

Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)

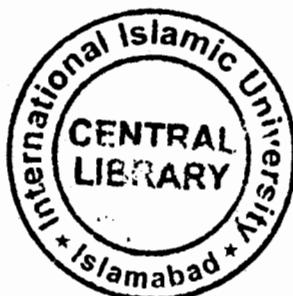


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REG No: **9-FSS/MSHIS/F08**

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Philosophy
in Social Sciences with specialization in History at the Faculty of Social Sciences
International Islamic University,
Islamabad

Supervisor
Dr. Shahid Rajput

September 2011

In the Name of



Most Merciful and Compassionate the Most Gracious and
Beneficent whose help and guidance I always
Solicit at every step, at every moment.

اقرأوا ربكم الْكَرِيمُ هـ

الَّذِي عَلِمَ بِالْقَلْمَنْ هـ

عَلِمَ الْأَنْسَانُ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ هـ فَلَمْ يَعْلَمْ

Surah Alaq: (3-5)

Read: and thy Lord is the Most Bounteous,
Who teacheth by the pen,
Teacheth man that which he knew not,

APPROVAL SHEET

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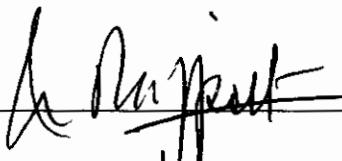
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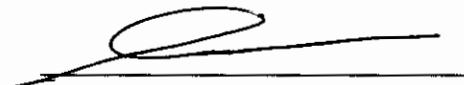
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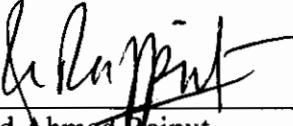
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CERTIFICATION

Certified that contents and form of thesis entitled, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)", submitted by Muhammad Ayaz, Registration No: 9-FSS/MSHIS/F08, has been found satisfactory for impartial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of MS in History with a specialization in modern south Asian Politics.

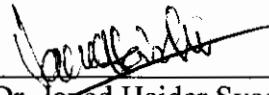
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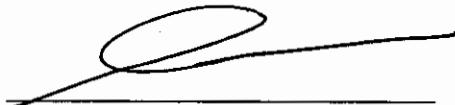
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Dedication

Dedicated to my Mother and Father, who offered unforgettable Sacrifices
for me and brought me into the mainstream of learning.

Acknowledgement

Writing History of the Awami National Party is not an easy work. An individual has to face various difficulties while conducting research on such a topic due to the tumultuous and contested nature of the Countries Political developments compounds to the problems relating to source material. This work is difficult in these circumstances when political uncertainty prevailing in the country.

Undoubtedly, all praises belongs to Allah Almighty, who is the most gracious and merciful, who granted me the courage, knowledge and wisdom to pursue my educational goals to the best of my abilities. This is the mercy of Allah, who provided me the opportunities and resources, and the fulfillment of this work was not possible without his blessings. I am very grateful to my parents whose guidance and prayers always remained a source of confidence and success for me. My teachers always helped me and provided their kind suggestions. All the teachers of History Department of IIUI helped me a lot. My Supervisor Dr. Shahid Ahmad Rajput untiredly helped me. Sir Altaf Qadir of University of Peshawar guided me in searching source material regarding the topic along with his fruitful suggestions. Mr. Ayaz Khan Afridi Plantation Officer in the Provincial Assembly of NWFP, helped me in studying various resolutions, debates and bills of the Provincial Assembly, I gratefully appreciate it. Librarian of the Archives and Library of Peshawar, staff of the National Library Islamabad, Head of the National Documentation Centre Islamabad provided me their kind services, I would like to thank them all.

My wife Mrs. Shabnam Zaman who herself had her Master in History, encouraged me at every stage of this work where ever I stuck. She helped me with her suggestions

and guideline, so, I am grateful to her services. My colleagues and friends always guided me and helped me, therefore, I appreciate their good wishes.

Muhammad Ayaz

List of Abbreviations

AINC	All India National Congress
PCC	Provincial Congress Committee
AIML	All India Muslim League
FPML	Frontier Province Muslim League
KKs	Khudai Khidmatgars
ML	Muslim League
NAP	National Awami Party
ANP	Awami National Party
NDP	National Democratic Party
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
JUI	Jamiat-i- Ulamai-i-Islam
JUP	Jamiat Ulama-i-Pakistan
P.S.O	Pakhtun Students Organization
NPP	Nationalist Progressive Party
PNP	Pakistan National Party
UDF	United Democratic Front
PSF	Pakhtun Students Federation
FP	Frontier Province
IJI	Islami Jamhoori Ittehad
PM	Prime Minister
NWFP	North West Frontier Province (Present Khyber Pakhtunkhwa)

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Introduction

Ever since its creation Pakistan's politics and its development has remained turbulent. No elected government has ever completed its term in office. The country has passed nearly half of its age, till now under Military rule. It had fought four wars with India and bore the tragedy of losing its eastern wing in 1971. A vast population of Pakistan is the victim of illiteracy and 36% are undernourished, according to Oxfam's food price pressure map, which includes Pakistan among the 21 undernourished nations of the world¹. Although Pakistan is over 63 years old, but this short history of Pakistan is full of conducting different experiments. As a Nation we have gone through different political experiments and ups and downs. Since its independence, our country is having the history of Parliamentary form of government, Presidential form of government, Basic Democracies, Martial Law, secession of the East Pakistan, struggle for Nifaz-i-Islam, took part in a war with a Super Power in Afghanistan etc, shows that our history is full of divergent experiments².

Statement of Problem

Politics in our country is having more complexity rather than its real nature. If the demands and requirements of the politics are perfectly fulfilled then it becomes in the limitation of worship. There are several elements which are active in the process to make Pakistani politics defective i.e. mutual differences of politicians, interference of Army in the Politics and foreign dictations etc. in this polluted environment of politics, various Politicians and political parties have placed themselves in the list of those,

whose principles were great. These political parties and politicians showed their firmness and fought with every dictator with honour³.

In moulding and shaping the nation's fates, Politics plays a very important and responsible role. Modern Politics is, however, based on Political Parties, and parties for modern politics and democracies are like a soul in a body. In the past there were no Political Parties and Political awareness, because the Monarchies and Autocracies did not provide the opportunities for its growth. However, nowadays people are fully aware of political norms and customs and principles of democracy, therefore, Political Parties are the pre-requisite for the present politics. The western politics is mainly based on democratic norms and it provides opportunities for Political Parties, but in under developing countries like Pakistan etc, there are Political Parties, but often inefficient to work or often unaware of democratic principles.

Various scholars have given the definition of Political Parties, Carltonclymer Rodee observes, "Any group, However, loosely organized, governmental office holders, under a given label"⁴. Various other scholars consider the party from a behavioral view point as a "Social group" engaging in "patterned activity" within the social matrix⁵.

The number of parties in a state may be one, two or many, there is a bi-party system in the USA and Britain. So far, the case of Pakistan is concerned, there are many parties, in other words the nature of politics and political parties of Pakistan is of a complex kind. In the past, first a big party came into being, then it split into many groups and sub groups e.g. Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and National Awami Party (NAP) etc, which gave birth to many other parties due to their division.

Although Khudai Khidmatgar Movement rightly be called the predecessor of the Awami National Party in pre-partition era. However, in post-partition era, its history starts with the formation of the National Awami Party, which came into existence in 1957, and it had made a considerable impact on the conservative political system. After the bad electoral performance of the Pakistan Muslim League, the establishment of the day got the 1956 Constitution abrogated to keep the National Awami Party out of the general polls scheduled for February 1959. However, in 1958, General Ayub Khan imposed Martial Law, outlawd all the political activities and sent the NAP's leaders behind the bars.

Over the issue of supporting Ayub Khan in the Presidential elections against Fatima Jinnah, one faction led by Abdul Wali Khan separated its way from Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani, who was supporting Ayub khan and Wali Khan did not like it. A little later the NAP further divided in several more groups like the Mazdoor Kisan Party of Major Ishaq and Pakistan Socialist Party of CR Aslam, while the new born PPP of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was also joined by some of the NAP's leaders. In 1975 Bhutto put a ban on the NAP and therefore, the NAP's activists took shelter in the National Democratic Party (NDP) of Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari. After a ban put by Bhutto over the NAP, its members gathered under the banner of the NDP and then in a coalition by the name of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), they struggled for the restoration of real democracy.

Against Zia's Martial Law regime, various political parties launched a Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD). A little later of getting release from Hyderabad Jail, Wali Khan made the Awami National Party (ANP) in 1986 and

his Baloch friends Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bezinho and Sardar Attaullah Mangal launched a separate party by the name of Pakistan National Party (PNP), which also later divided in several factions.

The present ANP's leadership may be regarded as the successors of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. However, the present ANP attached to Ghaffar Khan by blood, and not by ideology, as there is no practical tolerance available in the present ANP. Wali Khan had inserted a three point slogan to his programme e.g. International peace, Co-existence and Disarmament.

The ANP's objectives future programme has, although, clarified by its Constitution, but it is still a question to dig out the reality. The ANP pledges that if it comes into power, they will transform Pakistan into a free, developed, prosperous and democratic State. They also show their enthusiasm for agricultural and industrial development. They are also favouring that the federating units shall be free to solve their regional issue by themselves. Although the ANP is a party having a considerable majority in NWFP (Present Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), and often they have come in the Provincial government, but these governments ended in failure. Despite its majority, a considerable number of the people of the Province declaring the ANP as a "Nil party", and it is being supported as well as opposed by a great majority, but still this matter needs some work to know the reality. This is a vast subject for research. In this work an attempt has been made to examine its part in the provincial politics and its nationalism along with its political approach since 1986-1999.

Hypothesis

The renaming process of the NWFP by the ANP is under criticism. Various people are posing questions about the ANP's Pashtoon Nationalism and blaming that it had not a reasonable support outside the NWFP. Some section of people did not like its policies.

Scope and Significance of the Study

The main purpose of this work to provide a study regarding Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999). This work is the first one of its nature and nothing objective has been done earlier. This will provide a thorough and analytical clarity to the readers, those who interested in the politics of the ANP and its role in the politics of the NWFP. The significance of the work has another value as well, that most of the leaders of the ANP belonged to Peshawar region, thus we had an opportunity to examine their personalities analytically. This work also provides a thorough scan of the manifesto and future programmes of the party by analyzing their past experiences. Although most of the ANP's leaders belonged to one party, but their political approaches are different. Now why there is differences in their political approaches and what kind of differences are there, this would be proved by further discussion.

Literature Review

There are various aspects of the ANP inviting scholars for research. An expert of the frontier politics Dr. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah had produced his research work,

Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in NWFP, 1937-1947, which presents a study of the Khudai Khidmatgar along with the Frontier political scene. Another book had written by him *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, round about discussing the same issue and period. The book of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *My Life and Struggle* discussing mainly the KK movement and his struggle which can be regarded a historical background of the ANP in this work. *The provincial politics and Pakistan Movement: The Growth of the Muslim Leaders in North West and North East India, 1937-1947* by Ian Talbot is providing a handsome literature. Wali khan's book *Rikhtia Rikhtia Di* (Facts are Facts) is a main source providing basic study. *Abdul Ghaffar Khan* of D.G Tendulkar discussing about Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the KK. *Political Parties in Pakistan, Vol: 1* by Dr. Rafique Afzal describing about the political parties in Pakistan, *NWFP Administration Under the British, 1901-1919* by Lal Baha is providing informations regarding the British Administration of NWFP. Apart from this Safdar Mahmood discusses the political scenario of Pakistan in his book *Pakistan Political Roots and Development 1947-99*. "Pakhtun", a journal of the ANP is also producing valuable literature. A reader of can get benefits of these books, but these books are just discussing the political scene of Pakistan or NWFP, while history, politics and performance of the ANP has not been discussed, which needs further research.

Methodology

For reaching an ultimate conclusion analytical method will be used along with descriptive touches to the historical data. For the proposed study, both primary and

secondary sources would be used. The primary sources are based on Provincial Assembly Debates, Intelligence and Official Reports, addresses of different leaders, statement and communication of different government Officials and political leaders. Apart from these unpublished sources, a lot of published sources including journals, theses, newspapers etc, related to the topic would be used. So far the secondary sources are concerned, I will consult different authentic books both of Urdu, English and Pashto languages for this research.

Organization

The present work is consisted on four chapters, a Conclusion and an Introduction. The first chapter under the title of " Historical Background: Party Politics and the ANP", discussing the back ground right from 1901 when the province of NWFP was formed, this chapter discusses the political evolution, historical back ground and events till 1986 when the ANP came into existence. The second chapter by the name of "Renaming of the Province and Kalabagh Dam", discusses with enough details the issues of the ANP with an analytical approach. The third chapter is titled as "Central Politics of Alliances." This chapter deals with the ANP alliances at the center, as it had made alliances with the United Democratic Front (UDF), Pakistan National Alliance and the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD). These alliances are being attempted to discuss thoroughly. The fourth chapter is titled as "Provincial Politics: Political Evolution of the ANP". It discusses various coalition governments of the ANP with other political parties like, with the PPP, The Islami

Jamhoori Ittehad (JJI) etc, with analysis. The ANP and its nationalism with the struggle for the provincial autonomy has also been discussed.

Notes and References

¹ Jeremy Hobbs, “Undernourishment on the Rise in Pakistan Again” (Internet Edition), *The Express Tribune*, August 4, 2011.

² Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan: Tarikh-o-Siyasat* (Lahore: Jahangir Books, 2010), 1.

³ Syed Qamar Abbas, “Khan Abdul Wali Khan.... Mushkil Raste ka Musafir”, *Daily Mashriq*, 28 January 2008.

⁴ Carltonclymer Rodee, Totten James Anderson and Carl Quimby Christon, *Introduction to Political Science* (Singapore: McGraw Hill Book Company, 2004), 4.

⁵ Neil Schlager and Jayne Weistblatt, *World Encyclopedia of Political Systems and Parties*, Fourth Edition Vol-3 (New Delhi: Viva Books Private Limited, 2007), 1011-1013.

CHAPTER:1

Historical Background: Party Politics and the ANP

Before the arrival of the British, the NWFP (present KPK) was the part of the Afghan and the Sikh Empire. It remained under the rule of the Muslims, the Afghans, the Sikhs, and later on the British ruled over it. The British had come to India for the purpose of trade and when they saw the weakness and selfishness of the rulers of the Indian Sub-Continent they started a struggle to subdue its rulers by any way they found the possibility and at last they occupied major parts of India, and after the war of Independence of 1857 whole of the India came under the direct rule of the British.

In 1849 Lord Dalhousie annexed the province of The Punjab. Maharaja Daleep Singh was disposed and was given a pension and sent to England. The British Frontiers under the East India Company moved from the Beas to Attock and beyond, when the Sikh's Rule came to an end and the British forces marched towards Peshawar Valley and other districts of Mardan, Kohat, Hazara, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan previously occupied by the Sikhs¹.

Initially NWFP was the part of The Punjab. The name of the North West Frontier Province was given to the area where the Pashtoons were living in majority as this province was in the North West of India. The NWFP is situated between the parallels 31°.4 and 36°.57 North latitude and 69°.16 and 74°.4 East longitude. Its extreme length since its early Colonial administrative demarcation is 408 miles and its greatest breadth 279 miles, giving a total area of approximately 39,900 square miles².

North West Frontier Province remained as a part of The Punjab Province from 1849 to 1901 during the British period, when Viceroy Lord Curzon assumed his office in January 1899, he had to deal with the two main problems of the NWFP: the organization of Military defences and the reforms of the administration of the trans Frontier districts³.

In 1901 Curzon separated five districts from The Punjab and it was given the name of NWFP, these were Kohat, Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu and Hazara⁴. Before its separation from the The Punjab for administrative purposes, this region was divided in two parts i.e (i) plains which were declared settled districts with a regular administration and (ii) the mountainous region was considered as independent Tribal belt⁵. Apart from these settled districts five Agencies namely Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan were included in the newly born North West Frontier Province and thus the formation of a separate Provinces was completed⁶.

Although The Punjab was a vast province and there were a lot of difficulties in administering it, therefore, NWFP was separated for the purpose of relaxation in the governmental affairs. The other purpose of creating the new province was to make the possibility of giving better chances of progress to NWFP⁷. Moreover, when Curzon came into the office he did not like the bad attitude of the The Punjab officials towards the NWFP. Due to the bad attitude of The Punjab officials towards NWFP, he had come to the point that The Punjab had no idea or interest in the Frontier affairs. He was thinking that the formation of the new province was the only remedy to the problems faced by the Frontier people. Curzon immediately took practical steps and at

last a new province by the name of North West Frontier Province came into existence on November 9, 1901 headed by the Chief Commissioner⁸.

Although the province came into being in November 1901 but its formal inauguration took place a little late and it was the 26th of April 1902 when it was formally inaugurated by the Viceroy Lord Curzon. The Viceroy justified the division of The Punjab as “peace and tranquility and contentment’ to the Frontier merits will be better known under the new system, service will be more quickly rewarded, abuses will be more promptly checked, responsibility will be more strictly enforced and when punishment is needed will be more swift⁹”.

The existence of the new province was a good step for the betterness and good facilities for the people of the Frontier and certainly this division gave them chances of progress and tranquility, no doubt, but it also had a demerit in the shape of decreasing of the Muslim majority in the united Punjab. This gave harm to those five districts which were linked with the Pashtoon region. According to the 1870 Parliamentary Act, these five districts were declared settled districts and due to the formation of Legislative Council by 1897 in the whole of The Punjab, under this the responsibility had begun transferring from the British to the Hindustanis¹⁰. But these districts after linking with NWFP, also had remained deprived of these facilities and they waited for it for nearly 32 years to get those benefits. It was in the year of 1933 that Frontier was given back gradually those facilities, whom the rest of Hindustan was enjoying¹¹.

Although the formation of NWFP had its benefits for government as well as for the common people to an extent. But this formation of the province was mainly for

the British goodness and for defence of the whole of Hindustan, regarding this M.A Sofi observes, that:

The formation of NWFP was purely the result of the British defence policy which was named “Forward Policy”. This policy was made against the Russian interests, Lytton and Lord Roberts were particularly favouring this division when by the (acceptance of) the Durand line agreement the situations did not normalize, thus this division was considered compulsory¹².

Apart from this, The North West Frontier Province inquiry committee had completed its report in 1922, in which they said that the “Basic theme of our Frontier policy ever {remained} “The defence of Hindustan¹³”.

Except of the five settled districts of NWFP an independent Tribal belt was included in the NWFP. The Tribal belt was comprised of five Agencies namely Kurram, Malakand, Khyber, North Waziristan and South Waziristan. Although it was an independent area, but the British authority gradually extended her control to the Tribal area during the last quarter of the 19th century¹⁴.

The relations between the inhabitants of Tribal area and the British remained tens; however, they were put into the writing in the form of official treaties and agreements. Due to some of these agreements the British were bound not to interfere in the Tribal internal affairs¹⁵. There was no homage to the British Indian law on the part of the Tribal and they were free to lead their lives regarding their own customary law (*Riwaj*)¹⁶ and they were paying no land revenue and other taxes. In some fields the government subjected the freedom of these tribes to some imposed limits¹⁷. The tribes men were not allowed to give shelter to those people who fled from the settled districts, but it was against the hospitality spirit of the Pashtoons and was often

broken, they were also strongly forbade by the authorities not to raid in the settled districts, which was also broken often and ignored¹⁸. They were also asked to keep open the passes in their control and roads through their territory.

By the help of Militia the British kept a very much loose control over the Tribal belt. The Tribal Levies also helped the authority in this matter²⁰. Levies and Khasadari system was first introduced in NWFP by Lord Curzon. There is a little difference between these two forces. The Khasadari system is hereditary system and they use their own necessary arms and ammunitions, while the Levi gets its services and other necessary equipments from the government. The government also not afraid by sending punitive expeditions to the Tribal region only in the case when the Militia and Tribal Levies failed to control the turbulent situations. After the World War 1, The British also used the method of bombing by Airplanes for bringing back a truculent tribe to order¹⁹. The *Khasadari* system was also present in the Tribal belt. This system was in process in 1849 and even today it is in operation in the Tribal region²⁰. By this system all of the Passes of this area is secured²¹. The British government of India, after the Durand Line agreement in 1893 entered in the Tribal area and strengthened this system of *Khasadari*. All this was done through their Forward Policy²². Now this system is present in the FATA either in the kind of *Khasadar* or *Levi* system.

It was a very serious side for the British that the people of the Tribal region never severed their relation with the Tribal across the Durand Line on the Afghan side, the government and the people did not break the ties with the tribes on the British India side. Due to these cordial relationship the British often faced difficulties to manage the area. There was a lot of difficulty for the British to control the warlike

tribesmen. There was no way for the British and they started to control the Tribal area by Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR). Through FCR they were controlling the judicial sections and all of the other law and order situations²³.

It is very much necessary here to go a little back to the events when NWFP was created in 1901, at that time Lord Curzon announced a new modified policy for the Tribal areas. This modified version was the “Closed Border System”²⁴ due to this the number of military was reduced to a very low level, But at the same time communications were improved for the purpose that military could move easily to a troublesome part. By this policy the subsidies of the Tribals were increased.

This system worked smoothly even after the World War I, but after the Afghan invasion on India in 1919, it broke down. As the tribes along both the sides of the Durand Line had never strained their ties with each other and a sense of sympathy was seen there once again during this war. A large number of tribesmen were enthusiastic and restless for the Afghan cause. The Militia of Tribal belt mutinied and the Khyber Pass was closed by the Tribal war parties. After defeating the Afghans, the British, however, re-established their authority over the Tribal area²⁵. For the British it was “the policy of peaceful penetration” while it was as a new version of the old imperialist policy for the enthusiastic Nationalists²⁶. The Tribal belt was placed directly under the government of India, through the Agents who exercised their powers to the Governor General²⁷. The administration was in the hands of Political Agents (this post was generally belonged to the British.) Political Agents were very much clever and experienced men. They learned the local language and tried to get the favour of the local *Sardars*. They always ruled by “Divide and Rule Policy.”²⁸ The

strategy of "Divide and Rule" was employed by most imperial powers in India. The British and French set the Indian states against each other, both as a means of undermining each other's influence and consolidating their authority. Typically, imperial powers depend on the inability of oppressed local populations to muster a unified resistance, and the most successful occupiers are skilled at exploiting the differences among the occupied. Certainly that was the story of the British Empire's success.

The Tribal areas which are two time bigger than the settled areas of the NWFP having an area of 24986 sq miles with a bulky population of 23,77,599 at that time²⁹. Although this area was having a great number of population, but it was intentionally kept backward, the people had no opportunities of education, Communication was equal to nothing and most of all they were kept alienated from those facilities which were given to The British India. Although they were deprived from all those facilities, which were enjoyed by the other provinces of India, but they always remained undefeatable for the mighty British power.

1.1 Political Evolution of the NWFP:-

The NWFP was an over whelming Muslim majority area having 93% Muslims of the total population³⁰. NWFP was regarded as the Pashtoon's own province. There is an over whelming majority of the Pashtoons in the Tribal region. In Mardan, Bannu, Kohat and Peshawar, the Pashtoons are having a dominant status. In Dera Ismail Khan their position is much weaker and in Hazara the Pashtoons were a small majority³¹. As in the central district nearly all of the land belonged to the Pashtoons therefore, they

have a dominant status in Hazara, while on the other hand the Pashtoons of this area to a great extent had given up speaking Pashto and have owned the language as well as the culture of northern the Punjab.

Table1:

Pashtoons Proportion as defined for census purpose by districts

District	Percent
Hazara	8.14
Peshawar and Mardan	46.2
Kohat	62.68
Bannu	59.10
D.I Khan	25.18
Total	37.32

Source: Census of India 1931 P, 231 and Jansson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, 32

Table2:

Proportion of Pushto speakers by districts

District	Percent
Hazara	4
Peshawar and Mardan	80
Kohat	79
Bannu	84
D.I Khan	20
Total	53

Source Census of India 1931, 177 and Jansson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, 35

Literally strong area always could play its real role in the politics and they can only become aware of the political norms and condition when the people are enough

educated people. So far, the people of NWFP are concerned, they were very much backward in education. There were several reasons contributed to this issue. First, there were not enough facilities of education to the Muslims. Second, the Muslim population of the NWFP was poor and they were looking towards their children to help them in economic sector. Third, the pre-existing illiteracy in the Pashtun society played a high role in making the position of illiteracy more severe, particularly girls fall the victim of this pre-existing illiteracy. Fourth, the parents were not agree to take the risk for the reason that their children would be alienated from agriculture sector due to the non-utilitarian nature of the courses³². Fifth, as the Pashtoon Muslims having a high and deep tone of Islam and the courses were of the secular kind, and finally there mutual rivalries obstructed the way of education in the Muslim society of the NWFP. So, one can think that in such a society there is no possibility for the people to become aware of the political norms and traditions³³. Moreover, these people were intentionally kept backward in all the walks of life including politics.

After the creation of a new province, NWFP was kept deprived from all the facilities enjoying by the other provinces of the British India. In 1909, The British authority introduced reforms in the provincial system, new elected Constitutional-Assemblies were framed and they were given comparatively more powers. But no kinds of reforms were introduced in the North West Frontier Province in 1909. When in 1919 Montague- Chelmsford Reforms were introduced. The NWFP was once again not given anything on the plea that it was not possible rather dangerous due to the law and order situation of the province. The government established a Committee for the purpose to observe the possibilities of reforms introducing in the NWFP³⁴. This

Committee was known as Bray Committee. When this committee toured NWFP they saw the posters and banners giving information that “NWFP is being governed by Colonels and Majors”³⁵.

The Bray Committee Report was in favour of reforms in NWFP, but it was deliberately overlooked and neglected by the authority. The British were dragging and pressing the public sector of the Tribal belt and the settled districts. Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar declared the region of the NWFP as a “land without a Constitution”³⁶. After a very long time NWFP was provided a council of the kind of Minto-Morley Reforms, while the rest of India till that time had used the Chelmsford scheme and had rejected³⁷.

In the first decade of the formation of NWFP as a separate province, the political affairs started in the province as some educated Hindus were trying to organize support for All India National Congress. The province’s first Urdu nationalist newspaper ‘*Frontier Advocate*’ was published by Amir Chand Bombwal in 1905. Another Hindu from Peshawar, Ram Chand, formed a provincial branch of All India National Congress³⁸. As the British government was not strongly in favour of political activities in the Frontier, they banned the newly organized party and detained its leader under the FCR.

Another attempt of this kind was made in 1912, this time by the Muslim Leaguers, and formed a branch of Muslim League, with Mian Abdul Aziz as its President and Ali Abbas Bukhari its Secretary. It was also banned and its leaders were arrested³⁹.

NWFP remained untouched by the political developments in India till after World War 1. With changing the situations in 1919, the NWFP came in the political mainstream of India. In that year by the Rowlatt Act restricted political freedom severely, which enraged the people and brought them to a large scale protest and agitation against its function in the North West Frontier Province. Moreover, the situations were further deteriorated by the 3rd Anglo-Afghan War (1919), which had great impacts in the NWFP, as the Pashtoons had deep sympathies with the Afghans. Furthermore, the Khilafat Movement in favour of the *Khalifa* of Turkey affected the whole political scene and particularly the NWFP. The ultimate up shoot of the Khilafat Movement was Hijrat Movement in which nearly 18,000 Pashtoons took part⁴⁰. Although the British inquiry committee reported for full reforms in NWFP in the real shape of those reforms which were enjoyed by the other provinces of the British India, but nothing was done. Due to these situations, Abdul Ghaffar Khan tried to awaken the people on social and political grounds.

1.2 Beginning of the Party Politics:-

The Pashtoons were very much backward in all aspects of life. The British intentionally kept them backward and the opportunities of developments were extended to NWFP with certain limited scales but very late. The people of NWFP were socially, politically and economically backward. In their backwardness, their own responsibility is also an important factor as they had not fulfilled their responsibilities on one way or the other. In such circumstances when the education was playing a real show, Pashtoons were very much illiterate and they had no serious

concern with educational affairs. The result was an ultimate collapse in every walk of life.

Keeping in view these ills, various Pashtoon leaders took the initiative, firstly to improve the literacy and then to concentrate on the eradication of social evils and finally to remove gradually all the stains of the society. Among those leaders of prominent status, one is Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Abdul Ghaffar Khan is most commonly known as Bacha Khan. In 1890 he was born at Utmanzai in the Peshawar district. His father Bahram Khan was having a great *Jagir* of Mohammad Zai Clan. To take early religious education, he was sent to the local Mosque. After that he was sent to Municipal Board School Peshawar. Bacha Khan, at the time when he was promoted to class 6th, he was admitted in Mission School⁴¹ (Edwards Memorial Mission High School). For the sake of education he went to Campbellpur (Present day Attock), Qadian and then to Aligarh. Still he was at Aligarh that he received the information in which he was advised to return home soon. His father was intended to send him abroad for more education. All the necessary arrangements were completed but his mother was not happy with this, therefore, he decided to stay back. Instead of going to England he decided to work for the people of his province.

He started his social activities as an educationist and combined with Haji Fazli-Wahid (Haji Sahib of Turangzai), they established institutions i.e. the Dar-ul-Ulooms at Utmanzai and Gaddar Mardan). A little later the Indian Muslims and particularly the Pashtoons went through the bad experiences of Khilafat Movement and Hijrat Movement. After the failure of Khilafat and Hijrat Movement, He revived the old system of Azad Madrassas and established a School at Khalooon, in Dir State, but its

growing fame alarmed the Nawab of Dir, Bacha Khan and his colleague Fazal-Mohmood Makhfi were driven out of Dir⁴¹.

Then an organization by the name of *Anjuman-i-Islah- ul- Afaghina* (society for the reformation of the Afghans) was formed in April 1921, Ghaffar Khan was appointed as its President. The objectives of the *Anjuman* were eradication of Social evils, promotion of unity amongst the Pashtoons, prevention of lavish spending on social events, encouragement of Pashto language and literature and the creation of real love for Islam among the Pakhtoons⁴³. In those *Azad Maddrassa* the curriculum included the teaching of the Holy Quran, Hadith, Fiqh, Islamic History, Pashto and Mathematics.

Basically it was a social reform movement and soon it developed into a political movement as its leaders realized that the British were the root cause of every problem. The *Anjuman* decided to publish a Pashto journal dealing with Socio-Political issues, and in May 1928 its first issue appeared. Meanwhile, Mian Akbar Shah proposed for the formation of the *Zalmo Jirga* (Youth League), and on 1st September 1929, a meeting was convened at Utmanzai and this Youth League came into existence. The goals of *Zalmo Jirga* were the same as of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement along with the harmony between Hindus and Muslims and the political awakening of the youth of NWFP⁴⁴.

In December 1929, Bacha Khan and other Khudai Khidmatgars (KKs) attended the All India National Congress (AINC) meeting at Lahore. One of the objectives of attending the meeting of the Congress was to inform the Congress High Command about the problems of the NWFP and requested them for help. The

Congress High Command promised to send a Committee to examine the grievances of the people of NWFP⁴⁵.

Just after three months of Lahore meeting, Gandhi started Civil Disobedience-Movement in March 1930 and the KK fully supported them in NWFP. The night of 23 April was a bad one as many KK workers and leaders were arrested by the Police. Next day the KK procession was heavily fired by the Police at Qissa Khwani Bazaar, which resulted more than two hundred KK workers deaths on the spot.

Keeping in view, the rude behavior of the British the Khudai Khidmatgar leaders decided to affiliate the organization with one of the national organizations of India. For this purpose Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, a prominent member of the Viceroy Executive Council, was approached, but they were refused. Next choice was the Congress and they agreed to extend their support to the KK⁴⁶.

On 5 March 1931 an agreement was signed between the British and the Congress, which is called “Gandhi- Irwin Pact”. Under this pact the Congress leaders who were behind the bars, they were released, Abdul Ghaffar Khan too was released under this pact on 11 March along with other KK leaders⁴⁷.

During this time KK workers were invited to attend the Annual session of the Congress held at Karachi. Bacha Khan attended the meeting along with other KK workers. On March 30, 1931 he announced its affiliation with All India National Congress. On 9 August Khudai Khidmatgar was formally affiliated with the Congress. However, during the Karachi session, Ghaffar Khan got very much fame and due to his too much fame the Frontier Congress Committee (FCC) faced disadvantage. Bacha Khan affiliated Khudai Khidmatgar with the Congress and by this he was able to get

advantages of this affiliation with the Congress as there was a greater chance to get a notable position in the Frontier Congress Committee. By using the people's devotion to the KK, Congress was dreaming to get a standard position in NWFP. When this matter referred to Gandhi he against the traditions and conditions gave all the affairs of the Frontier Congress in the hands of Bacha Khan and according to the Pashtoon religious emotions the name of KK Movement was kept under the label of the AINC, while *Nara-e- Takbir* and *Allah-o-Akbar* in its response was permitted in which according to Gahndhi's wishes, Hindus were also participating. The Pathans when in various processions and demonstration hearing the word *Allah-o-Akbar* from Hindus, they were very much pleased that Ghaffar Khan has put them on the way of Islam. This was not liked by certain Muslims, because Bacha Khan was inspired that much by Gandhi that he became too cordial to the Congress, and it made various muslims annoyed and made them doubtful about Bacha Khan⁴⁸.

It is a fact that using KK as a tool, the Congress always claimed the majority in NWFP. In 1937 election they won the election and established the government in NWFP through Dr. Khan Sahib i.e the premier of NWFP. The political events of 1937-47 in the Frontier are complex and having a huge tension and oppositions⁴⁹. Mass agitation was at the peak, Muslims were struggling for separate homeland, the All India Muslim League (AIML) was firming its roots and it was very much unpleasant for the Congress and KK.

After affiliation with the Congress, the policy of the KK did not remain genuine and was moving around the Congress ideals e.g many of the Khudai-Khidmatgars including Bacha Khan were in favour of the united India etc. They

participated in “Quit India Movement” and all the Congress agitational politics till 1947.

In 1947, the British government announced its plan to divide India, but they were aware of the political leanings of the Khan brothers and their followers. The British government offered to hold a plebiscite to ascertain the wishes of the Pashtoons. The Khan Brothers rejected this on the plea that the Frontier should be treated as par with other provinces should be treated through the Provincial Assemblies. This was not accepted by the Colonial government. On 28 April 1947 Mountbatten visited the NWFP to assess the situation personally and only after he was convinced that the position had radically changed since the last elections. He finally made up his mind to hold plebiscite. In May 1947 the Congress Working Committee accepted the partition of India⁵⁰. One of his biographer observes that Bacha Khan was very much despair and unhappy.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan was sad. He has cast his lot with Congress.... now owing to his ideological differences with Muslim League, the Khaudai Khidmatgars would have no place in Pakistan. We shall be out cast in the eyes of both (India and Pakistan), but I do not worry so long as Mahatmaji is there, said the Khan⁵¹.

However, referendum was conducted between 6 and 18 July 1947. Out of a total of 5,72,799 listed voters, the turn out was 2,92,118 (51%), in favour of Pakistan 2,89,244 and in favour of India 2,874⁵², and thus NWFP joined Pakistan and Pakistan came into being on 14 August 1947. So far the point of view of the KK regarding the referendum was concerned, they were totally against it. Actually Bacha Khan and

other KK workers in favour of united India. When the Congress accepted the partition plan of India Bacha Khan was annoyed, after that when the referendum was suggested for the purpose to know the NWFP view point that whether it would join Pakistan or India. Bacha Khan was not believing on referendum thus he boycotted the referendum.

1.3 Post Partition Politics:-

The Khan Brothers were not happy with the partition of India but Pakistan, now was a reality. Bacha Khan lost the battle with the Congress but would not admit defeat; he therefore, boycotted the referendum, and in the hope of the formation of Pakhtunistan with its external and internal support, stood firm on the Pakhtunistan Issue⁵³. However, on 3,4 September in a joint meeting of the local provincial *Jirga*, Parliamentary Party, The *Zalm-e-Pashtoon* the *Khudai Khidmatgars* and representative from the Tribal areas at Sardaryab, he announced in this meeting, (a) That they regarded Pakistan as their own country, (b) That dismissal of Dr. Khan's Ministry was undemocratic, but no protest was to be made, (c) Connections with the Congress were severed, (d) The Congress tri-colour flag was to be replaced by the original red flag of the KK. Then a change came in the KK ideals, after the declaration of allegiance to Pakistan, he gave a new definition to Pakhtunistan by demanding autonomy under the State. According to him, it would be comprised on six settled Districts of NWFP and all contiguous areas inhabited by the Pashtoons which may join the new State. This State will enter into agreement on defence, external affairs and communication with Pakistan. The Congress Ministry in NWFP, at the time of partition was headed by Dr. Khan. After the ML coming into power drastic action against Congress Ministry

was suspected. The common people were suspecting the devotion of The Chief Minister and his colleagues, and it proved perfectly true when they did not participate in the flag hoisting ceremony on August 15, 1947⁵⁴. Within eight days of the partition, the Governor General dismissed the Frontier Congress Ministry and Abdul Qayyum Khan was sworn as Chief Minister of NWFP. He remained the Chief Minister of the Frontier till 1953⁵⁵.

Although Pakistan got 99% votes in the referendum⁵⁶, but still Ghaffar Khan was not satisfied and he was sad. Moreover, surely he took the oath of allegiance as a member of Parliament, but here too, he gave a new sight to Pakhtunistan by demanding autonomy under the state.

As British legacy Pakistan tried to follow the British ideals of political system but unfortunately the political upheaval followed the deaths of Quaid-i-Azam and Liaqat Ali Khan had prevented the development of healthy democratic institutions, yet inspite of this and Ghulam Muhammad dictatorial antics, the political parties had not only survived in Pakistan but they also grew, but the conditions in the country were such that two party system could not be evolved⁵⁷. However, much of the political parties in Pakistan may profess to believe in democratic politics or in democracy as a form of government, their leadership has offered no proof of the truth of their claim⁵⁸.

Although after the death of Quaid-i-Azam and Liaqat Ali Khan there was a lot of difficulty for the restoration of a sound political set up, however, with the formation of National Awami Party (NAP) there was a hope for the completion of this desire. The NAP came into being on 25 July 1957⁵⁹, because of the result of a rift in the Awami League. The East Pakistan Chief of the Awami League Maulana Abdul Hamid

Bhashani differed with Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy- The Awami League President, left the party along with his supporters⁶⁰. The differences were of severe kind and Bhashani walked out from an important meeting⁶¹. There were also other circumstances responsible for the formation of the NAP. If we see a little back in May 1948 there was a get together of the democratic forces in Karachi when the need for making a political party was felt, the early steps were taken and the Peoples Party of Pakistan came into existence. After the whole scale arrests in the NWFP, and it was in 1956 that the threads were picked up again and the actual party took a concrete shape, when several political organizations from the Western wing combined to form the National Party of Pakistan, the formatting units were the *Khudai Khidmatgars* from NWFP led by Abdul Ghaffar Khan, from Balochistan came *Wrore Pakhtoon* Party led by Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai and *Asthaman Gal* with Prince Abdul Karim as its head, from Sindh came the Sindh Hari Committee led by the late Hyder Baksh Jatoi and *Sindh Awami Mahaz* led by Mr. G.M Syed and Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi. From the The Punjab came the *Azad Pakistan Party* led by late Mian Itfikharuddin⁶². Then later after this due to the differences in the Awami League between Bhashani and Suhrawardy, the NAP came into being on 25 July 1957. The NAP itself was a combination of Pakistan Azad Party, the Red Shirts, the Sindh Awami Mahaz and of few other minor groups⁶³.

The NAP had some distinguished features:

- i. Irrespective of their caste and creed its membership was open to all the citizens of this country.
- ii. It stood for an independent and non- aligned foreign policy and demanded

withdrawal from the two military pacts SEATO and CENTO.

- iii. It was against the One Unit scheme because it felt that One Unit in west Pakistan had been thrust upon the smaller provinces without ascertaining their wishes and therefore, it asked for restoration of the former provinces.
- iv. It demanded for more equitable distribution of wealth among the poor inhabitants and the rich.
- v. NAP wanted implementation of Agriculture reforms⁶⁴.

The party program also laid emphasis on welfare activities especially housing, employments and education. Inspite of its all West Pakistan membership, the party remained tied to its regional roots. It had a popular support in NWFP and Balochistan. In NWFP it inherited the pre-partition organization of KK and in the same Pashtoon dominated districts, the leadership also remained confined to the personal Charisma of Ghaffar Khan and his son Abdul Wali Khan who became party chief in 1967⁶⁵.

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In the NAP's leadership Bhashani was a very much respectable figure. He enthusiastically participated in the movement of Pakistan. When there was referendum in Sylhet over the matter of joining Pakistan or India. Maulana Bhashani worked very hard and because of this he has a respectable place in the eyes of Pakistani people. The differences between Maulana Bhashani and Suhrawardy were infact personal clash, but on the other hand they had differences on foreign policy and provincial autonomy. Although both the two leaders were in favour of provincial autonomy but Bhashani objected on such a provincial autonomy which was acceptable to Suhrawardy as a

Prime Minister. In other words Maulana Bhashani was favouring more provincial autonomy which was considered dangerous for his government by Suhrawardy. Moreover, Maulana Bhashani was favouring China in the international affairs and Suhrawardy was looking towards America. At the time when the Suez Canal issue was in sharp due to this their differences increased in 1956⁶⁶.

There was not much coincidence among the leaders of the NAP, as it was in general outlook. There were different ideologies of the different leaders from the NAP's platform, one was demanding the rights of peasants and labourers, while few of the NAP leaders were looking for the abolishment of the One Unit system. It was seemed that every one was working for their own objects. Therefore, this artificial coincidence did not remain for a long time and the party split in many factions. Due to the issue of extending support to Ayub Khan during the Presidential elections, the NAP split in 1964. The faction led by Abdul Wali Khan son of Ghaffar Khan extended their support to Miss Fatima Jinnah in the election against Ayub Khan, while the faction led by Maulana Bhashani supported Ayub Khan and opposed any move against the Ayub administration.

When there came hurdles between China and former Soviet Union in 1967, the National Awami Party formally split into two factions. Later it gave birth to some more factions like the Mazdoor Kisan Party of Major Ishaq and Socialist Party of C.R Aslam. Some of its leaders joined hands with newly founded Pakistan People's Party of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto⁶⁷.

The National Awami Party has got support in various parts of NWFP and Balochistan. In other parts they had neither politically organised base nor they had enough support and popularity. According to its 1970 Constitution, the NAP wanted Socialism in Pakistan, justice, democracy and independent foreign policy including friendly relations with India⁶⁸. It became the opposition party in the 1970 elections. In the two wings of the country, the NAP contested 64 seats for the National Assembly, in these 64 members including Wali Khan, only six members could be elected to the National Assembly. In the Provincial elections the NAP got 13 seats in NWFP and eight seats in Balochistan⁶⁹.

The basic theme of Ghaffar Khan's political struggle was to remove the backwardness of the NWFP particularly the Pashtoons. While Wali Khan as the President of the NAP tried to secure the favour of the peasants and middle class people particularly in Peshawar and Mardan division for the elections of 1970. For this purpose they declared The Punjab responsible for the backwardness of NWFP and thus the people were emotionalized⁷⁰. By the analysis of 1970 elections "except Peshawar and Mardan division, the National Awami Party could not prove itself as a majority party". In the 1977 elections NAP joined the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). The PNA was nine party alliance in Pakistan, formed the government in 1977⁷¹. The NAP became the part of the PNA indirectly by the name of National Democratic Party (NDP). In these elections the PNA got 17 out of 26 National Assembly seats.

The NAP and the PPP were looking for Socialism, due to this section of policy there was a little ideological link between these two parties. A hope of an alliance was

expected in 1971. But Bhutto and Wali's differences obstructed such expectations. When Bhutto came into power, he offered two seats in the Cabinet, but Wali refused, as he was thinking it harmful for the party position and standard. Bhutto therefore, gave two seats to Qayyum who was a political rival of Wali and thus it fueled the burning situations between Wali Khan and Bhutto relations.

During the East Pakistan crisis, Yahya Khan decided to use the force, he said to Wali Khan "Wali I am sick and tired...I have decided to shoot my way through"⁷². At this time Wali Khan was at Dhakah. He reached back Karachi on 24th March 1971 and the government started military operation in the East Pakistan on 26 March, and thus Pakistan was divided and Bangladesh came into being⁷³. The National Awami Party was banned by Yahya Khan on 26 November 1971 on the ground that various members of the NAP of the East Pakistan were siding with the Awami League. Apart from this the NAP President (NAP of the East Pakistan) professor Manzoor went to Delhi. Later, Bhutto left the ban on the NAP which was imposed by Yahya Khan.

During Bhutto's regime Wali Khan was having the membership of two Assemblies i.e. of Provincial and National Assemblies both at a time. Because there was no law for choosing one Assembly as a member. He signed an agreement with Bhutto in 1972, which is called tri-partite agreement. On the base of this agreement the removal of Martial Law and Restoration of Democracy would be tried. The NAP workers would also be freed from all bans that it could make coalition government with *Jamiat-e-ulama-e-Islam* in NWFP and Balochistan⁷⁴. While sitting in opposition at the center, all the united opposition leaders made an organisation by the name of united democratic Front (UDF). It was made against the alleged undemocratic policies

of Bhutto. It was an alliance in the National Assembly Initially, and later tried to inform the people outside the National Assembly about the wrong policies of Bhutto. UDF was a combination of the NAP, the JUF, the Jamat-e-Islami, ML, Pakistan Jamhoori Party, Khaksar Party and various independent members of the National Assembly.

On 8 February 1975 Wali Khan set out for Lahore, he was informed that Hayat Sherpao was killed in a Bomb explosion at the university of Peshawar. Due to this he was arrested, beside him other NAP leaders were also arrested. After the death of Hayat Sherpao, Bhutto imposed a ban on NAP on 9 February 1975. Consequently the party members including Begum Naseem Wali Khan consulted each other and formed National Democratic Party (NDP) in November 1975. Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari became its President with Begum Naseem as its Vice- President.

Various people were not expecting the election of 1977 as fair, they had suspicions about Bhutto that in his presence the election might not be fair and no party other than the PPP would accept its results⁷⁵. However, in the National Assembly elections, held in March 1977, the PPP secured its majority, but the PNA was not accepting the results and they boycotted the elections of Provincial Assemblies which were scheduled on 10th March 1977. The PPP got a heavy mandate in these elections. The PNA refused to accept the results of these elections. Begum Naseem advised the opposition of the National Assembly to quit, it was accepted and the opposition members of the National Assembly had resigned and started a movement against Bhutto. Bhutto tried to contact Wali Khan by Professor Ghafoor, he contacted Begum Naseem and Sherbaz Mazari for this purpose but failed. Then he tried to meet Wali

Khan directly. Although he met Wali Khan asked him to quit the PNA, but he refused. Thus the attempt of Bhutto to negotiate Wali Khan ended in failure.

After that, in July 1977 Zia-ul-Haq imposed Martial Law and arrested Bhutto. Zia tried his best to negotiate with Wali, but nothing desirable was achieved. In 1981 against Zia's regime a Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was started. It was a combination of the JUI (F), Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Qaumi Mahaz- Azadi, Tehrik-e-Islam, ML (Khwaja Khair-ud-din Group), Pakistan Mazdoor Kisan Party and Kashmir Conference. In this movement Wali Khan had a remarkable position in 1985 elections which were held on non-party based, Wali Khan was not in favour of these types of elections. Therefore, NDP decided that the party would not contest the elections without political parties and if someone participated in it, his party membership would be cancelled⁷⁶.

NDP was a part of the PNA but when the PNA decided to join Zia's cabinet, the NDP, Tehreek-e-Istiqlal and Jamaat-e-Islami left the PNA and this break away group started criticism over the Zia's military regime. They observed that their struggle for the restoration of democracy would be obstructed, therefore, by the combination of four parties e.g Awami Tehreek, Mazdoor Kissan Party, NDP and the PNP, another party by the name of Awami National Party came into existence on 26 July 1986 at the house of Hakim Ali Zardari in Karchi. This new faction of Wali Khan was a carbon copy of the NAP and its programme was much similar to the NAP. The reason of the formation of the ANP was that, the NDP has no active character in politics, while the NAP was banned, so its members and followers were in search of a possible way by that they could come to the main stream politics, and it was possible

by framing a new Faction i.e. Awami National Party. Nationalism, Progressive society, anti-imperialism and socialism were the basis of its theory and background. Due to the scenario of that time politics that who one is anti-imperialist he must be a socialist or pro-socialist.⁷⁷

1.4 Objectives and goals of the ANP

The Awami National Party draw its inspirations from the teachings and examples of Abdul Ghaffar Khan who was called by his followers as Bacha Khan affectionately. Bacha Khan struggled for justice and freedom. He alongwith KK workers offered great sacrifices in the fight against Colonialism, Imperialism and all other sorts of oppression. In a broader sense, Bacha Khan saw politics as the highest form of public service and often described himself as only a social worker. His objective was to liberate the masses of South Asia and, particularly, his own people i.e. the Pashtoons from the shackles of ignorance and poverty, so they could rise to their full potential.

Like its predecessors, i.e. the NAP and the NDP, the ANP looks upon politics primarily as a public service, particularly to the poors and disadvantaged. Hence the ANP is devoted to the promotion of democracy and freedom, the eradication of poverty, the protection of human rights, the combating of extremism in all sorts and the creation of equal opportunities for all citizens. It strongly believes in peace and non-violence as the best way to resolve all issues. It committed to securing for all the federating units of Pakistan, their full political, social and economic rights as equal partners in the federation and their fair share in national progress and prosperity. To

follow and pursuit of these objectives and goals, the ANP is ready to work together with like-minded forces in Pakistan and to subscribe to partnerships with all peace loving countries of the world⁷¹.

Notes and References

¹ Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand OBhari , *The Eovlultion of North West Frontier Province* (Peshawar: Saeed Book Bank, 1983), 39.

² Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism, Muslim Politics in the North West Frontier Province 1937-1947* Karachi: Oxford University prees, 1999), 10.

³ Lal Baha , *NWFP Administration Under British Rule 1901-1919* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Culture Research, 1987), 12.

⁴ M.A Sofi, ed. *Pakhtunkhwah Kion* (Lahor: Azad Enterprises, n.d) ,10.

⁵ Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 4.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ NWFP in those days was very much backward, the people were mainly agriculturists and facing difficulties in earning their enough livelihood. Literacy position was not good, according to the census report of 1911, out of every 1000 only 25 males could fulfill the cesus criteria of literacy. There were no opportunities for the education of girls in those days the Muslims diclearing education fit for the Hindus. Mutual rivalries among the Pashtoons also prevented them to get the opportunities of education (Ibid, 89)

⁸ Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural research, 2007) 11. (see also D.C Obhrai, 71)

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Sofi, *Pakhtunkhwa Kion?* 10.

¹¹ Ibid, 11.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ James W.SPain, *The way of the Pathans*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1925), 25.

¹⁵ Erland Janson , *India, Pakistan or Pakhtoonistan: The Nationalist Movement in the North West Frontier Province 1937-1947* (Wiksell International: Upssala Distributor, 1981), 270.

¹⁶ Except Kurram, which was having a kind of semi-settled status.The Agency was subjected to revenue and the people were giving punishment regarding the British Indian law.

¹⁷ Janson, 27.

¹⁸ In 1919... There were in all 611 such raids in the settled districts excluding Hazara, 298 Persons were Killed, 463 kidnapped, 392 wounded and Rs. 3,000,000 worth of property lost ... in the period of 1920-21 to 1937-38 there were in all 1,138 such raids . (Spain 1963,186).

¹⁹ Janson, 27.

²⁰ Hazrat Khan Mohmand , *Sarzamin-i-Qabail* (Peshawar: Al-Jamiat Academy, April 2003), 26.

²¹ There is a big difference between *Khasadar* and *Levi*. The *Khasadar* system is a Heridetry system and they use their own Necessary arms and ammunitions, while the *Levi* gets its services and other necessary equipments from the government and the government regularly supplies all the materials to *Levi*. Apart from their local security of their own tribes, *Levis* and *Khasadar* also fulfill the duty of Police for assuring peace and tranquility (See, Hazrat khan, 26, and Janson, 28).

22 British Forward Policy followed during the period 1866-1900 was responsible for adding the entire Baluchistan and all mountainous region of NWFP into Pakistan (United India). During the last half of nineteenth century, towards the tribals of the NWFP was come into action between caution and adventurism. Direct administration beyond the Indus River was opposed by some British notables. Other Viceroys favoured a more assertive posture or “Forward Policy”. The later view was prevailed partly because Russian advances in Central Asia gave their arguments credence. In 1874 Sir Robbert Sandemen was assighned the task to improve British relations with the Baloch Tribes and the Khan of Qalat, which resulted a treaty with the Khan that brought his territories including Kharan, Makran and Las Bela under the British suzerainty. The Khan of Qalat was agreed to extend his support to the British, in response the British were Paying Rs. 100000 per annum. This policy also was extended to the North. A British Political Agent was stationed in Gilgit in 1876 to report on Russian activities as well as developments in the near by Hunza and Nagar. A formal protectorate was declared over Chitral and Gilgit in 1893. The British had wanted to bring their hegemony for which Forward Policy was made. (Janson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, 29).

²³ Hazrat Khan, *Sarzamin-i-Qabail*, 27.

²⁴ Close- Border System was introduced by Lord Lawrence to extend British influence to the independent tribes beyond the border. The first man who was break through the Close- Border System was Robert Grove Sandemen, in his hand s this policy worked admirably, owing to his tact in managing the tribesmen and his genius for control (Janson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, 32).

²⁵ D.C. Obhrai, *The Evolution of the North West Frontier Province*, 71.

²⁶ Janson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtoonistan: The Nationalist Movement in the North West Frontier Province 1937-1947*, 28.

²⁷ Ibid, 129.

²⁸ Divide and Rule (also known as Divide and Conquer) is a combination of political, military and economic strategy of gaining and maintaining power by breaking up larger concentrations of power into chunks that individually have less power than the one implementing strategy. The concept refers to a strategy that breaks existing power structures and prevents smaller groups from linking up. Divide and Rule Policy had been employed by most of the imperial powers in Indian Subcontinent. The British and French set the Indian States against each other, both as means of undermining each other's influence and consolidating their authority (Hazrat Khan, *Sarzamin-i-Qabail*, 29).

²⁹ Abdul Qayyum Khan, *Gold and Guns over the Pathan Frontier*, Trans. Yaseen Iqbal Yousufzai (Peshwar: University Book Agency, 2008), 65.

³⁰ Wiqar Ali Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 10.

³¹ Janson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtoonistan: The Nationalist Movement in the North West Frontier Province 1937-1947*, 34.

³² Wiqar Ali Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 9.

³³ The North-West Frontier Province was very much backward, as far as education is concerned. Schools were in very less number. There were only two colleges i.e. Christian Missionary College (Edwards College) and the Islamia College, which was established by Sir Abdul Qayyum Khan in 1913.

³⁴ Sofi, *Pakhtunkhwa kion?* 25.

³⁵ Muhammad Ali Yousufzai, *Haqiqat -i- Pakhtunistan –o-Durand Line* (Karachi: Muhammad Ali Educational Society, n.d.), 12.

³⁶ Ibid,13.

³⁷ Ibid,12.

³⁸ Wiqar Ali Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 17.

³⁹ Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 12.

⁴⁰ Janson, India, *Pakistan or Pakhtoonistan: The Nationalist Movement in the North West Frontier Province*, 47.

⁴¹ Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Jwand Au Jidu Jahd*, (Kabul: Daulat Publisher, 1983), 24.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Abdul Akbar Khan, ‘Autobiography’ (Unpublished Abdul Akbar Khan Personal Collection), 8-12.

⁴⁴ Wiqar Ali Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 26.

⁴⁵ Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Bacha Khan*, Trans. Durr-i-Nayab Sahibzada (Peshawar: Bacha Khan Trust, July 2007), 25-26.

⁴⁶ Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 34.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 38-39.

⁴⁸ Allama Mufti Midrarullah Midrar, *Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Siyasat aur Aqaid* (Mardan: Gulberg, 1995), 61-62.

⁴⁹ Mukkulika Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000),167 .

⁵⁰ M S. Korejo, *The Frontier Gandhi: His Place in History* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 177-178.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid, 195.

⁵⁴ Cunningham’s letter to M.A Jinnah, Governer General of Pakistan, September 8, 1947.

⁵⁵ Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan: Rule of Muslim League and Inception of Democracy (1947-54)*, (Lahore: Jang publishers, 1947), 101.

⁵⁶ Zawwar Hussain Zaidi, “Jinnah and The issue of Pakhtoonistan”, *Dawn*, Islamabad.10 March, 1998.

⁵⁷ Riaz Ahmad, *Constitutional and Political Developments in Pakistan, 1951-54* (Karachi: Pak American Commercial Ltd, 1981), 57.

⁵⁸ K.K. Aziz, *Pakistan's Political Culture: Essays in Historical and Social Origins* (Lahore: Vanguard, 2001), 67.

⁵⁹ Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan: Tarikh-o-Siyasat, 1947-88* (Lahore: Jahangir Books, 2010), 148.

⁶⁰ Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Political Roots and Development 1947-1999*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 145.

⁶¹ K.K. Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1976), 111.

⁶² Hameed Khan, *Political Parties their Policies and Programmes* (Lahore: Feroz sons Ltd, January 1971), 103-104.

⁶³ Ibid, 111.

⁶⁴ Khalil Muhammad Khan, "Khan Abdul Wali Khan" (MA Thesis Pakistan Study Center University of Peshawar, 1992-1994), 79.

⁶⁵ Sareer Khan, *Emergence of Awami National Party from Provincial to National Assembly* (MA Thesis Pakistan Study Center University of Peshawar, 2004-2006), 61.

⁶⁶ Safdar, *Pakistan: Tarikh-o-Siyasat*, 149.

⁶⁷ Muhammad Riaz, *The Political Parties of Pakistan* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2002), 8.

⁶⁸ Safdar, 150.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 151.

⁷⁰ Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, n.d), 123.

⁷¹ Shazia Kanwal, "Role of Opposition in Politics of Pakistan", 53.

⁷² Zeerk Utman Khel, *Khan Abdul Wali Khan: Zindagi aur Jiddu Juhud* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2010), 50-51.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 53.

⁷⁵ Muhammad Aslam Khan Khattak, *A Pathan Odyssey*, ed, James W. Spain (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 171.

⁷⁶ Tape Recorded Interview of Zahid Khan, Student Advisor and Information Officer, Peshawar: Bacha Khan Center, Dated 1-10-2010.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

CHAPTER No: 2

RENAMING OF THE PROVINCE AND KALABAGH DAM

The North West Frontier Province remained a part of the The Punjab till 1901, when Lord Curzon separated five districts i.e. Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera- Ismail Khan and Hazara along with five Agencies, from the The Punjab and was given the status of a new province by the name of the NWFP. The British called it NWFP because it was located in the North- West from Delhi and this name was only due to its location and it had no concerned with the people living here e.g it gave no identity to the people inhabiting the NWFP.

Although the new province came into existence, but it reduced the majority of the Muslims in The Punjab to an extent , on the other hand this division harmed mostly those five districts whose were cut off from the The Punjab. These five districts were included in the list of settled districts according to the Parliamentary Act of 1870, and Legislative Council was established in all of The Punjab by 1897, due to this council powers were gradually shifting to the Indians. When these five districts were included in the North West Frontier Province, they remained deprive from all these developments and facilities which were enjoyed by the rest of the Provinces of India. After the formation of the new province all powers were handed over to Lieutenant Col-H.A. Dean who was only answerable to the Viceroy. Initially the Province was kept backward and after 32 years, in 1933 the North West Frontier Province was given

the powers and facilities which were being enjoyed by the whole of India including the The Punjab.¹

The formation of NWFP, although was for the purpose of relaxation in the administration. However, it was purely the result of the defence policy of the British Government, which was named as "Forward Policy"², this policy was made against the expected danger of Russian invasion. British policy toward the tribal people on the Northwest frontier vacillated between caution and adventuresome during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Some viceroys opposed extending direct administration or defence beyond the Indus River. Other favoured a more assertive posture, or "forward policy". The latter's view prevailed, partly because Russian advance in Central Asia gave their arguments credence. After the Durand Line Agreement in 1893, when the circumstances were not normalized, thus division was considered very much necessary. At last The Punjab was divided on November 9, 1901. The North West Frontier Province Inquiry Committee completed its report in 1922, it says that "basis of our Frontier Policy always remained as the defence of India".³

The administration of the NWFP was kept under the direct control of the center. They brought many changes in the provincial administration. Many restrictions were imposed e.g. the freedom of press and speech was taken off, nearly it was impossible to publish a journal, magazine and newspaper. Means of transportation were inefficient. Various laws were made which were based on cruelty and inequality. During these circumstances and such conditions, the people of the NWFP remained very much backward in every walk of life e.g. educational, social, political and economical sectors.

Although the British authority named the new province as North West Frontier Province but it was only due to its strategic location. As the province of NWFP was located in the North-West of the United India, therefore it was named NWFP. In this area Pakhtuns are living in a majority. The name NWFP is just showing the strategic location of the province. The name “NWFP” remained objectionable for the majority of Pashtoons. This is the reason for the nationalist politicians to initiate a struggle to rename the province. They are educating people about the renaming of the province. The ANP and other members of the Provincial Assembly of NWFP had moved and passed a resolution in favour of renaming the province in 1997. So, it should be renamed by such a name that it would denote the majority population of the province e.g. Pashtoons.

2.1 Towards the Renaming:-

From the very beginning of the formation of NWFP till Ayub Khan’s era, there was no idea of the renaming of the NWFP, because the Congress or any other main political party of India had not suggested any alternate name for this province. Pakhtunkhwa, Abaseen, Nooristan, Khyber etc were the names which were later suggested for the province by different people on different grounds.⁴ The name “Pakhtunkhwa” was not nearly present till 1985. Pakhtunkhwa means “Neighbours of the Pashtoons” while all the rest of the names for the province were suggested in response of the Pakhtunkhwa, because due to some of the political parties of Pakistan “PukhtunKhwa” was a controversial name. They have of the view that it would lead to

unrest among the people who are not Pashtoons. NWFP itself is not merely a province of the Pashtoon race.

So far, renaming of the province was concerned, the topic of changing the name of NWFP had not come in the mind of any person in the early period. Reforms of 1909 and 1919 were introduced in India, but no one felt the need to rename the province, then in 1935 the Government of India Act came in, but the said topic was not discussed. The Congress which was a partner of Khudai Khidmatgar in the North West Frontier politics and itself Dr. Khan Sahib became the Chief Minister of NWFP, but he never tried to change the name of NWFP. Bacha Khan who was influenced too much by the non-violence Philosophy of Gandhi, but through Gandhi there was no voice for changing the name of the province by using the Congress platform. Only we can see only a proposed name for the province by an alternate name Pakhtunistan. In the 3rd June 1947 Plan, it was decided that referendum should be held in the NWFP. At the time of independence, the pro-Congress leadership in the Frontier led by Ghaffar Khan demanded that NWFP and a part of Pashtoon majority area in Balochistan should be renamed as Pakhtunistan and that the proposed referendum should include the choice for independence of the province. When the demand was not accepted, he announced a boycott of the referendum.⁵

Although a number of Congress leaders believed that they might, even win a plebiscite on the issue of Pakhtunistan, this seems likely given the communal polarization in India by the summer of 1947. Due to the fear of Balkanization of India, Option of Pakhtunistan was not included in the referendum. Before three weeks of the referendum, Ghaffar Khan expressed his views that the Congress would boycott the

referendum and continue to work peacefully for its Pakhtunistan demand. The Frontier Muslim League triumphantly turned the tide in its favour and despite of the Congress boycott, the Muslim League mounted a vigorous referendum campaign for the purpose to popularize the demand of Pakistan. They sent their workers into all the villages.⁶ Despite of the Congress and Khudai Khidmatgars opposition, referendum was held. The total votes casted in the referendum were 292,118 and just 2,874 were cast for the Frontier's inclusion in India rather than Pakistan.⁷ Although Ninety nine percent of the votes in the referendum were casted in favour of Pakistan. However, Pakistan only received 50.49 percent support from those who were eligible to vote.⁸ Here we have no need to go in the details of the referendum. However, Pakhtunkhwa is a sort of legacy of the Pakhtunistan, which was demanded earlier by Ghaffar Khan.

Then during Ayub Khan's era, the students of Peshawar University formed an organization with its Head quarter in Kabul. The name for this organization was kept Pashtoon Students Organization (P.S.O). During this time Dr. Najeebulah was a teacher in the University of Peshawar and he developed his friendship with the students. The leader of this organization was Afrasiyab- Khattak who belonged to the Nationalist leftist group. A little later PSO became a part of the National Awami Party. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto banned the NAP in 1975. Then it was renamed as National Democratic Party (NDP).

The Awami National Party came into existence in 1986. In the Constitution of the Awami National Party about the renaming of the province was clearly written. Not only renaming is written but here the word 'PakhutnKhwa' was described. "The so-

called North West Frontier Province would be renamed as Pakhtunkhwa, according to the aspirations of the people and resolutions of the Provincial Assembly".⁹

So far the name Pakhtunkhwa is concerned, it is correct to rename the Province because NWFP is no name for a province, but Pakhtunkhwa is not the right option because only Pakhtuns are not living here. There must be a name which should be acceptable to all the people living in the province. Such a name should be sought out that it would not disturb and harm the representation of any of the groups of people.

Taha Manzoor Leel- Darya Khan writes about it:

No doubt NWFP is no name for a province. This name is a legacy from our Colonial past. We must be realistic in our approach and change the name of this province, but the ANP's demand to rename it Pakhtunkhwa is not realistic because Pashto is not the language of the entire province. Even the residents of Peshawar city are not originally Pashtoons. They are Hindu-speaking. Only the Agencies, suburbs of Peshawar and the western part of the province may be called pure Pashto speaking areas. Pashto (or the name PakhtoonKhwa) will be unjustifiable trust upon non Pashto people who are in a majority in the NWFP. One of the following few names may be suitable substitute for the NWFP.

Khyber: After the name of the Historical pass, but Khyber is situated at only one corner of the province and does not represent the whole of the province.

Ghandara: It may be accepted but then this word also represent a small area that is now mostly Hindu-speaking.

Punjara (Five Passes): It will represent (like the The Punjab after five rivers) big five Passes situated in the mountainous range covering the whole province.

Abaseen: This is the most suitable name (perhaps acceptable to all), as Abaseen is one of the historical names of the river Indus.... Represents all communities whatever their linguistic or cultural differences.¹⁰

As I allready has tried to observe in the previous lines that the word Pakhtunkhwa is only representing the Pashtoon community. Let's try to observe the position of the Pashtoons and Non-Pashtoons in the province:

Districts	Pashto Speaking	Non-Pashto Speaking
Chitral	4.44	95.56
Kohistan	4.89	95.11
Mansehra	40.29	59.71

Abbotabad	3.68	96.32
Dera Ismail Khan	29.71	70.29
Peshawar	87.54	12.46
Kohat	86.54	13.25
Bannu	97.93	2.07
Swat	90.28	9.72
<u>Malakand</u>	<u>98.09</u>	<u>1.91¹¹</u>

Source: Census Report 1981, M.A Sofi, 14.

From this chart we can imagine that these are the 10 districts as a whole and out of these 10 districts, 5 districts are those in which Pashto is spoken by less than 40% people. So, keeping in view the above fact, it is not a matter of justice to rename the Province as Pakhtunkhwa. However, there are few other names suggested for the renaming of the NWFP, for the purpose that the representation of any particular community may not be disturbed. Moreover, the renaming of the province is not solely a work fixed in the hands of the provincial authority, as it will need a Constitutional amendment to rename the province. Since the Constitution of Pakistan provides for holding of a referendum to find out a solution of national level issues, it is desirable that a referendum be held to ascertain the wishes of the people of the province in this regard. If the people of the province, through a referendum, opt to rename the province as Pakhtunkhwa, only then the Parliament should amend the Constitution to rename the province.¹²

2.2: The NWFP Assembly, Resolutions Regarding the Renaming:-

The Awami National Party right from its very beginning is trying to rename the province. It is one of the main features of the policies of the ANP that the NWFP would be renamed and this name should be Pakhtunkhwa. For this purpose they are trying on every possible way to get the desired results.

The renaming issue first came on the floor of the North West Frontier Provincial Assembly on 30th of April 1989 by Haji Abdur Abdur Raziq Khan Khan as he moved a resolution for the renaming of the province. This resolution was on the agenda of the Provincial Assembly, but the resolution lapsed due to the dissolution of the Assembly.¹³ After this a little later when the next new Provincial Assembly came into being, Haji Abdur Abdur Raziq Khan Khan moved, once again, a resolution for changing the name of the province on 29th of November 1990. Muhammad Yaqoob Khan a member of the NWFP Provincial Assembly initially opposed it, but the Speaker allowed Abdur- Abdur Raziq Khan to move the resolution. Various members supported the resolution. Zareen Gul a member of the Assembly supported the resolution as such:

This Assembly requests to the provincial Government that it should recommend to the Federal Government, that hence the name North West Fronteir has been given by the British, so the Federal government, should change the name of the province, and according to the people desires and expectations must give it (the name) Pakhtunkhwa.¹⁴

Abdur Abdur Raziq Khan Khan, mover of the resolution drew the attention of the provincial members to the provincial name....NWFP, that this name was kept by the British due to its strategic location.... As it was

located in the North West of Delhi.... At that time Pakhtuns were scattered by the authority. Some of them were in Balochistan, various of them were made Tribals.¹⁵ This land was called Frontier. Pashtoon would remain united and they can not scattered.¹⁶ Abdur Raziq Khan argued that the province was given the name Frontier, but he clearly said that this province is not located in the North West of the capital, but clearly was located in the west. He thus declared this name wrong according to every principle. Not only this province was frontier but the other provinces are also frontiers. We have two provinces which are bordered with India and two are sharing borders with Iran and Afghanistan. Thus the name of the province should be changed and Pakhtunkhwa would be its new name.

Abdur Abdur Raziq Khan further observes:

"I want to show the figures of the 1981 census that majority of the people speak Pashto and they are 68.30%, second are Hindku speakers they are 18.13%, third are Saraiki speakers they are 3.45%. According to this censes 68.30% are Pashto speakers which are in the settled areas. If we include the Tribal belt, which is on no grounds out of Pakistan and a majority Pashtoon area. Then 98% Pashto speakers are living in the province Pashto is a worldly language, we have a Pashto Department (in the University of Peshawar in which Ph.d programmes are offered We watch and listen different programmes from America, BBC and worldly broad castings on Radio and TV I am proud of it i will use this name This is our politics.... throughout Pakistan Pashto is having the (position) of second majority language.... The Punjabi is on the top 48.17% people speak The Punjabi, 2nd is Pashto throughouts Pakistan which is 13.15% and Urdu is 7.60%. I want to give reference from the Constitution's Article No. 28 "Subject to article, 251 any section of citizens having a distinct language, script, or culture shall have the right to preserve and promote the same and subject to law (can) establish insituations for that purpose".¹⁷

Then Zareen Gul in favour of the resolution declared Pakhtunkhwa as the identity of the Pakhtuns and its culture, even he declared it as the identification of the religion.

Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao at that time was the leader of opposition in the house. He also favoured and supported the name Pakhtunkhwa. Begum Naseem undoubtedly, spoke in favour of the resolution because she herself belonged to the Awami National Party and in fact it was a resolution of the ANP. One member of the house objected that “you called ‘Cunningham Park’ to Jinnah Park, while this name was given it by the British. If you are against of the name of NWFP, then why you are following the British by using the name Cunningham Park, while it had been renamed later, by a new name of Jinnah Park”. Begum Naseem replied, that it was the original name of the park, “now how can we call it by an alternate name, you make a park for us and name it Jinnah Park, we will call it Jinnah Park”.¹⁸

Various members spoke against the resolution regarding the renaming of the province. Muhammad Yaqoob Khan declared it as not applicable. He urged the house and argued that it is not the right decision to rename the province because it will divide the nation for the sake of language. At last, voting took place for the passage or failure of the resolution. Twenty eight members of the house favoured the resolution while forty eight members did not favour and they voted against the resolution moved for the renaming of the province. Thus the first resolution in favour of Pakhtunkhwa failed.¹⁹

Although the resolution regarding Pakhtunkhwa was the main theme of the ANP’s politics. The leaders were strongly stressing the government to rename the province but there were few other resolutions presented in the Provincial Assembly for the purpose of renaming the province. Pir Muhammad Khan a member of the Provincial Assembly moved a resolution in the Assembly that “Although the two

provinces i.e. Sindh and the The Punjab has named after rivers (thus) the name of the Frontier should be changed and will name as Abaasin which is free of any provincial and linguistic controversy".²⁰ Then a little later Pir Muhammad Khan moved another resolution in the House in which he suggested and demanded "Nooristan" as the new name for the Frontier , but this resolution was withdrawn on 29th November 1990. According to Begum Naseem "we requested to Pir Muhammad and made him to withdraw his resolution and support us".²¹

This was the first resolution led by the ANP leadership but defeated in the Provincial Assembly. It will be analyzed a little later in these pages, but first I am going to write about the second resolution moved in the Frontier's Provincial Assembly in 1997. This resolution was presented in the house by the ANP, the resolution was:

This Provincial Assembly requests to the Provincial Government that it would recommend the Federal government, that the provinces of the The Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan are the names which are means of their (recognition) and identity of their people,while the name North West Frontier Province is showing only the geographical location, which is not a mean of the identity of the people living in the province. Therefore, the Constitution should be amended and the North West Frontier Province (will rename) as Pashtoonkhawa.²²

The above resolution was supported by Najm-Ud-Din, Mian Iftikhar Hussain, Haji Muhammad Adeel (Deputy Speaker), Begum Naseem and other ANP members in the Provincial Assembly. Najam-Ud-Din voted in favour of the resolution from the side of Pakistan People Party. Aftab Ahmad Khan leader of the opposition in the Provincial Assembly also favoured the resolution. This time the resolution regarding

the renaming of the province was passed with a heavy margin as it was opposed only by two members i.e. Saleem Saifullah and Hamayun Saifullah, of the house,. It was 13th. November 1997 when the resolution was passed.²³

At that time, in 1997, there was a coalition Government of the ANP and Muslim League in the NWFP. They had a written agreement regarding the renaming of the province and they made an alliance on the issue of the renaming of the province. Thus due to their alliance the resolution was passed by the Provincial Assembly.²⁴

Why the ANP or the Pashtoons needed to rename the province, with a new name of Pakhtunkhwa? The ANP always justified its claim that the NWFP is no name for this province which is only describing its strategic location, while the names of the other three provinces are a source of their recognition and identity. The renaming program of the province was a part of the politics of the Awami National Party. The ANP always claimed that Pakhtunkhwa will give an identity to the Pashtoons. It can be considered, undoubtedly NWFP is no name for a province, this name is a legacy of our Colonial past, we must be realistic in our approach and change the name of this province. But the ANP's demand to rename it as PakhunKhwa is not realistic, because Pashto is not the language of the entire province. Even the residents of the Peshawar city are not originally Pashtoons. They are Hindko-Speaking.²⁵ Only a language is not enough for changing the name of the province. NWFP should be renamed, but with such a name that it would not spread disturbance in other races. Pakhtunkhwa is a name which is only representing the Pashtoons, while in NWFP, there are many other languages spoken in various parts of the province.

At the time of the renaming of the province, we should have to look at the present day needs. We should have to see that what kind of difficulties the people of NWFP are having? The people need two times bread, they need peace and tranquility, the people need satisfaction, justice, jobs, and social standard. The present situations are not right for this kind of name. NWFP must be renamed but with a name that it would not only represent one race, but a name which will represent the people, communities and races of the province as a whole, is needed.

A resolution put forward by the ANP for renaming the province, was passed in the Provincial Assembly on November 12, 1997. According to the Speaker of the House, 70 Votes were polled in favour of the resolution while 2 Votes came against it. The ML (N), later on claimed that they did not vote in favour of the resolution.

What would be the fruits and benefits for a common person if it would be renamed as Pakhtunkhwa? Certainly no change would happen. It must be a positive step if the ANP workers and leadership would work for the goodness of the inhabitants of the province. They should have to serve the nation irrespective of their race. They should have to provide peace, security, shelter, bread, jobs, and justice to the inhabitants of the province. They should have to remove social evils and injustices, it would be better for the Pashtoons and other races instead of dividing them, it should be tried to unite them for a common national purpose. The steps should be taken to educate the people and spread education in the society.

2.3: Kalabagh Dam:-

Awami National Party is famous for its nationalist nature. Apart from the renaming plan of the province, the ANP stood firm to stop the construction of the Kalabagh Dam. Kalabagh Dam is actually disadvantageous and harmfull to the interests of the three provinces i.e the NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan. These all three provinces have passed unanimous resolutions from the floor of their respective Provincial Assemblies, declaring the construction of Kalabagh Dam harmful for these provinces.

Kalabagh is a town of the Mianwali District which is situated on the bank of Indus River nearly 50 kilometers downside from river Attock Bridge. Kalabagh is linked with Islamabad, Khushab, Bhakkar, Bannu, Kohat and Attock by both Railways and road. The river Indus is going through a narrow Gorge with a lot of noise, in the area a little upper of Kalabagh. The mountains on both sides of the river belonged to the famous Salt Range. The Salt Range is famous for Geo-logical Museum, in all over the world.²⁶

Apart from its geographical position, Kalabagh is famous for other two aspects. Firstly, the former Governor of West Pakistan Malik Ameer Muhammad-Khan belonged to Kalabagh. Secondlly, the Government of Pakistan decided to construct a dam here and since 1953 uptill now is the main topic of every person to discuss.

In present days several countries are facing water shortage. Pakistan being one of them. According to the International analysts, "Next wars among the nations would be for occupying water resources."²⁷ Due to less rainfall and other problems Pakistan is facing water shortage. Pakistan is having the world's largest canal system and one can not ignore the importance of water for this canal system. If the water in Pakistani rivers will not come as usual, then its canal system will become useless, resulting less productivity or totally unproductive lands, because these lands are being watered through these canals. Pakistan is an agriculture country, over 70% of its population are agriculturists. Unfortunately the British divided India in such a manner, that the headworks of the most of the rivers flowing in Pakistan went in the hands of the Indian Government. The Ravi, Chenab, Jehlem etc is having their fountains in the mountains of Kashmir. These rivers first come in to Jammu and Kashmir and then enter in to the Pakistani territory. On April 1, 1948, India stopped water coming from the West Punjab to the Eastern Punjab. With this a dispute over the issue of canal water emerged between India and Pakistan. Pakistan took a strong notice of this illegal act, because the canal water is like the life and death for Pakistan. The importance of canal water for Pakistan can be imagined from a statement of the former President of Tennessee Valley Authority named David Lailynthal, he observes:

West Pakistan will become a desert without water for irrigation. Two crore acres land will become unproductive in one week. Lacs of people will suffer from famine. No (kind of) Army can destroy this land to such an extent by bombing as India can (do) by stopping the supply of water which is the mean of life for Pakistani people and lands.²⁸

Keeping in view such a big problem, Pakistan Government is constantly trying to build dams and other sources which can store water.

Kalabagh Dam plan came to surface during Ayub Khan's regime; However, in 1953 the design of the dam was presented for the first time. During his regime, Ayub Khan objected over the construction of Kalabagh Dam. Instead of Kalabagh Dam he expressed his desire for constructing Tarbela dam, and he did it. The experts had declared the plan for the construction of Kalabagh Dam too risky and very expensive. However, according to Ayub's desires Tarbela dam was constructed. During Zia-ul-Haq regime, Kalabagh issue once again came to the surface. Several teams of experts examined the possibility of the construction of Kalabagh Dam and prepared survey reports. Crores of Rupees were spent on this matter. The Punjab is the only province favouring the construction of the proposed dam, because according to experts, The Punjab will get more water. The other three provinces i.e. the NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan are against the construction of a dam at Kalabagh. So far NWFP is concerned; this dam would effect most of the productive land. The agricultural lands of Attock and Nowshera will become direct in the dam's swamp. There will be a constant danger of flood to Peshawar. Swabi and Mardan are not out of the same possibility and Akora Khattak will also be affected. Like the two other provinces Sindh and Balochistan, which are down stream expressed their reservations about the reduced amount and flow of water in the river which would affect availability of water after construction of the dam, for irrigation and other needs of the provinces.

The issue of Kalabagh Dam got momentum in 1984 when the Kalabagh Dam project was designed with the assistance of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) supervised by the World Bank, for the client Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) of Pakistan. Following the submission of its project planning

report it was put up to the federal and provincial governments for approval of the launching of this project. The project team members were asked to complete the detailed designs and contract documents for making it ready to enter in to the implementation stage for another two and half years, this task was finalized and the project was poised for start of construction in the mid 1987.

Total cost for the construction of this dam was estimated US\$ 3.46 Billion at June 1987 price level. The construction of the dam was scheduled to be completed in six years,²⁹ with first generating unit to be commissioned in April 1993. But, because of the opposition from some of the provincial governments, this programme could not see its concluding point. A standard political consensus could not be achieved for construction of the Kalabagh Dam. Various governments of Pakistan made several efforts in favour of this dam, but a consensus has proved to be too elusive, for one reason or another. In NWFP the ANP always opposed the construction of the Kalabagh Dam. So, with time being the Kalabagh issue lost its momentum slightly. On June 11, 1998 the matter got a momentum again, when the Prime Minister of Pakistan Mian Nawaz Sharif declared, "we have decided (about) the construction of Kalabagh Dam."³⁰ So far this decision was concerned, it would not take place, as the construction of this dam is not in the interest of the three provinces of Pakistan. Sindh and Balochistan will receive very little water, while most of the irrigated land of the NWFP will suffer from water-logging.

2.4: Who Wants What?

Agriculture is the back bone of Pakistan's economy. At the same time with world's fastest growing population, there is a dire need to increase agricultural production. If nothing is done, there would be approximately 25% shortfall in food grain requirements by the year 2000, judging it from 1997 two million tones import of wheat, by that time, Pakistan could be one of the major food deficit countries in the world.

With a large arable land, Pakistan still has the potential of bringing several million of virgin land under irrigation. An important impediment in the way of this development is insufficient control over flood water of the rivers. With virtually no limit on availability of land, it is unfortunate to willingly let large quantities of water to fall in the sea. In post Tarbela 20 years, an annual average of 38 Million Acres Feet (MAF) escaped below Kotri; after adjustment of future abstraction out side Indus Basin, this could still be around 32 MAF. Out of this an average of over 26 MAF per year could be effectively controlled and efficiently utilized to bring about prosperity to million's particularly, in backward areas of Pakistan through national water resource development approach.

This is a fact that nearly 38 MAF water is escaping annually below Kotri, apart from this, 36 MAF water annually, goes to the sea.³¹ Kalabagh Dam will only store six million acres feet water. While it will produce 3600 Mega Watt electricity.³² If we observe we can see that Kalabagh Dam would only be able to store six MAF water out of 36 MAF water, So Pakistan not only need Kalabagh Dam but like this we have to build more dams to store water and generate electricity. But on the other hand the

government of Pakistan should also to observe its damages and harms to the other provinces i.e. NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan. In NWFP; Nowshera, Charsadda, Akora Khattak, Swabi, Mardan etc would be severely damaged. Peshawar would have a constant danger of flood. Due to this the productive plains of Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu would become unproductive due to water logging. One can observe that Kalabagh Dam is more costly than Bhasha, so why not, we should have to construct Basha Dam.

Big Dams are to a nation's "development" what nuclear bombs are to its military arsenal. They are both weapon of mass destruction. Weapons and dams government use to control its own people They represent the severing of the link not just the link ...between human beings and the planet they lived in. They scramble the intelligence that connects eggs to hen, milk to cows, food to forests, water to rivers, air to life and earth, to human beings.³³

Kalabagh Dam is not fruitful in the interests of NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan, rather it would lead to a sort of destruction for the cultivable lands. What the NWFP would face, it is been discussed in the previous lines. Balochistan and Sindh will get very low flow of the water. This will bring destruction to their irrigated lands.

In Pakistan, there is not an agreed consensus regarding Kalabagh Dam, as it is not in the best interests of the country. Different departments, Journalists, common people, writers and political parties are having different positions, that whether Kalabagh Dam should be constructed or not. They are divided on the issue, who wants what? Let's try to understand.

2.4.1 WAPDA wants to construct Kalabagh Dam:-

WAPDA is in favour of the construction of Kalabagh Dam for the following objectives;

1. To generate large amount of low cost Hydro electric power near major load centers.
2. To regulate and control the extreme flood speaks of the Indus to alleviate flood damages down stream.
3. To compensate for the storage lost due to sitting up of existing reservoirs and to provide additional storage and regulation on the Indus for management and timely supplies of water for the crops.
4. To increase the energy and power out put of Tarbela power station as a result of conjunctive operation of Tarbela and Kalabagh reservoirs.

According to WAPDA, Kalabagh Dam project site is located 210 KM down stream of Tarbela dam and 26km upstream of Jinnah Barage on the river Indus. The project envisages construction of 260 ft high rock fill dam when its maximum retention level at 915 ft., it will create a reservoir with usable storage of 6.1 MAF. The project has two spillways on the right bank for disposal of flood water. In the event of the highest probable flood, these spillways will have a discharge capacity of over 2 million Cusecs. On the left bank is the power house which will be connected to twelve conduits each 36 feet in a diameter, with ultimate generation capacity of 3600 MW.³⁴

At July 2003 price level, the total project cost including contingencies, price escalation and interest during construction, is estimated as US\$ 5,116 millions.

Implementation of the project would take about six years for the first power unit to become in operation. Kalabagh Dam would store water during flood season and release during the low flow periods of the year in accordance with provincial shares in the water accord as under:

Province	Percentage	Supply (MAF)
NWFP	14	0.854
The Punjab	37	2.257
Sindh	37	2.257
<u>Balochistan</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0.732</u>
Total	100	6.100 ³⁵

(Source: Muhammad Idris Rajput, *Kalabagh Dam and Sindh: A View Point*, 40)

2.4.2: The Punjab is favouring the construction of Kalabagh Dam:-

The Punjab needs more water to keep up with the growing agricultural and Industrial demands. A dam at Kalabagh would also supply cheap Hydro-electric power to the whole country. The annual drop of water in to the Arabian Sea is considered a “Waste” in the view of the people of The Punjab, which feel that water can be used to irrigate the fertile lands.

The Punjab wants not just Kalabagh Dam, but also two more large dams on the Indus at Bhasha and Skardu/Katzarah. It feels that Kalabagh Dam site is the most

favourable, compared to the other two, and that it should be built first. Bahawalpur and Bahawalnagar would get most of the water stored in Kalabagh Dam.

In case if Kalabagh Dam is not built, The Punjab would be severely hit. Pakistan agreed to a deal with India on the royalty of the rivers in 1960's which has given the royalty of the three rivers to India. Since then, the river Ravi, Sutlej and Bias are only used as flood released rivers by India. Pakistan Government was allowed and funded to build this dam only because they had agreed on such deals with India. Now Pakistan has not built the dam and has also barrened a large area of The Punjab province by losing out 3 rivers. So, on these grounds The Punjab wants the construction of Kalabagh Dam. On the other hand Kalabagh Dam harms to the The Punjab will not be too severe as only Dera Ghazi Khan will become unproductive due to water logging. While The Punjab will get 37% of its water which will water six lacs eighty thousand acres land of the The Punjab. So, it is clear that The Punjab will get a large amount of water from Kalabagh Dam.³⁶

2.4.3: Reservations and objections of Sindh:-

Kalabagh Dam will store nearly 6.1 MAF of water and generate 3600 Mega Watt (MW) of Cheap Hydro power. According to WAPDA Sindh will get 37% share i.e 2.25 MAF of water which can boost its agriculture. Cheap Hydro-power will bring down electricity tariff or will arrest rising electricity tariff due to oil price hike in international market.³⁷ Then why Sindh is objecting over the construction of Kalabagh Dam? As Sindh is the lowest riparian of the Indus river system, therefore it has the following apprehensions and doubts.

1. The river flows are variable and declining. Past record shows that it has no surplus water every year.
2. Canals are proposed to off-take from Kalabagh Dam which will draw excessive water and as a result supplies to Sindh will be reduced.
3. Large dams are always required to fill it every year. In years of low flows, when surplus water is not available, the filling of the dam will not be curtailed with the result that essential irrigation water supplies to Sindh will be reduced.
4. Due to storing 6.1 MAF would reduce flows coming down to Sindh which will have the following effects.
 - i. Due to reduced flows, *Sailaba* cultivation on an area of about 500,000 acres will be affected.
 - ii. The live stock in Indus Delta will be destroyed.
 - iii. In area of 294,000 acres of Mangrove forest in Indus Delta will be affected.
 - iv. Indus river channel will deteriorate.
 - v. Drinking water supply to area below Kotri will be reduced as underground water below Kotri is saline.
 - vi. Forests in riverain area of about 3 lac acres will be destroyed.
 - vii. Sea intrusion will increase further due to reduced flow.
 - viii. Because of reduced flow the fresh water tube wells dependent on river water seepage will be affected and will become saline.
 - ix. Because of above reasons livelihood of the people in delta area will be badly affected and poverty will increase.

So far the issue of Kalabagh Dam is concerned, apart from The Punjab, no province is ready to accept it, as it is harmful to the interests of the provinces i.e NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan. Both the Provincial Assemblies passed resolutions against the construction of Kalabagh Dam. On 14th June 1994 resolution against the construction of Kalabagh Dam was presented in the Sindh Provincial Assembly. The resolution was put in by Dr. Abdul Wahid Soomro MPA of the Sindh Provincial Assembly. The resolution states:

The House resolved that the proposed Kalabagh Dam being determinated to the interest of Pakistan in general and Sindh province in particular be dropped. Provincial Assembly of Sindh had already passed resolutions in the regard in the past and this house reaffirm the same. The House therefore, recommends to the federal Government to abandon this project at once, to remove the misgivings of the people of Pakistan.³⁸

This resolution was further supported by Sikandar Mandhro, Ahmad Ali- Khan pitafi, Ghulam Qadir Palijo, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and other members of the Provincial Assembly. Furthermore, Chief Minister of Sindh expressed his unhappiness on 21st April 1985, while addressing a gathering at Lahore and expressed his views against the construction of Kalabagh Dam.³⁹

2.4.4: Awami National Party, issue of Kalabagh Dam and the apprehensions of NWFP:-

Not only the proposed Dam is injurious because of only displacing of people, low flow in the downstream areas, water logging and submerging of many fertile plains of the NWFP are the side effects of the dam, but various other problems can emerge due to the construction of the dam. It is very much risky in the case of

earthquakes. There is a possibility of environmental Catastrophe, repeated hurricanes, tsunamis, dry spell or season torrential rains.

Apart from the three provincial leadership and ministers, the political parties e.g. the ANP, the PPP (Sherpao group) and different parties of Sindh and Balochistan rejected Kalabagh Dam. The Awami National Party always criticized the construction of the dam. The ANP even threatened the government that if Kalabagh Dam is built, we will blow it out with bombs. "We will die ourselves, but never let the construction of Kalabagh Dam."⁴⁰ The opposition of the ANP is not merely for only the purpose of opposition. But the damages of the dam to NWFP are severe, that it becomes difficult rather impossible for a Pashtoon Nationalist Party i.e. ANP to accept the construction of Kalabagh Dam. The dam will displace a large number of people and inundate fertile lands in the NWFP. Many more acreage will be lost because of water logging in Mardan, Swabi, Charsadda, Pabbi, Nowshera, Dhoda, Kharmatto, and other areas. It will also cause land degradation in Peshawar valley and affect the sweet water aquifers in Karak and Lakki districts. Moreover, Peshawar will have a constant danger of flood.

The inhabitants of the low lying areas on both sides of river Swat, Kabul, Indus and Tui will have to be shifted and be given new houses and lands for settlement. These inhabitants are in hundreds of thousands. And this will incur a heavy expenditure. Moreover, it will cause backpressure in the river Kabul which will result excessive water logging.

Nowshera, a sizeable district of the Frontier Province will be threatened with termination or severe water logging, as it will stand 24 feet below the height of Kalabagh Dam. Apart from this, several bridges and roads including Attock, Talagang road, the Kohat Rawalpindi road and the Peshawar Rawalpindi road on river Indus besides some Railway tracks and other infrastructure will be submerged in Kalabagh Dam. The Sui gas line between Peshawar- Rawalpindi and Rawalpindi- Kohat will also sink in the dam.⁴¹

The Awami National Party right from its very beginning is opposing Kalabagh Dam. Wali Khan has been always strictly opposing Kalabagh Dam remained a strong opponent of the Dam. He had several times threatened the Government that "If Kalabagh Dam was built i (Wali Khan) would blow it by Bombs."⁴² Following Wali Khan's principles the ANP, even today, are against of Kalabagh Dam, and this political party has again and again rejected the plan.

The ANP had a coalition with Muslim League (N) and this coalition was very strong. During the period of Nawaz Sharif's Prime Minister Ship, the government announced the construction of Kalabagh Dam. The ANP protested strongly and nothing practical was done because of the opposition of the ANP.⁴³

Wali Khan was the front line opponent of the Kalabagh Dam on the ground that it would become a cause of damaging the Nationalist Pashtoons. For changing the public opinion in the Frontier the credit goes to Wali Khan. We can imagine his enthusiasm in this connection from an event, when in August 1998 the Prime Minister announced the plan for the construction of Kalabagh Dam. During that time Wali

Khan was an aged person, irrespective of this, he attended the anti Kalabagh Dam rally. This was a day of hot summer, and there was a lot of heat and suffocation, but he did not have a care about this and made sure his attendance in the rally. His follower are still opposing the Dam, because the ANP's politics revolves around the issue of Kalabagh Dam.⁴⁴

On another occasion, Asfandyar Wali Khan declared it that "Kalabagh Dam would not be built, when there is even a Pashtoon alive."⁴⁵ Asfandyar was addressing to a big gathering at Nowshera in May 1998. Kalabagh Dam issue is not less important for any Pashtoon. There may not be a wise Pashtoon, who would not consider Kalabagh Dam as a curse for the Pashtoon society. However, the ANP is not ready to accept it on any ground. Because it is too damaging and harmful for the NWFP. So far the opposition of the ANP is concerned, its not only limited to mere opposition, but the ANP brought this issue in the Provincial Assembly of the NWFP. A resolution regarding Kalabagh Dam was first introduced in the Provincial Assembly by Begum Naseem Wali Khan a member of the Provincial Assembly of NWFP. She declared:

According to the opinion of this House, Kalabagh dam's plan is (not only) worthless technically, but apart from this province, is against the interests of the majority of the provinces of Pakistan as a whole. This house, therefore, strongly recommends to the Central Government that the plan (to built) Kalabagh Dam (should be) abandoned, especially when the importance of alternative plans i.e Basha Dam is far better and beneficial.⁴⁶

This resolution was passed and adopted by the Provincial Assembly of the NWFP on 20th of December 1988. So far the importance and benefits of Basha dam is concerned, it is more useful and beneficial than Kalabagh. The total water storage of

Kalabagh Dam is 601 MAF, while the storage capacity of Basha dam is 7.3 MAF⁴⁷.

Kalabagh Dam would have produced 3600 MW electricity while the Basha Dam will produce 4500 MW electricity. So, it is a clear fact that Basha Dam is more useful for the whole country. Specially one point is more considerable that all the four provinces are agreed to the construction of Basha dam, and they have developed a political consensus regarding Basha dam. On the other hand on the issue of Kalabagh Dam apart from The Punjab no province is ready to accept it.

In May 1991, another MPA of the ANP Abdul Akbar Khan moved another resolution regarding Kalabagh Dam in the Provincial Assembly of NWFP. In this resolution it was recommended to the Federal Government for abandonment of Kalabagh Dam's construction plan, because it was harmful for the interests of the Frontier's people.⁴⁸ This resolution was unanimously passed in the Provincial Assembly of NWFP on 30th May, 1991. Another resolution was moved collectively by Haji Muhammad Adeel (MPA), Abdul Akbar Khan (MPA), Mian Noor (MPA) and Maulana Muhammad Asmat Ullah (MPA). They in this resolution declared Kalabagh Dam harmful and against the interests of the Frontier and other provinces, so they suggested for the abdication of the construction of Kalabagh Dam.⁴⁹ This resolution was also passed on November 18, 1993. These are the resolutions moved and passed in the Frontier Provincial Assembly.

Kalabagh Dam is not useful for the entire country being harmful to the interests of the three provinces of Pakistan. The ANP as well as nearly most of the educated persons in NWFP opposed the proposed dam, so far the opposition of the ANP is concerned, it severely opposed it. One of the WAPDA Chairman named

Shams-ul-Mulk had declared that Nowshera has no danger for next 100 years from Kalabagh Dam. How could he claim this? If this is the fact, then what happened about Tarbela dam settlements, while Tarbela Dam is not old nearly more than 27 years. Many standard engineers and great minds participated in the construction of Tarbela Dam. Orally there was, too, every thing okay and there was no danger to any person or area. But in a short period of time the people saw that it severely damaged Tarbela Jath, Tarbela Luqmania and surrounding area. The graves slipped underground. Then the water hit the living people and it hit and smashed away mosques, minarets etc.⁵⁰ So far Kalabagh and the issue of Nowshera is concerned, it was 1929, when at the station of Kalabagh a rock fell down in the river Indus. The water kicked back and sank Nowshera and its vicinity. Now if Kalabagh Dam is constructed and then it rains heavily, the eight rivers of Peshawar valley would kick back and would lead to sink Nowshera, Akora Khattak, Swabi, Peshawar and even Mardan.⁵¹

Harms and disadvantages are more than its benefits of the proposed dam. The fertile plains of the NWFP would be smashed away or become barren due to excessive water logging. Moreover, there would be more chances of flood in the NWFP. The provinces i.e. Sindh and Balochistan would have less water for the irrigation of their lands. Regarding the apprehensions of the North West Frontier province over the matter of Kalabagh Dam, Begum Naseem Wali Khan declared in an interview; “we had referred the matter to several technicians, and after thorough examination and observations, it was found faulty and harmful for the NWFP. Then, after the technicians decision, we opposed strongly Kalabagh Dam.”⁵² She denoted the fear that their technicians had declared that the stored water of Kalabagh Dam would give

excessive damage to NWFP.⁵³ Other than these detriments to various provinces of Pakistan, it will bring a huge debt over the Pakistani nation:

One can identify the unifying strain of resistance against injustice and inequality in all these struggles. Kalabagh Dam seems to unify nationalists of all hues and strains against the World Bank hegemony of international consortiums to plunder the resources of 3rd world nations in the name of development and progress and giving them in return a legacy of debt.⁵⁴

Pakistan is a developing country and it is already under a huge loan, and by Kalabagh Dam there will come huge debts over the shoulder of weak Pakistan's economy.

We can say that Kalabagh Dam is not, totally, in favour of the country as a whole. Its damages, injuries and harms are more than its benefits. The construction of Kalabagh Dam will become a mean of great differences among the provinces of Pakistan. Moreover, the sense of loyalty to Pakistan will be destroyed and it will divide the whole nation, and an atmosphere of anarchy will be created in the entire country.

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⁵³ The experts were of the view that in the next hundred years flood will give no injury and harm to NWFP and particularly to Charsadda and Nowshera. But we saw, and we have a very bad and injurious experience when the heaviest flood in the History of Pakistan came in July 2010, and first of all hit and damaged the NWFP generally, and Charsadda and Nowshera particularly, while the expert had told us that Nowshera will have no danger of disaster in the next hundred years (Ibid).

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CHAPTER NO: 3

CENTRAL POLITICS OF ALLIANCES

Khudai Khidmatgar Movement started by Abdul Ghaffar khan before the independence of Pakistan which had worked for the Pashtoon society to improve them socially, educationally and economically etc. This movement provided a background for those organizations, parties and movements who were working for the unity and progress of the Pashtoons. The ANP workers are following even, today, the directions of Bacha Khan and Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. Khudai Khidmatgar Movement was purely for development and progress of the society and was not political in nature, but later on it dived in to the political main stream. Khudai Khidmatgar was affiliated with the All India National Congress in 1931. From this alliance of Khudai Khidmatgar and the Congress, the history of alliances of the ANP starts. By this alliance Dr. Khan sahib, brother of Bacha Khan became the Chief Minister of the NWFP. Actually Congress was a Hindu dominated party and most of the population of the NWFP are Muslims by religion, so, the Congress tried to cash the popularity of Khudai Khidmatgars.

After the partition of united India in 1947, differences emerged among the Awami League members and due to this National Awami party (NAP) came into existence. The NAP was itself a combination of different parties. In the leaders of the NAP, there was not too much unity and devotion. Maulana Bhashani was talking about the rights of peasants and labourers, while on the other hand Ghaffar Khan, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai and GM. Sayed were stressing on the breaking of One

Unit. It seemed that every one was working for its own interests. It was the reason that this alliance of different parties did not stand for long time and the NAP split in different groups¹.

One group of the NAP was called Wali Khan Group. The NAP had a political support in NWFP and Balochistan. According to the NAP's 1970 Constitution, it wanted to bring Socialism in the country. Social justice, democracy, independent foreign policy including good relations with India were included in the NAP's program. In the 1970 elections six candidates of the NAP were elected for the National Assembly out of 64. In the provincial Assemblies NAP got 13 seats in Balochistan and NWFP².

The NAP, the NDP and the ANP are different names of one party. This Party came into alliance with other parties for sharing the government of the provinces. While it remained in alliance with different parties when they made a united front against the government wrong policies or for ousting the military regimes. These kinds of alliances were made in the centre and the interests which were tightened with these alliances were the issues of the whole country. The NAP or ANP remained in alliance with United Democratic Front (UDF), Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) and Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) at the center, while it had made a coalition government with Mufti Mahmood in Balochistan, With Jamat-i-Islami, Pakistan People's Party and Muslim League (N) in the provinces i.e Balochistan and NWFP. The details of these alliances are given below.

3.1: UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF):

United Democreated Front was made in 1973 in opposition to the ruling Pakistan People's Party of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. This was a coalition of opposition parties in the National Assembly, in order to aware the common people about the undemocratic policies of Bhutto this front was made. The main parties forming this alliance were NAP, Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam, Jamat-i-Islami, Muslim League, Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Khaksar Party, Jamiat-i-ulama-i-Pakistan and independent members.

The National Awami Pary (Wali) was one of the parties affiliated with the UDF. The UDF started a campaign against Bhutto government. Wali Khan and other members of the NAP warmly participated in every step of the UDF. They gathered people and addressed large processions. The UDF arranged a general gathering at Gujranwala. In this gathering Wali Khan had just concluded his speech and Pir Pagara was coming for his speech, just in that time someone threw a bomb which hit the loud speaker and explode. Wali Khan fell down over Pir Pagara. If the bomb might have not hit the loud speaker Wali Khan would have been hit. In this attack many workers including Chaudhri Zahoor Ilahi were wounded³. In those days Pir Pagara was the President of UDF.

In those days UDF's members had arranged country wide tours. The UDF decided that we should have to convene a general procession in Rawalpindi at Liaqat Bagh. Many Pashtoons were invited by the UDF for the purpose to show them the reality, that Pashtoons were having mis-understandings regarding the Punjabis and to show them that you have your friends in the Punjab standing with you (Pashtoons)

against Bhutto. The NAP in general and Wali Khan particularly arranged a program, that the Pashtoons may attend this meeting in a large number. Wali Khan was busy in the National Assembly meeting, Therefore, the procession from NWFP was led by Ajmal Khattak, to Liaqat Bagh. Wali Khan came there from Islamabad, he and other members and friends of the UDF were waiting for the beginning of the formal program. During this time firing started at once. When the firing started, Wali Khan came on the stage immediately and was standing there. Firing was going on, at this time Chaudhri Zahoor Ilahi stood in front of Wali Khan and advised him to leave the stage, Wali Khan replied “those who are being killed they are human beings and Paktuns”⁴. Then the gathering was adjourned. Eighteen out of those buses in which Pashtoons had come to Liaqat Bagh were burnt by the terrorist elements. Abdul Wali Khan, then brought dead bodies of those workers and people who were shot down in Liaqat Bagh by the terrorists, to Peshawar. He requested the people here to show patience, and he declared that it was not a Pashtoon- Punjabi issue⁵.

This is a fact that the NAP (later on ANP) was not having satisfactory support out side the Frontier province and in some parts in Balochistan, by alliance with the UDF, the NAP had an opportunity to popularise it outside the NWFP, but there was a strong opposition from the side of the PPP, therefore, the party was not succeeded too much in this matter. The UDF remained in process till January 1977 when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto announced for the fresh elections for National and Provincial Assemblies, and dismissed the present National and Provincial Assemblies. Then the UDF came to an end and the PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) came into being.

Bhutto was not happy of the NAP's politics, and the NAP including other political parties of the country was against Bhutto and his policies. During the active time of the UDF, the NAP and his associates of the UDF gave to their parties a secondary status and their first priority was to control the policies of the country. Bhutto was only wishing that the PPP might get authority of the government, and now he was trying to bring his personal government. However, the UDF was in favour to talk about the country's issues with the government, but they, including the NAP and Wali Khan were not trusting Bhutto, that an agreement may not be respected by him⁶. The UDF toured the whole country to educate the people regarding the wrong policies of Bhutto. The last spot of the tour was Multan, there the UDF leaders and specially Wali Khan addressed the gathering, and the excitement of the people was visible, Chaudry Zahoor Ilahi predicted that "The Punjab found its leader (Wali Khan)"⁷. On February 8, 1975 Hayat Khan Sherpao was killed in a bomb explosion in the Peshawar University. Wali Khan was coming back to the Frontier to attend his funeral. When he reached Gujrat, he was arrested. Apart from Wali Khan, the NAP's President of the The Punjab Province Rao Mahroz Akhtar, the NAP's workers and leaders of all the provinces were arrested. When Hayat Khan was killed, Bhutto was on a tour of America. He left America and soon came to the country and on 9 February 1975 NAP was banned and it was declared responsible for Hayat Khan's killing. However, he founded the opportunity and convicted the NAP, arrested most of its leaders, workers etc and banned the NAP. When Wali Khan was sent behind the bars and the NAP was banned. Begum Naseem, Amir Zada Khan, Haji Bilour and those who were outside the prison made a National Democratic Party (NDP) in November 1975. The NDP

was a copy of the NAP. So far, the UDF was concerned, it came to an end, when in 1977 Bhutto announced for fresh Provincial and National assemblies elections.

3.2: PAKISTAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE (PNA):-

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto when saw that the ground is right for new elections, and all his political rivals were either arrested or various of them were scattered, then he announced elections in January 1977 and these elections were to be held in March. The political scene was totally seemed in favour of Bhutto. His rival alliance e.g. the UDF was not in a position to disturb him. Some of its leaders were in Jails, on the other hand a rift also appeared in the UDF while the JUP under the leadership of Maulana Noorani left the alliance. While on the other hand Sherbaz Khan Mazari was not still succeeded in bringing the political parties on one platform. So, it was a nice opportunity for Bhutto to win the elections⁸.

Bhutto's announcement for fresh elections alarmed the opposition. They joined together and tried to bring back harmony in the alliance. They tried to bring back Maulana Noorani. The leaders also contacted Air Marshal Asghar Khan. Both of them demanded that the UDF Should be renamed. The leaders after a little bit prevarications, agreed and it was renamed as "Pakistan National Alliance" (PNA). Mufti Mahmood became its President, Rafiq Bajwa, Secretary General and Pir Pagara became the Chairman of the Parliamentary Board of the PNA⁹.

All the political parties, honestly got together under the flag of the PNA. Similarly public supported the PNA with great zeal. At the mean time elections were held. The PNA declared these elections unfair, as there they sensed and claimed about

some trickery on the part of the government. Bhutto had been elected from Larkana without any contest as his rival candidate Jan Muhammad Abbasi of Jamat-i-Islami was kidnapped. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi Chief Minister of Sindh, Sadiq Hussain Quraishi Chief Minister of the The Punjab, Muhammad Khan Barozai Chief Minister of Balochistan and Nasrullah Khan Khattak Chief Minister of the NWFP were elected without any contest in the elections also. From Sindh twenty six PPP candidates and from Balochistan out of forty candidates twenty two were elected without any contest¹⁰. While Wali Khan including with other prominent political leaders were behind the bars. Begum Naseem Wali Khan, in the absence of Wali Khan i.e. her husband, she worked very hard for the PNA campaign. She also had played a decent role for the NDP in the absence of Wali Khan and won both the Provincial and National Assembly seats. Begum Naseem suggested the members who were elected for National Assembly from the PNA, to quit. She gave this suggestion in the PNA meeting held at Lahore. It was accepted and the opposition members quit the National Assembly and a movement against Bhutto government was started¹¹.With Nassem's participation in the PNA movement, meetings and gathering stopped the propaganda of the PPP that the PNA was the alliance of the extremist religious group, and it is against the rights of women. Because of this publicity, there was a possibility that the PNA's vote back to a certain limit would be dropped, thus this danger was removed because of the participation of Begum Naseem, who was now an elected member of the National Assembly. She worked very hard for the cause of the PNA. From the NDP, apart from Naseem, Sherbaz Khan Mazari had also provided company to the PNA and participated in the country wide tours of the alliance.

Once Mazhar Ali Khan came from Lahore to meet Wali Khan in prison. He objected on the matter of the NDP's participation in the PNA movement and on joining hands with extremist *Mullahs*, which is against the nature of the NDP, and told that "you" are against Bhutto Socialist government and silent politics. Wali Khan replied in these words:

Bhutto promised for *Roti, Kapra and Makan*, but had not fulfilled it He promised for Socialism, but he did totally opposite of Socialism, he promised for Democracy but it was out routen (by him). We are today come out to compete Bhutto, as we consider him harmful for the interests of poor people. We consider him a basic opposition to federal and provincial autonomy.... Therefore, we are not able today, to accept his policies and politics... (so far the alliance with the PNA is concerned). We came in the PNA, because, what Bhutto did with us? There is an army action going on in Balochistan.... Bhutto tortured our youngsters and brought them nude and disgraced them. He disgraced our women. Thus standing against such sort of Bhutto was necessary, this is *Mullah*, I will stand against Bhutto, even with a Devil.¹²

However, the day of election for National Assembly came. It was March 7, 1977 when the Votes were polled. Later, the results were announced and the PPP got majority of the seats. The PPP got 155 seats in the NA, out of which it got 108 seats from The Punjab, 32 from Sindh, 8 from NWFP and 7 from Balochistan. The PNA got 8 seats from The Punjab, 11 from Sindh and 17 from NWFP. It got 36 seats of the National Assembly¹³. The PNA candidates of Peshawar and Mardan, belonged to the NDP, while the candidates of Bannu, Kohat and Dera Ismail Khan belonged to JUP, and in these districts they were too much effective¹⁴. During polling time, twenty eight persons were killed and hundreds wounded in firing and Lathicharge¹⁵. The election results announcement annoyed and surprised the whole nation. The people decided for a country wide strike. Just at that time the leaders of the PNA were in a meeting at Lahore. Begum Naseem while coming to Lahore, saw people on a

strike and demanded for a boycott of the provincial election, and also to quit from National Assembly seats on the suggestion of Begum Naseem, and started agitation.

Bhutto always tried to include Wali Khan in his government by his (Bhutto) own conditions, but he never accepted it. First he tried by Professor Ghafoor Ahmad to contact Begum Naseem and Sherbaz Mazari, but in vain. Then on July 3, 1977 at 10 pm, through the superintendent of Jail, Bhutto's envoy met Wali Khan. He told Wali Khan:

Bhutto says that he has done wrong, and now he wants an agreement with you. Wali Khan said, if Bhutto wants negotiations, so People for negotiations are outside.... The envoy said.... That Bhutto wants to give you the Governorship of both the provinces.... He wants, that you may make a government in the center with him and half of the Federal ministers would (be appointed from your side by your own choice).... But he (Bhutto) only wants that you withdraw your support from the PNA and its movement. Wali Khan excused... we have some traditions. We do not (like) to get illegal benefits from Bhutto's compulsion. Today Bhutto is shaky when he (will) come out of this, then (we) will sit for negotiations with him.¹⁶

So, we can observe that Wali Khan never compromised with Bhutto. Moreover, following the PNA decision, all the PNA members of National Assembly including Begum Naseem resigned from the National Assembly. Begum Naseem was at that time the Vice-President of the NDP and was having two seats in the National Assembly, she also resigned from her seats. Secondly, the PNA decided for a boycott of the provincial elections scheduled on 10th of March 1977. Thirdly, they announced for a complete country wide strike on March 11. They appealed to the whole nation that they should boycott the provincial elections and participate in the strike. This strike was successfully observed on the proposed day. This strengthened the position of the PNA. People demanded that Bhutto should resign, Election Commission should

be dissolved, and fresh elections should be held under the supervision of Army and Judiciary. Bhutto was also in action in those days. He met with Maulana Noorani and Rafiq Bajwa, who was the Secretary General of the alliance. The alliance when sensed the conspiracy they dropped Rafiq Bajwa and instead of him Prof. Ghafoor became the Secretary General. Z.A. Bhutto then tried to converse with the PNA leaders, but they rejected any purposeless negotiations. Then Z.A. Bhutto arrested the leaders of this movement, he was expecting that it would relax the nation. But he was wrong in this calculation, and the agitation extended and severed. The situation was so much bad that Army was sent to Karachi and Curfew was imposed in various parts of Karachi. The country was passing through a dangerous situation. Movement was in action in every corner of the Country. Various members of the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies resigned from their seats. Dr. Mubashar Hassan Secretary General of the PPP resigned from his post. Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan who had just become a member of the PPP also resigned. Sardar Balkh Sher Mazari and Ameer-Abdullah including other members of the Provincial and National Assemblies resigned.

Earlier the PNA had rejected any kind of purposeless negotiations. When Bhutto observed that things were going out of his hands, he pledged to hold another pack of elections in October. But the PNA leaders did not trust it and still they had a suspicious environment, because still the PNA persons were being sent behind the bars¹⁷. Therefore, this attempt was failed. There was no way for Bhutto except negotiations with the PNA because the country was suffering from a great unrest. Bhutto met Mufti Mahmood and invited him for negotiations, at that time Bhutto was

ready to arrange for another election. Mufti Mahmood discussed the matter with the leader of the PNA, therefore, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Prof. Ghafoor, Sardar Sherbaz Mazari, Begum Naseem, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, Mian Tufail, Malik Qasim, Air Marshal Asghar Khan and Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan came to Wali-Khan to consult about Bhutto's proposal for negotiations.

The National Alliance stood firm on its three demands i.e. resignation of Bhutto, recruitment of a new Election Commission and fresh elections for the National Assembly. However, the alliance accepted proposal for negotiations and a programme was arranged for it. The PNA sent its three leaders i.e. Mufti- Mahmood, Nawabzada Nasrullah and Prof. Ghafoor, while Z.A. Bhutto, Hafeez Pirzada and Maulana Kausar Niazi were the members of the government team for negotiations. These dialogues began on 3rd June which resulted a sort of relief to the nation to some extent.¹⁸

At the very outset of the discussion both the sides i.e. the government and the PNA leaders were determined to reach a settlement and that there should be no undue delay in reaching an ultimate conclusion which would lead to ease the prevailing situations. During these talks Bhutto set out for a foreign tour on June 18, 1977, and when he came back, the PNA had prepared a complete draft. This draft was having, somehow over thirty points. The alliance also warned its members that they would not accept any kind of amendments in the draft. Bhutto presented his two formulas, one provided for the "re-polling" which Mufti Mahmood rejected, while the second formula opted for "re-election" which would be schedule on the basis of fresh applications from the candidates. Mufti Mahmood accepted the second option of re-election on all the Provincial Assemblies and National Assembly seats, because the

PNA had boycotted the election earlier and due to its boycott, only from Balochistan 19 members of the PPP were elected un-opposed. Here another problem emerged; Bhutto wanted to hold elections in November 1977. He also was ready to give five ministries to the PNA, while the PNA was not ready less than 50 % of representation in the Cabinet. The deadlock got a momentum when the PNA demanded to hold elections before August 14, 1977, while Bhutto was not ready. However, after a prolonged discussion the government agreed to hold election in the first week of October. Here the government also agreed to bring back the Army from Balochistan and would install an impartial government in the provinces¹⁹.

It has written earlier that while submitting the draft, the PNA emphasised its members that they should not accept any amendments in the draft. However, in a meeting in which Army Generals were also participating, they accepted amendments in the submitted draft. These amendments were rejected by the other leaders of the PNA. Then they prepared another draft consisting on 9 Points and was sent to Bhutto. Bhutto felt very serious on the presentation of this draft; he declared it against the promise and agreement. On 4th July the two sides met in the house of Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan and agreed that negotiations would be continued²⁰.

It is notable that some of the PNA members were in contact with Army. In a meeting in which Gen- Zia-ul-Haq was present, it was discussd, Gen- Zia assured Bhutto of his loyalty, he said “Sir, trust us we are your strong arms”²¹. Bhutto could not realized the real intentions of General Zia-ul-Haq. On 5th July 1977 at 2 a.m, they took over the government and declared Martial Law throughout the country. It was not a right action because “both the sides had agreed to sign the accord on 5th July.” It was

decided by the government to sign the accord with all new 9 points of the PNA¹⁸.

However, Zia-ul-Haq captured the government and promised for a new election in ninety days.

Begum Naseem Wali Khan and Sherbaz Mazari from the NDP later (ANP) were in favour of the military take over. They both met Mufti Mahmood and asked him not to enter in any accord and let Martial Law to come. They were of the view that only Martial Law can give a chance for conducting elections in ninety days. Asghar Khan was also in favour of the military take over. Thus the Army had no hesitation in taking over the government charge, arrested Bhutto and his ministers and also arrested the PNA leaders and was sent behind the bars.

By the movement of the PNA, the NDP (later ANP) drew a little bit support and concentration of the the Punjab to its own side, but they deprived in receiving the support in complete shape to its own side, outside of the NWFP²³.

The PNA Movement was not a simple movement. It has a particular nature. This pure political movement was declared a movement for “Nifaz-i-Shariyat.” During this movement 1623 vehicles were put on fire, eighteen important installations were destroyed, forty two houses were let down to ashes by putting them on fire, thirty shops of wine were looted, seven Hotels were damaged, seven government factories were destroyed, twenty three trains were damaged, eighteen Banks were looted. Apart from this 242 people were killed, 1227 wounded and nearly 17 thousand persons were arrested. Most of the people were killed in Karachi and Hyderabad, and here 132 people were killed. While 101 killed in the Punjab, 2 killed in Balochistan and 8 persons were killed in the NWFP²⁴.

The main aim of the PNA including the NDP was to get rid of Bhutto. The NDP participated whole heartedly in the movement of the PNA. Begum Naseem, Sherbaz Mazari and other NDP members worked for their combined cause. Begum Naseem and Sherbaz Mazari addressed the mob wherever they went on toures with the PNA members. Once Mufti Mahmood informed Wali Khan that Begum Naseem is individually working more than the rest of the leaders of the PNA. He was very much impressed by her as he said to Wali, "Begam Naseem by her speeches impressing people deeply more than us."

Begum Naseem and Mazari were in favour of Martial Law as the NAP (NDP later ANP) was banned by Bhutto, arrested its leaders and members, and killed many people. Only more than twenty people were killed at Liaquat Bagh in Rawalpindi. Therefore, the NDP took a whole hearted part in the movement. Begum Naseem and Mazari asked Mufti Mahmood not to sign any accord with the government and let Martial Law to come. Then the government was over thrown by the Army and Zia-ul-Haq imposed Martial Law on 5th July 1977. Gerneral Zia withdraw all the cases against the NAP leaders and they were set free. Wali Khan was also released from jail in December. From Hyderabad he was brought in a special plane to Peshawar. Wali Khan and his wife are being criticized by critics for extending their support to the Army General to over throw an elected Prime Minister. Once he was asked by a famous Journalist Mukhtar Hassan regarding this, so he replied:

In a civilized society, how can you change the government? Usually you will have to hold election after five years, But Bhutto did not spicify the date of next election according to the date of previous election, but specify it from that date when he held up the government. Hence the elections were held after seven years. Then in these elections he (mislead the People), thus it was not possible to oust

this person by parliamentary ways. So, the people came on the roads.... We were often leading this kind of movements against the British, but it was very much excited one as far as I have ever seen. From Peshawar to Karachi the whole nation stood (against the government)... But, did Mr. Bhutto respect the desires of the people? He remained still firmly. He used his federal security Force and his Police against the People.... Therefore, I am supporting the present government to this extent that it ousted Bhutto... secondly,... this government promised that it would scrutinize the previous government.... thirdly.... the present government promised for just and free elections. These are the points; on the base of which we support this military government²⁵.

Although the military regime promised for a fresh elections within ninety days, But this promise was not fulfilled and these ninety days were prolonged. Although after a few years elections without political parties were held, but who can consider it that democracy will be successful without political parties. However, when Bhutto was overthrown, the PNA leaders were arrested. Wali Khan was already in prison. Gen-Zia invited the PNA leaders to participate in the government and to serve the nation. On this issue differences came in the PNA. The NDP advised the PNA leaders not to participate in the government affairs. We have promised with nation for pure democracy, so, how can we join the Martial Law government. The PNA split into two branches, one was in favour to work with the Martial Law government, while the other one forbade their workers not to be a part of the government. However, except NDP, Tehrik-i-Istiqbal (Asghar Khan) and JUP of Maulana Noorani, all other parties of the PNA joined Martial Law government. Thus the PNA met its unfortunate fate.

3.3: MOVEMENT FOR THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY (MRD):-

Zia-ul-Haq, on 5th July 1977 arrested Bhutto, his ministers and the PNA leaders and took over the government. He then released nearly 11000 prisoners. In

these prisoners 5000 belonged to The Punjab, 4000 were from NWFP, 1000 from Sindh and 350 belonged to Balochistan²². When Zia-ul-Haq became the Chief Martial Law Administrator, he went to meet Wali Khan in Hyderabad Jail after three weeks. Zia told Wali Khan that Hyderabad Jail Conspiracy Case was closed under an agreement between Bhutto and the PNA, therefore, I would follow and respect this agreement. I have released the rest of prisoners, but not going to release you, the next government would decide about it. Wali Khan answered that we are not the PNA and you are not Bhutto. Therefore, there is no legal justification to follow that agreement. Wali Khan was then released from Hyderabad Jail in December. He was brought to Peshawar in a plane and then the Peshawar Police brought him to his native village. After release from Hyderabad jail, he, as a member, joined the NDP with his NAP friends and participated in party politics under the party President Sherbaz Mazari.

Chief Martial Law Administrator was trying to get support of Wali Khan, therefore, through the Governor of NWFP, he arranged a programme to meet Wali-Khan. Wali Khan, Sherbaz Mazari and Begum Naseem met Zia at Peshawar and they discussed various issues. Zia invited Wali to come in the government and also offered him the office of Prime Ministership. But Mazari and Wali Khan were not agreed and refused to do so.

For the second time, Fazli Haq met him in England and gave the message of Zia-ul-Haq that all the concerned authorities have decided that you should come in the government and you would have a full authority over the government. But he told him “I am a common member of the party and Sherbaz Mazari is the present President of the party. Zia again for the third time tried to invite Wali Khan, and this time he

offered him the post of Secretary General of the SAARC Association, but again he refused.

When Zia cleared his way by removing Bhutto unconstitutionally and then he was executed. During this time situation of Afghanistan drew the attention of the USA towards this region. Keeping in view these circumstances, Zia postponed the elections which he had promised in July 1977, and announced that these elections would be held in November 1979 and this promise was also put off in October 1979, the election was not only put off, but this time he cancelled the elections.

The Russian penetration in Afghanistan strengthened Zia's future. Zia was now propagating himself by exploiting the prevailing situation in the neighbour country that it was the question of national security that he must remain in government. He and his comrades pleaded that instead of elections, strong Pakistan was the need of the day²⁷. America sided with him and he tried to get more benefits from these situations. Now the matter crossed political limits and the race started between Islam and *Kufr*. He clearly declared that pure western democracy can not work in the country like Pakistan, and here only Islamic law and system can work smoothly. On this way he tried to stop Soviet Union. America started to finance and help Zia. Zia rejected American aid of four hundred crores Dollars. Then American aided the Martial law government of Pakistan with three thousand and two hundred crores. America was happy with a military government in Pakistan and thus the name of Islam was using for the cause of America.

The post-poning and then the cancellation of elections annoyed people of the country generally and political personalities particularly. Zia banned political parties

and censored the newspapers strongly. The cancellation of the elections disturbed the political scene. Zia had a desire to Islamize the society rather than holding election, and this Islamization was for the cause of America after Soviet penetration in Afghanistan²⁸. It became a shock for the political parties.

General Zia's position was made sound by the Supreme Court of Pakistan which legalized the imposition of Martial Law. Moreover, the PNA mutual differences strengthened Gen. Zia and democracy was weakened. Zia on one hand was busy to shatter the PPP and on the other hand he was trying to prolong his Martial Law government by different excuses from time to time. He defunctioned the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan and presented his own Constitution i.e. Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) in 1981 under which he produced some basic principles. He announced that the prevailing principles of elections were un-Islamic, therefore, he announced for Islamic democratic system of elections, that there is no place for elections in Islam, nomination is the right way. Thus the Assemblies were declared un-Islamic by a verdict of Zia. He nominated different people, the Parliament was given the name of Majlis-i-Shura. He also tried to make the opposition silent by declaring it un-Islamic²⁹.

Gen. Zia wanted to prolong his government which he was heading by imposing Martial Law. For this Purpose he used many excuses. So, he first postponed the elections then he cancelled it. The political parties and political activities were strictly banned, strikes were declared against the law. The newspapers were censored and several newspapers were stopped. There was a state of uncertainty in the country. Zia issued an Ordinance by which he declared that the political parties must have to make

its registration with the government for election. The PPP rejected this registration. Thus the government banned those parties who declined the order of registration, thus the PPP was banned by this Ordinance.

Till that time objectives of the PPP and other political parties were same i.e. to defunction Martial Law government and to hold fresh elections for installing a responsible government. On this way they had at that time some common objectives. So, on 6 January 1981 at the house of Begum Nasrat Bhutto nine political parties had a meeting. In this meeting they decided to launch a movement by the name "Movement for Restoration of Democracy" (MRD)³⁰. Although MRD came into existence in January 1981, However, proposal of an informal nature was forwarded by Nawabzada Nasraullah Khan, the then Vice-President of the PNA. It was happened in a meeting of lawyers and political workers at Lahore in October 1980. They were trying to isolate those parties who were pro-Zia, at the same time Jamaat-i-Islami and PML (Pir Pagara group) were co-operating with the military regime³¹.

So far the meeting of political parties at the house of Begum Nusrat- Bhutto was concerned, there they prepared a draft, discussions were held regarding the draft and it was finalized as the following text:

Despite the divergence in our political complexion we the signatory parties to this declaration, feel it our moral duty and national obligation to apprise the Nation of the gravity of the situation endangering the very existence of the federation of Pakistan. Pakistan and Martial Law cannot co-exist. An earlier, Martial Law, under General Yahya Khan, resulted in secession of East Pakistan. The Martial-Law of Zia-ul-Haq today threatens once again the existence of the federation of Pakistan. These crises of Colonial magnitude can only be met with the united will and support of the entire country, mobilized by a popularly elected government. We therefore, demand that Zia-ul-Haq quit and Martial Law be lifted immediately, failing which they will be removed by the irresistible will of the people; that free, fair and impartial elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies be held within three months, in accordance with the unanimously adopted Constitution of 1973, and power be transferred to the elected

representatives of the people and the interests of the four federating units be fully restored and protected³².

This draft was the origin of another alliance of political nature.

Begum Nusrat Bhutto first signed it, followed by Nawabzada Nasrullah, Sardar Abdul Qayyum, Maulana Fazlur Raman and Khwaja Khairuddin. From the side of the NDP Sardar Sherbaz Mazari signed it. Pir Pagara declined the offer of signing this draft. The following political parties were the part of the MRD:

(1) Pakistan Peoples Party	(2) NDP	(3) JUP
(4) Kashmir Muslim Conference	(5) Mazdoor Kisan Party	
(6) Tehrik-i-Istiqlal	(7) PML (anti zia group)	
(8) National Liberation Front	(9) Pakistan Republican Party.	

The JUP was included in the MRD, but after few months it moved away from the MRD and JUI made its entry in the alliance. In 1984 Awami Tehrik entered in the alliance while Tehrik-i-Istiqlal quit the MRD.

3.3.1:- THE NDP (LATER ANP) ROLE IN THE MRD:-

MRD was an alliance of the 9 political parties of Pakistan, with Pakistan Peoples Party. Apart from the PPP, the leftist groups, the rightist groups were included in its main stream. After the formation of MRD Khwaja Khair-ud-din was made the Secretary General of the MRD and Wali Khan was appointed as its first Convener. In the MRD movement

Wali Khan had a prominent positon. During Zia's Martial Law regime, he played a great and vital role for restoring democracy. He also worked hard for stabilizing, organizing and to make MRD more workable³³. Using the platform of MRD, he played a great role against the Martial Law regime of Zia, and against his Islamization. Which he had considered for Zia's own interests and an excuse for the extension of his regime. For this purpose Zia secured himself from every side. Only judiciary was a department which could push him in danger. Zia was not unaware of it and he ordered that all of the judges would take a fresh oath of allegiance and and they would be sworn for their duty and also to Martial Law, that it would not have to accept any application against any of the Martial Law Officer. Zia-ul-Haq also dismissed the post of Chief Justice, because he was thinking that Chief Justice have no authority to interfere in the Islamic Law. A Provisional Constitution Order (PCO) was enforced on 24 March 1981, replaced what was left in 1973 constitution. The judges of the superior courts were asked to take a new oath. Four judges of the Supreme Court, seven judges of the Punjab High Court, two from the Sindh High Court and two including the Chief Justice of Baluchistan High Court either voluntarily refused or were disallowed by the Martial Law authorities to take oath under the PCO, they lost their jobs. Thus, first of all, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Anwar-ul-Haq was asked to take an oath on such conditions, which he refused and he was dismissed. Different judges from different provinces resigned. Durab Patel, another

judge of Supreme Court resigned from his post. However no judge belonging to NWFP resigned from his Post, not even a single judge. This act of judges of the NWFP was condemned by Wali Khan and the NDP. They also condemned and protested against this illegal and unconstitutional act of the Martial Law regime³⁴.

Zia's Islamization was bitterly criticized by Sherbaz Mazari, Wali Khan and other NDP leaders and workers by using MRD's platform. There other comrades who were enthusiastically participating in the movement for restoration of democracy, they were also continuously condemning Zia's steps, Because they were rightly thinking that this Islamization was not purely for Islam, but it was for the American benefits, because America had her own interests in Afghanistan, as Russia was present in there in those days, and America was busy in a cold war with Russia in those days. So, Zia raised a slogan of Islam which indirectly emotionalized *mujahideen* to fight enthusiastically against Russia in Afghanistan, and resultly America would become a single super power³⁵.

When the formation of MRD was announced, Wali Khan and his wife Begum Naseem were in England. When he came back to Islamabad, the NWFP Magistrates and Officers brought him to his house and confined him there. Bacha Khan and Naseem were already arrested by the government. Then he was brought to Kohat and confined him in the rest house of Tanda Dam.

The Purpose of MRD was to save Pakistan. Therefore, under the Presidentship of Sherbaz Mazari a “save Pakistan Committee” was formed in 1982, while its Secretary was Malik Muhammad Qasim. Now here was a need for a provincial set up of this committee and of MRD, and then to extend its Power, but this remained only a suggestion and never done anything practically until it was wind up in 1988.

MRD leaders in which Sherbaz Mazari, a member of the NDP was included, they demanded:

1. The political parties should be restored and the ban should be lifted off.
2. Censorship should be lifted off.
3. The rights of civil judiciary be restored and the military judiciary should be abolished. Moreover, rights and interests of the four federating units be protected.
4. The Constitution of 1973 should be restored in its original and unamended form and free, fair and impartial elections should be held³⁶.

Actually MRD was formed for ousting the Martial Law regime and to restore pure democracy. On the other hand Zia was well informed about the aspirations and ill-feelings regarding him³⁷. So, he overlooked the election and announced on December 1, 1984 to hold a referendum on 19th December 1984 in which the question regarding Zia’s Islamization and at that time prevailing laws of Pakistan was kept before

the people, that whether the people would like the process started by Zia, to be continued?³⁸ It was the most interesting referendum, in which such a question was asked from a nation which is having a great majority of Muslims, so how could they vote against Islam? In the referendum was no question having any thing regarding Zia, but it was regarding Islam. And here Zia used Islam for his own interest. Thus, the referendum results were in the favour of Zia, and it means that Zia became the President for next five years. To control the annoyed masses, zia passed repressive laws³⁹. However, Zia became the President by using Islam for his own self. According to the Chief Election Commissioner 60% votes were polled in the referendum and 97.71 votes were in favour of the President, while according to a careful survey, voters were not more than 20%⁴⁰. It was a unique referendum of the world in which there were no apprehensions for those people who were talking in favour of the referendum, while repressive laws were made for those who were against the referendum.

The MRD boycotted the referendum and also appealed to the nation for not participating in it. The people, too did not participate in this referendum, and according to Wali Khan 7% people polled their votes in favour of Zia-ul-Haq. “The Economist”— a newspaper of London published regarding the referendum in such words, “An exercise so absurdly rigged that the most Communist Governments would have been ashamed of staging it”⁴¹.

The referendum made smooth the excuse of Islamization for Zia.

Now, he in his Islamization process announced Islamic Banking system, *Ushr* and *Zakat*. He invited Wali Khan and discussed these three decisions. Wali Khan condemned it and declared it un-Islamic and unwise. According to him there were un-Islamic taxes like local rate, *Abiana*, *Maaliya*, Super tax, income tax, import export duties etc. so, in the presence of these taxes there is no room for *Ushr*, *Zakat* etc. If these taxes were abolished, then *Ushr* and *Zakat* would be imposed. Wali-Khan also condemned Islamic Banking system as it was not for the real cause of Islam⁴². However, now Zia was the President of Pakistan and his next step was to hold election.

Now it was the time for election in the NDP, because Sardar Sherbaz Mazari as the President of the NDP (later on ANP) had completed his two terms as a President of the party. So it was necessary that there would be an election in the party. Therefore, the election was held and Wali Khan became the President of the NDP. Till the election of Wali as the President of Party, Sherbaz Mazari or Begum Naseem who as the member of the NDP were attending the MRD meetings. Now Wali Khan used to attend these meetings and first meeting he attended was at Abbotabad in 1985.

Zia-ul-Haq announced on January 10, 1985 that elections without political parties would be held in next month. National Assembly's elections were scheduled on 25 February while the provincial elections were to be held on 28 February 1985.

MRD had already decided for a boycott of these elections of 1985, as these elections were going to be held under the rules and regulations of Martial Law regime. MRD in its meeting at Abottabad on January 20 1985 decided that MRD would take no part in the elections till the Constitution of 1973 would not be restored and elections should be held under the rules and regulations which were under practice till July 4, 1977. The next meeting of the MRD was scheduled in Lahore, but the MRD leaders were arrested. Asghar Khan protested to the authority by a telephonic interview to the journalists. On 17 February, 17 leaders were arrested, while on 18 February Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Mazari, Khwaja- Khair-ud-din and Asghar khan were also arrested.

Although MRD had boycotted the elections under Martial Law and they also appealed to the nation that they should, too, Boycott the election. But it was an opportunity for the restoration of democracy after long eight years, so the people enthusiastically participated in the election of 1985. In this election 52.93% of the total votes were polled⁴³. However, six out of eight Zia's Cabinet members lost the election, while only eight out of sixty Jamaat-i-Islami candidates won the elections.

The MRD did not participate in the elections. Although its case mainly rests on the fact that President Zia offered to put off the ban on almost all politicians to take part in the election but they considered that it was a trap, As the MRD had not trusted Zia, because he had a long history of not full filling promises with the nation and MRD too. Thus in the meeting at Abbotabad, They decided, not to participate in the election⁴⁴.

Many people were disappointed over the MRD's decision to boycott the election. These were mostly political workers and the so-called "Pragmatic" elements among the intelligentsia. They were looking forward to elections after seven years of political inactivity. Those sections of the people who were in favour of MRD's participation in the election, put forward a strategy for MRD. According to them MRD should go ahead with the elections. By this way, It would become an internal pressure group, (i) to expand available opportunities for mobilization within, (ii) To launch movements against specific oppressive measures of the regime, (iii) To turn the character of the election into a de-facto party based contest etc.

However, MRD boycotted the election and these elections were conducted in accordance with President Zia's August 1983 plan. The Assemblies came into being and the new born National Assembly showed its free handedness in the election of its Speaker. Khwaja Mohammad- Safdar who was a President's candidate for the seat of Speaker was defeated by Syed Fakhr Imam. On the other hand a variety of political activities had been monopolized by the government. Chief Ministers and Cabinets were sworn in, portfolios were assigned and all the concerned persons assumed their responsibilities. So far the MRD was concerned; it can not be denied that it had suffered serious setbacks in the last years before its conclusion. It not only confronted direct challenges on the part of Zia, but it too suffered from its internal disharmony. The PPP, the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal and the NDP, three strong allies of the MRD indulged in its internal party problems. While the formation of another opposition front- the

Sindh-Baloch Pashtoon Front had brought a major rift in MRD. Consequently, The MRD parties had been generally shaken, and weakened by serious dissents within their ranks. Organizationally, they had taken a step backwards.

After the withdrawal of Martial Law, Zia agreed that the political parties would be allowed to work, but in certain limits. Mohammad Khan Junejo the Prime Minister of Pakistan made Official Pakistan Muslim League (OPML) on 18 January 1986. As according to the Political Parties Registration Act, every party was required to register itself within a month just after its existence. By these registrations it was declared compulsory for every party to show its financial resources, assets along with its manifesto. The newly born OPML registered itself with the Election Commission. These conditions were severely condemned by MRD and it rejected these laws. While Tahrik-i-Istiqlal was the party which did not join with MRD against these developments. By this the MRD's second phase of protest started. During these days the MRD leadership was desperate. But soon the coming of Benazir- Bhutto to Pakistan on 6th April 1986 gave a new hope to the MRD.

The MRD was hoping for mid term elections. But it was strongly ruled out by Zia. He claimed that his government was Constitutional which had a heavy mandate through the referendum and the elections of 1985. So far the MRD itself was concerned; it suffered from serious crisis and contradictions throughout 1986. After the elections of 1985, it struggled for its unity and stability at its internal level. Each party in MRD was trying to impose its own

ideology. So far Abdul Wali Khan was concerned, he was demanding for the framing of a new Constitution; instead of the 1973 Constitution⁴⁵. The PPP was also suffering from its internal crisis. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Ghulam Mustafa Khar left the PPP and formed a new party by the name of National People's Party (NPP) in August 1986. Tehrik-i-Istiqbal withdrew its support from the MRD in October on the issue of registration, on the other hand Khair-ud-din faction of ML also left the alliance. So these developments affected the alliance severely.

During the post 1986 period, the MRD tried to take the other political parties in confidence. Now the MRD apart from its fundamental activity of bringing pure democracy, it insisted for free foreign policy and severely criticized biased and pro-American foreign policy of the regime. The MRD was in favour of a solution of Afghan problem, and friendly relations with the USSR and India. Meanwhile, the PM Junejo was in the process to take initiatives on the issue of Afghanistan. It was not liked by Zia. These developments also strengthened MRD. However, cracks came within the Junejo-Zia government and finally Zia dismissed Junejo's cabinet and dissolved National Assembly on 29th May 1988.

Just in those days there was little celebration and still a less relief because of the Soviet's agreement to pull their troops out of Afghan soil. Zia also did not live longer to see the moment when the last Soviet soldier departed Afghanistan. On August 17, 1988, Zia was in a flight back to Islamabad from Bahawalpur in C-130 Aircraft. There was an American ambassador Arnold Raphel including with the Pakistan highest ranking generals in the aircraft. None of them reached their

destination. An explosive device placed aboard the plane when the craft became airborne. Zia and the other were consumed in the explosion. Thus the era of Zia had ended amidst the violence and chaos that had characterized Pakistan from the day the general seized power in 1977⁴⁶. As the incident was a cause of relieving the nation and the MRD of a long and tiring military suppression and humiliation. After the death of Zia an independence rally on August 14, 1988 turned to be the last activity of MRD.

MRD was a joint front against the military regime in which nine political parties were participating. It was demanding fair and free elections and pure democracy. The PML (Pir Pagara group), the Jamaat-i-Islami and the JUP were out of the alliance.

After the military take over of Zia in 1977 the political parties were expecting that Zia would fulfill his promise of holding fresh elections. The PPP was not happy with him as Bhutto was executed and also put its notable leaders and workers behind the bars. So the PPP was not in a position to hold the challenge of Zia alone. Only the PPP in the MRD was such a party which was having a mass support particularly in Sindh. So far the other opposition parties were concerned, it lacked the same kind of support, and this support was badly needed against the military regime.

MRD was an alliance of different people who belonged to different political parties. Every party was having its own ideology. The NDP (ANP) was having a secular type of attitude, while most of the other parties were exploiting the name of Islam. During the last period of MRD, differences had come in the alliance. Wali Khan from the side of ANP was demanding complete provincial autonomy which

needed an amendment in the Constitution. This was not liked by the other parties and differences took a severe shape.

Wali Khan had also established a MRD at provincial level, leading by Muhammad Afzal. But here, too, was a state of anarchy. They were preparing the strategy of participating in the next elections. But here the PPP and the JUI (F) made an alliance for the elections.

MRD was not a highly successful movement, it faced a state of desperation in its last days. It worked for the restoration of pure democracy, but could not touch the other issues of the nation. It should have to work for the people who were not having a control over the use of their own resources. Wali Khan himself had signed the 1973 Constitution on the condition that after ten years of the making of Constitution, there would be included a clause in the Constitution which would provide a power to the masses to have an authority over the use of their own resources⁴⁷. But from the MRD platform they could not raise and discuss the same issue.

Although MRD did not achieve a success against Zia, and also not able to restore pure democracy in Zia's life. but it is true that it gave a tough time to Zia and his comrades. If there was not MRD, the military regime would have given a great damage to the country.

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⁴ Zeerak Utman Khel, *Khan Abdul Wali Khan: Zindagi aur Jeddoo Juhd* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2010), 56.

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⁶ Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan aw Khudai Khidmatgari*, 129.

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⁸ Ibid, 174.

⁹ Ibid, 175.

¹⁰ Ibid, 176.

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¹² Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan aw Khudai Khidmatgari*, 179.

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¹⁴ Safdar, *Pakistan: Tarikh-o-Siyasat*, 152.

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¹⁹ Khan Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan aw Khudai Khidmatgari*, 184-185.

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²¹ Ibid, 61.

²² Ibid, 63.

²³ Durr-i-Nayab Sahibzada, “Ankh Hairan hai kia Shakhs Zamane se Utha”, *Aaj*, (Peshawar: 29 January 2006).

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²⁷ Syed Muhammad Ali, "Politics of Alliances: A Case Study of MRD (1981)", (MSC Pakistan study, thesis. Islamabad: Allama Iqbal Open University, 1997) 17.

²⁸ Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan aw Khudai Khidmatgari*, 307.

²⁹ Ibid, 309.

³⁰ Murtaza Anjum, *Pakistan main Fauji Hakoomatiein* (Lahore: Dar-ul-Shoor, January 2001), 347.

³¹ Syed Muhammad Ali, "Politics of Alliances: A Case Study of MRD", 17.

³² Ibid, 20-21.

³³ Nisar Muhammad Khan, "Rahber-i-Tehrik: Abdul Wali Khan ne pori Zindagi Pashtoon Qaum ke Haqooq ke lie Waqf kar Rakhi thi", *Subah*, Peshawar. 27 January 2006.

³⁴ Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan aw Khudai Khidmatgari*, 310-311.

³⁵ Ibid, 402-403.

³⁶ Syed Muhammad Ali, "Politics of Alliances: A Case Study of MRD", 23.

³⁷ MRD cannot be regarded purely as electoral alliance, its foundation document served as the "Charter". This declaration is the 1st of its kind which focused entirely on the restoration of democracy. Then MRD realized the fact that this declaration was not enough to motivate and mobilize a comprehensive mass support. By 1983 MRD adopted 31 points programme which was the charter of demands as well of the alliance (Ibid).

³⁸ Murtaza Anjum, *Pakistan main Fauji Hakoomatain*, 350.

³⁹ No one was allowed to organize masses against the referendum. Zia himself arranged gatherings in all big cities of Pakistan and informed the people regarding the importance of referendum. Any act or voice against the referendum was strictly banned. Five lacs fine and three years imprisonment was announced for the violators. Newspapers were strictly forbidden not to publish anything against the referendum (Ibid, 350-351).

⁴⁰ Ibid, 351.

⁴¹ Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan aw Khudai Khidmatgari*, 318-319.

⁴² Ibid, 315.

⁴³ Murtaza Anjum, *Pakistan main Faouji Hakoomatain*, 354.

⁴⁴ Mohammad Waseem, *Pakistan under Martial Law 1977-1985* (Lahore: Vanguard, 2002), 57.

⁴⁵ Syed Mohammad Ali, *Politics of Alliances: A Case Study of MRD*, 42.

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CHAPTER NO: 4

Provincial Politics: Political Evolution of the ANP

Zia-ul-Haq remained in Power and occupied authority for a long period of time since 1977 to 1988. Majority of people stressed him to hand over the government to a popularly elected body. However, it was a natural phenomenon, because the artificial structure might not go for long. Including the MRD all the serious minded people stressed and pressurized heavily the President that he should have to conduct fresh elections that the governmental responsibility might be transfer to a popularly elected person¹. On the other hand Zia wanted to remain in the main stream power. He restored the Constitution of 1973 with various amendments for his own benefits. After that he authorized himself as President of Pakistan for next five years through a referendum. However, an election was held in 1985 which was contested without political parties. Muhammad Khan Junejo was elected as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. In those days Afghan factor had affected the national politics².

In the prevailing conditions in all over the country the environment of NWFP was gloomy due to the death of Bacha Khan. After the customary mourning of the death of Bacha Khan, Awami National Party became active once again. In those days on the grounds of a clash among the politicians and army officers, Ojhri Camp incident and the signing of Geneva Accord made the

President fierce and he prepared a charge sheet against the PM Junejo, blamed him for various things and dismissed him along with the National Assembly in May 1988 and an announcement was made for fresh elections in the next 90 days. The President first announced that the election would be held on party basis, but later he did not find it desirable to his own benefits thus he, later announced that these elections would also be held without political parties. This annoyed the politicians and obstructed the way of a smooth political improvement. However, after the demise of Zia-ul-Haq the new President Gulam Ishaq Khan announced on a party based elections in the country.

The year of 1988 may be regarded as the year of changes. The President died in an air crash, the MRD split away and thus the alliance came to an end. However, the case of MRD in the matter of election is concerned so far, in the elections of 1988, Ali Gohar Khan, the provincial President of Pakistan National Party, was expecting only three parties in the MRD that they might win the elections i.e. the ANP, the PPP and the JUI (F). It was considered necessary that they might co-operate with each other. Following the suggestion of Ali Gohar Khan, the ANP made two committees, one was led by Afzal Khan and they were assigned the task to negotiate with Maulana Fazlur Rahman, and the second one which was led by Begum Naseem, and this committee had to negotiate with the PPP. According to Afzal Khan, *Mullahs* were not ready to co-operate or negotiate with them. The *Mullahs* were very much confident that they would obtain fifty four seats out of eighty Provincial Assembly seats³. So the ANP did not succeed to make an alliance with JUI (F). On the other hand Masood-

Kausar- a leader of the PPP informed Begum Naseem that they had made an alliance with JUI (F) and thus the second committee also failed to make an alliance with the PPP. The MRD was almost finished by the Alliance of both these parties earlier. Logically this alliance was not the perfect one. There were great ideological differences between these two political parties. Banazir Bhutto clearly had announced that she would work for Socialism and Secularism, while Fazlur Rahman was working for Nizam-i-Mustafa and Sharia. The other *Mullahs* condemned this alliance while the ideological leaders and members of the PPP also condemned it.

Awami National Party faced another problem when the President of Pakistan Ghulam Ishaq Khan announced that those who have not the National Identity Card (NIC), they could not poll their votes. This annoyed the leaders of the ANP because their real strength was the rural areas, and in these rural areas most of the people did not know about the N.I.C. So due to this the ANP remained deprived of the support of a maximum majority.

When PPP and the JUI joined hands with each other and nearly this alliance gave a defunctive status to MRD, and it almost came to an end. The ANP now took the responsibility to make preparation for upcoming election. The provincial President of the ANP Afzal Khan, convened a meeting in which a Parliamentary Board was made. Later on an announcement was made that the candidates for the elections of the Central and Provincial Assemblies should submit their applications along with the fee. They had assigned this duty to a particular wing of the party both at central and provincial levels. The members of

that particular party circle would convene a meeting, if there would be one candidate so it was easy, but if there would be members more than one, then the Parliamentary Board would have to decide the matter in favour of a candidate⁴. The ANP Parliamentary Board decided in favour of eighty candidates to contest the provincial elections of 1988. Out of eighty candidates thirteen were elected to the Provincial Assembly of NWFP⁵. The Provincial Assembly of NWFP in 1988 was composed of eighty members, out of these four seats were reserved for women and three seats for Non-Muslims⁶. Total number of registered voters of the Provincial Assembly of the NWFP in 1988 elections were 5862193, in which 2187961 votes were polled which is 37.32%⁷. This time the ANP, apart from Peshawar, Charsadda, and Swabi, won a Provincial Assembly seat in Bannu. However, Afzal Khan was contesting elections for Provincial Assembly from Swat, but he lost this, which was very astonishing for the party. Wali Khan himself lost his seat from Utmanzai (Charsadda) and it was very much disappointing for the Awami National Party. So far the ANP position at the National Assembly was concerned, it won only three seats. One seat won by Haji Ghulam Ahmad Bilour from Peshawar, second by Abdul Wali Khan from Charsadda, and the third seat won by Abdul Khaliq from Swabi. The ANP got 409,555 votes in its favour, which is just 2.1% of the total votes⁸. So far the position of other political parties was concerned, the PPP got ninety two seats, Islamic Democratic Alliance (an alliance of 8 Parties) won fifty five seats, Independent candidates won thirty seven and other parties won nineteen seats of

the National Assembly of Pakistan⁹. No party could win an absolute majority in the National Assembly.

Due to a long military regime, results of the 1988 elections were bad. Long years in power had enabled the military to spread out so widely in the civilian institutions of the state and society that its influence was firmly established in all walks of life. It had affected public and private sectors, industry, business, agriculture, education and scientific development, health care, communications and transportation¹⁰. So due to the spread of military in all walks of life resulted the decline of political process and awareness, and as a result no party could win an absolute majority in its favour, neither at Central Assembly nor at provincial assembly level. Although the PPP got majority in the total seats of National Assembly, but it was not an absolute majority to make the government of its own. In NWFP the PPP contested the election on fifty seven seats and won twenty one seats¹¹. The Pakhtnus in Balochistan favoured *Mullahs*, Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri and Ghaus Bakhsh Bezinjo lost their seats. In The Punjab, Muslim League under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif won more seats than any other party. An enough number of independent candidates were elected. Nine ministers of Zia's Cabinet lost the election. Former Prime Minister Junejo, and Pir Pagra of Sindh lost the election. General Fazle Haq who was the care taker Chief Minister of NWFP, he was contesting four seats, but he lost totally in contest. On the other hand Fazlur Rahman won only two seats¹², so a single party was not in a position to form the Government without a coalition.

4.1: Awami National Party Alliance with the PPP:-

As there was ban on political activities during the military regime even The 1985 elections were contested on non-party basis and Zia-ul-Haq also had announced that the election of 1988 would also be contested on Non- party basis, but Zia died soon and then Benazir Bhutto filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court of Pakistan, and the Court decided that the election would be contested on party basis. It was 2nd October 1988 when the Supreme Court reversed the ban on political parties and they were granted the permission to contest the election. So this was the impact of military regime that no party alone was able to form the government. Just after the election results, Wali Khan went to Dehli on 22nd November to attend Asian Relations Conference (ARC). When he returned to Islamabad, Haji Ghulam Ahmad Bilour and the President of the ANP Afzal Khan welcomed him at Islamabad airport. Afzal Khan informed Wali Khan about the alliance with the PPP, Wali Khan suggested him to call a meeting of the Party Working Committee and what would they decide, it would be mandatory. Bilour read the agreement and told him that the PPP will give them five Ministries. Chief Minister would be taken from the PPP and the Governor from the ANP. Wali Khan realized that the agreement was singed before the discussion and consent of the Working Committee, he criticized it bitterly. Wali Khan totally was not in favour of an alliance with the PPP, because the time was not right for this kind of step. First of all the Afghan War had affected the politics here. So far the matter of the NWFP governorship was concerned; it was not possible that the ANP would have assigned the governorship of the NWFP,

as the ANP was clearly opposing the policy of Pakistan regarding the Afghan War. While all the equipments were being sent to Afghanistan through Tribal areas, and these Tribal areas were under the order of the provincial Governor. So in these circumstances it was impossible that the Governor would be taken from the ANP. Secondly, the PPP was having her own mentality and traditions and they would never give its due share to her ally¹³. Thirdly, when the PPP was passing through a difficult time, Bhutto was assassinated in those days. They founded a safe platform through MRD, but when it stood firmly on its own footings they joined hands with the JUI (F) and smashed down the MRD alliance. Fourthly, the loyalty of the PPP was already tested during Bhutto's period. Wali Khan and its party fully supported Bhutto and also helped him in framing the Constitution of 1973, but Bhutto a little later dismissed the governors of the NWFP and Balochistan and the governments of these provinces resigned as a protest. Fifthly, Bhutto arrested more than 120 members of the ANP in different provinces. So, in these circumstances the alliance with the PPP would not be durable as we saw later on the same thing happened. Wali Khan was against this alliance keeping in view the past experiences. But the ANP Working Committee approved the alliance with the PPP, although Wali Khan was strongly against the alliance, but when the party Working Committee had passed about this matter, he assured the Working Committee about his own support to make this alliance successful.

The ANP and the PPP both had participated in the MRD movement against Zia. Now the PPP was contesting the election alone, still the ANP decided to make a coalition government with the PPP. The PPP after 3 months of its Ministry in NWFP asked the ANP to send names of 3 candidates for Governor's post. Then the Provincial Working Committee of the ANP was assigned the task of deciding names for the proposed post. So, under the Presidentship of Afzal Khan this Working Committee gave authority to the Provincial Parliamentary Board of the party to decide only one name. However, two names were proposed to the party, one was Abdul Khaliq Khan and the second was Afzal Khan. So the matter was resolved through a petty lottery and the name of Abdul Khaliq Khan was taken out. Abdul Khaliq Khan was more alarming name for the PPP as he had left the PPP during the period of Bhutto, Wali Khan was confirm that Khaliq's name might not be brought in President's mind for the Governorship of the NWFP. Moreover, he was charged that he was a Communist, and in those days Russia was fighting a war in Afghanistan, so how he would be the Governor of NWFP. The PPP approached Begum Naseem, discussed the controversy about of Abdul Khaliq and also proposed Begum Naseem that if she wanted to be the Governor, then the PPP would not have an objection. She rejected the proposal on the plea that it was the joint decision of the ANP' Parliamentary Committee¹⁴.

However, doubts emerged; conspiracies were sensed by the ANP on the part of the PPP. Apart from the issue of governorship, it is said that the ANP Ministers were not given the real powers regarding their ministries. Moreover,

the PPP tried to bring the ANP members in the PPP by any way they founded the possibility. Due to these reasons differences sharpened between these two political parties¹⁵. The ANP Working Committee decided to breach the alliance with the PPP, and thus the alliance came into an end with great disappointment. However, Sherpao continued as Chief Minister with a paper thin majority by holding on to the independents and by making some dents in opposition after the withdrawal of the ANP¹⁶.

4.2: Elections of 1990 and the ANP Alliance with Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) in the province:

Due to a lot of differences between the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Pakistani nation has to face and bear another blow in the shape of dismissing the National and Provincial Assemblies. When these differences intensified, the President thought to get rid of the government led by Benazir. Thus the President dismissed the National and four Provincial Assemblies on the charges of corruption, lawlessness, inconvenience and bad status. It was August 6, 1990 when this step was taken. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi was sworn as a care taker Prime Minister. It was also announced that fresh elections for the National and Provincial Assemblies would be held in next three months.

So far the view point of the ANP was concerned regarding the dismissing of the government; Wali Khan condemned it and declared it as a punishment of the nation instead of the punishment of incompetent rulers¹⁷. However, every

political party started preparation and campaign for the proposed upcoming election. The PPP had made an alliance with JUI (F) in the 1988 election and claimed 93 seats in the National Assembly. Now in 1990 the PPP was shaky, its government was dismissed by the President, the people were annoyed as they were under the charges and allegations by which its government was dismissed. So in these circumstances they felt the need for a new alliance. Thus the PPP made an alliance by the name of People's Democratic Alliance (PDA), the PPP ran in this coalition with the parties who were having a smaller status. Tehrik-i-Istiqbal of Air Marshal Asghar Khan and Muslim League of Malik Qasim were now joined hands with the PPP.

Another political coalition Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) was a grouping of parties whose chief component was the PML-N had been formed in 1988 to oppose the PPP in the election of that year. The PPP emerged as the single largest group in the National Assembly, and its leader, Benazir became the PM, at the same time, however, Nawaz Sharif emerged as the most powerful politician out side the PPP. Just two years later the IJI under Nawaz Sharif's leadership achieved victory in the polls and Nawaz Sharif took over in peaceful, Constitutional transfer of power.

The Awami National Party was concerned so far, in 1988 it formed a coalition government with the PPP in NWFP. However, after a few months, the ANP due to severe differences got out of the coalition. Now the ANP's Provincial Working Committee accepted the proposal to take the IJI in confidence. This Committee immediately arranged a programme and approached

its leader in the centre; arrangements were made for a meeting. The leader of the IJI, Mian Nawaz Sharif was the Chief Minister of The Punjab in those days. A group of the ANP met him and an agreement of twenty two points were proposed. Now the agreement was brought to Begum Naseem that it might be discussed in detail, and every member of the meeting was in favour of this agreement, except four members i.e. Afzal Khan, Latif Afridi, Afrasiyab Khattak and Mukhtar Bacha. But the ANP had decided not to be a part of any alliance for the elections after a bitter experience of alliance with the PPP in 1988.

However, general elections were held on October 24, 1990 for National Assembly, and those for Provincial Assemblies three days later. When the result was announced, the IJI led the day. The political coalition of the IJI had two-third majority in the National Assembly. They got 106 seats in The Punjab, 6 in Sindh, 33 in NWFP and 7 in Balochistan¹⁹. The PDA succeeded in claiming 44 seats in the National Assembly, 10, 46, 6, and 2 in The Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, and Balochistan Provincial Assemblies respectively. The Awami National Party got 6 seats in the National Assembly, 23 in NWFP Provincial Assembly¹⁸. The PDA percentage was only slightly lower (36.38%) as compared to that obtained by the IJI (37.16%) in terms of the popular votes. The IJI and the PDA had only the difference of 0.54% in the popular votes. The ANP percentage remained 1.7 in the National Assembly seats, and it secured 356, 160 votes²⁰. The ANP secured almost double seats (23) in the Provincial Assembly of NWFP as compared to the elections of 1988 (13seats).

As far as the alliance of the ANP and the IJI was concerned, it was approved by the Party Central Working Committee, before the elections in a positive manner. Moreover, an alliance of these two factions was suggested for these elections, but it was not succeeded, still it was necessary for the ministers of this province to have an alliance, because the PPP had secured six seats and The JUI(F) succeeded in winning two seats in the Provincial Assembly of NWFP. It was commonly being hoped that this alliance might be better and useful in favour of the province. Mir Afzal Khan was the President of the Muslim League Parliamentary group in the NWFP, an agreement was signed by him and Begum Naseem Wali of the ANP. Six Ministries were assigned to the ANP, and they were installed in the provincial cabinet²¹.

Abdul Wali Khan had been defeated by Maulana Hasan Jan in Charsadda. A little later of the election results were announced, Nawaz Sharif suggested Wali Khan that he should have to become a member of the National Assembly through the The Punjab province, but he refused on the plea that he was rejected by the people of his own district. Afzal Khan- the Chief Minister of the NWFP also offered him a seat, coming through the Punjab to the National Assembly, but he again rejected. Mir Afzal advised him to become a member of the Senate, but he refused again. Thus by this defeat Wali Khan retired from electoral politics, however, he continued to be a member and worker of the party. The Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif wrote a letter to Wali Khan, offering him a seat in the Central government. This matter was assigned to the Party Working Committee that they, after discussion, would decide about this suggestion of the

Prime Minister. According to the point of view of Wali Khan there were several hinderances blocking the way of the alliance at Centre. Foreign Affairs, Kashmir's dispute, Afghanistan Problem etc, were at the top in this connection. Several issues at internal level, too, were problems which could effect the alliance of both the parties like Kalabagh Dam issue, royalty of electricity, water distribution of Indus River and the issue of Sharia bill etc.

However, a Committee of four members was made under the leadership of Ajmal Khattak and was given the responsibility to check the possibility of this alliance at central level. Although Wali Khan threatened the government, that if they were not given their legal and constitutional rights, they will go out of the alliance in the province, however, the alliance remained and worked till the end of Nawaz government in 1993. As a result of success in 1990's elections, Mir Afzal Khan became the Chief Minister of the NWFP as there was a coalition government of the IJI and the ANP in the province. Mir Afzal Khan remained Chief Minister of the province twice, once as caretaker in the interim government of Moin Quraishi, and again as an elected one during the first term of Nawaz Sharif in 1990. That was the time when he managed to bring the Muslim League and the ANP closer, not with standing their divergent ideologies. Later he developed differences with Nawaz Sharif over the question of renaming the NWFP as "Pakhtunkhwa" a popular demand of the ANP.

As far as the ANP alliance with the IJI was concerned, after joining the IJI coalition, the ANP almost gave up the strong Pashtoon identity. Although, Ajmal Khattak and others were favouring the alliance as he says, "we are still anti-

imperialists and insisted that IJI-ANP alliance was made in the national interests²². Khatak is right, but the ANP loosened a little bit the grip of Pashtoon Nationalism, as there is a big difference in the ideologies of both the political parties. The ANP was, and still is against the construction of Kalabagh Dam, but the IJI (Muslim League) and the rest of the The Punjab is still in favour of its construction²³. Similarly the ANP is insisting that the Frontier Province should be renamed as Pakhtunkhwa, but the Muslim League including various other political parties are against the renaming of the province. We have seen later, that the alliance had wind up in 1998 due to these basic differences and even Mir Afzal Khan, a member of the ML and the former Chief Minister of the NWFP, had developed severe differences with the IJI over the issue of renaming of the province in 1998 and he, even left the party. Moreover, issues of electricity's royalty of the NWFP and provincial autonomy were the hinderances could be making the smooth journey of the alliance block. By this coalition, the ANP almost gave up the strong Pashtoon identity. It had cherished for many decades. The ANP still clings to its partnership with the IJI; although it opposes many of its policies on important domestic issues ²⁴, refered above. The alliance later on collapsed in 1998.

Tension between the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif intensified in those days because by December 1992 Ishaq Khan indicated his interest for second term of Presidency. To him occupancy of Presidency was not something personal only. He thought that it was important for the interest of the nation as a whole. Differences between the President and the

Prime Minister grew more, when the President did not receive any positive response.

Only this was not a reason of tension between them, Nawaz Sharif also had showed his intensions to seek removal of the Eighth Amendment from the constitutional order to restore the original power of the Prime Minister. It was needed a two-third majority in the Parliament and to repeal the provision, the Prime Minister did not have two-third majority in the Parliament²⁵. Benazir Bhutto realized the whole situation and began a process of reapproachment with the President. She agreed to chair the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs. After a few days her husband Asif Ali Zardari was released on bail after two years imprisonment. The Prime Minister thus, initiated a review of the Eighth Amendment. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, in these circumstances, was not a silent spectator. He dissolved the National Assembly on April 18, also dismissing Nawaz's government on charges of corruption, maladministration, nepotism, failure to work effectively with the provinces, and unleashing a "reign of terror against the opponents of the government".²⁶ Balakh Sher Mazari was appointed as Caretaker Prime Minister and elections for the National Assembly were scheduled on July 14, 1993. Thus, apart from the dismissal of the Central government the provincial cabinets were also dismissed, and thus the coalition government of the ANP and the IJI came to an end. However, their alliance remained in process till 1998 when the alliance met its fate on the issue of renaming the NWFP as "Pakhtunkhwa", when the IJI opposed the renaming of the province. So far the dissolution of the National Assembly was concerned; Nawaz Sharif challenged

this dissolution in the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The Supreme Court restored the National Assembly by a verdict that this dissolution was not within the ambit of powers conferred on the President by the constitution. But, still the differences of the President and PM were severe, and there was a fear of a civil war. So, on army's intervention, the PM agreed to dissolve the National Assembly and the President agreed to resign. Chairman Senate, Wasim Sajjad took over as acting President and Moin Qureshi became the Caretaker Prime Minister²⁷.

4.3 Elections of 1993 and 1997 and the role of the ANP

Democracy in Pakistan did not strengthen its roots in Pakistan. It is our misfortune or bad luck that sometimes it has been routed out by the Presidents through dismissing elected governments, while some times Army generals interrupted, dislodged the elected governments and imposed Martial Law. After the dismissal of Nawaz government, the following years upto 1997, were full of almost continuous crisis. Democracy was in crisis, a civil war in Karachi had disturbed the whole nation, and economy was at the verge of collapse. American analysts were moved to question whether Pakistan was a "Failed State", another Somalia or Rwanda in the making. There were also constitutional and administrative problems, as there a tussle going on between the President Ghulam Ishaq and the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif which resulted the dismissing of the elected government²⁸.

After the death of Zia, Pakistan entered in the third period of democratic rule and many in the country had high hopes that they were embarking on a new era. In the post-Zia period, there was no shortage of elections, 1990, 1993 and 1997 were the prominent elections. But the most significant thing was that the turnout figures of those elections were steadily declined from 50 percent in 1988 to 45 percent in 1990 and to 40 percent in 1993. Officially the turnout figure for the election of 1997 was 35 percent, although the true figure was probably closer to 26 percent²⁹. In the earlier elections *Biraderi* (brotherhood) played a reasonable role in mobilizing voters. The importance of local political influence compared to party organization and manifestoes, especially in the smaller Provincial Assembly constituencies, and the poor electoral showing of the Islamic parties the PIF (Pakistan Islamic Front), the IJM (Islamic Jamhoori Mahaz) and the MQM alliances, which despite fielding just under 200 National Assembly candidates between them, captured only nine seats³⁰.

In the elections of 1993, there were total 1,485 candidates contesting, but still the main fight was between the PML of Nawaz Sharif and the PPP of Benazir Bhutto, their policies were very much similar but saw a clash of personalities with both parties making many promises but not explaining how they were going to fulfil these promises. Nawaz Sharif stood on his record privatizations and development projects and pledged to restore his programme. Bhutto promised price supports for agriculture, pledged a partnership between the government and business community, and campaigned strongly for the female votes. Polls showed a very close contest between the two main parties, but there was a lot of cynicism

among voters. The Army was credited with making sure that the elections were fair and deployed 150,000 troops in polling stations to ensure the transparency.

In general elections of 1990, the IJI got a tremendous success. In the history of Pakistan till that time, neither a single political party was given such a mass mandate by the nation. Due to a strong mandate, it was being expected that the government will complete its full tenure of five years. However, differences emerged between the President and the Prime Minister, and it became so severe that it almost got a sort of cold war. So, the National Assembly was dissolved on 18 April 1993, a caretaker government was formed with assigning the responsibility to hold fresh elections. These elections were held on 6 and 9 October 1993. However, it was boycotted by the MQM. These elections resulted in a hung Parliament. The PPP managed to win eighty six seats, while in 1988 they succeeded in winning ninety two seats. The PPP performed strongly in Bhutto's native Sindh province and in the rural The Punjab, while the PML-N was the strongest one in the industrial Punjab and the largest cities such as, Lahore, Rawalpindi etc. So far, the ANP was concerned, it got three seats in the National Assembly, while in the Provincial Assembly of NWFP the ANP secured twenty one seats. In NWFP the PPP won twenty two seats and the PML-N fifteen candidates were elected for the Provincial Assembly of NWFP. So, in the Provincial Assembly of NWFP not a single party became eligible to form its, while in the centre there was the same situation. The Muslim League got 7,980,229 votes for its seventy three seats in the National Assembly with a percentage of 39.9, the PPP got 7,578,635 votes having 37.9%, and the ANP got

335,094 votes having 1.7% for its three seats in the National Assembly³¹. After the election results were announced, both main parties lobbied the smaller parties and independents for their support in the National Assembly. The PPP was successful and on October 20, 1993 Benazir Bhutto was elected as the Prime Minister of Pakistan for second time. She secured 121 votes to 72 for Nawaz Sharif. This time she was in a stronger position and more mature than 1988³². Ms. Bhutto was sworn into the post on 19 October. She then named a coalition cabinet, smaller in size than before. The results of the provincial elections favoured the PPP and were regarded as strengthening the Prime Minister's chances of maintaining a durable government. In the following month Presidential elections were held on 14 November 1993, in which Farooq Ahmad Khan Laghari defeated Wasim Sajjad, thus he became the President of Pakistan, elected by the members of the National and Provincial Assemblies.

The PPP and the PML-N made a coalition government in the NWFP. Since the ANP was in an alliance with the PML-N, so, it also remained in the provincial government. As the ANP and the PML of Nawaz Sharif combinely became able to get enough seats in the Provincial Assembly of NWFP, thus Pir Sabir Shah of PML-N was sworn as the Chief Minister of NWFP. Although the ANP was having more seats as compared to the Muslim League in the Provincial Assembly of NWFP, but it gave way to a candidate of the Muslim League, which's party was stable and famous one in Pakistan and had strong roots in The Punjab, so, it was a very good decision on the part of the ANP. However, after five and a half months Benazir Bhutto tried to get the support of the members of other

parties, as she was dreaming to form her own government in the NWFP, and all this was done through Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao. Thus due to this situation, the ANP left the government and came in the opposition.

To control the Frontier Provincial Assembly Benazir tried her best. In the Provincial Assembly, by the help of the PPP, Junejo and twenty four members of independent group presented a No-Confidence Motion and claimed that including the Muslim League, forty five members are favouring the No-Confidence Motion and Pir Sabir Shah, now, has no majority in the house, therefore, he should have to resign or to get vote of confidence. Sabir Shah declared it as a conspiracy against his government and according to him it would lead to the destruction in the NWFP. Benazir Bhutto declared that the federal government was not involved in the matter of the No-confidence. President Laghari declared it Constitutional and refused of any horse trading. Voting was to be held on February 23, 1994. Right on that day the house was very much tumultus, the members used abusing words for the rival members and thus the Speaker had to adjourn the session till 31st March, while the Deputy Speaker differed with it and announced 24th February for next session.

However, the Governor of NWFP called the Assembly meeting on February 26, and advised Sabir Shah to take vote of confidence. On the other hand Farooq Laghari dismissed the Provincial Assembly on February 26 under the article 247 of the Constitution, dismissed the Chief Minister and his cabinet, and hand over all powers of the provincial government to the Governor. The opposition condemned the Governor Raj as unconstitutional and unlawful³³. During this time the ANP

politics was being dominated by the works for the provincial autonomy and rights of the province³⁴. The ANP remained in the opposition in the Provincial Assembly of NWFP till the end of the Central government of the PPP.

Benazir for her second term of Prime Ministership was expecting to be mature, experience and strong as compare to her position in 1988. However, the internal prevailing situation in the country increased troubles for the Prime Minister. In Karachi an environment of violence continued, many people were killed and injured, Nasir Hussain, the elder brother of Altaf Hussain was kidnapped and murdered. There were political problems in The Punjab. An open conflict surfaced in June 1995 when the Governor Altaf Hussain died, who had collaborated closely with the PML-J Chief Minister. Clashes between Pakistan and Indian armies continued in 1995 along the line of control. On 26 January 1996 two Indian rockets hit a village in Azad Kahmir, killing nineteen people and destroying a mosque³⁵. Moreover, Pakistan's economy was in a miserable condition, corruption was very common and the country was under huge debts. So, these developments contributed to the factors which led to the dismissal of the Benazir government. Over all condition of the country was tumultuous. *New York Times* declared the year 1996 as a year of discontentment and disappointment in Pakistan³⁶. During these times of unrest President Laghari gave an ultimatum and said:

The performance of Assemblies is not satisfactory, instead of regular law Making, the country is going on Ordinances. In the best interests of the country it (it becomes necessary) I can use the power of the dismissing the assembly, whether some one like it or not.... For ending this dead lock whatever is possible, I will do it³⁷.

However, in these deteriorated circumstances, the President was having no option other than to dismiss the Assembly, and he did it on the night of November 4 and 5, 1996. Former Speaker National Assembly Malik Meraj Khalid was sworn as a Caretaker Prime Minister next day. He continued till 17 February 1997, when the elections were held and the new government took charge. With the end of Benazir government, the provincial governments were also dismissed, and thus the role of the ANP as an opposition came to an end.

After the dismissal of Benazir government, the caretaker government was responsible to hold elections. The President announced that the elections of the National Assembly and four Provincial Assemblies would be held simultaneously on February 3, 1997. By the announcement of fresh elections, the election campaign started throughout the country. Unlike the election of 1993, these elections were not considered too fair. Procedural defects, nevertheless called the absolute fairness of the polls into question. Moreover, impartiality in the presence of caretaker government was not being expected enough. According to the announcement of the Supreme Court verdict, polling day was so near that the PPP was discouraged to mobilize mass support³⁸.

The caretaker government fulfilled its undertaking of holding the general elections in time. In Pakistan fresh general elections were held on 3 February 1997. This was the first time in the history of Pakistan that elections for National and Provincial Assemblies were undertaken simultaneously. The Jamaat-i-Islami boycotted the election, while a tough contest was being expected among three political parties i.e the Muslim League (N), the PPP and the newly born Tehrik-i-

Insaf. A total number of 54 political parties took part in the elections. The National Assembly had 217 seats comprising 207 Muslim and 10 Non- Muslim seats. The Punjab had 115, Sindh 42, NWFP 26 and Balochistan were having 11 seats to vote. So far, the National Assembly was concerned; only 203 Muslim seats were contested, whereas elections to four seats were postponed.

It was expected that there would be a low turnout of votes at these hurriedly called elections, but the turnout was even less. Laghari admitted in his television address on the evening of 3 February 1997, that the turnout in urban areas had been 26 percent and in rural areas 27%³⁹. According to the election results, the PML-N won a two- third majority in the National Assembly, about 90 percent of the seats in The Punjab Assembly and 31 seats in NWFP Assembly. In Sindh and Balochistan, no Party had an absolute majority, though in Sindh the PPP had obtained more seats than any other party. Benazir denounced the election results as being, engineered⁴⁰.

The PML-N secured 135 National Assembly seats, it also got 31 seats in the NWFP Assembly, whereas the PPP could get only 18 National Assembly seats. So far, the case of the ANP is concerned, it obtained 9 seats in the National Assembly and secured 28 seats in the NWFP Assembly⁴¹. The rest of the seats were secured by other parties and independent candidates.

As the PML-N had obtained more than two-third majority in the National Assembly, and consequently Nawaz Sharif, the leader of Pakistan Muslim League (N) was elected Prime Minister by the National Assembly. He obtained vote of

confidence from the National Assembly, on 18 February 1997 and federal government was formed in coalition with the ANP and the MQM.

As the ANP and the PML-N had an alliance, the ANP sided the PML-N in forming the federal government. Both the political parties made a coalition government in the NWFP also. Sardar Mehtab Khan Abbasi, a combined candidate of the ANP and the PML-N was elected Chief Minister of the NWFP on 22nd February 1997. The ANP fully cooperated with the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in bringing several amendments to the Constitution. There was a constant tussle between the President and the Prime Minister for power over the issue of Eighth Amendment, because it had authorized and empowered the President to dissolve the Assemblies. The situation became tenser because of the unwillingness of the political parties to work in the interest of democracy. A number of very important Constitutional amendments were introduced during Nawaz Sharif's second term. These included the termination of Eighth Amendment, passing of the Thirteenth Amendment and the Ehtesab Act, 1997. In all these amendments the ANP favoured and helped its partner the PML-N⁴². Apart from these amendments, the ANP helped the PML-N in passing Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments also.

So far the matter of provincial politics is concerned, as earlier observed that the ANP and PML-N coalition government under the Chief Ministership of Sardar Mehtab Khan Abbasi was installed. As the main theme of the ANP's politics is based on Pashtoon Nationalism. It always tried to work for the Pashtoons. The alliance between the two parties with divergent World views remained intact for some time despite pursuing different political agenda....until the issues that had

been swept under the carpet resurfaced. The ANP wanted the NWFP to rename as Pakhtunkhwa, but Nawaz Sharif could not agree to the demand because he did not want to take on the forces of establishment dominated by his constituents in his native Punjab. His announcement after Pakistan's nuclear test in 1998 to go ahead with the construction of the controversial Kalabagh Dam also antagonized the ANP and other nationalist parties in the smaller provinces. The alliance finally collapsed, and the ANP, true to its cause, walked out of the coalition government in the NWFP⁴³.

The ANP continued its fixation with Pakhtunkhwa and Kalabagh Dam under Ajmal Khattak and later when Wali Khan's eldest son Asfandyar Wali Khan became the party Central President. So much so that the ailing and ageing Wali Khan was prevailed to come out of retirement and address an anti- Kalabagh Dam rally at Jehangira town in 1998. Prior to that, Wali Khan made a political appearance in the post-retirement phase when the Pir Sabir Shah led PML-N and ANP coalition government was removed through a vote of No-confidence backed by Benazir Bhutto led federal government in 1994. He criticized the move and remarked that money and strong arm tactics were the new face of democracy in Pakistan⁴⁴.

The Pashtoon Nationalism is the ideology of the ANP and it never compromised over it. The alliance with IJI since 1989 remained till 1998 and collapsed due to the uncompromised attitude of the PML-N over the renaming of the NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa. The PML-N generally, and Nawaz- Sharif particularly was in favour of the construction of Kalabagh Dam, while it was declared harmful

by the politicians of NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan. Thus the ANP leadership, workers and followers had been firmly against the construction of Kalabagh Dam. So, the ANP left the alliance and also the coalition government of the PML-N and the ANP over the issue of renaming of the province and construction of Kalabagh Dam. The government of PML-N led by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif came to an end, and the civilian rule in Pakistan suffered from another set back on 12th October, 1999, when Chief of Army Staff General Parvez Musharaf dismissed the elected government of Nawaz Sharif on charges of corruption and bad governance. It was the fourth Martial Law in the fifty years history of Pakistan. So, far the ANP is concerned, since October 1999, is against the policies of General Parvez Musharaf⁴⁵, and it is not agreed to his policies and to work for it.

4.4 Provincial Autonomy:-

The ANP right from very beginning tried to get provincial autonomy for the NWFP. It always favoured and supported the same demand of every other province of Pakistan. The ANP's predecessors i.e Bacha Khan and Khudai Khidmatgar workers struggled for the Pashtun autonomy, in one way or the other. When the 3rd June plan was announced in 1947, Bacha Khan and Wali Khan refused to accept it. According to them this division was the split of the Muslims. While there was a genuine mass mobilization during the League's civil disobedient campaign in the spring of 1947. This period saw also, the raising of the slogans for autonomous Pashtun State. During this time the

demand for an autonomous Pakhtunistan was put forward. This slogan was the logical conclusion to the Congress earlier championing of Pashtun interests and culture. It contained within it the powerful Pashtun fear of The Punjabi domination in the name of religion⁴⁶. Regarding this purpose and also to educate the people to boycott the referendum in NWFP, on June 21, 1947 Bacha Khan and KKs demanded in Bannu Resolution for an autonomous Pakhtunistan⁴⁷. This demand was taken against the solidarity of Pakistan, and in those days when Pakistan was having trembling foots, it was not a legal demand. However, as a Pashtoon nationalist Bacha Khan and other Khudai Khidmatgars demanded for autonomous Pakhtunistan. Bacha Khan also declared in Bannu meeting and urged the Congress to boycott the referendum and continue to work peacefully for its Pakhtunistan demand; his attempts to do so in post independence Pakistan cost him lengthy periods of imprisonment. Wali Khan, nevertheless, continued to press for Pashtoon interests which were further institutionalized in the National Awami Party (NAP) in 1957. By the merging of the West Pakistan's provinces in 1955 One Unit was made.

After the formation of National Awami Party, the merging of West Pakistan provinces disappointed the NAP's workers and leaders. It called for the dissolution of One Unit scheme⁴⁸, and demanded the restoration of the provinces, which would give greater regional autonomy. The NAP's successful passage of a bill through the West Pakistan Assembly which provided for the dissolution of the One Unit precipitated Pakistan's head long descent to military takeover and the abrogation of the 1956 Constitution⁴⁹.

Agitation against One Unit Scheme intensified, various of the Khudai Khidmatgars were sent behind the bars and leaders were sentenced long imprisonment⁵⁰. However, later on, when Yahya Khan came in the government, finished one unit and restored the provinces. After the election of 1970, when the political deadlock got momentum, the NAP and Wali Khan worked in favour of Pakistan. He also worked hard to achieve full provincial autonomy. When the matter of 1973 Constitution came, Wali Khan with other political parties and leaders agreed on the Constitution. The Constitution of 1973 granted a sort of provincial autonomy, but it was not practicalised, Wali Khan made a commitment with Bhutto that it would must become in practice after ten years because in 1973 Pakistan was in miserable condition and any sort of confrontation would have damaged Pakistan. Bhutto was also agreed to give royalty of electricity, but it was also to be granted after ten years of the making of 1973 Constitution. After Zia's Martial Law regime, when Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister in 1988, the ANP made a coalition with the PPP and Wali Khan reminded Benazir Bhutto regarding the royalty of electricity and also asked for the provincial rights of water. When the coalition with the PPP failed, the ANP made an alliance with IJI in 1989. The agreement they signed was providing a point for the above issues. As a Pashtoon nationalist Party, the ANP also demanded that NWFP should be renamed as Pakhtunkhwa. The ANP as an ally of the PML-N had continued its struggle for the provincial autonomy during this alliance.

On the issue of Kalabagh Dam, the ANP never compromised with any government and any of the political parties. The Kalabagh Dam is considered very much harmful for the three provinces of Pakistan i.e. NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan. So far, the PML-N alliance is concerned, it remained irrespective, of their divergent ideologies, till 1998. The alliance came to an end when the ANP founded the PML-N against the renaming of the NWFP. The Prime Minister announcement about the construction of the Kalabagh Dam further deteriorated their confidence and also the prevailing situation, thus the ANP left the coalition government and also gave an end to its alliance with the PML-N.

The struggle for Provincial autonomy is still going on and the ANP is confident that it will achieve its goal finally ⁵¹.

Notes and references

¹ Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Tarikh –o- Siyasat* (Lahore: Jahangir books, 2010), 96.

² Zia was considering the Afghan issue very important and he was dreaming to enter in Afghanistan as victorious. While on the other hand Junejo signed the Geneva accord and almost damaged the President's plan. Moreover, the President did not like the independent attitude of the Prime Minister regarding the inquiry of the Ojri Camp Incident. Thus Junejo- the PM of Pakistan was dismissed including the Assemblies. (See, Mehdi Hassan, 58-59).

³ Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari* vol-3 (Charsadda: March 1998), 441.

⁴ Tape recorded interview of Begum Naseem Wali Khan at Wali Bagh, Charsadda. Dated 31-10-2010.

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⁶ Ibid, 543.

⁷ Ibid, 174.

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⁹ Ibid.

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¹² Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari*, Vol-3, 457.

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¹⁵ Hafiz Taqi-ud-din, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Jamatein aur Tehrikein* (Lahore: Classic, 2001), 485.

¹⁶ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, n.d), 99.

¹⁷ Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari Vol- 3*, 632.

¹⁸ Ghulam Hyder and Masood Akhtar Zahid, ed. *Transition to Democracy in Pakistan 1985-88* (Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, 2005), 60.

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²⁰ Election Commission of Pakistan, *Report on General Elections 1990, Vol-3* (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, n.d), 560-563.

²¹ Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan aur Khudai Khidmatgari*, 671.

²² *Daily Frontier Post*, Peshawar. August 18, 1992.

²³ Sherbaz Mazari, *A Journey to Dis- illusionment* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 47.

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³⁷ Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, 356.

³⁸ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 815.

³⁹ *The News*, Islamabad. February 4, 1997.

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⁴¹ The Thirteenth amendment was put before the National Assembly on April 1, 1997, which was passed by a two-third majority of the house. It empowered the Prime Minister to repeal 58(2) B, and to advise the President on the appointment of three forces. In the proposed amendment Bill, Clauses to restore the women Parliamentarian seats and to convert the Ordinance into an act of the Parliament were also incorporated. The power of the Governor to dissolve the Provincial Assemblies under Article 112(2) B was also done away with. (See, M. Shahid, 319-320).

⁴² Rahimullah Yousafzai, "The Family Tree in Wali Bagh". *The News*, Islamabad. February 5, 2006.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Shamim Shahid, "Wali Khan: A Decent, tolerant politician". *The Nation*, Islamabad. January 27, 2006

⁴⁵ Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, 86.

⁴⁶ M.A. Sofi, *Pakhtunkhwa Kion*, 36.

⁴⁷ Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and Pakistan Movement: The Growth of The Muslim League In the North West and the North East India, 1937-1947* (Karachi: 1998), 24.

⁴⁸ Khan Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari Vol- 3*, 305.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Zeerak Utman Khel, *Khan Abdul Wali Khan: Zindagi aur Juddo Juhd* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2010), 35.

⁵¹ The ANP worked hard to win the provincial autonomy and this struggle is consisted on a long span of time. At last in 2010, the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan was passed, under which the NWFP was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Moreover, the provincial autonomy is granted to the provinces. The Concurrent list is finished, and various departments are transferred to the provinces. Still the process of transferring power and several departments to the provinces is going on (See, Draft of Eighteenth Amendment, Islamabad: Senate Secretariat, April 20, 2010).

Conclusion

Political activities and condition of the political parties in Pakistan have always faced with crisis. Still it was a new born country, when it suffered from the death of two great leaders with in no time i.e. Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaqat Ali Khan. In 1958 Pakistan came under the first Martial Law regime. The political instability started from the death of Liaqat Ali Khan, still is not finished, because Pakistan is ruled by army generals far more than the elected governments. Since 1947 to 1999, all elected governments and popularly elected National Assembly have completed its term of five years. Apart from this when an army chief came into power, on one side he tried to prolong his regime with various excuses like Islamisation of Zia-ul-Haq etc, while on the other hand the Martial Law regimes tried to bring amendments in the Constitution of Pakistan which depended on their wishes. So, political activities and political culture have not been promoted to such a link which can bring maturity to the politicians.

The ANP, like the other political parties of Pakistan struggled and faced various storms of the Martial Law regimes. Although the ANP is a minor party, but its leaders were having a strong attitude. They showed political maturity and always stood firm against every Martial Law regime and their wrong policies. Struggle against Ayub Khan was continued by the National Awami Party i.e. the predecessor of the Awami National Party, they resisted Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto under the platform of the Pakistan National- Alliance, they bore physical tortures, imprisonments and the killing of its various leaders, and workers. The ANP also resisted every unfair step of Zia-ul-Haq Martial Law regime. They, under the banner of the MRD gave a very tough time to Zia-ul-Haq.

This study basically talks about the political process and achievements of the ANP, its Pashtoon nationalism and also the real nature and status of the ANP has been taken into account. Several blames over the ANP and its predecessors have been tried to answer, like, commonly they are blamed as an anti-Pakistan political party, however, the fact is somewhat else. The party's nature of Pashtoon nationalism is declared by various people of different sectors as anti-Pakistan. Although Khudai Khidmatgar, the Predecessor of the ANP remained an ally of the Congress in pre- partition era, and during the near days of the partition, Bacha Khan boycotted the referendum in NWFP in 1947. He also put forward a demand for an independent Pakhtunistan, which was not accepted. Irrespective of the fact, that Abdul- Ghaffar khan was strongly not in favour that India should be divided, but when Pakistan came into existence, he took the oath of allegiance to Pakistan in a joint meeting of provincial *Jirga*, Parliamentary Party, *Zalm-e-Pakhtun*, KK, held at Sardaryab on 3,4 September 1947 . I am personally is strongly against those steps of Bacha Khan that India should not be divided, the demand of an independent Pakhtunistan and boycott of the referendum in NWFP in 1947. But when he took the oath of allegiance to Pakistan, Then there should be no question regarding this matter. On the other hand the demand of an independent Pakhtunistan was a chapter of its Pashtoon nationalism. Later on the ANP gave off the idea of Pakhtunistan and even it had declared as a "dead horse", and put a demand for Paktunkhwa.

After Bacha Khan, his son Abdul Wali Khan led the party. No doubt, Wali Khan was a Pashtoon nationalist, but he also proved himself as a country wide nationalist except Pashtoon nationalism. He fought with every dictator keeping in view the national cause, played his role for the unity of Pakistan in 1971 crisis etc. He, in first stages of

Zia's Martial Law welcomed it, because he and the NDP were very much fed up of the undemocratic attitude of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Even Wali Khan and his party were not accepting the results of 1977 elections, as they were not trusting Bhutto. When Zia-ul-Haq took over the government and had announced that fresh elections would be held in 90 days, so, Wali Khan was happy with the announcement of fresh elections. Thus, for the above reasons Wali Khan initially welcome the Martial Law. But when he saw that the earlier given 90 days which was given for elections, prolonged, he turned against the regime, and became a part of the MRD. The NAP (Later the NDP and the ANP) under his guideline and leadership tried to obstruct the way of Martial Law. Wali Khan along with his party tried their best that Pakistan might not be divided in 1971, but due to the deadlock between Z.A. Bhutto and Shaikh Mujib, Pakistan suffered in the form of the cessation of East Pakistan in 1971. Wali Khan felt it seriously and it made him disappointed. Apart from this sad event, he and his party struggled and tried to obstruct the way of military regimes, it was not only for the Pashtoon race, but for the whole of the Pakistani nation and for the sake of democracy. The NAP or the NDP offered a number of sacrifices for democracy to have strong roots in Pakistan. Wali Khan led and guided the ANP regarding his own principles, those principles on which he never compromised. The ANP always fought for democracy and never bowed. The ANP fought for the Provincial Autonomy under the slogan of "*khpala khawra, khpal Ikhtyar*" (authority of own land).

A great pack of the provincial autonomy, they got by the Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution. As a Pashtoon Nationalist party, the ANP always stood against Pakistan's policy in the Afghan war, America was using Pakistan for its own interests in

the Afghan war. Wali Khan termed this war as a “fight of two elephants” and Pakistan should not have to jump in this fight.

Some sections of people, blame the ANP and particularly Wali Khan that they are profidious and disloyal to Pakistan, however this is not the fact. Yahya Khan himself observed regarding Wali Khan:

I must say one thing, I am not a politician. I am a soldier. Wali Khan is the most honourable, the most sincere, the most capable man amongst all these people... Surely (he is a patriot)....The Intellegence never used a Word of (Ghaddar) profidious for Wali Khan. Yahya (admits that) never the Military Intelligence informed me about his disloyalty to Pakistan¹.

Yahya also admited that when the government banned the NAP in 1971 on the charges that it was busy in such activities which were against the national interests, these blanks were not proved, however, it was proved that Bhutto had a big hand in putting these charges against the NAP. Bhutto had a lunch with Yahya and told him, “Sir when will you stop him, we are utterly sick of him².” So it is clear that the Pashtoon nationalist Party was not indulged in the activities against the interests of the country, including Wali Khan, and these were just allegations and charges against them. We can analyze this aspect from another side. The elements who played a leading role in the dismissing of Zahir Shah government in Afghanistan and brought Sardar Dawood, among those one was Colonial Muhammad Sarwar. He was a member of the Central Afghan government during Sardar- Dawood’s period. He was approached by a journalist and asked him, “whether Wali Khan is anti Pakistan”? He answered, “No he is not anti-Pakistan” The journalist asked again, “What, the Afghan government files say about Wali Khan”? He answered, “Regarding the information of the Afghan government, Wali Khan is loyal to Pakistan³. So there should be no question regarding Wali Khan and its party’s patriotism.

So far the renaming of the NWFP is concerned, if we go a little back, Ghaffar Khan demanded for Pakhtunistan, while Wali Khan demanded only for the renaming of the province. Like his father, first he insisted that the NWFP should be renamed as Pakhtunistan, But later he changed it, and suggested a new name “Pakhtunkhwa” for the NWFP.

The name NWFP must be renamed, but if we have a suitable environment in future for this mater, but at this moment we need prosperity, we need employment. We are not secure in our mosques, in Bazaars, in our educational institutions or even in our houses. Pakistan is passing through a great short fall of Electricity in these days and the inhabitants are suffering heavily of it, the country had a shortage of wheat etc, we have a problem of Canal water, as India has threatened us in canal water sector, our foreign policy is wrong and we are going only by following foreign dictation, due to which we are facing various problems. Communication is need to be improved, the Poors are preferring to kill their own children due to starvation and often unemployment. So, if these problems are solved, then the NWFP must be renamed. The energy is being used for this purpose by the politicians of the ANP, it should be used for the prosperity of the province, then certainly there would be a big change.⁴

As far as the construction of Kalabagh Dam is concerned the ANP will always stand against it. The proposed dam is not only injurious for NWFP, but it is also against the interests of Balochistan and Sindh. Apart from The Punjab, rests of the three provinces of Pakistan are against the construction of Kalabagh Dam. Moreover, apart from the construction of Kalabagh Dam, provincial autonomy is the part of the ANP's Constitution. The progress and improvement of a nation is only possible in that case, when all the regions are fully autonomous to use their resources and they have an control over it, and this matter is discussed in detail in the Constitution of 1973.

Wali Khan had signed and agreed on the Constitution of 1973 on the condition that authority over the resources of the provinces would be given after ten years⁵. At the present moment struggle is going on for the provincial autonomy from the ANP's Platform.

Although politics of religion is declining and those who are using the name of religion for politics, have made the people fed up due to the false claims and promises not fulfilled. In these circumstances, when the people of Pakistan are going through utter disappointment and the politics has lost its brightness due to broken promises and selfishness of the politicians, the ANP should not go with single point agenda of Pashtoon nationalism at a time when other issues have become important.

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