and security deposit of the candidate was confiscated. Even Sayed’s strategy to cooperate with CML could not bear fruit. Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Daultana leader of CML, taking into account the circumstances supported AL, demanded for maximum provincial autonomy.

The representatives of labour class in Sindh contested elections on the tickets of both the groups of NAP. Kaneez Fatima of NAP (B) performed very well, she got 23444 votes. She got lead upon AL, MLQ and four other independent candidates but could not reach to the votes of JI and JUP candidates.

As per above discussion it is evident that out of 36 candidates floated by JI only one succeeded. Out of 13 candidates of MPPM only one i.e. Nawab Muzaffar succeeded. SAM got the votes of those who were frightened from the Sindh Qomi Tehrik demands.
But masses rejected Sindhi Nationalists and favoured PPP. The only candidate of SAM was defeated miserably.

The Result Analysis

The General Elections of 1970 constituted one of the most fascinating phenomena in the political history of Pakistan. The nation went to polls after being raged for a year’s long politicking. A high level voting turn-out was recorded in the elections. The spectacular performance of the AL in East Pakistan and PPP in Sindh and the Punjab showed that the people were seriously interested in the solution of their economic grievances. Both of the provinces, exposed their swing to the left represented by PPP, believing that Bhutto would put an end to the exploitation by the capitalists. PPP’s victory was unexpected as according to early estimates it was to gain only 30% seats. The emergence of NAP (W), as the largest single party in NWFP and Balochistan was yet another indication that voters in the comparatively backward province were equally interested in social change. In Sindh, the turn out in favour of PPP for National Assembly was 44.95% and for Provincial Assembly 39.11% PPP floated 25 candidates from Sindh for National Assembly, out of which 18 were successful. Total contestants were 158 for National Assembly, from Sindh, voters polled in favour of PPP were 1401660 and average vote per constituency was 56066. The rightist parties termed as Islam-pasands, were not expecting such a drastic defeat. The statistics revealed to them that PPP which secured only 38.89% votes as a whole in West Pakistan, had defeated them due to their disarray. Among religio-political parties, JUP captured three seats and JI won only two seats in Sindh, whereas, other Islam-pasand parties were eliminated from the scene. The old guards, including Ayub Khuhrro, were being rejected by the voters in an ambition to
give birth to a younger and more vigorous leadership. The people of Sindh conceived that Bhutto possessed the requisite qualities for reaching to the highest pinnacle of the national leadership. They had brushed aside many of claimants for their trusteeship including those who had worked under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam. The voters had only the top leadership in their mind and they did not hesitate to vote for even unfamiliar persons, who had no political background and were just raw in the field. The voters had rejected the traditional slogans and traditional parties. They wanted a redress of economic problems.

On the other hand, the religio-political parties stressed that Islam itself provided solution to the problems confronting the country and avoided to hoodwink the voters by promises ‘not legitimized by Islam’. They were mystified after the disaster in the elections for National Assembly on December 7, 1970. After a couple of days there was a fair amount of reshuffling to jointly face PPP in the provincial elections, but it could not work at large level. However, due to agreements on various seats, these parties showed recovery and PPP had suffered a slight recession. In Sindh, PPP had won 18 out of 27 seats for the national assembly, i.e. 66% of the total seats, but in the provincial elections, the party won 28 out of 60 seats, i.e. 44.6% percent of the total seats.\textsuperscript{175}

Reasons for PPP’s Victory

The impressing victory of PPP had manifold reasons. Bhutto, who was an important member of the Ayub’s government, was able to establish a position of the second man in a non-perceptible way. His emotional style in the 1965 war elevated him enormously like a hero. Pakistan’s political record showed that it had been over shadowed by the
personalities, while the institutions did not count much. The glamour of Bhutto as a brave leader developed more when rumour spread about his opposition to Tashkent Declaration. His departure from the Foreign Office was at an opportune time. All these factors added much to his credit. The civil servants had affiliation with Bhutto and they desired to fill the gap after Ayub Khan’s departure with another attractive personality like him.

The NAP had gradually declined in Sindh and the Punjab due to polarization within its ranks and due to that the leftist were left in lurch. When Bhutto showed his tilt towards left ideology, they without hesitation joined hands in both the provinces. It went in favour of PPP because the socialist workers were well experienced and had been active particularly in Sindh since the Raj period. SAM and SHC were the nursery for their political nourishment, even religious cult in Sindh was more progressive than the other parts of the country. They found a strong base in the shape of PPP and worked sincerely as an outer periphery of the party. Their exhaustive mobilization served to make PPP a people’s force. Bhutto himself had a long experience of holding public office and enjoyed sound financial background beside his charismatic leadership. He had long before the electioneering projected him as a future leader of the country. The masses gradually became captive of his personality desisting old affiliations. Their vote to PPP, in fact, was for the charismatic leadership of Bhutto, irrespective of the fact, as to who was the candidate. JI’s opposition of PPP and in some cases negative propaganda, more benefitted the party because as a counter affect, the attachment of masses with him grew stronger.
In electioneering, PPP concentrated on the western wing of the country and the eastern part was totally ignored because the students in that wing were already attached with AL, and the peasants and workers believed in the leadership of Maulana Bhashani. The strategy of restrictive the area of campaign profited the party, as it exerted all energies with greater mobilization in smaller zones having more population. In the limited zones of Sindh, PPP had more prospects to prosper, as Sindh was home province of Bhutto. His posture of the savior of the poor people, who had long been exploited by the feudal lords, industrialists, big businessmen and the bureaucracy, had made him hero in the province.

The PPP won the 1970 elections in Sindh… not on the basis of its manifesto but because of the personality cult of Sindhi…. in Sindh the PPP’s propaganda machinery portrayed him [Bhutto] as the personification of a Sindhi identity, Bhutto Saeen. By voting for Bhutto the Sindhi felt that something would be done for them.179 Bhutto fearlessly spoke against all such forces that exploited the poor and envisaged a colourful picture of the future in which every citizen would have equally share to enjoy the life. Besides presenting the peasants and workers the upper strata was also promised a friendly attitude and share in the government. To keep the divergent forces under the PPP’s banner, the party delayed in preparing its manifesto. In such circumstances, the riksha driver expected to become riksha owner, the taxi driver to become taxi owner. Similarly the factory workers and the tenants too expected to become masters themselves.180 There were reports that in certain localities the tenants denied to pay rent of the houses and to accept their claim of ownership, immediately after the elections.181 The labour uprising in Karachi is one of the examples.
Bhutto had a unique capability of understanding the psychology of the masses. He knew that hero worship had sound basis in the rural areas of the west wing. It had cultivated for him a fame of hero, staging again, in the folk wares. With these cultural references, he paid pilgrimage to *darbars* of great *sufis* like Lal Shahbaz Qalandar and even took part in *dhamals*. He desisted by staging him as *muaziz*, a common feature of public leaders to attain esteem in the rural society.\(^\text{182}\)

PPP’s main stress was on the economic change; however it also emphasized on Islam but meagerly. The religious elements disagreed with the Islamic prefix to the socialism, but PPP did not hesitate to term its socialism as Islamic Socialism and later as *Musawat-i-Muhammad* to counter the movement that socialism does not comply with the religious dictates and hence convinced the people that he did not want to introduce anti-Islamic system in the country. As JI was the main champion against the left and therefore, reverted with the vehement opposition. It arrayed against the whimsical danger of socialism, which did not have existence while the capitalist system with all its exploitation enjoyed full liberty to prosper. The opposition to an anti-exploitative system, like socialism by JI, proved it of being pro-capitalist force.\(^\text{183}\) JI which had a repute of wide experience in the field of publicity could not deliver at that time so it was of no match with PPP.\(^\text{184}\) The agitation politics was another reason of PPP’s better position. It only decided to participate in the elections in July 1970 and even after the decision continued to extend boycott threats till the polling day. The expression of hostility against the central ministers and on some occasion head of the regime profited the party in the election returns.\(^\text{185}\)
After the elections of 1970, long delay occurred in transfer of power to the elected representatives. As per results, PPP and AL were the leading parties from West Pakistan and East Pakistan, respectively. AL wanted the transfer of power at once but almost all the other parties were demanding that there must be a constitutional agreement between East and West Pakistan first. Despite of being federal state, the tendencies of centralism were prevailing, which created a lot of misunderstandings between the federating units.

Actually that was the period when country was being ruled by a controversial LFO, which was framed only to run the affairs till 1970 Elections. Therefore, the situation after the elections was unclear and both the units of Pakistan were suspicious of each other, especially East Pakistan, due to their previous experiences. Under those circumstances, PPP held a public meeting at Nishtar Park Karachi on March 14, 1971. Beside others, Bhutto addressed the meeting and demanded the transfer of power in East and West Pakistan to the majority parties, respectively. Moreover, he proposed that at Centre, coalition government be established and provincial autonomy might be enjoyed at provincial level.186

AL was expecting the pre-settled principles regarding the transfer of power applicable in whole of the world and it demanded that right of making the government must be given to AL because it was the majority party in the elections. At public meeting of the Nishtar Park, Bhutto assured the gathering that they were the capitalist exploiters of Pakistan who wanted to create misunderstandings between the majority parties of East and West Pakistan and did not want that AL and PPP might adopt a unanimous strategy. Bhutto further guaranteed the gathering that he was ready to meet Mujib for the solution of controversial issues. He stated that if Mujib wanted independent Bangladesh then PPP
could demand for Sindh Desh and Punjab Desh and if that sort of demands continued then what would be the fate of Pakistan.\textsuperscript{187}

Pakistan was surfing through a very fragile and sensitive period of its history. After the elections, deadlock appeared and Bhutto made strategy to maneuver in to his benefit and to foresee the ‘New Pakistan’ being premier of it. He was not digesting to act as opposition leader, so he had convinced Yahya and his establishment to postpone the upcoming assembly session.\textsuperscript{188} At the time PPP demanded that its point of view must be heard in the assembly and showed its willingness for reconciliation. Bhutto accused that AL demanded for not having conditions from outside assembly, but Mujib himself presented pre conditions.\textsuperscript{189} Bhutto affirmed that he only demanded for some time to get opinion of the masses, as PPP had been given the mandate for foreign policy and economic revolution.\textsuperscript{190} There was probability of the dissolution of assembly due to such disturbing atmosphere. So, Bhutto demanded that either the session of National Assembly be postponed or the time limit be increased.\textsuperscript{191} As a result assembly session was delayed and Bhutto succeeded in getting the treasury in the remaining Pakistan.

In a talk, Bhutto asked Mujib not to follow the path of enemies and be accommodative in assembly for constitution making.\textsuperscript{192} He further argued that power might be transferred unanimously and there would not have been any question of majority or minority. He further added that both parts of the country must be accommodated properly. Bhutto was in favour of making coalition government, having power sharing at centre.\textsuperscript{193}
Actually, the Six Points\textsuperscript{194} of AL were unacceptable for PPP according to which West Pakistan had to bear the consequences. According to PPP Chairman, Mujib was demanding nearly an autonomous Bangladesh and so, West Pakistan was also demanding guarantee that it would not be exploited. Bhutto asked Mujib to reach on an agreement so that the peaceful solution of the issues might be sought.\textsuperscript{195} Bhutto, in the Nishtar Park Meeting, proposed an equal sharing in power\textsuperscript{196} and PPP demanded to abolish parity and have proportional seats in the assembly, so as to redress the complaints of East Pakistan. He explained that if East Pakistanis had not been given proper share at centre before, it did not mean that they might be given whole of the powers then. According to which West Pakistanis might be deprived of their due share in the government, he reiterated. Under that situation same injustice would prevail in West Pakistan, and the promises PPP made with the people would not be fulfilled. In fact, East and West Pakistan were two units of the federation and it was strange and unique situation that in both wings of the same country, two opponent parties were having majority. The verdict of Elections 1970, created such a conflict which could never be resolved and ultimately brought painful separation of East Pakistan.\textsuperscript{197}

After the separation of East Pakistan, it became difficult to keep the remaining provinces of Pakistan intact, because in the backdrop of the incident, the provincial autonomy was the main controversial issue. Different ethno-nationalist forces had become strong enough that they started demanding maximum provincial autonomy. Even some forces started working against the federation openly. Sindhi Nationalism, Labour unrest at Karachi, Language Issue and bringing reform agenda in operation as promised in the election manifesto, were the challenging tasks within Sindh for PPP. However, the
Government tackled the challenges with shrewdness before they could become uncontrollable. Therefore, PPP in short span of time learnt the tactics of power-play.

PPP was very focused on its ascendancy base, i.e. Sindh. To understand the socio-political scenario of the time it is necessary to unearth major issues and problems in an analytical way. In the upcoming chapter there would be detailed discussion about the activities of Sindhi nationalist groups, their main exploitation chip, ‘language issue’, prevailing grave labour unrest and above all the gigantic upheaval task of fulfilling the pledges in the PPP election manifesto as well as the statements and speeches of first-tier leadership of PPP during election campaign.

Notes & References


2 As during freedom struggle Abul Kalam Azad was a vocal spokesman of the Congress and declared by AIML leadership as ‘play-boy’ of the Congress. As described by Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah in his article about Bhutto that even after the Tashkent Declaration and before the forced exit of Bhutto from the cabinet as well as from ConML, he was very vocal spokesman of Ayub’s policy at home as well as abroad. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, “Pakistan People’s Party: The Twin Legacies of Socialism and Dynastic Rule”, p.158.

3 Hayat Mohammad Sherpao led the NWFP delegation whereas; Balochistan delegates were led by Mir Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi. The Pakistan Times, Rawalpindi, July 8, 1970.


5 Ibid, pp. 269-270.


7 Bhutto stated in a public meeting that before Hala Conference, public meetings were arranged at different places to know people’s opinion whether to contest elections or not, so in the light of feedback it was decided in the Hala conference to opt for elections. “Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s Address at Public Meeting in Malir, August 5, 1970”, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Politics of the People, Vol III, 1970-71, Marching Towards Democracy: A Collection of Articles, Statements and Speeches, ed., Hamid Jalal and Khalid Hasan, (Lahore: Classic, nd), p.130.

8 The group represented in the ranks of PPP was of Mairaj Muhammad Khan, Shamim Zia-ud-Din and Tariq Aziz.

9 Personal Interview with Mumtaz Bhutto: March 9, 2010.

10 The ‘left’ within PPP either resigned from the party or was ousted by Z. A. Bhutto in the early years after rise to power, e.g. Mairaj Muhammad Khan resigned in 1973, See, Surendra Nath Kaushak, Politics in Pakistan: With Special Reference to Rise and Fall of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Jaipur: Aalekh Publishers,

Others were, Akbar Khan, Sattar Gabol, Shamim Zainuddin, Tariq Aziz, Mujhtaba Farooqi, Azhar Abbas, Abdullah Baloch, Sardar Pir Bux Bhutto, Gulam Mustafa Jatoi, Abdul Wahid Katpar, Hyder Bux Larik, Kazi Muhammad Bux, Nabi Bux Bhurgari, Pir Gulam Rasul Shah and Malik Sikandar Khan. 


12Musawat, July 8, 1970.


17Four committees i.e. Steering, Constitution, Resolution and Draft Declaration were initiated during the first PPP convention with Chairman Bhutto being the Chair of each committee; the manifesto got its blue prints from the deliberations of the committees. In fact, the primary purpose of all such committees was to draw aims and objectives of PPP.


22Ibid, p.43.

23Ibid, p.47.


34Dawn, October 5, 1969.


38Ibid.

39Jam Saqi was a student activist in Sindh and later became General Secretary of the Communist Party of Pakistan. He remained behind the bars for fifteen years because of his communist politics. For details see, Jan Michiel Baud and Rosanne Adrienne Rutten, Popular Intellectuals and Social Movements: Framing Protest in Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). p. 81.


41Khurshid Junejo, Yadain Bhutto ki (Urdu) (Lahore: Ahmad Publications, 2008), 194.

42Nawab Muzaffar Hussain Khan was a ‘new Sindhi’ landlord who played vital role in the promotion of ‘Muhajir nationalism’.

43Israr Ahmad, Istehkam-i-Pakistan aur Masla-i-Sindh (Urdu),(Lahore: Markazi Anjuman Khudam Al-Quran, n.d), pp.68-69.


45Khurshid Junejo, Yadain Bhutto ki (Urdu) (Lahore: Ahmad Publications, 2008), 196.


48Hilal-e-Pakistan, August 14, 1969.
PPP had adopted that concept as party slogan after the death of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as, *zinda hae Bhutto zinda hae, tum kitnay Bhutto maro gae? Har ghar se Bhutto niklay ga.* (Bhutto is alive, how many Bhuttos you will kill? Bhutto will appear from every home!)


According to the report each flag cost Rupees twelve and therefore, estimated cost of the scheme was Rupee thirty lakh. Nida-i-Millat, Lahore, August 13, 1970.

Interview with Mumtaz Bhutto, March 9, 2010.


The Pakistan Times, Lahore, April 15, 1972.


Khuda Bux Soomro (independent) got 31800 votes whereas Ghulam Nabi Pathan (PPP) 30409. 

Jaffery, *Pakistan ki Intikhabi Siyasat*, p.79.


In the second constituency in Karachi turn out in favour of PPP was twenty five percent and in third thirty seven percent.

Jaffery, *Pakistan ki Intikhabi Siyasat*, p.65.


It is worth-mentioning that two out of four Sindhi winners, i.e. Muhammad Ali Gabol and Ahmad Ali Soomro were sympathizers of Sindhi nationalism. See, Agef, *Sindh Tareekh kay Aainey Mein*, p.253.

Ibid, p.255.

Jaffery, *Pakistan ki Intikhabi Siyasat*, p.80.


The winning candidate was Mahmood Ahmad Faruqi of JI. Agef, *Sindh Tareekh kay Aainey Mein*, p.257.

It was 60% in Sindh, 68% in the Punjab, 57% in East Pakistan, 48.1 in NWFP (KPK) and 40.5% in Balochistan. For more details see, Report on the General Elections 1970-71, Vol. II, pp. 201-203, 214-215.


Ibid, pp. 204-205.


Ubaidullah Sindhi is known for his socialist tendency in the clergy and even called on by Valadimir Lenin in Moscow, which shows that even religious parties in Sindh like JUI (H) supported socialistic interpretation of PPP in the province.


Mairaj Khalid’s interview with Zubair Rana in *Jang Friday Magazine*, Rawalpindi, September 13, 1985, p.2.


After the debacle of East Pakistan elected MNA from Dear Ghazi Khan, Dr. Nazir Ahmad in his last speech at his native town said that Bhutto was responsible of the dismemberment of Pakistan and was the sole-responsible for postponement of the assembly session. After the speech, the MNA was short dead. M. Khalid Farooq Choudhry, Swaneh Dr Nazir Ahmad Shaheed (Lahore: Al-Bader Publications, n.d), p.89.

Actually AL was discussing making of the constitution based on Six Points, publicly and Bhutto was targeting that Jasarat, Karachi, March 16, 1971.

It was necessary that the inaugural session of newly elected assembly must be held within 120 days, otherwise Assembly would be considered null and void.


The AL ‘Six Point’ constitutional proposal was strange where the central government would have just defense and foreign affairs excluding foreign trade and aid. See, Rafi Raza, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977 (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.52.


Idhr ham Udhr tum (We here, you there), was interpreted by certain writers accusing Bhutto for the separation of East Pakistan. See, Husain Haqqani, Pakistan between Mosque and Military (Lahore: Vanguard, 2005) .p.87. On the other hand, some writers have mentioned that this phrase was used for power sharing rather than for separation. He wrote, “What Bhutto had said was, ‘If power is to be transferred to the people before a constitutional settlement, then it is only fair that in East Pakistan, it should go to the Awami League and in the West to the Pakistan People’s Party, because while the former is the majority party in that wing, we have been returned by the people of this side . . .’” See, Khalid Hasan, Rearview Mirror: Four Memoires (Islamabad: Alhamra, 2002), pp. 97-98.

The surrender of Pakistan Army was painful and humiliating. It was for the first time that any Muslim army in that much strength (almost ninety thousand) surrendered to any non-Muslim army. For details see Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, 1974).
CHAPTER 5

PAKISTAN PEOPLE’S PARTY’S RISE TO POWER: ALLEGIANCE AND DEVIATION FROM IDEOLOGY

It became a remarkable challenge for a publicly elected government to deliver according to its manifesto soon after being mandated. Under very crucial circumstances, PPP took over the charge of administration, at federal level as well as in Sindh. It was further a gigantic task for PPP to act according to its manifesto which was the most important demand of the masses everywhere in the country in general and Sindh in particular. People wanted to get their dreams realized under the umbrella of manifesto of the party and they soon began to pressurize the government both at central and provincial level to implement reforms, followed by other important steps to change and improve the living standard of toiling masses. While addressing the National Assembly Bhutto said:

… I thank the people of Pakistan who elected you and me and conferred on us this great honour. We are assembled here as a symbol of the victory of the people, the voice of the people has indeed prevailed…. The people who have reposed their confidence in us expect that through our deliberations and joint endeavors we will now replace their worries and anxieties with deliverance and hope.¹

On one side, government had to deal with a lot of internal and external problems of very serious nature and on other side government had to come-up to the burning desires and aspirations of people. In addition to that, there were so many controversial issues in Sindh like language issue, which had not only to be resolved as it was promised with Sindhi masses, but also government had to retain the confidence of other factions to retain peace and general cooperation in the society of Sindh. Under those crucial circumstances, the provincial government of PPP under MumtazAli
Bhutto, intended to discharge its duties and a new political era in the history of Sindh emerged.

During the period of study, till 1972, different sort of policies were pursued by the government of PPP to address immediate and long-standing issues of Sindh. To judge that the policies of the provincial government under Mumtaz Ali Bhutto came up to the aspirations of masses as annunciated in the party manifesto, was important.\(^2\)PPP had to compromise over the principle stand under the circumstantial pressure. The major upheaval task was to form government in a befitting manner.

After the separation of East Pakistan, beside so many other factors, General Gul Hasan while representing Army and Air Marshal Rahim Khan, representing Air Force, approached president and Chief Martial Law Administrator General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan and argumentatively convinced him to resign from his capacity. Both of those officers had strong reasons for their formal demand of the resignation from Yahya Khan. Ultimately, president unavoidably agreed to completely distant himself from national leadership in his all capacities. Meanwhile, Z.A. Bhutto met American President Nixon at Florida and got assurance of ‘military and monetary support’. On December 20, he came back via Iran, where he met Shah-i-Iran.\(^3\)Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was led by Ghulam Mustafa Khar to the President House where power was passed on from Yahya Khan to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, on December 20, 1971.\(^4\) He became the president of Pakistan and the Civil Chief Martial Law Administrator as well, and later, he served as Prime Minister of the country.\(^5\) Throughout the history of Pakistan, he was the only civilian leader who took over the charge as Chief Martial Law Administrator with the circumstantial blessings of some senior military commanders. As Bhutto belonged to the province of Sindh,
therefore, he was greatly admired in the home region due to many political, cultural and ethnic reasons. He was the first Sindhi politician, who had the historic opportunity to lead the country in most important position and he also had to lead Pakistan under the most crucial days of its existence. As before him, no Sindhi politician could occupy such a noteworthy slot, so his party’s reign also occupied significance in the history of Sindh. There were already so many complications and aspirations among the provincial leaders and masses with special reference to Sindhi background of Bhutto and the party led by him. Sindhis were very happy and they welcomed Bhutto with great warm and heart.

**Consolidation of Power: Initial Problems**

On one side, PPP was enjoying popularity among the masses and provincial politicians of Sindh, while on the other side, it had to face serious problems and challenges in connection with the consolidation of power for strengthening of the provincial government. At that time, Pakistan was passing through the most crucial time of its history, so the new government had to face a lot of challenges on national level as well as in the provinces.

The transfer of power did not take place under normal conditions. Pakistani Army had to surrender at Dhaka and East Pakistan had been separated from rest of the country. About 93000 Pakistani soldiers and civilians had been confined to Indian jails as the Prisoners of War (PoW). People of Sindh on the whole felt dejected like fellow countrymen, on one hand, the country was defeated and, on the other hand, the family members and relatives of many were included among the prisoners. Under those circumstances, Bhutto Government had to address sufferings of the people of Sindh, along with redressing the issues of other regions and centre.
Another huge task in front of the PPP Government was to introduce reforms for the lower cadre of society as depicted in the party manifesto. During the election campaign of 1970, down trodden segments of Sindhi society were assured for the improvement of their living standard by the implementation of reforms. It was promised that the culture of traditional feudalism would be overturned with the empowerment of working class in all walks of life, throughout the province. Hence, the people of Sindh were very anxious to get the reforms implemented at the earliest, so that they might be able to enjoy the fruit of socio-economic revolution.

All through the campaign, PPP also mobilized masses on ethnic lines. Therefore, the demand of the implementation of Sindhi language became a worth-mentioning source of tension soon after the assumption of power by PPP in Sindh. Bhutto and his administrative companions in Sindh had also to deal with language controversy with utmost possible political skills. So that with the solution of this controversy, national interest and unity might also not be harmed along with the maintenance of general law and order throughout the province.

As, there were so many differences among the inhabitants of Sindh, so the formation of provincial government with the consent of Sindhi politicians, belonging to PPP and its allies, was also a serious issue before Bhutto administration. The situation was created due to the great political differences in province. In addition to that, it was also required to deal with the political forces present in Sindh, who were opposing PPP and its provincial administration. Among those were very powerful feudal lords and most of them were Sindhi nationalists like G. M. Sayed. So, they could also influence the whole provincial setup to greater extent, if left unattended. By keeping in mind the Sindhi nationalistic sentiments among Sindhi people, Bhutto
administration, had also to promote the feelings of Pakistani nationalism among the people to maintain and promote national integrity, which was the most important need of the day.

**The Formation of Provincial Government**

After having an in depth knowledge of existing state of political affairs within and outside province, immediately after the taking over the reins of power, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto was nominated as the Governor and the Martial Law Administrator in Sindh. Mumtaz Bhutto was Z.A. Bhutto’s second cousin and an eye witness to the most of unfolding events in the Sindh politics of the time. Therefore, being a close confidant of Bhutto, his nomination was considered as an important step towards the consolidation of power in Sindh. Moreover, another renowned Sindhi feudal lord and politician, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi was inducted by Bhutto in his federal cabinet, who sworn in as the Minister for Communications and Natural Resources along with additional charge of Railways. The slot of such an important department with a Sindhi minister was of immense importance.

The nomination of the leader of house in Sindh Assembly again became a source of minor tension after the lifting of Martial Law. There were many complications of political nature associated with the nomination, as the political condition was too fragile due to the then existing unrest in Sindh. Taking in view the situation, Bhutto personally visited Sindh and held detailed consultations with many stake-holders in Sindhi politics.

He announced his decision, keeping in mind all of delicacies and retained Mumtaz Bhutto as the Leader of House in Sindh Legislature. Bhutto, while
announcing the nomination, admired Mumtaz Bhutto profoundly and maintained that being a talented and capable leader, he possessed appreciable skills to successfully handle the politico-administrative complicacies. Bhutto also had applause his role as the Provincial Martial Law Administrator. Consequently, Mumtaz Bhutto became the Chief Minister of the province. As out of total 62 seats of Sindh assembly, PPP had 34 members, so he very easily got vote of confidence there and then. Another stalwart Sindhi leader among the PPP columns, RasulBux Talpur was appointed by the Presidentas the Governor of Sindh. Moreover, considerable strength of Sindhis was appointed in the provincial and federal departments. That mechanism of provincial government further consolidated the political power of PPP in Sindh, and strengthened more after the adoption of interim constitution.

When the government of PPP took over the charge of provincial government, then there were bulk of political issues and diversities, which caused deep rooted unrest with lot of implications, had to be faced by the then Government of Sindh led by Mumtaz Bhutto amicably. Consequently, Sindh could be enabled to make rapid economic advancement after the resolution of those litigious issues.

A prominent Sindhi nationalist leader G. M. Sayed, whose role and contribution in different stages of Sindh history is very important, started anti-government and even treacherous activities during the early reign of Mumtaz Bhutto administration. He was one of the most influential and noteworthy Sindhi leaders. He gradually began to float the idea of an independent Sindhi state i.e. SindhuDesh. Sayed had been accusing the central leadership consisting of Punjabi leaders for looting and plundering the resources of Sindhis, more severely as compare to other Sindhi nationalist leaders, since long. Now even after the establishment of
PPP government, his allegations continued, both against the central and provincial levels. Due to PPP rule, Sindhis were blessed with facilities like greater job opportunities in Sindh and in federal departments. Besides that, central and provincial governments took many other steps to address the grievances of Sindhis, which resulted in the improvement of confidence among the masses. But all those steps could not satisfy Sindhi nationalist leader Sayed and he continuously persuaded with vigor, his idea of SindhuDesh. He assured Sindhis that the solution of all their miseries laid in the formation of SindhuDesh, where Sindhis would reserve the right to administer their resources. He made his level best efforts to mobilize the masses. Sayed extremely exploited the language issue and made many provocative and motivational statements. He especially attempted to attract the Sindhi youth, with his flowery propaganda. When Bhutto urged Sindhis to respect Urdu and retain their trust in federation, Sayed dubbed Bhutto as the agent of Punjab. Sayed very strongly denounced the preaching of Bhutto and more harshly condemned his thoughts of maintaining the unity under federation, than anyone else. Although, he gathered small number of people and activists around himself but overall, Sindhis could not be mobilized by him at large. Sindhis were largely obliged by provincial and central governments. They smelled the views of Sayed similar to the Mujib’s thoughts, which culminated in to the separation of East Pakistan. It was evident that no considerable positive change occurred in the lives of Bengalis after their separation from Pakistan. They were also observing like other people, that after the separation from Pakistan, Bangladesh went under strong Indian influence. So, having seen those realities did not allow the idea of Sayed to be flourished and admired among Sindhis at massive scale. Mumtaz Bhutto ‘dealt effectively’ Sayed and his associates. Later because of his provocative and insurgent ideas, Sayed was imprisoned by the Government in
He remained in jail for long time. His arrest was not less than a serious risk for provincial government, as he enjoyed considerable popularity among nationalists. However, the government under PPP took the political risk and put him under house arrest for a long period and his anti-state propaganda was controlled to greater extent, during the period of study.

Simultaneously, Sindhi nationalists felt that the situation was ripe to press the Government. As Bhutto was pursuing the politics of federal level, therefore, most of the Sindhi nationalist feudal lords did not side with PPP, due to their vested interests. They raised the slogans of Sindhi nationalism to attract the maximum number of masses and to encourage demonstrators belonging to all walks of life to come out to voice their demands. Anti-PPP elements especially encouraged all those segments of society, who were considered as strong basis for PPP like, the labourers and students etc. That was meant to defame the government by all the groups who were instrumental to bring the party in the power corridors. As Sindhis were considered as back-bone of the Provincial Government of PPP, so after the formation of PPP ministry in Sindh, Sindhi elements were greatly rejoicing. They wanted to get their dreams realized within the shortest possible span of time. Government repeatedly appealed masses to wait for some time patiently and government both at central and at provincial levels, needed time to turn the things up-down in favour of working classes. Meanwhile, because of delay in the implementation of the agenda of reforms according to the manifesto of PPP, nationalist elements exploited the sentiments of masses by their anti-PPP discourses. At that critical juncture, PPP needed to develop very careful policy. Party had to deal with the propaganda of nationalist elements. But at the same time, those elements could not be dealt with
stern action of any kind. A large strength of Sindhi supporters of PPP did belong to traditional rural, agrarian and conservative segments of society. Moreover, most of Sindhi supporters of PPP also had a soft corner for Sindhi nationalist element in their minds, who was opposing PPP. Any sort of strong action by the leadership of PPP, could damage the politically fragile position of PPP in Sindh. Although at some places strong actions were taken against the rivals of PPP and Bhutto, yet overall, the leadership of PPP attempted to deal with the state of affairs politically.

Soon, Sindhis were begun to be employed at large scale in provincial and federal departments and the pledged reforms were started to be implemented. Sindhi language bill was passed and quota system in government services was implemented as well. Those steps of federal and provincial governments considerably weakened the position of Sindhi feudal nationalists and the position of PPP in Sindh was strengthened considerably. Moreover, a right wing pressure group i.e. Hur Movement, which had long list of sacrifices for mother-land as well as for Islam was also proactive against the government.

The Hur fighters under the leadership of PirPagaro continued their activities against the government even after the taking over of PPP. However, the PPP government dealt them with iron hand and the danger of any Hur uprising was controlled. Bhutto had to face severe opposition of the feudal and nationalists in the province of Sindh. The action against Hur activists provoked strong resentment and opposition by right wing political parties from within and outside Sindh. The most influential from among them was PirPagaro. He was of the view that Bhutto was opposing him on purely personal basis and PPP government was trying to defame his position. He said that Bhutto had been opposing his close associates like Zafar Ali
Shah, MPA from Nawab Shah, was accused for being part of the ‘London Plan’. According to him, Bhutto was intolerant in the context of difference of opinion at any stage of his political career; therefore he victimized his political opponents not only in the parliament but also in public, including Abdul Wali Khan, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Molvi Shams, Mohammad Ayub Khuhro and Dr. Nazir Ahmad.28

From the very outset, the provincial government of PPP had to deal with the issue of labour unrest also. However, the labourers themselves snatched the favours as per promises made by PPP during election campaign. In the context of the expectations from PPP Government they had become angry and under the influence of the labour unions, started gherao and jalo (encircle and ablaze).29 The factories and mills workers began to lodge their protests in most of the major cities of Sindh including Karachi. They blocked roads and held rallies which often turned into violent demonstrations.30 Different labour organizations took it as their own right and started settling issues with industrialists and administrative staff in different industries which brought controversies.31 The trade union leaders wanted implementation of labour programme of the party, at once. They started agitation due to which unrest among labour circles spread all over the country while Karachi was the main hub. They were of the view that people’s rule had started and they forced administrators and proprietors for the increase in their wages and facilities. That situation converted in to the general unrest among the labourers and clashes between law enforcing agencies and labourers erupted.32

As the labour class occupied the greatest possible significance in the manifesto of PPP,33 so the central and provincial leaders of party could not neglect the issue, because it could damage the image of PPP in Sindh and even in whole of the
Consequently Bhutto spared time to address a public rally in Karachi on January 3, 1972.\textsuperscript{34} Beside other objectives, an important motive behind his address was to control the situation by taking people in to confidence. He assured them in his address of January 3, that the government of PPP, belonged to them and she would soon take considerable steps to resolve the grievances of labourers. He also recognized the role of labourers and workers in transforming the dream of the party to take over in to reality. He observed that all of miseries of the labour class were sharpened due to the unwise policies of previous dictatorial and tyrant regimes.\textsuperscript{35} Bhutto declared that as the government of people had taken over the charge of administration in Sindh and in centre as well, so all efforts would be made to revolutionize the lives of labourers. He strongly advised them to work whole heartedly and ensure maximum production. He further maintained that no nation of World could make progress, without hard work.\textsuperscript{36} His visits and addresses won the sympathies of labourers to some extent. Therefore, their demonstrations against the factory owners and policy makers were minimized. As the personality of Bhutto, was considered to be charismatic so his visit in Sindh and speeches were convincing thus brought fruits. He again addressed to the people on May 1, 1972 where he urged labourers to work hard and avoid violence.\textsuperscript{37} He maintained that it was not in the interest of either province or labour class to damage public and private properties. Simultaneously, the situation compelled the Government to implement labour reforms as early as possible. Otherwise the problem of labour unrest would cause serious damage to the image of PPP in Sindh and in centre as well. So, the government expedited the work on the framing of labour reforms and on February 10, 1972 the Labour Reforms were introduced.\textsuperscript{38} As during those days, labour leaders had showed annoyance to the Government and the events of strikes, gherao (encirclement) and
Jalao (setting ablaze) had become an order of the day. On the other side, factory owners in Sindh threatened to close the factories and mills if the labour violence was not be controlled. Under those circumstances the attention of demonstrators was gradually diverted and the problem of their unrest was controlled to greater extent, by the provincial government of PPP, with the guidance of central leadership.

**Sindhi-Muhajir Conflict**

The tension between Sindhis and Muhajirs was also inherited by the Provincial Government of Sindh. Soon after the assumption of power by PPP in Sindh, the ethno-lingual riots were started. Urdu speaking community feared the domination of Sindhi elements upon themselves. Thus, they began to protest against Sindhi domination. In response to their protest, Sindhi activists also started to raise propaganda against Urdu and Muhajirs, followed by the violent attacks. There were multiple compulsions to manage articulately, the party promises about adoption of Sindhi language and at the same time planning for disaster management regarding Muhajir mindset. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in his public speech made on March 31, 1972 at Sanghar, strongly urged Sindhi students not to agitate against Urdu and respect it as Pakistani language. He maintained that he himself belonged to Sindhi origin and he used to talk in many other languages as well, but that did not mean the departure from Sindhi language and culture. He strongly denounced the language controversy against the interest of Pakistan as well as against the interest of Sindh. Bhutto advised the youth that the violence would only serve the interests of the enemies of Pakistan and Sindh. He invited the demonstrators for dialogue and assured about the solution of their problems positively. On other side, Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan who was heading an alliance named as Muhajirs, Punjabis and Pathan Mahaz (MPPM). The front was
working in response to the activities of Jiay Sindhi Mahaz, comprised of nationalist Sindhis. MPPM raised voice for the rights of non-Sindhi elements and was perusing their strength. However, the Provincial Government of PPP dealt thesituation with great difficulty in its early period and the struggle between Muhajirs and Sindhis continued to pose a noteworthy challenge. All the communities and groups, who were instrumental in bringing PPP to power, then started creating problems like jinni out of bottle.

Another immediate situation which PPP Government had to face was to tackle youth agitation all around the Sindh. Students were being considered as one of the most important and supportive group for the provincial and central government led by PPP. Therefore, their protests and rallies during PPP rule were of great significance.

The traditional demands of the students were as the improvement in educational facilities and the provision of better job opportunities for students in future also attached with that grand campaign of students. They held a protest rally in Karachi on February 7, 1972. Students chanted the slogans in favour of the implementation of Sindhi language and recorded their protest at their level best. Again they held a grand procession on March 2, 1972 in Karachi. In order to control the protesting students and to maintain peaceful atmosphere, the march of students towards the city of Hyderabad, was blocked. Police succeeded in disbursing them with great difficulty. On March 15, 1972, at Karachi in front of the residence of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, students held a demonstration to draw the attention of government towards their demands. Next day, on March 16, another grand protest was organized in Karachi. After that the situation was rapidly running out of the hands of administration. So, provincial government ordered to close the colleges and
schools in Karachi for ten days. The action was taken to calm the situation by not allowing the students to gather and protest. During those protests, Sindhi students attacked and sometimes even set ablaze the offices of Urdu newspapers. Heavy bundles of Urdu papers were burnt to ashes. Urdu and pro-Urdu elements were also severely condemned during the protests.\textsuperscript{53}

On other side, Urdu speaking students also came out on the roads to defend their language. As far as non-Sindhi elements were concerned, they had already developed the sense of isolation and marginalization since the electoral victory of PPP in Sindh, in the general elections of 1970. Therefore, they observed those activities of Sindhi students, as alarming situation for them. They also lodged their protest at different places and recorded their sentiments. They were fearful that the job opportunities for them would be minimized or almost there would not be any opportunity due to the pro-Sindhi policies of the PPP Provincial Government. At some places, the violent clashes were also reported between Sindhi and non-Sindhi students.

The Provincial Government took some immediate measures to deal with the situation like police action followed by the baton-charges and the disbursement of students etc. But some long-term measures were also taken to calm the situation. The process of preparation of educational reforms was expedited and on February 15, 1972, educational reforms were announced. While announcing the reforms, government maintained that the reforms contained many provisions aimed at facilitating the students.\textsuperscript{54} Moreover, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s visit and public address at Sanghar, besides other purposes, was also meant to address the question of students’ unrest. In his address, besides advising the students from both of sides to remain
peaceful, as discussed above, he also declared government plan to achieve the target of free the education up to matriculation. He expressed his displeasure over the incidents of violence and through his political skills; he sought to calm the situation somehow across the province.\textsuperscript{55}

There were other reasons of students’ unrest as well. There were many students, who were influenced by the propaganda of G. M. Sayed against the government and the leadership of PPP. Sayed exploited the sentiments of students and they began to protest in favour of Sindhi language.\textsuperscript{56} The issue of unemployment at massive scale also enraged them. They also began to press the government to honour her electoral promise of the implementation of educational reforms on priority basis.\textsuperscript{55}Later on, an alliance by the name of Jiay Sindh TalabahMahaz was established in which all the nationalist students’ organizations were included.\textsuperscript{57} The Mahaz organized and led strong campaign followed by enthusiastic processions and rallies aimed at the enforcement of Sindhi language and culture.

After the assumption of power PPP in Sindh managed to overcome the opponents noticeably, by one way or the other. Because of the taking of different measures, PPP managed to retain and even improve its political position in Sindh, which had then become the second largest province of Pakistan, after the separation of East Pakistan.\textsuperscript{58}The overcoming upon the opponents, also occupied great political significance. The PPP not only became strong in Sindh but it had also earned positive impacts on the party strength chart. Not only due to general unrest in different walks of life but also because of the party commitment during campaign in general and the manifesto in particular, the Government had to introduce her reform agenda at the earliest.
Introducing Reforms in Sindh

The Government introduced reforms in different spheres, which were tried to be practically implemented without discrimination. Immediately after the formation of Bhutto administration, people in Sindh, began to demand the pledged reforms. Their demand and pressure was too strong, that Bhutto himself had to request the people to wait for some time. In his public speech, Bhutto stated that the Government had to deal with a host of problems and issues of very serious nature. The implementation of reforms was in the priorities of government. But whole of the structure could not be changed and revised in one day. Bhutto declared;

The reforms... when fully implemented... will bring about a constructive change in the existing structure and complexion of our society and will revitalize the fields of education, health, agriculture, labour and finance. Let me assure you that these measures are not going to join the dust heap of past reforms. They will be implemented, and implemented in full and with speed by your Government.

Bhutto repeatedly appealed to the masses of Sindh to remain patient and spare the government for some time to come-up with the promised reforms in all walks of life. Therefore, the Government gradually started to implement those reforms through Presidential orders under, and after Martial Law. Bhutto’s political philosophy was mainly based on socialism and a staunch support of industrial workers was with him during his voyage from the idea of making a political party to the entrance in to power corridors. Therefore, PPP was eager to introduce industrial reforms.

PPP claimed that it believed on mixed economy and nationalization of industry under the concept of socialism and it was not in favour of eliminating private sector absolutely. The party declared that it believed in the end of monopoly and creation of competitive atmosphere and equal opportunities for the investors. The party after assuming power pledged that there would be entirely mixed economy in
industrial sector according to which the public and private partnership would be encouraged. Both would work in collaboration and, hence, there would be check on the authority of monopolists. In the first phase, on January 2, 1972 ten categories of basic industries were being taken over, through a Presidential order under Martial Law, by the state for ‘the benefit of the people of Pakistan’. The Government took thirty one units under state control, to improve the production and to avoid the threat of unemployment of a large number of labourers because of maladministration, which was safeguarded by the government. The industries included: iron, steel, electrical goods manufacturing, heavy engineering, tractor plants, assembling of motor-cars, basic metallurgy and basic chemicals, petro-chemicals and cement. The PPP purpose of controlling the big industrial families was acquired.

Moreover, the departments which provided the basic services like, electricity, gas and oil refineries were also taken away by government. At that stage, overall, twenty major industries concerning the above-mentioned products were taken over by the government. However, government in order to control the situation, provided protection to the shares of those officers, who were serving as directors under previous administrations of those under reviewed industries. On January 16, 1972 as second consignment of nationalization, the Government took over the possession of eleven more industries. During the process, it had become a policy matter to protect and not to nationalize those industrial units throughout Sindh, which were running by the foreign investors.

Martial Law administration under Bhutto also nationalized the noteworthy industries, which were producing the basic amenities and daily essentials. That wave of nationalization was started from the ghee mills and it soon covered some other
industries like, flour mills, rice mills and ginning factories. As Sindh and especially Karachi was hub of most of the industrial units, so with the successful completion of that hectic process of nationalization of industries, political position of PPP in Sindh was somehow strengthened. But on other side, that process of nationalization of industries also raised many questions and issues for future provincial politics. Industrialists throughout the province and especially in Karachi strongly felt sense of insecurity; hence, investment in the private sector was minimized and consequently the foreign exchange was continuously flight abroad. Another segment of Sindhi society which suffered a lot was peasantry; the same were at forefront in supporting PPP agenda in the elections 1970.

**Land Reforms**

To safeguard the interest of farmers and to eradicate feudal system were the part of PPP’s manifesto. Therefore, the Government announced Land Reforms on March 11 1972, through the Martial Law Act. As unjustified accumulation of wealth was challenged in the programme, so, through Land Reforms far reaching impacts were expected. The tax disparity among different agricultural categories was planned to be reduced. Imposition of agricultural tax was proposed twice a year and mutual relations between tenants and landlords were expected to be improved.

The maximum limit of land ownership was reduced from 500 acres of canal-irrigated land and 1000 acres of rain-irrigated land to 150 acres of canal-irrigated land and 300 acres of rain irrigated or arid land and from 3600 to 1500 produces index units. The Government issued a Martial Law regulation so that the plan might be implemented in its full spirit. For that purpose Land Commission was established in each province of the country which would solve the complications in the
implementation of the reforms. A time frame regarding the accomplishment of the plan was given and it was hoped that all decisions regarding respective reforms would be implemented till July 1972.71

Bhutto himself withdrew thousands acres of land and Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi was also effected by surrendering 5500 acres of land. So, many other landlords in Sindh had also surrendered their land due to the reforms.72 However, the pace of allocation of the land to the tenants was very low. From May 1972 to November 1974, only 229219.4 hectors were distributed but the land was fixed for the distribution was of 646365.2 hectors. In that context, it can be calculated that all land was not vacated by the waderas.73

Tenants, under the reforms, could not be expelled from the lands where they were cultivating. They could be expelled only if they discontinue fulfilling their agricultural needs or if they discontinue paying their share in revenue and their share in batai. The peasants, under Bhutto land reforms, also reserved their right of haqq-i-shuфа, in case the owner decided to sell the land. Land owners were held responsible to manage and provide the seeds to tenants. In addition to that, the land-owners also had to pay the land revenue tax and the water tax.74

The majority of population in Sindh was associated with the agricultural profession, hence, agrarian reforms were considered much significant throughout the province. The Land Reforms enhanced the self confidence in the Sindhi haris and the confidence on the Federal Government increased. The haris, who were suppressed and exploited for centuries by the waderas, were now honoured and respected for the first time. Hence, their loyalty with the party and country was increased. The pieces of land beyond maximum limit, were taken over by government, from big landlords
without any payment and those portions of land, were freely distributed among the peasants, who did not have their own land.\(^{75}\)

Due to the reforms, the political, economic and social authority of feudal lords had decreased. Revolutionary steps were taken in the agricultural field by adopting scientific methods. In that regard, the government issued national agenda for farmers comprising on eight points aiming at the increase in agricultural production through distribution of land among farmers and tenants.\(^{76}\)

**Nationalization of Financial Sector**

On March 9, in 1972, through an ordinance, the Government nationalized many factories as well as financial institutions, schools and colleges as mentioned in the PPP’s programme.\(^{77}\) Undernationalization policy all banks were nationalized; including State Bank of Pakistan, Industrial Development Bank and Zari Taraqiati Bank. The nationalized commercial banks were re-organized under five group i.e. National Bank of Pakistan, Habib Bank Limited, United bank Limited, Muslim Commercial Bank and Allied Bank Limited under the supervision of Banking Council of Pakistan.\(^{78}\) There was an increase in the number of commercial banks from 2942 to 6275.\(^{79}\) The banks adopted policies beneficial for the people of Pakistan. The government also took practical steps for co-operative banking. A federal bank was established to supervise the cooperative banks at national level, which provided capital and other facilities at lower level. All of the commercial banks were nationalized and they were given under the control of the State Bank of Pakistan which was authorized to appoint the required functionaries. The number of directors and higher officials was reduced and only the Chief Executive Officers were appointed. Some steps were also taken to expand the network of the banks up to the
villages and the under-developed areas. The people of Sindh got benefit of the policy.\textsuperscript{80}

All of the Insurance Companies were merged in the State Life Insurance Corporation of Pakistan, which had a number of groups.\textsuperscript{81} Those groups within the Corporation were meant to create the spirit of competition. The insurance business was considerably affected because the agents could not continue to get the old amounts of commissions and emoluments. Sindhis got the jobs in many companies after the implementation of the policy of Nationalization. In the province, the jobs were given to the Sindhi people on the priority basis. Hence, they got opportunity to become directors and members of the board of governors in many institutions. As it was analyzed, “Under the PPP Government some Sindhis got job in the nationalized sectors.”\textsuperscript{82} Sometimes states and governments had to take some bitter steps for long lasting futuristic betterments. PPP Government had also taken such steps particularly in the shape of currency devaluation.

\textbf{Taxation & Currency Devaluation}

PPP had also promised to carry out reforms in the prevalent ‘unequal and inefficient’ system of taxation.\textsuperscript{83} On May 11 1972, the central government re-adjusted the value of rupee by 57 per cent due to rise in inflation at international level and increased in oil prices. The export growth remarkably increased and foreign exchange income had come almost double in very short span of time.\textsuperscript{84} The step was taken to improve the exports of country and to increase the foreign reserves in country. It was also expected by the government, that the new initiative would strengthen the economic activities. Therefore, the improvement in taxation system became utmost priority. The adjustment was made regarding the capability of tax payment especially for low
income classes who were mostly affected by inflation. To reduce the tax load on low income group the rate of taxes were reduced. The massive devaluation increased exports and tax readjustment benefitted the public, but like other parts of country, the prices of essential commodities, were also increased in Sindh to a greater extent. Economic experts expressed different opinions regarding the utility of that step for the provincial economy. Another important section of society in the province which was promised to be accommodated after in to power was labourers.

**Labour Reforms**

The labour class was one of the primarily responsible for the winning of the general election by PPP in 1970. They were assured of a much better and respectable living-standard. Therefore, labour reforms were awaited by the masses of Sindh much anxiously. New martial law administration under Bhutto implemented labour reforms on June, 1972.

The trend of formation and promotion of trade unions was encouraged by the Government and the jobs of labourers were also secured. The sum of bonus was also almost doubled. They were also entitled to get five per cent share in the total profit earned by their respective factories. In order to make arrangements for the funeral and burial of any dying worker, the compensatory sum was increased from Rs. 50 to Rs. 500. The employment of a son of deceased labourer was also facilitated under the reforms. Further benefits were also provided to the labourers in the form of the social security and group insurance schemes. All those who received a monthly salary up to rupees 1000, were also entitled to get pension. The salaries of labourers were repeatedly increased by the Government. The procedure of filing the law-suits in the Labour Courts was made easy. For that purpose, labour laws were amended and...
simplified as well. Labour courts were also being established.\textsuperscript{89} The education of the children of labourers was also facilitated and factory owners were bound to fulfill the responsibilities in that connection. They were also provided health facilities jointly by the owners of the concerning factory or industry, in collaboration with government. It covered necessary health coverage which was not less than a blessing for them.\textsuperscript{90}

In the manifesto of PPP it was guaranteed that the right and growth of labour and trade unions would be safeguarded in all sections of industry.\textsuperscript{91} The Government provided assurance under constitution for liberty of trade unions as basic right. The encouragement of trade unions was stressed in the law of industrial relations and the registrar trade union was directed to facilitate the trade union registration process. The Government inculcated the right of strike and increased CBA status. Labour laws improved in favour of labourers, which included the safety of their jobs and security of life. It was done according to the standard International Labour Organization (ILO). Labourers were provided free health, residence and free education for their children.\textsuperscript{92} PPP cherished not only the champion of just lower classes but also acknowledged the middle working class by facilitating them in the field of basic necessities like education and health.

**Educational and Health Reforms**

The PPP Government also took practical steps in the field of education and health by announcing education and health policy on March 15 and February 5, 1972 respectively.\textsuperscript{93} In the party manifesto it was promised to introduce free education up to matriculation level and better facilities for teachers.\textsuperscript{94} In connection with the educational reforms the Government restructured ‘old discarded’ educational system which was promoting the vested interests of upper class. It adopted
progressive educational policy which was to provide equal opportunities for all.\textsuperscript{95} The oppressed classes were provided educational facilities in their localities. The examination system, which seemed to be helpless earlier, was transformed into an ideal status being free of prejudice and corruption. The modern, objective-based and justified means of evaluation was adopted.\textsuperscript{96}

Under the reforms, a new university was established at Khairpur. Moreover, establishment of Agriculture College Tando Jam, NED Engineering College Karachi and upgradation of Engineering College Jamshoro as university were also the fruits of the Educational Reform agenda of the PPP.\textsuperscript{97} To provide education facility at door step to the people living in far flung areas of the country, People’s Open University was established by Ministry of Education, which is now renowned distance learning\textsuperscript{98} insituation. The University Ordinance introduced by Ayub Khan was cancelled because of which students were under certain restrictions.\textsuperscript{99}

To improve further the educational standard and to make educational policy more effective, 176 colleges were nationalized on September 1, 1972, including 98 colleges in Sindh.\textsuperscript{100} All of the technical and vocational training institutes were also nationalized, across Sindh. To improve the educational standard 3334 schools were also nationalized. The teaching and non-teaching staff at different levels, working in all those institutions was considered as government servants. Almost twenty five thousand teachers who were ‘victim of the exploitation’ got freed from the ‘crutches of the corrupt system.’\textsuperscript{101} For that purpose provincial establishment code was amended to regulate the services of the people.

The doors of education were then open for the children of lower middle classes in Sindh and their children entered in to schools while smile was dancing on
their faces. National Economic Council awarded stipends to the talented students nominated by vice-chancellors of different universities and professional institutions.**PPP** was of the view that students were the asset of the country and it was blamed that political parties had involved them in politics and misused their potential for their vested interests. The party had the stance that different student organizations with reference to political parties were established which provided nursery for future politicians. However, the policy to curb opponent political parties’ student wing, the Government introduced some policies to control the influence of student unions, particularly, aimed at IslamiJamiatTalaba’s influence.**PPP** was of the view that students were the asset of the country and it was blamed that political parties had involved them in politics and misused their potential for their vested interests. The party had the stance that different student organizations with reference to political parties were established which provided nursery for future politicians. However, the policy to curb opponent political parties’ student wing, the Government introduced some policies to control the influence of student unions, particularly, aimed at IslamiJamiatTalaba’s influence.

The victim of official encroachment in to the university affairs were mostly students belonging to lower middle classes, which ultimately brought unemployment.

Fresh and up-to-date syllabus was designed to meet the educational needs of the current age and Sindh Text-book Board was established with the aim to facilitate students of the province at large. The Government initiated lot of new schools and colleges to develop educational activities in the province. Resultantly, the educational standard all over the country and specifically in Sindh was raised. Moreover, the teachers previously employed by private sector which were now then nationalized under Bhutto doctrine became satisfied on account of the provision of job security and equal status to the Government teachers. The benefits of the policy were appreciated by masses of the country including Sindh.

The health was also priority of the Government as declared in the party election manifesto. Therefore, reforms were also implemented at massive scale to improve the health condition of common man. All of the hospitals located anywhere in Sindh, which had been established by philanthropists or organizations by that time,
were nationalized under Provincial Health Department. Beside hospitals, dispensaries and rural health centers were also covered under the umbrella of nationalization. The Government increased the funds allocated for health twelve times in national budget during the party tenure. New health projects and hospitals were established in the province worth-mentioning were, Shaikh Zayed Hospital Larkana and Jinnah Postgraduate College, Karachi.  

The administrative structure was designed to manage the hospitals. Like other parts of country, that structure was started from Basic Health Unit located in any area, where about 10000 individuals were dwelling and in goths, towns, small cities and large cities, health units under the management of local bodies and the Provincial Government were established and developed. To boost the morale of the staff of health institutions, all the staff of newly nationalized institutions was given the status of government employees with free medical coverage. The Foundation Meeting Documents of PPP along with election manifesto 1970 highlighted the importance of Islamic identity of the country, as discussed in detail, in chapter three. Bhutto always claimed that he and his comrades had firm belief on Islamic injunctions. 

PPP had promised in its manifesto that no law against Islam and Quran would be framed and the real spirit of party program, its demands and activities would be under Islamic injunctions. The party considered Islam as complete code of life. The policy of the party depicted in the constitution which declared Islam as official religion of country. Under section 31 (I), it was stated that Pakistan had taken necessary steps for Muslims individually and collectively to understand and act upon the injunction of Quran and Sunnah. The establishment of Islamic Ideological Council was also a step forward. Later on, declaration of Ahmedis as non-Muslims by
the National Assembly of Pakistan on September 7, 1974 was an important and long-lasting step of the party.\textsuperscript{111}

**Reforms in Sindh: An Appraisal**

The above mentioned economic reforms in different walks of life were considered as the key note of the PPP’s election manifesto in 1970. However, PPP’s rule brought all of a sudden change for which people were not mentally prepared. Formerly, they were habitual of being under ‘despotic rules’ of civilian and military bureaucracy. At that time when they were totally free of those limitations they could not manage the liberty. The rulers on the other hand imposed concocted ideas and theories on experimental basis without any homework.

The implementation of reforms in different fields proved the claims made in Bhutto’s first speech but, later on, when PPP could not inculcate the socialist agenda, those claims became doubtful. Reforms were implemented for the improvement of general conditions of the masses as per party manifesto but practically it could not be done in letter and spirit. Consequent upon the rise in prices and dearness in general and authoritarian style of Bhutto defamed PPP. The provincial opposition bitterly criticized those reforms and attempted to convince the masses that the reforms were of no use to the common man. They further pointed out that the reforms had done a permanent damage to the provincial economy.\textsuperscript{112}

Due to the devaluation of rupee and the ever-increasing prices, the increase in salaries of labourers and other government servants, became meaningless.\textsuperscript{113} Labour reforms implemented by PPP, left behind somehow unpleasant impacts for the provincial industrial development. The trade unions were patronized...
by the party before 1970 elections and different trade union leaders started day dreaming about their future. They were misled and they themselves misinterpreted their future. Hence, after the advent of PPP rule the labourers refused to perform their duty and considered themselves owners of different industrial units even they disobeyed the real owners. As labourers became busy in their union related activities so the industrial administration could not maintain disciplinary atmosphere. Throughout the province, sharp decline in industrial production was recorded at that time. Labourers virtually became so powerful that industrialists became afraid of the situation and practically business and activity of stalk exchanged seized. Hence, the process of installation of more industries was stopped in the province at least for the time being. In that connection, the following main points dominated the political climate in Sindh.

The policy of nationalization badly affected the production. Personal interests came to an end and the Government officials could not manage the affairs of concerning factories. Production in the nationalized industries was considerably decreased instead of increasing. It was also observed and alleged by the opponents of PPP that the selection of staff was made on the basis of nepotism and party affiliations in Sindh, caused a sharp increase in the official expenditures. That also led to the decline of the quality of performance. As the investment of industrialists, had become insecure, so they gradually lost interest in the installation of further industries in province. The Government also admitted that the capital was being transferred abroad.

Due to the reforms thousands of tenants got rid of exploitation of the feudal system. By the reason of poverty and class system in Pakistan, introduction of the
reforms was very important under which farmers were given their outstanding rights. In that context, the land reforms did prove beneficial for the farmers and haris across the province, but tax reforms in the agricultural sector, were considered as insufficient and those were without any practical utility. As the prices of fertilizers were increased many times, consequently the exemption from revenue was taken as useless.\textsuperscript{118} Meanwhile, the agricultural income tax further increased the difficulties of middle classes of agrarian segment of society.\textsuperscript{119} Moreover, a survey entitled as white-paper published later during Zia era, observed that the pieces of land beyond maximum limit were not surrendered in Sindh at large level and many waderas belonged to PPP and even Bhutto family retained above-limit pieces of land. Many influential families who belonged to PPP used to pressurize and harass the feudal belong to anti-PPP elements in Sindh for political purpose.\textsuperscript{120} Therefore, it can be calculated that:

\ldots Keeping in view the presence of a large number of landlords in the PPP, these reforms were not seriously implemented\ldots instead of providing a boost to the agricultural production, these reforms rather aggravated the already tense situation between landlords and peasants.\textsuperscript{121}

Furthermore, the socialist minded and enthusiastic labour leaders exploited the labour reforms and the labourers became habitual of receiving their wages without working whole-heartedly. Consequently, under those newly developed circumstances, the industrial production was decreased to considerable extent.

Sindhi masses faced great burden in the form of price hike. Due to devaluation of rupee by 57 per cent, already poor masses of Sindh could not manage their domestic budgets. The benefits extended by all of other reforms, became useless on practical grounds in view of the devaluation.\textsuperscript{122}
White-paper published during Zia era, further observes that increase in the Provincial Government’s expenditure, widespread corruption, and alleged misappropriation of resources; also put an unusual burden on the Governmental exchequer. Moreover, despite the repeated increase in salaries of government servants, no solid change could be recorded in the lives of Sindhis, as most of the analysts and opposition leaders observed. The responsibility of that lack of progress in Sindh was put on Bhutto’s reforms.

On other side, Bhutto inherited war torn economy which he tried to rebuild by his reforms and according to his views, ‘nationalization’ was the only possible solution of wrong distribution of wealth in a traditionally capitalist and feudalist society. However, those massive reforms across Sindh, opened new venues for future politics and created so many questions to be debated in connection with the improvement of the living-standard of the masses of Sindh, as it was pledged in the election manifesto of PPP.

PPP was not born accidently; it was well thought and quite debated idea. The Party’s Foundation Meeting Documents as well as the election manifesto contained concrete guidelines for each and every vital issue Pakistan was facing at the time. Constitutional historical track record was not so impressive, for nine years the country remained under Interim Constitution basically with cosmetic changes in the 1935 Act, and then Constitution 1956 just survived for less than two years and afterwards the Constitution 1962 designed by a dictator. So, a herculean task in front of the PPP Government was to set preamble for the future viable constitution.
Resolution of Constitutional Issues

Bhutto took over the authority as the CMA and became the only civilian CMA in the history of Pakistan. He knew the responsibilities and expectations upon him, so he addressed the issue by bringing opposition to famous ‘Gentlemen Agreement’, which paved the way for the consensus on the Interim Constitution 1972.

Introduction of Interim Constitution

PPP’s manifesto also included the formulation of future progressive constitution of the country. The important issues to be included in the constitution were complete democracy, parliamentary government, federal structure and expansion of local bodies. Those issues were safeguarded initially in the interim constitution 1972 and later on in the constitution of 1973. However, a lot of administrative requirements were there to meet.

Bhutto succeeded Yahya Khan as Pakistan’s President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. He also enjoyed the support of the majority of the National Assembly elected members. His massive popularity in Sindh was also a great source of power for him. He was elected as the champion of democracy. It was aspired by general public that Bhutto would establish a stable and strong democratic order. But the government affairs were run under the Martial Law, which had earlier been implemented by Yahya Khan. The only change was the taking over by Bhutto from Yahya Khan and the renaming of Martial Law, as the ‘Awami Martial Law’. Sometime after the assumption of power by Bhutto, it was started to be demanded by individuals and political parties, that Martial Law should be lifted and a permanent governmental and constitutional setup should be made. The demand was made by the influential people and politicians of Sindh at large scale. The leaders of Sindh
advised Bhutto to take steps aimed at shunning of martial law. He himself wanted to introduce constitutional setup, as it was against the norms and spirit of PPP to run the administration under the umbrella of Martial Law, against which, it had been raising strong voice in the past continuously. So, after holding the successful dialogues with opposition parties, an agreement was signed with consensus among major political parties of the day. That was known as the gentlemen’s agreement. After the signing of that gentlemen’s agreement, the National Assembly approved the proposed interim constitution on April 17, 1972 and it was implemented with the lifting of Martial Law on April 21, 1972. On the same day Bhutto took over the oath as the President of Pakistan under that new interim constitution of Pakistan. Following in the footsteps of centre, provincial assemblies were also summoned and provincial governments were formed which replaced the Martial Law administrators. In Sindh, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto was nominated and was given the vote of confidence as elected Chief Minister of the province under newly implemented setup.

**Salient Features of the Interim Constitution**

It was demand of the opposition to lift the Martial Law at once, even in February 1972; Abdul Wali Khan gave ultimatum to Bhutto to announce lifting the Martial Law otherwise he would not be cooperated. Therefore Martial Law was lifted and Interim Constitution 1972 was introduced on April 21, 1972. According to the constitution, country was named as Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Fundamental rights of citizens were incorporated in constitution as these rights had earlier been extended by the constitution of 1956. Its basic structure was borrowed from the Government of India Act 1935 and from the Indian Independence Act 1947. It was a semi-presidential constitution. President was regarded as the head of state and as the head
of government as well. In provinces, chief ministers also enjoyed great powers under the constitution. At provincial level the constitution introduced parliamentary system, where as in centre, it introduced semi-presidential form of government. All ministers were bound to be the members of their respective assemblies. In case, an individual, who by that time was not a member of legislature, was nominated as minister, then it was obligatory for him to become the member of that concerning assembly within one year. Otherwise he could not retain his ministry. In all ways, center was dominant upon the federating units. Even practically the provincial governments of the Punjab and Sindh were more under the domination of center. In the provinces of NWFP and Balochistan, the issues were settled with the consultation of NAP and JUI.132

**Critique on the Interim Constitution**

Although, the Martial Law was lifted and the constitutional order was restored under the interim constitution but under the new setup, the PPP Sindh Government remained authoritarian. Both of the leaders, i.e. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Mumtaz Bhutto, enjoyed the supreme authority under Martial Law and even under the interim constitution retained their supremacy with the mere change of terms. The interim constitution did not credibly influence the affairs and politics in Sindh. Undoubtedly, Provincial Assembly was summoned, Provincial Government was formed, fundamental rights of citizens were restored in the province, new political era was started, the civilian authorities were restored at all levels in the province and political circles were free to express their voices. But at public level and in provincial society, the stronghold of PPP in Sindh remained intact and the rights and freedom given under that interim constitution, to masses of Sindh, could not produce worth-mentioning fruits in their
In the history of Sindh, the period of study, was an age of great turmoil and turbulence. Ethnic unrest was observed at large level. Reforms were creating new supporters and opponents of PPP in Sindh. Language controversy was also at its peak and students were also very active in mass-mobilization. Under those circumstances interim constitution made changes at institutional level, but in the society and politics of Sindh, that constitution could not considerably effect the pace or course of events.

The PPP government inherited ‘Sindhi- Muhajir conflict’, but because of the main leadership of the party was Sindhi and adoption of local languages was the election agenda so it had to go a step further for the implementation. It caused more tense the already existing differences. The PPP Government had to face the music but it managed it diplomatically.133

**Sindhi-Muhajir Tension**

Ethnically, Sindh is the most diversified province of Pakistan. Till the partition of subcontinent, there was no serious issue of ethnicity in Sindh. The inhabitants of Sindh were known as Sindhis who spoke Sindhi language. During and after the partition of British India, a large number of Muslim populations came to Sindh and settled there permanently. Those people mainly migrated from Central and Northern India. These Muslim migrants settled mainly in the urban areas of Sindh. They spoke Urdu language and generally were known as Muhajirs. They settled in the areas of Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur and Mirpur Khas. They belonged to educated middle class and soon occupied government services at large level. Those millions of Muhajirs did not prioritize to learn Sindhi language and generally kept themselves distant from Sindhi speaking population. On the other hand, Sindhi speaking masses were largely residing in rural areas and they were lesser qualified as compared to the
Muhajirs. They belonged to traditional feudal culture, which had dominated most of Sindh since centuries. The Sindhis had great respect and sentiments for their culture and traditions. Moreover, Sindhis also maintained overall low living standard.

As the Muhajirs migrated in bulk at the time of partition and after their settlement, the demographic view of the province was changed. Unlike other provinces, the cultural assimilation between Sindhis and Muhajirs could not be made in Sindh.

Moreover, Muhajirs succeeded in occupying important positions in the province. The Federal Government also attempted to develop Urdu language, so Muhajirs made rapid progress in all walks of life, during early years after the partition. As they were more qualified than Sindhis, they had the knowledge of the trends of the modern World, they were blessed by the Federal Government and there were many other factors as well, which led to the domination of Muhajirs in the province, especially in the fields of trade, business, commerce, industry and services at different lower and higher levels.

Sindhis were chiefly engaged in the field of agriculture although they occupied other professions too, but at low scale. They were mostly inhabitants of rural areas that's why; they were closely associated with their culture and traditions. They severely protested against the gradual domination of Urdu speaking Muhajirs in all walks of life across the province. Sindhis demanded proportional share in the fields of trade, business and services of each and every department. They claimed that they were the real inhabitants of Sindh and demanded that the Muhajirs would have to absorb themselves in the Sindhi culture, rather than dominating over the Sindhis.
The Sindhis were not being accommodated considerably, since long. Particularly, during the Ayub Regime their demands and apprehensions had been increasing due to ignoring their due rights. Education Commission Report 1959 suggested to introduce Urdu as medium of instruction in Sindh from class VI.\textsuperscript{138} Sindhis strongly protested against the development and repeatedly raised voice for the restoration of their privileges. They developed the sense of deprivation and affirmed that the resources were usurped by the rulers in favour of Muhajirs and Punjabis.\textsuperscript{139} In the wake of those circumstances, the people of Sindh supported PPP in the general election of 1970. On the other hand, PPP also assured them that their rights would be protected and they would be given their due opportunities in every walk of life in the province and centre after its ascendancy to power. Reforms were also pledged and the living standard of Sindhis was aimed at increasing. The leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was also considered as a solution of their miseries as he promised in the speeches delivered during the election campaign.\textsuperscript{140} The people of Sindh thought that as Bhutto himself belonged to the rural agrarian background, so he would be the right person to understand and solve the problems of Sindhis. A large number of Sindhis, whole heartedly supported PPP, in the general election of 1970, while Muhajirs supported different parties, particularly religio-political parties and their mandate was divided.

**PPP Government: Ethnic and Lingual Issues**

As, Sindhis had strongly supported PPP, so, they were expecting a lot after the formation of PPP provincial administration. Before that, they were convinced by the nationalist leaders that Muhajirs and Punjabis were usurping their resources. Hence, they gradually lost their confidence in the federation for the solution of their problems. PPP Government had certain challenges before it; although they were not in
a position to accommodate each and every demand of the people of Sindh, promptly but gradually it took sufficient measures to pacify their grievances.

Under those circumstances, PPP administration started working and Sindhis were employed in federal and provincial departments in considerable strength, “....substantive symbolic measures were undertaken to rectify past discrimination against Sindhis, and preference was given to Sindhis for government jobs in Karachi as well as other parts of Sindh”. They had also become members and directors of the boards of administrations of different institutions and newly nationalized industries. The PPP Government made noteworthy attempts to develop the feelings of equality among Sindhis and to boost their trust in the federation. Gradually their confidence in federation was improved. But on other side, Urdu speaking Muhajirs observed that they were being isolated and marginalized due to the pro-Sindhi policies of government. Soon after the formation of provincial government under PPP, Muhajirs started to raise their voices and these furious voices began to be louder than loudest with the passage of time.

The Eruption of Ethnic Riots in Sindh

Before the formation of PPP Government the situation of ethnic issue had become very unpleasant. In the wake of Muhajir domination, the Sindhis perceived that control of their own province had also been taken over by the Muhajirs and their future was discouraging and bleak according to the nationalist leaders. PPP had assured the Sindhi masses that after the winning of elections in Sindh, PPP would restore the previous status of Sindhi language in the province. After the formation of the PPP Government, Sindhi people began to remind the Provincial Government under Mumtaz Bhutto to fulfill the promises regarding the restoration of the status of
Sindhi language. The Government could not resist the public pressure for much longer duration and ultimately, Sindhi language bill was passed in the Sindh Provincial Assembly on July 7, 1972. At the time of voting on the bill, all the sixty two members of the Legislative Assembly divided on ethnic lines, irrespective of their party affiliation. All of the fifty Sindhi members supported the bill with full zeal and passion, while rest of the twelve Urdu speaking members of the assembly strongly opposed the bill. According to the approved Sindhi Language Bill Sindhi Language was declared as an official language of the province.

The Government under Mumtaz Bhutto further attempted to declare Sindhi language as the provincial official language. That move sparked strong reaction by Muhajir community throughout the province, they declared that their status was reduced and they began to search for their identity. It was an alarming point in the lingual and ethnic history of Sindh. At that moment a serious challenge was posed for the Provincial Government under PPP. On one side, Sindhis were celebrating the passage of Sindhi Language Bill and on other side, Muhajirs were afraid of the reduction of their position and status all over the province. Government had to deal and respond to both of the communities with a sense of political reconciliation. Muhajir community began to lodge their protests across the province. Those demonstrations were soon converted into communal clashes of limited scale between Sindhis and Muhajirs, who were raising the voice for their rights since long. So, the massive protests by Muhajirs became order of the day, throughout the province. During and through the protests, Muhajirs made their best possible efforts to motivate the spirit and sentiments of public in favour of Urdu language. They frequently recited the famous, emotional and provocative poem of an important Urdu poet named
RaisAmroohi, Urdu KaJanaza Hai, Zara Dhoom Se Niklay (It’s the funeral of Urdu, it may be taken out with zeal). At early stage, those protests and demonstrations remained peaceful as a whole. Nevertheless, the demonstrators began to target Sindhi people, official buildings and properties also came under target. At one stage, during a large protest, the protesters turned violent and attacked and burnt the Department of Sindhi in the University of Karachi. In reaction to the pro-Urdu demonstrations, Sindhi people also came out on roads. They began to organize demonstrations followed by their attacks on Urdu speaking people, throughout the province. Those riots continued for some time and overall, fifty five people were killed belonging to both the sides. In addition to that, thousands of people were injured during the protests.

Pro-Sindhi Provincial Government stated that Muhajirs wrongly feared that the Government of PPP, wanted to completely wipe-out Urdu from Sindh, whereas, the Government explained to the protesters that she only wanted to restore the previous status of Sindhi language in province. Provincial administration alleged that pro-Urdu violent protests were organized at large scale mainly on the behalf of JI and JUP. Those opposition parties, according to PPP, wanted to disturb the peace in Sindh for their political interests. The Provincial Government also seriously blamed Indian media for the promotion of pro-Urdu sentiments through its propaganda campaign aimed at the interruption in the internal matters of Pakistan, by supporting Muhajir protesters in Sindh.

Bhutto intervened at that stage to calm the situation and announced that in his capacity as the president of Pakistan, he would not sign the Sindhi Language Bill to authenticate it as law unless an agreement was mad by both the communities.
Since Bhutto was pursuing the politics of national level, so he had already advised Sindhi students in his speeches not to burn Urdu newspapers and not to discard Urdu language, as such actions were not in the best interest of country. Subsequently at the occasion, he formed a committee to have an in-depth study of the matter. It had to listen all of the stake holders and to suggest the most suitable and practicable solution of the issue. The committee comprised of Abdul Hafiz Pirzada, Hayat Mohammad Sherpao, Mairaj Mohammad Khan and Malik Mairaj Khalid. Malik Mairaj Khalid was Chief Minister of the Punjab and all the other respective members of committee were working as federal ministers.  

The committee started its work and finally upon its recommendations and due to the involvement of Bhutto, an agreement was finalized on the front of language issue. According to the agreement, Sindhi was acknowledged as an official language of Sindh whereas Urdu was declared as the national language of Pakistan, by all stake holders. Sindhis urged to play their due role and contribution in the development and promotion of Urdu as the national language. However, it was also determined that up to twelve years non-Sindhi employees especially in public services would not be disturbed within Sindh, by any means due to their unfamiliarity with Sindhi language. Although, on the whole the riots were controlled with that conclusion and peace was restored but most of the extremists belonging to both sides became dissatisfied and they remained stuck to their former positions. Sindhi nationalists even started discarding Bhutto as an agent of the Punjab, even the PPP Government intended to introduce quota system to accommodate more Sindhis in the services.  

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**Allocation of Quota system**

The Sindh Provincial Government had also been convinced by the demand of Sindhi masses that their share in the provincial public services should be increased. Moreover, their economic sufferings were much sharp as compared to Muhajirs due to low literacy rate as compared to Muhajirs. Therefore, they could not generally compete with them, as Muhajirshad better opportunities in all walks of life to excel. It was also observed that the ratio of Sindhis, in higher educational institutions and public services was comparatively low. So keeping in view, all those sufferings of Sindhis, the Government introduced quota system in the province. According to the system, sixty per cent seats in higher educational institutions, like colleges and universities were reserved for the students belonging to rural areas, while forty per cent seats in above-mentioned institutions were reserved for the students of urban areas. Same ratio was determined under quota system for the selections of public servants in all the departments in Sindh. To ensure the implementation of the quota system in its true spirit, the Government made it obligatory to produce National Identity Card and Domicile at the time of submission of documents for the admission in any university or for any public employment in Sindh so that non-deserving candidates could be discouraged. Later, the quota system was given the constitutional protection.

With the allocation of the above-mentioned quota system, the popularity of Bhutto and PPP was increased at very large level among the Sindhi masses. Even the popularity of the PPP did not reduce among the Sindhis, when G. M. Sayed, a powerful Sindhi nationalist leader was arrested by the Government, in connection with his alleged rebellious activities. The government had actually attempted to solve the
ethnic problem by extending the due right to Sindhis in connection with higher education and public services. On one side, the quota system improved the popularity of Bhutto and PPP in Sindh while on other side, that quota allocation caused fresh long-term tension on the front of ethnicity in Sindh. However, for the time being, the ethno-lingual tension was successfully overcome by the Government, by accommodating both the communities. In that regard Bhutto also played important role to resolve the issue in the home-province, with his best possible political skills, as he was well aware of the delicacy of issue.

**PPP’s Ascendancy to Power in Sindh**

PPP’s rise to power was one of the great achievements for Sindh and the Sindhis. Sindh, after a long time started federal politics and the Sindhis became prominent in the national arena because they became an important element of power structure and decision making authority. PPP Government enabled them to actively participate in the democratic process. Bhutto was the first Sindhi who took the highest administrative position of the country. Sindhis were joyful and they celebrated the moment of the transfer of power to Bhutto warmly and with passion. The ethno-nationalists and regionalists were marginalized and federal tendency of politics emerged in the province. The advent of PPP changed the life of people in Sindh and their miseries gradually decreased. Sindhis started owning the government and started feeling that they would be given priority in jobs and services in different departments under the federal and provincial governments. Bhutto took practical measures to minimize the discriminations against Sindhis. Those steps made them more confident and it was for the first time that they started serving in far-flung areas which was out of their nature.
In a real sense all above-mentioned feelings were not of permanent nature. The jazz of electioneering had been for the first time, therefore, masses in Sindh were in trans for some time but gradually the feeling erupted that the suppressed classes in general and labourers in particular could not get the real fruits they were promised. Sindhis were lagging behind as earlier. The same upper class feudal faces were again in the power corridors and enjoying all perks and privileges. In the conclusion of the study all merits and demerits of PPP’s ascendancy to power in Sindh would be analyzed.

Notes & References

2 PPP manifesto promised the introduction of reforms in almost every sphere of life, particularly, the suppressed classes were assured to be given their rights. For details see, The Election Manifesto of the Pakistan People’s Party, 1970.(Lahore: Classic, n.d),
5 Bhutto became Civil Chief Martial Law Administrator and never before a civilian had occupied that position.
7 V.F. Ageef, Sindhi Tareekh Kay Aainey, p.260.
10 Time and again promises of reform were made during the election campaign, particularly, in the interior Sindh.Dawn, Jang, Nawa-i-Waqt, Karachi, February 14, 1970, Jang, March 29, 1970, Nawa-i-Waqt, March 31, are a few examples.
11 To counter Sindhi nationalists PPP also adopted the same tactics, Hilal-e-Pakistan, August 14, 21, and June 21, 1970 are a few examples.
13 Personal Interview with Mumtaz Bhutto: March 9, 2010.
14 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Zafar, AwamiHukumat kay ZareenKarnamay, p37.
18 Ahmad, Democratic Upsurge in Pakistan: Sindhi AwamiTehreek,p.7-8.
20The Pakistan Times, Lahore, August, 19, 1972.
23The Pakistan Times, Lahore, April 1, 1972.
24Raza, Zulfiakar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, p.262.
26Ageef, Sindh Tareekh Kay Aainey Mein, p.322.
29Imroze, Lahore, January 5, 1972.
30The Pakistan Times, Lahore, July 1, 1972.
31Imroze, Lahore, January 18, 1972.
33Election Manifesto of the Pakistan People’s Party, 1970, p.25.
34Government of Pakistan, President of Pakistan Zulfiakar Ali Bhutto Speeches and Statements, pp.41.
36Ibid.
39Ibid.
45Ibid.
46Ibid.
48Protests and rallies of student organizations were recorded by the print media, particularly; IslamiJamiatTalaba, Jeay Sindh Students Federation and National Students Federation were the leading one. On the other hand People’s Students Federation and Jinnah Students Federation were just demanding for more reforms in educational sector and were not in favour of protests. See, Dawn, Karachi, August 4, 1974.
50Jang, Karachi, March 3, 1972
53The press coverage of the students’ unrest during the period February and March 1972 is quite evident of the situation of law and order was not good in the province because of student procession and rallies for their demands. However, the clashes on ethno-lingual issues made the condition worst.
56‘Jeay Sindh Students Federation’ was the student organ of Sindh AwamiMahaz, later on there was split in the federation; the moderate group was pleading the case of provincial autonomy whereas the extremist group was raising the slogans of ‘Sindhu Desh’. The Pakistan Times, Lahore, May 31, 1972.
57The organizations included in ‘Jiay Sindh TalabahMahaz’ were; Jeay Sindh Students Federation, Sindh Students Federation and National Students Federation. See, Dawn, Karachi, August 28, 1975.


In the manifesto it was pledged to restore surplus value of the labour through the nationalization of all the major sources of production.*Election Manifesto of the Pakistan People’s Party, 1970* (Lahore: Classic, n.d.), p.18-19.

*ibid.*, p.18.


*ibid.*


*Waada aur Eja-i-Waada*, p.36.


*Waada aur Eja-i-Waada*, p.38.


Ageet, Sindh Tareekh Kay Aainey Mein, p.264.

*WaadaaurEja-i-Waada*, p.36.


*WaadaaurEja-i-Waada*, p.17.


*WaadaaurEja-i-Waada*, p.23.


*WaadaaurEja-i-Waada*, p.125.


*ibid.*


*Election Manifesto of the Pakistan People’s Party, 1970*, p.35.


*A New Beginning*, pp.24,25.

*Election Manifesto of the Pakistan People’s Party, 1970*, p.43.

*A New Beginning*, p.31.
Waada aur Efa-i-Waada, p.85.

A New Beginning, pp.26-27.

Ibid., p.27.

Waada aur Efa-i-Waada, p.88.

Remaining 78 colleges were of the Punjab. The Pakistan Times, September 1, 1972.

Zafar, Awami Hukumat kay Zareen Karnamay, 100-101.

Waada aur Efa-i-Waada, p.97.

The student wing of right wing religio-political party, JI.

Waseem, Politics and the State in Pakistan, p.301.


Waada aur Efa-i-Waada, p.99.

Ibid.

Both the The Foundation Meeting Documents and the Election Manifesto of the Pakistan People’s Party, 1970, included the word ‘Islamic identity’.

Election Manifesto of the Pakistan People’s Party, 1970, p.3.

Ibid., pp.3-4.

For details see, Abdul Ghaffar Ahmad, Ain-i-Pakistan aur Hukmran Party (Lahore Jamat-i-Islami Pakistan, n.d).


Labourers occupied Mehr Textile Mills in Hyderabad. They protested and raised slogans against the Mill owners in other industrial cities. See, The Pakistan Times, Lahore, January 11, 1972, also see Imroz, January 18, 1972. Labourers occupied Mehr Textile Mills in Hyderabad. They protested and raised slogans against the Mill owners in other industrial cities.

The Pakistan Times, Lahore, February 2, 1972, also see, Imroz, January 5, 1972.

For details see, Government of Pakistan, Economic Survey (Islamabad: Economic Advisors’ Wing, Finance Division, 2000).


Dawn, Karachi, December 17, 1972

Agef, Sindh Tareekh kay Aainey Mein, p. 263


Raza, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, p.152

Ibid, p.156.

Dawn, February 7, 12, 1972. Ultimately, NAP (W), JUI (H), and PPP signed an accord called ‘the Tripartite Accord’ on 6 March 1972 and Bhutto agreed to lift Martial Law. See, Constitution – Making in Pakistan (Islamabad: National Assembly Secretariat, Government of Pakistan, 1972), pp.73-75.


Ibid, 76.


Bhutto convinced the Muhajir community that the position of Urdu at national level would remain intact and the purpose of Sindhi Language Bill was to restore back its status that was before Martial Law and One Unit. Rahman, “Language, Politics and Power in Pakistan: The Case of Sindh”, p.30.

As in Punjab the Muhajirs from East Punjab merged themselves in the Punjab, though the reason was that they were having same language and culture. For details see, Ansari, Life after Partition, pp.51-68.

It was suggested to introduce Urdu from 1963, whereas in all the other provinces Urdu was already medium of instructions. See Tariq Rahman, “Language, Politics and Power in Pakistan: The Case of Sindh”, p.28.

For details see, Ansari, Life after Partition, pp.51-68.

Agef, Sindh Tareekh kay Aainey Mein, p.139.

It was suggested to introduce Urdu from 1963, whereas in all the other provinces Urdu was already medium of instructions. See Tariq Rahman, “Language, Politics and Power in Pakistan: The Case of Sindh”, p.28.

Ibid.


Ageef, Sindh Tareekh kay Aainey Mein, p.318

However, “ …urban Mohajirs get away without learning much Sindhi while Sindhis have to learn Urdu so as to prevent being locked out of the domains of power in Sind.” See, Rahman, “Language, Politics and Power in Pakistan: The Case of Sindh”, p.30.

Raza, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, p.263.

Ibid.


Waseem, Politics and the State in Pakistan, p.318.

Though JI and JUP were having their strong hold mainly in urban areas but in the context of the issue they were trying to protect national language which ultimately opted by PPP itself also. It is very strange to blame right wing parties on the same page with India. Contrarily Bhutto once said his family had good relations with Indra, since three generations. See Dr. Nazir Ahmad’s last speech at Rajanpur in 1972 in M. Khalid Farooq Choudhry, Swaneh Dr. Nazir Ahmad Shaheed (Lahore: Al-Bader Publications, n.d), p.89.(Dr. Nazir Ahmad won National Assembly seat on JI ticket from Dera Ghazi Khan, in the elections 1970 against Muhammad Khan Laghari. He was severe critic of PPP and was murdered on June 08, 1972).

Bhutto made the committee wisely as it included an intellectual from Sindh Abdul HafeezPirzada, Hayat Muhammad Khan from NWFP, MairajMuhamamd Khan, a Muhajir with socialist tendency and an open minded ideological worker Mairaj Khalid

PPP had following in the Punjab as well and government at center, so it had to be on middle path and was successful. As it is saying of Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) that KhairulUmoor -i- Aousatuha ( Middle way is the best one).

The long term impact of the PPP initiative of quota system is that now there is lot of Sindhis at Secretary level posts at center as well as at provincial levels, before that major share was of Muhajirs only.

The introduction of quota system brought different results; at one hand it brought sigh of relief among the Sindhis living in rural areas but on the other hand sense of insecurity among ‘new Sindhis’ which ultimately brought divide of the province into urban and Rural. Subsequently polarization emerged. Re-emergence of ethnic politics particularly in the urban Sindh is the paining outcome.


It was in fact for the satisfaction of both the ethnic identities i.e. Muhajir and Sindhis.

The system is intact even after various amendments.

According to quota system introduced by Bhutto Sind Urban was given 7.6 percent share and Sindh rural 11.4 percent in federal jobs. For details see, Charles H. Kennedy, “The Politics of Ethnicity in Sindh”, p.945.

Major contribution of PPP was that it diluted the influence of Sindhi nationalists for good which contributed in strengthening of federation.

To somehow Bhutto with his shrewdness managed the very sensitive issue tactfully.

PPP carefully dealt the issue and made Sindh its strong power base which is still intact.

Agef, Sindh Tareekh kay Aainey Mein, p.260.

Conclusion

The province of Sindh partially modified its political, social and economic traditions and values before and during the period under study. The PPP manoeuvred the modified dynamics in its favour to ascend to power corridors. The party made efforts to implement its programme and manifesto in the province but could not achieve it completely. The detailed analysis is given in the following passages. In the light of different research questions, the analysis would be more understandable.

Whether PPP’s emergence and ultimately snatching of power dent the feudal monopoly in Sindh politics or not? Feudalism, being one of the most notable aspects of Sindhi society prevailed throughout the period. During British era, Sindhi feudal lords in the form of waderas and pirs dominated and deeply influenced the politics in the province. Most of these, e.g. Abdul Majid Sindhi, G. M. Sayed and Ayub Khuhro etc. retained their influences in all means even after the freedom. In addition, pirs of provincial so played their religio-political cards quite skilfully for a long period of time. They include Mardan Shah, the Pir Pagaro, Talibul Mola and Abdul Qadir Jilani. These big-wigs governed the province whenever the circumstances presented an opportunity. Their influence, however, was restricted to an extent by the Muhajirs in Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur. At the time of the formation of PPP in 1967, the feudal class was divided into two main groups. One group supported it while the other opposed the party during and after its establishment. Pirs of province were also seen divided on the issue. Pir of Hala, Makhdoom Talibul Mola supported PPP while Pir Pagaro strongly opposed the flourishing of this new party. PPP, before and after the winning of the general elections in Sindh, the PPP could not eliminate the element of feudalism from the
province. Despite the fact, the party strived hard to empower the common man by curbing the influences of all sorts of exploitative forces. However, incidentally, the strong dominant influence of feudal class could not be reduced to liberate the tenants and other common people from their clutches, as was promised by PPP and its founding fathers in their manifesto of the 1970 general elections. The presence of Sindhi feudal lord in the columns of PPP strongly influenced the governmental policies. The pressure groups of the feudal deterred the governmental functionaries to pass on the positive impacts of the reforms to common man.

Was PPP successful in diluting the tendency of ethno-nationalism in Sindh? Prior to the emergence of the party, Sindhi nationalist elements strongly influenced politics of the province. This ethnic Sindhi nationalist element was chiefly represented by G. M. Sayed and concurring leadership. These leaders motivated the lingual ethnicity among the Sindhis and managed to gain the massive popularity. Right from the British era, till the end of the period of study, this ethnic element exploited Sindhi nationalism and effected political arena of the province. PPP leadership forcefully opposed this Sindhi nationalist ethnic element and influenced the Sindhi masses not to be swayed away by the propaganda of ethno-lingual elements. PPP succeeded in the objective to an extent. Later on, PPP devised a strategy to curb the influence of the nationalists at one hand and to capture their supporters by the other. For the purpose, the party stole and re-phrased the slogans of nationalists and used during the election campaign. For example, the slogan of ‘jeay Sindh’ was adopted by PPP with the addition of ‘Jeay Pakistan’ and ‘Jeay Sindh.’ The party raised another important issue of One Unit. The Punjab Chapter passed a resolution of annulment of One Unit and revival of provinces. That strategy of Bhutto
turned successful to counter the claim of the nationalists on the issue. In the past, the ethno-nationalists had the sole ownership of the slogan. The PPP dented their claim. Not only it was their election campaign catch-word but they also tried to implement it when they formed their government in the province. In the initial period of their tenure in power, they managed to pass the Sindhi language bill from provincial legislature and took vital steps. The bill was passed under strong pressure of the party supporters. The eruption of lingual riots by the Urdu supporters halted implementation of the Sindhi language bill. Bhutto intervened and despite having affection and attachment with the Sindhi culture and language, advised the young enthusiastic followers to respect Urdu as the national language of country. He also managed to get an accord signed by both the groups, i.e. Sindh government and Urdu speaking Muhajirs. The specific party policy managed not only to strengthen the support of Sindhi votes but also pacified Urdu speaking annoyance. The stance also benefited the party in Sindh as well as in the rest of country, particularly in the Punjab. Both the languages i.e. Sindhi and Urdu were accommodated simultaneously and the long-standing provincial lingual controversy faded out. The settlement, mainly aimed to curb the influence of Sindhi ethnic element, proved as an achievement of the regime during the period of study. The government successfully curbed the ethno-lingual elements. As a result, the politics of language and ethnicity was minimized. Consequently, PPP got the appreciation of Sindhi national groups and parties. A nationalist stalwart, Abdul Hamid Jatoi rightly admitted that for what Sindhi nationalists fought a long war was achieved by Bhutto in a short span of time.\(^1\)
What strategy was adopted by the party to curb ethnic sentiments prevailing in Sindh? In order to counter Sindhi nationalists, PPP projected itself as savoir of Sindhi interest during 1970 elections. The strategy provided it leverage in the elections. In the wake of the policy, the masses in Sindh were expecting special favours after PPP’s rise to power. However, a particular class got undue additional benefits from the government policies. Favours had been granted to the families and the relatives of the National and Provincial Assemblies’ members associated to the PPP. Overall, the mental and psychological advantage that Sindhis got was that they felt first time that the person who belonged to them was the head of state. “… by and large Sindh for the first time experienced the pride of participation in the national affairs. For the first time Sindh was in the current of national affairs and life.” The Sindhis believed that the government of PPP was more useful as compare to the former governments. But they had to experience that the current government was useful for them or not. The development and prosperity of Sindh was not possible until hatred was finished and there was peace among different groups. Obviously, if there had been rift among different communities then it would have been detrimental to the interest of province. The major expectation of the masses at large from PPP and Bhutto was to develop the sentiments of cooperation, mental integration and brotherhood between new and old Sindhis. This settlement was essential because the progress of Sindh was depended on the issue. For example a sensitive issue which could be volcanic, if not been decided wisely was language controversy; whole of Sindh would have been suffered. If those skills which had been consumed by the party leadership in getting forwardness in life and prosperity of the province had suffered from riots, then evidently the province would have been at stake naturally. It shows that it was the great
service of Sindh to develop harmony between the two major ethnic groups. Not only inside Sindh, but at the national level it was expected from PPP that it would manage the challenge of national harmony as the party forcefully advocated the national interest and cause during the elections of 1970. The backdrop of 1970 elections was dominated by heavy tendency of ethno-nationalism in the province. In the presence of leaders like G. M. Sayed who had legacy of struggle and sacrifices, PPP emerged with national agenda along with protection of provincial rights.

Whether the party fulfilled the expectations of its voters and how much? In the light of the facts, it was rightly expected from PPP that it would develop the country-wide approach in Pakistan and would remove rifts and bitterness of the past. It was a noble cause if PPP could have done appropriately. If it had succeeded, a new chapter of development and prosperity would have emerged. The objective analysis of the performance of the party reflects that there were few grey areas. PPP simultaneously developed ethnic approach in Sindh and created hostility between the two groups, i.e. Sindhis and Muhajirs. The Sindh government realised that the development of Sindh was not possible unless the benevolence of new Sindhis was compromised. The interests of both the ethnic groups were in contradiction to each other. Fuelling the conflict between the two groups was catastrophic for the province and its inhabitants.

After taking over, the PPP government was expected to enhance the educational standard in the province, without which development was out of question. Whether sweet dreams of progress and prosperity through wide-range educational opportunities came true or not? During the initial period of PPP government, the student politics increased in Karachi University and the educational environment was sabotaged. The education
standard of interior Sindh was weaker in comparison to Karachi. G.M. Sayed had also shown his concern in this regard.\(^3\) *Hilal-i-Pakistan* wrote a special feature in this regard;

> Young Sindhis want that without studying they should be given jobs at home. It is obvious that when you can get job with reference then why should study? Standard and ability of Sindhi Young can be measured by this that when he appears in a comparative interview and fails due to his inability, claims that he is being exploited. It is true that attitude of interviewer may be wrong, but to hide the personal faults in the curtain says that the interviewer has enmity with him.\(^4\)

The PPP government in Sindh developed good will among Sindhi masses that it provided better job opportunities to them but actually it was due to the separation of East Pakistan that their quota increased from ten percent to twenty five percent. It was not a blessing of PPP on Sindhis. Any government at that time had had provided the same. In fact, nepotism and favouritism prevailed and capable candidates were robbed of their rights.

Furthermore, PPP government was expected to eradicate backwardness of the interior Sindh and to embark upon larger-scale developmental projects for the areas ignored in the past. Had Sindhis got the real benefits of the change of masters? On the contrary, the priorities were almost opposite to the expectations. On one side, there was development, prosperity and liveliness of big cities and on the other side there was a miserable picture of rural areas which were deprived of electricity, roads, hospitals and schools. The government did not pay worthwhile attention to the critical problems of interior Sindh.

Another noteworthy achievement of the PPP government was that it provided leadership to the Sindhis. Whether the vacuum of leadership in Sindh filled? The existing leadership in Sindh was comprised of elites, feudal lords and religious stalwarts who were always elected for the assemblies. In one way or the other, they were responsible for
the backwardness and deprivations of the Sindhis. In contrast to the Punjab, PPP provided party tickets in Sindh to the feuds and elites in the elections 1970. However, promises were made for the betterment of tenants’ condition and end of the exploitation. The feudal lords imposed by PPP on the people of Sindh influenced the policy making and its implementation.

The Muhajirs or ‘new-Sindhis’ had a historical behavioural baggage upon their shoulders which did not permit them to merge their cultural identity and manifestation in the land of Sindh. In the period under study, it could be seen that ultimately the tendency of rift between PPP and Muhajir erupted. Though PPP tried to incorporate all cadres of society in to its ranks and also managed Sindhi-Urdu controversy to get soft corner in hearts of the new-Sindhis but the gulf gradually widened and Sindh practically adopted the track which divided Sindh urban and Sindh rural dynamics of politics.

Whether PPP succeeded to diminish monopolies in the politics of Sindh and surfaced socialism as a solution to all ills? The political arena at the time of the inception of PPP was traditional. There were certain political entities having similar interest and policies among themselves. There was no significant ideological divide or debate. Sensing the ideological vacuum, Bhutto and his associates decided to develop a new party on a framework based on ideology. The theory of socialism was adapted and propagated to liberate the masses from the clutches of exploiters. This new idea was massively appreciated. Moreover, the leaders of party, especially Bhutto himself was able to convince people of Sindh by making revolutionary and fiery speeches that if PPP could get a chance to form its government, it would bring the great economic progress. The leadership of PPP anthropologically studied the oppressed classes of the Punjab and
Sindh and raised the slogans of *roti, kapra aur makan* (bread, clothing and shelter) etc., before and during the general elections. The strategy benefitted the party and it succeeded in defeating all its rivals who were having good political influence in the province, since long. Although, the concept of socialism raised many questions and controversies, yet the same concept led the newly emerged PPP to the power corridors.

It is considered that Bhutto pulled out the politics from drawing-rooms to the level of masses. Present study concludes whether these slogans and strategy of the party proved successful? Although, Bhutto himself was affiliated and elevated in the lap of the same dictator, after having the idea of a new party, he raised strong voice against the dictatorial regime of Ayub Khan and demanded to implement the universal adult franchise to elect the members of national and provincial legislatures. To achieve the purpose, PPP drove a strong movement in the province of Sindh. Bhutto, through his specific *Awami* style was able to convince the masses that he would empower the suppressed strata like tenants and other labour classes through adult franchise. Another indicator of PPP success was the acceptance of the demand for first ever general elections through universal adult franchise. It was a prominent mile stone in the political history of Pakistan. Democratically elected governments took charge in ‘New Pakistan’. Masses initially got the sense of participation in to the state affairs. Nonetheless, the real fruits of democracy could not reach the grass-root level as it was claimed and perceived in election campaign. There were various causes of the situation. The study also marked the ending of an old era and the beginning of a new that raised many new questions and created new aspects in the political history of Sindh.
As discussed earlier, the concept of socialism was one of the four basic slogans of PPP. Hence, immediately after raising the slogan, PPP had to confront with many rival forces on ideological basis. Did PPP bring ideological debate and divide within political parties? Many of the religio-political parties launched strong campaign against the slogan of the party. The campaign, mainly led by JI, approached masses and canvassed to refrain from PPP because socialism was anti-Islamic. Accusations and counter accusations were raised in Sindh which was power hub of religio-political parties. The leaders of PPP were making their best efforts to convince the common people that their concept of socialism was not against the Islamic teachings and it was aimed to get rid of exploitative forces. The intelligentsia of party tried to prove with arguments and sources that the concept could be accommodated in Islamic society. On the other hand, religio-political parties were critically reviewing those arguments and justifications made by PPP intelligentsia. In this regard, they launched anti-socialism campaign in Sindh and at national and argued that it is against the doctrines of Islam and therefore could not be implemented in Pakistan, which was established on the slogan of Pakistan ka matlab kiya, La Ilaha ilallah. Consequently, PPP realized that the concept of socialism was not directly acceptable in its crude form in Pakistan. Therefore, they coined the idea of ‘Islamic socialism’. It was propagated that socialism would be implemented along with the basic teachings of Islam and it would be a ‘Pakistani brand of socialism’. Strong voices were raised in favour and against the concept of Islamic socialism in Sindh. At many places, the clashes between the rival forces were recorded in different localities of the province. Later on, shortly before the general elections, the concept was further modified and another term Musawat-i-Muhammad, (equalities of the Prophet PBUH),
was started to be propagated through the writings and public speeches of the party leaders. In that connection, the party organ Musawat played a significant role. The core objective of Musawat-i-Muhammadi was to counter the campaign of religio-political parties aimed at defaming the concept of socialism. Religious forces were divided upon the matter and a religious group even supported the concept of Islamic socialism. Most of the religio-political forces were of the view, that there was nothing like Islamic socialism or Musawat-i-Muhammadi in Islam. According to them, PPP was just befooling the nation and it wanted to implement pure socialism disguised by the above-mentioned terms. They repeatedly claimed that the concept of socialism was being Islamized just to win the sympathies of religious minded people of different regions. This hot debate continued till the general elections in whole of the province like the other parts of country. These strong and lengthy deliberations continued and beside its other affects, political awareness enhanced among people of the province to greater extent.

In Sindh, PPP succeeded in winning the sympathies of people at mass level. A large majority of people in the province belonged to tenants and labour class. Therefore, the concept of socialism was of great attraction to them. Tenants were assured to end the domination and exploitation of feudal class. Industrial labourers were promised to be given the maximum share of production and other labour sections of society, were also assured accordingly. They were told that the only solution of their centuries old miseries was possible after the implementation of socialist order. It was also propagated that during British era, colonial masters exploited the labour classes while after freedom; the capitalist minded rulers did the same. As a result, the poor condition of Sindhi people could not be improved. The party further propagated that if the socialist idea had been
adopted, nobody would be in position to usurp the rights of common man. The tenants were exploited by the feudal class. Therefore, these socialist ideas appealed the masses of Sindh and they voted for PPP in a decisive manner against all other groups and factions, who were much present in the province. However, in reality the promises are yet to be fulfilled in totality.

Whether PPP played a cementing role to unite Sindhi groups and organizations? Before and during the period under study, it has been observed that PPP made successful attempts to unite many of the smaller Sindhi parties, factions and groups under its flag. Many of Sindhi feudal lords were gathered under the umbrella of the party. Furthermore, their influences were cashed to approach their subservient people in the favour of party. At the time of formation of PPP and after its rise, many smaller figures also visualized their political future in their connections with PPP. They joined party in bulk to secure their political and economic future and got benefits accordingly. Actually, it was a marriage of convenience in the case of each party. PPP wanted to dominate upon province by utilizing their influences in their respective areas and the individuals wanted to use party as stepladder to power. Therefore, the alliance proved successful and by including the smaller figures, PPP became the most powerful party of the province in a short period. Moreover, as the party under Bhutto was pursuing the politics of national level, it strongly opposed the norms of nationalism and ethnicity. PPP applied its strategy by using its double edged sword. On one side, it attracted many of smaller figures and weakened the ethno-lingual forces and on other side, it was succeeded in mobilizing the masses against such forces. Therefore, ethno-lingual forces were losing their position day by day. Later on, with the settlement of the Sindhi language issue and with the
implementation of quota system, PPP further dominated and the power of nationalist forces was curtailed. At the end of the period of study, ethno-lingual forces did not have any sound issue to switch Sindhi masses in their traditional directions.

When the party came in to power at provincial and central level, the public started to demand the implementation of reforms at the earliest. To what extent PPP government succeeded to implement its reform agenda? On the public demand and pressure the implementation of the reforms started in Sindh along with other parts of the country. Land reforms were implemented. The maximum limit of property was decreased and it was announced that the surplus pieces of land would be distributed among hariis free of cost. Moreover, many additional relaxations were also announced for the tenants’ community. However, practically many of the surplus pieces of land were retained by influential persons including the feudal lords who had joined PPP. A small amount of land could be transferred to tenants throughout the province. Furthermore, other relaxations and rights under reforms could not be reached tenants’ at large level due to the domination of feudal class. However, the fact that the tenants were benefitted by the land reforms throughout the province cannot be ignored. Soon after the formation of provincial administration, industrial labours in Karachi began to protest for their demands. Provincial government led by Mumtaz Bhutto hardly managed to control the situation and during the protests, many labourers were harshly beaten by police. Later on, the labour reforms were implemented and labour class was also given many rights. Their salaries were raised and many schemes were announced for their welfare. Many new jobs were also created, but on other side, soon after the assumption of power, government decreased the value of rupee by 57%. Hence, a new age of inflation was started in the
country. As Sindh was already considered economically under-developed province, so, its population suffered this massive devaluation. The prices of basic commodities were increased significantly. Therefore, the impacts of labour reforms became worthless. No worth-considering change in the lives of industrial labours was observed. However, a few small benefits of labour reforms could not be ignored just like the benefits of agrarian reforms. Overall, people were expecting the start of a new golden age after the formation of the government of PPP. But their dreams could not be materialized at large. Although some structural changes were made all over the province with the implementation of reforms in many sectors, like agriculture, health, education, industry, law etc, just few benefits could reach common man in Sindh. Their living standards remained unchanged in contrast with the promises made in the party manifesto. The main slogan of the party roti, kapra aur makan (bread, clothing and shelter) could also not be materialized across the province. Millions of people throughout the province continued to lead their lives below poverty line as ever before. Time proved that most of their dreams shown by the leadership of PPP, before and after the formation of party and especially till the general elections, were no more than their wishful thoughts. Moreover, the policy of nationalization also left deep unpleasant impacts on provincial economy. As result of this policy, the services of the employees working in the nationalized institutions and departments were secured and they were freed from the exploitation of their previous employers. However, the individuals and groups of investors started to leave the province and the country. They developed sense of insecurity due to threat of the nationalization of their investment. Therefore, provincial economy also suffered from the vacuum created
by the massive shifting of investors. The stock exchange also badly suffered for much longer duration.

It can be concluded that PPP did not succeed in implementing its manifesto in real sense as a whole, during the period of study. It was an irony of fate, that the party that stood up to curb the exploitation and feudalism was itself utilizing the power of feudal lords. Although at early stage, PPP got the benefit of their strength. The feudal had joined the party to secure their own interest throughout the province. Therefore, when party came to power, these feudal lords made their best efforts to dominate the policies of provincial administration. They were strong enough in the region and enjoyed the favour of government. It was due to their domination that the real fruit of reforms could not reach to the lower cadre in Sindhi.

Another noteworthy aspect was the slight change in the socialist mindset of leadership after assumption of power. The party came into power by raising the socialist slogans. Soon after the formation of the government, socialist elements in party were marginalized gradually. First, in Karachi the protesting labourers were tortured under the administration of PPP. Later, at the time of by-elections in Karachi and Multan, labour leaders were not supported by the party leaders and workers. This was a clear change in the policy. The socialist minded elements represented by the leaders like J. A. Rahim, Dr. Mubashir Hasan and Mairaj Muhammad Khan were gradually separated from the party. Some of them were tortured during their public rallies. Although, the party took over the charge of government with its socialist mind, yet afterwards it steadily took a turn against it and PPP presented itself as a more moderate party.
Notes & References

3For details see Sindhi Digest: Pir Hassam-ud-din Rashdi Number.
4Hilal-i-Pakistan, March 27, 1972.
5Bhutto was well-articulated towards political achievements. Qudratullah Shahab mentions in his autobiography that Bhutto was eager to enter in to power corridors so when he got the chance to access the Governor General’s library his dream came to be true. Being a sharp young man with feudal background and western education foresaw the Ayub Khan rise, got closed to him and respected him, therefore much that used to call him ‘daddy’. Gradually, he achieved the confidence of a ‘dictator’ that he became Commerce and then Foreign Minister in Ayub’s cabinet.
6Democratically speaking the results of general elections 1970 were not in favour of Bhutto because Mujib had an edge upon him and Pakistan had to be broken in to Bangladesh and remaining Pakistan to provide a chance to the former to become Civil Chief Martial Administrator, President and finally all powerful Prime Minister.
7The muhajirs migrated in to the province at the time of Partition of India which had changed the demography of Karachi and Hyderabad. They left their home towns, business and property to follow the ‘Islamic ideological duty’. Therefore, religio-political parties had become popular among the Muhajir community.
8The task was taken up by Bhutto himself with the help of intellectuals like Prof. Muhammad Usman, Hanif Ramay and Kausar Niazi. For further details see Nusrat and Musawat like party organs.
9For the refute of PPP’s stand point religio-political parties in general, and JI in particular, forcefully criticized and built their own viewpoint through largely published and circulated Daily Jasarat, Weekly Zindgi and Chattan.
10JUI Hazarvi Group supported the idea of Islamic Socialism while JI, JUP and JUI Thanvi Group etc. were strong critics and opponent.
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APPENDIX

PPP Election Manifesto 1970

“Islam is our Faith - Democracy is our Policy - Socialism is our - Economy - All Powers to the People”

INTRODUCTION

Expressing pithily the nature of its ideology, encompasses the whole programme of the Party set out in this Election Manifesto.

The substance and spirit of the Party's programme demands, and activities obey the teachings of Islam. The Party will countenance no laws repugnant to Islam and Qur'an.

The Party's positive proposals derive from the spirit and principles which are contained in the injunctions of the Faith. The equality of Muslims enjoined by Islam can be possible only in an economic and social structure so built as to realize it in practice. That can be a better manifestation of Muslim fraternity than institutions based on mutual co-operation. The Party aims to introduce real democracy in the political field, for which the first condition is the abolition of privileges and the transfer of power to the people. Political privileges are inseparably related to economic privileges and inequalities. In calling for a socialistic solution to the country's problems the Party Manifesto proclaims the only correct way to deal with them.

Political parties have been in the habit for decades of emitting, for public consumption at election time, manifestos chock-full of vote-catching promises, fine sentiments and strings of demands. Such manifestos of traditional political parties have had no connection with the real intentions of their leaders. The result has been that, like bad currency, election manifestos have suffered value depreciation in the eyes of the people all too often deceived.

This Manifesto of the Pakistan People's Party is not of the old type of other political parties. It is a solemn pledge to the people that the Party will endeavour by all means, with or without elections, to fulfill in practice the programme contained therein.

I

THE CRISIS

a) A Nation Betrayed

The general will of the Muslims of this Asian sub-continent founded the State of Pakistan, which stands today as a monument to their unfulfilled hopes and aspirations. They wanted its citizens to

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live in freedom, a nation progressive and prosperous, powerful and pledged to shield from oppression Muslims in the other part. The new State so resplendent with noble purpose, as it seemed in the beginning, has fallen prey to internal weaknesses, grown forgetful of its own people's welfare, not to speak of its neglected duty towards the Muslims of India.

There is no need to delve into the past history of Pakistan's origin to determine the future shape of the country's society, its economy, its politics, its obligations. It is a sovereign nation, a national state; governing themselves democratically, its people will decide what their society's character should be. No people in their right senses can desire the aim of the state's policy to be the increase of poverty, general misery of the masses, rampant corruption, demoralization of all classes. The people must have desired the opposite of the condition to which they have been reduced; they must have desired rapid economic progress, education, good health, social justice, the equitable distribution of wealth, in short, a better way of life than the ancient one of servitude and degradation.

Before going further, we must first understand exactly what Pakistan’s condition is, and how Pakistan is situated in the world. She is one of the poorest among nations. Not only poverty but all the attendant consequences of poverty afflict her people to the maximum degree—ignorance, intellectual sterility, ill-health, dishonesty, crime, corruption, superstitions. All the forms of oppression by authority and by those who exercise power on account of their riches are to be found here.

The average life expectation of a Pakistani is only 33 years, a figure which compares unfavourably even with the 45 years for an Indian and is less than half the 70 for a Briton. While poverty may be the indirect cause of high mortality, the health needs of the masses have been grossly neglected because every government of this country has followed the policy of concentrating expenditure in the domains that benefit the privileged classes. To this same policy must be attributed the very high illiteracy rate—among the highest in the world and not decreasing either—and the steady deterioration of educational standards. If we were to probe deeper into the causes of the iniquitous taxation, the inefficiency of governmental administration when it is not corrupt also, the prevalence of dishonesty in business, and the other evils which put their specific stamp on life in our country, we shall find that they are connected with the sort of capitalist structure that has been built upon the theory that the concentration of wealth leads to economic progress.

Those classes who know themselves guilty of wrongs done to the nation and the reactionary political parties whose eyes are forever turned backwards, attempt. Now to divert attention by proclaiming themselves champions of fanciful ideologies which they ascribe to the original purpose of Pakistan.

To make matters worse, these are men, some of whom hostile to the very conception of Pakistan, who are now condemning all Pakistani Muslims, except themselves and their
followers, as unbelievers, if they will not subscribe to the sanctity of economic exploitation and social injustice. This appeal to ignorant fanaticism is dangerous not only to the State but to the unity of Muslims as Muslims.

We, on the other hand, appeal to reason, to the accumulated wealth of human knowledge, to the methods and techniques devised by human ingenuity through the centuries, to show the way out of our national misery towards life worthy of a great people. The real problems that confront the nation are political and economic, but not religious, since both exploiters and exploited profess the same faith--both are Muslims.

Many governments have come and gone, but the trend towards the relative impoverishment of the people, the enrichment of privileged classes and the growth of parasitic vested interests, has proceeded without abatement. All the past governments are certainly to blame for their wrong policies; but they could not act otherwise than they did, being the representatives of class and vested interests. They could not be expected to change the system, when their vocation lay in developing it for the profit of the classes on whose behalf they were in power.

b) Prey to Neocolonialism

Direct colonial rule left behind as its legacy a social and economic order in Pakistan which could be defined as feudal-military-bureaucratic. All the progress since has been its transformation into a dependent capitalist system typical of underdeveloped countries within the imperialist neocolonialist power sphere. We may say with truth that from being the emancipated subject of one imperial colonialist power Pakistan has become the camp-follower of all imperialist-neocolonialist powers.

At the end of the Second World War, the Western colonialist powers proceeded, under American guidance, to adapt their methods of exploitation to new conditions. Direct rule over subject peoples was given up, but the former possessions remained bound by economic, political and military compulsion to the former rulers. The exploitation of the newly independent countries had to continue for the good of all the advanced capitalist countries. In the first stage of expanding capitalism, the need had been for markets and sources of raw material. In the next stage, the capitalist countries were investing capital in underdeveloped regions where labour was cheap and the necessary natural resources present. In the third, the demand for minerals and oil, of which deposits are found in underdeveloped countries, went up enormously in the industrial countries of the West.

Now, industrial capitalist countries must sell their products to underdeveloped countries to buy the necessary raw materials which these can supply, and must invest some capital abroad to exploit such natural resources as oil and minerals. But the neocolonialist sells capital goods wanted in the underdeveloped countries at high prices and buys their products in return at prices for below what they should be. Pakistan is seriously affected by the prices of primary commodities in the world market, which have been falling for years, so that at the present
moment they stand at some 25% lower than in the early ‘50’s. The prices of capital goods, which we need to establish industries, have risen considerably and keep rising. An increase of only 5% in prices of the primary commodities would more than offset the sum of private and public capital and of governments’ grants to the underdeveloped countries all put together. This difference between the falling prices of primary products and the rising cost of acquiring capital goods is an essential feature of neocolonialist exploitation. If an underdeveloped country bases its development programme on the conditions set by the neocolonialist powers, it will make very slow, if any progress at all. A measure of the exploitation of underdeveloped countries within the neocolonialist sphere is furnished by the fact that the economic gap between them and the industrial countries is widening, whereas the development plans sponsored by the Western capitalist states should have had the effect of narrowing it, if they were not designed simply to preserve the ascendancy of neocolonialist powers. The terms on which economic aid is given betray the underlying neocolonialist policy.

Another course than the one the government of Pakistan always chose to maintain was theoretically possible, a course taking the nation away from the neocolonialist sphere.

Before the Marshall Plan had completed the work of rehabilitating war-damaged West European economy, such a decision could have been implemented with little trouble. The underdeveloped countries outside the neocolonialist power sphere have made spectacular progress, in glaring contrast to the plight of the others. The lesson must be learned from the facts.

c) Internal Colonial Structure

Pakistan is geographically separated in two parts, of which the Eastern was the major producer of exportable wealth at the time of Partition. The Central Government’s expenditure, however, was mainly in the Western part. Political power lay also in the West on that account and because of the presence there of an opulent feudal class. The development schemes were so made or implemented by the Central Government that the private sector under these schemes fell into the hands of a small number of businessmen who either had their original homes in West Pakistan or had chosen to settle there.

The politicians of East Pakistan in government, parliament or outside, seemed oblivious of the danger ahead. They accepted the notions of development on capitalistic lines. The result was that East Pakistan was submitted to ruthless exploitation. The decline of East Pakistan began during the lifetime of the first National Assembly, and the farce of the last one under the dictatorship of a military usurper failed even to disguise the brutal facts.

We must frankly recognize that the unity of the nation has been gravely imperiled. It is no remedy to brand the victims of exploitation as traitors because they are driven to protest against the treatment they receive. Nor does it help to improve matters by insulting them as bad Muslims.
d) Present State Untenable

It should also be acknowledged that development plans on the old pattern, from which our nation has suffered so much, are incapable of making good the harm already done. During the period of all the five-year plans which could affect nothing to prevent the economic gap between the industrial countries and ours from getting wider year by year, the disparity between the two Wings kept growing. It is possible to conceive a separate capitalist-orientated development plan for East Pakistan, but the price of a complete division of Pakistan's economy must then be paid. It is certain that such a plan would only add a few 'sons of the soil' to the handful of non-East Pakistani bankers and industrialists who are at present in control and who will remain in control in happy partnership.

As a consequence of the misdeeds of our rulers, subservience to neocolonialist powers, the adoption of an economic system permitting outright plunder of the people, the concentration of wealth in a few hands, the sharing out of power, employment and sources of wealth between businessmen, big landlords and the classes that comprise the civil and military hierarchy of government—all these have brought the country to a crisis, another word for general ruin. It should be noted that the corruption of government and other public servants is only a symptom and not the cause of the disease; for the thread of corruption runs right through the social strata. Neither is the world situation the cause of this crisis. Although comparisons can be drawn between what is happening in our country and what has been happening elsewhere in the neocolonialist power sphere, the nature of this present crisis has features specifically Pakistani.

The ruling clique supporting the vested interests of banking industry and commerce, have nothing to offer to save the situation except the same old magical incantations of budgetary formulas and development plans. With rising prices, the working class, the lower middle class, and all sorts of employees with fixed incomes are being rapidly impoverished. The rising cost of living is the weapon for expropriating wage-workers, salary earners, artisans and a good section of the professional class. The value of earnings falls as the cost of living rises—this is the expropriation of the earning power and the savings of the people. The capitalist loses nothing. His invested capital rises in value, be sells at higher prices the goods he manufactures and trades in, and, to crown all, the government rewards him with bonuses, the load of which the rest of the nation must bear. In a desperate attempt to save the capitalist system the government is permitting the wholesale expropriation of the unprivileged people of Pakistan.

The crisis is in the bones of our rotten system. The Pakistan People's Party programme will abolish the system itself, seizing the means of production which in the hands of the privileged few are the means of exploitation. The immediate need, however, as a financial discipline for any government in power at this juncture fraught with danger, is to stop the inflationary trend and do economic justice to the common people. Wages, salaries and pensions must be pegged to the real
value of the currency. This will stop the thievery of the capitalists and their accomplice the administration. The government will be compelled to operate within the framework of a stable currency when the attraction of cheating by inflation has gone.

II

THE GENERAL AIMS

a) Main Obstacles

The country is called upon to send representatives to a National Assembly for the purpose of framing a constitution. Important as this task may appear, a constitution of merely democratic form will not meet the needs of this country unless it is so framed as to allow and, indeed, initiate changes in the economic and social system. It is unlikely that so long as the vested interests of capitalists and propertied classes remain unchecked anything but a constitution tailored to suit them will be the outcome. The crisis will then continue, to be succeeded by another, still graver. The Party will, however, endeavour its best to help in making a really progressive constitution.

The path of Pakistan's progress is blocked by two obstacles: her socio-economic order and her position as underdeveloped country within the neocolonialist power sphere. If progress is not possible, neither will prolonged existence be. The programme, of the Pakistan People's Party therefore aims at removing these obstacles by carrying through the necessary fundamental change demanded by the objective situation.

The true solution lies in adopting a socialist programme, such as outlined in this Manifesto, to transform the economy of the whole of Pakistan, stopping exploitation and utilizing available means to develop the country without capitalist intervention.

In this Manifesto attention has been paid to both conditions:-

(a) the exploitative capitalist structure of Pakistan, and

(b) Pakistan's situation as an underdeveloped country within the neocolonialist power sphere.

b) Classless Society

At the Convention in December 1967 in Lahore, the Pakistan People's Party announced the principles for the practical realization of which it was founded. The ultimate objective of the Party's policy is the attainment of a classless society, which is possible only through socialism in our time. This means true equality of the citizens, fraternity under the rule of democracy in an order based on economic and social justice. The aims follow from the political and social ethics of Islam. The Party thus strives to put in practice the noble ideals of the Muslim Faith.
Since its principal aims are unattainable by petty adjustments and so long as the unjust order of society prevails, the Party considers that indulgence in reformist slogans deceives the people with false hopes, while the country sinks deeper into the morass of present and additional evils, until finally, in a situation of despair, explosive violence will take the upper hand. The Party's endeavour is to bring about peacefully early changes in the economic structure, leading logically to a jester socio-economic order, by opening the gates to progressive change in the direction of the final goal.

III

FOREIGN POLICY

a) Independent Policy

It is generally accepted that an independent foreign policy is an indispensable instrument for safeguarding and promoting national interest in the sphere of international relations. However an independent foreign policy is understood in different senses by different people. We should like to be precise on our part as to what it means for us.

The first step must be to get out of entanglements with imperialist-neocolonialist powers. The ostensible objectives, for the sake of which our governments excused participation in alliances, have either not been fulfilled or have even been frustrated on account of the alliances. On the other hand, Pakistan has been made use of as a pawn in the international game by her neocolonialist allies. The first condition, therefore, for avoiding neocolonialist dictation of policy is for Pakistan to withdraw from the SEATO and the CENTO pacts. The way will then be swept clean for what is in Pakistan's interest and in the interest of all Asian countries - the release from neocolonial interference in their affairs.

Among other harms done, these two pacts have curtailed Pakistan's freedom of action in obtaining the liberation of Kashmir and righting the territorial and other wrongs suffered by her.

b) Relations with Great Powers

The imperialist-neocolonialist war menace in Asia is close at the doors of Pakistan. Pakistan has already had experience of American interference in her internal affairs, and of how dangerous a situation could result from the stationing of American military personnel in her territory, when Pakistan became involved in dispute with the Soviet Union over the U-2 American spy plane. Pakistan will not allow foreign countries to interfere in her internal affairs. No permission to neocolonialist powers will be granted to station any sort of personnel meant for war purposes on, or to overfly for any reason connected with military strategy, any part of the territory of Pakistan.

Pakistan will support the cause of all oppressed peoples in their struggle against imperialist and neocolonialist powers, in particular the cause of the heroic people of Vietnam who have for long years held the imperialist aggressors at bay. We shall join hands with other nations in an effort to
bring about the evacuation of Asian soil occupied by the military forces of the United States and other Western colonialist powers. With the great powers Pakistan will maintain good relations on the basis of reciprocity, but will not compromise in any manner her stand supporting liberation movements all over the world and actions to remove neocolonialist encroachments on Asian territory.

Now that the white members of the Commonwealth have all taken the side of the American aggressors against the Vietnamese people, there is one reason more for Pakistan’s leaving the Commonwealth. The fact must be recognized that the conception or a multiracial Commonwealth has lost any meaning it might have had at one time. Even its economic advantages have been lost. On the other hand, the Commonwealth has been serving the neocolonialist interests of its white members. Pakistan will leave the Commonwealth at the appropriate opportunity.

c) Confrontation with India

Towards India, a policy of confrontation will be maintained until the question of Kashmir, Farakka, Beruberi, and other pending matters are settled. Entirely in consonance with the principle of supporting liberation movements, Pakistan will support the cause of the people of Assam who are fighting for their independence.

Tashkent: The Tashkent Declaration will be repudiated, being a treaty extorted under duress. No negotiations with India may be conducted under the cover of this invalid treaty.

Farakka: To negotiations on this vital issue a time limit must be set. Pakistan has inalienable riparian rights under recognized international law. That this dispute is not being solved is greatly owing to the patronage India enjoys from the part of neocolonialist powers.

d) Solidarity with Muslim Peoples

Pakistan will follow a positive policy to promote solidarity among Muslim peoples.

Israel: Israel is a colony implanted on Arab soil. The Arabs are the victims of a Zionist aggression aided and abetted principally by Western capitalist powers. Complete and unreserved support to Arab states and the Palestinian liberation movement in their fight against Israel will be given by Pakistan.

e) Solidarity with other Oppressed Peoples

The Eritrean people fighting for their nationhood have the sympathy of our people and will be afforded Pakistani support.

An active policy will be pursued to combat racialism everywhere. In this connection Pakistan must express her sympathy in practical manner with the coloured population of the United
States, against whom discrimination is being practiced and whose manpower is being misused as cannon-fodder to suppress the liberties of Asians in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Pakistan will make what effort she can in the diplomatic sphere to help the oppressed peoples of Latin America in their struggle against neocolonialism. The movement for the solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America will be promoted.

f) Pakistaniis Abroad

Pakistanis working abroad for their livelihood are in many places being made to suffer humiliating disabilities. It will be imperative duty of the Pakistan government to protect the rights of all its nationals living in foreign countries, especially the working people whose labour is adding wealth to the employing country but is being rewarded with ingratitude.

g) Counterpart Funds

The counterpart funds that arise from foreign aid must be more strictly controlled than at present. The counter-part funds must be kept with the State Bank and may not be used for any political purpose.

IV

INDUSTRIAL MEASURES

a) Mixed Economy

The party accepts the possibility of a mixed economy – the existence of a private alongside nationalized sector, sources of the production of wealth will be placed. The private sector will offer opportunities for individual initiative in the areas of production where small enterprises can be efficient. Monopoly conditions will be abolished, so that private enterprise will function according to the rules of competition.

All production of wealth is the result of human labour. Exploitation in capitalist society depends on the possession of the means of production by the capitalist. In big industries the capitalist plays no nationally useful role, but collects his profit and exploits the labour of others, for his factories are run by technicians, his goods are produced by the labour of the wage-earners, and even the direction of an enterprise need not be the factory owner’s. In Pakistan, the concentration of wealth is so excessive that the benefits of industrialization are being passed on neither to the wage-earners nor even to the greater part of the middle classes who constitute the salary earners and professional men with high educational qualifications, such as government officials, except through corruption. The necessary services of education and health, housing and public amenities, are being neglected because the surplus value of production is going into the pockets of the exploiters or spent for administration and defence, and therefore little is available for the
general welfare of the nation. The evil is inherent in the system. Taxation tricks, petty reforms, moral exhortation, are subterfuges to deceive the people for preserving the system intact.

**b) Nationalization of Industries**

On the public sector will be all basic and key industries. The principal ones are:-


To these will be added the new industries which must be established to enable the autonomous growth of the national economy. For example, it will be necessary to manufacture agricultural machinery and equipment in Pakistan, and the commonly used hand tools.

All major industries will be nationalized. This will mean taking over into the public sector textile and jute mills over a certain production capacity. In private ownership these have been the sources of excessive profits, inefficient production, wastage of resources and unhindered exploitation of workers.

In the public sector will be not only the large-scale production of electrical power but also all other sources of energy supply – namely, nuclear material, gas, oil and coal.

All exploitation of mineral wealth, both mining and ore-processing, will be in the public sector.

The public sector will completely contain the following major means of public transport, railways, shipping and airways and airways. It will also take over public road transport, whether of passengers or goods, when it is necessary to run it on a large scale. A special concern will be the conveyance of workers and employees between their homes and their places of work.

Large-scale export trading, such as of jute and cotton, will be conducted by state corporations.

**c) Private Sector**

In general, the sector of retail and distribution will be left in private hands. Nevertheless the formation of consumer co-operatives, both in urban and rural areas, will be favoured as this will help to stabilize retail prices.

All manufacture, whether in the public or the private sector, will be strictly regulated according to quality norms. Manufactured goods will have to fulfill the condition of coming upto at least the minimum norm required by the regulations. Goods that fall short of standard may not be sold. The quality and purity of drugs will be strictly regulated.
Existing laws applicable against the adulteration of foodstuffs appear to be ineffective. Proper food laws have not yet been promulgated in Pakistan such as have been in many other countries. Food laws, in consonance with accepted international standards, will be enforced, covering eatables, natural and processed.

Efficient artisanal production will be encouraged by affording the small enterprises the opportunity of acquiring efficient working tools and machinery. Factory halls, equipped with power, water and other facilities, will be constructed where artisans and small entrepreneurs can rent floor space for their workshops. This will give the workmen better hygienic conditions of labour and help to separate living quarters from the place of work. This scheme is also likely to reduce the cost of production. Such centers of production will be incorporated in town planning projects.

To encourage artisanal skill, technical institutions will be established for the purpose of imparting education and skill to the artisan class and those who work in small-scale enterprises. A system of apprenticeship and qualification by diploma for grade of master workman will also be introduced.

V
FINANCIAL MEASURES

a) Nationalization Policy

The possession of money institutions in the hands of private parties is the source of exploitation which uses national wealth and private deposits to create money for the financing of monopoly capitalists. All big industries have been set up entirely on bank loans, which means, on the money of the depositors. Such loans can be said to have been the misappropriation of public money by the bankers. To this short of abuse, which is inherent in any system where banks are in private hands, there has been added the control of banks in cartels belonging to industrial families.

Unless the State takes hold of all the banks by making them national property, it will not be able to check inflation. The State's financial policy is at present a prisoner of the bankers.

All banks and insurance companies will be forthwith nationalized.

b) Investment Policy

Not only to finance industrial development and expansion of the social services but also to pass on to the people a share of accruing prosperity, a system of public investment corporations will be established to attract savings. Direct investment in any national concern will not be possible; therefore the necessity for special institutions, these investment corporations, through which
investments will be distributed among the enterprises in their respective sectors. Shares held by non-capitalists in nationalized industries will be converted into investment corporation shares.

A minimum dividend rate will be guaranteed. This policy will help enforce good financial management, guaranteeing at the same time the unhindered flow of savings into investment. Since the financial policy will be to keep the purchasing power of the currency stable, even a small dividend will have greater value than larger dividends in the chaotic profit system of our present day, under which the investor hardly gets back anything in return, on account of currency depreciation.

The whole policy and dishonest methods of bonus vouchers, tax holidays, and so on, will be unnecessary as more than 80% of the industrial sector will not be in private hands. The self-financing of industries will be genuinely from surplus value of production and not, so often as at present, at the expense of the consumer and taxpayer.

c) Reform of Taxation System

The establishment of a socialist order will, naturally, change the present basis of taxation, which being designed for a capitalistic society favours the accretion of wealth with the privileged classes. It is a fallacious belief that taxation methods by themselves in a capitalistic society are cable of equalizing incomes. This belief is sedulously fostered by the vested interests themselves. Seemingly high taxes have not prevented the accumulation of wealth amongst a very small class of people in Pakistan, nor done justice to wither working class or the middle classes with fixed incomes: It must be understood that taxation is merely a way of providing public finances, but the money has to come from the surplus value created in industry, agriculture and the rest of the activities that employ human labour and effort. High taxation has ultimately to be paid for out of the price of commodities and services. The capitalist pays, in fact, least, because the products of his factories carry the taxes. An equitable social structure cannot be built by taxation alone:

However, even in the interim period before large-scale socialist reforms are elected; it will be necessary to introduce immediate reforms of the present iniquitous and inefficient taxation system. The taxation structure must be radically simplified. It should be made easy for the private taxpayer to assess his liability to the state without the help of expert guidance. In the present system the taxes are efficiently collected only from the salaries employees and other classes with fixed income. The burden of this incidence of taxation is unduly high upon such classes because others are able to avoid their tax liabilities.

With the banks being in public ownership, it will not be then so easy to evade taxation, but the real remedy lies in the establishment of an economic system that disallows the growth of a dishonest profiteering class. Another defect of the present taxation system is that it calls for a huge army of officials, most of whom do not do a full day’s work. There will be considerable saving if taxation were simplified.
No tax shall be imposed of which the collection cost is unreasonably high, a principle which is not being honoured today. Tax-farming will be prohibited. All public authorities empowered to collect taxes and other dues shall do so only through their proper agencies and not by auctioning collection rights.

Directors and high executives of private and public companies are today being afforded such facilities as enable them to live a princely life at the cost of the shareholders and the public exchequer. Expense account exemptions will be drastically curtailed. In the case of companies that are not nationalized, the state will prescribe norms for housing, transport and other facilities that may be borne in the books of the companies on behalf of their employees. Such measures will have the effect of benefiting the shareholders and the public exchequer, and by reducing overhead costs make the goods produced by the companies cheaper.

d) Wasteful Expenditure of National Wealth

Although Pakistan is a very poor country, her middle classes are behaving as if they were living in an affluent consumer society. Their wasteful expenditure is a national loss. Much of this occurs in the tertiary sector of the economy connected with advertising and the marketing of goods.

All forms of advertising will be restricted on the principle that advertisement should be

(a) truthful, and . (b) purely informative, helping the prospective customer to know where to buy. the goods or the service advertised, and their nature and quality.

Competition through unfair advertising will be disallowed. Strict norms will be laid down for the advertising of medicines and drugs.

VI

AGRARIAN MEASURES

a) Patterns of Proprietorship

Nearly 80% of the population, which means some 100 million Pakistanis live in the countryside. This ratio between urban and agricultural population is an indication of the backward economic condition of Pakistan. Another fact is still more revealing: inspite of its large proportion of working population engaged in agriculture, our country has often had to import food-grains and the normal state of affairs is that its agriculture barely supplies the necessities of life for its people. With such a large population engaged in agricultural pursuits, one should have expected Pakistan to produce not only exportable commodities like cotton and jute but at the same time food-grains in ample quantities to feed its own people. The average Pakistani gets too little to Eat, insufficient for human energy requirements for effective work, and, furthermore, his diet is
deficient in respect of proteins and fats, substances necessary for health and growth. Thus he is not only underfed but badly fed.

It can be said that the main occupation of Pakistanis, their agriculture is a colossal failure. Even with the cultivation techniques and implements at present in use, it is estimated that about half the agricultural population is virtually unemployed, and therefore redundant. This hidden unemployment is a mighty drag upon the country's economy. The under-or unemployed have to be clothed, housed and fed in any case, and that is being done at the general poverty level. They represent, however, a manpower capable of being put to use on works needed to improve agriculture. In this sense, the hands at present idle in our bad economic system are an immense potential wealth waiting to become productive. Agricultural programmes for development must take into account not only the wasted labour power of the excessive population but the necessity of coping with the over-population of rural areas by the removal to urban complexes of the unwanted excess.

In our great country where physical and climatic conditions exhibit a wide range of variations, agricultural problems do the same. Apart from the physical, natural side of the problems—such as aridity and flooding,—property relations,—such as landlordism, tenancy, fragmentation, subsistence holdings,—have to be tackled with. The two Wings show different aspects of the agrarian situation. The patterns of crops and irrigation differ greatly between the two Wings, and also the patterns of property relations are not the same. A feudal system of land tenure is prevalent in large parts of West Pakistan, where it can be said to be the dominating feature. In East Pakistan, the small holder at subsistence level is the chief agricultural property owner.

Large estates leased out in lots to tenants present the same pattern of cultivation as areas belonging to peasant proprietors. Generally speaking, the size of an individual holding is small in either case. Unless the estates are cultivated by hired labour and not on tenancy basis, the resulting aspect is no different than where peasants have proprietary rights. But the estate owner takes away a large share of the value produced by his tenants, without performing any service that cannot be performed by public authority or the cultivators themselves. Since peasant proprietorship exists alongside estates cultivated by tenants, one must conclude that the estate owner is a functional superfluity.

With the reclaiming of land by irrigation schemes, the landlord class has been growing. Under Ayub Khan’s regime a systematic policy was being followed of granting fresh lands on easy terms to privileged classes, members of the ruling clique, their relatives and other favourites. For the main part such people have not settled on their estates; they have merely swollen the numbers of absentee landlords and the agricultural economy has been saddled with more consumption-orientated non-producers.

The land reforms introduced by Ayub Khan's regime give the appearance of having broken up the largest estates, although most of the land affected has continued to remain in the possession
of the feudal class. Since it was legally permitted, the feudal landowner divided the excess among the members of his family. In the best of circumstances, the dispersal of family interests would require a couple of generations to become effective. The situation is complicated by the fact that in most parts of West Pakistan the feudal owners live in a social system of castes, caste-clans, and surviving traditions of joint families. Thus even with his estate divided in this manner, the feudal lord retains his power.

The West Pakistani owners of large estates, the feudal lords, constitute a formidable obstacle to progress. Not only by virtue of their wealth, but on account of their hold over their tenants and the neighbouring peasantry, they wield considerable power and are, even at present, a major political force.

The breaking up of the large estates to destroy the power of the feudal landowners is a national necessity that will have to be carried through by practical measures, of which a ceiling is only a part. The size of the agricultural estate will be limited by the ceiling, the norm being the ownership of a maxi of 50 to 150 acres of irrigated land, the maximum varying from tract to tract and being determined on the basis of quality of soil, present productivity and the availability of irrigation facilities. For what the estate owner surrenders over and above the prescribed ceiling he will be compensated in the form of a terminable life annuity, with a maximum duration of twenty-five years heritable and negotiable within this period. But the best way is to replace the system of agricultural production in isolated units by the creation of social co-operative farms as suggested at "C" below. The estate owner, after he has surrendered his excess holding, will be eligible, like any other farmer, to join the social cooperative farm of his area.

There are many peasants who possess land less than the subsistence unit and must therefore be regarded as a class from whom land revenue cannot be justifiably demanded.

Moreover, the cost of land revenue collection from this class is disproportionately high.

The liability for the payment of land revenue should not be permitted to be passed on to the tenant by the landlord, whether in whole or in part. The sharing of land revenue payments by tenants will be prohibited.

b) Party's Aims

The Party's policy for dealing with agricultural problems was laid down in the Programmatic Principles accepted in 1967. Article 6 of the Programmatic Principles states that:

"The Party stands for elimination of feudalism and will take concrete steps in accordance with the established principles of socialism to protect and advance the interests of the peasantry".

Further that:
"The promotion of self-help groups and cooperatives is the best way to help the cultivators to improve their lot"

c) Social Cooperative Farms

For efficient utilization of land resources, capital investment in land has to be made. The small holder has not got the means. Moreover, a good deal of the work to improve cultivated areas must be extended over many holdings. In other words, cooperative effort is necessary. This goes beyond the question of proprietary rights and belongs to the organizational aspect of the agricultural system.

There are two main lines of attack which have both to be utilized to raise the level of agricultural economy. Two positive measures are:

(a) Provision of land to landless peasants and peasants holding land below the subsistence level.
(b) Social cooperative farms.

All state lands put under irrigation or otherwise reclaimed for cultivation will be reserved for landless peasants or peasants owning less than the subsistence holding.

Social cooperative farms will be created by grouping together of individual holdings on a voluntary basis. Each peasant will be left in possession of his individual holding, but fragmented portions will be consolidated. The farm will supply labour for common purposes. The cooperative will lend out agricultural machinery and implements and regulate the supply of water and distribute fertilizers. The individual farmer will obtain seed, and market his produce, through the social co-operative. An essential function of these social co-operative farms is the utilization of surplus man-power. The policy should be to increase the size of individual holdings to the optimum in the particular area according to the prevailing conditions. As methods of cultivation improve, by greater use of machinery and in other ways, more and more labour will become redundant in the county-side, except at peak periods, such as harvesting and transplantation. In the first instance, the co-operatives will themselves apply the idle manpower available to the work of improving agricultural conditions - canal digging, house building for school, communal purposes an residence, planting of forests, and so on.

d) The Agrovilles

Small towns linked functionally with the rural areas will be founded. Some 200 such urban settlements, which we would call "agrovilles", will be necessary to begin with. Being new urban-settlements they can be planned to offer their inhabitants the maximum of amenities and participation in civic life. We envisage that each agroville will have a main square in which civic life will be focused. There will be around this centre the town hall, the offices of the cooperatives, the town library, the civic centre with rooms for meetings, festivities, clubs and exhibitions.
The agrovilles will function as market places for the surrounding rural areas and contain establishments for the storage and processing of agricultural produce. Small manufacture can thus be scattered all over the country, utilizing local labour and reducing transport costs. During peak periods, the manpower available in these agrovilles can be sent into the countryside for work. Repair workshops for agricultural machinery in the agroville make machinery maintenance economical for the farms.

The agrovilles will contain hospitals and dispensaries to serve the surrounding villages and from here sanitation terms with doctors and mobile dispensaries will go out to the farms and villages. They will also become educational centres for the areas. Primary and Secondary Schools with boarding facilities will afford the future generations of peasants’ children the opportunities for education of which they are now deprived.

The spread of urbanization is a necessity for Pakistan and it is a fallacious belief that a proportionately large agricultural population is an advantage. National prosperity cannot increase unless agricultural per capita productivity also increases. The goal to be attained, therefore, is the progressive increase of agricultural productivity and the utilization of the surplus labour in the rural areas. The policy logically leads to the spreading of urbanization. What has to be avoided is a drifting of the surplus rural manpower to the large towns and the concentration of industries in a few of them.

e) Animal Husbandry

The deficiency of milk, eggs and meat in their diet seriously affects the health of our people and endangers especially the mental and physical growth of the young. For years meatless days in the week have been imposed in the larger cities of Pakistan and yet the lifting of restrictions on the consumption of the flesh of hoofed animals is now here in sight. The restrictions prove that the demand is there and that our agricultural economy as it is constituted cannot meet it by increased production but only at the cost of destroying its already insufficient cattle stock.

Cattle ranches and dairies will be established in the form of state farms, social co-operative farms and private farms. Since the production of animal proteins is most economical achieved by raising poultry according to modern large-scale standardized methods, poultry farms, either separately or within social co-operatives, will be established in suitable localities all over the country. The manufacture of equipment for cattle raising, dairies and poultry farms will be carried out in Pakistan.

Some of the big land owners can be partially compensated by allocation to them of land and facilities for dairies and cattle and poultry breeding. Such ventures are profitable without lending themselves to the exercise of feudal power.
f) Afforestation

It is a fact established by long experience and confirmed by scientific studies that in any sizeable tract containing cultivable land a balance must be kept between the extent of ploughed surface and that under tree cover, that is, between arable and forest lands. If the correct balance is lost, when more land is ploughed at the expense of the wooded part, erosion, loss of top soil blown away by wind, reduced fertility and, in some places, water-logging and salinity are the result. It has been observed that the climate is adversely affected and rainfall markedly diminished in those regions where the annual rainfall is low, and, conversely, climatic conditions improve in regions where re-afforestation has been done.

In West Pakistan the proportion of forest land is only 2.5 as against the optimum lying between 20% and 25%. For centuries forests were being cut down for timber and fuel without any attempt at re-plantation. The former precious timber wealth of many mountain regions of our country has totally disappeared. Where the plough has not done its destructive work, the habits of pastoral tribes are inimical to the existence of trees.

It should be recognized that forests are as necessary for efficient agriculture as they are valuable in themselves as source of indispensable timber. The planting of forests and woodlands will be scientifically distributed over the country, with the aim of achieving finally the natural balance ratio. In both Wings the destructive exploitation of forests will be stopped can re-plantation of affected areas enforced.

The social co-operative farms will have to contribute towards re-afforestation by setting aside the necessary land for useful trees and supplying the required labour for planting and tending the groves.

In some areas where forests are to be grown ;and may be given on lease, as compensation, to dispossessed land-owners for planting and tending exploiting the forests.

g) Special Problems

It is recognized that conditions in East Pakistan demand special attention. Being densely populated, the rural areas there have a suburban aspect. Intensive cultivation is therefore a possibility which will have to be kept in view.

It is imperative that irrigation, drainage and flood control works are carried out on a vast scale. Large parts of the province can be permanently protected against devastating floods which take a heavy toll year after year. These areas can also be provided with a permanent system of irrigation. In other areas the entry and exit of annual inundating waters can be regulated through constructing embankments and drainage works and also by scientific regulation of the river channels so that crops can be raised without danger from the presence of unwanted water.
Through these means and irrigation works the extent of areas lying under crops during the year, can be doubled.

Large areas in the southern part of East Pakistan can be reclaimed from the sea by the construction of embankments. This will add materially to the agricultural productivity.

In West Pakistan a most serious menace exists in the form of water-logging and salinity. Determined effort is necessary to counter this scourge.

Ways and means on a vast scale, as will be required for these works, will not be available without the introduction of social co-operative farms and utilization through them of the surplus manpower which would remain idle otherwise.

VII

PEOPLES RIGHTS

a) Rights of workers

The principle will be followed of offering work to every able-bodied person according to his abilities and qualifications, irrespective of class or origin when an industry is nationalized, the capitalist may be given the opportunity, if he has that ability, to continue in the enterprise as manager for director, being suitably paid, and even allowed for the duration of his employment a fixed share in the profits. Technical and skilled personnel will not be adversely affected by nationalization. At the present moment, highly qualified Pakistan’s are unable to find suitable jobs in industry or, if they are employed, the are badly paid in comparison with poorly qualified foreign technicians. Many a Pakistani has been compelled to emigrate to find a job abroad because he could not earn his living by the work he had learnt, even though highly qualified, in his own country. This ‘brain drain’ is consequence of the inherent inefficiency of our capitalist-owned industrial system and the high margin of profits permitted to industrial magnates under the protection of government policy.

The problem we shall have to face with the introduction of a socialist policy will be of finding enough qualified personnel to fill the technical posts and man the social services. There will be more than enough work to do. The drive to abolish illiteracy alone will absorb the services of educated men temporarily out of a job, and many other avenues of employment will be open.

The growth of trade-unionism and the rights of trade unions will be promoted in all sectors of industry. ILO standards will be enforced as the minimum necessary for the protection of the workers. Since all the important large-scale industries will be nationalized, it will be possible to offer the workers genuine participation in enjoying the fruits of industrial production. Participation of workers and technicians in factory management will be progressively introduced.
As a necessary part of their employment in factories, the workers must be provided with housing and adequate means of transportation to their places of work. They will be entitled to paid holidays, and recreation camps will be opened where they can spend their holidays in healthy surroundings. They will have the right to training facilities for improving their skills. Hospitals and free medical attention will be incorporated in the system of works welfare. Workers colonies will be provided whilst they are away from home. The education facilities for working class children will include a system of scholarships for higher education in technical colleges and universities. Provisions will be made for old-age pensions and homes for disabled and pensioned workers.

A system of minimum wages, reckoned according to the cost of living, will be enforced both in the public and the private sector.

**b) Local Self – Government**

By this we mean local self-government in the accepted sense of the management of local affairs by elected representatives of the citizens living within the area. The so-called system of basic democratic introduced by Ayub Khan was a perversion of local self-government, being meant to bolster up the edifice of corrupt dictatorship. Local bodies under the socialist regime will comprise urban municipalities and agglomeration, in convenient sizes. Of rural areas corresponding somewhat to district councils. Cooperative farms will be represented in such agrarian local bodies, which will have more or less the same responsibilities as the type of local self-government commonly in vogue in advanced countries. For example, they will look after schools, sanitation, health facilities, drainage, public parks, roads, water supply, and similar responsibilities.

Even before the goal of socialism is attained, the party will have measures of reforms carried through in the existing local self-government bodies—municipalities, district councils, etc. The reforms will be orientated towards obtaining the maximum direct participation of citizens in all local self-government bodies. The larger municipalities will be divided into either smaller independent municipalities or sub-municipal with each sub-municipal body having its own town hall. A local body proposing action affecting citizens within its area must consult the majority of the inhabitants and not only the elected members. Rules in various matters requiring consultation will be suitably framed. For example, change of street names will be illegal unless it follows a 6-month notice to the citizens and public discussion of the proposal, not only through the medium of the Press and radio but also in public meetings. All municipal bodies will be compelled to give wide publicity to deliberations of all matters that come before them. Twice annually, each local body must hold a public meeting, open to all voters within its jurisdiction, to render an account of its actions and to listen to the views of the public. The mandate of members of local bodies shall always be revocable any time by the electors.
In respect of services, such as the supply of water and removal of garbage, no dues may be collected unless the service is rendered. Disputes in respect of local taxation will come under the jurisdiction of administrative courts.

Town planning is much talked of in Pakistan but has been disgracefully neglected. The great city of Karachi is an instance of how corruption has deprived its citizens of the amenities which are a necessary part of civic life. Sites meant for public parks have been given away to private persons. The management of housing societies has been in most instances grossly corrupt.

Lands meant for public amenities which have been wrongfully given away will be resumed and those responsible will be punished according to law. Not only in government administration but also in local bodies and housing societies corruption has to be stamped out. We will not allow persons who have wrongfully acquired property meant for public use to remain in enjoyment of their ill-gotten gains. Special commissions to investigate the affairs of municipalities, autonomous bodies like the KDA and CDA, housing societies and organizations connected with town planning will be appointed and special tribunals to try the guilty.

**c) Administrative Reforms**

The present system of administration is a legacy of colonial rule, to which it was, in its time, well adopted. Even in respect of honesty the administration was found to function well when it was watched and controlled from outside. Whatever modifications have been introduced they have been done to meet the needs of the rising indigenous capitalist class and to promote the interests of groups that were acquiring wealth by holding the levers of power within government and administration. The administration then became its own master. But this could happen only by forming alliance with the capitalists who were eager to obtain privileges for exploitation.

The socialist measures will cut at the root of the corrupt side of administration. The socialist regime will need a different structure of administration, and the socialist society, when it comes into being, will itself create the necessary structure. The problem of reforms for the present one is only for the interim period; but this is an urgent matter the reforms will have to be made effective as early as possible. One of the necessary measures is to make the official personally more responsible for his actions, especially in matters relating to his dealings with the public. The present rule of anonymity will have to be drastically modified.

In disputes between departments and the public the Administrative Courts will have jurisdiction; for example, a private party can sue the department in an administrative court for damages caused by official delay; a contractor may sue the government in such a court for obtaining his dues. The administrative courts are, perhaps, the very best method of putting an end to corruption in government and the harassment of the public by government officials. If delay and inefficiency become justifiable, their incidence will decrease.
d) Minorities

All citizen of Pakistan, irrespective of religious belief, race or colour, shall enjoy equal political rights, protection before the law, access to occupation of public office, and shall not be discriminated against in any manner in respect of employment.

e) Administrative Courts and Ombudsmen

For the protection of the citizens against administrative wrongs, a system of administrative courts and administrative law will be established. Furthermore, the functioning of the administration in respect of its contacts with the public will be constantly supervised by Ombudsmen.

f) Jail Reforms

The people’s movement of overthrow Ayub Khan’s dictatorship resulted in the imprisonment of large numbers of honest men and women, most of whom for the first time saw the interior of Pakistani jail. The prisons were already overcrowded, and the influx of political prisoners made conditions no better. The political prisoners were in many cases subjected to ill-treatment and hardships. They could see for themselves also how inhuman the treatment of other types of prisoners could be in a Pakistani jail. Having had experience of what was happening in the jails, they could reveal to the public, when they were freed, the use of torture, the deaths of prisoners under torture, and the whipping of trade union leaders and political workers.

In the jails, corruption flourishes unchecked. All the official regulations about jail inspection were proved to be completely ineffective. The sanitary conditions in the jails are indescribably bad, although it is obligatory on the government to keep up the correct standards in this respect and there is no lack of manpower within the walls. Medical attention is perfunctory. All the cells are infested with vermin, and noting is done to get rid of them. The food is inadequate and bad because most of the official grant is misappropriated by the jail officials. The treatment of the common prisoners is based purely upon brutality, with the result that even the first offender comes out a hardened criminal. Besides the use of torture, which is common in such jails, political prisoners have been subjected to solitary confinement extending beyond the prescribed period recognized as humanly permissible.

The jails will be drastically reformed. In respect of treatment of criminals a distinction will be made between hardened criminals, who have committed serious crimes, and first offenders, to make affective the reformatory work. Emphasis will be laid upon teaching prisoners useful and proper habits of living, which means training in hygiene and self-respect.

g) Abolition of "Jirga" System

Under Ayub Khan’s regime, a systematic attempt was made to pervert and destroy the civilized procedures of dispensing justice by spreading the "Jirga" system, a most primitive method of trial, in which the most elementary notions of fairness and legality are disregarded. Its object has
been to give the administration a weapon for harassing or convicting innocent people. The Jirga
system will be abolished. The normal system of criminal and civil courts will be introduced in
the tribal areas also, so that the administration of justice may become uniform throughout the
country.

h) Abolition of Honours

All honors and decorations of a civilian nature awarded to Pakistani citizens by all previous
regimes will be revoked, and the prevailing system of honours and decorations abolished. Not
before 5 years’ after a democratic constitution has been brought into force and the basic reforms
carried out, shall the question of instituting awards for meritorious achievements be considered.

j) Princely State

No region of Pakistan will be permitted to be governed in the manner of a princely state. All
political agencies will be brought in line with the general legal administration of the rest of
Pakistan.

Without prejudice to the right of self-determination of the people of the state of Jammu and
Kashmir, the government of Pakistan will kept them to abolish princely rule that still exists on
their territory in the parts protected by Pakistan.

VIII

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

a) Educational Goals

Under the regime of exploitation which has governed Pakistan all these year, education and
culture occupied no place except as adjuncts at the service of the propertied classes. The neglect
of education was a logical consequence of the economic policy pursued. Education cannot be put
off until the day when the country becomes prosperous, because general economic prosperity
itself depends upon the spread of literacy and the raising of the educational level.

Along with the neglect to expand education, there has been a complete collapse in the
functioning of the existing educational institutions. Educational students have steadily declined
to the point when today a Pakistani university degree has lost its value as academic qualification.
It is a very grave situation. Not only the work of spreading literacy must be carried out, as a basic
effort, but the whole educational system has at the same time to be reformed.

Educational goals have to be defined afresh. The basic problem of education is that younger
generations have to be prepared not merely to understand the universe around them but to alter it.
They must acquire a deep comprehension of the nature of social change and of inexorable
process of history. Not only that they must be armed with scientific tools to unravel the mysteries of observable phenomenon but also they must have intellectual integrity and courage to accept the truth as it emerges before their eyes.

In order to create a truly classless society it is imperative that the horizons of the seekers of knowledge should encompass society as a whole. Their vision must not be narrowed down to that of the proverbial frog in the well. We must reject the conception fostered by the capitalist system that higher education must confine itself to narrow specialization. The capitalist system has an interest in this sort of fragmentation of learning because it is able thereby to prevent the intellectuals from questioning the validity of the prevailing system of political and economic values.

In our present society there is a noticeable resistance to learning, the causes of which are complex but lie in the nature of the social system. The curricula of the university and college courses will have to be thoroughly revised and the divorce between the universities and the life of the people ended. Apart from compulsory military training, which will begin already at the secondary school stage, the student will have to spend a specified period doing national service in labour corps, in fields and towns.

Properly speaking, education should begin in the cradle. The moral collapse and intellectual sterility of our society is greatly due to the repressive environment in which children are brought up. Their minds get no opportunities for exercising the intellectual faculties. The children must be helped. A way in which the State can do it is to provide the opportunities for the children to exercise their minds in play: The Pakistani child does not get enough toys. It is known that toys of certain types contribute to mental development. Toy factories will be established by the state and their products sold cheap at subsidized rates or given free to the children of poor parents. It will be incumbent upon every locality, village or urban, to provide open and sheltered playgrounds for children.

b) Primary and Secondary Education

Education will be free up to matriculation and primary education will be compulsory and free. A 5-year programme will be formulated by the end of which all the necessary schools must be built and the primary school teachers trained. Free housing will be provided for such teachers, and their children will be exempted from secondary school boarding fees if they opt for the profession of teaching.

More secondary schools must also be established, with the aim that in due course education will become compulsory up to a prescribed age and level of secondary school education. The children who do exceptionally well as the top of the primary schools will be granted scholarships for studying in secondary schools, and for this purpose special regard will be paid to the children of working class parents. In the secondary schools, the elements of manual skill must also be taught
alongside book learning. There will also be educational institutions classified as secondary schools for various branches of artisan training.

Among the compulsory subjects in school, mathematics will be accorded the place of honour and taught by the most scientific modern methods. Mathematics is the basis of all science and technology and it is necessary that its foundations should be laid early in the minds of the students. Moreover, this discipline more than any other develops the power of rational thinking.

c) Higher Education

The institutions of higher learning, as now constituted and operated, are the product of the ordinances promulgated to enforce the notorious educational "reforms" hatched by the last regime. The universities of today are in the image of the despotic rule of Ayub Khan. All the evils of his system stand transferred in the educational field in the present shape of the universities. The vice-chancellor, advised by foreign "experts", assisted by rubber-stamping syndicates, aided by educational bureaucracy and blue-eyed favorites, helped by police, is on a rampage to exploit the students of awarding them worthless degrees and diplomas and impoverishing their parents. This must change. The universities have to be reorganized on the principles enunciated in the foregoing.

The students and teachers must work in full academic freedom. The students must be allowed pertinent choice in the affairs of the university, which in its turn must be answerable to representatives of the people.

The imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist influences must be wiped out from our institutions.

Not only through the schools but also by general effort to bring to the consciousness of the masses the importance of cultural values can the general cultural level be raised. Such an effort must include the protection and promotion of regional languages and local cultures.

d) Freedom of Conscience, Freedom of Thought, Freedom of Expression

Thought cannot be divorced from expression. The freedom of conscience and freedom of thought imply the freedom of expressing in public what one believes and thinks even if what is said or written goes against the beliefs and prejudices of others. There is no meaning in talking of such freedom and at the same time insisting that only accepted beliefs may be expressed. The very basis of toleration is preparedness to bear contrary opinions. Bigotry is an insult to faith and intelligence alike.

It can be shown from the history of Muslim peoples that their civilization declined into intellectual sterility because dogmatic fanaticism obtained ascendency. This type of insensate intolerance has been imposed upon the people of Pakistan by governments indifferent or hostile.
to the intellectual welfare of the people. Our governments have too readily yielded to the blackmail of ignorant bigots.

The nation has been intellectually blindfolded by class interests which do not want our people to think for themselves. The bunkers put upon the nation by dictatorial government will be removed.

No book shall be proscribed merely on the ground that its contents differ from the tenets or beliefs of any religion or faith. Liberal policy will be followed with regard to the importation of books. The censorship of true news items will be disallowed; we ought to know not only the pleasant things about ourselves but also the unpleasant facts. We must stop thinking of ourselves as condemned to perpetual immaturity of mind under the tutelage of guardians.

IX

NATIONAL HEALTH

a) The Present State

In respect of public health facilities Pakistan is one of the most backward countries of the world. Diseases, malnutrition, environmental insanitation and squalor take an extraordinarily heavy toll of human life year by year. Microbial diseases, like typhoid, cholera, small-pox, malaria, tuberculosis, which have been wiped out from most of the underdeveloped countries, are still rampant in Pakistan.

Half of the Pakistani population is destined to die before reaching the age of 16. Nowhere else in the world so many mothers die as they do in Pakistan during and immediately after childbirth.

The poor are the worst sufferers. For only about 15% of the population are there available any sort of curative or diagnostic facilities. The cost of medicines is beyond the reach of most and even the middle classes are hardly able to pay for essential life-saving drugs.

There are many preventable diseases whose control is easy but which today cause immense suffering and economic harm. Over one per cent of the Pakistani population is blind. Three out of four persons in the region of Sind and Baluchistan suffer from trachoma, a disease which can lead to blindness is not treated.

Ten per cent of the population suffer from some mental defect, ranging from idiocy and raving madness to loss of mental equilibrium. Malnutrition and inattention at child-birth are causes of much brain damage.

Existing health laws are antiquated and need complete revision or replacement by modern enactment.
b) Health Policy and Targets

The policy of the Pakistan People's Party in matters of national health is guided by the following considerations:

a. Enjoyment of good health is the fundamental right of every citizen of Pakistan. b. The State shall ensure protection of all its citizens from communicable diseases. c. The State shall ensure protection of all its citizens, particularly children and youth, against preventable conditions such as environmental pollution, maternal deaths, accidents, etc. d. The State shall pay special attention to the health of youth and working population and shall take concrete steps to increase their physical, mental and social efficiency. e. The State shall arrange to provide medical care and rehabilitation facilities for all those who are physically disabled. f. The State shall pay special attention to the mentally ill and the mentally handicapped.

The following objectives will be aimed at:

1. To increase life expectancy in Pakistan from the present 33 to 60 years within a generation. 2. The reduce within ten years child mortality between the ages of 1 and 5 from the 35% to 7.5%. 3. Complete eradication within ten years of microbial diseases such as TB, cholera, small-pox, typhoid, malaria, typhus, rabies, leprosy.

The health programme will include the provision and improvement of hospitals, the enforcement of measures to improve sanitation in towns and villages, the local manufacture of as many essential drugs as possible, health care of school children and, where malnutrition is present, the supply of balancing diets in the schools.

X

NATIONAL DEFENCE

The shortcomings of our system of military defence must be made good. Since previous governments have not taken the trouble of establishing an infra-structure of heavy industries comprising the production of iron and steel, the manufacture of machine tools and the working of non-ferrous metals, we are dependent today upon foreign countries for the importation of most types of weapons and military equipment. The greater number of weapons used by the defense forces are capable of being manufactured in Pakistan itself.

The socialist regime will establish an armament industry adequate fox national requirements. For this purpose the basic industries will have to be established first. For example, the production of steel of the qualities required facilities for manufacturing machine tools and heavy chemicals, plants for the production of chemicals used in the making of explosives. The manufacture of
vehicles and motors will be undertaken. It ought to be possible to meet the military requirements of vehicles, even of armoured types, from local production, except for such as axe of special nature and whose production will not repay the trouble. The manufacture of ballistic and guided missiles will form part of the armaments programmes.

Pakistan will develop its nuclear capability to prepare for all eventualities.

The defence of East Pakistan will be strengthened by the establishment there of adequate military installations for ground forces, the air force and the navy, and the stationing in the country of the requisite military personnel so that any attempt at aggression from outside can be both repulsed and punished.

The Party insists upon:

The right of every man to bear arms to protect his own life and the life and honour of his family;

(b) and his right to defend his against foreign aggression.

A ‘People’s Army’ will be created in all regions of the country. This will offer the substitute for the defence in depth which is geographically lacking. The existence of a people's is the best deterrent to foreign aggression.

XI

THE CONSTITUTION

a) The Constitution

The legal framework of a constitution can guarantee no progress if it is made in the interest of the ruling classes. A constitution, even if democratic in form, will remain in effective unless it promotes the conditions for progress and creates the institutions necessary for the purpose. The Party's conception of a Progressive constitution includes:

(a) full democracy (b) parliamentary Government (c) federal system (d) the extension of local self-government (e) guarantee of the freedom of conscience.

Under any constitution the unity of the country can be preserved only on the condition that the economy of the country is not fragmented, and a uniformity of the legal system prevails throughout the republic. There must be no privileged and retarded areas. The areas under tribal regime must be absorbed within the general system. Human rights shall be expressly guaranteed in the constitution. Women will have equal rights with men and will be eligible for every post of authority, including the posts of president and prime minister. The minimum age for voting and
election to parliament, municipalities and all local self-government bodies will be 18 years for both sexes.

b) Reform of the Electoral System

The existing electoral system is a most efficient mechanism for giving preponderance to the propertied classes in parliament. The cost of fighting an election is high which in no case can be afforded by a poor candidate unless he is supported by rich patrons with ample private means.

Another defect, equally serious, of this system inherited from the British lies in its entire emphasis on the influence and power the candidate personally wields in his constituency and relegation to the background of the political ideas he is supposed to be upholding. The fight, in the rural areas particularly, is between local bosses. In such circumstances a political party's programme loses its meaning. The electoral system has been one of the principal causes of the political failures since the beginning of Pakistan.

The electoral system will be so reformed as to give primacy to political programmes. This will be done by introducing the system of voting for party lists and not for individual candidates. The number of candidates elected in each party will be proportionate to the total number of valid votes cast. In the case of the National Assembly the total valid votes cast means the total in the whole country, both Wings together. In the case of the Provincial Assemblies the total refers, of course, to each province respectively.

In this system it will depend upon the political party concerned how its candidates are placed in respect of priority in its list. If only rich men are at the head, or only men from a certain class, the voters will know at once what class interests that party actually represents, whatever be its published programme. Since the local boss cannot by merely spending money hope to get elected, unless his name stands high on his party's list, election expenses will quickly be confined to the essentials only. Political conviction will become more important than personal influence.

In order to discourage the presence of splinter and parochial parties in the National Assembly it shall be a law that no political party that has not secured at least five per cent of the total votes cast shall be given a seat. This provision, acting as a goad to the parties to secure a following in each Wing of the country, will help to shape political programmes on national lines. The same 5% rules will apply in the Provincial Assemblies in respect of each Province.

CONCLUSION

The Pakistan People’s Party came into being in the hour of need and has performed its duty unflinchingly, to overthrow a corrupt dictatorship and to awaken the people to the consciousness of their own power. The Party has acted on what it has preached. In sets up on jumbled list of
demands but proposes radical change of the social economic and political structure. The people of Pakistan will themselves bring this revolution to pass. Hoe the Party says.

**ALL POWERSTO THE PEOPLE**