

## **THE NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY (NAP) AND ITS ROLE IN NATIONAL POLITICS OF PAKISTAN**

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### **Abstract**

The National Awami Party was a left oriented party also suspected of harboring Irredentist claims of Afghanistan on the Pakhtoon area. During the second military regime (1969-1971) both the Eastern and western wings of the National Awami Party had been banned. When Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took over as Chief Martial Law Administrator and President, he lifted the ban on NAP the same day. PPP led by Bhutto needed the NAP to frame a consensus on the Constitution and was also left oriented. The NAP formed provincial governments in Balochistan and NWFP with governors also from their parties but the alliance did not hold and most of the NAP leaders faced arrest and formed the most formidable component of the Pakistan National Alliance which toppled the PPP government in 1977. During the 11 years of military rule although their leaders were released the NAP had a limited role in politics.

**Keywords:** Pakhtunistan, Hyderabad Trials, Provincial Autonomy. Interim Constitution

### **Introduction**

The National Awami Party (NAP) was recognized in the wider strata of the society for its leftist orientation in politics. The party was formed by leftist politicians including Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani, influenced by Marxist ideology, in 1957, by breaking away from Awami League (AL). It was founded in Dhaka and consisted of the Bhashani-led faction of Awami League, Azad Pakistan Party led by Mian Iftikharuddin, Sindh Mahaz led by G.M. Syed, Sindh Hari Committee led by Haider Bakhsh Jatoi, *Wror Pukhtun* led by Abdul Samad Achakzai, *Usthaman Gul* led by Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Khudai Khidmatgars led by Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Ganantantri Dal led by Haji Muhammad

Danesh. Until the Martial Law of 1958, NAP presented an articulate opposition in the National Assembly. It also maintained a balance of power in both parts of the country i.e., East and West Pakistan. The Martial Law of 1958 was a huge setback for NAP along with other political parties. With the promulgation of the 1962 constitution, the party revived and took on its well-defined agenda against feudalism and imperialism. The major aim of the party was to make the people of the lower strata conscious of their plight and to enable them to raise their voices against their exploitation at the hands of feudals.<sup>i</sup>

After the revival of the party in 1964, it passed through several stages. First, it geared up to support a Combined Opposition Candidate (COP), Fatima Jinnah for president in 1965. Second, as just mentioned, it tried to organize the lower strata of the society such as the working class and peasantry for an organized moment against the widespread exploitations in the society. Third, NAP was divided into two factions i.e., the pro-Moscow group and the pro-China group led by Muzaffar Ahmad<sup>ii</sup> and Maulana Bhashani<sup>iii</sup> respectively due to rivalries between them on personal and ideological grounds. Fourth, the party decided to participate in the general elections scheduled in October 1970, but it led to further rivalries as the Bhashani group had at least three sub-factions, in which one was out rightly against participation in the election.<sup>iv</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, broke away from the parent party and formed NAP (Wali) faction.

In an interview with Dr. Feroze Ahmed<sup>v</sup>, Wali Khan revealed the political manifesto of the NAP (Wali). He wanted his party to be based on a socialist ideology which can address the issues of marginalized classes in Pakistan. The notion of Bhutto's Islamic Socialism was negated by Wali Khan because he considered that there is no space for religious considerations in Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin's socialism, which he wanted to implement in Pakistan. Further, he highlighted that according to socialism all the production and its distribution is in the hands of the state. However, this paper is not only about Wali Khan's political ideology but it also examines the role Wali Khan and NAP played during the time of political disintegration in the 1970s. He was labeled anti-Pakistani by those who wanted centralization of power. Wali Khan and his ideologues were familiar with the fact that devolution of power to ground level in a society comprising of multiethnic identities was the only solution for sustainability, development and integration of marginalized groups in Pakistan. He expressed his grievances against the regime exploiting the masses by Islamic and socialist rhetoric for personal gain

which was observed in 1970's general elections. This election ultimately resulted into the secession of East Pakistan.

For the present paper, qualitative research methods were adopted for the understanding the role of NAP in the national politics of Pakistan. The writer has re-read different books and articles related to the nature of the topic. The primary sources consisted of NAP manifestos and policies from the time of its formation and substantial development till 1970's elections in Pakistan. Primary data consists of the political views of Wali Khan and his faction of NAP. While the secondary data was also assimilated for the understanding of present topic. There were different views about the formation and adaptation of leftist ideology of the NAP. Both primary and secondary sources for data collections were adopted for this work.

### **Elections of 1970**

The election campaign started after the promulgation of the Legal Framework Order 1970.<sup>vi</sup> Every party (left and right oriented) came up with their manifestoes for the public. NAP (Wali) also presented its manifesto to the public which was aimed for restoring democracy rather than to struggle for power as explained by its chief Abdul Wali Khan.<sup>vii</sup> The party chief Wali Khan claimed that the party manifesto was democratic and progressive in nature which would aim to acquire greater provincial autonomy and rights of people. The major aim of the party was to put society on the right track by eliminating social inequalities. The party would raise its voice for the long-withheld reforms in agriculture as well as the industrial sector of the country as the previous government had passed laws promising reforms in these sectors, which had no effect because of poor implementation. Another aim of the party, post general election, was to opt for an independent course in the foreign policy of the country. The party chief claimed that Pakistan needed an independent course of action rather than to follow western countries, because it had severely impacted the international standing of the country.<sup>viii</sup>

During the election of 1970, due to its support to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's <sup>ix</sup>'s Six-Point formula<sup>x</sup>, NAP (Wali) was often termed as the 'junior partner' of Awami League. But this claim of opposition carried no value because during the election campaign, Wali Khan criticized the Six-point formula in Mujib's home constituency.<sup>xi</sup> Wali Khan criticized Mujib's six point agenda for its secessionist spirit, and stressed the national integration and said:

We shall stand as one nation, because all people living in Pakistan are brothers, be they belong to Dhaka, Chittagong or deserts of Sindh. The hatred against one another would weaken the bonds of unity, hence the people of all Pakistan be provided their due rights, and all shall stand firm as one nation.<sup>xii</sup>

His aim was to organize all people under the single identity of a Pakistani nation. He maintained that standing firm as one nation would solve all the problems faced by Pakistan.<sup>xiii</sup> Further, in the election campaign, he advised the common people to elect sincere people who could stand by them in difficult circumstances and who could oversee the problems in the society and find out viable solutions for them. The leadership of NAP (Wali) assured the people that those who had violated the rules and usurped the national wealth of the country, will be held accountable.<sup>xiv</sup>

The general elections of 1970 which had been postponed to December due to severe floods in East Pakistan<sup>xv</sup>. Such natural calamities, as most political analysts believed, had significantly contributed to the election results. The political and military leaders in West Pakistan showed indifference to these developments in East Pakistan. Most of the politicians, in West Pakistan, continued their campaigns, and did not consider visits to affected areas necessary, which ultimately hurt the idea of one nation. The parties of East Pakistan such as AL and NAP (Bhashani) exploited the situation in their interest and started an anti-Pakistan campaign.<sup>xvi</sup>

In those hard times, Wali Khan called off his election campaign and visited the affected areas of East Pakistan. During his visit, he took an aerial view of the affected areas, and offered donations to the people. Even his father, Abdul Ghaffar Khan offered Rs. 55000/- as a donation to help the affected people. The efforts of Abdul Wali Khan were widely appreciated by his rival Maulana Bhahsani in an address to the people of East Pakistan.<sup>xvii</sup> The continued indifference of the majority political leaders of West Pakistan created a huge gulf between the people of both parts.<sup>xviii</sup> In this volatile political situation, the two major parties, AL, and Pakistan People's Party<sup>xix</sup>, restricted their campaigns to East Pakistan and West Pakistan respectively. Wali Khan maintained that in those difficult times, the rightist's election campaign agenda was to uphold the sanctity of Islam, while the centrist were more interested in the struggle to acquire more power, which out rightly showed apathy for the future of the country.<sup>xx</sup> When asked by a reporter at Karachi Airport about the political situation in the country, he replied, "that as opposed to his earlier

prediction about AL winning 60% seats, the recent scenario is evident of the fact that AL would get more than 95% seats. The prediction of Wali Khan proved to be true.<sup>xxi</sup>

NAP (Wali) had a strong popularity specifically in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, where it seemed that it would get a maximum number of seats, if free and fair elections were held. The main rival of NAP (Wali) was Abdul Qayum Khan.<sup>xxii</sup> He formed a party by the name of Quaid-i-Azam Muslim League (QML) on March 19, 1969. Qayum Khan had vilified Wali Khan and his father in his election campaign and continuously dubbed them as *kafirs* (infidels), anti-Pakistan, and traitors. Abdul Ghaffar Khan's, self-exile was questioned by Qayum Khan who directly accused him of anti-Pakistan activities on Afghan soil.<sup>xxiii</sup> Wali Khan maintained that if these charges leveled against him and his father carried a miniscule of truth, then why did not the Pakistani government confirm it from the Pakistan embassy in Kabul? The major aim of this vilification was to affect the vote bank of NAP in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and to deprive them of any representation in legislature, otherwise it would affect the interests of those feudals against whom, NAP had started an articulate campaign.<sup>xxiv</sup> During the election campaign in December 1970, he escaped an attempt on his life, for which the party held QML responsible.<sup>xxv</sup>

In the election campaign, NAP (Wali) sought the support of landlords and bourgeoisie class in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa against the Punjabi dominated bureaucracy of West Pakistan under the One-Unit scheme for keeping Khyber Pakhtunkhwa underdeveloped.<sup>xxvi</sup> He stressed that common people have reached the conclusion about their exploitation at the hand of Punjab dominated government, but at same time, he said, that some areas in the Punjab had also been kept backward and underdeveloped, so according to him, it was the struggle between two classes of Pakistan which did not hesitate to exploit the lower strata, even in the same province.<sup>xxvii</sup> He was not against the Punjabis specifically, rather critical of those who were exploiting the poor. For this line of thought, he has wrongly been dubbed as an 'anti-Pakistan' leader who struggled for the secession of the Pashtun dominated areas from Pakistan.

### **Result of the elections of 1970**

The general election of 1970s was held across the country on December 7, 1970. While the election for the provincial legislature was held on December 17, 1970. Elections in the areas affected by flood were further postponed until January 1971. The turnout for the election to the National

Assembly was recorded to be 59.87% of which 56.9% in East Pakistan while 63.4 % was in West Pakistan<sup>xxviii</sup>.

The party wise results to the 300 seats of national legislature were as under:

<b>Party</b>	<b>Votes %</b>	<b>Seats Won</b>
AL	39.20	160
PPP	18.63	81
QML	4.49	9
CML	5.9	7
JUIP (Hazarvi)	3.9	7
JUP	3.9	7
NAP (Wali)	2.43	6
JIP	6.03	4
ML( Con.)	3.34	2
PDP	2.2	1
Independent	7.04	16
		300

Source: *Election Commission, Report on the General Elections: Pakistan 1970-71*, Vol. II (Karachi, 1972). 203-205.

Upon the declaration of results, the then President Yahya Khan<sup>xxix</sup> called upon for the inaugural session to be held on March 3, 1971, at Dhaka, which unfortunately did not happen because of the politically volatile situation across the country.

It was evident from the election result for the National Assembly that NAP (Wali) group underperformed securing only 6 seats. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the party managed to bag only 3 seats out of 18 and showed worst performance against QML and JUIP (H)<sup>xxx</sup>. QML got 7 seats out of its total 9 seats while JUIP (H) got 6 seats in KP out its total 7 seats. On other hand, NAP (Wali) relatively showed better performance in Balochistan, where it bagged 3 seats out of 4. The fourth seat was bagged by JUIP. While NAP (Wali) failed to get any seat from East Pakistan, Punjab, and Sindh.

NAP (Wali) performed poorly at the provincial level as well except in Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In these two provinces, it emerged as a major party after bagging 13 out of 40 and 8 out of 20 seats respectively. It got a total of 22 seats from provinces out of total 600

seats. According to Wali Khan, that the party did not issue any ticket to the candidates from Punjab, because the Islamic Socialism of Bhutto had branded the ideology of NAP as that of infidels which led most of the party workers astray.<sup>xxxix</sup> The election results reflected the fact that NAP was no match for PPP in Sindh and Punjab and to AL in East Pakistan. NAP became a regional party with outreach only to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and parts of Balochistan. It was termed as a nationalist party mainly confined to issues related to the Pashtuns.

Initially, it was believed that elections were held in free and fair environment, but it was later alleged that pre-poll rigging had been held and Qayum Khan had the blessings of Yahya Khan. Qayum Khan gave credit of his good performance in the general election to President Yahya. The Yahya regime directed several industrialists and landlords in the political gatherings to join, support and finance the election campaign of QML. Majority of the Conventional Muslim League<sup>xxxix</sup> members were asked to join the QML, also to provide funds to the party<sup>xxxix</sup>. Later, it was also revealed by former President Ayub Khan that the central government had tried to persuade the PML (Con.) members to provide funds to QML, so that it could be used effectively to contain the progress of NAP (Wali) in the elections.<sup>xxxix</sup> According to the sources, upon the refusal of sharing funds with QML, President Yahya Khan froze the party funds of ML. (Con.) In addition, the central government provided a lump sum of 4 million rupees to the QML for its campaign to reach maximum number of people.

### **The Repercussions of Election 1970**

The immediate consequence of the general election of 1970 was political deadlock and the disintegration of Pakistan because the opposing parties in both East and West Pakistan were not ready to accept the constitutional proposals of one another. Specifically, the PPP under the leadership of Z.A/Bhutto, was not ready to accept the success of Mujibur Rahman and his party because of the secessionist nature of the Six Point Formula. The National Assembly had to prepare a constitutional draft within a span of 120 days which would then be authenticated by the president. Therefore, government at the national and provincial level would be formed. But this could not materialize because the parties at the helm of affairs were in deadlock with one another. The deadlock emerged because of the Mujib's struggle and commitment to draft a constitution based on his six-point formula because being the single largest party in the country having a total of 417 seats, he had got the 'people's mandate'.

He stressed about the grave consequences, if anyone tried to alter or manipulate the mandate given to him by the people.<sup>xxxv</sup>

Z. A Bhutto, while claiming PPP to be the largest party in West Pakistan, demanded a share in the central government and constitution making process.<sup>xxxvi</sup> The reason behind Bhutto's claim of share in power was that PPP controlled the 'bastions of power' namely Punjab and Sindh; Punjab the major ground of recruitment in the army and Sindh being a center of production and industry in the country. On the request of Bhutto, Yahya Khan tried to end the political deadlock between AL and PPP. Bhutto expected a provisional coalition government with the help of military<sup>xxxvii</sup>. Four round of talks were held between Mujib and Bhutto with no positive results, and thus the deadlock remained. In these uncertain times, NAP (Wali) stressed for conciliation between the major parties and maintained that successful talks will result in progressive country, and ultimately the country would get the much-awaited constitution in the aftermath<sup>xxxviii</sup>.

Upon the postponement of the inaugural session of National Assembly on March 1, 1971, by President Yahya, the political situation started to mire again in chaos. Under these demanding circumstances, Z.A. Bhutto tried to win over the leaders of West Pakistan for forging a united stand against Mujib. He met Wali Khan for his support on the postponement of the session of the National Assembly, but Wali Khan replied that the law and constitution must be above party politics.<sup>xxxix</sup> He urged people to place the national cause before the regional issues which would result in a united country. Upon Bhutto's announcement of not attending the session and his rejection of framing constitution on the 'principle of simple majority' (instead of two-third majority) Wali Khan criticized him for his insidious act which would significantly impact national unity. Wali Khan was not ready to boycott the National Assembly's session, despite the persuasion of the military leadership.<sup>xl</sup>

Therefore, Bhutto started to give provocative statements, which were tantamount to 'an act of declaration of war' as claimed by Wali Khan<sup>xli</sup>. Bhutto's provocative statements further strengthened AL's stance on their Six-Point agenda and a draft was submitted. He strongly condemned the draft constitution and asked President Yahya to postpone the National Assembly session or lift the 120 days limitation. The president chose the first option. The country was pushed towards political chaos and uncertainty. From 1 March 1971 to 25 March 1971 there were riots against non-Bengalis. The military leadership strengthened Martial Law and press censorship, thus betraying the people's mandate as



claimed by Mujib, and stressed that he will not let a bid for secession go unchallenged. To calm the situation, General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan<sup>xliii</sup> summoned a 'round table conference' of parliamentary leaders to discuss the constitutional issues, but Mujib refused to attend it.

On March 4, 1971, NAP declared the postponement of National Assembly's session as undemocratic and called for a national strike. In a final attempt, to settle the issue of transfer of power, Yahya himself went to Dhaka to meet Mujib, along Wali Khan in order to persuade him for a political settlement. Upon meeting Mujib, Wali Khan said:

You are an ex-Muslim Leaguer and I am an ex-Congressman, yesterday, when you were dividing the nation, we told you not do so, as it would be disastrous for Muslims of India, and today, it seems that same conspiracy is going on to divide the nation, and I urge you not to do so, as it would be a disaster for this nation.<sup>xliii</sup>

Mujib replied to him in an emotional manner and said,

You are asking an ex-Muslim Leaguer for the integrity of Pakistan, we have sacrificed our lives for the creation of it, today, how can we break it up? We have been trying our best to find a solution, but they (Bhutto and Yahya) have already decided to shoot their way through."<sup>xliv</sup>

Upon the failure of last round of negotiations and return of Wali Khan on March 24, 1971, Yahya sanctioned military action on March 25, 1971 to stop the murder loot and arson of non-Bengalis. In response, to the military action of Yahya, Mujib declared East Pakistan to be the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Unlike other West Pakistani politicians, NAP (Wali) strongly condemned the military action in East Pakistan. After a military action, India also attacked the eastern border of the country of what became the 1971 war, and eventually, on December 16, 1971, Pakistani forces under General A.A.K. Niazi surrendered to Indian General Aurora in Dhaka. And East Pakistan became an independent country. The immediate aftermath of 1970s election resulted in the disintegration of East Pakistan and West Pakistan into independent Bangladesh and Pakistan. Z. A. Bhutto was transferred the office of Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) and President on December 20, 1971.

The secession of East Pakistan from West Pakistan was the result of centralization of power. In West Pakistan majority of the Punjabi politicians agreed with Bhutto's move towards centralization of power. However, other ethnic identities were more inclined for the devolution of power among East and West Pakistan and among center and provinces.<sup>xlv</sup> While Wali Khan and his faction stressed for the devolution of power to the ground level for which he was dubbed as anti-Pakistan by Bhutto and his colleagues.

### **NAP-JUI Coalition Ministries**

Bhutto, after assuming the role of CMLA, invited Wali Khan for building consensus over national issues. He was tasked to play a constructive role in Pakistan and India relationship. He was sent with a delegation to India and had been tasked with forging a friendly relation with USSR and other socialist republics. Earlier, upon taking office, Bhutto lifted the ban on NAP, applied under the Yahya regime which led to the formation of political alliances.<sup>xlvi</sup> In Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa assembly, NAP and JUI together got electoral majority hence both the parties were able to form coalition governments. In N-WFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) Assembly, the JUI-NAP had jointly secured 19 seats which were enough to form a government. Initially, JUI and NAP had also some differences, but these differences were sorted out by Bhutto's intervention, who wanted to use the situation to his advantage.

Bhutto met Mufti Mehmood and offered him the seat of Chief Minister in case of successful settlement between JUI and NAP. Afterwards, Mufti Mehmood announced that he would form a coalition government with any party who would offer him the position of CM. At last, both parties agreed on conciliation and carved out a power-sharing formula. Wali Khan agreed to give the CM's seat to Mufti Mehmood despite NAP's majority in the KP assembly.<sup>xlvii</sup> NAP favored the implementation of socialism in the provinces and Mufti Mehmood but categorically opposed the idea of socialism on a number of occasions nevertheless there was a settlement between both the parties. Further, Mufti Mehmood claimed that the rapprochement with NAP was based on the implementation of an Islamic system of governance in the country. Later, the support of JUI for a coalition government with NAP became their political weakness, as NAP feared that without it, they would lose the ministries in both provinces.<sup>xlviii</sup>

### **The Tripartite Agreement**

Differences soon emerged between the coalition partners on number of issues such as the appointment of governor in both provinces, distribution of reserved seats of women and awarding ministries to the members of the assembly. Both the governments, with the help of PPP, had long-drawn negotiations on the issues which led to a tripartite agreement. The major points of the agreement were:

- i. National Assembly's session to be convened on April 14, 1972, which would be in session for not more than three days.
- ii. Based on government of India Act 1935 and Independence Act 1947, an interim constitution to be prepared.
- iii. The parties would give a vote of confidence in the PPP led government.
- iv. The parties would agree on continuance of Martial Law till August 14, 1972.
- v. For the Constitution, a committee of National Assembly would be formed which would submit its report till August 1, 1972.
- vi. Those members who have won seats of both central and provincial assembly, would be allowed to retain both until the promulgation of the constitution.
- vii. On April 21, 1972, the session of Provincial Assemblies will be called.
- viii. After August 14, the function of National Assembly would be dual in nature, constitutional and legislative.
- ix. The governments at the centre and the provinces would be established on the principle of majority. As such the PPP would be allowed to form governments at the center, Punjab and Sindh, while JUI-NAP would form ministries in KP and Balochistan.
- x. All the political position holders such as president, vice president, governors would be the member of respective assemblies of which they have won the seat.
- xi. Until the constitution is promulgated, the center would appoint the governors, but with the consent of majority party in the province.<sup>xlix</sup>

Despite the agreement, there was a lack of trust between both parties for continuation of a viable political structure. Specifically, the NAP was suspicious of the Z. A. Bhutto led central government. And later, JUI and NAP both realized the fact that Bhutto was more expedient in making promises rather than to fulfill them. The army was against the economic policies of NAP-JUI which led to the creation of doubts. The

reason behind this was the attempt of NAP to bring an egalitarian society which was clearly in opposition to the interests of the landed aristocracy. Upon the complain of provincial governments of violation and mismanagement of affairs under Martial Law, Bhutto agreed to lift Martial Law by April 17 rather than in August, if the Interim Constitution was ratified. Bhutto's government was granted the vote of confidence on April 14, and resultantly the Interim Constitution of the country was adopted. As mentioned in the agreement, a committee of National Assembly was established to prepare a draft constitution for the country. During the session of the National Assembly, Wali Khan said, that though he gave a vote of confidence to Bhutto, but, he had no confidence in Bhutto's management of political affairs of the county.<sup>1</sup>

Bhutto realized the grave concerns created by his attitude in the political circles. So, he decided to lift Martial Law on April 21, 1972, to successfully pacify the concerns of the political leaders. Wali Khan welcomed the move and considered it as a significant step towards the progressive future of Pakistan. Moreover, Bhutto decided to grant one portfolio to JUI-NAP in the federal cabinet, a step which was welcomed by the provincial governments. This led to the increase of their confidence in the federal government.<sup>ii</sup>

### **Formation of United Democratic Front (UDF)**

The political situation of the country became complex for the government of Bhutto, as major opposition parties including NAP united to forge a resistance front, United Democratic Front (UDF) which demanded immediate political reforms, individual rights, and the proper working of democratic setup in the country. Bhutto was unable to influence the people of Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa due to the presence of JUI and NAP. Further, with the abrogation of Martial Law, the JUI-NAP government was more confident and their fear of working under the martial law rules were eliminated rightly. Consequently, the three coalition partners agreed to have sign another agreement for the smooth working of the political affairs of the country on April 27, 1972. The major points of the agreement were:

- i. That NAP-JUI would cooperate in the framing of the constitution.
- ii. That a board of ulama would be constituted, who would oversee the laws, to check its confirmation according to the laws of Quran and Sunnah

- iii. A board would be constituted to train people in religious and moral principles.
- iv. A board would be established to oversee the industrial progress of the country
- v. The government would oversee the academic institutions to see its conformity to moral principles.<sup>lii</sup>

The agreement led to the coalition partners to forge a strong consensus on formation of ministries and resultantly, it was decided that Mufti Mehmood and Attaullah Mengal<sup>liii</sup> would be elected as Chief Ministers of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan respectively. The government was formed on May 1, 1972. A consensus was formed on the names for the seat of governor, which consequently led to the appointment of Arbab Sikandar Khan Khalil<sup>liv</sup> in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo<sup>lv</sup> in Balochistan. The federal government formed a constitution making body as agreed which was tasked to draft a constitution for the country. The formation of JUI-NAP ministries was celebrated across both provinces by Balochistan Students Organization (BSO) and Pashtun Students Federation (PSF). Political activities were organized in both provinces in this line, several anti-Iran processions were held against the Shah of Iran in Balochistan. It was a great concern for him. The anti-imperialist stance of NAP led the Shah to question the loyalty of NAP leader towards Pakistan. But it was the systematic propaganda of the Shah to because he feared that the Iranian Baloch population might rise in revolt against him.

During this time of political uncertainty, Wali Khan keenly analyzed the situation and acted accordingly. Despite the ideological divide between the two parties i.e., JUI and NAP, Wali Khan understood that to keep the coalition intact was the need of hour, which should be continued under every circumstance to put the province on its progressive and democratic line. For this purpose, he agreed on the establishment of a Board of Ulama, who would see the conformity of existing laws to the Quran and Sunnah. It was a contradiction to the secular nature of NAP ideology, but it compromised on principles to let a democratic setup continue in the province. Further, the Balochistan Assembly passed a resolution to end the *sardari* system. Urdu was declared as official language and freedom of press was ensured in both provinces. This complicated matters for Bhutto in Sindh. The gulf between the NAP-JUI and Bhutto started slowly to widen over time.

In the elections of 1970, NAP did not perform well in Sindh and Punjab. Abdul Wali Khan was critical of Bhutto's policies and provided

strong resistance. In the National Assembly he played an important role as the Leader of the Opposition. In the aftermath of the elections of 1970, it was evident that having support in more than one province was essential for any political party to form a government. Considering the situation and to strengthen his political hold in the provinces, he started to attend several processions and public gatherings in Punjab. In his speeches, he criticized Bhutto on various scores and emphasized his 'fascist tendencies', terming him Hitler.<sup>lvi</sup> His speeches were welcomed by people, and he was hopeful of taking on Bhutto soon in Punjab.<sup>lvii</sup> Bhutto feared the same. Punjab was the only province in which his party (Pakistan People's Party)<sup>lviii</sup> got absolute majority in the election of 1970. Bhutto ordered the governor of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Arbab Sikandar Khan Khalil, to restrict the movement of Wali Khan and to stop him from visiting Punjab. Wali Khan predicted that Bhutto might imprison him under some pretext. Soon his prediction proved to be true.<sup>lix</sup>

#### **Arrest of Abdul Wali Khan and NAP's Leadership**

On 8 February 1975 Hayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao was assassinated in a bomb blast while addressing a students' gathering at the Department of History in the University of Peshawar.<sup>lx</sup> Bhutto took this as an opportunity to end the political fiasco by imprisoning NAP leadership and disbanding the party. Wali Khan was in Punjab on a political visit. He was at the residence of the leader of the Con. ML, Malik Qasim when he heard the news of the assassination of Hayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao. He left for Sherpao (ancestral village of the deceased)<sup>lxi</sup> to attend the funeral of the deceased. On his way, he was arrested by Punjab Police near Gujrat without any official warrant. He was taken back to Lahore and imprisoned. On inquiry, Bhutto's order was cited as the reason for arrest by the police.<sup>lxii</sup>

Wali Khan was taken to a jail in Sahiwal without producing him before a court on February 9, 1975. The Constitution of 1973 prohibited the arrest of the members of the National Assembly fifteen days before or after the session was going on. Despite this, Wali Khan was arrested. He was arrested without any proof illegally on the directions of Bhutto. To legalize this action, on February 10, 1975, the Third Amendment<sup>lxiii</sup> was introduced in the 1973 Constitution by Bhutto's government. It not only ended the privilege of the assembly members but also gave the government the right to arrest political opponents without notice and for an indefinite period after accusing them of indulging in anti-state activities. It enabled the government to deal with its political opponents firmly.<sup>lxiv</sup>

### **Ban on NAP**

Bhutto dissolved NAP on the same day accusing it of working against the integrity of the country. All party property and funds were frozen by the federal government. The Interior Minister, Qayum Khan blamed Wali Khan for the assassination of Hayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao and declared NAP an anti-state party. His speeches infuriated the masses against NAP and its leadership. They attacked NAP offices including the office of the daily *Shahbaz*. Offices and businesses of NAP leaders including Arbab Sikandar Khan Khalil and Ghulam Ahmad Bilour were attacked and burnt down to ashes. Wali Khan refused to accept that these events were impromptu and accused the government of planning them beforehand.<sup>lxv</sup>

Under Section 4 of the Political Parties Act of 1962 endorsed in the 1973 Constitution, to ban NAP permanently, Bhutto sent a reference to the Supreme Court on February 24, 1975. The main aim of this reference was to designate Wali Khan and NAP and proclaim them as anti-state. The hunt to arrest NAP leadership had already begun throughout the country. Asfandiyar Wali Khan, son of Wali Khan was arrested and tortured to confess his involvement in the murder of Sherpao. Other than Wali Khan, Arbab Sikandar Khalil, Nawab Khair Bakhsh Mari<sup>lxvi</sup>, Sardar Atta Ullah Khan Mengal, and Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo were the main culprits. Others included were Amirzada Khan, Syed Kaswar Gardezi, Habib Jalib (the revolutionary Urdu poet) and Mir Gul Khan Naseer (the revolutionary Baloch poet) and even some of Bhutto's former colleagues.<sup>lxvii</sup> They were tried for High Treason and a Special Tribunal called the Hyderabad Tribunal was set up to process the case.<sup>lxviii</sup>

### **Centre-Province Relationship**

#### **Politics in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa**

The political situation in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was largely characterized by rival views against one another, which led to political chaos in the province. The PPP led central government intended to dismiss the provincial government to get rid of the obstacles to the smooth running of the government machinery. For this purpose, he incited rival political leaders against the NAP-JUI-led provincial governments, and it led to the appointment of NAP archrival, Abdul Qayum Khan, Chief of QML, as Interior Minister in the federal cabinet.<sup>lxix</sup> It is widely believed that the central government did not need the support of QML chief Qayum Khan, but he was called solely for the

purpose to harass the NAP-JUI government, because of their rivalry for the past several years<sup>lxx</sup>. Further, the Minister of Water and Power in the federal cabinet Hayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao<sup>lxxi</sup>, a close aide of Bhutto, was also appointed as a leader of the opposition in the North-West Frontier Province Assembly. He was given two tasks. As a federal minister, he would deny funds and cooperation to NAP and as an opposition leader, would try to obstruct the working of the provincial assembly, and thus the provincial government would be unable to perform its due duties.<sup>lxxii</sup> The central government's maneuvering tactics to harass the provincial government had contributed to the failure of a successful center-province relationship.

It is widely believed, that from the very beginning, Bhutto had a problem with NAP's popularity, specifically Wali Khan's. NAP's victory in the 1970 general election, provided the party with popularity. This widespread appeal of NAP in the masses became a source of apprehension for Bhutto, as it provided the strength to regional autonomy. Although Bhutto lifted the ban on NAP imposed by Yahya Khan, this was the reason, why Bhutto started to cultivate rivals against the provincial governments of Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The provincial governments of NAP-JUI tried conciliation in the chaotic scenario and asked the central government for the extension of political freedom. Upon the return of Abdul Ghaffar Khan after eight years self-exile in Kabul, he offered the opportunity to the central government for a purposeful dialogue to sort out the issues between the Pashtun people and central government, but Bhutto misinterpreted it as an anti-Pakistan move, and tried to impose severe restriction on the movement of Abdul Ghaffar Khan<sup>lxxiii</sup>. Further, Bhutto accused the NAP-JUI ministry for alleged support to Abdul Ghaffar Khan's secessionist motives. The provincial government assured of every possible support on the matter of national interest and the integrity and unity of Pakistan, but the central government's apprehension was not satisfied with these assurances. The result was that the provincial ministries were dissolved, and leaders were put behind the bars.

### **The Political Chaos in Balochistan**

The significance of Balochistan in the history of Pakistan is paramount, as it has been a backward and underdeveloped region of the country. It comprises of 43% of the total area, while its population ratio is less than 4%. The province is characterized by ethnic division, of which 50% are belong to Baloch ethnicity while the rest are Pashtuns. Along with the ethnic division, there are also tribal rivalries between the Baloch



tribes themselves<sup>lxxiv</sup>. Initially, the region of Baluchistan was not awarded the status of a province. In the first PPP government it was awarded the status of a separate province with the enactment of interim constitution in April 1972.<sup>lxxv</sup> The political leaders of the Baloch tribes were mainly part of the NAP, which later became part of the NAP-JUI ministry, as Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Attaullah Mengal were awarded the seat of Governor and Chief Minister on April 29 and May 1, 1972, respectively.<sup>lxxvi</sup> When NAP leaders assumed ministries; centre-province confrontation became regular. The region is the most backward of Pakistan while highly rich in resources. The people started demanding their rights and the share in government and bureaucracy which was largely characterized by Punjabi domination. Bhutto tried to abolish the widespread tribal system in the province, while at the same time he attempted to control the province.<sup>lxxvii</sup>

The matter went from bad to worse in May 1972, when some incidences of violence were reported in the province, for which the one of the former governors of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa accused Qayum Khan, Interior Minister that he had sent some 40-armed men to the province to take law and order in their hand. Another incident took place in Dir, where two men were killed and many others wounded. The central government held NAP-JUI ministries responsible, for their failure to ensure the law and order in the province. The situation further worsened after October, when a confrontation was held between CM Mengal and the Jamot tribe in Balochistan, who accused the government of political victimization. During the formation of ministries, Jamot tribe had voted against the NAP in 1970 election. Violent demonstrations were held by Jamot tribe, which were suppressed by the private army of CM Mengal under his personal supervision.<sup>lxxviii</sup>

The situation worsened with time specifically since December 1972. Bhutto held a meeting with Wali Khan and Bizenjo in January 1973 to discuss the political uncertainty in the province of Baluchistan and the contours of the future constitution<sup>lxxix</sup>. In such chaotic situation, the central government ordered the military to take control of Las Bela district, and eventually, in February the military took control of the Balochistan province.<sup>lxxx</sup> Afterward, a systemic campaign was started against the political leaders of NAP for their effort for the disintegration of the country and convert it into a confederation of semi-autonomous provinces. Specifically, Bhutto referred to the 'London Plan'<sup>lxxxi</sup> of the NAP leaders aimed at the disintegration of the country.<sup>lxxxii</sup> For the denigration of NAP leaders as secessionists and traitor's media played its role. But the NAP leaders out rightly rejected the existence of any such conference. In his speeches, in September of 1972, Bhutto indirectly

mentioned the existence of 'London Plan' aimed at the disintegration of the country.<sup>lxxxiii</sup>

The federal government played on the existence of 'London Plan' and the tribal rivalries and ambitions to denigrate the NAP. And finally, the NAP-JUI ministry was dismissed on February 15, 1973, in the aftermath of the discovery of an arms cache from the Iraqi Embassy which was allegedly linked with the NAP. The NAP leaders denied any link with the discovery of armed caches, but the elected government was dismissed on the charge of anti-state activities. Resultantly, a pro-PPP government was installed in the province led by Governor Akbar Bugti, and thus the province came under presidential rule. Later, a coalition government of PPP-QML-JUI was formed in April 1973. But the dismissal of the elected NAP-JUI government resulted in tribal insurgency, and the various Baloch organizations demanded the reinstatement of the dismissed government.<sup>lxxxiv</sup> In the aftermath of the dismissal of NAP-JUI ministries in Balochistan, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa ministry resigned in protest.<sup>lxxxv</sup>

With the deployment of the military, there was an insurgency in the province, specifically in the areas of Jhalawa and Marri. Despite the announcement of the central government for a general amnesty and to cease military operations by May 1974, the insurgency further intensified. Bhutto called on the insurgents to lay down their arms and issued a White Paper on the issue of Balochistan in October 1974. But the insurgents claimed that what has been written of the insurgency in the White Paper is far worse. All the blame was put on NAP with the help of pro-government media which accused it of concocting the idea of 'four nationality concepts' as opposed to the concept of two-nation theory. Resultantly, a ban was imposed on the NAP on February 10, 1975.

### **The Political Situation in Sindh and Punjab:**

During these years of uncertainty and chaos specifically in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, the situation was not much different in Sindh and Punjab, where also uncertainty and chaos prevailed. In Sindh, the government of Mumtaz Bhutto had to deal with nationalist leader, G. M. Syed. Mumtaz Bhutto was quite successful in restoring law and order in the province, but the issue of language complicated the matter for his government. As the increased inflow of Urdu speaking Muhajirs, who are settled in cities and towns, made the Sindhis apprehensive about the extinction of the Sindhi language. Upon

the passage of the Language Bill in provincial assembly, widespread riots and violence erupted across the province, which led the central government to ultimately dismiss his government at end of 1973 and put in place a government led by Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi.<sup>lxxxvi</sup> The reason behind the dismal situation put forward by Bhutto was that the previous government had failed to control violence and could not ensure law and order. In this environment, the fierce opposition of G. M. Syed and Pir of Pagaro<sup>lxxxvii</sup> demanded ouster of Bhutto from power and charged him with killing and torturing Sindhis.<sup>lxxxviii</sup>

The situation in Punjab cannot be underestimated, as it is the area which define the nature of central government. Similarly, Bhutto could also have not assumed power in central government without support and outreach in Punjab. But, during the rule of Bhutto, the situation in the province was widely characterized by political turmoil. As initially, he appointed Ghulam Mustafa Khar<sup>lxxxix</sup> as governor in 1973,<sup>xc</sup> but replaced him by Hanif Ramay<sup>xcii</sup> in 1974.<sup>xcii</sup> Mustafa Khar was once again appointed as governor, but as the governor was subservient to the CM in 1973 constitution, this led to his differences with CM Hanif Ramay. Resultantly, Bhutto dismissed both in July 1975. The successor of Hanif Ramay, Saqib Hussain Quraishi<sup>xciii</sup>, a landlord, had no roots in PPP which made the standing of PPP in Punjab considerably weak, and a movement against Bhutto started in Punjab in 1975, which was widely supported by political opponents of Bhutto including Mustafa Khar and Hanif Ramay. But the lack of an assertive leadership in the opposition led to ineffective struggle against Bhutto and the opposition failed in presenting a formidable challenge to Bhutto regime, despite the formation of United Democratic front (UDF). In addition to it, the agitation against Ahmadis in May 1974, ethnic conflicts and linguistic controversies became a source of concern for the central government in its working relationship with the provinces. The liberal and progressive strata stood for the language of Punjabi to be made the medium of instruction. Similarly, during the rule of Bhutto, a movement in the south Punjab was launched for a separate 'Saraiki' province, which claimed that the indifferent attitude of central and provincial government had led the region to remain backward and underdeveloped. Bhutto appointed Nawab Abbas Khan Abbasi<sup>xciv</sup> as a governor of Punjab to pacify the concerns of south Punjabis.

### **Conclusion**

The PPP led central government had faced problems from the very start. Its relationship with NAP-JUI was characterized by a lack of

trust. Basically, Bhutto aimed to centralize power at the expense of the provinces, while the regional leaders aimed more on autonomy and freedom which widened the gulf between the coalition partners. In realizing the dream of a centralized government, the constitution of 1973 was a huge achievement, as it garnered the consensus of all parties. Bhutto tried to centralize power under the garb of providing autonomy to provinces. For this purpose, he established a Council of Common Interests that would oversee the grievances of the provinces against the center. As opposed to proponents of provincial autonomy, Bhutto adopted a different approach. As the opposition demanded the devolution of power to the provinces as the only viable solution, Bhutto asserted the need for a strong center in ensuring national unity. During the tenure of Bhutto, he had a confrontational relationship with all provinces to centralize power. Even he had no working relationship with the PPP-led governments of Sindh and Punjab, which were replaced several times. And, based on conspiracies and propaganda, he dismissed the elected NAP-JUI ministry in Balochistan which resultantly led to the resignation of the ministry in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Overall, the political environment was highly polarized during the tenure of Bhutto. Wali Khan personally wanted to eradicate all the differences among political leaders for the integration of Pakistan.

## References

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<sup>i</sup>Rashiduzzaman, M. "The National Awami Party of Pakistan: leftist politics in crisis". *Pacific Affairs* 43, no. 3 (1970): 394-409.

<sup>ii</sup>Muzaffar Ahmad (August 5, 1889 – December 18, 1973) was a Bengali politician, journalist, and communist activist. He was one of the founders of the Communist Party of India (CPI). He led the pro-China group of NAP in 1967.

<sup>iii</sup> Abdul Hamid Bhashani (December 12, 1880 – November 17, 1976) was a leftist politician from Assam. He is also known as "Red Maulana" and *Mazlum Janenta* (leader of the oppressed). Initially, he joined Congress in 1917 but later became a member of Muslim League in 1937 and was elected as the president of Assam Provincial Constituent Assembly and later president of Provincial Muslim League Assam. In 1949, he formed his own party by the name of East Pakistan Awami Muslim League. He opposed the One Unit scheme, joining of security pacts i.e., SEATO and CENTO. He left Awami League due to differences with H.S. Suharwardy and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and formed National Awami Party in 1957. Later, the party divided into two factions on the issue of foreign policy. Bhashani's stand was pro-China and Wali Khan was pro-Soviet Union. Bhashani strongly demanded the independence of East Pakistan.

<sup>iv</sup>Rashiduzzaman. "The National Awami Party of Pakistan: Leftist Politics in Crisis". 403.

- <sup>v</sup>Wali Khan and Feroz Ahmed, *Interview with Wali Khan*. Middle East Research and Information Project, (June-July, 1972). 13-14.
- <sup>vi</sup> The Legal Framework Order (LFO) was announced by General Yahya Khan in 1970. It dissolved the One Unit scheme. It contained provisions for the future constitution of Pakistan. For further details, see Appendix 3.
- <sup>vii</sup> *Dawn*, March 25, 1970.
- <sup>viii</sup> Mushtaq, Ahmad. *Politics without Social Change*. Karachi: Space Publishers, 1971. 268-269.
- <sup>ix</sup> Sheikh Mujibur Rehman (March 17, 1920 – August 15, 1975) was a politician from Bangladesh (former East Pakistan). He was the first president of Bangladesh and later became its Prime Minister until his assassination on August 15, 1975. He is popularly known as Bangabandhu (friend of Bengal), Jatir Janank/ Jatir Pita (father of the nation). He was the leader of Awami League and played the central role in gaining independence for Bangladesh. His six-point formula gained huge popularity in the masses.
- <sup>x</sup> The six-point point formula was put forward by Sheikh Mujib in order to demand greater autonomy for East Pakistan. For details, see Appendix 5.
- <sup>xi</sup> Khan, Abdul Wali Khan. “*Bacha Khan Awo Khuda’iKhidmatgari*”. Vol. III (Pashto). Charsaddah: Wali Bagh, 1986. 516-518.
- <sup>xii</sup> *Pakistan Times*, September 25, 1969.
- <sup>xiii</sup> *Pakistan Times*, February 23, 1970.
- <sup>xiv</sup> *Dawn*, March 31, 1970.
- <sup>xv</sup> East Pakistan was hit by the “Bhola Cyclone” on November 12, 1970, killing more than 300, 000 people. It had totally devastated the region.
- <sup>xvi</sup> , M. Rafique. *Afzal Political parties in Pakistan: 1969-1971*. Vol. 3. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1986. 153-159.
- <sup>xvii</sup> . “*Bacha Khan Khan Awo Khuda’iKhidmatgari*”. Vol. II. 521.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Lawrence. Ziring, *Pakistan: The Enigma of Political Development*. England: Dowson & Sons Ltd., 1980. 101.
- <sup>xix</sup> The Pakistan People’s Party is a centre-left, social-democratic political party in Pakistan. The party was founded in 1967, when several prominent left-wing politicians in the country joined hands against the military dictatorship of President Ayub Khan, under the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.
- <sup>xx</sup> *Dawn*, December 5, 1970.
- <sup>xxi</sup> Safi Ullah Khan. Marwat “*Abdul Wali Khan: A Political Study (1942-1990)*.” PhD diss., International Islamic University Islamabad, 2016. 122.
- <sup>xxii</sup> Khan Abdul Qayum Khan Kashmiri (July 16, 1901 – October 23, 1981) was a politician. On August 22, 1947, he was made the Chief Minister of NWFP. He was notorious for his treatment of Khudai Khidmatgars and particularly the family of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He also served as Interior Minister under Z. A. Bhutto during from 1972 to 1977.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Afzal. *Political Parties in Pakistan 1969-1971*. Vol. III. 36.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> *Dawn*, February 26, 1970.
- <sup>xxv</sup> *Pakistan Times*, December 3, 1970.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Khalid B. Saeed, *Politics in Pakistan: The nature and direction of change*. Vol. II. New York: Praeger, 1980. 101.

<sup>xxvii</sup> *Pakistan Times*, December 3, 1970.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Hamid .Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005. 208.

<sup>xxix</sup> Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan (February 4, 1917 – August 10, 1980) was a military general who served as the third president of Pakistan from March 25, 1969, till his resignation on December 20, 1971. He held the first nationwide elections of 1970. Due to his failure of reaching an understanding with Sheikh Mujib, over 6 Point program secession of East Pakistan as Bangladesh occurred.

<sup>xxx</sup> JUIP (H): Jamiat ul-Ulama-i-Islam Pakistan (Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi Group)

<sup>xxxi</sup> Afzal. “*Political Parties in Pakistan 1969-1971*”. Vol. III. 163.

<sup>xxxii</sup> In 1962 Ayub Khan formed his own party. He called for a convention of some leading Muslim League and Republican Party members. The convention announced the formation of a new Muslim League. The word Pakistan was added, and the party became Pakistan Muslim League (PML). However, it became PML-Convention when some other ML leaders refused to join it and formed their own faction.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> *Dawn*, July 14, 1970.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> , Muhammad Ayub Khan *Diaries of the Field Martial Muhammad Ayub Khan 1966-1972*, edited by Craig Baxter, 358. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007. 358.

<sup>xxxv</sup> *Pakistan Observer*, January 4, 1970.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> PPP did not get majority in National Assembly (81 seats out of 300) as well as provincial assemblies except Punjab. (113 out 180 in Punjab, 28 out of 60 in Sindh, 3 out of 40 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 0 out of 20 in Balochistan). For further details, see Election Commission, Report on the General Elections: Pakistan 1970-71, Vol. II. 203-205 & 218-219.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Afzal. *Political Parties in Pakistan 1969-1971*. Vol. III. 178.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> *Morning News*, January 18, 1970.

<sup>xxxix</sup> Hamid Khan. *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. 211.

<sup>xl</sup> Himayatullah Yaqubi “Pakistan National Awami Party: Nature and Direction of Politics”. Islamabad: PhD Thesis, Department of History, 2015. 258.

<sup>xli</sup> Khan. *Bacha Khan Awo Khuda’I Khidmatgari*. Vol. II. 536.

<sup>xlii</sup> General Muhammad Zia ul Haq (August 12, 1924 – August 17, 1988) was the sixth president and Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan. He became president after declaring Martial Law in 1977 and deposing Bhutto. He introduced his Islamisation policy. He played an important role in the Soviet-Afghan war. He was sponsored by the US. He died in a plane crash on August 17, 1988. He however played no role in the 1971 crisis

<sup>xliiii</sup> Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo *In Search of Solutions: An Autobiography of Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo*, edited by, B. M. Kutty, 71. Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi, 2009.

<sup>xliiv</sup> Bizenjo. *In Search of Solutions*. 82.

- <sup>xlv</sup>, Muhammad Waseem and Sikandar Hayat, *Political Development and Conflict Resolution in Pakistan*, Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (1997) Vol. 36. 717.
- <sup>xlvi</sup> Khan. *Bacha Khan awo Khuda 'iKhidmatgari*. Vol. III. 22.
- <sup>xlvii</sup> Sherbaz Khan Mazari *A Journey to Disillusionment*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000. 251.
- <sup>xlviii</sup> Mazari. *A Journey to Disillusionment*. 282.
- <sup>xliv</sup> Zeb Rizwan. "Pakistan's Political Chess Board: Bhutto, Bugti and the National Awami Party Government in Balochistan (1972–1977)." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 42, no. 1 (2018): 67-87.
- <sup>l</sup> Khan. *Bacha Khan awo Khuda 'iKhidmatgari*. Vol. III. 23.
- <sup>li</sup> Satish Kumar, *The New Pakistan*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1978. 16.
- <sup>lii</sup> Muhammad Rizwan, "Political Development in NWFP and Balochistan 1971-1976". Islamabad: Unpublished PhD Thesis, National Institute of Pakistan Studies, 2012. 132.
- <sup>liii</sup> Sardar Ataullah Mengal, (1929-present) is a political and feudal figure of Pakistan hailing from Balochistan. He became the first Chief Minister of Balochistan during Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's premiership from May 1, 1972, to February 13, 1973.
- <sup>liv</sup> Arbab Sikandar Khan Khalil was the 9<sup>th</sup> Governor of the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. He was a member of the National Awami Party. The coalition government of NAP-JUI in Balochistan was dismissed by Bhutto and the NWFP resigned in protest. He also resigned in protest and was subsequently arrested as part of the Hyderabad tribunal. He was released in 1979 and was assassinated on March 7, 1981.
- <sup>lv</sup> Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo (December 1917 - August 11, 1989) was a prominent Baloch politician of Balochistan, Pakistan. One of the founding members of the National Awami Party, he served as the third Governor of Balochistan from 1972 to 1973 and was a key signatory to the Constitution of 1973.
- <sup>lvi</sup> Shaikh Aziz. "The Convoluted Balochistan Situation." *Dawn*, December 9, 2012. Accessed July 09, 2021. <https://www.dawn.com/news/770068/the-convoluted-balochistan-situation>
- <sup>lvii</sup> Khan. "*Bacha Khan Awo Khuda 'i- Khidmatgari*". Vol. III. 126.
- <sup>lviii</sup> The party was formed on November 30, 1967. Headed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the party was conceived to bring about a socialist-democratic revolution in Pakistan after the military dictatorship of Field Martial Ayub Khan was overthrown.
- <sup>lix</sup> Khan. *Bacha Khan Awo Khuda 'iKhidmatgari*. Vol. III. 133.
- <sup>lx</sup> Shaikh Aziz. "A Leaf from History: Sherpao's Murder and Ban on NAP." *Dawn*, March 24, 2013. Accessed June 10, 2021. <https://www.dawn.com/news/797637/a-leaf-from-history-sherpaos-murder-and-ban-on-nap>
- <sup>lxi</sup> A village in the Hashtnagar area of Charsadda District, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan.
- <sup>lxii</sup> Khan. *Bacha Khan Awo Khuda 'i- Khidmatgari*. Vol. III. 134.

<sup>lxiii</sup> The third amendment in the constitution was made on February 18, 1975. It was introduced to curtail the rights of prisoner detained under law for preventive detention, hence extending the powers of detaining authority. The third amendment limited the rights of political prisoners and resultantly the powers of government were increased.

<sup>lxiv</sup> Khan. *Bacha Khan Awo Khuda 'iKhidmatgari*. Vol. III. 137.

<sup>lxv</sup> Khan. *Bacha Khan Awo Khuda 'iKhidmatgari*. Vol. III. 137.

<sup>lxvi</sup> Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri (February 28, 1928 – June 10, 2014), was a Pakistani politician from the province of Balochistan in Pakistan. He was a Baloch nationalist leader and a tribal chief. He became a member of the National Assembly of Pakistan, after winning a seat from Balochistan in the Pakistani general election of 1970.

<sup>lxvii</sup> Najam Sethi "Ever the Revolutionary." *The Friday Times*, July 29, 2016. Accessed on May 20, 2021. <https://www.thefridaytimes.com/ever-the-revolutionary/>

<sup>lxviii</sup> Marwat, *Abdul Wali Khan*. 135.

<sup>lxix</sup> Muhammad A. Zahoor, "Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: Political Behaviour and Ouster from Power." *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society* 5, no. 2 (2017): 99-110.

<sup>lxx</sup> Sonia Tasneem, "Working Relationship between Central and Provincial Governments in Pakistan, (1971-77)." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 3, no. 17 (2013): 196-204.

<sup>lxxi</sup> Hayat Mohammad Khan Sherpao served as the fifteenth Governor of the North West Frontier Province ( now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) as well as vice-chairman of Pakistan People's Party. He was assassinated on February 8, 1975. His death was blamed on NAP and its leadership.

<sup>lxxii</sup> Ainslie T. Embree Review of "The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. By Anwar H. Syed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992. xvi, 269." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 52, no. 1 (1993): 202-203.

<sup>lxxiii</sup> Surendra Nath .Kaushik *Pakistan under Bhutto's Leadership*. Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1985. 161.

<sup>lxxiv</sup> Rafi Raza *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997. 266.

<sup>lxxv</sup> Kaushik. *Pakistan under Bhutto's leadership*. 167.

<sup>lxxvi</sup> *Pakistan Times*, April 30, 1972.

<sup>lxxvii</sup> Kaushik. *Pakistan under Bhutto's leadership*. 169.

<sup>lxxviii</sup> Zeb. *Pakistan's Political Chess Board*. 70.

<sup>lxxix</sup> Raza, Z.A. *Bhutto and Pakistan*. 268.

<sup>lxxx</sup> Raza Z. A. *Bhutto and Pakistan*. 268.

<sup>lxxxi</sup> London Plan was a conspiracy created by the print and electronic media of Pakistan in August 1972 when political leaders including Bugti, Mengal, Haroon amongst others met Sheikh Mujib in London. Federal Information Minister, Kausar Niazi blamed Wali Khan and his colleagues for conspiring against the integrity of Pakistan. According to the reports, the alleged plan was to break Pakistan into four states with the help of Afghanistan and India. Amirzada Khan, National Assembly member from NAP, tried to discuss the matter in the National



Assembly to disclose the reality. The Interior Minister, Abdul Qayum Khan objected to it and the issue wasn't raised.

<sup>lxxxii</sup> *Pakistan Times*, September 10, 1972.

<sup>lxxxiii</sup> *Pakistan Times*, September 10, 1972.

<sup>lxxxiv</sup> Kaushik. *Pakistan under Bhutto*. 171.

<sup>lxxxv</sup> Amna Mahmood, "Regional Political Parties: Challenge to Political Stability of Pakistan." *Pakistan Vision* 15, no. 2 (2014). 24.

<sup>lxxxvi</sup> Rafi Raza, *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan*. 265.

<sup>lxxxvii</sup> Syed Shah Mardan Shah-II (November 22, 1928 – January 10, 2012) widely known as Pir of Pagaro VII was the spiritual leaders of Hurs and president of Pakistan Muslim League (F). He was a witty politician.

<sup>lxxxviii</sup> Rafi Raza, *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan*, 266.

<sup>lxxxix</sup> Ghulam Mustafa Khar (August 2, 1937 – present) served as the Governor of Punjab from December 23, 1971, to November 12, 1973. He served as the Chief Minister from November 2, 1973 – March 15, 1974. He was appointed again as governor but due to differences with CM M. Hanif Ramay, he was dismissed.

<sup>xc</sup> Kaushik. *Pakistan under Bhutto's Leadership*. 146.

<sup>xci</sup> Muhammad Hanif Ramay (1930 – 2006) was one of the founding fathers of PPP. He was the governor of Punjab from February 1973 to March 1974 and was appointed chief minister of Punjab from 15 March 1974 to 15 July 1975. Later on, he developed differences with [Zulfikar Ali Bhutto](#) and thus was forced to resign from his position, and later imprisoned as a result of a malicious prosecution. During the same time frame, he founded the left-wing newspaper *Masawaat*.

<sup>xcii</sup> Kaushik. *Pakistan under Bhutto*. 146.

<sup>xciii</sup> Nawab Saqib Hussain Qureshi (July 5, 1927 – June 24, 2000) served as governor of Punjab from March 13, 1974, to March 13, 1975. He also served as the Chief Minister of Punjab from July 15, 1975, to July 5, 1977.

<sup>xciv</sup> He is a Pakistani politician and a member of the royal family of Bahawalpur. He served as governor of Punjab from July 13, 1975, until July 5, 1977.