

Leftist Politics in Pakistan: Narrative building by the Mainstream Print Media 1947-58.

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By

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2023

**NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF PAKISTAN STUDIES
QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD**

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**“LEFTIST POLITICS IN PAKISTAN: NARRATIVE BUILDING
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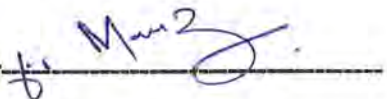
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Candidate's Declaration

I, Meer Hazar Khan, hereby proclaim that this M.Phil thesis submitted with the title "Leftist Politics in Pakistan and Narrative Building by The Mainstream Print Media 1947-1958" is sole outcome of my personal research. It has not been submitted to any university, institute and organization for this for any purpose.

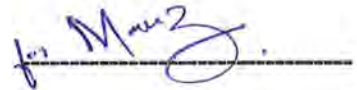


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Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that M.Phil scholar Mr. Meer Hazar Khan completed his thesis, titled "Leftist Politics in Pakistan and Narrative Building by The Mainstream Print Media 1947-1958", under my supervision. I recommend it for submission in candidacy for the Master of Philosophy in Pakistan Studies, National Institute of Pakistan Studies (NIPS), Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.



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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my loving parents, who have been my source of strength, support and inspiration throughout my life. Their unwavering love, encouragement and belief in me have given me the courage to pursue my dreams and never give up on my goals. They have always been there for me, no matter what, and i am forever grateful for their love and guidance.

List of acronyms

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AIML	All Indian Muslim League
APP	Azad Pakistan Party
APTUF	All Pakistan Trade Union Federation
APPWA	All Pakistan Progressive Writer's Association
Cambellpur	Attock
CENTO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Communist Party of Pakistan
FCR	Frontier Crimes Regulation Act
JAML	Jinnah Awami Muslim League
NAP	National Awami Party
N.W.R.O	North Western Railway Organization
PKC	Punjab Kisan Committee
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PNP	Pakistan National Party
PRODA	Public Representative Disqualification Act
PRP	Pakistan Republican Party
PSCA	Pakistan Soviet Cultural Association
PSP	Pakistan Socialist Party
PSA	Public Safety Act
PWA	Progressive Women's Association
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
SHC	Sindh Hari Committee
STUF	Sindh Trade Union Federation

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All praises 'Almighty Allah', the most merciful, most generous and most beneficent. I am extremely grateful to my parents and family for their love, caring prayers and sacrifices for education and preparing me for future. I would like to express my thanks to all the people without whom this project never has been possible. I am highly indebted to my supervisor professor Dr. Asim Sajjad Akhtar for his incessant self-less support, encouragement and guidance in accomplishing this task. His vigilant supervision, patience, untiring commitment and dedication to work remained a triggering force toward the completion of this research work otherwise; it would not have been possible for me to achieve this milestone. In spite of heavy departmental work, he has always been generous enough to offer an enlightening moment for fruitful discussion. He absolutely deserves to be proud of him as a skillful mentor, quirky counselor and vigorous team leader. I find myself short of words to pay thanks to him.

This thesis is also dedicated to my dearest uncle (Late) Ali Nawaz Khan, the man of courage, motivation and my strength. I can never forget his company and kindness. I feel myself without my right arm in his absence. I also dedicated this thesis to all my siblings' particularly younger and elder brothers who work in fields to assist my educational career. I also dedicated my thesis to my school teacher, not less than a mentor and elder brother Muhammad Amin Khan. His timely encouragement, support and advice are more than enough for me.

I would also like to dedicate this thesis all workers and peasants of my tribe who have been the source of inspiration for me. I am thankful also to their love, respect and encouragement. I also dedicated this to my friend Muhammad Qasim Bhutta, whom from I learnt a lot and built critical thinking. I am grateful for his support and encouragement.

Finally, I am thankful to Mr. Sohail Abbasi who assisted me in my work and used to bring all the documents and newspapers to me in the National Archives of Pakistan. His punctuality and work enabled me to complete this thesis.

Abstract

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This thesis examines the early politics of Pakistan, focusing on the strategic use of Islam as a tool for curtailing Leftist progressive political parties, nationalists, and social organization's influence in the country. The study delves into the dynamics of how the ruling classes in Pakistan sought to maintain their grip on power by aligning with religious institutions and utilizing Islam as a means of control through a broader state narrative. It also explores how this alliance denied social, political, and economic rights to subordinate classes, further entrenching socio-economic disparities. The analysis sheds light on the intricate relationship between the state, religion, and the socio-political landscape in Pakistan's formative years, offering valuable insights into the nation's early history. Additionally, the research emphasizes the role of mainstream media in shaping the political narrative during this critical period. By controlling and influencing public discourse, the ruling classes utilized media outlets to consolidate their power and present a narrative that aligned with their interests, effectively silencing alternative perspectives and dissenting voices.

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Chapter 01

1. Introduction:

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Pakistan, a country formed in 1947 after independence from colonial British India. The period from 1947 to 1958 was crucial for the country as it laid the foundation of Pakistan's political system. The state apparatus began to crush leftist political and social movements after partition. Leftist political activism was facing hurdles before partition in British India due to its inherited ideology from Russia. Leftist's ideology communism and socialism was contradicted with Islam which provided a consolidated base to state apparatus to build a strong political narrative to counter dissident voices of progressive and ethno-nationalists.

Pakistan was under-developed third world country where elite political oligarchy and civil military apparatus inherited power from a colonial state. Most of the Muslim League's senior leadership was westernized. In this order, Sadia Toor quoted Hamza Alavi that, "After independence, the Pakistani establishment which was composed of an alliance of main propertied classes and the Military-Bureaucratic oligarchy. While to objective interests of these classes did not overlap entirely, they were clearly in opposition to those of the vast majority of disenfranchised Pakistanis comprised of the urban and petit bourgeoisie".¹

In Pakistan, leftist politics was represented by Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP), Azad Pakistan party (APP) and along with social organizations which were associated with these political parties, such as All Pakistan Progressive Writer's Association (APPWA), Pakistan Trade Union Federation (PTUF), Sindh Hari Committee (SHC) and Punjab Kisan Committee (PKC). The response of the state apparatus to leftist progressives which were representing subordinate classes, were punitive. When state began persecution of leftist political and social parties and associations: while leftist activists of Pakistan began to make alliances with ethno-nationalists political parties which were demanding their linguistic, political and provincial

¹ Toor, S. (2011). *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, P 17.

autonomy. Ali Raza argued that, "Right after partition, nationalists, which invoked religion, suppressed dissenting voices that were deemed to be 'anti-Pakistan'.²

Daily Jang was a one of the major news papers which wrote against leftist political activism. It tried to build a religious/Islamic political narrative to counter not only leftist progressive movements but also crush ethno-nationalist movements. For elite political oligarchy which was dominated over higher positions of the state affairs including civil-military establishment leftists were communist ideologue that was perceived against the Islam. On the other hand, Islamic ideology provided a base to state apparatus to unify the nation in center and those denying it and demanded provincial and linguistic rights were declared anti-Islamic and anti-Pakistani. During the Cold War era, the U.S. leadership held the view that Islam, especially its extremist form, could serve as a potent ideological defense against communism in Muslim nations.³ However, the U.S.A played a vital role in establishing Pakistan's ideology and encountering leftist political movements.

In response, progressive news paper, *Daily Imroze* tried to not only encountered the state sponsored political narrative but also highlighted and promoted the leftist struggle for the rights of subordinate classes. It advocated for a system that should be more democratic, socialist and secular. It also promoted the linguistic, provincial autonomy and the rights of small units. The Islamic political narrative provided a justification of repression over leftists and ethno-nationalist movements such as Awami League, Khudai Khidmatgars (Red-Shirts), Sindhi Nationalists and Baloch.

The Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) was one of the prominent leftist parties in Pakistan during early years. The party's objective was not only to establish a socialist system in Pakistan, but to protect subordinate classes from domination of feudal political oligarchy. However, the party faced severe challenges from the government, which saw it as a threat to the country's stability. The party was banned after Rawalpindi conspiracy case.⁴ However, for this purpose,

² Raza, A. (2013). An Unfulfilled Dream: the Left in Pakistan ca. 1947-50, *South Asian History and culture*, P. 504.

³ Toor, S. (2011). *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, P.3.

⁴ Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*. Bloomsbury.

Mian Iftakhar uddin established Azad Pakistan Party to continue political struggle against a hegemonic system of elite political oligarchy.

The APPWA was continued by Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, who was a prominent leftist leader in Pakistan. The APPWA published progressive newspapers, which were critical of the government's policies and exposed the exploitation of the working class.⁵ This platform was a significant which promoted leftist political movement and advocated for progressive political narrative to counter state apparatus hegemonic ideology. The government of Pakistan formed the 'Congress for Cultural Freedom' in Pakistan in 1956 only to curtail the views of APPWA. CCF was the U.S.A based organization which given the task to promote Islamic polity in Pakistan. There were several veteran intellectuals who had been working for the state apparatus under the patronage of the U.S.A.

Moreover, Pakistan Trade Union Federation under the leadership Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim was a strong hold in Punjab particularly in Lahore. Faiz Ahmed Faiz president Pakistan Trade Union Federation (PTUF) and Mirza Ibrahim imprisoned several times by State security apparatus but never paused to speak for workers.⁶ For curtailing PTUF, different trade unions were introduced by the government of Pakistan. However, those trade unions had firm support of state apparatus. 'Punjab Labour League', 'Muslim Employees Association' and 'Pakistan Federation of Labour' was formed only to dismantle PTUF in Pakistan.

In the terms of ethno-nationalists, Bengali nationalists' political leadership formed Awami League in 1949 for economic, political and social justice of their people. Muslim League's reactionary government used religion and Urdu language issue as tools to curtail them. Despite state repression over Bengalis, Muslim league defeated in Bengal's provincial election by United Front in 1954. But, political instability continued till General Ayub khan's martial laws. Another issue that dominated politics in Pakistan during this period was the relationship between the central government and the provinces.

⁵ Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*. Bloomsbury

⁶ Malik, A. (2013). *Alternative Politics and Dominant Narratives: Communists and the Pakistani State in the Early 1950s*. *South Asian History and Culture*.

G.M Syed a Sindhi nationalist, disillusioned from Muslim League formed United Front along with progressive parties particularly Sindh Hari Committee. It was based on progressive ideology healing for agricultural land distribution for Haris and betterment of workers.⁷ However, it was the first Sindhi nationalist party after partition which was demanded equal share and participation of Sindhi people in economic, political and institutional portfolios. The National Awami Party (NAP) was another ethno-nationalist political party which was founded in 1957 by Maulana Bhashani, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and G. M Syed. NAP's leadership also faced state persecution due to political narrative that they wanted to establish a greater Pakhtunistan. And they had anti-Islamic and anti-Pakistan sentiments.

One of the most significant challenges that Pakistan faced during this period was the issue of land reforms. Muslim League manifesto drafted in 1944 by Daniyal Latifi (veteran Communist) made that League would ensure land reforms. Following independence, tenants were prohibited from discussing the League's Manifesto in both public and private settings, and doing so would result in eviction from their rented land by their landlord.⁸ Another one was the uneven relation between Central government and provinces. The role of mainstream political parties was even negative in establishing a democratic country. The religious political narratives build by state, deteriorated the foundational system of the country. Ruling oligarchy was fighting for the power under the patronage of the imperialist forces. Political terrain of the Pakistan was deteriorated when one unit was formed and Pakistan Republican Party came into existence under the patronage of Sikandar Mirza.

1.2. Objectives of study:

- The aim of this study is to explore political narrative building by the state of Pakistan's sponsored media to curtail dissident of leftist political activism.
- The objective is to explore and highlight the political and social activism of the leftist/progressive forces in the response of state apparatus repression.
- The aim of this paper is to highlight the role of imperialist forces (Anglo-American) in the persecution of leftist-progressive movements and political parties.

⁷ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, September 20, 1953.

⁸ Toor, S. (2011). *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*. Pluto Press, P.13.

1.3. Research Questions:

- 1) What kind of a political narrative was built by state through print media network in the early years of Pakistan?
- 2) How did state apparatus respond to the leftist political activism?
- 3) How did the imperialist forces affect Pakistan's leftist political movements in the international political scenario?

1.4. Problem of statement:

The focus of this research would be on the political narrative and perception building by state apparatus through different means and tools to curtail leftist political and social activism. It would be focused that how religion has been used as tool to build a political narrative to counter dissidents. And how repression justified by elite political oligarchy for their political interests.

1.5. Literature Review:

"The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan" is a thought-provoking and insightful book written by Sadia Toor. The book explores the history and politics of Pakistan, particularly during the Cold War era, and how these factors have shaped the country's culture and identity. Toor delves into the role of religion and the state in Pakistan, exploring how Islam has been used as a tool for political power and how it has shaped the country's cultural identity. She also discusses the role of the United States and other international powers in shaping Pakistan's politics and culture during the Cold War. One of the strengths of the book is Toor's nuanced analysis of the complex relationship between religion and politics in Pakistan. She highlights the ways in which Islam has been used both as a unifying force and as a tool for division and conflict.

"Communism in Pakistan: Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972" is a well-researched and thought-provoking book written by Kamran Asdar Ali. The book provides a comprehensive account of the role of communism in Pakistan's politics and class activism during the critical period of 1947-1972. Ali presents a detailed and nuanced analysis of the communist movement in Pakistan, from its emergence in the 1940s to its decline in the early 1970s. He examines the

internal dynamics of the communist movement, its relationship with the broader society, and its influence on Pakistani politics.

"Revolutionary Pasts: Communist Internationalism in Colonial India" is an insightful book written by Ali Raza that explores the history of communism in colonial India. The book focuses on the relationship between the Communist International and the Communist Party of India and how their interactions shaped the course of Indian communism. Raza provides a nuanced and detailed analysis of the various political, social, and economic factors that influenced the development of communist internationalism in colonial India. He also examines the challenges faced by Indian communists, such as the complex relationship between nationalism and communism, the struggle against imperialism, and the tensions between Soviet-style communism and indigenous Marxist traditions.

"Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-58" by K.K. Aziz provides a detailed analysis of the political landscape in Pakistan during its formative years, exploring the dynamics, challenges, and evolving roles of political parties from 1947 to 1958. Aziz delves into the interplay of various political forces, shedding light on the factors that shaped Pakistan's early political system. The book offers insights into key events, power struggles, and the emergence of political parties, contributing to a nuanced understanding of Pakistan's early political development.

"The Politics of One Unit 1955-58" by Rizwan Malik explores the historical context and intricacies surrounding the One Unit policy in Pakistan from 1955 to 1958. The book delves into the political dynamics, challenges, and consequences of this policy, providing insights into the complex socio-political landscape of that period in the country's history.

"Pakistan 1947-58: An Historical Review" by Zarina Salamat offers a comprehensive examination of Pakistan's formative years, focusing on the period from 1947 to 1958. The book provides a detailed historical review, analyzing key events, political developments, and socio-economic changes that shaped the early years of Pakistan's existence as an independent nation.

"Azadi se Ghulami Tak; Pakistan America Banty Begarty Taluqat" by Qayyum Nizami explores the evolving relationship between Pakistan and the United States, spanning from independence to complex diplomatic ties. The book delves into the nuances of this relationship, shedding light on how it transitioned over time, from freedom to a complex interplay of politics and alliances.

"*Haqaiq Haqaiq Hain*" by Wali Khan presents a collection of insightful reflections and truths. The book delves into the essence of various realities, offering a nuanced perspective on social, political, and historical facts. Wali Khan's work seeks to uncover deeper truths, providing readers with a thoughtful exploration of diverse subjects.

"*An unfulfilled dream: The Left in Pakistan ca. 1947-50*" is a thought-provoking article written by Ali Raza that sheds light on the history of the Left in Pakistan in the years immediately following the country's creation in 1947. Raza argues that the Left played a significant role in the formation of Pakistan and had a vision for a socialist, secular, and democratic state. However, he also notes that the Left was ultimately unable to achieve its goals due to a combination of internal divisions and external pressures.

The article '*Alternative politics and dominant narratives: communists and the Pakistani state in the early 1950s*' written by Anushay Malik. The article explores the relationship between the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) and the Pakistani state during the early 1950s. It examines how the CPP attempted to challenge the dominant narratives of the state by promoting alternative politics. The article argues that the CPP was able to challenge the dominant narratives of the state by adopting a strategy of working within the system. By contesting elections and participating in parliamentary politics, the CPP was able to promote alternative narratives and challenge the dominant discourse of the state.

'*Dispatches from Havana: The Cold War, Afro-Asian Solidarities, and Culture Wars in Pakistan*', written by Ali Raza. The article explores the intersections of the Cold War, Afro-Asian solidarities, and culture wars in Pakistan during the 1950s and 1960s. It focuses on the role of Pakistani intellectuals, artists, and activists in shaping cultural diplomacy and political discourse during this period. The article argues that Pakistan's participation in the Afro-Asian solidarity movement was not solely driven by Cold War politics but was also shaped by local cultural and political factors. Pakistani intellectuals, artists, and activists played a crucial role in shaping cultural diplomacy and political discourse, as they sought to challenge the dominant narratives of the state and promote alternative visions of Pakistani identity.

'*Communists in a Muslim Land: Cultural Debates in Pakistan's Early Years*', written by Kamran Asdar Ali. The article explores the cultural debates surrounding the Communist Party of Pakistan

(CPP) during the early years of Pakistan's formation. It examines the CPP's attempts to reconcile Marxist ideology with Islamic culture and the challenges that the party faced in doing so. The article argues that the CPP's attempts to reconcile Marxist ideology with Islamic culture were an attempt to gain popular support in a Muslim-majority country. The party sought to challenge dominant narratives about Marxism being incompatible with Islam by promoting a vision of socialism that was compatible with Islamic values.

'Progressives, Punjab and Pakistan: the early years', written by Kamran Asdar Ali. The article explores the role of progressive politics in shaping the early years of Pakistan's formation, with a particular focus on the province of Punjab. It examines the ways in which progressive intellectuals, activists, and artists contributed to the political and cultural debates of the time. The article argues that progressive politics played a crucial role in shaping the early years of Pakistan's formation. Progressive intellectuals, activists, and artists challenged dominant narratives about Pakistan's identity and promoted alternative visions of Pakistani nationalism. They sought to build a more inclusive and egalitarian society that would be responsive to the needs of all Pakistanis.

1.6. Research Methodology:

In this research paper the narrative approach of the qualitative method would be applied. It means that how information or content generated and presented to build a specific perception or narrative about something. For this research, both primary and secondary data would be collected. The available primary data would be collected from National Archives of Pakistan in Islamabad. The two news papers which were shortlisted for data collection were '*Daily Imroze*' and '*Daily Jang*' for the purpose of their textual analysis. The secondary data would also be collected from books, journals and articles.

1.7. Theoretical framework:

Antonio Gramsci was one of the most influential Marxist scholars of early twentieth century, who found not only a new avenue of capitalism but also challenged traditional Marxist school of

thoughts. Hegemony or Cultural Hegemony was his landmark theory, which is more than relevant today in case of Pakistan and several other countries.⁹

However, Gramsci's theory of Hegemony suggests that, how ruling class gain, maintain and exercise the power through coercion and consent. For Gramsci, Coercion means the use of force by ruling class through state apparatus. Consent means, to manipulate people through various incentives that the existing system is for their best interest.¹⁰ As Gramsci stated, "The state is entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the consent of those over whom it rules."¹¹

Muslim League dominated political party nexus with civil-military apparatus was ideologically manipulated Muslim masses for gaining the consent of people. In the 1940s, the Muslim League (overwhelmed by feudal politicians) which was at the forefront of the movement for Pakistan's creation symbolically employed the concept of din (faith, Islam) to advance its own cause for Muslims.¹² The newspaper *Dawn* succinctly expressed the view that the "spiritual force of Islam" could effectively combat the "false philosophy of Communism".¹³

Hegemony refers to the ability of the dominant class to maintain its power and legitimacy through the use of a complex network of cultural, social, and political institutions. The institutional power behind specific ideological projects is far more significant than the inherent persuasiveness of the ideas they embody.¹⁴ The ruling oligarchy of Muslim League had strong

⁹ Fusaro, L. Xidias, J, Fabry, A. (2017). *An Analysis of Antonio Gramsci's Prison Notebooks*. Macat Library London, P.11.

¹⁰ An Analysis of Antonio Gramsci's Prison Notebooks.

¹¹ Akhtar, A.S. (2022). *The Struggle for Hegemony in Pakistan: fear desire and revolutionary Horizons*. Pluto press.

¹² Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, P. 3.

¹³ Raza, A. (2019). *Dispatches from Havana: The Cold War, Afro-Asian, Solidarities, and Culture Wars in Pakistan*. Journal of World History, Volume 30, P. 236.

¹⁴ Toor, S. (2011). *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*. Pluto Press, P. 3.

back of state apparatus to gain and maintain a narrative of their interest. And it was neither than an Islamic identity for the nascent state of Pakistan.

The ruling elite exercised colonial coercive laws to maintain despotic government of Muslim League. The state apparatus also used coercive means to build a strong political narrative and identity, such as PRODA, Pakistan Public Safety Ordinance and so forth. Despite that, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, while commenting on the Bengal Ordinance, said in 1925, "Even if I am threatened with shooting, I will not vote in favor of any law which endangers the civil liberties of the people."¹⁵

Moreover, along with the Safety Act, the Frontier Crime Regulation was also a blot on Pakistan's independence. These laws were inherited from colonial state of British India. The Public and Representative Offices Disqualification Act 1949, According to this law any public office holder misused his authorities would be disqualified. These acts and ordinances were used against the opposition political parties. The unlimited incarceration of leftist political activists and ethno-nationalists to counter their voices and political narrative, politically motivated so-called laws became a tool.

Gramsci believed that the ruling class maintains its dominance through its control of key cultural institutions such as education, media, and religion, which shape the beliefs and values of society. This control allows the ruling class to promote its own interests and maintain its power by convincing the subordinate classes that the existing social order is natural, legitimate, and in their best interests. However, Hegemony uphold by ruling class in which they try to build believe in general public that the existing system is natural and it should be like this. And this natural order is based on Common Sense.¹⁶Hegemony is relation, not of domination by means of force, but of consent by means of political and ideological leadership.¹⁷

¹⁵ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, March 9, 1952.

¹⁶ Fusaro, L. Xidias, J, Fabry, A. (2017). *An Analysis of Antonio Gramsci's Prison Notebooks*, Macat Library London, p. 12.

¹⁷ Hall, S. *Gramsci's Political Thought: The Concept of Hegemony*, P.24.

However, feudal political oligarchy built strong political narrative on the Islamic lens through different tools and tactics of state apparatus. Muslim League, firstly, introduced Objectives Resolution as the foundation of legal system of the country that encompassed Islamic ideology. According to Hamza Ali, ruling political oligarchy deemed the riots of Bengali language in East Bengal as threat to unification of the country. Therefore, it presented and endorsed the Islamic way of political identity of the country to counter both Leftists (communist ideologue) and ethno-nationalists who were demanding a weak center and strong provincial setup.

For this purpose, feudal political elite used state security apparatus as an arm to curtail dissidents such as leftist who had strong literary circle and mass support in workers and peasantry. The senior leadership of leftist parties either was in jail or underground. In such a situation a political struggle was not possible which could bear some fruitful results for subordinate classes. Peasantry was under feudal domination because otherwise they would be dispossessed from their agricultural land. Workers were under threat about their employment because senior leaders were incarcerated such as Mirza Ibrahim.

Gramsci also argued that the subordinate classes have the potential to challenge and transform the dominant ideology through their own cultural practices and resistance movements. To garner widespread support, the League had to win over various Muslim factions with differing regional interests, while also popularizing its program among the significant number of middle and lower-middle-class Muslims, residing in both urban and rural areas.¹⁸ League was fighting a battle of ideology. Gramsci believed that cultural and intellectual struggles were keys to the process of social and political change, and that the subordinate classes could challenge and ultimately overthrow the dominant class by developing their own counter-hegemonic cultural and intellectual movements.

However, Pakistan's early political history illustrated that the ruling elite nexus with imperial forces gained and maintained political power by controlling masses through different means. One of the major reasons was that subordinate classes were under powerful feudal, bureaucratic and military control.

¹⁸ Toor, S. (2011). *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*. Pluto Press, P. 11.

1.8. Research Limitations:

As the title of this thesis revolves around narrative building by print media network, for this purpose, this research would be limited to two mainstream print media networks '*Daily Imroze*' and '*Daily Jang*'. These two newspapers propagated according to their own interests to build a specific political narrative which became country's identity in future. Early, was in the favor of secular and socialist democratic system. On the other hand, former newspaper was more aligned with feudal landed gentry of ruling elite which endeavor to propagate against Leftists who was speaking for the rights of subordinate classes. Some of books and article written by progressive writers were also included such as Hamza Alavi, Sadia Toor, Kamran Asdar Ali, Ali Raza, Anushay Malik, K.K Aziz, Rafiq Afzal, Zarina Salamat, Rizwan Malik and Ayesha Jalal. In this research focus would be on Western Pakistan but political development of Eastern Pakistan would also be included. Only struggle of Peasantry of Punjab and Sindh will be discussed.

1.9. Organization of Study:

This thesis will start with the introduction and along with objectives of studies and research methodology. Theoretical framework will also present in first chapter. It also includes the research problem and research limitations.

In the second chapter communist party of Pakistan and role of imperialist forces will be discussed. Third chapter will cover the role of Pakistan trade union federation and the response of state apparatus to workers along with role of intellectuals in narrative building. The peasantry struggle will also be discussed in this chapter. In fourth chapter the role of ethno-nationalists or regional political parties will be discussed.

Fifth and last chapter will discuss the role of ruling oligarchy and central government. It will also discuss the hegemonic state narrative on the basis of Islam by ruling elite. In the end conclusion and bibliography will be draw.

Chapter 02

Communist Party of Pakistan and Role of Imperialist Forces:

2. Introduction:

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The Communist Party of India established in December 1925 in British India. Beginning from the mid-1930s, however, CPI decided to cooperate with Muslim League in 1945/46's elections. But, soon after partition, leftists disillusioned from successive government in Pakistan.¹⁹ However, Communist Party of Pakistan formed in 1948. Sajjad Zaheer became the first General Secretary and moved from India to Pakistan. Ranadive's radical approach and western imperialist conspiracy trapped party into a case which led it banned forever. Zaheer and senior leadership of the party was facing hard state repression. Therefore, they were not able to held public rallies and gatherings in nascent state of Pakistan. Coercive measures were taken against CPP and its leadership to form a hegemonic state structure.

CPP tried to build a political narrative through its literary circle such as progressive papers, All Pakistan Progressive Writers Associations (APPWA). And practical work had been done by All Pakistan Trade Union Federation, Punjab Kisan Committee and Sindh Hari Committee. When Rawalpindi Conspiracy case revealed '*Daily Jang*' newspaper started propaganda against party and its leadership. It regularly published editorials that party should have to outlaw.

The leftists who were associated with CPP faced hard state coercion through legal and illegal means. The legal measures were taken against progressives through so-called state laws such as Public Safety Act, Frontier Crimes Regulation Act and Public Representative Office Disqualification Act (PRODA). PRODA, later on, declared null by Federal Court of Pakistan.²⁰ However, it was very common to detain someone for indefinite time on the pretext of public order violation. The feudal oligarchy of Muslim League used multiple means to create a

¹⁹ Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, P. 27.

²⁰ *Dawn*, March 4, 1952

hegemonic state narrative in favor of ruling party. The so-called Rawalpindi conspiracy case was manipulated to ban CPP.²¹

2.1. CPP and Counter State Narrative:

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Subsequently, from 28th February to 6 March 1948, 632 delegates assembled in Calcutta for second congress Communist Party of India. The Calcutta Congress saw the attendance of three delegates from West Pakistan: Mohammad Hussein Ata from the North West Frontier Province (NWFP), Eric Cyprian from Punjab, and Jamal uddin Bokhari from Sindh. The Congress also decided that the East Bengal party would remain affiliated with the West Bengal Communist Party and maintain its connection to the CPI.²² Initially, the CPI condemned the demand of the All India Muslim League for a separate state, but later on, it supported their stance, citing the right to self-determination, based on 'Adikari theses'.²³

Puran Chandra Joshi advocated for a line of cooperation with Muslim League before partition.²⁴ "Newly elected General Secretary of CPI Ranadive's thesis was based on radical approach both in India and Pakistan. CPP took the line of Ranadive's after its inception".²⁵ At that time, the Telangana Movement had already moved into its revolutionary phase and shifted the party line. However, according to Hamza Alavi, Ranadive's radical line was based on this movement; later on communist could not achieve much success in this radical approach.

²¹ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Center of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam University, P. 209.

²² Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, P. 58.

²³ Ibid. P.28.

²⁴ Umar, B. (2004). *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Class Struggle in East Pakistan (1947-1958)*, P. 41.

²⁵ Ali, K.A. (2013). Progressives, Punjab and Pakistan: the early years, *South Asian History and Culture* p. 489.

For the sake of subordinated classes "The initial demands of Communist Party of Pakistan were industries to be nationalized, fair land reforms and to repeal the draconian laws".²⁶ Sajjad Zaheer travelled in Pakistan as a member of central committee of the Communist Party of India to organize remaining cadres in December 1947.²⁷ Numerous cases were registered against him. If we consider Zaheer's initial months in Pakistan, he spent them with his friends and relatives who were an integral part of the government machinery, despite the fact that he was supposedly hiding from them.²⁸ Kamran Asdar Ali remarked that, after his return to Lahore, Sajjad Zaheer stayed at the residence of Fazal Rehman, an advocate who was the son of Justice Abdul Rahman, a judge of the Federal Court.²⁹

However, when, CPP had published its first manifesto in a ceremony on May 1, 1950 in Lahore. Just within a week of this announcement and criticism, the police raided the office of the Communist Party in Rawalpindi. The Jaggi Building, the offices of Communist Party and Pakistan Trade Union Federation, was raided by a strong Police party. Nothing objectionable was reported to have been recovered. The Police, however took away with them number of files, handbills and certain documents connected with the Pakistan Trade Union Federation, Democratic Student Federation and Railway Worker's Trade Union.³⁰

State security apparatus particularly police force was used relentlessly against progressive unions to harass and repress them. Police took coercive measures to disburse the unity of leftist associations. Moreover, some of the internal differences amongst leftists leadership also emerged which eventually effected their movement.

²⁶ Raza, A. (2020). *Revolutionary Pasts: Communist Internationalism in Colonial India*. Cambridge University Press, P, 246.

²⁷ Ali, K. A. (2011). Communists in a Muslim Land: Cultural Debates in Pakistan's Early Years. *Modern Asian Studies*, 45(3), P.514

²⁸ K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, P. 53.

²⁹ Ibid. P.54.

³⁰ *Dawn*, May 9, 1950.

2.2. Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case:

The leftist movement was perceived by the state as nothing more than a representative of the Soviet Union, resulting in their relentless persecution.³¹ As Anushay Malik stated that, a member of CPP who spent some time in china as a visitor, while return to home he said in praise that Mao was a Muslim.³² This kind of statements gave a pretext to state and its authority to brutally repress her political opponents. A broader state propaganda launched to labile them anti-Islamic publically through media and press. The nature of state was to gain and maintain their hegemonic narrative through different means and methods.

On 11 May 1951, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali khan revealed sensational news. He stated that "A conspiracy to spread insurgency through extremist sources in the country and influence the loyalty of Pakistan's armed forces has been caught." Moreover he said, "Major General Akbar Khan his wife, Brigadier Latif and Editor 'Pakistan Times' Faiz Ahmed Faiz were detained."³³

On the front page of the 'Daily Jang', it was written in big words that "Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan's announcement in the Parliament of Pakistan, the conspirators wanted to establish a Communist military dictatorship in the country."³⁴ Moreover, Communists had a hand in the conspiracy to revolt in Pakistan. There is written evidence against the conspirators claimed by Pakistan's Commander in Chief General Ayub Khan, later on.³⁵ The conspiracy was denied by General Secretary of Communist Party of Karachi.³⁶ On March 20, 1951, in an article in *Daily Jang*, narrated the secretary of the Communist Party Karachi and submitted that;

Communists consider all governments in the world that are not based on communism to be imperialist. From their point of view, there is no difference between the secret empire and the

³¹ Raza, A. (2020). *Revolutionary Pasts: Communist Internationalism in Colonial India*. Cambridge University Press, P, 35.

³² Malik, A. (2013). Alternative Politics and Dominant Narratives: Communists and the Pakistani State in the Early 1950s. *South Asian History and Culture*, P. 525.

³³ *Daily Jang Karachi*, March 11, 1951.

³⁴ *Daily Jang Karachi*, 23 March 1951

³⁵ *Ibid*, 11 March 1951.

³⁶ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, 18 March 1951.

government of Pakistan. A government that does not believe in communism: no matter how democratic it is. No, but in the eyes of the communists, it is not a people's government and the looting of capital continues there. And to eradicate this looting of capital, see the moral concept and method of the prophet of communists, Lenin the Great.

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From Lenin's point of view, conspiracy against enemies is not a bad thing but necessary and inevitable. And the communists who have idols of Lenin installed in their hearts and minds cannot deviate from the decree of their leader.

The editor further says that Pakistan has been established on the basis of Islamic concepts and the survival of Pakistan is also related to Islamic concepts. And everyone knows that Islam and Communism are opposed to each other in terms of temperament and principles. So how can those who believe in communism and strive for communist goals are the protectors of Pakistan's survival?

Can we ask the secretary of Karachi Communist Party that Sajjad Zaheer, who is hiding in Pakistan, is trying to save Pakistan by hiding like this? And the fact that Sajjad Zaheer is hiding in Pakistan in this way is not a proof that the meaning of his secret visit is something else? If propagation of communist ideas was the only aim, then Sajjad Zaheer could have come in front of everyone and done it like other communists are doing.

It is the rule of communists that they first appear as people's sympathizers and celebrate "Iqbal Day" to gain popularity among the people. Then they raise public grievances against the government. They organize strikes among the workers and then some of them work secretly like Sajjad Zaheer. Even moving trains are overturned and factories are blown up. Its aim is to disrupt the machinery of the government by creating fear and panic among the people. We have recently seen advertisements plastered on the walls of Karachi in which communists express sympathy for the oppressed Muslims of Morocco and disgust with France.

We ask our communist friends about the Israeli government built on the dead bodies of Palestinian Muslims. It was constitutionally recognized by your Soviet Union, so did you protest against this cruel act of the Soviet Union?

Mahir-ul-Qadri Karachi!

*Daily Jang, Karachi*³⁷

'Daily Jang' geared up state sponsored narrative to bash leftist for maintaining hegemonic state order in public eyes. Feudal oligarchy of Muslim League got an opportunity to use coercive tools against CPP. Entire state machinery along with clergy was behind the broader state narrative to curtail and dismantle leftist political activism.

Moreover, On December 25, 1953, the 'Daily Jang' published the following article from a citizen in its editor's correspondence:

For some time now, the Communist Party of Pakistan and its followers have succeeded in deceiving the people of this country with their false claims of benevolence, freedom-lovingness, and selflessness. But now the people can see clearly that the Communist Party of Pakistan does not have any respect for any constitution until it is modeled on the Moscow pattern. They do not support the Islamic constitution because they are opposed to God and religion. The Communist Party of Pakistan does not support the inclusion of Kashmir in Pakistan because the Indian Communist Party wants to include it in India.

The only solution for the Communist Party of Pakistan is to follow in the footsteps of the Indian Communist Party. To date, the Communist Party of Pakistan has not said anything about the Pakhtunistan movement, but they support it in private gatherings. The Communist Party of Pakistan supports India.

If Pakistan were to take military equipment from the United States, the Communist Party of Pakistan would oppose it just like India does. If Pakistan establishes defensive, economic, developmental, and commercial relations with foreign countries, Communist Party members in Pakistan would begin protesting. Supporting Russia, China, and other such countries is the religion and faith of Pakistani Communists. India is our enemy. How can you be well-wishers of Pakistan by supporting it?

Arshad Hussain Alabadi, Karachi!

*Daily Jang, Karachi*³⁸

³⁷ *Daily Jang Karachi*, March 20, 1951, P.3.

³⁸ *Daily Jang Karachi*, December 25, 1953.

'*Daily Jang*' tried to build a strong political narrative in the favor of feudal political oligarchy without evidences, Islam quoted as the base of Pakistan's establishment. A strong propaganda came right after the revelation of Rawalpindi conspiracy case. Hard crack down started against party that even stopped to participate in the provincial elections of the Punjab in 1951. Ali Raza stated that, "Within this sphere, 'communism' was anything but a 'foreign import' or an ideology dislocated from India".³⁹ However, by the time the arrests occurred, discussions of the coup had already been abandoned. The detentions were, in fact, carried out as part of the same need to suppress opposition during the elections.⁴⁰

In Sindh, the land reforms issue was highlighted and Sindh Hari Committee was playing an active role for the rights of peasantry. Several Leftist political activists and Hari members including Haider Bakhsh Jatoti arrested. In an editorial '*Daily Jang*' narrated on April 1951 on the behalf of a citizen, stated that,

Hari committee leadership is connected with Communist party of Pakistan, and they are secular, they do not believe in any religion. They are anti-Islam and anti Pakistani.' Moreover, almost 95% population of Sindh consists on Hari's. They are Non-communist but those who are leading this Hari committee are secular, non-religious and confirmed communists.

There leadership gets pay from Communist Party of Pakistan. These types of Hari leaders propagate for communism under the umbrella of Hari Committee. It's destructive for the State of Pakistan and Muslims because Hari leadership is in the hands of non-religious and communist. These communists were involved in conspiracy against state. Therefore, Haris should not be associated with this leadership. They should associate themselves with Sindh Hari federation who are following the lines of Obaid ullah Sindhi.⁴¹

However, being motivated by communist ideas was a sin. It was the open antagonism against communism and Communist party of Pakistan by '*Daily Jang*'. It was the time when major

³⁹ Raza, A. (2020). *Revolutionary Pasts: Communist Internationalism in Colonial India*. Cambridge University Press, P. 24.

⁴⁰ Malik, A. (2013). Alternative Politics and Dominant Narratives: Communists and the Pakistani State in the Early 1950s. *South Asian History and Culture*, P. 528.

⁴¹ *Daily Jang Karachi*, April 1951.

leadership of Communist Party of Pakistan was imprisoned under so-called Rawalpindi Conspiracy case. State sponsored organization established by the name of 'Sindh Hari federation' to counter leftist-communist political narrative among Haris. However, Hamza Alavi stated, The Left has failed to mobilize the peasant masses to take direct action to defend their interests. Rather, they depend on political agitation to follow the peaceful path to socialism through the parliamentary process. They believe that once in power, they will implement land reform to benefit the majority of peasants.⁴²

Moreover, '*Daily Jang*' wrote on the front page of the newspaper about what the leader of the opposition G.M Syed said in the Sindh Assembly session on September 15, 1953 that "Sindhi is a separate nation. It was the disgrace statement of G.M Syed. Karachi should be returned to the Sindh or compensation should be paid."⁴³

Nemours leftist activists arrested whether they were member of CCP or associated with other organizations such as Punjab Kisan Committee, All Progressive Writers Association and Trade Union Federation of Punjab.⁴⁴ For accused, there had been a Special Tribunal established through legislation. Special Tribunal established in premises of Haidrabad Jail.⁴⁵ Mian Ifakhar uddin raised the objection that the case should be held in an open court.⁴⁶

Zaheer was the first and the single leader of any political party for whom Government of Pakistan announced reward of five thousand rupees on passing information about him. However, in the evening of 27 April 1951 Mr. Zaheer arrested from a house of new Abadi Multan road Lahore.⁴⁷ Deputy Superintendent of Police Choudhary Muhammad Asghar had granted 2500 rupees cash and 4 kanal Land in canal link Lahore for the construction of house as the reward for arresting Sajjad Zaheer.⁴⁸

⁴² Alavi, H. (1965). Peasants and Revolution, *Socialist Register*, p. 243.

⁴³ *Daily Jang Karachi*, September 17, 1953.

⁴⁴ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, May 12, 1951.

⁴⁵ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, May 17, 1951.

⁴⁶ *Daily Jang Karachi*, April 19, 1951.

⁴⁷ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, April 29, 1951.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, May 4, 1951, P.5

The verdict in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case was pronounced on January 5, 1953. In which fourteen accused were sentenced to imprisonment and former Major General Akbar Khan was sentenced to twelve years imprisonment and his wife Naseem Khan was acquitted. Sajjad Zaheer, Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Muhammad Hussain Atta were sentenced to four years imprisonment.⁴⁹ In this case, the accused could not appeal to any court, they could only appeal for mercy to the Governor General of Pakistan.⁵⁰ In such a situation, the youth was frustrated and it was openly expressed by the young students of Karachi on January 8, 1953.

In Karachi, the students started a strike and demonstration against the government policies which resulted in killing of 60 people by police.⁵¹ Situation became more intense and curfew imposed.⁵² However, an attempt was made to link this student protest with the Communists to show that the Communists wanted to overthrow the current government in another conspiracy.⁵³

Presenting the report on f the riots of January 1953, Justice Wali Mohammad Waleed of the investigative court of Karachi said that when the tribunal sentenced communist members on January 5, 1953, the communists created a commotion in Karachi to distract the public's attention from the news.⁵⁴ It was propaganda against leftist political party. Kamran Asdar Ali narrated that, "Landlords, feudal lords, emerging mercantile and political elite were being afraid by communist politics which was demanding radical change".⁵⁵

However, a violent episode at the Adamjee Jute Mills near Dhaka in May 1954, which resulted in numerous fatalities, led to the imposition of Governor's rule in East Bengal.⁵⁶ Nevertheless,

⁴⁹ *Daily Jang Karachi*, January 7, 1953.

⁵⁰ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, January 7, 1953.

⁵¹ *Daily Jang Karachi*, January 10, 1953

⁵² *Ibid*, January 12, 1953.

⁵³ *Ibid*, January 25, 1953.

⁵⁴ *Daily Jang Karachi*, May 26, 1953.

⁵⁵ Ali, K. A. (2013). Progressives, Punjab and Pakistan: the early years, *south Asian History and Culture*, P. 484.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*. P.483.

there were strikes staged against mill and industrial owners, and a significant clash erupted between Bengali and non-Bengali workers at Adamjee Jute Mill on May 15, 1954; resulting in four hundred casualties and numerous injuries. The newly formed government of the United Front dissolved by the central government, leading to the arrest of several communists and the eventual banning of the communist party in East Pakistan as a subversive organization. At the time, the Communist party held five seats in the provincial assembly of East Pakistan.⁵⁷

After twenty days, On July 23, 1954, the Chief Commissioner of Karachi declared the Communist Party of Pakistan illegal in all provinces of West Pakistan.⁵⁸ Eventually, state narrative remained dominated and resultantly, first leftist political party of Pakistan banned forever and their senior leadership was in jail. However, according to Anushay Malik, the policies or actions taken by the Pakistani state reflect less a commitment to a specific ideology than a tendency to favor what served their interests at a given moment. Banning the CPP in 1954 was international pressure over government of that time.⁵⁹

After that, by strong demand of citizens, journalists and progressive political activists, state opened a way to release prisoners. Eventually, on March 24, 1955, the Lahore High Court headed by Justice Shabir Ahmed ordered the release of eight prisoners of the Rawalpindi conspiracy case on bail.⁶⁰ Similarly, Sajjad Zaheer and Brigadier Sadiq who were imprisoned in Quetta Jail, The Judicial Commissioner had issued orders to release them on bail on July 7, 1955.⁶¹ However, Mr. Zaheer left for India through the Wagah border on 29 July 1955 almost after seven years.⁶²

⁵⁷ M. Ali Raza. (1967). Alternatives in Pakistan Trade Union Developments and Ideologies. *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 1(3), P.341.

⁵⁸ *Daily Jang Karachi*, July 25, 1954.

⁵⁹ Malik, A. (2013). Alternative Politics and Dominant Narratives: Communists and the Pakistani State in the Early 1950s. *South Asian History and Culture*, p. 525-26.

⁶⁰ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, 26 March 1955

⁶¹ *Ibid*, July 9, 1955

⁶² *Ibid*, 31 July 1955

Elite political oligarchy used informal and formal state institutions to gain public consent by libeling communists as atheist and anti-Islam. The clergy and media were used as the informal institutions for propagating against leftist. The formal state institutions such as police force, security agencies and administration were used to harass and create fear in public for a hegemonic state narrative. The coercive state measures and broader narrative, eventually dismantled CPP. For Gramsci, it was the integral part of the state for hegemony.⁶³

2.3. The Reality of Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case:

Faiz Ahmed Faiz was a recognizable personality by his name and appearances but Sajjad Zaheer and Muhammad Hussain Ata's original name did not illustrated in the front of hosts and guests in the meeting of 23 February 1951. That meeting was held in the house of Chief of General Staff Major General Akbar khan. Although it was dependent on those witnesses who claimed the recognition of them in the meeting of 23 night of February. The reliable source of the Chief Prosecutor was the driver of Khadija Begam. Other witnesses were Lt. Colonel Sadeeq Raja and Major Yousaf Sethi who recognized Sajjad Zaheer as person who was presented in the meeting of 23 February 1951 at the House of Major General Akbar Khan.⁶⁴

According to Estelle Dryland that Khaliq Anjum conducted an interview with Sajjad Zaheer in 1973. Zaheer Stated that Akbar khan, whom he was personally related, became disenchanted with government of Pakistan when Liaquat Ali khan went to America with the intention of including his country with American bloc. Akbar khan believed America would establish military bases in Pakistan. If war developed between Russia and America, Pakistan could be rendered vulnerable to atomic attack by Russia.⁶⁵

Other, threats was being perceived by feudal political elite and military bureaucracy from Communists who as demanding the rights of peasants, workers, farmers and subordinate classes.

⁶³ Fusaro, L. Xidias, J, Fabry, A. (2017). *An Analysis of Antonio Gramsci's Prison Notebooks*, Macat Library London, P. 12.

⁶⁴ Zaheer, H. (2002). *The Rawalpindi Conspiracy 1951: The First Coup Attempt in Pakistan*, oxford university press, PP.297-298,

⁶⁵ Estelle Dryland, *Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case*: P.182

It was serious menace for ruling elite who had been in power not as a legitimate political force rather as a forceful executive. According to Sajjad Zaheer Colonel Sadeeq was informer who informed General Ayub Khan and later on became the main witness.⁶⁶

Page | 35 However, in the last hours of February, the Prime Minister had received the news of the conspiracy which was given by General Ayub Khan.⁶⁷The first General elections of Punjab were being conducted on 20 March 1951. The Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan was aware about this so-called Conspiracy in February 1951. But he neither announced nor arrested any one before 9 March 1951. Before ten days of Punjab election Prime Minister announced about Rawalpindi Conspiracy. The leadership of Communist party blamed and detained to hinder them by taking part in elections with that energy.

As Anushay Malik argued that, here is not that Communism and the official Islamic doctrine shared an inherent compatibility, but rather that their conflict, which was embodied by the proscription of the CPP in 1954, should not be regarded as stemming from an essential ideological dichotomy, but rather from circumstantial political factors.⁶⁸ Moreover, Ali Raza stated "While state also used anti-state and anti-Pakistan cards to discard the Communism in Pakistan".⁶⁹

However, all who had convicted in this case the only reason was that they had been presented, and participated in the meeting of 23 February 1951 at Major General Akbar Khan's home. It must be cleared that a practical coup or conspiracy never happened. It was only imaginary or idealized so-called plan. However Anushay Malik said that, it seems highly unlikely that the state was only made aware of the attempted plot during the March elections, considering it was

⁶⁶ Ibid. P.183

⁶⁷ *Daily Jang Karachi*, 14 March 1951

⁶⁸ Malik, A. (2013). Alternative Politics and Dominant Narratives: Communists and the Pakistani State in the Early 1950s. *South Asian History and Culture*, P, 555.

⁶⁹ Raza, A. (2013). An Unfulfilled Dream: the Left in Pakistan ca. 1947-50, *South Asian History and culture*, P, 511.

originally planned to take place in February 1951. Rawalpindi conspiracy case thus actually represents is, to use Ayesha Jalal's terminology, the manufacturing of 'enemies within'.⁷⁰

2.4. The Role of the U.S.A and Leftist Movement:

Following its independence, Pakistan quickly became embroiled in Cold War politics. The country's upper ranks collaborated closely with British and the U.S.A intelligence agencies to contain the perceived threat of communism. For this purpose Pakistan filed himself in anti-communist bloc through mutual agreements with the U.S.A in very early years. SEATO and CENTO were major pacts which formulated and rectified during the Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra's tenure. Secondly, leftist/communist parties in India and Pakistan were following radical revolutionary line. It created fear among state apparatus and their western imperialist masters.

The U.S.A and western bloc were patronizing Feudal-Bureaucratic-Military based Government of Pakistan. First Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan had been visited America and Pakistan became the front-line against communism in Asia. American clearly stated that "Those who were supporting and supplying war equipment to communist countries could not get American economic assistance."⁷¹

Moreover, for countering leftists/communists, Prime Minister of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Bogra reassured the global community that despite their efforts to eradicate communism worldwide, Pakistan remained unaffected as the country's dominant Islamic ideology rendered communism incapable of challenging it. This claim is reminiscent of later statements made in diverse circumstances, which contended that secularism represented a stark opposition to Islam.⁷² Islam was one of hegemonic factor invoked to curtail leftist political activism. The nature of ruling

⁷⁰ Malik, A. (2013). *Alternative Politics and Dominant Narratives: Communists and the Pakistani State in the Early 1950s. South Asian History and Culture*, PP. 529-531.

⁷¹ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, May 19, 1951

⁷² Malik, A. (2013). *Alternative Politics and Dominant Narratives: Communists and the Pakistani State in the Early 1950s. South Asian History and Culture*, P. 524.

oligarchy was not only safeguard political interest but also make leftist irrelevant. The state apparatus was being used against progressive.

The country's early political leadership chose to become virtual satellite of the United States, proudly trumpeting, its status as a "frontline" against communism.⁷³ The senior leadership of Muslim League including Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was admirer of the U.S.A as a world power and keen to work with them. Moreover, in China a powerful communist revolution that rose fears that the next communist government could be established somewhere in the subcontinent. Therefore, pro-imperialist diplomats and political writers were advocating to the capitalistic western imperial forces to provide financial and economic assistance to the countries of the subcontinent and to protect the interests of the western Imperial bloc.⁷⁴

The Angelo-American Imperial bloc feared of Communism, for this purpose they linked Pakistan and tried to make India as bastion. "Since Red star entered in its ascendant in China, Eric Down torn from New Dehli in today's daily telegraph, it has become axiomatic to describe Pakistan-Bharat sub-continent as the Orient's main bastion against Communism".⁷⁵ The western imperialist forces much conscious and fear of communism that ascendant in China might to ascend in sub-continent. The other interests were the great oil facilities in Middle East and ideological borders with Russia. For this purpose, "Pakistan served on the front lines of the U.S.A anti-communist policy in the region."⁷⁶

However, before partition, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah met with American ambassador to South Asia, Raymond A. Hare on 1 May 1947 and assured him that an independent and autonomous Pakistan would be in their favor.⁷⁷ However, when Pakistan came

⁷³ Sajjad, A. (2015). Little-known Communist Movement: Radical Left in Pakistan [Review of Communism in Pakistan: Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972, by k. A. Ali]. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 50(42), P, 28.

⁷⁴ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, March 23, 1951.

⁷⁵ *Dawn*, May 17, 1950.

⁷⁶ Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, P. 16

⁷⁷ Nizami, Q. (2022), *Azadi se Ghulami Tak; Pakistan America Banaty Begarty Taluqat*. 2022, p, 18.

into existence, American president Harry S. Truman sent his message to Mr. Jinnah and also appointed ambassador to Pakistan. On the other hand, Russia did not do so. Moreover, on 7 September 1947, in cabinet meeting, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Jinnah's remarks were following;

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Pakistan [is] a democracy and communism [does] not flourish in the soil of Islam. It is clear therefore that our interests [lies] more with the two great democratic countries, namely, the U.K and the U.S.A., rather than with Russia.⁷⁸

Pakistani official started requests for financial assistance to the U.S.A. In Pakistan, security apparatus and governance system had colonial legacy. However, The military, bureaucracy and higher positions were either occupied by British officers or those who were Indian in blood and white in test (Lord Macaulay), whom Dr. Asim Sajjad often called as "Kala Sahib".⁷⁹ Kala Sahib remained enact with imperialist forces to uphold the hegemony in nascent state. The consent of masses was gained through superficial narratives. Islam was a major source of consent of people because masses affection with religion was more than any development or progress in terms of politic and economic. For countering leftist ideas and political activism CIA was working very closely with Pakistani officialdom.

It is significant to note that America appointed Charles Burton Marshall as advisor to Pakistan's Prime Minister during 1955-57. Khalid B. Sayed stated that he was presented at a conference on Pakistan, held at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, U.S.A., during 27, 29 September 1974, when Marshall in an address, pointed out that "he was working for Central Intelligence of Agency in Pakistan during the time of Suhrwardy's resignation".⁸⁰

On April 1947, American joint chief of staff narrated in a report strategic committee that, "not only because of the existence of great oil processing facilities but also it offers possibilities of the

⁷⁸ Ibid, P. 20.

⁷⁹ Akhtar, S. A. (2022). *The struggle for Hegemony in Pakistan; Fear, Desire and Revolutionary Horizons*. Pluto Press.

⁸⁰ Estelle, Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Rawalpindi conspiracy Case, p, 117.

direct contact with our ideological enemies.”⁸¹ American interest was to protect not only oil facilities in Middle East but also protect ideological borders in Asia.

However, for countering leftist political activism in third world countries, it had been stated by the U.S.A that it would supply 10,000 tons of newsprint to countries opposed to communism. Ten thousand tons of newsprint would be obtained from American publishers to supply newsprint to a dozen countries that were fighting communist propaganda. Those countries that would be benefited from the project, Yugoslavia, Greece, China, Philippines, Burma, Hawaii, Lanka, Pakistan.⁸²

Leftist forces were gaining consolidate political power in Pakistan and India. However, speaking to the U.S Congress in this regard, the then U.S Secretary of State Dean Aitcheson stated that if "the power of the Communists in India is maintained in this way, a dangerous situation will arise in Asia. For this, foreign office proposed money is necessary. There should be no reduction in it".⁸³

For Hamza Alavi, the nationalization of oil by Iranian Prime Minister Musaddiq increased the fear among Anglo-American bloc. Another factor was that imperial forces needed security for their ideological borders mainly in Middle East and South East Asian countries. Pakistan was a perfect ally for this purpose. On the other hand, the rumors were speculating in Pakistan that, the U.S.A wanted to establish an airbase in Pakistan where the Russian industrial zone would be only 90 minutes away from there.⁸⁴ Secretly an airbase was established at Badbeer, near Peshawar Pakistan. Its purpose was the surveillance of communist Russia.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Nizami, Q. (2022). *Azadi Se Ghulami Tak; Pakistan America Banty Begarty Taluqat*. Ilm-o-Irfan Publishers Lahore, p. 40.

⁸² *Daily Imroze Lahore*, May 20 1951.

⁸³ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, March 24, 1952.

⁸⁴ Hamza Alavi, *The origins of and Significance of Pakistan-US Military Alliance*.

⁸⁵ Nizami, Q. (2022). *Azadi Se Ghulami Tak; Pakistan America Banty Begarty Taluqat*. Ilm-o-Irfan Publishers Lahore.

Leftists and regional political parties were strongly opposed the military agreement with the United States and sought an explanation from the then government. According to them, establishing such agreements with America was like inviting war.⁸⁶ At that time, the U.S.S.R strongly elicited the news of Pakistan giving military bases to America. But Pakistan's officials denied.⁸⁷

However, Pakistan's Interior Minister Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani stated in the Pakistan Parliament that communist activities had been increased, especially in East Bengal. If national security was threatened, the government would take strict action against every individual, group, and association.⁸⁸ On the other hand, those countries that did not oppose the communist countries would be deprived of American aid. Dr. Luathan, an American professor in Karachi, gave a statement and said that the countries that were trading with the Soviet Union also strengthening communism with this money.⁸⁹

According to an agreement between Pakistan and the American authorities, the United States would give economic assistance of 40 million rupees to Pakistan in this year of 1953. Even before this, the U.S.A had given aid of one million dollars to Pakistan in 1951-52.⁹⁰ Progressive leaders such as Mian Iftakhar uddin, Maulana Bhashani and Suhrawardy asked about these mutual agreements but government did not unfold agreements publically. These initial mutual agreements between America and Pakistan led them to more consolidated multilateral agreements against communist bloc.

2.5. Dulles-Bogra Formula and the U.S.A-Pakistan Agreements:

Governor General of Pakistan Ghulam Muhammad dismissed the Nazim uddin cabinet. Muhammad Ali Bogra, who was Pakistan's ambassador to America, was appointed as the new

⁸⁶ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, December 11, 1953.

⁸⁷ *Daily Jang Karachi*, 4 December 1953.

⁸⁸ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, 28 March 1952.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 16 February 1953.

⁹⁰ *Daily Jang Karachi*, 29 March 1953.

Prime Minister of Pakistan.⁹¹ He dismissed the cabinet citing critical economic conditions and public order issues. For this reason, within a few days, Britain had declared the government of Khawaja Nazim u din dismissed as constitutionally legitimate.⁹²

Page | 41 On June 20, 1953, the U.S.A Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, during his visit to Pakistan, stated that Pakistan was an excellent, reliable force against communism. America would ensure supply of wheat to Pakistan.⁹³ There was shortage of wheat in Pakistan in the year of 1953-54. But, according to Hamza Ali, artificial shortage of wheat created in Pakistan to justify American friendship in the eyes of public. However, Mr. Dulles was impressed by this visit and assured American foreign committee that Pakistan could be a reliable ally. Moreover he stated that, "I believe those fellows are going to fight any communist invasion with their bare fists if they have to."⁹⁴

The United States of America decided to give military aid to Pakistan worth two and a half million dollars. Pakistan's Governor General Ghulam Muhammad and Commander-in-Chief Ayub Khan held talks with the U.S officials.⁹⁵ This was the time when the American aid began to flow into Pakistan. Pakistan's ambassador to America sent a note to state department in which he narrated; "the strategic importance of Pakistan from an international point of view cannot be overlooked or treated lightly. In a period of Emergency Pakistan can form a base for military and air operations."

However, The Communist Party of East Pakistan accused the Muslim League of selling the freedom through military agreements with America. The Communist Party was a barrier in secret military agreements between America and Pakistan.⁹⁶ But Muslim League and state apparatus was more in favor of western bloc against communism and regional political parties. However,

⁹¹ Ibid, 19 April 1953.

⁹² *Daily Imroze Lahore*, 21 April 1953.

⁹³ *Daily Jang Karachi*, 22 June 1953.

⁹⁴ Qayyum Nizami, *Azadi Se Ghulami Tak; Pakistan America Banty Begarty Taluqat*. P. 50.

⁹⁵ *Daily Jang Karachi*, 5 November 1953.

⁹⁶ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, 28 December 1953.

the U.S.A initiated Dulles formula making alliances with her friendly countries against international communism. It was one of the major reasons that Pakistan made multiple defense pacts with her Islamic countries. Zarina Salamat remarked that, the purpose of the U.S.A military assistance was to weaken democratic institutions and strengthen Civil-Military apparatus.⁹⁷

America's economic and military aid was not free and this was also a cause of concern in Pakistan's civil society. Pakistan's public sector was repeatedly asking the Prime Minister of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Bogra to explain the agreements. But, he was assuring that there would be no negative impact on Pakistan's foreign and domestic policy in return for aid from America.⁹⁸ Even though, an "honorable agreement" was reached between Jamaat-i-Islami and the Pakistan Muslim League regarding the U.S.A military aid, in which Jamaat-i-Islami supported the Muslim League.⁹⁹

On September 6, 1954, Pakistan participated in the Manila Conference and joined the South East Asia Defense Treaty (SEATO); the objective was to prevent the spread of communism.¹⁰⁰ During the 1950s, Pakistan's political and military leadership developed a stronger relationship with the United States and entered into U.S sponsored anti-communist treaties like SEATO and CENTO, resulting in the severe oppression of the Communist Party and its eventual prohibition in 1954.¹⁰¹ Before joining SEATO, the Government of Pakistan banned the Communist Party of Pakistan, first in East Bengal, and then all over the country. It may be the condition from the U.S.A to state of Pakistan to ban CPP and then would be able to receive more financial aid.

Pakistan received four-fifth of its foreign aid from The U.S.A in between of 1951 to 1960. The Military aid which was given to Pakistan from the U.S.A in between 1952 to 1958 was about

⁹⁷ Salamat, Z. (1992). *Pakistan 1947-58: An Historical Review*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, PP. 332-33.

⁹⁸ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, 4 January 1954.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 12 June 1954.

¹⁰⁰ *Daily Jang Karachi*, 8 September 1954.

¹⁰¹ Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, P. 16.

\$646.7 million. According to Zarina Salamat, the U.S.A was major contributor in establishing Capital market in Pakistan.¹⁰²

2.6. Conclusion:

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CPP was the first Leftist/Communist political party in the nascent state of Pakistan besides Pakistan Socialist Party of Mubarak Sagar.¹⁰³ It had been facing hurdles and ideological barriers since colonial rule. After partition its radical role, being contradicted with Islam and Imperialist opposition did not allow it survive even six years in Pakistan. Strong hegemonic political narrative built by '*Daily Jang*' on the basis of Islam pushed party into a dead end. The ruling oligarchy of the state had a consolidated support of the state apparatus to create dominate political narrative which became the hegemonic identity of the country. Moreover, it was imperative for Muslim League's ruling oligarchy to maintain power and connection with imperialist forces to outlaw the CPP. Other non-political organizations which were associated with CPP were also crushed and stopped to work. This was the time the U.S.A opened doors for Pakistan in the form of SEATO and CENTO.

¹⁰² Salamat, Z. (1992). *Pakistan 1947-58: An Historical Review*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, P. 31

¹⁰³ Aziz, K. K. (2007). *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*. Sang-e-Meel Publication, Lahore, PP. 117-118. Pakistan Socialist Party was formed by Mubarak Sagar which was the successor of Socialist Party of India. Muhammad Yousaf was the convener of party. In January 1948, party adopted its first constitution. Party was used to publish Socialist Weekly. Party office was come under attack of a mob during language movement riots in Dhaka and its office secretary was also killed in 1952. Party was also connected with 'Punjab Pind Panchayat' and 'Sindh Hari Committee'. It had strong support amongst trade unions which called 'Pakistan Mazdoor Federation'.

Chapter 03

Trade Unions-Peasantry and Intellectuals Struggle:

3. Introduction:

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Leftists' progressives established Pakistan Trade Union Federation (PTUF) under the leadership of Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim and Faiz Ahmed Faiz. It was strong support in Punjab particularly Lahore. Government oriented labor organizations had been backed by strong powers to curtail progressives. Although some labor leaders were affiliated with the Muslim League, the party itself did not have a significant presence in the labor movement in Pakistan.¹⁰⁴

Though, brave Mirza Ibrahim with CPP and APP fought for the rights of workers of railway and industries without fear by hard state repression. Mirza Ibrahim made alliances with progressive political parties and organizations to up left the voice of workers for their legal rights. Even, state used religion/Islam relentlessly to stop and curtail progressive workers organizations. Government of Muslim League arrested Mr. Ibrahim and Faiz Ahmed Faiz several times under security laws to stop mobilizing workers. He was a strong candidate of CPP to win in elections of Punjab in March 1951. Ruling elite nexus with imperial forces eventually outlawed APTUF.

The peasantry movement in Pakistan had also changed the course of history particularly in Punjab and Sindh. The sacrifices of ordinary peasants (Haris-Mazarin) also revealed the real faces of the ruling oligarchy. When, ruling oligarchy's status quo was challenged by peasantry movement they sought Islam to maintain their hegemonic power.

On the other hand, before partition it was Progressive Writer's Association which was struggling against inherited dominant existing colonial power structure in literary ranks. It was continued after partition. In Pakistan's first decade of existence there were clear camps of intellectual who had competing claims linked to various ideological positions that impressed upon the state and

¹⁰⁴ Raza. M. (1967), Alternatives in Pakistan Trade Union Developments and Ideologies, *The Journal of Developing Areas*, p. 334.

the populace about the legitimacy of one set of ideas over other.¹⁰⁵ It was an ideological battle between Leftists/Progressives and State sponsored Liberal intellectuals and organizations.

Syed Sajjad Zaheer General Secretary of CPP tried to challenge the status quo through various mean, one of them was literary circle of leftist intellectual.¹⁰⁶ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi with several other Leftist intellectual worked to highlight and promote the narrative in which leftist inherited and rights of subordinate classes through their progressive publications.

However, APWA was associated with CPP but was a non-political literary organization. Its Nemours publications were forced to stop work due to its association with communist and progressive ideas. Eventually, Organization compelled to publically announce its non-political stance after Rawalpindi Conspiracy case. State apparatus not only detained intellectuals but also ceased the several progressive papers. Nevertheless, Islam was constant for ruling elite of Pakistan to crush progressive intellectuals by declaring them anti-Islam and anti-Pakistani for sake of their own political interests.

3.1. Leftist Trade Unions and Counter State Narrative:

Before partition, trade unions were struggling for fair pay, for which a commission was established. Both the Congress and the Muslim League had agreed to accept the recommendations of the 'Pay Commission', but after independence, the Muslim League did not act on it. A major strike took place in Lahore in December 1947, which led to the arrest of Mirza Ibrahim. In April 1948, Faiz Ahmed Faiz was also arrested.¹⁰⁷ But, the demand of subordinated workers did not come true. State security apparatus began coercive action against trade unionists.

¹⁰⁵Ali, K. A. (2011). *Communists in a Muslim Land: Cultural Debates in Pakistan's Early Years, Modern Asian Studies*, p. 504–505.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. P.515.

¹⁰⁷Ali, K. A. (2013). Progressives, Punjab and Pakistan: the early years, *south Asian History and Culture* p. 493.

When, Bata workers were protesting for their rights. State libeled them as Communists.¹⁰⁸ Although, in 1948, a strike was organized by dockyard workers to demand better working conditions. During this time, the esteemed Islamic scholar Shabir Ahmed Usmani issued a religious ruling (*Fatwa*), stating that strikes had no place in Islam and that the Communists were misleading the workers.¹⁰⁹ The elite political clergy played their role in the early years was definitely against the interests of subordinate classes who had been dreaming for an ideal state before partition. The narrative which was promoted by feudal political oligarchy against leftist to show their imperialist masters a profound loyalty.

Maulana Shabir Ahmed Usmani was the leader of Jamiat-i-Ulma Pakistan. He was also the member of constituent assembly. The Subordinate classes were protesting for better wages but their action declared against the Islam, because they were associated with CPP. It was clear, that how a religious scholar public representative issued ruling against workers. It shows that state was not formed for public or workers rather it was formed for the interests of ruling oligarchy. Religion was just a tool to maintain a hegemonic state order and clergy was manipulating it in a spectacular way.

The Muslim League, in power, supported the Punjab Labour League (PLL) in 1949. However, the PLL was dissolved in 1954 due to insufficient membership.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, Muhammad Raza narrated that, “The Muslim League headed Pakistan movement neither led nor affiliated with labor movements. It was socialists and Communist parties which led labor movements before partition. After independence, not only were labor unions not asked to share political power but very few political leaders even cared what role labor unions should have played.”¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Malik, A. (2013), *Alternative Politics and Dominant Narratives: Communists and the Pakistani State in the Early 1950s*, *South Asian History and Culture*, P. 526.

¹⁰⁹ Ishtiaq Ahmed, (2010), *the Rise and fall of the Left and the Maoist Movement in Pakistan*. *India Quarterly*, p. 253.

¹¹⁰ Raza. M. (1967), *Alternatives in Pakistan Trade Union Developments and Ideologies*, *The Journal of Developing Areas*, p. 335.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* P.348.

In 1948, under the leadership of Muhammad Ibrahim Mirza and Faiz Ahmed Faiz, a labor organization supported by the Leftists/Communists was established in West Pakistan called the 'All Pakistan Trade Union Federation' (APTUF).¹¹² The relationship between the League and the labor movement after independence was not well-established, primarily due to the League's lack of interest.¹¹³ However, under the leadership of Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim, the All Indian Trade Union Federation was transformed into the All Pakistan Trade Union Federation.¹¹⁴

A conference organized by the PTUF was held from 21 to 23 April 1950 in Lahore, which demonstrated a better understanding of the political situation in Pakistan. The conference adopted resolutions in line with the Ranadive's policy.¹¹⁵ Hence, to counter the radical unions in North Western Railways, a "Muslim Employees Association" was formed, while the Muslim League established the 'Muslim League National Guard' as a counter to the labor party. Both of these were aimed at Islamizing trade unions.¹¹⁶

In September 1950, the Pakistani state aimed to establish the All Pakistan Confederation of Labour (APCOL) to oppose the labour federations supported by the communists, particularly the Pakistan Trade Union Federation (PTUF).¹¹⁷ The Karachi-based Pakistan Federation of Labour (PFL) was the main labour group opposing the communists.¹¹⁸ Moreover, a 'Welfare Labor Committee' was established within the Railway workers to counter labor organizations led by

¹¹² Raza, M. (1967), Alternatives in Pakistan Trade Union Developments and Ideologies, *The Journal of Developing Areas*, p. 339.

¹¹³ Ibid. P.334.

¹¹⁴ Raza, A. (2013), An Unfulfilled Dream: the Left in Pakistan ca. 1947-50, *south Asian History and culture*, P. 506.

¹¹⁵ Ali, K. A. (2015), *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, p. 75.

¹¹⁶ Raza, A. (2013), An Unfulfilled Dream: the Left in Pakistan ca. 1947-50, *south Asian History and culture*, P. 515.

¹¹⁷ Aziz, K. K. (2007). *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*. Sang-e-Meel Publication, Lahore, PP. 128-130.

¹¹⁸ Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, p. 78.

communists, which promoted Islamic labor unions and opposed 'ishtraki' (communist). In 1957, the name of the committee was changed to the Labor Federation of Pakistan.¹¹⁹ The objectives Resolution of 1949 laid the foundation for the gradual institutionalization of Islam in Pakistan, which led to the state becoming more distinct from its colonial predecessor.¹²⁰

When, first provincial elections took place in Punjab in March 1951, the leftist political parties participated under the hard state repression. Mirza Ibrahim and Attaullah Jehanian were detained in jail during elections.¹²¹ APP participated but could not get enough success. Due to strong political narrative on and feudal demography of the Punjab went in the favor of Muslim League. As Anushay Malik stated that, Due to the dominant demographic of agricultural regions and the influence held by the landed elites, formal political competitions were inherently prejudiced in their favor.¹²² Electoral victory reveals that 80% of those elected in the Punjab were landlords commanding tenant votes.¹²³

However, it was reported that time, that Mirza Ibrahim defeated Muslim League's candidate. But, later on, state institutions declared some of his votes illegal and Mirza forced to defeat. Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim won the seat by securing 7030 votes against the Muslim League candidate, Ahmed Saeed Kirmani, who got 4847 votes. Later on, certain number of votes was declared bogus and Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani was elected to the Assembly.¹²⁴ However, Mirza

¹¹⁹ M. Raza. (1967), Alternatives in Pakistan Trade Union Developments and Ideologies, *The Journal of Developing Areas*, p. 342.

¹²⁰ Raza, A. (2013), An Unfulfilled Dream: the Left in Pakistan ca. 1947-50, *South Asian History and Culture*, P. 515.

¹²¹ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, February 15, 1951.

¹²² Malik, A. (2013), Alternative Politics and Dominant Narratives: Communists and the Pakistani State in the Early 1950s. *South Asian History and Culture*, P. 522.

¹²³ Ibid. P.526.

¹²⁴ Ibid. P.527.

Muhammad Ibrahim's leadership was challenged by his opponents who demanded that he prove his identity as a Muslim and not a Communist.¹²⁵

Even before the 1951 elections in Punjab, eight candidates had won unopposed.¹²⁶ All of them who were elected without competition were big *Jagirdars, Zamindars, Tumandars, Chaudhris* and *Sardars*. Feudal dominance in Punjab was inherited and the leftist candidates were incarcerated by state security apparatus to discourage them participating in elections. CPP leadership was also facing Rawalpindi conspiracy case. In this situation it was very difficult for remaining cadres to gain much success. Hegemonic state narrative and feudal dominance Muslim League won over Punjab.

At the time when, Mirza Mohammad Ibrahim imprisoned in Cambellpur (Attock) jail for no reason. His daughter sent a letter to the editor of *Daily Imroze Lahore*, in which she writes:

“Respected Editor: Assalam-o-Alaikum!

My father Mirza Mohammad Ibrahim is currently in Cambellpur jail. A few days ago, I went to meet him. His health is deteriorating day by day. His eyesight is getting weaker every day. His eyes keep watering all the time. He is also suffering from joint and stomach diseases. There is no provision for his treatment in jail. In addition, my elderly grandmother (respected mother of Mirza Sahib), has also been seriously ill for several days. I appeal to the government that keeping in view my father's deteriorating health and my grandmother's illness; they should release him so that he can receive treatment and take care of his sick mother.

Mumtaz Mirza, daughter of Mirza Mohammad Ibrahim,

Kala Gujran, Jhelum District.¹²⁷

The '*Daily Imroze*' was one of the major newspapers that were raising the voice of subordinate classes. It was promoting leftist/progressive who was more aligned with workers and peasants. It

¹²⁵ Raza, A. (2013), *An Unfulfilled Dream: the Left in Pakistan ca. 1947-50, south Asian History and culture*, P. 510-511.

¹²⁶ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, February 9, 1951.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, January 27, 1952.

was strongly opposing state policies, exposing government policies which against the interests of subordinate classes. Coercive state measures and relentless repression by security apparatus were highlighted. In the trade unions, Islam was also invoked to gain consent of workers through categorizing between Muslim Employers Association and Pakistan Trade Union Federation. However, Muslim National Guard was also formed to curtail leftist trade unions.

On February 28, 1952, the government of Pakistan extended Mirza Ibrahim's detention for another six months. On which the workers of Trade Union Federation strongly protested. For their release, the International Trade Union Federation wrote letters to the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The Labor Confederation of Vietnam also demanded for the release of Muhammad Ibrahim Mirza.¹²⁸ Eventually, he was released in August 1952. He had been arrested before the Punjab's Provincial election in March 1951.¹²⁹ Mirza Ibrahim and Faiz Ahmed Faiz were again arrested and detained by state security apparatus but never compromised on the rights of subordinate classes. After that PTUF banned by the government of Pakistan but, Faiz and Mirza Ibrahim continued their struggle and joined other platforms.

3.2. Struggle of Punjab peasantry and Landlordism:

After partition in Punjab peasantry Kisan Committee had a major role in peasants' mobilization for their right of agricultural land in Punjab. Political feudal landed gentry of the Punjab were not only opposing un-effective land reforms but were also using religion (Islam) and political influence to repeal the land reforms.

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah spoke the following words on April 24, 1943 in the presidency of the All India Muslim League,

Here I am informing all the capitalists, feudal lords and landlords who have been raised on our blood and who are living under a wicked poisonous system of government. I do not want to present a single argument in their defense. People's blood runs in their veins.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, March 2, 1952.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, August 31, 1952.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, January 13, 1952.

Muslim League Working Committee drafted bill on 30 August 1949 had some following concreted recommendations.

Demands were following; Estates (*Jagirs*) and rewards should be immediately abolished without compensation. The proprietary rights to bestowed on occupancy tenants by compulsorily acquiring the landlords share at the valuation of four times the annual rent: Security of tenure should be ensured to the tenants-at-will for the minimum period of the 15 years with statutory safeguard to protect them from harassment and exactions by landlords. They also recommended abolishing the *Betai system* (share cropping).

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Feudal Political landed gentry of Punjab geared up eviction of peasants from their agricultural land. Peasants were restricted to not take part in movements led by PKC. On January 9, 1952, the Punjab Assembly passed amended "*Law for Protection of Rights of Farmers*" by majority of votes. On August 29, 1949, the Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League proposed that the *Betai system* be abolished and a cash tax system be introduced. The law of cash rent was not introduced to keep its influence on the weak peasantry.¹³¹ On 11 January 1952 in the Punjab Assembly, Finance Minister Choudhary Muhammad Hussain Chatta introduced a law called "*The Punjab Abolition of Jagirs Act 1952*" which was passed by a majority vote. According to the bill only cash *Jagirs* were abolished.¹³²

However, Laws were Contradictory to Muslim League's Working Committee report on August 30, 1949; while committed to abolish all types of the *Jagirs*. These laws could not provide security to peasantry because they were still being ejected forcefully by their landlords. On the enforced eviction of peasants, PKC started civil disobedience movement. Peasants from all over the Punjab came to Lahore for demonstration and sit-in. After 'One unit', however, the Chief Minister of West Pakistan Dr. Khan Sahib assured that "Peasants will not be evicted until they are given alternative land."¹³³ West Pakistan province had come into existence but peasants rights did not fulfilled by the authorities.

¹³¹ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, January 11, 1952.

¹³² *Ibid*, January 13, 1952.

¹³³ *Ibid*, April 21, 1956.

However, reiteration of Chief Minister did not work and peasants were arrested and sent out of the city in buses. Outside the Mochi gate of Lahore city the peasants' camp was broken up and dispersed. But, there resistance continued.¹³⁴ Later, looking at the situation, the government of West Pakistan proposed that the evicted peasants would be given land on lease and that lease would be renewed every year. But, this move did not overcome the grievances of the peasants of Punjab.

3. 3. Landed Gentry of Punjab and Islamic Narrative:

On January 23, 1955, Punjab Chief Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon announced the permanent allotment of agricultural lands in Punjab. The land owners had a complaint that the peasants did not pay their dues and on this pretext peasants were being evicted. On the other hand, the peasants had a complaint that the owners were taking more than the dues.¹³⁵

The big landlords of the Muslim League Punjab did not digest the Punjab agricultural reforms, so they formed a united front against the agricultural reforms, which was named "*Anjuman Agrarian Reforms Sharia*". Pamphlets and letters were written by landlords that the land reforms are against the Islam; Khan Bahadur Ahmad Saeed Malik was prominent among of them.

This party was named "*Pakistan Agricultural Federation*". Apparently it was created for the agricultural protection of West Pakistani landlords. Its president was Amir Muhammad Khan of Kala Bagh; Vice President, Interior Minister of West Pakistan, Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, General Secretary Sardar Muhammad Khan Leghari, besides former Chief Minister of Bahawalpur Makhdoom Hassan Mehmud's father Makhdoom ul Mulk Syed Ghulam Miraan Shah was included. They were of the opinion that the development of the country was not done by the abolition of large lands but by bringing the barren lands under cultivation.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Ibid, July 13, 1956.

¹³⁵ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, January 25, 1955.

¹³⁶ Ibid, March 22, 1957. See, *Dawn* 8 October 1951.

Malik Feroz Khan Noon was dismissed as a Minister of Punjab on May 21, 1955.¹³⁷ He asked Prime Minister, President and even Governor of Punjab Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani but did not get answer. However, it was bitter truth that behind his outstation there was a powerful gang of landlords. Abdul Hameed Khan Dasti was sworn in as the new Chief Minister of Punjab. He was backed by Daulatana group. Feroz Khan Noon along with his group members parted ways from PML and joined Pakistan Republican Party of Dr. Khan Sahib, later on.¹³⁸ Punjab Assembly passed “One Unit” bill which was initiated on November 26, 1954 under the Governorship of Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani. Eventually, Punjab province merged into West Pakistan Prince in October 1955.¹³⁹

3.4. Struggle of Sindh Peasantry and Islamic Narrative of Landlords:

The Hari movement was led by a charismatic peasant leader named Haider Bakhsh Jatoi, who mobilized the agricultural workers to demand their rights and resist the oppressive policies of the landlords and the colonial authorities. However, this movement came into existence in 1930 by G. M Syed. Later on, in 1947, Haider Bakhsh Jatoi became its president. However, “Tenancy Legislative Committee” formed in 1943 which presented report in 1945. However, government did not make any serious measure for tenancy rights of peasants (*Haris*). G. M Syed was major voice of Haris who opposed by Dialmal Daulatram by saying “rural economy should not be disturbed.”¹⁴⁰ But, due to miserable socio-economic conditions of Haris and their struggle for land ownership and other rights, SHC mobilized peasant’s at large scale. Government of Sindh compelled to propose a committee for examining land reforms in Sindh.

The “Sindh Hari Inquiry Committee” formed in March 1947, investigated issues related to agricultural laborers (*Haris*) in the Sindh province of Pakistan. The chairman of Committee Sir,

¹³⁷ Aziz, K. K. (2007). *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*. Sang-e-Meel Publication, Lahore, P. 28.

¹³⁸ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, P. 272.

¹³⁹ Ibid, PP. 257-258.

¹⁴⁰ Naqvi, H, K. Hassan, C. Ghafar Ch. (1987). *Land Reforms in Pakistan a Historical Perspective* Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, PP. 8-9.

Thomas was himself was landlord and had large estate in Tharparkar district. The commission aimed to address concerns about unfair treatment, exploitation, and poor living conditions of Haris. The report highlighted socio-economic challenges faced by Haris and recommended measures for their welfare and protection of their rights.¹⁴¹

Meanwhile a tragic incident happened in Sindh in June 1947. Bakhtawar Mai Lashari was a Baloch woman peasant who played praise worthy role in the Hari Movement in Sindh. She was a tenant who worked on the land owned by a powerful landlord named Mir Rashid Ali. Estate was owned by Saeed ullah, nephew of Choudhary Zafar ullah Khan who later on, became the first Foreign Minister of Pakistan. On 22 June 1947 while entire male members went for a conference headed by Haidar Bakhsh Jatoi only women was there in village. Saeed ullah took advantage, forcefully entered in Dodo khan village and tried to take away entire crop yield. When Bakhtawar Mai resisted, she shot died at the spot.¹⁴² This incident pressurized Government of Sindh to work in more speedy way.

The report of the Committee was published in December 1948. However, majority of committee members recommended that the problems which Haris face were natural and not caused by Landlordism. Landlord was his best friend of Hari who helped him out in every problem. However, report recommended that 1) *Betai System* (share cropping) should not be abolished, 2) Permanent rights of tenure should not be given to Haris, 3) Which should be prohibited were only *Begar* (forced labour) and *Abwab* (extortion).¹⁴³

When “Hari Inquiry Report Committee” presented its report it did not include the dissent note of Masud Khadarposh who was a veteran civil servant of Pakistan. Peasants (Haris) put massive

¹⁴¹ Ibid. P.7.

¹⁴² Abbas, M. (2020). Mai Bakhtawar: A Forgotten daughter of Sindh, *Political Economy*, P.3.

¹⁴³ Naqvi, H, K. Hassan, C. Ghafar Ch. (1987). *Land Reforms in Pakistan a Historical Perspective*. Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, PP. 10-11.

pressure on Government of Sindh then Chief Minister Abdussattar Pirzada compelled to publish the dissent notes of Masud Khadarposh in April 1949.¹⁴⁴

Page | 55 For Masud, the miserable socio-economic conditions of Haris were due to landlordism of the country. Hari was deprived and landlord was enjoying a luxurious life. Therefore, he recommended proprietorship rights of Haris.

He recommended in his dissent notes that 1) *Betai System* and Landlordism should be abolished, 2) Land should be taken from landlords and to distribute among peasants with some reasonable compensation, 3) Ownership and occupancy rights should go together, 4) Entire land should be owned by State; 5) An expert committee should be given the task of land reforms.¹⁴⁵

Moreover, Masud Khadarposh was assaulted by religious clergy and he was even asked to prove either he was a Muslim or not. *Ullamas* issued religious ruling (*Fatwa*), that land reforms contrary to Islam (*Shariat*). They also called Masud Khadarposh a Communist and Atheist. In between the discussion of dissent notes of Masud, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badwani from Karachi along with sixteen *Mullas* (religious pundit) issued a pamphlet by the name of "*Ishtarakiyat and Zarati Masawat*" (Communism and Land reforms) and citing that they had gone through the dissent notes of Masud which was quite contrary to Islam and author of this note had communist tendency. Masud Khadarposh also filed a defamation case against Government of Sindh in which he mentioned that former landlord Chief Minister of Sindh; Ayub Khuro had given bribe to *Mullas* to curtail my views about land reforms.¹⁴⁶ Masud also gave powerful reply to *Mullas* through his rational arguments in the form of a pamphlet titled "*Ishtarakiyat or Zaari Masawat*" (Socialism and Agrarian Justice).¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. P.7.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, PP. 12-13.

¹⁴⁶ *BBC News Urdu*, December 25, 2020.

¹⁴⁷ Ahmed, I. (2010). The Rise and Fall of the Left and the Maoist Movement in Pakistan, *India Quarterly*, 66(3), P. 254.

Eventually, the government of Muslim League composed a committee in April 1949 under the leadership of Mian Mumtaz Daulatana by the name of "*Agrarian Reforms Committee*" to formulate land reforms. Other members of committee were Qazi Isa, Begam Shah Nawaz, Qayyum Khan and Ali Akbar Shah. Committee made following recommendations, 1) to abolish all Jagirs immediately without compensation. 2) To grant proprietary rights occupied tenants. 3) To abolish *Jagirdars* (Estates), customary cesses and dues. 4) To provide security of tenure to tenants-at-will. 5) *Betai system* (Crop sharing) replaced in cash rent. In the second part of report it was suggested to abolish Landlordism (*Zamindari System*). Central government only made documental recommendations and did not take any effective steps due to strong opposition of landlords in government, citing, "land reforms are provincial subjects."¹⁴⁸

But the Government of Sindh, against all its promises, published amended Tenancy' Act on 14th March, 1950. The Sindh Assembly passed the tenancy draft bill, according to which the demand for unconditional inheritance rights had been rejected. Instead, conditions were imposed with permanent rights that would not necessarily benefit the Haris. Along with this, one of the demands of the Hari Committee was that the *Betai system* should be abolished and cash payment should be introduced. But the *Betai system* retained.¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, Chief Minister of Sindh Muhammad Ayub Khuro declared that the problem of Haris (Cultivators) did not exist in the province. He added it only existed in "Some newspaper's offices".¹⁵⁰

According to the Tenancy Law passed by the Sindh Government of the Muslim League on March 1950, the hereditary right of cultivation would be given to those peasants who had been cultivating the land for three consecutive years.¹⁵¹ Kazi Mujtaba, a former communist, opposed the bill in assembly, according to him the approved bill was not in accordance with the demands of the Haris and the deprivations of the Haris could not be addressed through this bill. For this reason, Qazi Mujtaba was suspended. According to Kazi, "In Sindh there is raging eternal

¹⁴⁸ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, PP. 67-68.

¹⁴⁹ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, April 9, 1950.

¹⁵⁰ *Dawn*, April, 1951.

¹⁵¹ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, January 1, 1953.

struggle between the 90 percent Hari population (uniformly landless, downtrodden and emasculated) and the 10 percent *Wadero* population (uniformly tyrannical, unenlightened, oppressive and degenerate).¹⁵²

Page | 57 Indeed, an in-famous incident took place in Thatta, which became the headlines of the newspapers. A famous Hindu money lender (*Baniya*) Narumal Alias Narayan Das of Thatta killed a Hari named Rahib with his gun. In collusion with the police, almost all the evidence was destroyed, but when social workers highlighted the issue, the case went to the District and Sessions Judge, Hyderabad. Looking at all aspects of the case, the District and Sessions Judge, Hyderabad, awarded death sentence to Narumal Alias Narayan Das and five years rigorous imprisonment to police head constable Mirza Khan, who was involved in destroying the evidences.¹⁵³ However, on the same day Governor Sindh, Din Muhammad ordered for the release of Hari leader Haider Bakhsh Jatoi. Jatoi was incarcerated by former Chief Minister of Sindh, Ayub khuro for last eight months.¹⁵⁴

After this infamous incident Governor Sindh sent an invitation to the leaders of the Hari community on the taxation bill so that they could discuss the issue with Hari leaders on February 2, 1952. Committee demanded for amendments in Sindh Tenancy Act.¹⁵⁵ Haris demands did not meet and later on, Governor Din Muhammad expelled by powerful authorities. Haidar Bakhsh Jatoi with his SHC organization joined the Awami Mahaz against Muslim League in first Provincial elections of the Sindh in May 1954.

3.5. Sindh Awami Mahaz and Political Coalition:

Hari Committee and Sindh Awami Party of G.M Syed formed a 'United Front' to contest against Muslim League in the upcoming elections, with the coalition of other two parties All Pakistan Jinnah Awami League's branch of Sindh and All Pakistan Dastur Party.¹⁵⁶ In the first provincial

¹⁵² *Daily Dawn* April 7, 1950.

¹⁵³ *Daily Jang Karachi*, January 18, 1952.

¹⁵⁴ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, January 14, 1952.

¹⁵⁵ *Daily Dawn Karachi*, February 3, 1952.

¹⁵⁶ *Daily Jang Karachi*, February 27, 1953.

elections of Sindh, nine landlord candidates of PML won unopposed. The first general elections of Sindh began on 4 May 1953.¹⁵⁷ G. M Syed became opposition leader in Assembly later on. Abdussattar Pirzada sworn in as the chief Minister of Sindh: when Khuro temporarily broke up with PML.¹⁵⁸

After Ayub Khuro Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur was a strong politician of Muslim League in Sindh. Following the first provincial elections Mr. Talpur became the speaker of Sindh Assembly. He could become the Chief Minister of Sindh but PRODA (Public Representatives and Officers Disqualification Act) was a barrier in his way. Investigation was going on against him under PRODA Act due to which he himself nominated Pirzada Abdussattar as Chief Minister of Sindh.¹⁵⁹ The feudal system was so strong that the then Chief Minister of Sindh, Pirzada Abdussattar, wanted to introduce a bill for the abolition of *Jagirs* (Estates), but the feudal lords of the Sindh Assembly, among whom Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur was at the top. They strongly opposed the Chief Minister and threatened to oust him from the ministry.¹⁶⁰

Factionalism over Chief Minister-ship began in the Muslim League government of Sindh. On one side was the group of Abdussattar Pirzada and Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur and on the other side was the group of Mohammad Ayub Khuro and Qazi Fazlullah.¹⁶¹ Eventually, the Governor of Sindh dismissed the government of Pirzada Abdussattar and invited Ayub Khuro to form a new ministry. According to Pirzada, he was dismissed because he opposed the formation of one unit.¹⁶² On the other hand, On February 8, 1955, the Sindh Cabinet made a revolutionary decision regarding *Jagirs* in Sindh the Sindh Cabinet abolished *Jagirs* (estates) without compensation. These *Jagirs* were spread over 1.1 million acres.¹⁶³ However, Ayub Khuro who was broke away from PML when he had been dismissed by Governor General Muhammad Ali

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, April 26, 1953.

¹⁵⁸ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, August 28, 1953.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, September 19, 1953.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, March 3, 1954.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, May 29, 1954.

¹⁶² *Daily Jang Karachi*, November 10, 1954.

¹⁶³ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, February 10, 1955.

Jinnah and faced charges under PRODA, now, had given a task to pass "One Unit" from Sindh Assembly who managed to pass a resolution in the favor of the scheme in February 1955. West Pakistan Province officially came into existence in October 1955.¹⁶⁴

Page | 59 **3.6. Leftist Intellectuals and State-Sponsored Intellectuals:**

During the 1930s, Sajjad Zaheer, Mulk Raj Anand, and Ahmad Ali, who were students residing in England, initiated a literary movement which eventually evolved into the Progressive Writers Association while Zaheer was in Britain.¹⁶⁵ They had taken out several publications in the forms newspapers, journals and pamphlets. *Angary*, *Nakush*, *Naya Zamana* and *Adab-e-Latif* was prominent progressive publications.¹⁶⁶ After the 1940s, the All Indian Progressive Writers Association, which was linked to the Communist Party of India but was not an official branch, played a significant role in popularizing anti-imperialist sentiments, which continued after partition.¹⁶⁷ One of the most intense political and ideological conflicts of the post-independence era was fought between two literary factions: the Left-wing members of the Progressive Writers Association (PWA) and their liberal anti-communist opponents.¹⁶⁸

Although Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi was the first General Secretary of APPWA, he had contrasting opinions about Islamic political life compared to Zaheer.¹⁶⁹ Influential and outspoken members of PWA was Sibte Hassan, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, Hajra Masroor, Abdullah Malik, Zaheer Kashmiri, Mumtaz Hassan and among others.¹⁷⁰ Zaheer instructs the comrades in Karachi to utilize the 'Naya Zamana' as a highly efficient medium for propaganda.¹⁷¹ Communist journals like *Sawera*, *Adab e Latif* and *Nakush* were constantly asked to stop publication disseminating

¹⁶⁴ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, PP. 257-258.

¹⁶⁵ Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, p. 52.

¹⁶⁶ Sadia Toor, (2011). *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*. Pluto Press, PP. 53.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. P.11.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. P.52.

¹⁶⁹ Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, p. 89.

¹⁷⁰ Toor, S. (2011). *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, p. 56.

¹⁷¹ Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, p. 71-72.

anti-state literature.¹⁷² The newly formed state of Pakistan was playing in the hands of imperialist forces and chances that Pakistan may join the U.S.A camp and it was happened so.

However, the inaugural conference of the APPWA took place in Lahore in November 1949. The organization was comprised of intellectuals who advocated for the rights of the oppressed and fought against the ruling class. They also aimed to achieve independence, peace, and socialism.¹⁷³ The initial All Pakistan Conference of the Association, which took place in Lahore in November 1949, was also subject to a range of coercive measures.¹⁷⁴

State security apparatus unleashed to organizations due to publishing progressive papers against the policies of ruling elite. Early ruling elite backed by Anglo-American imperialist forces crushed several progressive intellectuals and their associations. For the state of Pakistan, the APPWA was building a specific political narrative which promoting communism and socialism. It was not acceptable for ruling oligarchy of Pakistan and their imperialist masters. 'Daily Jang' was one of the prominent newspapers which deliberately and regularly opposed socialism and leftists ideas in Pakistan.

3.7. State-Sponsored Liberal Intellectuals and Narrative building:

The counter narratives anti-communist liberal intellectuals became more active against Progressive broader narrative. For this purpose imperialist sponsored organization was began its activity under state patronage. By the 1950s, a Pakistani chapter of the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), which served as an organizational platform for liberal anti-communism supported by the CIA, was also active.¹⁷⁵ In 1956, the Pakistan branch of the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) was established. One of the main commitments of this organization was to emphasize "the positive role of religion in combating the atheistic principles of communism."

¹⁷² Ali, K. A. *Communists in a Muslim Land: Cultural Debates in Pakistan's Early Years*, p. 528.

¹⁷³ Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, p. 94.

¹⁷⁴ Toor, S. (2011). *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, p. 76.

¹⁷⁵ Toor, S. (2011). *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, p. 79.

It included prominent intellectuals who aimed to promote state-centric knowledge through the "spiritual force of Islam."¹⁷⁶ The organization collaborated with prominent intellectuals and artists from both East and West Pakistan, including A.K Brohi, Dr. Mahmud Hussain, Sir Mohammad Zafarullah Khan, Professor Abdus Salam, Professor M.M Sharif, among others. Additionally, it worked closely with well-established institutions such as the Universities of Karachi, Dacca, and Punjab.¹⁷⁷ They promoted religion as a dominant political narrative to counter the leftist ideas.

On the other hand, by the late 1940s, Mohammad Din Taseer, a distinguished literary figure and one of the founders of the Progressive Writers' Movement in the 1930s, had become one of its primary adversaries of All Progressive Writer's Associations.¹⁷⁸ "In a trenchant piece published in 1949, Taseer clearly states that although all progressives are not socialists, and all progressives are not traitors, all socialists are traitors to the cause of Pakistan."¹⁷⁹ According to Taseer, the progressives' loyalties lie with either the Soviet Union or India, and they aim to dismantle the new nation. Such statements in the early years of Pakistan contributed to the ruling elite's suspicion of any challenges to their power. It gave pretext to state to justify their oppression against leftists.

Hassan Askari, along with other notable figures such as poet N.M. Rashid and even Meeraji became affiliated with the modernist literary movement known as *jadediyat*.¹⁸⁰ According to Askari, the progressives were denying the full attainment of independence and did not see partition as the ultimate goal of the struggle. He argued that for progressives, the true end-point of the struggle would be the liberation of the masses through a proletarian revolution.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶ Raza, A. (2020). *Revolutionary Pasts: Communist Internationalism in Colonial India*, p. 251.

¹⁷⁷ Raza, A. (2019). *Dispatches from Havana: The Cold War, Afro-Asian, Solidarities, and Culture Wars in Pakistan*. *Journal of World History*, p. 234.

¹⁷⁸ Ali, K. A. *Communists in a Muslim Land: Cultural Debates in Pakistan's Early Years*.

¹⁷⁹ Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, p. 110.

¹⁸⁰ Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, p. 103.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, P. 109.

3.8. State Repression and Leftist Intellectuals:

Even the state repression was not only against the leadership of leftist political activists but was also being carried out against History and literature. Communist journals like *Sawera*, *Adab e Latif* or *Nakush* were constantly asked to stop publication disseminating anti-state literature.¹⁸² Mumtaz Hussain, a member of Progressive Writers in Karachi, and Anees Hashmi, a member of the organizing committee of the Karachi Trade Union Committee, arrested after revelation of Rawalpindi Conspiracy case. Mayor Karachi had ordered to detain them for six months.¹⁸³ *Daily Imroze*, *Pakistan Times* and several other newspapers had become the victim of these types of police searching. Another veteran journalist, editor of '*Evening Times*' Zia u din Sulehri was also arrested and tortured because he wrote for the favor of Bengali language. Sibte Hassan was a prominent member of the APPWA who was arrested on April 10, 1951 from Lahore. He was kept in in-famous Shahi Qila Lahore for about six months and later transferred to Lahore Jail. Because Sibte Hassan had communist ideas and his writings were disliked in powerful circles.¹⁸⁴

Literary and journalistic circle of APPWA had been challenging status quo through their critical approach which was not being tolerated by feudal political elite and Bureaucratic based reactionary government under the patronage of imperial forces. For the reactionary government of Muslim League, those who were opposing Muslim League means they were opposing Pakistan. Even these remarks stated by a Muslim League Minister of Health of East Bengal Mr. Habib ullah Bahar in a public rally. He urged Muslims to be united and cooperate with government and forbidden people not to be the part of temporary political parties because they wanted to dismantle the country.¹⁸⁵ Eventually, APPWA, announced to side its ways with political arena due to state repression. The second annual meeting of APPWA held July 1952 in

¹⁸² Asdar Ali, *Communists in a Muslim Land: Cultural Debates in Pakistan's Early Years*, p.528.

¹⁸³ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, May 12, 1951.

¹⁸⁴ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, January 29, 1954.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, January 14, 1951.

Karachi which was presided over by Maulvi Abdul Haq (Bab-e-Urdu). It clearly had been stated that, "the association is purely a literary community".¹⁸⁶

3.9. Conclusion:

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All Pakistan Trade Union Federation was associated with CPP. Due to its connectivity with Leftist political party it faced strong state counter narrative and oppression. Muslim League's feudal political oligarchy used Islam as tool to counter Leftist Labour organizations. Projecting state sponsored labour organization purpose was to counter leftist/communist dominancy in trade unions. It was also the demand of imperialist forces to counter leftist for foreign aid and assistance. Moreover, It was a major threat for ruling oligarchy that might took their ruling dominancy.

The Punjab and Sindh peasantry movement struggled for their land ownership and security of tenure but brutally oppressed by state sponsored landlords narrative. The struggle of Sindh Hari Committee and Punjab Kisan Committee was remarkable against feudal political elite who did not ready to give up their agrarian hegemony. By invoking Islam for the protection of their big estates and lands feudal political elite of Punjab and Sindh also led the foundation of Islamizing in every activity of the state.

Progressive literary movement, APPWA, was led by Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi played a crucial role in the early years of country. For narrative building and promoting leftist ideas it was one the profound platform. It was one intellectual organization to utilize and build leftist political narrative among masses. APPWA was promoting an egalitarian and democratic society without imperialist dominance. Moreover, it against the policies of Muslim League's feudal political oligarchy which was committed to imperialist agenda in Pakistan. For this purpose they initiated various magazines, journals and pamphlets. Due to its association with CCP and literary material, state sponsored anti-communist intellectuals targeted it. The major hurdle was which used as tool to curtail leftist intellectuals and their narrative. Moreover, some of division created opportunities for state apparatus to crush the association.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, July 14, 1952.

Chapter 04

Ethno-Nationalists and Regional Politics:

4. Introduction:

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The initial political struggle of Pakistan revolves around the state sponsored political narrative of one side and the struggle of regional (ethno-nationalists) progressive movements on the other side. Subordinate classes mostly represented by regional progressive forces of the province were demanding their rights of agricultural land, better wages and civil/political rights. The movement of Servants of God “Tehreek Khudai Khidmatgars” whose members were popularly called Red-Shirts *Surkh-Posh*. It was the unarmed and non-violent movement in N.W.F.P under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan *Bacha Khan*.

After partition Congress government was abolished by the Governor General of Pakistan and Muslim League’s government established. Before partition *Surkh-Posh* was the ally of Indian National Congress and opponent of establishment of Pakistan. Even though, they did not participate in the referendum. They were promoting regional autonomy and in the favor of establishing Pakhtunistan just like Sindh and Balochistan. Therefore, a trust deficit which was established between Muslim League and Khudai Khidmatgars movement even before partition remained as it was after independence, despite several efforts. Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan was a member of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and participated in the first Constituent Assembly and took the oath of allegiance to Pakistan. He stated that the doors of Muslim League should be opened for all Pakistanis, but the demand was rejected. Liaquat Ali Khan said that other parties can be formed for this.¹⁸⁷

However, on the other hand, East Pakistan faced numerous challenges right from its inception. Geographical and cultural differences between the two wings created a sense of alienation for the people of East Pakistan. Anti-Islam and anti-Urdu slogans were used to curtail progressive ethno-nationalists. The demand for political autonomy and representation started to gain momentum in East Pakistan.

¹⁸⁷*Daily Imroze Lahore*, April 1, 1952.

However, when progressive political leadership began to raise the question of democratic way of politics, disillusioned by ruling Muslim League, faced state persecution. The leadership of the Muslim League based in West Pakistan, which was predominantly non-Bengali, had control over the bureaucratic machinery of the government and the central administration.¹⁸⁸

Mian Iftakhar uddin, who was elected in the 1946 elections, resigned from his post stating that he was not given enough autonomy to carry out his ministerial responsibilities.¹⁸⁹ Maulana Abdul Hameed Bhashani, Shams ul Haq, Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, G.M Syed was disillusioned by reactionary Muslim League party and formed separate political parties. Moreover, Mian Iftakhar uddin's Azad Pakistan Party took the lead in the West Pakistan, by inviting several regional and nationalist groups to establish a new political party. The party was against the centralizing tendencies of the Pakistan's ruling elite and advocated for anti-imperialist and pro-worker policies.¹⁹⁰ It was second pro-leftist political party and had strong support in Punjab.

4.1. Khudai Khidmatgars and Broader State Narrative:

Khan Abdul Ghafar khan attended Assembly session in March 1948 and reiterated his allegiance to Pakistan. In his visit to Karachi Bacha Khan successfully held his talks with Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah but these talks were spoiled by provincial Muslim League leadership.¹⁹¹ Ghafar khan along with G. M Syed and Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai formed 'Pakistan People's Party' on May 8, 1948. Crack down started on Khudai Khidmatgars right after formation of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan's government in N.W.F.P.

After few months Ghafar khan arrested by state security apparatus along with Qazi Atta Ullah, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai and his son Abdul Wali khan. CID argued that Ghafar khan's

¹⁸⁸ Umar, B. (2004). *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Class Struggle in East Pakistan (1947-1958)*. P 15.

¹⁸⁹ Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, Bloomsbury, pp. 81. Also see, Sadia Toor, (2011). *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, p.32.

¹⁹⁰ Ali, K. A. (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, p. 154.

¹⁹¹ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, P. 139.

speeches were anti-state. Kohat district Magistrate sentenced Khan for three years imprisonment on the charges of sedition. However, Khudai Khidmatgars held a significant protest in Babra, a village of Charsada, for the release of their workers and senior leadership. Qayyum government dispersed them with heavy firing. It was reported that 600 were killed on 12 August 1948. From that incident the relationship between Muslim League and Surkh-Posh deteriorated.¹⁹² The massacre justified by state that they were anti-Pakistan and wanted to establish greater Pakhtunistan.¹⁹³

Malik Rehman Kayani, General Secretary of Frontier Province, Muslim League, gave a statement that Surkh-Posh leader Abdul Ghaffar Khan never gave evidence of loyalty to Pakistan. Even after the independence of Pakistan, they continued to oppose and no such proof was given even from the jail.¹⁹⁴ The state narrative was built by apparatus to justify repression and to curtail regionalism.

However, state persecution was same on leftist and ethno-nationalist brought them one page to make alliance against ruling oligarchy. In Central Assembly Mian Iftakhar uddin stated that Khan had affirmed his allegiance to Pakistan on the floor of this house four years ago and had given written assurance of loyalty to Quaid-e-Azam.¹⁹⁵ Leader of Islam League Maulana Fazal Hussain also demanded the immediate release of Bacha Khan, Latif Afghani and Hassan Nasir.¹⁹⁶ On the other hand, Qazi Attaullah, a lawyer, writer and veteran leader of Khudai Khidmatgars spent three and half years in jail. His health was deteriorated too much. But government officials denied for his treatment multiple times. Later on, he admitted in Mayo Hospital Lahore but died there on February 1952.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹² *BBC Urdu*, 6 August 2023. *The Express Tribune*, Rustam Shah, August 14, 2019.

¹⁹³ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, P. 140.

¹⁹⁴ *Daily Jang Karachi*, June 27, 1952.

¹⁹⁵ *Daily Dawn Karachi*, March 28, 1952.

¹⁹⁶ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, September 8, 1952.

¹⁹⁷ *Daily Jang Karachi*, February 13, 1952.

Syed Ashiq Shah, the veteran leader of the Khudai Khidmatgars who had been the jail companion of Ghafar Khan gave a public statement, that it was true that before the partition, the Khudai Khidmatgars did not consider the partition of subcontinent, but now that Pakistan had been come into existence. Those who did not consider it would be foolish. Dr. Khan Sahib and his companions also took the oath of allegiance to Pakistan on the occasion of the flag salutation ceremony on 15 August 1949. But Sir George Cunningham, the former Governor of the Frontier Province, dissuaded him from doing so and said that he was afraid the people would be outraged against him and that I could not take responsibility for his safety. Dr Sahib never objected to swearing allegiance to Pakistan.¹⁹⁸

Nevertheless, in January 1954 Ghafar Khan got released, however, this development came after Nehru-Bogra talks in London in June 1953. Moreover, internal divisions within Muslim League party, pave the way for Bacha Khan. Standing in Parliament on July 24, 1954 Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan reiterated his loyalty to Pakistan and said, "We are not anti-Pakistan. We had a compromise with the Quaid-i-Azam, but the British Governor thwarted it."¹⁹⁹ Bacha Khan visited major cities of the Punjab to develop the narrative among masses. State propagated against Khudai Khidmatgars; therefore, it was imperative for Surkh-Posh leadership to reiterate their political narrative. Wherever he appeared, he was greeted by large numbers of people and chanted "Badshah Khan Zindabad".²⁰⁰

Besides this, other regional political parties had also been persecuted by state apparatus. Jinnah Awami League of N.W.F.P's provincial leadership was either in jail or exile. Provincial president of party Peer of Maanki Shareef detained under FCR.²⁰¹ After one unit Dr. Khan Sahib became the Chief Minister of West Pakistan, he accused Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai in a press conference that he and some of his colleagues were hands with Afghanistan to sabotage Pakistan.²⁰² This pretext gave another opportunity to state apparatus to crush them hard. Internal

¹⁹⁸ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, June 14, 1952.

¹⁹⁹ *Daily Jang Karachi*, July 26, 1954.

²⁰⁰ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, January 7, 1954.

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, March 10, 1953.

²⁰² *Ibid*, July 20, 1955.

political division between Pakhtuns gave more strength to state political narrative which remained dominates.

Page | 68 However, it was a passive revolution for ruling oligarchy of Muslim League to maintain their hegemony on people. For Gramsci, in passive revolution ruling class maintain hegemony in two ways either to form a fascist dictatorship or to build capital economic system. In these two ways ruling class maintain its status quo.²⁰³ But, in case of N.W.F.P ruling class went on to the first way under the despotic government of Qayyum Khan. Apparently, it was democratically elected government of Muslim League. But, atrocities of the government over Khudai Khidmatgars and other dissident illustrated the dictatorship of ruling oligarchy.

On the other hand, Hafiz Habibullah Khan West Pakistan Muslim League Assembly Party stated that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was propagating Pakhtunistan under the patronage of his brother Dr. Khan Sahib.²⁰⁴ After that, Bacha khan was arrested on the charges of spreading hatred against the government, participating in activities against the integrity of the country.²⁰⁵ The West Pakistan government banned the Surkh-Posh movement in all provinces, by claiming that Public order was threatened.²⁰⁶ Khudai Khidmatgars movement came to its end by broader state political narrative. However, Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan made a new start with 'National Awami Party' in 1957.

4.2. Language Movement of East Bengal and State Repression:

The language movement of 1952 played a pivotal role in asserting Bengali as an official language and asserting the cultural identity of the Bengali-speaking people. The Awami Muslim League, led by Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy and Maulana Bhashani, emerged as a prominent

²⁰³ Fusaro, L. Xidias, J, Fabry, A. (2017). *An Analysis of Antonio Gramsci's Prison Notebooks*, Macat Library London, p 40-41.

²⁰⁴ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, November 12, 1955.

²⁰⁵ *Daily Jang Karachi*, April 11, 1956.

²⁰⁶ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, June 18, 1956. Also see, *Daily Jang Karachi*, July 9, 1956.

political force in East Pakistan during this period.²⁰⁷ There was a significant economic disparity between East and West Pakistan, with West Pakistan holding administrative dominance in terms of socio-economic and political aspects. Jute, being a major resource, played a crucial role in the economy of East Pakistan.²⁰⁸

Ruling Muslim League tried to build a strong political narrative to deny the linguistic, political and economic rights of the people of Bengal. The narrative was built through different means one of the major source was print media. East Pakistan Muslim Student League formed in January 1948 by Sheikh Mujib al-Rehman for the struggle of Bengali language. However, young Bengali students were mobilized for their language right. There was a demonstration in Dhaka on March 11, 1948. Meanwhile, clash took place between police and demonstrators, consequently fifty students injured by police firing and *Lathi* charge.²⁰⁹ It was one of the infamous acts of state brutality against young students and even Quaid-i-Azam had to come to Dhaka to address young Bengalis.

Quaid-i-Azam travelled to Dhaka to make sure people of Bengal about national language. There he stated following sentences quoted by Sadia Toor.

Let me make it very clear to you that the state language is going to be Urdu and no other language. Anyone who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one state language, no nation can remain tied up solidly together and function. Look at the history of other countries. Therefore, so far as the state language is concerned, language shall be Urdu. Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Speech at Dhaka, March 21, 1948)²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, PP. 164-168.

²⁰⁸ M. Ali Raza. (1967). *Alternatives in Pakistan Trade Union Developments and Ideologies*, The Journal of Developing Areas, 1(3), 340-341.

²⁰⁹ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, PP. 166-167.

²¹⁰ Sadia Toor (2011). *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, Pluto Press, p 36.

This acerbated the situation and created more resentment among the people of East Bengal. But, nationalist leadership and young Bengali students continued their struggle for regional identity. One of the unfortunate incidents took place in Dhaka University. On 16 February 1949, Muslim League students began beating those students who were holding a meeting in Dhaka University. This was another blow for the state which was unleashed young Muslim League students against dissidents even in one of the major national institute. Despite constituting approximately 54 percent of the population, the Bengali community in Pakistan was denied their language rights by the state.²¹¹

However, disillusionment, for Bengali nationalists that led the formation of Awami Muslim League which later on, became more secular as Awami League. Tangail constituency of East Bengal proved a major blow back for Muslim League. However, Following Maulana Bhashani's victory over Khurram Khan Pani, a landlord candidate from the Muslim League, in the Tangail constituency of the Maymenshingh district, the provincial governor declared the seat as illegal and cancelled it. Muslim League governor by giving favor to permitted Khurram Khan Pani to contest again in 1949. In response, the dissident former Muslim League members fielded Shams Haq as an independent candidate, who emerged victorious in the Tangail by-election. Again Shams ul Haq's seat was repealed by Tribunal Act.²¹²

Sadia Toor stated, 'East Bengal was confronted with two conflicting narratives. One depicted the region as a breeding ground for seditious individuals, such as Hindus and Communists, who were intent on undermining Pakistan. The other narrative projected East Bengal's culture as being too influenced by Hinduism and not Pakistani enough. Together, these narratives eroded East Bengal's demands for equal representation in the nation-state'.²¹³

²¹¹ M. Ali Raza. (1967). *Alternatives in Pakistan Trade Union Developments and Ideologies*, The Journal of Developing Areas, 1(3), p 341.

²¹² Umar, B. (2004). *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Class Struggle in East Pakistan (1947-1958)*. PP, 97-98.

²¹³ Sadia Toor (2011). *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, p 19.

Interim Report of Basic Principles Committee of 1950 also recommended the Urdu would be only official language of Pakistan.²¹⁴ This triggered riot which erupted in 1951 in Dhaka and Provincialism and Communism were held responsible.²¹⁵ However, major incident took place in February 21, 1952 there was a demonstration in Dhaka. Police opened fire and killed several students which later called un-famous Ekushey tragedy.²¹⁶ The Language Controversy was a "useful crisis" for the central government, as it provided the justification needed to enhance the extra-judicial powers of the executive, which led to the passage of security ordinances and bills.²¹⁷ The coercive measures were taken against Bengali-nationalists through legal state apparatus. Public safety act and other draconian laws were passed to detain nationalists.

When the Prime Minister of Pakistan Nazimuddin announced that "Urdu will be the national language of Pakistan", there was a strong protest at Dhaka University. According to '*Daily Jang*': its headline was something like that, "Hooliganism of Dhaka University students against Pakistan's national language, Urdu".

Although, the students were protesting for their demands: but '*Daily Jang News*' gave it a different color by terming it as anti-Urdu. According to the students, an agreement was reached in 1948 according to which Bengali would also be given the status of an official language.²¹⁸ It can be analyzed that how '*Daily Jang*' propagated against the Bengali language to build a more religious and dominated narrative to form a state only for Muslim League. For Muslim League's ruling oligarchy, only Islam was a source which could bind the nation and provide a hegemonic narrative. The Islam was a binding force for ruling oligarchy. It took the religion as the source of hegemony. Bengali language, culture and history were libeled as Hindus and this narrative propagated by media of West Pakistan particularly '*Daily Jang*'.

²¹⁴ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, P. 170.

²¹⁵ Anushay Malik. *Alternative politics and dominant narratives: communists and the Pakistani state in the early 1950's*, p 524.

²¹⁶ Sadia Toor, *the State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, p 18.

²¹⁷ Ibid, p. 42

²¹⁸ *Daily Jang Karachi*, February 1, 1952.

On the other hand, The Muslim League perceived the State Language Action Committee's demands, which were formed in October 1947, as a threat to the unified concept of the nation.²¹⁹ The Muslim League made every effort to limit East Bengal's autonomy and prevent it from obtaining its rightful representation in the nation-state, both symbolically (within the imagined community) and practically (in terms of political representation, recruitment to bureaucracy, military and economic resources). However, the Muslim League's legitimacy was lost following independence.²²⁰ The father of Urdu Maulvi Abdul Haq stated that "the issue of language could not be decided by votes, apart from Urdu, there is no other language that is capable of becoming the official language of Pakistan."²²¹ Moreover, '*Daily Jang*' narrated;

Prime Minister of Pakistan Khawaja Nazimuddin had begun a campaign against provincialism. Prime Minister's campaign was expressed in East Bengal last few days, where he challenged the provincialism of some communist youth with great courage and said that the official language will be only and only Urdu. Moreover, he stated that, the Communists of East Bengal began this movement immediately after the establishment of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan had also to fought with this movement. For the survival of Pakistan, it is necessary to follow the same policies that were made by the Quaid-i-Azam and the Quaid-i-Millat.²²²

On February 20, 1952, an article titled "Fitna" 'riot' was published in the '*Daily Jang*' Karachi. In which arguments were presented against Bengali language.

Awami League leader Maulana Bhashani then reiterated Bengali as the official language and not only that but said that Urdu is a foreign language. Pushing Urdu on Bengal will stop the development of Bengal. If this is the obsession with non-ownership, then tomorrow a demand will be made to expel Islam as a foreign religion and the Quran as a foreign book.

If Urdu is a foreign language for East Bengal, then similarly Pashto, Sindhi, Punjabi and Balochi languages are also foreign languages, then all these languages should also be declared official

²¹⁹ Sadia Toor, *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, p 31.

²²⁰ Toor, S. (2011). *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*. P. 25.

²²¹ *Daily Jang Karachi*, March 21, 1952.

²²² *Ibid*, February 6, 1952.

languages. Bengali and Hindi languages are closely related to each other and the fact is that both languages are descendants of Sanskrit. Bengalis want to impose Hindi on Pakistan through the back doors.²²³

Page | 73 Unexpectedly, the Bengali language movement gained even more momentum in February 1952. Instead of heeding the demands of Bengal, Pakistan's ruling elite resorted to employing religious slogans as a means to counter the Bengali language movement. The slogans of 'Islamic ideology' and 'Islamic identity' were used as a response to the language movement in Bengal.²²⁴ Islam became a counter state narrative in response of Bengali language movement. However, this movement gave a tremendous momentum in order to mobilization of people. Students, political workers and peasants were struggling for their language right. The source of narrative building for Bengali nationalist was language issue. It gained the consent of people for a hegemonic narrative in East-Bengal.

Another article titled "Sazish" Conspiracy published by *Daily Jang Karachi* that "the recent riots in East Bengal are the result of a conspiracy which Communists and foreign agents did it. But only a few communists could not do that which paralyzed the government missionary for three days. The people of East Bengal have strong feelings on the Bangla question. In a speech in Pakistan Constituent Assembly, Noor Al Ameen had even said that "the palace of West Pakistan cannot be built on the corpses of East Pakistan."²²⁵

Dhaka University, a hotbed of sedition and corruption, has been closed indefinitely. Students who have become victims of Pakistan's enemies have been ordered to leave their respective hostels immediately." On the other hand, the students threatened the government with an ultimatum, a general strike and celebrating Martyrs' Day. Hameed-ul-Haq Choudhary and Editor of Pakistan Observer Dhaka Abdul Salam were also arrested.²²⁶

²²³ Ibid, February 20, 1952.

²²⁴ Hamza Alavi, *Social Forces and Ideology in the Making of Pakistan*, p. 5119.

²²⁵ *Daily Jang Karachi* February 28, 1952.

²²⁶ Ibid, March 1, 1952.

For Muslim League's ruling oligarchy, the real purpose behind the language movement to make Bangla the official language was to establish a communist dictatorship over Pakistan. The provincialism movement of communist subversives was as dangerous to Pakistan as communism.²²⁷ Leftists of East Pakistan were supporting the social, political and economic rights of the people of Bengal. Therefore, Muslim League's ruling oligarchy feared by communists. Even, they narrated that communists were not Pakistani and they were anti-Islam. However, addressing a rally in Bahawalpur, East Bengal's Minister for Settlement Mufizuddin said that "communists do not believe in the existence of God and we should avoid communism. We will destroy them on our land".²²⁸

On 26 April 1952, the *Daily Jang* again accused the Communists of a so-called conspiracy. The newspaper's headlines in big letters:

Another Communist Plot to Overthrow Pakistan Govt Revealed, Subversives to Launch Violent Campaign in East Bengal. In East Bengal it was the communists who created riots by instigating the language issue. There is a cadre of subversive communists who mislead the youth.²²⁹ A communist victory in East Pakistan would mean a communist victory in the whole of Pakistan. Communists will change the ideology of all Pakistan.²³⁰

For the ruling elite of Pakistan, Bengali language literature was very disappointing. Bengali language literature deemed to be ninety-five percent Hindu and thus Bengali literature represented Hindu culture, civilization and society. In such a situation, it was a very difficult problem to adapt it to Islamic patterns. Second, Urdu was being pushed out of India because it was the language of Muslims and efforts were being made to make Bengali the national language because it was the language of Hindus.²³¹ *Daily Jang* was propagating Bengalis over constitution by saying, "Conspiracy of Hindu Congress, Awami League and Communists to deprive Pakistan

²²⁷ Daily Jang Karachi, March 27, 1952.

²²⁸ Ibid, March 13, 1952.

²²⁹ Ibid, April 26, 1952.

²³⁰ Ibid, March 10, 1952.

²³¹ Ibid, March 13, 1952.

from Islamic Constitution; Strong movement of Islamist youth needed to destroy anti-Pakistan elements in Dhaka."²³²

Page | 75 Editor of the *Evening Times*, Sulehri, who spoke in favor of Bengali Language, was arrested under the non-bailable warrant of the District Magistrate Karachi. He had been charged under sections 124A and 153A of the Pakistan Penal Code (inciting people to rebellion against the state and spreading hatred between two communities).²³³ Eventually, Bengali language set to be the second official language was accepted. However, when the Constituent Assembly gave Bengali the status of the national language, the *Daily Jang Karachi* called this move shameful and a betrayal of the ideology of the Quaid-i-Azam and the country of Pakistan.²³⁴

4.3. Political Terrain of East Pakistan:

A new turn came in the political landscape of East Bengal when United Front defeated PML in the provincial elections of East Bengal in March 1954. Fatima Jinnah's speeches could not bear fruit for PML in Bengali majority province.²³⁵ United Front secured 223 out of 237 Muslim seats, which caused a state of panic within the ruling Muslim League. Fazl ul Haq was appointed as the new Chief Minister of East Bengal.²³⁶ The United Front government was dismissed; Governor Rule was imposed.²³⁷ Election took place on 8 March; it was hardly survived two months. Major General Sikandar Mirza was the Governor of East Bengal he had also stated that the Governor's rule would not be lasted one day more than necessary.²³⁸

After election, in April 1954 violent clash erupted between Bengali laborers and Non-Bengali staff of Chandragona Paper Mills, resultantly twenty five persons killed including Manager

²³² Ibid, January 13, 1956.

²³³ *Daily Jang Karachi*, January 1, 1953.

²³⁴ Ibid, January 3, 1956.

²³⁵ Aziz, K. K. (2007). *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*. Sang-e-Meel Publication, Lahore, P. 16.

²³⁶ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, April 4, 1954.

²³⁷ Ibid, 4 June 1954

²³⁸ Ibid, June 4, 1954.

Khurshid Ali.²³⁹ Moreover, differences erupted within the ranks of United Front in East Pakistan. East Pakistan Awami Muslim League parted its way from U.F coalition. U.F Minister Ashraf al-Din stated that the Communists had become quite a problem.²⁴⁰ Another, serious riot out broke between Bengali and Non-Bengalis at Adamjee Jute Mill near Dhaka where five hundred persons were killed.²⁴¹ It has been mentioned in chapter two as well. Prior to this, Fazl al-Haq alleged interview with *New Year Time* in which he stated about independence of East Pakistan. Therefore, Governor East Bengal Sikandar Mirza imposed Governor Rule on 29 May 1954.²⁴²

When, the government of 'United Front' was restored in East Bengal, while 'Awami League' had separated itself from the government, reason was that U.F made coalition government with Muslim League in center.²⁴³ In West Pakistan Dr. Khan Sahib became Chief Minister with by Muslim League Party.

After a long political upheaval and negotiation the government of Abu Hussain Sarkar (United Front) had been restored in the first week of June 1955.²⁴⁴ Unfortunately, Sarkar could not uphold his ministry and another crisis happened when Kirshak Sramik Party had lost the trust of allies within United Front ranks in such a situation; Abu Hassain Sarkar resigned on 30 August 1956.²⁴⁵ On the other hand, Awami League's Atta Rahman established a new ministry on September 1, 1956.²⁴⁶ A Group separated way with H.S Suhrawardy, Maulana Bhashani,

²³⁹ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, PP. 200.

²⁴⁰ Ibid, P. 201.

²⁴¹ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, PP. 205.

²⁴² Ibid, PP. 206-207.

²⁴³ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, January 5, 1956.

²⁴⁴ *Daily Jang Karachi*, 3 June 1956.

²⁴⁵ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, PP. 307.

²⁴⁶ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, September 4, 1956.

resigned and 40 assembly members along with him threatened to leave the party, who later formed the National Awami Party.²⁴⁷ During his tenure as Prime Minister of Pakistan from September 1956 to October 1957, Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy did not take firm stance against the Anglo-French bloc during the Suez Canal crisis in 1956.²⁴⁸

Another, major issue which created deadlock until the martial law of Ayub Khan when the East Pakistan Assembly passed the resolution of joint electorate, '*Daily Jang Karachi*' had ported this in following sentences.

The East Bengal Assembly stabbed Pakistan in the stomach. The rebels of Islam voted in favor of Joint Electorate. The Awami League will change the Islamic constitution. East Pakistan Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rehman challenged 'Millat Islamia' Pakistan. The success of anti-Islamic elements in East Pakistan has created a new threat for Pakistan.²⁴⁹

However, In East Pakistan, on March 31, 1958, Governor East Pakistan Fazl ul Haq dismissed the ministry of Atta Ur Rehman of Awami League and invited Abu Hassain Sarkar of Kirshak Sramik Party to form the ministry. Consequently, President of Pakistan sacked Fazl ul Haq and appointed Chief Secretary Hamid Ali as Acting Governor of East Pakistan. Ten hours later, the Acting Governor had also sacked Abu Hussain Sarkar of Kirshak Sramik Party.

Moreover, On June 23, 1958, Abu Hussain Sarkar submitted his resignation of his three-day government to the Governor after being defeated by 14 votes. Later, Presidential rule was established in East Pakistan for two months.²⁵⁰ After some time, Atta u Rehman was again sworn in as the Chief Minister of East Pakistan.²⁵¹ The restored ministry of Atta Ur Rehman stated that

²⁴⁷ Ibid, July 20 1956.

²⁴⁸ Ibid, March, 22, 1957.

²⁴⁹ *Daily Jang Karachi*, October 3, 1956.

²⁵⁰ Ibid, June 25, 1958.

²⁵¹ Ibid, August 27, 1958.

secured 182 members.²⁵² This crisis was happened once National Awami Party declared its support to Kirshak Sramik Party while citing that their demands were accepted by that party.²⁵³

Moreover, the situation in the East Pakistan Assembly became tenses on September 27, 1958 when More than four hundred hooligans stormed the Speaker's room.²⁵⁴ As a result of this riot, the Deputy Speaker Shahid Ali died in Hospital and the Speaker filed a case against the government.²⁵⁵ Post-Independence Muslim *Jotedars* (Landlords) and *Mahajans* (Moneylenders) replaced Hindu landed gentry and moneylenders in East Bengal.²⁵⁶

4.4. Political Terrain of West Pakistan:

'One Unit' bill passed from Central Assembly on September 1955, in which 13 members' casted vote against the bill and 43 casted in the favor of the bill.²⁵⁷ Before, this all three legislative assemblies of West Pakistan had passed the respective bill in the favor of 'One Unit'. On October 14, 1955, one unit officially formed.²⁵⁸ Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani became Governor of West Pakistan. Then, West Pakistan Chief Minister Dr. Khan sahib took oath along with his 7 member cabinet.²⁵⁹ However, senior leadership of Muslim League was not happy with Dr. Khan sahib because he was pro-Congress before partition.²⁶⁰ Malik Rizwan mentioned in his thesis-cum-book about Two "Secret Documents" maneuvering for 'One Unit' scheme. According to

²⁵² Ibid, April 1, 1958.

²⁵³ Haidar, J. S. (2007). Pakistan Republican Party, *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. XXII, p. 104.

²⁵⁴ *Daily Jang Karachi*, September 24, 1958.

²⁵⁵ Ibid. September 27, 1958.

²⁵⁶ Umar B. (2004). *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Class Struggle in East Pakistan (1947-1958)*, p. 15.

²⁵⁷ Rizwan, M. (1988). *The Politics of One Unit 1955-58*. Pakistan Study Center University of The Punjab, Quaid-i-Azam Campus, Lahore, P. 64.

²⁵⁸ Aziz, K. K. (2007). *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*. Sang-e-Meel Publication, Lahore, P. 32.

²⁵⁹ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, October 16, 1955.

²⁶⁰ Haidar, S. J. (2007). Pakistan Republican Party, *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. XXII, p. 88.

him, the master mind behind these documents was Mian Mumtaz Daulatana which was written in second half of 1954.²⁶¹

When the Central Assembly passed the resolutions in favor of 'One Unit Scheme' meanwhile Pakistan Embassy in Kabul and Consulate in Jalalabad came under attack by mob in September 1955.²⁶² However, it was a reaction from Pashtun built. But, later on, matter was resolved diplomatically. Differences between Muslim League and Dr. Khan Sahib deteriorated when Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar became the President of PML. He tried to revive the party. Along with other members of PML he wanted a Muslim League Chief Minister in West Pakistan because PML had majority in Assembly.

PML members of Assembly chose Sardar Bahadur Khan as their Parliamentary leader and put his bit for Chief Minister-ship. Sardar Bahadur Khan wrote letter to Governor to convene Assembly session in which majority should have given the right to form ministry²⁶³ but it was delayed by nexus of Governor Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani, President Sikandar Mirza and Prime Minister Ch. Muhammad Ali which gave time to Dr. Khan Sahib to form his own political party. On the other hand, those members of PML who were in Dr. Khan Sahib's cabinet threaten by PML President who clearly stated that those who are in the cabinet of Dr. Khan Sahib either to leave cabinet or to be ready for expulsion from PML.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ Rizwan, M. (1988). *The Politics of One Unit 1955-58*. Pakistan Study Center University of The Punjab, Quaid-i-Azam Campus, Lahore, PP. 41-47.

²⁶² Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, PP. 261.

²⁶³ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, PP. 296-298.

²⁶⁴ Rizwan, M. (1988). *The Politics of One Unit 1955-58*. Pakistan Study Center University of The Punjab, Quaid-i-Azam Campus, Lahore, PP. 70-73.

Consequently, Khan Sahib formed 'One Unit Party' with sole objective to promote and defend one unit scheme.²⁶⁵ However, later on, he transformed it with Pakistan Republican Party under the state patronage.²⁶⁶ Indeed, Sikandar Mirza had feared that he would not be able to hold the presidency of the country, if Muslim League's government formed in West Pakistan.²⁶⁷

The Prime Minister Ch. Muhammad Ali himself was in danger that he may lose his portfolio, because provincial and central assembly members were joining Dr. Khan Sahib's party.²⁶⁸ Moreover, former Chief Minister of N.W.F.P Sardar Abdul Rasheed, former Punjab Chief Minister of Punjab Malik Feroz Khan Noon joined Dr. Khan Sahib's party, differences over 'One Unit' policy.²⁶⁹ However, on the other hand, the 160-member assembly of the Western Assembly unanimously elected Dr. Khan as the leader of the Republican Party and Mir Ali Bakhsh Talpur as the party's secretary general.²⁷⁰

A dramatic twist, which took place on May 2, 1956 after a bitter contest between the Muslim League and the Republican Party for the election of the Speaker of the Western Assembly, Republican Party candidate Fazal Elahi got 148 votes and his opponent Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur also got 148 votes. The acting Speaker Mirza Mumtaz Hassan Qazalbash used his casting vote to give the victory to the Republican Party.²⁷¹ Muslim League filed a case against Assembly's misconduct, but, Later on, ironically, former Chief Minister of Sindh Abdussattar Pirzada also joined the Republican Party from courtroom. In morning he was entered as a member of Muslim League and exited in evening as the member of PRP.²⁷²

²⁶⁵ Ibid. PP. 87-88. See Aziz, K. k (2007). *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*. P. 33.

²⁶⁶ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, April 25, 1956.

²⁶⁷ Ibid, April 8, 1956.

²⁶⁸ *Daily Jang Karachi*, April 25, 1956.

²⁶⁹ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, May 7, 1956. *Daily Imroze Lahore*, May 22, 1956.

²⁷⁰ Ibid, May 20, 1956.

²⁷¹ Ibid, May 21, 1956.

²⁷² Haidar, S. J. (2007). Pakistan Republican Party, *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. XXII, p. 91.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan invited six parties to form a strong opposition in West Pakistan against ruling oligarchy. Among them were Peoples Front (Awami Mahaz)' leader G.M Syed, Sindh Hari Committee's Haider Bakhsh Jatui, Azad Pakistan Party of Mian Ifakhar uddin, Pashtun leader Abdul Samad Achakzai formed Pakistan National Party.²⁷³ Later on, this party converted to became National Awami Party with the inclusion of Maulana Bhashani group.

Prime Minister Ch. Muhammad Ali was supporting the Dr. Khan Sahib's government in West Pakistan. PML made an agreement with G. M Syed group to oust ministry of Dr. Khan. On the other hand, G. M Syed Group wanted to expel 'One Unit'. Prime Minister had asked to sack Governor Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani but Prime Minister Ch. Muhammad Ali tried to solve matter diplomatically, two of prominent ministers I. I Chundrigar and Peer Ali Muhammad Rashdi from his cabinet resigned. Ch. Muhammad Ali compelled to resign on September 8, 1956.²⁷⁴

However, over the issue of 'One Unit', a no confidence motion was moved by Muslim League Party in West Pakistan Assembly against Dr. Khan Sahib with support of G. M Syed group on January 2, 1957, which remained unsuccessful because speaker adjourned Assembly. Muslim League and PNP alliance had become serious threat for PRP. PRP faced a major blow in March 1957 when it lost the confidence of its thirty members of the party.²⁷⁵ Situation became worse and Governor Rule was imposed in West Pakistan on March 21, 1957.²⁷⁶

The political differences between Dr. Khan Sahib and Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani erupted. Later, President Sikandar Mirza invited both to Karachi for high-level talks.²⁷⁷ After the negotiations, the President of Pakistan Sikandar Mirza issued a decree to restore the government of the

²⁷³ *Daily Jang Karachi*, August 27, 1956.

²⁷⁴ Aziz, K. K. (2007). *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*. Sang-e-Meel Publication, Lahore, P. 35.

²⁷⁵ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, PP. 333.

²⁷⁶ Haidar, S. J. (2007). Pakistan Republican Party, *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. XXII, p. 96-97.

²⁷⁷ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, March 29, 1957.

Republican Party. PRP made an agreement with NAP to repeal 'One Unit' and NAP assured her complete support in West Pakistan Assembly.²⁷⁸

Page | 82 But Dr. Khan Sahib resigned because his election was declared null and void and the new leader Sardar Abdul Rasheed would be the Chief Minister of West on July 19, 1957. It was compulsory for Abdul Rasheed to obtain vote of confidence within two months.²⁷⁹ On this condition the ministry of the Republican Party was restored in July 1957.²⁸⁰ On the other hand, Dr. Khan Sahib made agreement with NAP on the condition of removal of 'One Unit'. Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri moved motion in Assembly on 14 September 1957 which passed.²⁸¹

Moreover, the Republican Party expelled Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani as the Governor of West Pakistan because he was secretly making alliance with Prime Minister Suhrawardy who lost the confidence of PRP in central government. Akhtar Hussain, former defense secretary appointed as the new Governor of West Pakistan. Dr. Khan Sahib threatened to create a crisis in the central assembly.²⁸² On the other hand, the NAP in the center and West Pakistan stood with the Republican Party which promised to break up the one unit.²⁸³

In such a situation, the Chief Minister of West Pakistan Sardar Abdul Rasheed resigned.²⁸⁴ The very next day Muzaffar Ali Qazalbash of the Republican Party was sworn in as the Chief Minister of West Pakistan. After 'One Unit' this was the third chief Minister of West Pakistan.²⁸⁵

²⁷⁸ Aziz, K. K. (2007). *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*. Sang-e-Meel Publication, Lahore, PP. 38-39.

²⁷⁹ Rizwan, M. (1988). *The Politics of One Unit 1955-58*. Pakistan Study Center University of The Punjab, Quaid-i-Azam Campus, Lahore, P. 89.

²⁸⁰ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, July 16, 1957.

²⁸¹ Rizwan, M. (1988). *The Politics of One Unit 1955-58*. Pakistan Study Center University of The Punjab, Quaid-i-Azam Campus, Lahore, P. 91-92.

²⁸² *Daily Imroze Lahore*, August 28, 1957.

²⁸³ *Daily Jang Karachi*, January 2, 1958.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*, March 19, 1958.

4.5. Conclusion:

The regional political and social movements built a political narrative against ruling oligarchy but could not achieve much success. Due to dominate state political narrative and coercive actions over people could not go through the avenues of change. However, it brought more close the Leftist political activism with regional politics. Trust deficit and regionalism pushed Khudai Khidmatgars movement to its end. Muslim League with support and assistance of state apparatus successfully propagated against regional political parties and built a broader political state narrative. Islam was used as a tool to maintain hegemony in Pakistan's society. People was either feared by state security apparatus or economically manipulated by ruling oligarchy. The internal division between regional and leftist political parties played a negative role in building a broader political narrative among masses.

The fight for power and throne sidelined masses of the country. Political upheaval in East and West Pakistan revealed bitter reality of our feudal elite politicians and state apparatus. The Civil-Military bureaucracy played negative role in formative years of country. Appetite for power, ruling oligarchy had been changing political loyalties within night. None of the political party followed constitution and democratic principles. Early, political landscape of the country was all about the game of throne.

However, the East Pakistan geographically, culturally and linguistically was far away from West Pakistan. The religion was only binding force between them. When Bengali nationalist demanded for their fair rights within the confinement of Pakistani state, it was denied by ruling oligarchy of Muslim League. For this purpose, objective resolution invoked to curtail regionalism. Moreover, because Bengali nationalists and leftist/communists of East Pakistan were on the same page against Muslim League, therefore, it paved another hurdle for the people of Bengal.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, March 20, 1958.

Chapter 05

State of Pakistan and Manipulation of Islam:

5. Introduction:

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Pakistan had been independent from British Raj. Millions of workers, laborers, peasants, farmers and progressive political activists were envisioning thousands of dreams in their eyes, seeing the beloved country through the lens of their liberty. "Muslim peasants, workers and middle class people taught to visualize Pakistan as a Dreamland, where milk and honey would flow".²⁸⁶ However, their dreams could not come true due to interest based politics of the ruling oligarchy.

The early ruling elite of the state of the Pakistan comprised of Feudal elite politicians, bureaucracy and military. These three institutions nexus with western imperialist forces rule over the country according to their own interests. For creating a hegemonic political narrative on the basis of Islam, ruling oligarchy manipulated religion and the masses of Pakistan. Many of leftist and progressive regional political figures separate their ways from Muslim league and started democratic way of politics.

However, Hamza Alavi says, "At the time when it was created, Pakistan's problem was not that of religious but, rather, that was the feudal domination".²⁸⁷ The ruling oligarchy embroiled the people of Pakistan in a complex religious narrative to cover up feudal domination. The religion was one of the major tools for them to maintain feudal hegemony. Under the guise of Islam feudal ruling oligarchy uphold their hegemonic system of government.

5.1. Central Government and Political Upheaval:

After the assassination of Prime Minister Liaquat Khan on 16 October 1951, new leadership emerged in the political landscape of the country. Khawaja Nazim uddin was sworn in as the

²⁸⁶ Umar, B. (2004). *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Class Struggle in East Pakistan (1947-1958)*, Oxford Press, P. 15.

²⁸⁷ Alavi, H. (2002). Social Forces and Ideology in the Making of Pakistan, *Economic and Political Weekly*.

Prime Minister in October 1951 and Ghulam Muhammad succeeded to Governor General. A twist came in the political history of Pakistan when anti-Ahmadiyya riots erupted in Lahore on 27 February 1953. Mujlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam demanded for resignation of Zafar ul Khan who was the foreign Minister of Pakistan. Daulatana group blamed as the back drop creator of riots to oust Nazim uddin.²⁸⁸

Nazim Ul Din government was dismissed by Governor General Ghulam Muhammad in April 1953. Muhammad Ali Bogra established its government on April 17, 1953.²⁸⁹ There was a rivalry within Muslim League Party. Bengali faction of Muslim League led by Fazal Remhan and backed by Prime Minister Khawaja Nazim ul Din. Punjabi faction was led by Mian Mumtaz Daulatana and Ch. Muhammad Ali backed by Interior Minister Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani and Governor General Ghulam Muhammad. Few reasons of ousting Prime Minister Nazim Ul Din were artificial wheat crisis in East Bengal, anti-Ahmadiyya riots in Lahore where army imposed Martial law and parity formula between West Pakistan and East Bengal.²⁹⁰

However, politician had fear that Governor General may again dismiss cabinet as he did earlier with Nazim Ul Din. For this purpose, politician moved a resolution to curtail the powers of Governor General on July 6, 1954.²⁹¹ Meanwhile, when these amendments were being made, Governor General was in Abbottabad he did not inform by any person. This move triggered Governor General; he reached at Karachi and dissolved first Constituent Assembly on October 24, 1954.²⁹²

²⁸⁸ Aziz, K. K. (2007). *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*. Sang-e-Meel Publication, Lahore, P. 9.

²⁸⁹ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, PP. 252-253

²⁹⁰ Ibid, PP. 79-82.

²⁹¹ Rizwan, M. (1988). *The Politics of One Unit 1955-58*. Pakistan Study Center University of The Punjab, Quaid-i-Azam Campus, Lahore, P. 25.

²⁹² *Daily Jang Karachi*, October 29, 1954.

This made happy, particularly, East Bengal's politician because they had been demanding for new Constituent Assembly since provincial elections of 1954.²⁹³ Governor General repealed cases against politician which were made under 'Public Representative and Officers Disqualification Act' 1949. PRODA victims were Ayub Khuro, Hameed Ul Haq Choudhary, Nabi Bakhsh Pathan and several others whom there cases were pending including Mian Mumtaz Daulatana and Meer Ghulam Ali Talpur.²⁹⁴ Muhammad Ali Bogra again formed his cabinet in which he included, Dr. Khan Sahib, Ayub Khan and Sikandar Mirza in his 'cabinet of talents'.²⁹⁵

On November 22, 1954, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Bogra, announced on Radio Pakistan that, "the idea of one God, one Messenger and one Qur'an will keep us united. The two provinces will be named East and West Pakistan. The curse of provincialism will end forever."²⁹⁶ On the other hand, Maulvi Tamizuddin had filed a petition in Sindh Court against Governor General's move. In the decision of Tamizuddin case on February 9, 1955, Sindh Chief Court declared, "Governor has no authority to break the constitution."²⁹⁷ But later on, Federal Court overturned the decision of Sindh High Court.²⁹⁸

Muhammad Ali Bogra was a weak Prime Minister who left office. On August 11, 1955, Ch. Muhammad Ali was sworn in as the Prime Minister. The government was formed by the coalition of United Front. Awami League refused to be part of the Central Government.²⁹⁹

²⁹³ Aziz, K. K. (2007). *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*. Sang-e-Meel Publication, Lahore, PP. 23-24

²⁹⁴ Rizwan, M. (1988). *The Politics of One Unit 1955-58*. Pakistan Study Center University of The Punjab, Quaid-i-Azam Campus, Lahore, P. 26.

²⁹⁵ Ibid, P. 29.

²⁹⁶ *Daily Jang Karachi*, November 24, 1954.

²⁹⁷ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, February 11, 1955.

²⁹⁸ Haidar S. J. (2007). Pakistan Republican Party, *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. XXII, p. 87.
Rizwan, M. (1988). *The Politics of One Unit 1955-58*. Pakistan Study Center University of The Punjab, Quaid-i-Azam Campus, Lahore, P. 59

²⁹⁹ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, August 13, 1955. Also See Syed. Javed Haidar, (2007). Pakistan Republican Party, *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. XXII, p. 87.

During Prime Minister Ch. Muhammad Ali's tenure Pakistan Republican Party had been established under the patronage of President Sikandar Mirza. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, the leader of Jinnah Awami League, joined the Muslim League government on 20 December 1954 by taking oath as the Law Minister in the central government.³⁰⁰

5.2. President Sikandar Mirza and Game of Throne:

First coalition government was formed under the Premiership of Ch. Muhammad Ali with United Front. On September 19, 1955, Governor General Ghulam Muhammad resigned, forever, because he was not in a good state of health. Sikandar Mirza was appointed as Governor General in his place.³⁰¹ Eventually, the Central Assembly approved the Constitution of Pakistan on February 29, 1956 during the tenure of Prime Minister Ch. Muhammad Ali.³⁰²

PRP was popularizing itself in West Pakistan, in this case Muslim League members built pressure on Ch. Muhammad Ali either to dismiss Nawab Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani from Governor Position or resign from Prime Ministerial position. His diplomatic way could not save his position. Two prominent Muslim League ministers Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar and Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi resigned from cabinet. He compelled to resign from office on September 8, 1956.³⁰³

5.3. Prime Minister H.S Suhrawardy:

On September 12, 1956, Awami League leader Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy was sworn in as Prime Minister with the support of the Republican Party along with 9 ministers of his cabinet.³⁰⁴ H.S Suhrawardy initiated some changes regarding foreign policy, provincial autonomy and ministerial positions. It led differences between Awami League and Pakistan Republican Party. On October 10, 1956, Prime Minister Mr. Suhrawardy presented the draft law on the method of

³⁰⁰*Daily Jang Karachi*, December 22, 1954.

³⁰¹*Daily Imroze Lahore*, September 21, 1955.

³⁰² Ibid, March 2, 1956.

³⁰³ Haidar, S. J. (2007). Pakistan Republican Party, *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. XXII, p. 92.

³⁰⁴*Daily Imroze Lahore*, September 13, 1956.

election, according to which there would be joint electorate in East Pakistan and separate electorate in West Pakistan.³⁰⁵

In the last week of October, the Suez Canal crisis erupted, the then president of the Muslim League, Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar, demanded the government's expulsion from the commonwealth.³⁰⁶ Britain should be excluded from the Baghdad Pact and urged the government to leave the commonwealth.³⁰⁷ On the other hand, Maulana Bhashani was in favor of keeping Pakistan out of the Anglo-American bloc. He said that Pakistan should not become a pawn of America or U.S.S.R.³⁰⁸ He broke up with H.S Suhrawardy over foreign policy and other political issues.

A committee included Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mian Iftikharuddin, Abdul Samad Achakzai, GM Syed, Abdul Majeed Sindhi, Peer of Maaniki Sharif and Mir Ghos Bakhsh Bizenjo formed a strong opposition and a new struggle against the policies of the government.³⁰⁹ Awami League pro-Bhashani group also joined them Pakistan National party transformed with name of National Awami Party on December 2, 1956.³¹⁰

PRP also withdrew its support from Prime Minister H.S Suhrawardy because in a tumultuous political situation H.S Suhrawardy was engaging with other political parties to maintain his government. Other serious issue was joint electorate which was announced by Awami League in National Assembly Session at Dacca. On August 4, 1956 West Pakistan Assembly voted for Separate electoral. On the other hand, East Pakistan Assembly had chosen joint electoral scheme on October 1, 1956. However, National Assembly adopted a compromise formula according to which there would separate electoral in West Pakistan and Joint electoral in East Pakistan. However, H. S Suhrawardy imposed Joint electorate scheme in his last time as a Prime

³⁰⁵ Ibid, October 11, 1956.

³⁰⁶ *Daily Jang Karachi*, November 6, 1956.

³⁰⁷ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, November 27, 1956.

³⁰⁸ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, December 9, 1956.

³⁰⁹ Ibid, March 11, 1957.

³¹⁰ Haidar, S. J. (2007). Pakistan Republican Party, *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. XXII, p. 96

Minister.³¹¹ This triggered powerful authorities and Later on, Suhrawardy had given a safe zone by Sikandar Mirza to resign from office on October, 11, 1957.³¹² He remained in power for thirteen months.³¹³

Page | 89 **5.4. Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar:**

Eventually, Mr. Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar was invited to form the new ministry. He formed his government on October 18, 1957.³¹⁴ Pakistan Republican Party played double game over electoral scheme. It promised with Muslim League for separate electorate and with Hameed ul Haq group for joint electorate. However, on November 2, 1957, an amendment bill presented in cabinet for discussion but PRP escaped. Prime Minister Chundrigar stated that "his party entered in government to save the ideology of Pakistan, which menaced by joint electorate."³¹⁵

However, the "Facts Finding Committee" of PRP declared that Dr. Khan Sahib would take the decision about electorate scheme after consultation with President and Prime Minister. Meanwhile, H.S Suhrawardy assured its support to PRP to oust the Prime Chundrigar. PRP diverted from its decision over electorate system and withdrew the support of Muslim League's Prime Minister Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar. He resigned from Premier-ship on December 11, 1957.³¹⁶

5.5. Prime Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon:

After a strong disagreement with Chundrigar, the Republican Party, Awami League, National Awami Party, Kirshak Sramik Party (Chaudhry Hameed ul Haq Group), Pakistan National

³¹¹ Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, PP. 314-316

³¹² Ibid. PP. 99-100.

³¹³ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, October 12, 1957.

³¹⁴ Ibid, October 18, 1957.

³¹⁵ Haidar, S. J. (2007). Pakistan Republican Party, *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. XXII, p. 101.

³¹⁶ Ibid. P.101. See detail, Aziz, K. K. (2007). *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*. Sang-e-Meel Publication, Lahore, PP. 40-41

Congress and some of independent members demanded to President to bring a non-Muslim League Prime Minister. In such a situation, Malik Feroz Khan Noon was invited to establish the ministry.³¹⁷ On December 16, 1957 Feroz Khan Noon established his government with coalition of Awami League, National Awami Party, Pakistan National Congress, Pakistan Schedule Caste Federation and Hameed ul Haq group.³¹⁸ However, Awami League did not take ministries.

Ministerial crisis in East Pakistan further pushed the country into deep political polarization which is mentioned in East Pakistan portion of the thesis. The country's politics had deteriorated to such an extent that political leaders were accusing President Mirza of interfering in politics and President denied these allegations saying that he was not only the President of a party but the President of the entire country of Pakistan.³¹⁹ On the other hand, Feroz Khan Noon indulged into allocation of federal ministerial portfolios between Ch. Hameed ul Haq group and Awami League.

After sudden demise of Abdul Rab Nishtar on February 14, 1958, PML nominated Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan as the President of the Muslim League on March 29, 1958. Earlier, Ms. Fatima Jinnah had apologized for the presidency.³²⁰ Abdul Qayyum Khan a hard opponent of President Sikandar Mirza remarked that "President Mirza wants to destroy the Muslim League. It is Mirza who is imposing joint electorate system on the state founded on the two-nation theory."³²¹ Addressing a rally in Karachi, Qayyum Khan added that President Mirza should be removed because he had violated the constitution.³²² Qayyum Khan systemically organized a campaign against President Sikandar Mirza.

³¹⁷ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, December 14, 1957.

³¹⁸ Haidar, S. J. (2007). Pakistan Republican Party, *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. XXII, p. 101.

³¹⁹ *Daily Imroze Lahore*, December 28, 1957.

³²⁰ *Daily Jang Karachi*, April 1, 1958.

³²¹ *Ibid*, April 4, 1958.

³²² *Ibid*, April 5, 1958.

Sudden news came that, the leader of the Republican Party Dr. Khan Sahib was assassinated in Lahore. The murderer named Atta Muhammad who was a 'Patwari' arrested. While in the initial investigation, it revealed that Dr. Khan had terminated him from his job.³²³ Allama Mashriqi was blamed for murder and Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan was also summoned to Lahore and included in the investigation.³²⁴ In September 1958 Deputy Speaker was killed in East Pakistan's Assembly session. However, the Muslim League National Guard came under ban of the government in September 1958.

Moreover, unusual news from Balochistan appeared on the front page of '*Daily Jang Karachi*'. The news was that "Khan of Kalat revolted against Pakistan. He canceled the state's accession to Pakistan and formed his own army. An attempt by a conspirator from Afghanistan and the Pakistani flag was taken down from the fort of Kalat."³²⁵ Later, the Khan of Kalat along with his son was arrested and deposed by conducting an operation in Kalat 'Meeri Qila' fort.³²⁶ The entire system of the country was paralyzed and the political elite could not able to resolve these issues. It was the result of the plunder of the ruling oligarchy.

In this situation H. S Suhrawardy even said that Pakistan needs a dictator in the current situation.³²⁷ Eventually, martial law imposed in the whole of Pakistan. General Ayub announced as the chief administrator of martial law. This was called peaceful revolution. President of Pakistan Major General Sikandar Mirza said that, "I have saved the country from a huge disaster."³²⁸ On October 26, 1958, General Ayub Khan was sworn in as the Prime Minister with 12 cabinet members, but on October 28, 1958, Sikandar Mirza forced to resign and Ayub Khan assumed all the powers himself.³²⁹

³²³ Ibid, May 11, 1958.

³²⁴ Ibid, May 17, 1958.

³²⁵ Ibid, October 5, 1958.

³²⁶ Ibid, October 6, 1958.

³²⁷ *Daily Jang Karachi*, June 21, 1953.

³²⁸ Ibid, October 7, 1958.

³²⁹ Ibid, October 28, 1958.

5.6. Hegemonic State Narrative and Manipulation of Islam:

Communist Party of Pakistan initially cooperated with Muslim League leadership but ruling elite did not bear them and they established strong radical opposition. Progressive/Leftist or democratic/dissident forces were persecuted. As Kamran Asdar Ali stated that, "the state also started using Islam as a political weapon to counteract various democratic forces".³³⁰

However, Hamza Alavi says, the ruling leadership, faced with waning political fortunes, relied solely on religion to regain their standing. They found that invoking the slogan of Islam was enough to suppress any opposition and restore their position.³³¹ Therefore, state needed a strong political narrative to counter leftist and ethno-nationalist. The ruling oligarchy had known that Islam could not be encountered by dissidents.

Similarly, Sadia Toor says, the formation of Pakistan is often portrayed as the fulfillment of a primarily religious movement that dismantled the secular structure of India. It perceived like that.³³² Jinnah conveyed to the Muslims of the Sub-Continent, that they had no commonalities with their Hindu counterparts in terms of culture, way of life, and religion. As a result, the Muslims demanded a separate homeland. Hence, "Muslim League followers understand the object was nothing but the creation of an Islamic State".³³³ However, there was difference between an Islamic country and a separate country for the Muslims of sub-continent.

But, Pakistan, established as a nation for South Asian Muslims, has been characterized by ever-changing alliances, and rival political and social ideologies.³³⁴ Ayesha Jalal says, "Jinnah made the claim with no reference to any Islamic convention. Instead, he took his cues from the

³³⁰ Kamran Asdar Ali, (2013). Progressives, Punjab and Pakistan: the early years, *South Asian History and Culture*, 4 (4), 496.

³³¹ Hamza Alavi, (2002), Social Forces and Ideology in the Making of Pakistan, *Economic and Political Weekly*, p. 5119.

³³² Sadia Toor, (2011), *the State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, P. 1.

³³³ I. A. Rehman, (2015), the Politics of Dissent in Pakistan, *Pakistan Horizon*, p. 9.

³³⁴ Kamran Asdar Ali, (2015). *Communism in Pakistan, Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, p. 2.

contemporary internationalist discourse on territorial nationalism and the doctrine of self-determination",³³⁵

Page | 93 Famous speech of Muhammad Ali Jinnah which he delivered at first constituent assembly on 11 August 1947, while he stated that;

You may belong to any religion or caste, creed. That has nothing to with the business of state. We are starting with this fundamental principle, that we are all citizens and are equal citizens of the state. We should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in the course Hindus were cease to be Hindus and Muslim will cease to be Muslim, not in the religious sense because that is personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense, as citizen of the state.³³⁶

Wali khan quoted Sikandar Mirza's conversation when he asked to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah about form government in Pakistan.

Before we all left Dehli, i said to the Q.Azam one day, "Sir we are all agreed to go Pakistan; but what kind of a Govt. are you going to have? Are you going to have a type of Govt. with accent on Islam? "No nonsense" he replied "I am going to have a modern Govt".³³⁷

However, Toor strongly argued that, the root of the issue did not lie in ideological ambiguity, but in the deliberate efforts made by the Pakistani ruling class and its supporters to sideline the principles of secularism and democracy in the formation of the nation-state; as they perceived them to be detrimental to their own interests.³³⁸ The supremacy of the Muslim League was openly advocated by the Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, and those who opposed the party were labeled as traitors and enemy agents. To suppress the opposition, the colonial-era Public Safety Acts and other coercive measures were revived, and party workers and sympathetic trade unionists were frequently arrested and harassed.³³⁹

³³⁵ Ayesha Jalal, (2014), *the struggle for Pakistan: A Muslim Homeland and Global Politics*, P. 13.

³³⁶ Hamza Alavi, (2002). *Social Forces and Ideology in the Making of Pakistan*, p. 5119.

³³⁷ Wali, K. (2019). *Haqaiq Haqaiq Hain*. Fiction House, Lahore, p. 232.

³³⁸ Sadia Toor, (2011), *the State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, p. 2.

³³⁹ Kamran Asdar Ali, (2013). *Progressives, Punjab and Pakistan: the early years*, p. 495.

Moreover, Ali Raza stated that, Pakistan's leftist movement was a political force that faced constant persecution from a paranoid state that was fearful of the movement's overblown image and its perceived subversive potential, rather than the actual impact of the movement. This made it unique compared to other political forces at the time.³⁴⁰ State nexus with imperialist forces was established to counter progressive and political dissidents.

However, in 1956 the Congress for Cultural Freedom was established in Pakistan to promote Islam as a polity. The explicit promotion of Islam as a solution capable of overcoming these divisions and offering a model for Pakistan was a key aspect of CCF Pakistan's agenda.³⁴¹ Feudal ruling oligarchy had more than nothing than Islam as an appealing force for hegemony. The religious appeal was broader and firm. For this purpose Islam had been institutionalized. CCF was one of the projects which were assisted by imperialist forces.

Communists (Progressives) were considered as foreignness. This accusation had always been used by the colonial and post-colonial states to discredit the Communists in both India and Pakistan. The political Left was accused of being a representative of communist blocs and being against the national interests.³⁴² However Ayesha Jalal argued, the substitution of history with a vague Islamic ideology has hindered the progress of a discerning historical tradition and rational public discourse in Pakistan. The education system in Pakistan emphasizes an ideology that seeks to perpetuate faith in fabricated national narratives.³⁴³

5.7. Conclusion:

After independence the deprivations of subordinate classes remained as it was under the colonial rule. Pakistan's government was being run by few feudal political elite, bureaucratic and military

³⁴⁰ Ali Raza, (2013). *An Unfulfilled Dream: the Left in Pakistan ca. 1947-50*, *South Asian History and culture*, P. 504.

³⁴¹ Ali Raza, (2019). *Dispatches from Havana: The Cold War, Afro-Asian, Solidarities, and Culture Wars in Pakistan*. *Journal of World History*, Volume 30, p. 234.

³⁴² Ali Raza, (2020). *Revolutionary Pasts: Communist Internationalism in Colonial India*, p. 17.

³⁴³ Ayesha Jalal, (2014), *the struggle for Pakistan: A Muslim Homeland and Global Politics*, P. 8.

apparatus who had been genealogically expropriator of subordinate classes. A broader state narrative invoked on the basis of Islam to counter dissident. Leftist political activism countered through different sources. '*Daily Jang*' deliberately used as tool to build an Islamic political narrative and those who were denying considered as traitors. However, the battle for a hegemonic political narrative between leftist and Muslim League ruling oligarchy sidelined the broader interests of masses.

On the other hand, '*Daily Imroze*' as being a progressive newspaper tried to highlight and build a secular, democratic and socialist political narrative. It promoted the issues of subordinate classes such as workers and peasants. Self-interest based politics of ruling elite, who had been pro-imperialist to uphold hegemony over subordinate classes. Feudal political elite with state apparatus was the vanguard to making of the ideology of Pakistan which had been vague.

Moreover, nexus of Pakistan's ruling oligarchy with imperialist forces to maintain a hegemonic state narrative expropriated the subordinate classes. American interests in the region to protect oil facilities and ideal borders brought a more hegemonic order in Pakistan. The social and political activists were raising voice for their rights labeled as traitors, anti-Pakistani and atheists. Moreover, it was in the firm interest of ruling oligarchy of Pakistan to counter dissidents [Leftists and Ethno-Nationalists] by gaining the international power from imperialist forces. However, political elite built a hostile Indian narrative to manipulate sentiments of ordinary people for their own interests to cover up American friendship and aid.

However, Successive civilian governments and military dictatorships in Pakistan have systematically weakened the relatively feeble progressive coalition consisting of workers, intellectuals, students, ethno-nationalists, and political activists.³⁴⁴ After independence peasants, workers and artisans found themselves in the same relation with propertied classes.³⁴⁵ Nothing

³⁴⁴Ali Raza (2020), *Revolutionary Pasts: Communist Internationalism in Colonial India*, p. 252.

³⁴⁵ Badruddin Umar, (2004), *the Emergence of Bangladesh: Class Struggle in East Pakistan (1947-1956)* p. 15.

had been changed except new lords with old laws. As Faiz Ahmed Faiz rightly said that, (*Wo Intzaar tha jiska, Ye wo Sahir to nhi*) This is not the dawn we were waiting for.³⁴⁶

The political oligarchy did not pay attention on nation building rather they fought war of throne throughout from 1947 to 1958. Eventually, Military took over the government due incompetence and inability of feudal political elite. Inherited large estates and land despotic feudal of Pakistan had a hegemonic appeal over people. Conscientiously or un-conscientiously masses of the Pakistan was gave their consent through religious motivation and persuaded a way which created a profound hegemony over large segment of society. Religious appeal was profound and firm to curtail dissident political narrative and built a strong hegemonic state narrative.

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³⁴⁶Sadia Toor, (2011), *the State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, p. 52.

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