

**PROVINCIAL POLITICS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA AND  
NATIONAL INTEGRATION (1986-2013)**



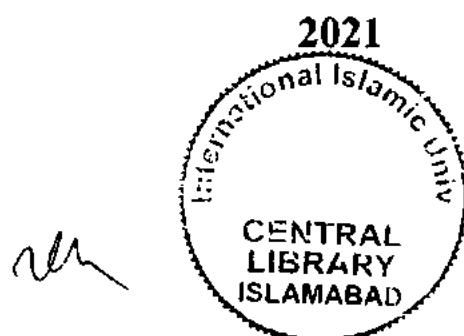
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**ISLAMABAD**



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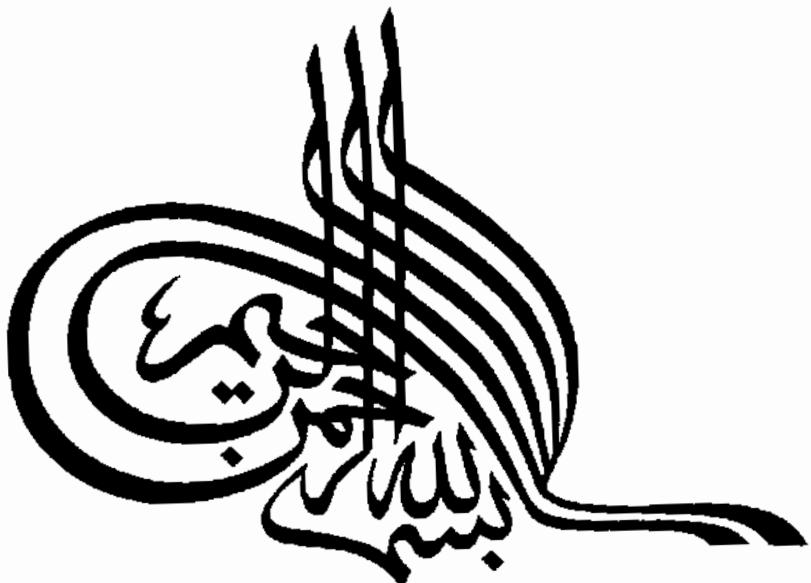
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**PHD-HISTORY  
REGD. NO. 8-FSS/PHDHIS/F12**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in the Discipline of History at the Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY  
ISLAMABAD**

**2021**



*In the name of Allah,  
the Most Beneficent,  
the Most Merciful*

## **DEDICATION**

**This Research Work is dedicated**

**To**

**MY ADMIRABLE PARENTS,**

**MY SONS MUHAMMAD ATEEQ KHAN AND**

**MUHAMMAD HASHIM KHAN,**

**MY DAUGHTERS RAYYAN KHAN AND ZUNAIRA KHAN**

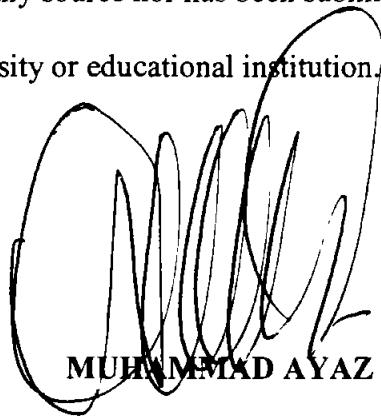
**&**

**MY WIFE**

## **DECLARATION**

I, Muhammad Ayaz, hereby declare that this dissertation has been written by me in its entirety based on my research work under the sincere and heartfelt guidance of my supervisor Assistant Professor Dr. SADAF FAROOQ, Department of Politics & International Relations, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad.

No portion of this dissertation has been copied from any source nor has been submitted before for any degree or qualification in this or any other university or educational institution.



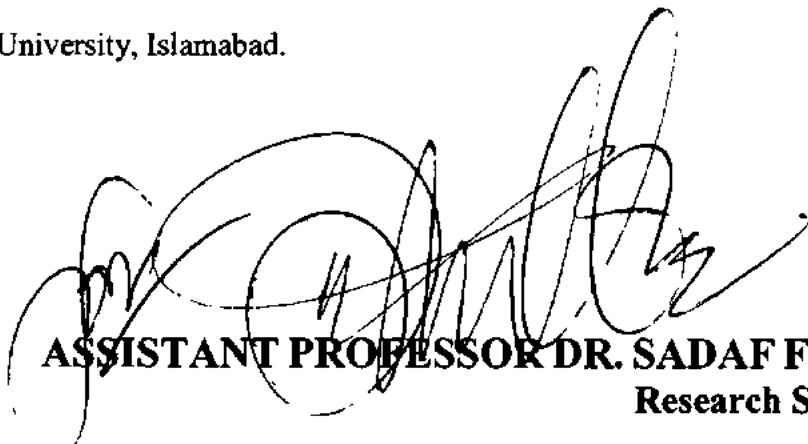
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## FORWARDING SHEET

The Dissertation; titled "**Provincial Politics in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and National Integration (1986-2013)**" put forward by Mr. Muhammad Ayaz Regd. No. 8-FSS/PHDHIS/F-12 in partial fulfillment for the award of the Degree of *Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)* in History, has been successfully completed under my guidance, care and supervision.

I am satisfied with the excellence of scholar's research work and he is now allowed to get this dissertation submitted for the finishing point of go forward course of action so that he may be awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in History as per modus operandi of International Islamic University, Islamabad.



**ASSISTANT PROFESSOR DR. SADAFA FAROOQ**  
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Dated: July 09, 2021

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## ABSTRACT

*Today's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was separated from Punjab in 1901. It was not given the status of Governor province till 1932 and ultimately it remained backward. The British mostly used it as a buffer zone. As the twentieth century is known for nationalism, the Pakhtuns also got a nationalistic color. The man who rendered great services for awareness of Pakhtuns was Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who made Khudai Khidmatgari which later affiliated with Indian National Congress. He and his followers tried their best to improve the social and educational level of the Pakhtuns. Ghaffar Khan, although, had affiliation with the Congress, but on the issue of acceptance of 3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan, he could yet be convinced. However, he regarded Pakistan as his own country and joined the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. External factors like Durand Line, Afghanistan back up to Pakhtunistan issue, USSR intervention in Afghanistan, Afghan Jihad and subsequent large-scale migration from Afghanistan affected socio-economic and political sectors of KP. Some political parties of KP e.g. Jamaat-i-Islami and Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam had a soft corner for Afghan Jihad. The ANP leaders, however, opposed the Jihad and declared it as a foreign war.*

*Since its inception, Pakistan had to face multifarious problems. One among all other issues was demand of strong federating units and provincial autonomy. Pakistan has to create a national solidarity and a fully devoted integrated society governed by the state. The Politics of the province played a vital role in provincial and national politics. Renaming issue of the province, Kalabagh Dam issue, royalty of electricity and provincial autonomy are the main issues of provincial political parties. Renaming issue was resolved by Eighteenth Amendment of the constitution. This event made the Pakhtuns obliged to the state and a strong wave of national integration was witnessed. Moreover, the incident of 9/11 played a significant role in changing the provincial and national political structure. Militancy increased in the province. Various political leaders of different parties were targeted by the militants. During this tumultuous situation, the provincial political leaders remained integrated in the state system and did not create any problem for the state. Even, the religious party did not try to impose its agenda unconstitutionally. Thus, Political leaders played a considerable role in national and provincial politics. The research focuses on the provincial politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the role played by this politics in national integration. The work is significant to understand how the provincial politics which is mostly based on these issues has influenced the process of national integration in Pakistan.*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Beyond measure & too wonderful thanks to ALLAH (سبحانه وتعالى) *Subhanahu wa ta 'ala*)-

The Supreme Creator of the whole universe and the world hereafter, who until the end of time guides in gloominess as well as in light & illumination, does help in difficulties and odds, when all supplementary channels' upper limits end.

Prime respects and honors to the absolute (Last & Final), the most beloved Prophet MUHAMMAD (S.A.W.W)- mercy for all the worlds, who enabled the human being to recognize the Creator.

It is really difficult to include the names of all those persons who did involve directly or indirectly in the accomplishment of this research. I have secured guidance and help of many individuals and institutions. In completing this study, I have many debts of recognition, gratefulness and gratitude.

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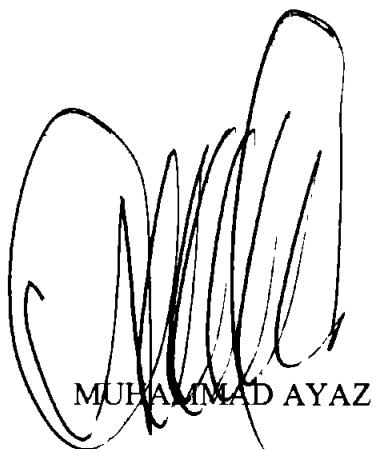
must be appreciated as his positive attitude and devotion to the students, remained as a source of encouragement in every thick and thin.

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "MUHAMMAD AYAZ". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, stylized 'M' on the left and a 'Y' on the right.

MUHAMMAD AYAZ

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ANP	Awami National Party
AL	Awami League
AIML	All India Muslim League
CCI	Council of Common Interests
CM	Chief Minister
CWC	Congress Working Committee
DAC	Democratic Action Committee
EPAL	East Pakistan Awami League
FCR	Frontier Crimes Regulation
FML	Frontier Muslim League
FPCC	Frontier Province Congress Committee
FPML	Frontier Province Muslim League
FSF	Federal Security Forces
GDA	Grand Democratic Alliance
HSNP	Hind-Sikh Nationalist Party
IJI	Islami Jamhoori Ittehad
INC	Indian National Congress
INCC	Indian National Congress Committee
IPC	Inter-Provincial Council
KBD	Kalabagh Dam
KHAD	Khadamat-e-Aetila'at-e-Dawlati (Security and Intelligence Agency of Afghanistan)
KK	Khudai Khidmatgar

KKs	Khudai Khidmatgars
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
KUDS	Khyber Union Debating Society
MMA	Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal
MRD	Movement for Restoration of Democracy
MSL	Mean Sea Line
MW	Mega Watt
NAP	National Awami Party
NAPP	National Awami Party Pakistan
NDF	National Democratic Front
NDP	National Democratic Party
NEC	National Economic Council
NFC	National Finance Commission
NIP	Nizam-i-Islami Party
PDM	Pakistan Democratic Party
PDPA	People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PKMAP	Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party
PM	Prime Minister
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PML (N)	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz Sharif)
PNA	Pakistan National Alliance
PNP	Pakistan National Party
PONM	Pakistan Oppressed Nations Movement

PQP	Pakhtunkhwa Qaumi Party
P.S.O	Pakhtoon Students Organization
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf
RTC	Round Table Conference
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
TNSM	Tehreek Nifaz-i-Shariyyat-i-Muhammadi
UDF	United Democratic Front
UNHCR	United Nation High Commission for Refugees

## GLOSSARY

<i>Amir</i>	Title of the ruler of Afghanistan, leader of a team, group, party or an Islamic Country, Title of a Muslim leader
<i>Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina</i>	Society for the Reformation of the Afghans
<i>Badal</i>	To seek justice or take revenge against the wrongdoer
<i>Dar-ul-Harb</i>	Land of war
<i>Dar-ul-Islam</i>	Land of Islam
<i>Darbar</i>	Hall of royal audience, a court
<i>Fatwa</i>	A ruling on a point of Islamic law given by a recognized authority
<i>Galemjum</i>	Beautiful young girls of Central Asian and Russian origin
<i>Hewaad</i>	Country
<i>Hijrat</i>	Migration
<i>Imandari</i>	Honesty
<i>Jihad</i>	A holy war in Islam against non-believers in case to remove a necessary evil or defence
<i>Jirga</i>	A council of elders to solve social problems, a Parliament
<i>Khalifa</i>	Vicegerent of God
<i>Madrassa</i>	An educational institution where religious and contemporary education is imparted, a school
<i>Mafror/Farari</i>	Fugitive
<i>Masharaan</i>	Elders, leaders as well as a judge during hearing and deciding disputes of the people
<i>Melma</i>	Guest
<i>Melmastia</i>	Hospitality

<i>Merana</i>	Bravery, Courage
<i>Mullah</i>	Muslim religious leader who used to lead the prayers and look after other religious affairs
<i>Nanawatai</i>	Procession of elders and common public from the offender Party to the aggrieved party for compensation
<i>Namus</i>	Honour of women
<i>Nang</i>	Shyness, Honour
<i>Pat</i>	Respect
<i>Riwaj</i>	Customs and traditions of a particular area
<i>Sabat</i>	Loyalty
<i>Sartor Sar</i>	Uncovered head woman
<i>Shaheed</i>	A Martyr
<i>Ulama</i>	Religious and spiritual leaders of the Muslims, well-educated and authoritative as compared to Mullah
<i>Wiyaar</i>	Pride
<i>Yau Khor</i>	A Sister
<i>Zmaka/Zameen</i>	Land
<i>Zan</i>	A Woman
<i>Zar</i>	Money, Property

## INTRODUCTION

The dissertation evaluates provincial politics in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and national integration (1986-2013). It enquires about those issues which slowed down/enhanced feelings of integration among provincial political leaders and common masses. It examines roles of different political parties and political leaders in provincial politics, various reforms introduced by provincial governments and Socio-political and economic impacts of external factors on KP. This is a descriptive and an analytical study. Descriptive in such a manner that we cannot avoid background and details of an event in historical and political study. It helps a writer to describe his viewpoint. It is analytical because we will have to analyze different events, its causes and results to reach an ultimate conclusion. The material for the specific study is comprised on collecting information available through primary and secondary sources. These documents have been analyzed through content analysis.

The word politics came from the Greek word *politika*, means “relating to citizens,” is a process by which groups of people make collective decisions. Politics means “any persistent pattern human relationships that involves, to a significant extent, power, rule or authority.”<sup>1</sup> Politics is the set of activities that are associated with making decisions in groups, or other forms of power relations between individuals, such as the distribution of resources or status. In simple words, politics is concerned with power: the power to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people’s behavior and often to control values.

Pakistan is a democratic country. The democracies here are having a little bit different shape. The community system plays a considerable role in politics to obtain power. Political parties issue tickets to those who belong to a dominant social class, serious section

of the people did not like this approach and mindset of political parties. Under this community system, people use to cast vote for their own kith and kins. This community system further enhances community-based conflicts. This dependency often led to a so-called imbalance and diversity in provincial or national politics and ethno-nationalist sentiments.

Previously known as the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) as Eighteenth Amendment was passed by the National Assembly of Pakistan in April 2010<sup>2</sup>. The British called it NWFP because it was located in the North West of India. As a province of British India, it was situated between 31° 4' and 36° 57' north latitude and 69° 16' and 74° 4' east longitude<sup>3</sup>. The greatest length of the province was 408 miles and, its greatest breadth 279 miles; with approximately 39,000 square miles. The Hindu Kush range is lying to its northern side; to its south there is Balochistan and Dera Ghazi Khan, a district of Punjab; to its eastern side Kashmir and Punjab province are located and Afghanistan to its west<sup>4</sup>. The province has a border of 2250 kilometers with Afghanistan. In fact, KP has a boundary having double status: one administrative and the second is of political nature. The first one separates five settled districts i.e. Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, from the tribal territory. The second is Durand Line, which had been demarcated by Mortimer Durand in 1893, described the land limits of British India and Afghanistan (an international border between Pakistan and Afghanistan). The tribal belt is consisted mainly of barren mountains and constitutes an area of 25, 500 square miles<sup>5</sup>. Along with five settled districts, there were five Political Agencies i.e. the Malakand, the Khyber, the Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan<sup>6</sup>.

Situated on the gateway of conquest, KP had been penetrated from time to time by foreign invaders. The adventures were begun from Aryan immigration into India in around 2000 BC<sup>7</sup>. KP was the home of the ancient civilization of Gandhara which began in 1000 BC. The Persians, then, had become the masters of the whole of Indus valley about 518 B.C., with the annexation of Gandhara. After that the Persians ruled the area for some 200 years. Alexander's (356 B.C-323 B.C) Army had run over the territory of the subcontinent by 326 B.C. In 305 B.C the Mauriyans came in Indian subcontinent and then the Kushans ruled the area till the mid of first century A.D. The Huns driven out the Kushans, its decline paved the way for the Shahi dynasty.

After the attacks of Alaptagin (962 A.D.-963 A.D) and Subuktagin (942-997 A.D) on Indian Subcontinent, Mahmood Ghaznavi (971-1030) started his venture and defeated Raja Jaypala in 1001 A.D. Next, Shahab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghauri (1149-1206) occupied Peshawar in 1180 A.D. Shahab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghauri left a governor after annexation of Punjab and he, himself went back to Ghazni. Qutub-ud-Din Aibak (1150-1210) was made a Muslim ruler of northern India who found the Slave dynasty. KP was the part of Indian Subcontinent ruled by Khilji dynasty (1290-1330), Tughlaq dynasty (1320-1413), Sayyed dynasty (1414-1451) and Lodhi dynasty (1451-1526).

Zaheer-ud-Din Muhammad Babur (February 1483-December 1530), in the 3<sup>rd</sup> battle of Panipat in 1526, Babur defeated Ibrahim Lodhi (1517-1526). Babur ruled India till 1530 and died in the same year. At the time of his death, his son Kamran (1509-1556) was the governor of Kabul, annexed Punjab and the North-West frontier. In the battle of Kanauj in 1540, Hamayun (1508-1556) sought no help from his brothers and suffered from a defeat by the hands of Sher Shah Suri (1473-1545). Sher Shah occupied the throne of Mughals,

introduced some reforms and the G.T road was opened for public transport, of which a reasonable portion is situated in KP. Hamayun died soon and he was succeeded by Akbar in 1556. Rebellions in various parts of India had created problems for him. He could not conquer all parts of KP. The tribes of Yousafzai and Khattaks were constantly engaged in warfare with the Mughals. Khushal Khan Khattak had formed an alliance with the Mughals during the reign of Shah Jehan and appointed him the guardian of the king's highway to Peshawar and confirmed his position as a chief of his tribe. However, differences arose during the reign of Aurangzeb and the ties were broken off. After the death of Aurangzeb, Nadir Shah (1688-1747) attacked India and gained control of the province with the support of Pakhtuns. One of his prominent successors, Ahmad Shah Abdali (1747-1772) launched his campaigns from Peshawar valley across India. Temporarily his reign was interrupted by the Marhattas invasions in 1750s, but he was successful in regaining control over KP in 1761. The province remained as the part of Afghanistan till it was conquered by the Sikhs in 1818. After the death of Ranjit Singh, sense of unity disappeared among the Sikhs. Consequently, the British East India Company occupied both the province and Sikh *Durbar*.

First contact of the British was made in 1808 as a response to a danger of French attack on India through Persia and Afghanistan. A mission was sent to the *Amir* of Afghanistan to settle the issue<sup>7</sup>. Another British contact was made in 1849. After annexation of Punjab in 1849, the British moved across the Beas to Attock and then marched towards Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. During the course of time, the British felt Afghanistan as an external element of real threat to their rule in the subcontinent e.g. the people of Afghanistan had never accepted the British rule by heart which culminated in the

Anglo-Afghan wars (ii) the tribes on this side had never broken their ties with the Pakhtuns in Afghanistan. The tribal refuge across the border after skirmishes with the British and (iii) most importantly, Russian empire's expansion was a matter of worry for the British. Consequently, the North-Western frontier became immensely important strategic area. A "Forward Policy" was initiated to check Russian advancement and KP became a buffer zone. Furthermore, the British had worried about a possible alliance of Russia, the Afghans and the local population of KP.

After the demarcation of Durand Line in 1893, the British made an approach towards the formation of KP (NWFP) as a separate province which remained as a part of Punjab province till 1901. The decision was materialized during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon (1859-1925), who separated five settled districts and five agencies from Punjab and formed a new province, (NWFP) KP. However, the new province remained deprived of its due rights till 1932 (as it was a Chief Commissioner province), while Punjab and other provinces of India had been enjoying these rights since 1857 to 1897. Moreover, by this partition, Muslim majority of Punjab had been reduced from 82% to 56%<sup>8</sup>. The British on the other hand were happy to bring this area under the direct control of Viceroy of India. According to Lord Curzon's opinion, the most turbulent area was between the river Swat and Gomal valley, "the most critical, the most anxious and the most explosive section of the entire frontier" of India, the viceroy remarked. It was inhabited by the "most numerous, fanatical and turbulent of the Pathan tribes"<sup>9</sup>. The Viceroy had justified his decision of formation of a new province on April 26, 1902 at Shahi Bagh, Peshawar, "Business will be better...and more quickly done; and there will not be long and vexatious delays. The system of rule will not be altered.... Every man in the frontier districts ought... to see that he has a local

government on the spot and that there is nobody above that local government but the government of India... Merit will be better known under the new system.”<sup>10</sup>

The province was granted the status of governor province under the governorship of Ralph Griffith (1882-1963). Till this time, constitutional and electoral benefits were not given to the province due to a sense of insecurity and strategic location of the province<sup>11</sup>. Thus, the people of the province remained politically unaware. However, some notables took the initiatives to start political activities in KP. Some educated Hindus organized support Indian National Congress (INC). Amir Chand Bombwal (1893-1972) published first nationalist Urdu newspaper *Frontier Advocate* in 1905. Ram Chand established a provincial branch of Congress in February 1907. An attempt was made to establish a provincial branch of All India Muslim League (AIML). These attempts were not mostly successful because the British authority could not encourage such kind of activities. Latter, the Khilafat and Hijrat movements in 1920s embarked upon a mutual confidence of INC and the Muslims, which had deep impacts on the people of the frontier. *Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina* (Society for reformations of Afghans), *Zalmo Jirga* (Youth League) and Khudai Khidmatgar Movement (KK) were solid steps which provided platform for political awareness, education and social reformation in KP. The KK and *Zalmo Jirga* were formally affiliated with INC on August 9, 1931. The INC formed its ministries in KP three times since 1937-1947.

As foreign factors, the developments in Europe also had effects on India as well as on KP. The World War-I started in 1914. The *mullah's* (religious leaders) and other Muslims had their sympathies with Turkey and they preached for *Jihad* against the British. However, Amir Habibullah Khan announced publicly his partisanship, and he time and again

impressed the British government of India not to follow the policy of embarrassment on the frontier.

After the declaration of war in August 1914, a provincial Indian Relief Fund for collection of public subscription was established in which the people of KP contributed Rs. 1, 38, 451 till 31<sup>st</sup> August 1918<sup>12</sup>. At the start of war, about ten thousand Cis-Frontier men, and over five thousand Trans-Frontier tribe's men were serving in the army. The KP provided man power in the World War-I to the British in combatants and non-combatants form. The grand total of men-power which the 'North Frontier Province', contributed to the World War 1<sup>st</sup> were 84,822 men of which 18% were non-combatants<sup>13</sup>.

After the World War-I Turkey was reduced to a small kingdom and the title of *Khalifa* was dismissed. It affected India as well as KP. Consequently, Khilafat Movement was started by the end of 1919. The movement received a zealous from KP. A *Sarhad Khilafat Committee* was formed in KP. In India, strikes were observed, titles were surrendered to the authority as a protest and resignations were also reported<sup>14</sup>. The Khilafat agitation was followed by Hijrat Movement. The *Ulamas* issued *fatwas* (decrees) and declared India as *Dar-ul-Harb* (land of war) and the Muslims were required to migrate to *Dar-ul-Islam* (land of Islam), Afghanistan. Resultantly, more than 60,000 migrants were welcomed in Afghanistan, jobs and cultivable land were offered to them by the government, but soon they developed differences and the migrants returned home in quite miserable condition. On the way back some of them injured and some were died. The Hijrat Movement was ended in failure, however, the Muslims learned how to organize such mass movements.

Although Pakhtuns make an ethnic majority in KP. However, prior to the partition of India the case might not be dealt as a struggle of an ethnic group, rather it was a struggle against

colonial rule as the Indian Subcontinent was occupied by the British. Like other nations in India, Pakhtuns did not accept foreign rule cordially and hardly missed any opportunity which could be proved harmful for the British. The British in response adopted rigorous policies against Pakhtuns. Till 1933, KP did not avail the opportunities to get benefits of constitutional developments e.g. 1909 and 1919 reforms introduced in India by the British. Intentionally, this region was kept backward and hardly any reformation of the society was tolerated by the authority. Pakhtuns felt a sense of deprivation which alienated Pakhtuns, the roots of separatism were deepened in Pakhtun nation to a maximum level.

Why and how the Pakhtuns were kept backward? Two things the British feared the most as a threat to their rule in India; (1) Russian invasion into Afghanistan waiting for an opportunistic moment to enter Northern India, (ii) an expected Pakhtun rebellion within British India by the support of Afghanistan. Despite of all the efforts made by the Afghan Kings to have cordial relations with British India, they were hardly trusted as friends. The British policies for the North-West were more in relation to the security of India. Russia itself might not be a big threat but coupled with support from Afghanistan and Pakhtuns along the Durand Line, could create serious crisis in British India. Thus, it was inevitable to dismiss the unity of Pakhtuns. The British first divided them through the Durand Line and then within India into three distinct regions/areas e.g. Balochistan, KP and FATA. KP was further divided into settled areas and Provincially Administered Tribal Area (PATA).

The British kept the Pakhtuns backward because they needed an illiterate fighter that could be brought under the banner of religion and made him to fight for them as their front-line soldier for defence. They kept Pakhtuns away from modernity and for this purpose education

activities were discouraged. They did not trust Pakhtuns. Moreover, the British paid *mullahs* and *Maliks* were deployed to endorse their policies in Pakhtun dominated areas.

Some Pakhtun notables responded with a pack of reformation. They were Haji Sahib Turangzai, Bacha Khan, Fazal Mahmood Makhfi and other like-minded people. After the failure of Khilafat and Hijrat Movements, Bacha Khan paid attention to Pakhtun politics and education. He inaugurated the system of *Azad Madrassa* system and established a school in Khaloono, Dir. However, the experience got no fruit as he was ousted by the Nawab of Dir. Still, Pakhtuns were not attracted towards education, particularly Pakhtuns did not mostly like female education. There were not more opportunities of education. The educational achievements in KP were not at all desirable. In Hazara there were only 17 males and 1 female per *mille* literate, in Peshawar 27 males and female, Kohat 28 males and 1 female, Bannu 28 males and no female and in Dera Ismail Khan were 32 males and 1 female literate per thousand. The Census of 1911 revealed that there were only 25 males out of every 1000, who could fulfill the Census criteria of literacy. The upcoming decade saw an improvement from 25 to 43. In contrast, the Sikhs, Hindus and Christians were far ahead in education sector<sup>15</sup>. The status of women by education point of view was very shaky. The *Census Report of 1911* reveals that the proportion of the population of females in the KP was 817 per 1000 males<sup>16</sup>. The proportion of female in literacy was found 843 to 1000 males in 1931<sup>17</sup>. There were 58 males per 1000 and 6 per 1000 female literate. In later years a slight improvement was seen in female literacy as their number qualifying the condition of literacy reached to 12 per 1000<sup>18</sup>.

### Education Comparison with other Religions, Sex and Locality

Districts and Natural Divisions	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Sikhs
Hazara	Males: Females 392 : 41	Males: Female 17 : 1	Males: Females 858 : 676	Males: Females 321 : 59
Peshawar	340 : 124	27 : 1	915 : 616	450 : 180
Kohat	330 : 21	28 : 1	818 : 730	578 : 67
Bannu	351 : 13	22 : 0	603 : 639	752 : 90
D. I. Khan	442 : 44	32 : 1	834 : 683	465 : 109

Source: *Census of India 1911, Vol. xiii, North- West Frontier Province* (Peshawar, 1912), 188

There were only 8 recognized primary schools for girls with 491 students mostly non-Muslims throughout the KP. Except 'Arya Kanya School' of Dera Ismail Khan of middle level, there was no secondary school for girls till 1906. In 1920-21 the number of girl's primary schools approached the figure of 24 and the middle school reached from 1 to 4. The numbers of primary schools further increased to 45, middle schools from 4 to 23 and high schools from zero to 2. These high schools e.g Church of England Zennana Mission High School at Peshawar and Gobind Girls High School at Abbottabad were non-governmental institutions and only small subsidies of Rs. 7296 and Rs. 5988 respectively per annum were given by the government. There was no college and the first female of the province passed her B.A examination from Punjab University. The first government high school, namely the Lady Griffith High School for girls started its classes on May 15, 1933<sup>19</sup>.

Keeping in view the shattering literary condition, which was badly affecting the Pakhtun society, the KK paid full attention towards the socio-economic problems of the society. The uplift of female education was included in its agenda. "The Pakhtun", a journal of Pashto language, contributed enough to highlight the problems of females. The articles and other literary works of females were encouraged to publish in the journal. Initially, women were hesitating to write their names on their writings. Instead they used to write '*yau khor*' (a sister) as pseudonym or using the names of their younger brothers and cousins.

As KK introduced the people of the province with politics due to its affiliation with the INC. The AIML was also trying to win over the confidence of the women and other people in KP. The first branch of the Women Muslim League was opened in April 1939 and the president ship was assigned to Qanita Bibi. Begum Habibullah (UP) was another prominent name in this circle. The serious incursion of the League's females was seen in the elections of 1945-46, who actively participated in all the political activities and supported the official League candidates in the elections. Then, the women of KP played their vital role in politics till Pakistan Movement, reached to its goal in 1947.

Historically, although, the first traces of nationalism were found in Roshani Movement of Bayazid Ansari (1525-1585)<sup>20</sup> and Khushal Khan Khattak's wars with the Mughals<sup>21</sup>. The zeal of reformation attracted the attention of Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1890-1988), a Pakhtun leader and reformer, who came forward to reform the society. His KK movement which was formed in 1929, then set up a strong anti-British and anti-colonial front<sup>22</sup>, particularly in KP. The first half of the twentieth century witnessed Pakhtuns stands against the British from socio-political platform of KK<sup>23</sup>.

During the early years of twentieth century, rise of nationalist sentiments in the province was the result of centralized nature of bureaucratic state striving to replace the agro-illiterate tribal system of decentralized nature. During the British rule, nationalism accentuated in the Pakhtun society due to the small Khan's protest and the peasant's opposition to heavy revenue. Apart from it, the external factors were also responsible for enticing nationalist and ethnic penchants in the Pakhtuns. The reforms and nation building process of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan (1844-1901), Amir Habibullah Khan (1872-1919) and Amir Amanullah Khan (1892-1960) aggrandized the sensitivity of nationalism in Pakhtun majority area. The dethronement of Amir Amanullah Khan in 1929 by Habibullah Kalkani Known as *Bacha-i-Suqqa* (son of water carrier) was seemed by Pakhtuns as a British conspiracy against the Amir which annoyed the Pakhtun society. These developments as an external factor, greatly influenced Abdul Ghaffar Khan's KK movement and the mindset of Pakhtuns/tribes along the Afghan borders. It was also among the factors that Pakhtun leaders neither accepted the British government by heart nor they were mentally prepared at the initial stage to consider the idea of division of India into two sovereign states.

Bacha Khan did not believe in the idea of Pakistan. When Pakistan came into being, Khan brothers were stunned and still they were to be convinced on the idea of Pakistan. They came up with the idea of Independent Pakhtunistan. This demand was accepted neither by the British nor by Gandhi and Congress, then only a referendum in the province was scheduled, in which the people of NWFP voted in favour of Pakistan and thus, KP joined Pakistan.

After the KP joining of Pakistan, Khan brothers clarified that their demand for Pakhtunistan was only for an autonomous province within Pakistan, even then, the elected Congress

Ministry of Dr. Khan Sahib was dismissed in former NWFP. A meeting of KKS was convened at Sardaryab in which the dismissal of Dr. Khan's Ministry was condemned, but Pakhtuns decided that no protest would be made. Bacha Khan took the formal oath of allegiance to Pakistan in January 1948<sup>24</sup>. Still, provincial autonomy was his first priority. By this, Pakhtun's integration in the state system of Pakistan had been started.

The Pakhtuns were well integrated in the Pakistani state machinery by late 1960s. In July 1957 a political party by the name of National Awami Party (NAP) was made by the amalgamation of different nationalist parties. The NAP did not like the idea of One Unit Scheme and wanted to repeal it. At last Yahya Khan (1917-1980) restored the former provinces of West Pakistan. For the first time free elections were held in 1970. The NAP headed by Abdul Wali Khan (1917-2006) has won six seats in the National Assembly and 18.4% votes were polled in its favour. After the secession of the East Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928-1979) became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. During his reign, Wali Khan signed the constitution of 1973. The political parties were not happy with some of the Bhutto's policies and thus an alliance by the name of United Democratic Front (UDF) was established. When Hayat Sherpao was killed in a bomb explosion on February 8, 1975, consequently the authority banned the NAP. However, soon Begum Naseem Wali re-incarnated it as National Democratic Party (NDP) and its workers came under the umbrella of NDP. On the eve of the 1977 elections, an alliance of the political parties was made by the name of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). The NDP was the part of the PNA. Then against the martial law regime of Zia-ul-haq, the political parties had made another alliance by the name of Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD). The NDP, a successor of the NAP was the part of the MRD. During Zia's martial law regime, the USSR penetrated

in Afghanistan and the USA interests are once again increased in the Pakhtun area. The Pakhtun areas became major centres of the foreign war in the name of *jihad* which was condemned and resisted by the political leaders of KP<sup>25</sup>.

Awami National Party (ANP), the successor of NAP and NDP, was re-emerged in July 1986 by the amalgamation of NDP, Sindh Awami Tehreek, Pakistan National Party and Mazdoor Kisan Party. In the elections of 1988 and 1990, she secured 3 and six seats respectively in the National Assembly (NA). In those days the ANP was in a coalition with Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI), who formed central government after 1990 elections. In the elections of 1993 the ANP got 3 NA seats and in 1997 elections 9 NA seats in which they had won eight NA seats from Peshawar and Mardan. The opposition of PML-N to the renaming of the NWFP, favour of the construction of KBD and demand for Hazara Province often created tension between the provincial political leaders and the central government. At last the coalition of the ANP and PML-N came to an end in 1998 on the question of renaming of the province. In 1999 General Parvez Musharraf occupied the government and during his regime the USA attacked Afghanistan. The KP once again became hub of the war which annoyed the Pakhtun leaders consequently because they were of the view that their land was being used for a foreign war which brought terrorism in the province. In the elections of 2008 the ANP formed a coalition government in KP. She secured 10 NA seats. In centre the PPP formed the government. The ANP had taken advantage and passed the Eighteenth Amendment to the constitution of Pakistan. By this amendment of the constitution NWFP was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This amendment pleased the Pakhtun leaders and it was a time of high sense of integration in the state system of Pakistan.

Provincial politics in KP was dominated by the issue of the construction of Kalabagh Dam (KBD). Sindh and KP did not like the idea of the construction of the proposed dam. Sindh is the lowest riparian of the Indus river and it fears that the province will be hit by low flow in the days of low rainfall. People of KP have their apprehensions that Peshawar will have a constant danger of flood, Nowshera, Akora Khattak, Jahangira and Charsadda will be greatly affected by water-logging. Balochistan although, not a direct riparian of the Indus, but it also did not like the idea of the construction of KBD.

Pakhtun ethno-nationalist party, the ANP had a popular mass support in Mardan and Peshawar which are the most educated district of KP. These people have no idea of separation, on the other hand they want the consolidation and prosperity of the country. For these people national politics and nationalism means the safeguard of their rights and privileges.

Apart from the ANP, there are various other political parties in KP. Qoumi Watan Party (former PPP-Sherpao), Jamaat-i-Islami, Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam (Fazlur Rahman), and Provincial branches of Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League (N) alongwith others. Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal ruled the province after 2002 elections. Akram Khan Durrani was the Chief Minister of KP. After 2008 elections, the ANP formed its ministry which remained in office till 2013. Then Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf won the polls and formed its ministry under Parvez Khattak. Provincial political leaders e.g. Abdul Wali Khan, Aftab Sherpao, Maulana Fazlur Rahman, Siraj-ul-Haq etc. rendered great services for the uplift of the province.

## **Rationale of the Study**

Before independence of Pakistan, few of the Pakhtun leaders could be convinced to join Pakistan. However, gradually they integrated in the state-system of Pakistan. Issues of the construction of KBD, renaming of the province and demand of provincial autonomy were important to be addressed. In this regard, provincial politics and integration of Pakhtuns in the state-system of Pakistan has their own importance. Political leaders and different political parties of the province are working for Pakhtun demands, problems, and issues. They are determined to strengthen the sense of national integration among common masses. This research is significant to highlight provincial politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and Pakhtun's integration in the state machinery. Furthermore, the importance of their attitudes are analytically observed in the context of basic provincial issues and its impact on national integration.

## **Statement of the Problem**

Internal and external factors played a key role in the formulation of Pakhtun leaders' attitude and adversely affected the provincial politics in KP. The political leaders from KP are struggling for the Pakhtun rights and to address their issues as well as they are devoted towards national integration. The research focuses on the provincial politics of KP and its impacts on national integration. The research also highlights various techniques to resolve the issue of national integration.

## **Objectives of the Study**

- To highlight the role and efforts of political leaders in the process of national integration.

- To examine the role of provincial political parties regarding Kalabagh Dam issue, renaming issue and Provincial autonomy.
- To enquire how the Eighteenth amendment brought a change in the attitude of political leaders and resolved the issue of provincial autonomy.
- To know about the political, social and economic effects of external factors in KP.
- To find out the key role of provincial political parties that how and which kind of reforms they introduced in KP.

## **Research Questions**

Q.1: what is provincial politics?

Q.2: What role was played by political leaders in provincial Politics of KP and how did it effect national integration?

Q.3: How the eighteenth amendment in the constitution of Pakistan affected the attitude of political leaders and to resolve political hurdles in the way of provincial autonomy?

Q.4: What role was played by external factors in the provincial politics and how did it impact on political, social and economic sectors of KP?

Q.5: How provincial politics evolved in KP during 1986-2013?

## **Scope and Significance of the study**

Provincial politics has played a significant role in the political scenario of KP and even in political mainstream of Pakistan. Renaming of the former province of North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and the issue of Kalabagh Dam etc. are the main issues of Provincial politics. Although the renaming issue was resolved by 18<sup>th</sup> amendment in the constitution of Pakistan, still some sections of people even in KP are not happy with the renaming of the province. The objections over the construction of Kalabagh Dam are interesting to

know. The circumstances behind these issues are important to bring in the limelight, and it is a matter of objective information. Besides that, the research helps to highlight the internal and external factors affecting provincial political, social and economic condition of KP. This research work will open new ways to other researchers to obtain more information by conducting more research in this area. From the perspective of the current scenario, the research is helpful in highlighting the current status of provincial political parties of KP.

## **Review of Literature**

This research focuses on provincial politics and political parties in KP. It is also tried to explore the process of Pakhtun integration in the system and the role of their leaders in the same process. Analytical as well as descriptive approaches are adopted to reach the conclusion. For attaining objectives of this qualitative research work, various primary and secondary sources are utilized.

The issue is not unique and already some writers have written about it. Rehana Saeed Hashmi wrote in her book *Politics of Ethnicity in Pakistan: Issues of National Integration* about national integration and ethnic politics in Pakistan. She argued that national integration, in the post-colonial period, remained a high issue and has got complexity. While Pakistan was also facing problems in the creation of national integration. These problems were mainly caused by diversity found in the socio-political fibre of Pakistani society, which was not properly treated. The diverse fibre of Pakistani society was based on its ethnic composition. The state followed an authoritarian policy, while the ethnic groups, as a response, provoked ethnic politics and started movements for the preservation of their identity, which became a challenge for the national integration. Basically the article is focusing on various approaches to national integration. The writer is favouring the

pluralistic approach to be incorporated for national integration rather than that of assimilation's strategy.

Shahid Ali Khattak "The Creation of New Provinces in Pakistan and its Implications for an Integrated Country", discusses about the issues of creation of new provinces, started from KP (Hazara) and Punjab (Saraiki and Bahawalpur). Federation and its units are explained, and the author moves on to discuss what will be its negative implications on the future of this land as well its creation of sub-units on ethnic and administrative lines. He is further evaluating the passage of 18<sup>th</sup> amendment of the constitution of Pakistan and renaming of the province of NWFP as KP has aroused a sense of deprivation in the people of Hazara. The author declares the demand of new provinces as an ethnic issue based on prejudice.

Another author, Nasreen Akhtar wrote "Ethnic Politics in Pakistan". She observes that due to the ethnic identity, Pakistan faced a lot of difficulties in creating and developing a strong sense of nationhood. The polarization of religion, doctrinal differences, political struggle for power, materialism and territorial space has widened the diversity. The writer claims that ethnicity was accommodated by both military regimes and the civilian rules. General Zia-ul-haq and General Parvez Musharraf both had used the ethnic minority party- the Muhajir Qomi Movement (MQM), now Muttahida Qomi Movement to retain power and to suppress their rivals. The promotion of ethnic politics in the military regimes was inevitable, because they needed the support of minority political parties to balance and offset the mainstream parliamentary parties. Apart from it, the writer had also made a comparison between democracy and authoritarianism and declared the latter as more

effective in Pakistan. In this article most of the ethnic politics of the four provinces of Pakistan had been discussed.

Syed Wiqar Ali Shah's *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province 1937-1947* focuses on nationalism and politics in KP during the British rule. This valuable account is discussing the complex political and ideological developments in the NWFP during the last decade of colonial rule. By concentrating on Khudai Khidmatgar Movement (KK), it examines the emergence of modern styles of agitational and democratic politics among the NWFP muslims, majority of whom were Pakhtuns. The issue of Pakhtun's ethnicity, its interaction with sub-continental Muslim identity and Indian nationalism are central themes of this study.

Syed Wiqar Ali Shah has written another book *North-West Frontier Province: History and Politics* which is based on different articles written for national and international journals. This work deals with the complex historical and political developments in the NWFP of India before its partition and the establishment of Pakistan. The province is inhabited by people who are known as Pakhtuns. They are all Muslims have a kind of particularism that inculcates in them not just the feelings of identity and a passion for Islam, but also a strong aversion of all kinds of domination. This is what impelled the Pakhtuns to join their co-religionist in other parts of British India in the struggle for freedom during the crucial years before partition.

Erland Jansson's work *India Pakistan or Pakhtunistan: The Nationalist Movements in the North-West Frontier Province 1937-1947* mainly discusses about the frontier politics. He included Pakhtun social, economic and tribal set up in the study. The geography of NWFP, settled and tribal areas are thoroughly discussed. In his work he has written about the role

of various Pakhtun leaders i.e. Haji Sahib Turangzai, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Dr. Khan Sahib, Abdul Akbar Khan and other prominent figures in the field of social and political awakening and eradication of social evils from the Pakhtun society. Beginning of party politics in NWFP, affiliation of KK with All India National Congress has been evaluated. Politics in the frontier region revolved around local issues and concerned local powers. The active political units were the village factions led by Khans. The British often had allied themselves with the biggest Khan in the locality. After the World War-I, however, the matter shifted to the smaller Khans. Abdul Ghaffar Khan initiated programmes like Zalmo Jirga (Youth League) and KK for re-awakening of the Pakhtuns, eradication of social evils and to educate the people. The KK was affiliated with the Congress. Later, on the question of the creation of Pakistan, it stood on the Pakhtun nationalism and initially opposed the partition of India, but later Abdul Ghaffar Khan took the oath of allegiance to the state and gradually integrated in the system.

*Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari* of Abdul Wali Khan discusses the social, economic and political scene before partition of India and after the partition till Zia's military regime. He writes in this book about National Awami Party (Later NDP and ANP) politics within the party and at national level. Different alliances of national level like PNA, UDF and MRD are discussed and the part of regional politics has been highlighted. Ian Talbot (1988) has written mainly on the same issue. A journal in Pashto language "Pakhtun" is publishing valuable literature about nationalism and Pakhtun politics.

Besides, *Pakistan: Political Roots and Development 1947-1999*, and *Pakistan: Tarikh-o-Siyasat* of Safdar Mahmood, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* of Hamid Khan, and *Language and Politics in Pakistan* of Tariq Rahman produced a valuable

account of the constitutional and political history of Pakistan. They highlighted about linguistic and ethnic issues which created hurdles in framing a constitution of Pakistan. Moreover, M. Rafique Afzal wrote *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958 Vol-I (1958-1969 Vol-II)*, in which thoroughly discusses about the formation of different political parties and their leaders.

Apart from secondary sources various primary sources have been consulted. Three *Microfilms* in which letters of Governors to Viceroy are preserved, discussing about the situation of the country especially about peace and tranquility during and after the partition process. These letters in the form of Microfilms are preserved in National Documentation Wing (NDW) Islamabad. *Administration Report of NWFP 1918-19, Eighteenth Amendment Draft, Report on General Elections 1988, 1990, 1993, 1997, NWFP Assembly Debates Regarding Renaming of NWFP 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1997 and Debates and Resolutions Regarding Kalabagh Dam (1988)*. Sindh Provincial Assembly *Resolutions Regarding Kalabagh Dam (1994)*, *Reports on administration of the border of the North West Frontier Province 1912-13, 1917-18, 1919-20*, are the main primary sources describing the main regional political issues in KP.

Various research accounts, thesis and dissertations have been written on the same issue. PhD dissertation of Rahmat Ibad Khan (1996), "Impact on Political Culture on Developments of Balochistan" is providing handsome material for background. M.Phil thesis of Mr. Nasrullah Khan (1998), "The Rise of Awami National Party from Provincialism to National Politics". Jan Farhad (1994). "Khudai Khidmatgar Movement in NWFP: its Nature and Direction", Muhammad Ayaz (2012), "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999) are considerable accounts. Apart from it, several master level

theses of Peshawar University, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad and Allama Iqbal Open University Islamabad are providing valuable information.

The literature review reflected that the Pakhtuns were mainly nationalist, and in their attitude formation, their leaders played a vital role. The Pakhtuns were not enough educated society in pre-partition era, and there were several movements initiated by leaders like Abdul Ghaffar Khan for educating the Pakhtuns and struggle for eradication of social evils. In the abovementioned sources, social, economic and political conditions of Pakhtuns are being discussed, but there are some gaps as nothing objectively has written about the provincial politics of the Pakhtuns and their national integration. It needs further research. The researcher will try to fill these gaps by further research.

## **Methodology**

This research is qualitative in nature, descriptive and analytical. The materials for the specific study is comprised on collecting information available through primary and secondary sources. Among primary sources National Assembly of Pakistan as well as KP Assembly Debates, Bills and Resolutions, various Microfilms available at National Documentation Wing, NWFP Administration Reports and reports of different Commissions and Committees regarding renaming of the province and the issue of Kalabagh Dam have been consulted. These documents have been analyzed through content analysis. These primary sources are collected from National Archives Islamabad and Archives and Libraries Peshawar. Apart from these documents, some personal interviews are conducted with various prominent political leaders. Structure of interview is open ended and purposive sampling techniques are used. Interviews of the related politicians Begum Naseem Wali Khan, Asfandyar Khan, Aftab Ahmad Khan, Sikandar Hayat Khan,

Arshad Umarzai and experts Dr. Syed Minhajul Hassan, Dr. Fazlur Raheem Marwat, Saleem Raz of Charsadda, are conducted. Secondary Data is comprised of books, local and international journals, theses/dissertations, magazines and newspapers.

## **Organization**

This research work is consisted of five Chapters, an Introduction and a Conclusion. Organization of various chapters will be divided as follows.

**Chapter First** is entitled as “Historical Background and Commencement of Party Politics in KP”. This chapter focuses on beginning of party politics and nationalism in KP under the colonial rule. The struggle of Bacha Khan and its colleagues for the social awareness of the Pakhtuns, his Khudai Khidmatgar Movement and its aftermaths are analyzed critically. Moreover, the predecessors of the ANP and its role in provincial politics are examined.

**Second Chapter** under the title of “Kalabagh Dam Issue, Politics of Renaming NWFP and Demand of Provincial Autonomy” discusses the merits and demerits of Kalabagh Dam, Viewpoint of political leaders and parties regarding the construction of KBD, Renaming of the Province and Provincial Autonomy which are the main issues of provincial politics.

**Chapter Third**, namely “External Factors Affecting Provincial Politics in KP” focuses briefly on those external aspects, which had affected provincial politics of KP e.g. intervention of USSR in Afghanistan, Afghan *Jihad* and post 9/11 effects on KP. Influx of migrants from Afghanistan and its socio-economic impacts on the province, waves of terrorism after 9/11 in KP are discussed.

**Chapter Four** under the title of “Political Leaders in KP and their Role in Provincial Politics”, is discussing various Pakhtun leaders and its role in the provincial politics. These

leaders are Ajmal Khattak, Abdul Wali Khan, Hayat Sherpao, Afzal Khan Lala, Maulana Fazlur Rahman, Aftab Sherpao and Sraj-ul-Haq. The integration of the Pakhtuns in the state system is also analyzed.

**Chapter Five** namely “Integration of Pakhtuns in the State System and Provincial Politics” evaluates about the attitude of KP’s inhabitants and provincial politicians towards integration in the state system. ANP’s participation in general elections of Pakistan is the strongest proof that they were fully integrated in the state system of Pakistan. So, general elections since 1988 to 2013 are discussed. The ANP position, manifesto and achievements are elaborately highlighted. The politics of Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA), Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI), Jammat-i-Islami and Pakistan People’s Party (PPP-S and QWP) is analyzed. Various reforms introduced by provincial governments are discussed. Importantly, provincial politics means to pakhtuns a solution of their basic problems, which is often miss understood by others. An effort has been made in this chapter to clarify what provincial politics means to Pakhtuns.

## **Theoretical Framework**

The statement that the ‘sentiments of nationalism were designated as a close-knit locality, region or nation against an external power’ can be regarded true as far as the case of united India was concerned. This was the determinant Pakhtun nationalism who gave tough time to an external power, the British. In pre-partition era of India, multi-racial and multi-lingual people were living in the region. The province of KP was and still inhabited by Pakhtuns, Hindu speakers and other small ethno-linguistic groups. In post-partition era, Pakistan faced the problem of ethnicity much stronger in the form of Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi and Pakhtun nationalities. The notion of nationalism and multi-racial factor created

hurdles in different fields of the state machinery. Similarly, the provincial politics was dominated by the concept of nationalism. As the sentiments of nationalism and ethnicity was sharp in the region, thus, the following theory justifies the issue.

## **Nationalism**

Although an older phenomenon, the scholars have not yet agreed on its meaning and definition. This is why David MacCrone quoted the words of John Hall who stated “as the historical record is diverse so too must be our concept.”<sup>26</sup> Another scholar namely Benedict Anderson admitted this fact and said, “Nations, Nationality and Nationalism, all have proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone to analyze.”<sup>27</sup> The passion of more realism was shown by H. S. Watson by saying “I am driven to the conclusion that no scientific definition of the nation can be devised; yet the phenomenon has existed and exists.”<sup>28</sup> Irrespective of the lack of consensus among the scholars, some scholars had defined the phenomenon of nationalism. Carlton Hayes remarked, “A condition of mind in which loyalty to the ideal or to the fact of one’s national state is superior to all other loyalties and of which pride in one’s nationality and belief in its intrinsic excellence and its ‘mission’ are integral parts.”<sup>29</sup> Hans Kohn wrote, “Nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness.”<sup>30</sup>

In his book “Nation and Nationalism” Ernest Gellner basically held responsible economic reasons for nationalism development. He thinks the superiority of material conditions in structuring social change and political thought<sup>31</sup>. According to Gellner, ‘nationalism is a psychological bond which has political goal to form a separate autonomous, or independent political community’<sup>32</sup>. In the Subcontinent, a prominent and probably the only personality, the matter of nationalism came a serious fact of his poetry. Extensively, the issue earned

his strong disfavour by religious as well as political point of view<sup>33</sup>. However, Iqbal's view can be criticized on the ground that why, then he favoured the idea of the partition of India? Allama Iqbal considered Muslims of the world as *Millat*, then merged in the supra-geographical *Millat*.

## **Origin of Nationalism**

The scholars about the origin of nationalism have approached to two different schools of thought e.g. Primordialists and Modernists. The last-mentioned school of thought attributed nationalism as an invention of 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>34</sup> and the Europeanization and modernization of 'pre-modern and non-western societies culminated in the spread of nationalism. This school of thought attributed the rise of nationalism to the origin of sovereignty; the theory of government by active "consent of the governed", the development of secularism, decreasing in the religious, tribal or feudal loyalties; growing urbanization, industrialization and reliable communication.

The approach of the former school of thought is different and leads to reject the theory of modernists. They are disagree with the notion of the modernists that nationalism is a modern concept, however, according to the primordialists, it is pre-dated before modern era. Anthony Smith stated if "we accept this idea of modernists, does that mean that there was a nation in the history before the rise of nationalism in the modern era"?<sup>35</sup>

Isaiah Berlin asserts, "Consciousness of national identity may be as old as consciousness itself. But nationalism unlike tribal feeling or xenophobia, to which it is related but with which it is not identical, seems scarcely to have existed in ancient or classical times."<sup>36</sup>

It can be said that the sentiments of nationalism were designated as a close-knit locality, region or nation against an external power. The first instance as conflicts in the middle ages

between many cities and nations and the papacy. Still, there was no better improvement in this connection. Then, first in Germany and latter in France, an articular doctrine of nationalism was developed<sup>37</sup>. It was even with in one hundred years (1815-1920) after the works of Herder, a German Philosopher, it was nationalism which considerably altered the political map of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe; and it configured the political history of Asia and Africa.

### **Ethnicity and Ethnic Nationalism**

At world wise, the rise of the concept of ethnicity was considerably recorded in the last decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Considered as primordial concept, it placed a front line position in social, political and academic fields<sup>38</sup>. The word 'ethnic' is acquired from the Greek language word 'ethnikos' means 'pagan or a 'heathen. Hence the word ethnic means 'foreigners' and this term used to describe non-chosen people or outsiders<sup>39</sup>. The word was used in this notion till the mid of 14<sup>th</sup> century, later it gradually started to be used in 'racial' sphere. Around the World War-II, the term was used in the United States for Jews, Irish, Italian and other people who were believed to be inferior. The issue continued world widely when at the last decade of 20th century (1991) thirty-five conflicts out of thirty-seven major conflicts throughout the world, most of them occurred from Sri Lanka to Northern Ireland might be pointed out as conflicts based on ethnicity. Apart from violent ethnic movements, important non-ethnic movements like that of Quebec movement in Canada<sup>40</sup> is on the record.

The dictionary of Social Sciences defines ethnicity, "Ethnic as an adjective is often used interchangeably with religious social, national, cultural and sub-cultural."<sup>41</sup> Paul Brass says about ethnicity as, "ethnic community is objectively distinct from their neighbors,

subjectively self-conscious of their distinctness, and laying claims to status and recognition either as a superior group at least equal to other group.”<sup>42</sup> Rothschild observes, “Ethnicity is the plastic, variegated and originally ascriptive trait that in certain historical and socio-economic circumstances is readily politicized.”<sup>43</sup> To Shireen Mazari, “Ethnicity is an alternative form of social organization to class formation.”<sup>44</sup>

A bulky literature regarding the concept of ethnicity reveals, according to Crawford Young, there are two schools thought e.g (i) Primordialist and (ii) the Instrumentalist. According to Geertz who is considered a primordialist, “the cultural givens assumed blood ties, race, language, region, religion and custom as the heart of the ethnic matter.”<sup>45</sup> Instrumentalists stress on mutual links and competition. Situational and circumstantial side of ethnic solidarity is their considerable focus.

The sound base for ethnic nationalism is ethnicity. It is a politicized design of ethnicity. It is very difficult to differentiate nationalism and ethnic nationalism. According to Rothschild, there are six stages by which ethnicity transforms into ethnic nationalism. First of all is ethnic awareness or ethnic identity. There are some internal and external factors responsible for ethnic awakening. The internal may be classified as common religion, language, common race, common history and collective organization. The external factors may be regarded as social relationship with ethnic groups, mutual ethnic relations, ethnic group multi-national linkages and nature and structure of political system. Second stage is ‘self-evaluation’ with a slightest difference with the first stage. Third stage is demands for equality. An ethnic group on the base of awareness begins to ask for certain demands from political system. This is time when it enters in the fold of ethnic nationalism. In the next stage it demands for political autonomy e.g. alteration of the political system, redistribution

of powers and resources, formulation of new units etc. The fifth stage is 'bluff secession' means to threat the authority with to secede if the demands were not accepted. It can be rightly called the stage of confrontation. The sixth and the last stage of ethnic nationalism is 'secession'. While taking the decision of secession an ethnic group has to keep in consideration many things like geographical location, relationship with the mother state, relationship with other larger political community etc. It can be said that the basic objective of ethnic nationalism to obtain and secure the cultural identity of the ethnic group which in contrast ensures the physical security and protection of its members.

## **Cybernetic Communication Theory**

The next approach to study integration is Cybernetic Communication Theory. Among its major exponents is Karl W. Deutsch and his associates. He describes that "social and political integration depends on the extent of mass-communication and social interaction."<sup>46</sup> He began with a series of definition, firstly, "a security community is a group of people who have become integrated", secondly, "integration is the attainment of a 'sense of community'.<sup>47</sup>

"The communication approach applies principles from Cybernetics to the relations between nations or population groups. It focuses on the volume of transactions among these entities as the most appropriate indications and it operates on the assumption that cohesiveness among individuals can be measured and is probably promoted by the content of mutual relationship or interaction among them."<sup>48</sup> According to Karl W. Deutsch, mail, telephone, traffic, trade figures and students exchange are common indicators.

The communicationist school of thought remarks, "integration can be seen as both, as process leading towards political unification and as the end product of that process

amalgamated and pluralist security community.”<sup>49</sup> He identified two other sub-categories of security, community amalgamated and pluralist. However, functionalism, neo-functionalism and communication theories guide us from economic, social, and cultural integration to political integration.

Cybernetics is the science of communications and control systems in systems e.g. both machines and living things. Cybernetic tools were used in nationalist politics in the subcontinent in pre and post partition era. Before partition of India print, press, typing machines and other communication means e.g. telegram played a vital role in shaping people’s attitude and identity. It also promoted love of land, language, history, literature and religion among Pakhtuns. The Pakhtuns learned the use of vote and certain terms like referendum and its role and effectiveness in the systems.

Radio broadcasting began in India in 1923. In 1927 Bombay and Calcutta Radio Stations were launched. They produced certain programs on various national and international issues. In Peshawar, a Radio Station was opened in 1935. It provided training to people, politicians and political leaders. It guided people how to participate in electoral politics. The results were announced on Radios. Apart from it, Radio was a tool of propagation of political agendas and advertisement about the future programs of a political party.

The use of internet is very common in political process. Political parties, its subgroups and its supporters are frequently using the internet to spread their messages on their web pages. Thus, it created awareness and political consciousness among Pakhtuns which greatly impacted their identity, imagination and political practice. The social media is the fastest tool to spread a party agenda and message. The mobile phones are now equipped with the internet. The cybernetics have reasonable impacts on Pakhtun identity and regional politics.

## Notes and References

<sup>1</sup> Cees Van Der Eijik, "The Essence of Politics," Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, available at <http://assets.ctfassets.net/>, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Fakhr-ul-Islam, "The 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment in the 1973 Constitution," *The Dialogue* Volume VIII, No. 2, (April-July 2013): 189.

<sup>3</sup> Lal Baha, *N.W.F.P. Administration under the British Rule 1901-1919* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1978), 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Later two new political agencies i.e. Bajaur and Orakzai were constituted. Previously Bajaur was the part of Malakand Agency, while Orakzai area was under the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner, Kohat. The numbers of agencies now, reached to seven. Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Erland Jonson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan* (Upsala: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1981), 24.

<sup>8</sup> M. A. Sofi, *Pakhtunkhwa Kion?* (Urdu) (Lahore: Azad Publisher, n.d.), 9-10.

<sup>9</sup> Baha, *N.W.F.P. Administration under the British 1901-1919*, 18.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 26.

<sup>11</sup> Muhammad Shakeel, "Electoral Politics in NWFP: Study of 1937 Elections," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. xxxii, No. 2 (2011): 118-119.

<sup>12</sup> Obhrai, *The Evolution of North-West Frontier Province*, 74.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 75.

<sup>14</sup> Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 20.

<sup>15</sup> The Hindus 392 males and 41 females in Hazara, 340 and 124 males and females respectively in Peshawar, 330 and 21 in Kohat, 351 and 13 in Bannu and, 442 and 44 males and females were literate per *mille*. The Sikhs were also having a ratio in literacy. There numbers were 321 males and 59 females in Hazara, 450 and 180 males and females respectively in Peshawar, 578 and 67 in Kohat, 572 and 90 in Bannu, 465 and 109 in Dera Ismail Khan. The Christians were having the highest per *mille* ratio of literacy. They were 858 males and 776 females literate per *mille* in Hazara, 915 and 616 males and females in Peshawar, 818 and 730 in Kohat, 603 and 639 in Bannu and, 834 and 683 per *mille* in Dera Ismail Khan. See, *Census of India 1911*, Vol. xiii, 188; Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 8

<sup>16</sup> Shah, *North-West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 120.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> There were 2 females in Peshawar, 4 in Kohat, 2 in Bannu, 2 in Dera Ismail Khan and 2 in Hazara. *The Census of 1921* pointed out the main hurdles in the field of female education in which the curriculum of that time stood first. They had found the curriculum and instruction at elementary level only capable to enable the females to read and write letters and nothing to do with their households and management. The suspicious and jealous attitude of the husbands and other family members was another hurdle in the improvement of female education. According to the report, the education was of secular Kind. It was suspected that this kind

of education will have sinister effects on her character by religious point of view. Noticing the threats, the general public were in an unfavorable mood towards education, particularly that of female education. See, *Ibid: Census of India 1911, Vol. xiii*, (Peshawar: North-West Frontier Province, 1912), 188; *Census of India 1921*.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, 121-122.

<sup>20</sup> Vartan Gregorian, *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan: Politics of Reform and Modernization 1880-1946* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), 43-45.

<sup>21</sup> S. Wiqar Ali Shah, *North-West Frontier Province: History and Politics* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2007), XVI-XVII.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>23</sup> Safiullah Khan, "From Pakhtunistan to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Journey of Pakhtun Nationalists from Separation to Integration," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. XXXVII, no. 2 (2017): 86.

<sup>24</sup> Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province 1937-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 244.

<sup>25</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari Vol-3* (Pashto) (Charsadda: Wali Bagh, 1998), 337-345.

<sup>26</sup> David Maccrone, *The Sociology of Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 2000), 22.

<sup>27</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1991), 3.

<sup>28</sup> Hugh Seton Watson, *Nations and the States* (London: Methuen, 1977), 5.

<sup>29</sup> Carlton Joseph Hayes. *Essays on Nationalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), 6.

<sup>30</sup> Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Original and Background* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 8.

<sup>31</sup> Adeel Khan, "Pashtun Ethnic Nationalism: From Separation to Integration," (September 2009), [http://www.khvber.org/articles/2009\\_pakhtun\\_Ethnic\\_Nationalism\\_sep.shtml](http://www.khvber.org/articles/2009_pakhtun_Ethnic_Nationalism_sep.shtml) (accessed 12/04/2018), 2-5.

<sup>32</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Nation and Nationalism* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition) (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), 1.

<sup>33</sup> Parveen Shaukat Ali, *The Political Philosophy of Iqbal* (Lahore: United Publishers, 1978), 194.

<sup>34</sup> Ellie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London: Hutchinson, 1960), 90.

<sup>35</sup> Anthony Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), 22-23.

<sup>36</sup> Isaiah Berlin, "The Best Twig: A Note of Nationalism," *Foreign Affairs*, 51, No.1 (October 1972): 15

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, 16.

<sup>38</sup> Hutchinson and Smith, *Ethnicity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), v.

<sup>39</sup> Leah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 4.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: An Anthropological Perspective* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), <http://folk.uio.no/geirthe/Ethnicity.html> (accessed 02/12/2018).

<sup>41</sup> Ashley Montagu, "Man's Most Dangerous Myth," in Julius Gould, William L. Kolb (ed.) *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences* (New York: The Free Press, n.d), 243.

<sup>42</sup> Paul Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991), 18-20.

<sup>43</sup> Joseph Rothschild, *Ethno Politics: A Conceptual Frame Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 20.

<sup>44</sup> Shireen Mehrunnisa Mazari, *Ethnicity and Political Process: The Pakistani Experience*, [http://www.issi.org.pk/journal/2003\\_3/article\\_1a.html](http://www.issi.org.pk/journal/2003_3/article_1a.html) (accessed 02/12/2018), 2.

<sup>45</sup> Tahir Amin, Ethno National Movement of Pakistan: Domestic and International Factor (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 1988), 27.

<sup>46</sup> Anthony Harold Birch, 'Minority Nationalist Movements and Theories of Political Integration,' *World Politics*, Vol. XXX, no. 3 (1978): 325.

<sup>47</sup> Karl Deutch, et. al., *Political Community in North Atlantic Area* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 24.

<sup>48</sup> Syed Mussawer Hussain, "Pakistan, Ethnic Nationalism & Politics of Integration" (PhD. diss., Bahawalpur: Islamia University Bahawalpur, 1999), 19.

<sup>49</sup> Theodore Couloumbis and James Wolf, *Introduction to International Relations. Power and Justice* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1990), 299.

## CHAPTER-1

### COMMENCEMENT OF PARTY POLITICS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKWA

After the bad experience of the war of independence 1857, the British had thought about the representative institutions to make stronger administration. Indirectly it resulted the political awareness regarding representative institutions in the Frontier. The first limited franchise election for local government institutions were held in 1884. “In 1892, the members of these institutions were given the right to elect some members of the provincial legislatures, who in turn elected a limited number of Central Legislature members”<sup>1</sup>.

#### 1.1 Inception of Political Activities in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

The historians associate the beginning of party politics in KP with some educated Hindus, who were organizing support for the INC. The first nationalist Urdu newspaper *Frontier Advocate* was published in 1905 by Amir Chand Bombwal (1893-1972). Ram Chand established a provincial branch of Congress in February 1907. However, due to a sense of insecurity, the British government banned this new political group in the province and its leaders were sent behind the bars under Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR). In 1912, the Muslims of KP tried to enter into politics by establishing a branch of All India Muslim League (AIML). Mian Abdul Aziz advocate became its president and Ali Abbas Bokhari its Secretary. Due to Balkan wars the British could not tolerate any extremist ideas, so, ban was put on the provincial branch of AIML and party’s leaders were dealt with iron hand. However, Ali Abbas Bokhari fled towards the neighbouring country, Afghanistan<sup>2</sup>.

The era of Pan-Islamism led to transfer the political ideas to rural areas. Haji Fazli- Wahid (1858-1937), known as Haji Sahib Turangzai started a reformation program for eradication of social evils from Pakhtun Society. Later, join efforts of Haji Sahib and Abdul Ghaffar Khan resulted in the establishment of a network of *Azad Madrassa System*. The British authority could not tolerate these developments, banned these activities, Haji Sahib Turangzai went to the tribal area and thus the movement failed.

The Khilafat Movement had a deep impact on the Frontier politics in 1920s. This era embarked upon a mutual confidence of INC and the Muslims of the province. Notable leaders were Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib (1883-1958). Although, Khilafat and Hijrat movements were ended in failure, but the Muslims at least learned how to organize such movements. The weak position of the Pakhtuns was disclosed by these movements.

## **1.2 Khudai Khidmatgar Movement**

The pioneer of the movement, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, also known as Bacha Khan was born in the house of Bahram Khan, a Khan of Muhammad Zai clan at Utman Zai (Charsadda district) in 1890. According to Pakhtun's tradition, he was sent to the local mosque to learn the holy Quran. After initial schooling at the village, he was sent to Edwardes Memorial Mission High School. Bacha Khan was made to apply for a commission in the Army, which was granted to him during his matriculation examination. He was ordered to proceed to the Head Quarter of Guides Mardan, soon. He left the examination and was about to join the Army when an incident happened<sup>3</sup>. That incident was enough to change his mind, thus he decided to continue his study. After that he went to Campbellpur (presently Attock), not

satisfied there, then went to Qadian. From Qadian, he proceeded to Aligarh from where he was asked back home that he might be sent to England for education. However, this plan was not materialized as his mother did not allow him to go abroad. So, he decided to serve Pakhtuns socially, educationally and politically.

### **1.2.1 Abdul Ghaffar Khan: A Social and Educational Reformer**

Bacha Khan was a social reformer, thinker, educationist and a great political leader of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>4</sup>. Bacha Khan, unlike other leaders, worked for the freedom and recognition of the nation as well as to reform the nation educationally and socially<sup>5</sup>. Disunity, disharmony and faction feuds were intensely prevailed in the Pakhtun society<sup>6</sup>. But Bacha Khan was the man, who united them. A writer says:

Those leaders have seldom born who raise their society from the ignominious depth of ignorance and obscurity to the heights of enlightenment and glory. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was one of those rare breed of leaders<sup>7</sup>.

During the first phase of his education services, Bacha Khan in collaboration with Haji Fazli Wahid (Haji Sahib Turangzai) inaugurated educational institutions named *Dar-ul-Uloom-i-Islamia*, one at Utmanzai and the other at Mardan. The students were imparted religious education as well as patriotism and hatred towards social and moral evils<sup>8</sup>. Bacha Khan and Haji Sahib Turangzai, after convincing the people of different villages to the significance of education for their children, laid the foundation of other small *Madrassas*. Inspired from these personalities, the people started sending their children to educational institutions. The desirable recognition of these *Madrassas* alarmed the British authority which they had considered a threat to their authority. The British planned to arrest Haji Sahib Turangzai, however, he migrated to Lakaro, Mohmand Agency after leaking the plan to him by one of his followers. The British government banned these institutions and

arrested the teachers of *Madrasa*. Another attempt of establishing a *Madrasa* at Utmanzai, in collaboration with Maulavi Abdul Aziz was made.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century introduced the Indians with politics of agitation. Towards the end of 1918, Khilafat movement was started, followed by Hijrat movement. Bacha Khan also migrated to Afghanistan. However, he came to the fact that migration from India was not the solution of their problems. He badly felt the need of educating the Pakhtun society<sup>9</sup>. Hence, he speeded up his educational activities. After the escape of Haji Sahib Turangzai, Bacha Khan was also followed everywhere. He found that it was difficult for him to continue his services in settled areas, thus he moved to Dir. With this the second phase of his education services starts. After releasing from jail, accompanied by Fazal Mahmood Makhfi, systematically made an attempt to eradicate social evils, un-Islamic customs and illiteracy among the Pakhtuns and established a school in Khaalono, Dir. With the help of the Political Agent, the Nawab of Dir banned the school, Bacha Khan and Fazal Mahmood Makhfi were driven out of Dir.

The most systematic, organized and conclusive attempt towards education by Bacha Khan may be called the third phase of his educational services. This time he visited nearly 500 villages to propagate the agenda of his educational services and to make the parents ready to educate their children. After utilizing support of the masses, he realized the time was right for installing organized, well equipped with tradition, based on modern approach of formal, technical and vocational education might be imparted. This time he was enjoying the partnership of great persons like Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, Khadim Muhammad Akbar, Barrister Ahmad Shah, Mian Abdullah Shah and other notable colleagues. A great *Jirgah* was held for nine consecutive days. After elaborating discussions, a society,

*anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina* (a society for the reformation of Afghans) was established in March 1921. A three-member committee framed the constitution for this society in twelve days. The points which were agreed upon were: the promotion of unity among Pakhtuns, the eradication of social evils, prevention of lavish spending on social customs, encouragement of Pashto language and literature and the creation of real love for Islam among Pakhtuns. Education of Pakhtuns was the top priority.

After nine days of the formation of *Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina*, the first branch of *Azad Islamic Madrassa* (School) was inaugurated in Utmanzai. This was followed by fifty-seven schools in the next three years<sup>10</sup>. The number then reached to 134, later. The establishment of these schools proved to be great beneficial step particularly as educational movement as well as awakening of the Pakhtuns<sup>11</sup>. The students had to study multiple kinds of subjects included in the curriculum e.g. mathematics, English, history, geography, sciences and vocational subjects. The British government was not ready to approve its recognition; however, it was affiliated with Jamia Milliya Delhi<sup>12</sup>. These schools were very much familiarized among the masses. This fact may be authenticated from the figure of 80000 people attended its annual meeting in 1927, as compared to 1200 people in 1921<sup>13</sup>.

The government could not tolerate all these activities, Bacha Khan was arrested on December 17, 1921 and was sent behind the bars for three years. When released in 1924, he was given a cordial reception at home. Here the rigorous policy of the British intensified the feelings of nationalism among Pakhtuns and they were now strongly devoted to their unity<sup>14</sup>. The people gave him noticeable hearing. To train the people and to give a platform that people may write and express their feelings through pen, *Pakhtun* magazine was started and its first issue came out in May 1928. Different variety of subjects like politics,

Pakhtun patriotism, history, issues regarding gender, affairs of India and social problems were included in it. Its popularity increased day by day as its circulation reached from 500 to 3000 soon<sup>15</sup>.

### **1.2.2 Formation of Khudai Khidmatgar**

The second phase of modernization program of *Amir* Amanullah Khan changed the view of Pakhtuns as some of his reforms were suspected by Pakhtuns<sup>16</sup>. The conservative Pakhtuns of Afghanistan planned to oust Amanullah Khan and consequently Habibullah known as Bacha Saqao (son of water carrier) dethroned Amanullah Khan. The Pakhtun sensed it as the British conspiracy. The *Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina* responded with anti-government strikes and demonstrations. However, the matter was cooled down with Amanullah Khan's shifting to Italy.

Mian Jafar Shah visited Soviet Union and expressed his desire of the formation of a youth league<sup>17</sup>. This Idea was welcomed by Bacha Khan and a meeting was held at Utmanzai on September 1, 1929 in which *Zalmo Jirgah* (Youth League) was formed. Any person could obtain its membership 'without any discrimination of caste, creed or religion, provided he is literate', and that 'he should not participate in any form of communalism'. For *Jirgah*'s activities Pashto was declared its official language. Other objectives were, 'attainment of complete independence for Hindustan by all possible means'<sup>18</sup>.

For the purpose of lodgment of elderly and illiterate lovers for Pakhtun cause, Khudai Khidmatgar (Servants of God) was formed in November 1929. The objectives of this organization were the eradication of social evils from the society, promotion of Pakhtun nationalism, unity of Pakhtuns and the determination to get rid of the British<sup>19</sup>. Although

no exact figure of KKs members is known, but a careful investigation reveals twelve hundred to fifteen hundred. It got popularity very soon as different sections of the society were interpreting its program according to their own understanding<sup>20</sup>.

Discipline was greatly stressed in the KK. The volunteers used to drill and were organized like military. A volunteer was required to avoid blood-feuds in family, intrigues, violence and intoxicant. Non-violence was the basic principle of KK. They were asked not to retaliate any kind of violence or inhuman behavior. There specific brown uniform earned them the name 'Red Shirts' from some sections and the government and later they were popularly called as Red Shirts. Meanwhile, the government was not a silent spectator, it retaliated and pledged not to miss any opportunity to crush the power of the KK. Their persecution began from Qissa Khwani massacre on April 23, 1930 in Peshawar. As a result of indiscriminate fire on unarmed volunteers, more than two hundred people were killed. This was the second massacre of its kind only after Jallianwala Bagh incident in April 1919<sup>21</sup>.

As it was the need of the day, that the KK would seek support from the mainstream political parties. In those days INC and the AIML were two leading political parties of India. First the KK approached AIML for its support, it rejected the approach as it was not in the position to support KK in anti-British activities. Next choice was INC which welcomed the KK request for affiliation to strengthen its claim of being a sole representative party of all Indian communities including Muslims<sup>22</sup>. Thus, on August 9, 1931 *Zalmo Jirgah* and KK were formally affiliated with INC. The INC, within no time, by the support of KK became a major political Party in KP. Its position was further positively enhanced during

its ministry (1937-1939) in KP under Dr. Khan Sahib due to the introduction of various reforms in the best interests of the people of KP.

The provincial elections of 1937 were conducted under Government of India Act 1935.

The INC was contesting the elections in KP under the slogan of *sawaraj*. They were feeling that “it was the foremost duty of every Mohammadan to strive for freedom. Death was the right punishment for those who refused to do so”<sup>23</sup>. Mian Abdullah Shah of Mazara said in the Parliamentary Board Meeting that “during the absence of redshirts... title holders returned to the Council. It was due to them that Abdul Ghaffar Khan had been excommunicated from the province. The Khanate class had no sympathy with the public and worked for their own ends”<sup>24</sup>.

The Frontier Province Muslim League (FPML), in those days was not much popular in the province. Thus, those who have no political coincidence with the Congress, had participated as independent candidates in the provincial elections of 1937. However, when they had become members of the Frontier Legislative Assembly, established a party by the name of Muslim Nationalist Group<sup>25</sup>. Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan was the leader of this group. Sixteen members were included in this group<sup>26</sup>. Nineteen members, on the ticket of the Congress were elected to the Frontier Legislative Assembly. In most of the constituencies, Congress was benefitted by mutual rivalries of the Khans and split in their voters<sup>27</sup>, weakened the position of the Khans against the Congress. The Congress elected members were (1) Abdullah Khan (2) Abdul Aziz Khan (3) Abdul Ghafoor Khan (4) Arbab Abdul Rahman Khan (5) Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan (6) Akbar Ali Khan (7) Amir Muhammad Khan (8) Qazi Atta Ullah Khan (9) Lala Bhenjo Ram (10) Faqeer Khan (11) Dr. C-C Gosh (12) Lala Hakam Chand (13) Mian Jafar Shah Kakakhel (14) Lala Jamna

Das (15) Dr. Khan Sahib (16) Muhammad Afzal Khan (17) Pir Muhammad Kamran (18) Sameen Jan Khan and (19) Zareen Khan<sup>28</sup>. There were eight members of Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party (HSNP) elected to the Frontier Legislative Assembly. Apart from them four members of Democratic Party were elected to the Frontier Legislative Assembly<sup>29</sup>.

#### **Results of 1937 Elections of Rural and Urban Constituencies in NWFP**

Party	Total	General Rural	General Urban	Muslim Rural	Muslim Urban	Sikh	Land-Holders
Congress	19	3	1	15	-	-	-
Independent Muslim	21	-	-	18	1	-	2
Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party	7	3	1	-	-	3	-
Independent Hindu	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Independent Party	2	-	-	-	2	-	-
Total	50	6	3	33	3	3	2

Source: Muhammad Shakeel Ahmad, "Electoral Politics in NWFP: Study of 1937 Elections" (Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. xxxii, No. 2, 2011), 129.

#### **1937 Elections in NWFP. District Wise Distribution of the Muslim Rural Seats**

Party	Peshawar	Mardan	Hazara	Kohat	D. I Khan	Bannu
Congress	7	3	2	1	1	1
Independent	-	2	7	3	3	3

Source: Muhammad Shakeel Ahmad, "Electoral Politics in NWFP: Study of 1937 Elections" (Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. xxxii, No. 2, 2011), 129.

The Governor of KP asked Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan to form his Ministry. He made a coalition with HSNP and for the first time formed his Ministry in KP on April 1, 1937. Malik Khuda Bakhsh was appointed as the president of the Frontier Legislative Assembly and Muhammad Sarwar Khan of Democratic Party as Vice-president. However, the Congress was not happy on the formation of Abdul Qayyum's Ministry. The Congress after winning the confidence of four members of Democratic Party and two members of HSNP, was now in the position to bring no confidence movement against Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum's Ministry. Consequently, no confidence movement was brought in the Assembly

on September 3, 1937 by Dr. Khan Sahib. The movement was succeeded by 27 votes in favour and 22 against. Sahibzada tendered his resign on the same day<sup>30</sup>.

On September 3, 1937 Dr. Khan Sahib Ministry was formed. Dr. Khan was the Chief Minister, Qazi Atta Ullah Education Minister, Lala Bhanju Ram Gandhi Finance Minister and Khan Muhammad Abbas Khan of Democratic Party was given the Forestry Ministry<sup>31</sup>. The Congress Ministry of KP ruled over the province for two years and six weeks. In September 1939 Second World War broke out. The anti-war resolution was passed by Frontier Legislative Assembly on November 6, 1939 and tendered resignation from the Ministry. Thus, Governor Rule was imposed on November 11, 1939 in KP.

In KP all political activities had been suspended during 1939 to 1943. The province was administered through governor's rule. For the Muslims, the words of Allama Iqbal spoken at Allahabad session of AIML in 1930, was the only hope. The words "I would like to see Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Balochistan should be amalgamated into a single state", present the ideology of Pakistan. After great difficulties and sacrifices this ideology was given a practical shape on the occasion of Lahore Resolution on March 23, 1940. This was later, named as Pakistan Resolution by Hindu Press. The resolution said:

No constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituted units shall be autonomous and sovereign<sup>32</sup>.

The resolution further clarifies:

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specially provided in the constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them, and in other parts of India where the

Muslims are in majority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specially provided in the constitution, for them and other minorities, for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them<sup>33</sup>.

The Resolution of Pakistan was not liked by both Hindus and Congress. The more the Hindus and Congress showed their hatred and prejudice, the more the movement of Pakistan was getting popularity. Although this resolution was strongly disliked by Congress and the British government of India, but the Muslims had targeted their goal<sup>34</sup>.

The period of 1939-1945 was dominated by the effects of Second World War, thus the political activities were also affected. Due to Governor Rule in KP, there was a deadlock between the British government of India and INC, which paved the way for the FPML to become in power in KP in 1943. The 'Quit India Movement' had deepened differences between INC and the British. The AIML Ministry in Assam came into operation in August 1942, in Sind in October 1942 and Bengal in April 1943<sup>35</sup>. However, in KP, AIML was in deplorable condition. The terms between Aurangzeb Khan and K. B. Saadullah Khan were tense. Even when the AIML Committee of Action toured the KP, it faced considerable opposition from Aurangzeb Khan.

In the nook and corner of India, due to the excitement of Pakistan Movement, AIML was popularized on the eve of 1945-46 elections. The AIML still, however, did not succeed in KP in those elections. The Elections for the Central Legislative Assembly were held in December 1945. The AIML won all the reserved 30 seats in the house of 102 members. INC won 57 seats, independent 5, Akali Sikhs 2 and Europeans 8<sup>36</sup>. The elections for Provincial Assemblies were held in early 1946. Out of 496 Muslim seats in the Provincial Assemblies, the AIML won 430 seats<sup>37</sup>. This time, again, INC succeeded to form its Ministry in KP, which is called Dr. Khan Sahib's Second Ministry.

By the end of 1946 the AIML turned to be the formidable rival of the Congress. However, Dr. Khan was still having a majority in his favour and the province thus remained under Congress control. On the other hand, some leaguers like Fida Muhammad, president of Peshawar city, ML were advocating the ideas of civil disobedience<sup>38</sup>. Till the autumn of 1947 there was no large-scale violence in the province. The situation had become very tense due to extreme shortage of food and cloth. The Muslims held Hindu shopkeepers responsible for diverting supplies to the black market<sup>39</sup>. Communal raids had spread in various districts of KP and large-scale violence broke out. In Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan, the tension was too high. The government responded and banned public speeches, procession and assemblies of more than five persons in Abbottabad and in some other towns of Hazara. On the other hand, the Leaguers exploited the situation by challenging the authority of the government by asking the common inhabitants not to pay any fine<sup>40</sup>.

The Central Government was feeling about the problems and unrest in KP. The viceroy held a meeting on April 23, 1947 in which Mr. Jinnah was asked to ease his supporters in KP and to avoid violence. To refrain their supporters from violence, firstly Jinnah was advised to visit KP, but later, it was eventually decided that he should instead issue an appeal from Delhi by press and radio to his supporters in KP to refrain from violence<sup>41</sup>. Soon after that, the viceroy Mountbatten paid a visit to the KP. He was convinced that fresh elections were absolutely necessary if a great disaster was to be avoided in KP<sup>42</sup>.

The viceroy during his visit of the province had noticed the excitement of the people about Pakistan. On the second day of his visit, he held a meeting with Afridi Jirga at Landi Kotal and an informal meeting with about 50 members of Waziristan tribes on 28 April at Peshawar. He derived a strong impression of “the strength of feeling which the tribes have

about the confident of their own strength and position, and are not prepared to contemplate absorption into a state which they regard as likely to be dominated by Hindus".<sup>43</sup>

The British Government of India was not in favour of fresh elections in KP. According to the viceroy, if by the force of civil disobedience movement of AIML, fresh elections were to be held in N. W. Frontier Province, Congress would refuse to take part in the elections as a strong gesture of disapproval<sup>44</sup>. Rather, the government was in mood to conduct a referendum in KP. In June 3 Plan, it was clarified that a referendum in KP would be held on the question whether it joins Pakistan or India. The Congress Working Committee (CWC) also agreed on referendum in KP and had given its acceptance. Irrespective of KKs opposition, the referendum was conducted in the province from 6 to 18 July 1947. The people of the province decided to join Pakistan by 289,244 votes in favour and 2874 against<sup>45</sup>. Thus, KP became the province of Pakistan.

The Khan Brothers did not like the idea of the partition of India. The announcement of partition put them in utter disappointment and created difficulties for them. The INC had accepted the 3 June Plan. The CWC and All India Congress Committee (AICC) had ratified the decision of division of India including a referendum in KP. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was disturbed over the Congress acceptance of referendum in KP. He demanded an independent Pakhtunistan, which was not accepted. Consequently, he opposed the referendum in KP<sup>46</sup>. The acceptance of 3 June Plan by Congress was declared as an act of treachery as all these developments happened in Bacha Khan's absence and even he was not consulted. "We, Pakhtuns stood by you and had undergone great sacrifices for attaining freedom, but you have now deserted us and thrown us to the wolves"<sup>47</sup>, Bacha Khan remarked. One of his biographers observes Bacha Khan disparity and unhappiness:

Abdul Ghaffar Khan was sad. He has cast his lot with Congress.... now owing to his ideological differences with Muslim League, The Khudai Khidmatgar 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 Mhatmaji is there<sup>48</sup>.

The Congress could not show any considerable concern to the cause and apprehensions of Bacha Khan, however, Gandhi did show sympathy to him, as he might not want to see Bacha Khan gloomy, so, he opposed the referendum in KP<sup>49</sup>. Gandhi also had showed his unwillingness to the viceroy, informed him that such action would lead to fervor and distress in KP. "Gandhi suggested that the viceroy should advise Jinnah to proceed to KP and explain Pakistan there"<sup>50</sup>. On the question of referendum, differences aroused between Gandhi and the High Command of Congress, as Patel and Nehru were opposing the viewpoint of Gandhi regarding the referendum in KP. After that Gandhi went to Bihar and the CWC and AICC ratified the decision regarding the referendum.

On 18 June, Bacha Khan met Jinnah and informed him that KK was ready to join Pakistan on these conditions: (i) complete provincial autonomy; (ii) the right for the province to secede Pakistan if it so desired; (iii) the right of admission to the KP of adjacent areas of land and people. Jinnah asked him to take oath of allegiance and join the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, then these matters would be solved by mutual understandings. Bacha Khan conditioned it to the meeting of his party at Bannu on June 21, 1947<sup>51</sup>. A joint session of Frontier Province Congress Committee (FPCC), the Congress Parliamentary Party, KKs and *Zalmy Pakhtun* was held. The members were asked about the question of referendum in KP. The point on which the members were agreed, that if the referendum was mandatory, it should not be on the issue of Pakistan versus Hindustan, but it must be conducted on Pakistan versus Pakhtunistan. Jinnah, on the above developments remarked; "after the AICC acceptance of the 3 June Plan, which provided for a referendum in the KP,

the FPCC was bound to honour the agreement. “This is a new stunt... recently started; and slogans are being invented to mislead the people of NWFP”<sup>52</sup>.

Emerging of differences in these circumstances was incumbent, consequently, the KK decided to boycott the referendum in KP. The ousting of Pakhtunistan option from referendum led to a protest and July 7, 1947 was observed as ‘Pakhtunistan Day’. On the other side Gandhi had commented that the boycott of KKs would make the case of Pakistan strong in the referendum, moreover, the fear of violence cannot be neglected. On the other hand, Muslim League was hopeful for a victory in the referendum and asked the Muslims of KP to cast their votes in favour of Pakistan. However, referendum was held from July 6 to July 17, 1947 and KP was included in Pakistan.

### **Results of the Referendum in Khber Pakhtunkhwa 1947**

Total number of votes cast	2, 92,118
Votes for Pakistan	2, 89,244
Votes for India	2, 874
Total electorates	5, 72,798
Turn-out in Percent	51.00

Source: Nadia Bashir, “A Review of Political Awakening in NWFP (1901-1947), *Pakistan Annual Research Journal* Vol.49, 2013, 72.

Unhappy and feeling deserted, Dr. Khan Sahib and his colleagues did not attend the flag hoisting ceremony at Peshawar. There was also a chance of violence in response from KKs. However, irrespective of conferring the titles of ‘Hindu Agents’, ‘traitors’ and ‘enemies of Islam and Pakistan’ by their political opponents, Bacha Khan took the oath of allegiance

to Pakistan in the Constituent Assembly at Karachi. Thus, he became the member of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

### **1.2.3 The Issue of Independent Pakhtunistan**

Khan brothers demanded a third option of independent Pakhtunistan to be included in the referendum. On June 21, 1947, Bacha Khan called a meeting in Bannu. Members of Frontier Congress, Congress Parliamentary Party members, Leaders of *Zalmy Pakhtun* participated in the meeting. It led to the passage of a resolution provided for the establishment of an independent state for 'Pathans'<sup>53</sup>. "But neither Mr. Jinnah nor Mountbatten, was ready to accept the demand of Pakhtunistan"<sup>54</sup>. Consequently, they boycotted the referendum.

The demand of Independent Pakhtunistan was backed by external factors, Afghanistan and India. The Durand Line, which was signed by the British government of India and Amir of Afghanistan of that time in 1893, the Pakhtuns on both side of the North-Western border were feeling that they were divided under a scheme. Perhaps the demarcation of the two borders i.e. Russo-Afghan and Indo-Afghan (Durand Line) was the most important event of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>55</sup>. Under the agreement Amir Abdur Rahman has renounced his claim from the railway station of New Chaman, Chaghi, the rest of Wazir, Biland, Khel, Kurram, Afridi, Bajour, Swat, Dir, Chilas and Chitral<sup>56</sup>.

The Durand Line became the bone of contention between Pakistan and Afghanistan when the later questioned the validity of Durand Line in view of the British departure from India. The neighbouring country was of the view that the agreement was between Afghanistan and the British. The Afghan backing of Pakhtunistan issue fueled the fire<sup>57</sup>. Afghanistan

tried to remind that the treaties of 1893, 1905, 1919 and 1921 between Afghanistan and British India did not reveal to acknowledge the Durand Line as an international boundary . . . but only the spheres of influence of the two states<sup>58</sup>. Afghans, later, never whole heartedly, considered Durand Line as a border with Pakistan. India and Russia had extended full support to the Afghan claim.

Not only KKs and Pakhtun nationalism preached by Bacha khan was responsible for Pakhtunistan stunt. Some of the British policies also contributed in raising Pakhtunistan problem. First of all, after detaching from Punjab, this province was created. Even then, it was not given the privileges of a governor province. Furthermore, KP was divided in two administrative units i.e. settled districts under the jurisdiction of the province and Tribal Agencies which were controlled directly by Delhi<sup>59</sup>. Apart from this, there were some notable figures in the British administrative machinery who were not in favour of the development of Pakhtuns. This developed a sense of deprivation and insecurity among Pakhtuns.

In 1947, Afghanistan even boldly announced that if an independent Pakhtunistan might not be affirmed, the province could join Afghanistan. Mohammad Hashim Khan, the Afghan Prime Minister gave an interview after 3 June Plan at Bombay, argued, “If an independent Pakhtunistan cannot be set up, the Frontier Province should join Afghanistan in order to get an out-let to the Arabian Sea”<sup>60</sup>. This statement was based on few reasons; most importantly was the argument put forward that the division (Durand Line) has no solid reality as it had divided Pakhtuns living on both side of the border. The reality was shown by the people of KP who, despite of vigorous campaign of KKs, cast their votes in favour of Pakistan and decided to join Pakistan<sup>61</sup>. However, the Afghan leaders were still

exploiting the issue of Pakhtunistan which poisoned the relations of both the neighbouring countries. The issue of Pakhtunistan was also resented by the British. Olaf Caroe states:

Pathanistan . . . cannot subsist financially or otherwise on its own legs. The weakness is that the Pathans have hitherto been divided among themselves to set up a stable state, and where they have ruled they have ruled as conqueror of alien populations. They themselves had always been in a state of anarchy right through history until we came and put them into order (Afghanistan is not really a Pathan state at all)<sup>62</sup>.

One Unit Scheme of Pakistan in 1955 was noticed highly and stained the relations between the two Muslims and neighbouring countries badly. They termed it as a step to blemish the identity of Pakhtuns. At that time Daud (1909-1978) was the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, whose poisoned words against Pakistan inspired the demonstrators. They attacked Pakistan's Embassy in April 1955 which caused severe casualties. The protestors also hoisted Pakhtunistan flag on the building of the Embassy.

The period from 1947-1958 saw settlement of bilateral issues through meaningful negotiations, but the hostile attitude of the Afghan government spoiled the opportunities. In 1958 Ayub Khan (1907-1974) came in power. The relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan became indifferent when Bacha Khan and Abdul Samad Achakzai were arrested. Daud strongly criticized this act and the Afghan ambassador to Washington made a complaint to the State Department. Ayub Khan was in favour of peaceful terms on the issue. He arranged a meeting with the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, sardar Naim. Ayub clarified, "...Afghanistan held sway over some parts of what is now West Pakistan. But there were also times, of much longer duration, when Delhi's sovereignty extended up to Kabul and beyond, if the old conquests were to be our guide, then Pakistan should have more interests in the future of Pathans living in Afghanistan"<sup>63</sup>. This further widened the

gulf of hatred and led to fighting in Bajour and other border skirmishes, resultantly, Pakistan closed its border in 1961.

After the removal of Daud, by the efforts of the Shah of Iran, diplomatic relations between the two countries were re-established. Ayub Khan visited Afghanistan in 1964 and 1966. Moreover, practically, he showed that in Pakistan there is no persecution of Pakhtuns and proved that Afghan Propaganda was baseless that they were oppressed class in Pakistan. Ayub had a reasonable number of Pakhtun officers particularly in high command staff position in armed forces.

By 1960s, Pakhtuns positive involvement in the state system of Pakistan put aside Pakhtunistan issue gradually. Relations between the two countries had normalized somehow and Pakhtunistan Issue was not remained as the strong aspect of Afghan foreign policy. On Pakistan side, many of the Pakhtun leaders verbally kept relations with Afghanistan, but strongly they incorporated their services for the best interests of Pakistan. Pakhtun ethnic party like that of the ANP and its predecessors i.e. National Awami Party (NAP) and National Democratic Party (NDP) whole heartedly struggled for provincial autonomy within the jurisdiction of the state of Pakistan rather than that of the independent Pakhtunistan.

## **2.3 Precursors of Awami National Party in Post Partition Era: Their Role in Politics**

Irrespective of external and internal support, the Pakhtunistan issue met its ultimate fate<sup>64</sup>. On the other hand, KPs had won unpopularity by opposing the creation of Pakistan. Hence, Bacha Khan tried to organize an opposition party which followed a non-communal philosophy. On May 1948, he arranged a meeting of political workers at Karachi, resulted

the formation of the Pakistan People's Party as a constitutional opposition with Bacha Khan as president and G. M. Sayyed (1904-1995) as general Secretary. All the communities were eligible to acquire its membership. Its Principal objectives were: (i) "Full Autonomy for all the 'linguistic groups'; (ii) Stabilization and security of Pakistan as a union of socialist republics drawing all its authority and sanction from the people; and (iii) cultural relations with neighbouring states, particularly with the Indian Union"<sup>65</sup>. However soon afterwards Babara incident happened which brought atrocities over the red shirts.

When Abdul Qayyum Khan (1901-1981) was the Chief Minister of KP, the month of August 1948 was very heavy on KKs. Pakistan was about to celebrate its first anniversary with great pomp and show for which the government and the ML had started preparations. There was information that the red shirts wanted to show their power in the form of huge gathering before the first anniversary of Pakistan<sup>66</sup>. In the first week of August it was announced by KK that a huge gathering would be held at Babara in Charsadda to demand *Nifaz-i-Shariat* (promulgation of Islamic System). The picketing of judicial complex and offices would be practiced. The government had promulgated section-144 since August 7. Police was placed in huge number by the government. However, breaking all the barriers, a huge crowd was able to reach Babara. When the people were gathered in great number, they started to move towards the city of Charsadda. According to police, there were reports that some of the red shirts wearing white clothes were having weapons. At the beginning, the crowd was organized and peaceful, however, a little later some people started throwing stones on the police. The Assistant Commissioner and DSP asked the crowd to stop stoning, still, someone from the crowd started firing on police. In response police was ordered to open fire. Resultantly, various people among the crowd were injured. Police

stopped firing after the crowd was dispersed. According to the police statement, the red shirts started firing on the police again. This time the response of police, using heavy weapons, brought a huge atrocity. According to local reports hundreds of people were killed in this incident while hundreds were claimed to be injured<sup>67</sup>. According to police reports 20 people were killed and 25 injured (in fact the atrocities were far more than the police statement)<sup>68</sup>.

### **1.3.1 National Awami Party**

On October 10, 1955, all of the four provinces of West Pakistan were amalgamated and made One Unit to solve the problem of East Pakistan —an area having population of more than that of the West Pakistan<sup>69</sup>. Abdul Wali Khan did not agree with Muhammad Ali Bogra offer to accept the seat of minister in the Centre, still, he was succeeded to win the favour of Dr. Khan<sup>70</sup> who was made the Chief Minister of West Pakistan Province. Bacha Khan was staunchly against this scheme and to stop the scheme, he wanted to win the confidence of other nationalist political leaders i.e. G. M. Sayyed of Sindh and Abdul Samad Achakzai of Balochistan. Including these two, Shaikh Abdul Hameed Sindhi, Haider Bakhsh Jatoi from Hari Party and Muhammad Hussain Anqa, made an opposite front against One Unit Scheme. Kks with other nationalist leaders (later National Awami Party was also made its entry against One Unit) were struggling against One Unit.

Muhammad Shafi Sabir claims that the base of National Awami Party (NAP) was laid by the amalgamation of six parties; KK from KP, *Azad* Pakistan Party from Punjab, Sindh *Mahaz* of G. M. Sayyed, Sindh *Hari* Committee of Haider Bakhsh Jatoi, *Wrote* Pakhtun of Abdul Samad Achakzai and *Asthman Gal* led by Prince Abdul Kareem, were included in the NAP<sup>71</sup>. However, formally NAP was claimed to be established on July 25, 1957 as

an ultimate consequent of a serious rift in the *Awami* League in East Pakistan<sup>72</sup>. Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani, chief of the *Awami* League had developed some differences with Husain Shaheed Suhrawardi (1892-1963). The chief along with the supporter left the party<sup>73</sup>. Bhashani was made the head of NAP's organizing committee. Pakistan National Party (PNP) from West Pakistan had join the NAP. As the NAP of East Pakistan was having leftist ideology and the same was suited to the leftist parties of West Pakistan, so that was the reason why these parties dyed in its colour. The NAP had some distinguished features/objectives:

1. To all the citizens of the country, its membership was open without any discrimination of caste and creed.
2. NAP demanded that an independent and non-aligned foreign policy should be adopted.
3. Demanded withdrawal from SEATO and CENTO, two military pacts.
4. It differed with One Unit Scheme as it was looking the scheme with suspicious eye and they were considering the scheme propelled on the smaller provinces without ascertaining their desires. Thus, the NAP put forward demand for the annulment of this scheme and restoration of the provinces.
5. The distribution of wealth among the poor and wealthy population should be based on justice and equity.
6. Demand for implementation of agricultural reforms was included in NAP's objectives<sup>74</sup>.

NAP was represented by different people having different mental approach. Maulana Bhashani was considered a respectable personality in Awami League and East Pakistan

both, but he left Awami League due to differences with Suhrawardi. It was, actually a clash of personalities<sup>75</sup>. On the other hand, Bacha Khan, Abdul Samad Achakzai and Prince Abdul Kareem had neither recognized ML political aims nor did they consider the existence of Pakistan at initial stage (later Bacha Khan took the oath of allegiance in the Constituent assembly of Pakistan and regarded Pakistan his own homeland). G. M. Sayyed was, although, a former Muslim Leaguer, now he was working for provincial autonomy of Sindh, KP and Balochistan. Mian Iftikharuddin belonged to Punjab and was famous for leftist's views. According to an analyst "the NAP, a forum of regionalist, and socialists, was rightly . . . a 'union of malcontents' who were always in the opposition"<sup>76</sup>. The mental and political approach of NAP's leaders was different. Bashani's was mainly focusing the rights of labourers and peasants, G. M. Sayyed, Abdul Samad Achakzai and Bacha Khan were demanding the dismemberment of One Unit Scheme. This resulted a division in the party. One faction was led by Bacha Khan who transformed its leadership to Wali Khan, his son. This faction came to be known as NAP (Wali Khan). The other faction was led by Bhashani, known as NAP (Bhashani)<sup>77</sup>. The NAP (Wali) had a reasonable support in KP and Balochistan. Outside, it was neither properly disciplined nor had a strong support.

The NAP suffered heavily in Ayub's martial law regime. When Wali Khan was elected president of the NAP, first of all he visited East Pakistan. He stressed on all political leaders to stand firmly against martial law. During his detailed visit of East Pakistan, he used to create awareness among the people regarding their basic rights. After the tour of East wing he settled out on a tour of West Pakistan and common people were informed about the whole situation of the country. This was not liked by the government. At last, Wali Khan was arrested at the night of November 16, 1968 and sent to Montgomery Jail in Punjab<sup>78</sup>,

later, shifted to Gujrat Jail and then to Peshawar. In March 1969 he was released from imprisonment under the demand of Democratic Action Committee (DAC)<sup>79</sup>.

Abdul Wali khan as the president of the NAP was demanding the abolition of One Unit as well as he supported the rights of Bengalis which they were constantly demanding. Wali Khan clarified that “I reached to the conclusion that majority (population) of the country i.e. 54% . . . begs their rights from 46%. This issue should be resolved”<sup>80</sup>.

Due to political deadlock, losing popularity among the people and country wide demonstrations against Ayub Khan, he decided to hand over all the powers to Yahya Khan (1917-1980). Yahya Khan declared martial law on March 25, 1969. Along with this he started meetings with political leaders. He also held a meeting with Wali Khan at Peshawar in which One Unit was discussed in detail. After a tiring struggle of the NAP’s leader Wali Khan and other political leaders, One Unit was abolished, and former provinces were restored by Yahya Khan on November 28, 1969. Balochistan was also granted full provincial status.

#### **1.3.1.1 General Elections of 1970**

Yahya Khan announced for general elections 1970. The NAP (Wali) allotted tickets to its candidates for 39 seats in East Pakistan and for 25 seats in West Pakistan. The political campaign was started under the slogan of socialism in Pakistan, social equality, nationalization of industries, democracy, independent foreign policy and cordial relations with India<sup>81</sup>. Wali Khan visited eighteen districts of East Pakistan and criticized strongly the six points of Shaikh Mujeeb (1920-1975) (although he was in favour that legal rights to Bengalis should be granted but disliked six points of Shaikh Mujeeb).

The NAP contested the elections for 64 National Assembly seats. Out of these 64, only 6 seats were won by the NAP. Wali Khan from Charsadda, was elected for both National and Provincial Assemblies<sup>82</sup>. In the provincial elections, the NAP won only thirteen seats in KP and eight in Balochistan, mostly based on his regionalist posture of the party<sup>83</sup>. Safdar Mahmood analysis:

Wali Khan enjoyed considerable support in some areas of the NWFP because of his family contacts and political standing. But he and his colleagues were known for their regional approach in politics, and they concentrated on the problems of their respective areas and conspicuously ignored the national issues . . . Their complete identification with provincial causes aroused doubts about their credentials in other provinces<sup>84</sup>.

The declaration of election results was followed by a state of uncertainty in Pakistan. Yahya, Bhutto and Shaikh Mujeeb were on the peak of differences. Wali Khan was trying to solve the problem. He stated that Mujeeb had informed him that "he is a Muslim Leaguer and would not favour Pakistan to be divided . . . till Yahya and Bhutto . . . may give us our right and consider our majority". But, on this Z. A. Bhutto raised the slogan of *idhar ham, udhar tum*<sup>85</sup> means here we will run the government and there you. However, in this capacity the struggle of Wali Khan bore no fruit, the government started military operation against Shaikh Mujeeb and Awami League on March 26. Thus, Pakistan was divided and Bangladesh came into being on December 16, 1971<sup>86</sup>.

In West Pakistan Z. A. Bhutto formed the government and Wali khan had been elected as Opposition Leader in the National Assembly. He devotedly performed his duties. The NAP and Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam had a majority in Balochistan and KP, thus in April 1972, both the parties made a coalition government in KP and Balochistan. Mufti Mahmood was given the Chief Minister ship of KP. Sardar Atta Ullah Maingal formed the government in Balochistan. The provincial governments of KP and Balochistan were looking to their

political base in the provinces to be strengthened even on the cost of Pakistan People's Party (PPP). Balochistan government of the NAP was believed to form a local kind of militia named Balochistan Dehi Mahaz (BDM) and was given assignments against their opponents in different parts of Lasbela and Balochistan<sup>87</sup>. In those days Wali Khan was blamed for anti-Pakistan activities in London to disintegrate Pakistan. Wali Khan did not consider the allegations and suggested that 'Bhutto and Pakistan [could not] go together'<sup>88</sup>. This made the ties between Wali Khan and Z. A. harsh. The discovery of an arms stockpile in the Iraqi Embassy in Islamabad probably to be supplied to Balochistan, the central government found an excuse to dismiss the NAP ministry in Balochistan which was done in February 1973. In response, the NAP ministry of KP resigned in protest<sup>89</sup>. The Governors of these provinces were also replaced. This step of the central government had provided a ground of justification to the NAP to command its movement geared towards regional based autonomy and led to a strong criticism on Punjabi-dominated center<sup>90</sup>.

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

The dismissal of the NAP Balochistan ministry by Bhutto and resignation of KP ministry in protest, widened the sour terms between Bhutto and the NAP. In March 1973, in a public gathering held in Liaqat Bagh, an attack by law enforcing agencies and the PPP supporter, led to serious casualties<sup>91</sup>. Disheartened by the policy of central government, Ajmal Khattak, the Secretary of the NAP, went to Kabul and started propaganda against Pakistan and demanded Independent Pakhtunistan. There was complete disappointment in the NAP circle against the PPP led central government.

Feeling insecure against the undemocratic policies of Bhutto, the NAP including other political groups made an alliance in National Assembly known as United Democratic Front

(UDF) in 1973. This was an alliance of eight opposition parties i.e. the NAP, JUI, Jumat-i-Islami, ML, Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Khaksar Party, Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Pakistan and independent members<sup>92</sup>. Main objectives of the UDF was to restore democracy, create a front against dictatorship, preparing a ground for Islamic parliamentary constitution and the release of political prisoners<sup>93</sup>.

To educate common people of the country about the policies of the central government, the UDF arranged country wide tours. They went to Gujranwala where Wali Khan was attacked however, he survived<sup>94</sup>. Another public gathering held in Liaqat Bagh was again attacked by terrorists, led to various casualties. Eighteen busses of the NAP workers were burnt. By the platform of the UDF, the NAP got an advantage to familiarize and popularized the party outside KP, especially in Punjab.

On February 8, 1975 an unpleasant incident happened in the University of Peshawar in which Hayat Sherpao was killed. This was enough for Bhutto to ban the NAP which he did immediately and the NAP was banned on February 9, 1975. Wali Khan was arrested with other NAP's leaders and workers. Wali Khan and other 52 political personals were trialed for the allegation of treason against Pakistan, for which Hyderabad Tribunal was set up. The case was not yet decided that Zia-ul-Haq declared martial law and dismissed the government of Z. A. Bhutto. Then he released the political prisoners including Wali Khan in January 1978<sup>95</sup>.

### **1.3.2 National Democratic Party**

When Wali Khan was in jail, workers and members of the NAP were badly tortured by the backing push of the central government<sup>96</sup>. Begum Naseem Wali Khan and Amir Zada Khan

went to meet Wali Khan in the jail. Prominent issues of provincial and central politics were discussed. As the NAP was already banned by Bhutto on February 9, 1975, Begum Naseem put forward her opinion to make another party. Wali Khan gave his approval conditionally that the members of the party should be consulted. Begum Naseem, Haji Bilour and Amir Zada Khan consulted all the leaders of the party and after mutual coincidence National Democratic Party (NDP) was established. Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari was elected the president and Begum Naseem vice president. Soon in January 1977 Z. A. Bhutto made an announcement for general elections. National and Provincial Assemblies were dismissed and preparations for next general elections had been started. The opposition parties assembled and Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) was made<sup>97</sup>. The PNA was the new name for UDF. Mufti Mahmmod was appointed as its President, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan Vice President, Rafeeq Bajwa Secretary General and Pir Pagara as the Chairman of Parliamentary Board<sup>98</sup>.

The renaming of the UDF as the PNA had a positive effect on common people and they cordially extended their support to the PNA. For already scheduled elections of 1977, the Chief Election Commissioner announced that the seats of the NA would be 200. The number of Provincial Assembly seats of KP was then 80. In the NA, seats of KP were then reached 26<sup>99</sup>. Campaign for elections was started zealously. Elections for the NA were held in March 1977 in which the PPP got a heavy mandate from the people. The PNA rejected the results and alleged the PPP for high rigging<sup>100</sup>. The PNA boycotted the provincial elections in protest on March 10, 1977. Begum Naseem played a great role in the election campaign for NDP in the absence of Wali Khan. She proposed for the resignation from

their NA seats, which was accepted, the elected members of opposition of the NA resigned and started a movement against Bhutto government.

#### **Election results of 1977 (NA)**

	Punjab	Sindh	KP	Balochistan	Total
Pakistan Peoples Party	108	32	8	8	155
Pakistan National Alliance	8	11	17	-	36
Qayyum League	-	-	1	-	1
Independents	-	-	8	-	8

Source:- Khan Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari Vol-3* (Charsadda: Wali Bagh, Hashtnagar, 1998), 180.

The PNA after the boycott of the elections of Provincial Assemblies, announced for a country wide strike and demonstrations which was observed. They demanded for the resignation of Bhutto. The people were demanding fresh elections under the supervision of Army and judiciary. After rejecting of negotiations offer from Bhutto, NAP's leaders were arrested. This practice further deteriorated the situation. There was a state of complete anarchy in the country.

It is worthy to be noted that some of the PNA members were in contact with the Army<sup>101</sup>.

Bhutto had also sensed the threat. The agreement between the government and the PNA was about to sign an accord with all new 9 points of the PNA. However, it was not let to happen, Zia-ul-Haq took over the government at 2 a.m. on 5<sup>th</sup> July and declared martial law in the country. Bhutto was also arrested<sup>102</sup>.

During the PNA movement against Bhutto, 1623 vehicle were burnt, “eighteen important installations were destroyed”, forty-two houses were turned in to ashes, thirty shops of wine had been plundered, seven hotels and the same number of government factories were added to destruction list, twenty-three trains were damaged and eighteen banks were rubbed. Besides, all these financial destruction, 242 people were killed, 1227 injured and round about seventeen thousand were arrested<sup>103</sup>.

#### **1.3.2.1 National Democratic Party in Martial Law Government**

After taking over the government, Zia-ul-Haq declared martial law. Zia offered Wali Khan to be the Prime Minister (PM) of Pakistan but he did not accept<sup>104</sup>. Then he declined the offer to become the Secretary General of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Although at initial stage, the NDP under the directions of the PNA had supported martial law to get rid of Bhutto. However, the NDP did not participate in the administration of Zia. At the moment when the PNA associated with Zia’s cabinet, the NDP quit the PNA<sup>105</sup>. The NDP felt, that more cordial relations with the Army were harmful and thus, it came out against martial law regime openly. Z. A. Bhutto was hanged by Zia, so the PPP naturally turned against him. Zia on the other hand was creating problems for himself as he banned other political parties and abrogated the constitution of Pakistan of 1973. The political parties including the PPP started a combined struggle

against Zia. A meeting of nine political parties was held on January 6, 1981 at the house of Begum Nusrat Bhutto. After mutual coincidence, a movement 'Movement for Restoration of Democracy' (MRD) was launched. After detailed discussion, a draft was prepared which stands:

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 . . . secession of 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 protected<sup>106</sup>.

The signatories of the draft were Begum Nusrat Bhutto, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan Srdar Abdul Qayyum, Maulana Fazlur Rahman and Khwaja Khairuddin. Sardar Sherbaz Mazari, a representative of the NDP signed the draft. In this alliance of MRD (i) PPP (ii) NDP (iii) JUP (iv) Kashmir Muslim Conference (v) Mazdoor Kisan Party (vi) Tehrik-i-Istiqlal (vii) PML (anti-Zia group) (viii) National Liberation Front and (ix) Pakistan Republican Party were included. A little later the JUP quit the MRD and the JUI was registered in the movement. Awami Tehrik entered in the MRD in 1984 after Tehrik-i-Isteqlal left off.

The objective of the MRD was to save Pakistan, thus, a "Save Pakistan Committee" was formed in 1982. Sherbaz Mazari was made the president of the committee. This committee provided services at federal level. Although there, was felt a need of a provincial branch of the committee but it was not functionalized till its end in 1988. The leaders of the alliance were agreed upon the following objectives:

(1) The ban on political parties should be lifted off and the restoration of political parties should be ensured.

(2) Censorship should be withdrawn.

(3) Military based judiciary should be abolished and civil judiciary must be restored.

Furthermore, rights and interests of four federating units should be protected.

(4) In its original and unamended form the Constitution of 1973 should be restored and free, fair and impartial elections should be held<sup>107</sup>.

Wali Khan was given very importance in the MRD. He was elected as the first convener of the alliance. By the value of his efforts against martial law from the platform of MRD, Zia announced for general elections in 1985. He also conducted a referendum on December 19, 1984 in which he succeeded to grab the confidence of people<sup>108</sup>. The MRD opposed the referendum. A newspaper of London 'the Economist' analyzed the referendum and said, "An exercise so absurdly rigged that the most Communist Government would have been ashamed of staging it"<sup>109</sup>. Non-party based elections were held in 1985. The MRD fully boycotted these elections. The people, as a result of losing confidence over Zia, 6 out of 8 Zia's Cabinet members were rejected in these elections<sup>110</sup>.

The arousing of differences with Sherbaz Mazari made Wali Khan to make another political party namely Awami National Party (ANP). On July 26, 1986, at Karachi the NDP (Wali), Sindh Awami Tehrik (Rasool Bakhsh Palijo), Pakistan National Party (Latif Afridi) and Mazdoor Kisan Party (Shaukat Ali), amalgamated and the ANP was formed. Wali Khan was elected its first central president. Since the NAP was banned earlier by Bhutto,

the newly ANP was a carbon copy of the NAP, resultantly it was given the name ANP, similar to NAP.

#### **1.4 Manifesto and Objectives of the Awami National Party**

According to the party constitution, name of the party is 'Awami National Party' Pakhtunkhwa. Its area of practical work would be consisted on the province of Pakhtunkhwa, political agencies and tribal belt<sup>111</sup>. The ANP draws its objectives from the teaching and principles of Bacha Khan. Bacha Khan mostly presented himself as a social worker and his primary objectives were to reform the Pakhtun society socially, educationally and politically. The predecessor organizations of the ANP followed the principle to provide social services to the Pakhtun nation. Probably this was the reason that this Pakhtun party only remained attached with Pakhtun nation and never firmly recognized itself outside KP and Balochistan<sup>112</sup>. The ANP is confined to the promotion of democracy, freedom, eradication of poverty, to protect rights of human and to fight against extremism. The ANP affectionately wants peace throughout the country and believes in non-violence. The party wants equality among all the federating units of Pakistan that their rights and interests may be protected<sup>113</sup>.

The ANP Constitution of 1988 pledges for prosperous and democratic Pakistan in which provincial autonomy should be granted to the federating units. However, Currency, foreign affairs, defence and communications will rest with the federal. Provincial autonomy is the basic theme of the politics of the ANP. Regional issues and rights of the province are included in the party program.

The ANP is struggling for “equal opportunities for all citizens without discrimination and bias. The ANP is committed to secure for all the federating units of Pakistan their full political, social and economic rights as equal partners in the federation and their full share in the national progress and prosperity. The ANP opposes parochial interpretation of religion and customs and uphold Bacha Khan’s discourse of human dignity, pluralism and indigenous wisdom and identity through large scale awareness movement. In pursuit to these goals, the ANP is ready to work with like-minded forces in Pakistan and to subscribe to partnerships with all loving countries of the world”<sup>114</sup>.

Although the politics of the NAP and NDP was claimed to be regional, still the formation of the ANP in 1986 led to more regionalism. The ANP has strictly followed regional issues. The issue of Kalabagh Dam (KBD) had come to the surface during Zia’s regime which was strongly opposed by the ANP. The construction of KBD was opposed by the smaller provinces e.g. Sindh, KP and Balochistan. Apart from KBD, renaming of the province and demand of provincial autonomy were highly important regional issues for the ANP.

### Notes and References

<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Shakeel. "Electoral Politics in NWFP: Study of 1937 Elections," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. xxxii, No. 2 (2011): 118-119.

<sup>2</sup> Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Bacha Khan states, that 'once I had gone to Peshawar to see a friend . . . who was a cavalry officer . . . while we were standing in the street, an English lieutenant passed by. My friend was bare-headed with a fancy haircut and a large number hair fancified his forehead. Seeing this the English Lieutenant angrily cried: 'Really you damn Sardar Sahib! So you want to be an Englishman, do you?' My friend turned pale and did not possess the courage to answer him. The event have an abysmal impression on me . . . Here I had seen the worst possible affront . . . Thus I gave up the idea to join the Army'. See, Abdul Ghaffar, *My Life and Struggle* (Delhi: Hind Pocket Books, 1969), 20-21.

<sup>4</sup> The 20<sup>th</sup> century has another two great leaders: the Quaid-e-Azam and Mahatma Gandhi. On the base of his movement for social, educational and political reformation, Bacha Khan was different from his two political contemporaries, while the Quaid-e-Azam and Gandhi were fighting on every platform for freedom. See, Muhammad Sohail, Syed Munir Ahmad, and Muhammad Inamullah, "The Educational Services and Philosophy of Bacha Khan," *Journal of Applied Environment and Biological Sciences*, 4 (7S), (November 2014). 157-165.

<sup>5</sup> Huma, *Bacha Khan: Ahad Saz Shakhsiyat* (urdu) (Peshawar: Araf Printers, 2013), 153.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Sher Zaman Taizi, *Bacha Khan in Afghanistan: Memoirs* (Pabo, Nowshera: Kamil Pukhto Adabi Jirgah, 2002), 6-10.

<sup>8</sup> Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 18.

<sup>9</sup> Wiqar Ali Shah, "Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Khudai Khidmatgars, Congress and the Partition of India," *Pakistan Vision* Vol. 8, No.2: 90-91.

<sup>10</sup> Akbar, *Da Barresagheer pa Azaday ke da Pukhtano Barkha* (Pashto) (Peshawar: University Publishers, 2009), 8.

<sup>11</sup> Abdur Rauf, "Socio-Educational Reform Movements in NWFP: A Case Study of Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina. *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, XXVII/2, (2006): 31-60.

<sup>12</sup> Safiullah Khan, "Role of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in Freedom Movement: Case Study of Abdul Wali Khan, *FWU Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol-10, No.1 (Summer 2016): 68.

<sup>13</sup> Rauf, "Socio-Educational Reform Movements in NWFP: A Case Study of Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina. 31-60.

<sup>14</sup> Shah, "Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Khudai Khidmatgars, Congress and the Partition of India," 92.

<sup>15</sup> Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 25.

<sup>16</sup> Some of the reforms of Amanullah Khan were not liked by the conservative Pakhtun society in Afghanistan. The reform to unveil the women of Afghanistan by ousting the traditional veil was strongly

retaliated and objected by Pakhtuns of Afghanistan. The traditional society did not like these reforms introduced by Amanullah Khan, which led to hatred against the *Amir*. See, Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 25-26 also see Shah, "Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Khudai Khidmatgars, Congress and the Partition of India," 93.

<sup>17</sup> Wiqar Ali Shah, "Some Indian Travelers in Central Asia," *Central Asia*, No. 25 (1989): 73-101.

<sup>18</sup> Shah, "Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Khudai Khidmatgars, Congress and the Partition of India," 94.

<sup>19</sup> Hijab Gul, "An Appeal to the Khudai Khidmatgars," *Pakhtun* (November 1929): 38.

<sup>20</sup> Pakhtun clerisy considered it as a movement for the revival of Pakhtun culture. The smaller Khans were hoping for their share in government under the shadow of this organization. The Ulema always considered the British as 'curse' in India. So, the Ulema found it desirable as anti-colonial force. The peasants and poor classes regarded the movement as a shelter against economic oppressors, colonial rule and its men like Nawabs, Khan Bahadurs and big Khans. See, Shah, "Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Khudai Khidmatgars, Congress and the Partition of India," 96.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 100.

<sup>22</sup> Khan, "Role of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in Freedom Movement: Case Study of Abdul Wali Khan," 68.

<sup>23</sup> North-West Frontier Province Abstract of Intelligence, *Congress and Red Shirts: Parliamentary Board*, Serial No. 41, Bundle No 2 (Peshawar: Special Branch-I, Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Government of NWFP, dated 27-10-1936).

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Zafar, *Pashtoon: Tareekh kay Ayeeny Main*, 599.

<sup>26</sup> Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan, Khan Bahadur Saadullah Khan, Abdul Hameed Khan, Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan, Asadullah Khan, Azizullah Khan, Captain Nawab Baz Muhammad Khan, Faizullah Khan, Pir Syed Lal Badshah, Malik-ur-Rahman Khan Kiyani, Sardar Muhammad Aurangzeb Khan, Nawabzada Muhammad Saeed Khan, Nawab Muzafar Khan, Lieutenant Muzafar Khan, Nasrullah Khan and Mian Zia-ud-Din Kaka Khel were the Muslim Nationalist Group's members of the Frontier Legislative Assembly. See Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Shakeel, "Electoral Politics in NWFP: A Study of 1937 Elections", 125.

<sup>28</sup> Zafar, *Pashtoon: Tareekh kay Ayeeny Main*, 599.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 600.

<sup>31</sup> Jonson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, 71.

<sup>32</sup> Haroon-ur- Rasheed, *Pakistan: A Successful Culmination* (Lahore: Publishers Emporium, 2004), 217.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Zafar, *Pashtoon: Tareekh kay Ayeeny Main*, 605.

<sup>35</sup> Jonson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, 137.

<sup>36</sup> Rasheed, *Pakistan. A Successful Culmination*, 278.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 279.

<sup>38</sup> Jonson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, 190.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Rittenberg, *Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Pakhtuns*, 36.

<sup>41</sup> Mountbatten Papers, *Origin of Growth of the Idea of Referendum 11 April—June 2, 1947*, Minutes of Viceroy's Seventh Miscellaneous Meeting at New Delhi on 23 April 1947 (Islamabad: National Documentation Wing, Micro Film: Acc. No. 2803), 15.

<sup>42</sup> Mountbatten Papers, *Viceroy's Interview No. 102* (Islamabad: National Documentation Wing, Micro Film: Acc. No. 2803, dated 28-4-1947).

<sup>43</sup> Mountbatten to Pandit Nehru, *Letter No. 1427/3*, dated 30 April 1947 (Islamabad: National Documentation Wing, LPO 6/119: ff 40-4, April 1947).

<sup>44</sup> Mountbatten to Listowel, *Letters to and from the Secretary of State*, 1 May 1947, Mountbatten Papers (Islamabad: National documentation Wing, Micro Film: Acc. No. 2800, May 1947).

<sup>45</sup> Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 25.

<sup>46</sup> S. Wiqar Ali Shah, *North-West Frontier Province: History and Politics* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2007), 80.

<sup>47</sup> Muhammad Soaleh Korejo, *The Frontier Gandhi: His Place in History* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 177-178.

<sup>48</sup> The Red Shirts strongly opposed and boycotted the referendum in KP, but the referendum was conducted and 289,244 votes were polled in favour of Pakistan and 2,874 for India. The turnout was 292,118 (51%) while registered voters were 572,799. See Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 25.

<sup>49</sup> Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 220.

<sup>50</sup> Gandhi was considering it unfair to choose Pakistan or India, which one the Pakhtun may like to join without having proper information and explanation of each of the state. The Pakhtuns must have the information that where their rights be protected. Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> *The Pakistan Times*, 19 June 1947; Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 222.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Shafi, *Tarikh Soba Sarhad*, 1026.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Azmat Hayat, *The Durand Line: Its Geo-Strategic Importance* (Peshawar: Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 2005), 126.

<sup>56</sup> Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwat, *The Impact of the Great Game on the Pashtuns/Afghan* (Peshawar: Bacha Khan Research Centre, Bacha Khan Markaz, 2009), 19.

<sup>57</sup> Naseem Ahmad, "Pakistan's Afghan Policy: Historical Perspective 1947-1977," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol.XXXI, No. 2, (2010): 138.

<sup>58</sup> The North-Western territories of present day Pakistan were conquered once by Ahmad shah Abdali (1747-1773). The Durrani rulers were, now, of the view that they have a full right over these territories. They had "fondly cherished the dream of recovering . . . [the] lost parts". In 1944 on the hope of British departure, Afghanistan's interest developed to regain the territories across the border. However, the British termed it as

an international border, the clarification forced to stop Afghans dreaming. See Abdul Samad Ghaus, *The Fall of Afghanistan. An Insider's Account* (Washington: Pergaman Brasseys, 1988), 66-67.

<sup>59</sup> Government of India, *Military Report on Afghanistan* (classified) (Calcutta: General Staff, 1925), 69.

<sup>60</sup> Lord Birdwood, *Two Nations and Kashmir* (London: Robert Hale, 1966), 95.

<sup>61</sup> Naseem, "Pakistan's Afghan Policy: Historical Perspective 1947-1977," 141.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 142.

<sup>63</sup> Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Friends, Not Masters: A Political Autobiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 175-176.

<sup>64</sup> Korejo, *The Frontier Gandhi: His Place in History*, 177-178.

<sup>65</sup> Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958 Vol-I*, 140.

<sup>66</sup> Zahoor Ahmad Awan, *Khan-i-Azam* (Peshawar: Idara Ilm-o-Fun, 2006), 163.

<sup>67</sup> Salar Amin Jan claimed that the deaths in Babara incident were round about 600. Ibid, 164-170.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Zeerak UtmanKhel, *Abdul Wali Khan. Zindagi Aur Jeddoo Juhd* (Urdu) (Lahore: Fiction House, 2010), 35.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Shafi, *Tarikh Soba Sarhad*, 1093.

<sup>72</sup> Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan: Tarikh-o-Siyasat 1947-1988* (Urdu) (Lahore: Jahangir Books, 2010), 148.

<sup>73</sup> Khurshed Kamal Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1976), 111.

<sup>74</sup> Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 29

<sup>75</sup> They, both were advocating provincial autonomy but Bhashani has dissatisfaction on the amount of provincial autonomy which was acceptable to Suhrawardi. The bulk of provincial autonomy which Bhashani desired, was considered harmful by Suhrawardi. They have different point of views regarding foreign policy. The silence to the cause of Arabs on the issue of Suez Canal widened the gulf of differences. See, Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan. Political Roots & Development 1947-1999* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 146; Mahmood, *Pakistan Tarikh-o-Siyasat*, 148-149.

<sup>76</sup> Safdar, *Pakistan: Political Roots & Development 1947-1999*, 147.

<sup>77</sup> Mahmood, *Pakistan Tarikh-o-Siyasat*, 147.

<sup>78</sup> In a gathering of Convention Muslim League scheduled November 1968, Hashim Khan of Umarzai opened fire on Ayub Khan. The target, however, was missed but it was enough to arrest suspicious people. Wali Khan was also arrested in this blame. See Zeerak, *Abdul Wali Khan. Zindagi Aur Jeddoo Juhd*, 40.

<sup>79</sup> The Committee demanded, if the government wants negotiations, so, first all the prisoners of political kind should be freed that the environment may become ideal for negotiations. See, Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, 42.

<sup>81</sup> Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 31.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Safdar, *Pakistan: Political Roots & Development 1947-1999*, 148.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Muhammad Fayyaz, "Alwida Khan Abdul Wali Khan," *Katihra*, January 30, 2006.

<sup>86</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari Vol-2* (Pashto) (Charsadda: Walibagh, 1998), 561-563.

<sup>87</sup> Amna Mahmood, "Regional Political Parties: Challenge to Political Stability of Pakistan," *Pakistan Vision*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2014): 24.

<sup>88</sup> Safdar, *Pakistan: Political Roots & Development 1947-1999*, 149.

<sup>89</sup> Amna, "Regional Political Parties: Challenge to Political Stability of Pakistan," 24.

<sup>90</sup> Safdar, *Pakistan: Political Roots & Development 1947-1999*, 149.

<sup>91</sup> Mahmood, *Pakistan Tarikh-o-Siyasat*, 153.

<sup>92</sup> Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 76.

<sup>93</sup> *The New Times*, March 16, 1973.

<sup>94</sup> A bomb was thrown towards him which fortunately hit the loud speaker. If the loud speaker was not hit, Wali Khan would must be targeted. This attack resulted casualties of many workers in which Chaudri Zahoor Ilahi was also injured. See, Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 76.

<sup>95</sup> Abdul Wali Khan *Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari Vol-3* (Pashto) (Charsadda: Wali Bagh Hshtnagar, 1998), 210-214.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, 150-151.

<sup>97</sup> Iftikhar Hussain, "Abdul wali Khan: Pakhtun Riyasat ka aik Roshan Bab," *Aaj*, January 28, 2007.

<sup>98</sup> Khan, *Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari Vol-3*, 175.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Zeerak, *Khan Abdul Wali Khan: Zindagi Awr Jeddoo Juhd*, 71.

<sup>101</sup> Ayaz, "Awami National Party A Political History (1986-1999)," 85.

<sup>102</sup> Zeerak, *Khan Abdul Wali Khan: Zindagi Awr Jeddoo Juhd*, 71; Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 85-86.

<sup>103</sup> Mehdi Hassan, *Pakistan ki Siyasat Awr Awam* (Urdu) (Lahore: Saarang Publications, n.d), 50-51.

<sup>104</sup> Zeerak, *Khan Abdul Wali Khan: Zindagi Awr Jeddoo Juhd*, 82.

<sup>105</sup> Safdar, *Pakistan: Political Roots & Development 1947-1999*, 151.

<sup>106</sup> Muhammad Ali, "Politics of Alliances: A Case Study of MRD (1981)," (MSc Thesis, Allama Iqbal Open University Islamabad, 1997), 17.

<sup>107</sup> Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 96.

<sup>108</sup> Khan, *Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari Vol-3*, 314.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, 318-319.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid*, 325.

<sup>111</sup> *Ayeen (Pashto)* (Peshawar: Bacha Khan Center, n.d), 1.

<sup>112</sup> Mahmood, *Pakistan Tarikh-o-Siyasat*, 151-156.

<sup>113</sup> Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 35-36.

<sup>114</sup> *Awami National Party: Election Manifesto 2013* (Peshawar: Bacha Khan Center, n.d), 3-4.

## CHAPTER-2

### **KALABAGH DAM ISSUE, POLITICS OF RENAMING NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE AND DEMAND OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY**

The problems and issues which are related to a particular region or area are territorial issues. Sometimes, in multi-ethnic countries, these kind of issues exhibited by an area may characterize a sense of provincialism among the inhabitants as well as the leadership of that territory. At national level Pakistan is facing some problems since its inception as it had not overcome all problems. Pakistan is yet to overcome on serious issues like threatening security conditions, weak economy and huge debts, water crisis, energy crisis and other socio-political issues.

Similarly, provincial politics in KP have mostly influenced by some very serious kind of issues. Their issues are provincial in its real nature. Previously, provincial political and social atmosphere was dominated by disagreement on the partition of India, Pakhtunistan issue and differences with the Centre on provincial autonomy. The demand of Pakhtunistan was converted into the demand of renaming of the province as Pakhtunkhwa with maximum provincial autonomy. Another issue e.g. the construction of KBD had emerged during Zia-ul-Haq regime. Since then, this issue dominated the provincial politics of KP. This was strongly opposed by the ANP and other regional political parties of KP. Furthermore, rifts in Pakhtun political groups had added to the regional issues in KP.

These issues were given so much impetus that the serious problems and issues of KP as well as of Pakistan were pushed far behind. These politicians followed provincial issues and put aside national issues of very serious nature like that of water crisis in Pakistan.

Pakistan had touched the water stress line in 1990 and crossed the water scarcity line in 2005. The experts are predicting that Pakistan could run dry by 2025 if serious heed was not paid to this very threatening problem. International Monetary Fund (IMF) had stated recently that Pakistan stands third in the queue of the countries facing acute water shortage. Pakistan has the largest canal system and one cannot overlook the importance of water for this system. If the flow of water is not enough, the canal system will remain ineffective. Resultantly, fertile land that is irrigated through canal water will become unproductive and Pakistan will face a severe shortage in agricultural commodities. Presently, not only Pakistan, India too, including various other countries of the world are facing shortage of water. According to international analysts, wars in future, will be fought on the issue to hold the control of water resources<sup>1</sup>.

Most of Pakistani Industries are directly or indirectly attached with agriculture. Apart from it, Pakistan's 70% population is linked with agriculture. In such circumstances, Pakistan cannot afford any shortage in canal water. The importance of canal water in Pakistan can be judged from analysis made by David Lilienthal, the president of Tennessee Valley Authority in 1951. According to him, West Pakistan will become desert without irrigation. Two crore Acre land will become arid within one week. India, if stops water of Pakistan, will inflict a heavy destruction on Pakistani people and fertile lands<sup>2</sup>.

From time to time, India is violating Indus Basin Treaty which was concluded in 1960 between Pakistan and India. According to the treaty Pakistan obtained the control of three western rivers i.e. Chenab, Jhelum and Sindh while India was entrusted with the rights of Ravi, Bias and Sutlaj. In 1984 India had started the construction of Wular Barrage. Baglihar and Kishanganga Dams were functionalized without any consent of Pakistan. Still

not enough, India initiated power projects of 44 Mega Watt (MW) capacity on river Indus at Nemobazgar and Chotak. These projects were against the treaty concluded in 1960. Another violation of the treaty came in 2008 when India had stopped the water of Chenab and filled Baglihar Dam<sup>3</sup>. Keeping in view the hostile and biased attitude of India, it can be expected that Pakistan may suffer from any misconduct of India in future. In this regard Pakistan needs to initiate water and power projects.

Except from drinking, food, sanitation, industrial field and environment, water can play a decisive role in any country's economy. In Pakistan 93% water is used in agricultural sector while, 64% of population has their livelihood from agriculture. Furthermore, agriculture contributes to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) equivalent to 23% (US\$ 25 Billion annually). It has strong effects on exports and responsible for 60 to 70% exports<sup>4</sup>.

The population of Pakistan is rapidly growing which has badly affected per capita water availability. It has gone down to 908 cubic metre in 2017 from 5260 cubic metre in 1951<sup>5</sup>.

According to the Water and Power Development Authority's (WAPDA) advisor of Diamer- Basha Dam Pakistan could only store 10% of its flow annually, a storage of only 30 days. Pakistan is losing about an average of 29 million acre feet (MAF) water by escaping below Kotri Barrage annually<sup>6</sup>. According to careful analysis, water level in big dams is decreasing. In 2008 the water storage capacity at Mangla was recorded 1050 feet while in Tarbela Dam the water level in the same time was 1369 feet and touched dead level<sup>7</sup>. The people of Pakistan highly depend upon Mangla and Tarbela dams and it is the matter of serious concern that water storage capacity of the two big reservoirs is decreasing. Our storage capacity has decreased to 150 acre feet while India has improved its per capita storage to 200 acre feet<sup>8</sup>. The designed capacity of water storage of Tarbela Dam is 9.69

MAF while presently 6.77 MAF water can be stored due to sedimentation. Mangla has the capacity of 5.34 MAF and now can store 4.54 MAF (excluding raising components which will add 2.99 MAF). Chashma has been designed to store 0.72 MAF while it is storing 0.263 MAF water due to sedimentation<sup>9</sup>. In 2011 Pakistan was facing 11 MAF shortage of water which will increase to 20 MAF in 2020 and 25 MAF in 2025<sup>10</sup>.

Along with the danger of scarcity of water, Pakistani people are facing a heavy shortfall of electricity. The shortage of electricity crossed 7000 MW in 2011<sup>11</sup>. In June 2012 the electricity shortfall in Pakistan reached to its peak as the difference stood high in supply and demand which led to public demonstrations and strikes throughout the big cities<sup>12</sup>. During this time 4252 MW, 1300 MW and 4643 MW of electricity was produced by hydel, thermal and private producers respectively<sup>13</sup>. In April 2013 the demand of electricity stood at about 11000 MW while the generation was about 8000 MW. During the off-peak season shortfall of 300 MW leads to one hour of load shedding. The peak season shortfall of 500 MW will witness one hour load shedding throughout the country<sup>14</sup>.

It is necessary that some figure and facts regarding electricity from the time of the inception of Pakistan may be given for better analysis. Pakistan was able to inherit 60 MW of electric capacity in 1947. The population at that time was 31.5 million. In 1958 WAPDA was made to assist and organize better arrangements for the schemes in the sectors of water and power. In 1959 the power generating capacity reached to 119 MW. The electric capacity took 5 years under the umbrella of WAPDA to touch the figure of 636 MW. By 1970s, 1980s and 1990-91 the growth in the power generation capacity was recorded 1331, 3000 and 7000 MW respectively<sup>15</sup>. Although power generation capacity was increased, but the demand for electricity was also increased due to industrialization, urbanization and

electrifying more and more villages. The demand for electricity also raised by a rate of 9-10% annually. This situation had led to a shortfall of electricity from 1500-2000 MW in 1990s, resulted load shedding. However, by involving the private sectors in power generation, the situation was normal in 1994 and we have, even, some surplus amount of electricity<sup>16</sup>. Electricity obtained by oil and gas led to the decline of hydel electricity. The shortfall, consequently, became from bad to worse and it had touched the figure of 4000 MW in 2008-09 and 5500 MW in 2009-10<sup>17</sup>.

The brief analysis of the aforementioned facts and figures reveals that Pakistan need various big hydel projects. Diamer Bhasha Dam, Gomal Zam Dam, Munda Dam, Neelum-Jehlum and other big or small hydel projects should be completed. Diamer Bhasha Dam will produce 4600 MW of electricity. Kalabagh Dam is the subject of hue and cry from KP, Sindh and Balochistan. The politicians of these provinces are strongly against the construction of KBD<sup>18</sup>. Whatever, the fact of its harms or benefits may be, but it is true that it will produce 3600 MW electricity on cheap rates, which will help the authorities to overcome the issue of electricity shortfall.

## **2.1 Kalabagh Dam: A Strong Issue of Provincial Politics**

Situated on the bank of river Indus, Kalabagh is a 50 kilometers downside town from Attock Bridge. This town can be accessed from Islamabad, Khushab, Bhakkar, Bannu, Kohat and Attock by both railways and road. At Kalabagh, a little upper, the river Indus is going through a narrow gorge with full speed. On both sides of the river, the famous hills of Salt Range are lying. The Salt Range is intensely popular in all over the world for its Geo-logical museum<sup>19</sup>. It is famous on the ground that the government of Pakistan planned to construct a dam here.

The issue of KBD is heard everywhere in Pakistan. All kinds of media i.e. print, electronic and social, has discussed the issue from political, technical, financial and social aspects. In fact, design of the dam at Kalabagh was prepared in 1953, however it came to the lime light during Ayub Khan's regime. Ayub favoured Tarbela Dam over KBD. At that time, the experts have declared the construction of Tarbela Dam very risky and expensive<sup>20</sup>. However, Ayub Khan constructed Tarbela Dam. Another dam — Mangla Dam was also inaugurated in 1967. In the same year, the World Bank set up study group to analyze water resources of Pakistan. Who declared that the construction of KBD was highly needed to overcome the shortage of water and power and it should be completed till 1976<sup>21</sup>. However, nothing considerable was done. WAPDA then, established a committee to prepare a feasibility report. The committee was comprised on Pakistani and foreign engineers. They agreed that the dam should be constructed downside of the meeting point of the river Swat and the river Indus. Under the guidance of F. F. Snyder, an expert of flood hydrology and Dr. Herbert Einstein, the dam was analyzed and observed from every aspect. The committee worked day and night and prepared a report. The report was sent to the four provinces and from neither side any reasonable objection was received.

The government was keenly interested in the construction of KBD. It requested the United Nation Development Program (UNDP) to grant financial assistance for detailed engineering study of the site, which was accepted and the World Bank was assigned the responsibility, who sent a team of experts by June 1980. The team declared the construction of KBD technically and economically sound and viable.

According to the price level of 1987, the estimated cost for the construction of KBD was US\$ 3.46 Billion. Its building schedule was made according to which it was to be

completed in six years as it was expected that its first generating unit will be functioned by April 1993<sup>22</sup>. However, the schedule was not materialized due to the opposition of various political parties and provincial governments. In KP the ANP with consistency stood against the construction of KBD. On June 11, 1998 the issue of KBD got momentum again when the Prime Minister Nawaz Shareef declared, we have decided to build KBD. The ANP very strongly reacted to this statement.

Chief of Army Staff General Parvez Musharraf (1999-2008) in his first address to a public meeting in KP, talked elaborately on merits and demerits of KBD against Basha Dam. The President speech was of great significance as he chose a venue which was likely to be greatly affected by KBD. It was Nowshera, which will suffer most in terms of dislocation of people and loss of fertile land in case KBD is built. The audience felt that the President has made the announcement of the construction of KBD. However, later he clarified in an interview that he has not made any announcement except, the presentation of merits and demerits of the two projects i.e. KBD and Basha Dam<sup>23</sup>. According to his view point, KBD would have the ability to store 90 MAF water while on the other hand Basha Dam has only the capacity to store 50 MAF water. It would irrigate 300,000 acres land in southern KP through a link canal that would increase crop yield and reduce poverty. The feasibility of KBD was ready, while the feasibility report of Basha Dam would take three to five years to be prepared<sup>24</sup>. However, the people as well as the politician of the ANP and the PPP (Sherpao) turned down all the assurances of the President.

### **2.1.1 Merits of Kalabagh Dam**

Kalabagh Dam, to a great extent, will lead to the solution of three main problems of Pakistan. The most urgent is the issue of load shedding, after which problems of irrigation

and flood would be met. These are the highlighted issues from which we have great difficulties nowadays<sup>25</sup>. In the first week of April 2013, the demand of electricity was 11,000 MW and the generation was about 8,000<sup>26</sup>. It means that we have 3,000 MW electricity shortfall which can surely be increased in the peak season<sup>27</sup>. The KBD is expected to create 3600 MW of cheap electricity which will be a strong step towards kicking out the shortfall of electricity. Hydel power costs 2.5 to Rs. 3 per unit. As compare to hydel power, electricity generated by thermal is expensive. It will cost Rs. 16 per unit. Except 30% line losses, KBD will save \$4 billion for the country per annum<sup>28</sup>. To keep these figures in consideration, if KBD was functional there would have been no load shedding in Pakistan<sup>29</sup>.

Pakistan is losing nearly 30 MAF water to the sea due to the absence of big dams and resevoirs<sup>30</sup>. Another careful study claims the wastage of water to the sea as 36 MAF<sup>31</sup>. The dam will store 6.1 MAF water and throughout the year which would be available for irrigation purposes. Total 24 lacs acre land will be irrigated: four lacs and forty thousand acre of KP, six lacs and eighty thousands acre of Punjab, eight lacs acre from Sindh and five lacs forty thousand acre land from Balochistan would be irrigated<sup>32</sup>. Another study measures its irrigation capacity close to a million hectares of barren land. It will guarantee the self-sufficiency of Pakistan in wheat<sup>33</sup>. The additional water of KBD will cause the enhancement of crop production by three ways: by irrigating new lands, by cropping intensity enhancement on the prevailing lands and by enhancing yields.

Pakistan had to bear a loss more than \$45 billion caused by the floods recently<sup>34</sup>. Kalabagh storage capacity is 6.1 MAF water which will be proved helpful in flood alleviation. On the other hand this surplus water will ensure the flow of water during low flow seasons.

According to WAPDA, KBD is mandatory to be built 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. To control the flood water, the project for the disposal of flood water will use two spillways on the right bank. These spillways will have water release capacity of over 2 million cusecs. There would be a power house on the left bank connected to twelve conduits each 36 feet in a diameter, this will generate ultimately, 3600 MW electricity<sup>35</sup>. During flood seasons KBD will store Water and during the low flow days it will be released according to the following provincial shares:

**Provincial Share in KBD Water**

Province	Percentage	Supply (MAF)
KP	14	0.854
Punjab	37	2.257
Sindh	37	2.257
Balochistan	12	0.732
Total	100	6.1

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

**2.1.2 KBD: An issue of Resentment among the Provinces**

The KBD has harmed the national integration and created, somehow, a sense of provincialism. Throughout the country, 3 provinces are against the construction of KBD. Punjab is the only province which seems to be in favour of the construction of KBD. As it is the cheap source of hydro-electric power, thus the industrial zones in Punjab need more cheap electricity<sup>36</sup>. The share of Punjab in KBD's water is 37% which will be enough to provide water for six lacs eighty thousand acres land of Punjab<sup>37</sup>. Answering the sense of

Punjab dominancy, the ANP's leader Asfandyar Wali Khan declared while he was addressing huge audience in KP that he and his party would not agree to accept Punjab as federation's commander<sup>38</sup>.

As far as the view point of Sindh is concerned, according to WAPDA, Sindh will receive 37% water of KBD which is 2.25 MAF. The availability of water will strengthen the agricultural sector. Still, Sindh is not ready to accept the building of KBD. Sindh is the lowest riparian of the Indus river system, hence, it has the following observations and apprehensions.

1. The downstream flow of water is declining and no surplus water is available every year to ensure better downstream flow.
2. Sindh will face shortage of water due to the upstream proposed canals to off-take from KBD which will draw excessive water.
3. Storing of 6.1 MAF will lead towards the reduction of water flow coming down to Sind with following effects:

- I *Sailaba* cultivation of nearly 500,000 acres will be affected due to reduced flow.
- II It will consequently, destroy the livestock in Indus delta.
- III Mangrove forests consisted on an area of 294,000 acres in Indus delta will be affected.
- IV Indus river channel will be deteriorated.
- V In the area below Kotri, drinking water supply will be reduced as underground water below Kotri is saline.
- VI Forests in riverine area of nearly 3 lacs will be destroyed.
- VII Sea intrusion will increase further because of low flow. According to the Board

of Revenue Sindh, already, nearly 1.2 million acres of land has become the prey of sea intrusion.

VIII Tube wells based on water seepage of river will become saline due to low flow.

IX The abovementioned facts will lead to poverty in Indus delta as their livelihood will be badly affected<sup>39</sup>.

The Provincial Assembly of Sindh has passed unanimously various resolutions against the construction of KBD. A resolution put forward by a member of provincial assembly (MPA), Dr. Abdul Wahid Soomro, stands thus:

This house resolves that the proposed Kala Bagh Dam being detrimental to the interest of Pakistan in general and Sindh Province in particular be dropped. Provincial Assembly of Sindh had already passed two 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 once for to remove the misgivings of the people of Pakistan<sup>40</sup>.

This resolution was followed by resolutions no. 01, 413, 414 and 423 in the same Provincial Assembly meeting and were passed unanimously by the Assembly. In reality, the claim of losses of the provinces are out of fact and regrettably have just made political issues and are based on provincial prejudices and biases<sup>41</sup>. The major objection of Sindh is that if KBD is constructed Sindh will turn barren and its sufferings would be too much. Analysis of past facts and figures show that before the construction of Mangla and Tarbela Dams, Sindh was receiving on average 3 crore 60 lacs acres feet water per annum<sup>42</sup>. After the construction of both these dams Sindh was receiving four crore and 30 lacs acres feet water. If the share of Sindh in canal water is increased after the construction of Mangla and Tarbela Dams, then surely, after the construction of KBD Sindh will record a considerable increase in water. As a settled fact, KBD will not absorb the water of Indus rather, it will emit water that has to reach Sindh ultimately. The experts have revealed that Sindh will get 40 lacs acres feet water additionally<sup>43</sup>.

Another apprehension of Sindh is that big dams need to fill every year and, during the year of low flow it would be difficult to fill KBD, resultantly Sindh will become the victim of low flow. No matter water is less or more, Sindh will get its share according to the Accord of 1991 by the Indus River System Authority (IRSA). IRSA is comprised on nominated members of the federation and four provinces.

Sindh has yet another objection that the construction of KBD will result in two more downward canals on river Indus. By this the share in water of Sindh will be reduced. In fact, seven canals are presently carrying water from Indus and providing water for irrigation to Punjab and KP. The withdrawal gauge of water through these canals is 65 thousands cusecs from Indus river. Surely, two downwards canals of Kalabagh will be much less than those seven canals. Even, after the construction of seven canals, Sindh is receiving its proper share of water, so how the two small canals will reduce the flow towards Sindh? It is a matter of concern that Tarbela Dam is located in KP and KP is receiving only 4 per cent of its water, while Sindh is getting 70 per cent water<sup>44</sup>. Objection on this ground is wrong and meaningless as well as against the very spirit of 1991 Water Accord of the provinces.

Balochistan had little concern with the issue of KBD as it is not a riparian of the river Indus<sup>45</sup>. Still, it receives water for irrigation by Pat Feeder Canal at Guddu Barrage. It seems to the authority of the province that in post-Kalabagh Dam scenario, the request for more water will have little chances of kind consideration from Indus river system. Thus, the share of the irrigation water of Balochistan will be reduced<sup>46</sup>. Resultantly, according to the view of Balochistan, the fertile land of the province will be deprived from water for irrigation. Moreover, various resolution were passed by Balochistan Assembly against the

construction of KBD. A resolution of the Provincial Assembly claims that Sindh will be deprived from water for irrigation on one side while on the other side the fertile lands of KP will become barren due to water logging<sup>47</sup>. Like Sindh, Balochistan fears that KBD would cause detrimental reduction in the irrigation water supplies<sup>48</sup>.

### **2.1.3 Apprehensions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa**

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is the resident of three big multi-lingual groups i.e. Pakhtuns, Hindko-speaking and Saraikis. Overall 73.9% people speak Pashto, 3.9% talk in Saraiki and 20.4% are other linguistic groups (Hindko is included in others)<sup>49</sup>. Pakhtuns are mainly concentrated in the valley of Peshawar. Peshawar and its inhabitants are considered the main sufferers of KBD. The critiques say that if KBD was built, Peshawar will suffer from a constant danger of flood in case of any kick back of KBD water<sup>50</sup>.

Since the announcement of the construction of KBD, the ANP had strongly opposed it. The politics of the ANP is dominated by KBD issue and renaming of the province. Apart from the ANP fore front opposition of the KBD, the mainstream provincial political leaders i.e. Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League (PML) had raised objections over the construction of KBD. The issue, however has, got a political shape and the politician used it as a tool to grab political superiority in their constituencies<sup>51</sup>. The issue of KBD was not only opposed by the ANP or Abdul Wali Khan but its opposition was initially started by Lieutenant Fazl-i-Haq — the partner of Zia-ul-Haq martial law regime. Then, Wali Khan after Fazl-i-Haq opposition, starts his activities against the construction of KBD and even shows his courage to blow it by bombs<sup>52</sup>.

As he has worked for the rights of Pakhtuns, Abdul Wali Khan raised the slogan that KBD was not in Pakhtuns favour. He has clarified several times that we will struggle against the

construction of KBD on every cost. This is the reason that in his life, even the powerful rulers of Pakistan could not built KBD<sup>53</sup>. Later, his son and the chief of the ANP, Asfandyar Wali Khan while addressing to a huge gathering at Nishtar Hall Peshawar has recorded his opposition to the construction of KBD, “they have to make a choice, whether they want Pakistan or Kalabagh Dam<sup>54</sup>”. Asfandyar has considered it as the project of Punjab superiority over the small provinces, so, he and the ANP rejected the commandership of federation by Punjab<sup>55</sup>.

First objection of the politicians and people of the province is, that Nowshera and its surrounding areas will have a constant and severe danger of flood. They, on the base of 1929 historical flood of Peshawar valley including Nowshera, have made this observation. In 1929, a part of the hill was fallen in the river Indus at Kalabagh and the water kicked back, as a result Nowshera and its surrounding areas were drowned. It is expected that if KBD has been constructed and it rains heavily in spring or monsoon season, the water of Peshawar's rivers will kick back. Consequently, Nowshera, Akora Khattak, Swabi, Peshawar and Mardan will be heavily flooded<sup>56</sup>. Another apprehension is, that the drainage of related areas Mardan, Pabbi, and Swabi plains will be affected adversely by the reservoir which will further result water logging and salinity. The construction of KBD will lead to the displacement of many people of KP<sup>57</sup>.

However, careful studies and investigations are likely to disapprove this apprehension. According to WAPDA the backwater effect of KBD will not affect Nowshera and its surrounding areas<sup>58</sup>. In the modified design of the project the reservoir conservation level has been lowered by 10 feet from 925 to 915 feet above mean sea level (MSL). Although this has eliminated the need for construction of any protective dyke near Nowshera, still

the government has decided to build 25 feet high protective dyke to save Nowshera and surroundings from any flood danger<sup>59</sup>. A state-of-art computer based analyses revealed that the effect of backwater will end nearly 10 miles downstream the town. The same objection was also discarded by a panel of international standard consisted on Dr. Kennedy of the USA and Dr. Lianzhen of China<sup>60</sup>. Another observation of the proposed dam shows that the water within its normal level, will remain 10 miles downstream of Nowshera. Moreover, the construction of Munda Dam on Swat River will be an additional protection in cases of flood<sup>61</sup>.

It is objected that the Mardan Salinity Control and Rehabilitation Project (SCARP) will be at risk. The water level in KBD reservoir will be higher than the ground levels of surroundings including Mardan, Swabi and Pabbi. Resultantly, the SCARP system will be damaged. WAPDA did not agree with this claim of the people and politicians of KP. KBD reservoir would be 915 feet above the MSL while the lowest ground levels at Mardan, Pabbi and Swabi areas are 960, 970 and 1000 above the MSL respectively. Thus Mardan is 55 feet, Pabbi is 45 feet and Swabi is 85 feet higher than the maximum conservation level of KBD, this maximum level will only be seen in 3 to 4 weeks of September and October. Then the water will be released for Rabi crops which will reduce the water level and will reach to 825 feet, a dead level by early June. By this process the land drainage will not be blocked, thus the danger of water-logging and salinity in these three areas and its surroundings would be eliminated<sup>62</sup>. Moreover, Mardan SCARP system will not be disturbed because, river Kabul and Kalapani will remain functional as usual. The main drains of Mardan SCARP is situated 35 feet above KBD reservoir's elevation. Thus there is no fear of any blockage or obstruction to the SCARP system of Mardan<sup>63</sup>.

Another objection on the part of KP is, that 4500 acres land in which 100 acres of land is highly cultivable, will be submerged in the KBD reservoir. The WAPDA explains it that “the reservoir of KBD project will extend 92 miles up the Indus River and 36 miles up the Soan River, and 10 miles up the Kabul River from Kabul-Indus confluence. At its maximum level of 915 feet from the MSL, the reservoir area would be 164 square miles. Total cultivable land under the reservoir will be only 35,000 acres but permanently submerged cultivable land at the maximum elevation of 915 feet would be 27,500 acres. From which 24,500 acres will be in Punjab and 3000 acres in KP. From this cultivable land only 3000 are irrigated land (2900 acres in Punjab and 100 acres in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). The balance 7,500 acres are the land that will temporarily be submerged by floods with recurrence interval of 1 to 5 years .... The owners of this land will be fully compensated. They will also be allowed to cultivate this land as before”<sup>64</sup>. As a matter of fact, to get advantages and cash benefits some sacrifices must be given. The sacrifice in the case of KBD is less than 1000 acres of prime irrigated land which was acquired for Mardan SCARP<sup>65</sup>.

Another issue which the inhabitants of KP are expecting, is the dislocation of people in large number due to the construction of KBD. Except those who will indirectly be suffered from KBD reservoir, nearly 34,500 people will be dislocated directly<sup>66</sup>. The dependents of the river i.e. boatmen and fishermen will be financially affected. These dependents will be compelled to migrate. Ramzan bin Shabeer quotes WAPDA estimation of affected people that totally 68,664 people in which 38,075 of Punjab and 30,589 people of KP are included. However, according to the writer, far 80,000 to 250,000 people can be affected by this

project. He claims that 5 Degree Colleges, 237 Primary Schools and various High Schools may badly be affected due to the reservoir of KBD<sup>67</sup>.

WAPDA claims that the number of dislocated people would be 120,320 in which 78,170 will belong to Punjab and 42,150 from KP. To pay these affected people schedule of compensation had been made. Moreover, loss of properties like buildings, lands and trees would be compensated according to the market price under the Land Acquisition Act. The provision was expected to be made that every land-owning family will be offered minimum 12.5 acres of land for which 74,000 acres land is required. The affected people other than agriculture sector is planned to be trained in various trades in prominent training institutions. For this purpose 20 models and 27 extended villages will be made. The expected cost of this project is Rs. 20—25 billion<sup>68</sup>. On the execution of total Resettlement Action Plan, an amount of 403 billion was planned to be granted<sup>69</sup>.

The issue of KBD is strongly opposed by the politicians of the three small provinces. Sindh Province has unanimously passed resolution against KBD and recorded its apprehensions that were being recommended to the federal government to abandon the project of KBD<sup>70</sup>. Similarly, Balochistan Provincial Assembly has passed resolution in opposition to the construction of KBD. The Assembly requested to the federal government to abandon the construction of KBD as it is harmful for Sindh and KP<sup>71</sup>. The most rigorous opposition against the construction of KBD was initiated by the ANP in KP who has been supported by other political leaders i.e. Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao. The strong opposition of KBD has made more politicized the issue rather than technical. Even the ANP leader, Abdul Wali Khan threatened the government that if the KBD was built, he would blow it with bombs<sup>72</sup>.

The provincial politics of KP and particularly politics of the ANP has been dominated by two issues; construction of KBD and renaming of the province. The later objective was achieved by eighteenth amendment to the constitution of Pakistan in 2010 and NWFP was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The issue of KBD is not solved yet and still is a bone of contention between the political leaders of KP and the central government. The issue of KBD has turned the shape of provincial politics which led to some disturbance in the devoted attitude of national integration. On the question of the construction of KBD, national consensus is highly required to be achieved but here the issue has not been dealt with enthusiasm as a national cause and, interests of the provinces were favoured.

In 1998 when, the PML-N government reopened the issue to construct KBD, the ANP was in coalition with PML-N and Nawaz Sharif was the Prime Minister (PM) of Pakistan in those days. The ANP strongly protested against this step of the PM. In response to this announcement, the ANP demonstrated and rallies were carried out. Wali Khan irrespective of his old age, shaking health condition, heat and suffocation of August, he participated in these demonstrations and rallies against the government decision. He addressed a huge gathering at Nowshera and condemned the decision of Nawaz government of the construction of KBD<sup>73</sup>. The Senator and spokesperson of the ANP, Zahid Khan, clarified that the ANP would oppose KBD construction to “their last breath”<sup>74</sup>. He termed it as “a conspiracy for national destruction”. According to him, the ANP would offer the same sacrifices as the party had given against terrorism. The ANP chief, Asfandyar Wali Khan had recorded his opposition to the construction of KBD. “The construction of KBD will be opposed at all cost. . . .No one should misunderstand the position of ANP regarding the

building of Kalabagh Dam —we will resist it and subsequently defend the rights and interests of Pakhtuns”<sup>75</sup>.

The issue of KBD was brought in the Provincial Assembly of KP. An Anti-Kalabagh Dam resolution was moved by Begum Naseem Wali Khan in KP Assembly. In this resolution, the federal government was requested to abandon the project of KBD. There are various other profitable opportunities available i.e. Bhasha Dam, which can be availed. The proposed KBD is not only technically incorrect but majority of Pakistan’s Provinces are against the construction of KBD<sup>76</sup>. This resolution was unanimously passed by the Assembly. Another resolution against the construction of KBD was presented in the Assembly of KP by Abdul Akbar Khan. It demanded the federal government to avoid the construction of KBD because it was harmful for the people of the province<sup>77</sup>. Yet, another resolution was moved by seven members of the Provincial Assembly i.e. Haji Muhammad Adeel, Abdul Akbar Khan, Sardar Inayatullah Khan Gandapur, Behram Khan, Anwar Kamal, Malik Mian Noor and Maulana Muhammad Asmatullah. It made the same demand i.e. to abandon the construction of KBD and that the shortage of water and electricity may be overcome with the construction of Bhasha Dam as well as small and big dams at other suitable points in the province<sup>78</sup>. This resolution was unanimously passed by the Provincial Assembly of KP.

It is of immense importance that due to climate change all over the world, a country should have the ability to store more water. This water can be used in low flow season or dry periods. Unluckily, in Pakistan big dams are opposed by some sections of the people. Especially KBD is very much unpopular in KP and Sindh. The facts and figures show that the objections are baseless. The International Panel of experts (IOPE) has declared the

KBD project useful for Pakistan's economy<sup>79</sup>. Moreover, the dam is also important in flood like that of July-August 2010.

Keeping in view the cries in opposition of the majority of the provinces of Pakistan against the construction of KBD, its disadvantages cannot be overlooked. Indeed the project has some severe kinds of harms and disadvantages i.e. huge debt for its construction, sentiments of disintegration and disharmony to the national cause etc. are important. However, the benefits of the dam, particularly in such conditions of severe shortfall of electricity and shortage of water, are more than its harms. Water flow of Pakistan has already been badly affected by the aggressive attitude of India as she is blocking water from entering Pakistan's river. Resultantly, the water resources are constantly decreasing<sup>80</sup>. After brief analyses of the abovementioned facts and figures, it can be justified to say, that KBD should be built for which national consensus must be achieved. Not only KBD but all the opportunities we have in this sphere, should be availed. Only then Pakistan will overcome the issues of electricity and water shortfall, if not, the country and its inhabitants will face severe results.

## **2.2 Renaming of the Province**

The former NWFP was a part of Punjab till the later was divided by Lord Curzon in 1901 and a new province by the name of NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) came into existence. The province was named as NWFP because it was lying in the North-Western part of India and it was a frontier between British India and Afghanistan<sup>81</sup>. It was just a name of the province based on geographical location of the province and had no determinants of ethnicity.

The British were gradually shifting powers to the Indians. Thus, KP would have to remain deprived of these developments which were enjoyed by the rest of the provinces of British India on the ground that it was not a governor province. All powers were handed over to Colonel H.A. Dean<sup>82</sup>. The creation of the new province was although made on the name of relaxation in the administration, however, the purpose was the defence of India against expected danger of Russian invasion to be checked under 'Forward Policy'<sup>83</sup>.

Till Ayub Khan's Regime, the renaming issue was not come to the surface, except the demand of Independent Pakhtunistan after June 3 Plan. The Congress or any other political party of India had never suggested any other name for the province. Pakhtunkhwa, a new name for the province was brought to the surface later, even, the very name was not nearly known till 1985<sup>84</sup>. In response of the name 'Pakhtunkhwa' which means 'neighbours of Pakhtuns', other names like Nooristan, Panjara, Khyber and Abaseen were suggested on the grounds as KP was not only inhabited by Pakhtuns but non-Pakhtuns are also living in the province<sup>85</sup>.

In this regard external factor is important to note. During Ayub Khan Regime, Dr. Najeebulah, who used to teach in Peshawar University, had developed friendship with the students. The students had established a Pakhtoon Student Organization (P.S.O) under the leadership of Afrasiyab Khattak, a leftist nationalist. Kabul was the head quarter of this organization. After some time, P.S.O joined NAP. Z.A. Bhutto had banned the NAP in 1975, still it was renamed and reorganized by the name of NDP. The proper demand for renaming of the province and even the name 'Paktunkhwa' was written in the constitution of the ANP after its existence in 1986. It states that according to the aspirations of the people of the province and resolutions of the Provincial Assembly, the so-called name,

NWFP would be renamed as Pakhtunkhwa<sup>86</sup>. As KP is inhabited by both Pakhtuns and non-Pakhtuns, thus to remove possible deprivation of non-Pakhtun population, various writers have given their opinions. In this connection T.M.L Khan writes:

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 Hindku-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 NWF. 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 represents a small area that is now mostly Hindku-speaking.

**Punjara (Five Passes):** It will represent (like 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<sup>87</sup>.

The nationalist politicians had started a struggle to change the name of the province. To create public opinion in favour of the struggle of renaming, the masses of the province are educated particularly. The ANP and other members of the Provincial Assembly had moved and passed resolutions in respect of renaming of the province that may denote the majority of the province — Pakhtuns<sup>88</sup>. Before analyzing all the aspects of renaming of the province, we have to observe the ethnolinguistic composition of Pakistan.

#### Ethnolinguistic Composition of Pakistan

Language	Punjab	Sindh	KP	Balochistan	Pakistan
Urdu	4.5	21.1	0.8	1.6	7.8
Punjabi	75.2	7.0	1.0	2.9	45.4
Pashto	1.2	4.2	73.9	23.0	13.0
Sindhi	0.1	59.7	-	6.8	14.6
Balochi	0.7	2.1	-	58.5	3.5

Saraiki	17.4	1.0	3.9	2.6	10.9
Others	0.9	4.9	20.4	5.1	4.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Muhammad Mushtaq, "Regional Identities in Quest of Separate Province: A New Challenge for the Pakistani Federation", *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol 23 (2016): 292.

The above given figures are at national level, now let's analyze the proportion of Pashto Speaking and non-Pashto Speaking population in KP.

#### Proportion of Pashto speaking and non-Pashto speaking in KP

Districts	Pashto Speaking	Non-Pashto Speaking
Chitral	4.44	95.56
Kohistan	4.89	95.11
Mansehra	40.29	59.71
Abbottabad	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
Malakand	98.09	1.91

Source: Census Report 1981, M.A. Sofi, *Pakhtunkhwa Kion?* 14.

As far as the matter of renaming of the province is concerned, the case of KP is very complex as it is a multi-ethnic province. The abovementioned chart shows that only 5 districts out of 10 districts having more than 40% people who had Pashto as dominated

speaking language. So in this case if the province is renamed as Pakhtunkhwa, it will lead to deterioration and enhance ethnolinguistic feelings in non-Pashto speaking areas.

### **2.2.1 Awami National Party and Renaming of the Province**

The demarcation of the border between British India and Afghanistan had left “half of a people intimately related by culture, history, and blood on either side<sup>89</sup>. According to Pakhtun ethnic groups, this was a division of Pakhtuns living in the North-West of Pakistan and Southern Afghanistan. Afghanistan had also not cordially accepted Durand Line.

The idea behind the demand of Pakhtunistan on the part of Afghanistan was that “Pakistan should allow the Pashtuns in the northwestern part of their country to — if they so choose — secede and become an independent state” comprised on Pakhtun majority areas in KP and Balochistan<sup>90</sup>. There was a general fear that the proposed state of Pakhtunistan would not stand for longer time. Moreover, Afghanistan is a land-locked country, so, she was looking an access to the warm water through the area of Balochistan<sup>91</sup>. When there was no way out, the demand of Pakhtunistan lost its momentum and it was altered with the name of provincial autonomy within the state of Pakistan. The predecessors of ANP e.g. NAP and NDP followed the principle of provincial autonomy.

Here a reference is necessary to be made towards the system of Pakistan. Pakistan is a federal state consisted of provinces and a center. According to the constitution of Pakistan, powers are shared between the federating units and federal government. However, the true spirit of federalism is not yet achieved<sup>92</sup>. Over distribution of resources tension exists between the center and provinces and among provinces. Punjab being the biggest province of Pakistan is blamed for utilization of the resources and overpasses the shares of minor provinces<sup>93</sup>. Although provincialism prevailed in Pakistan due to which the center-

province relationship in Pakistan has remained tense. However, the federal government initiated steps to meet the demands of minor provinces. The 18<sup>th</sup> amendment to the constitution was a step to bring harmony in center-province relations<sup>94</sup>.

The ANP had brought this matter on the floor of Provincial Assembly on April 30, 1989 by Haji Abdul Raziq Khan who moved a resolution in favour of renaming of the province. This resolution was not passed yet and was on the floor of the Provincial Assembly when unfortunately, the Assembly was dissolved and thus the resolution lapsed<sup>95</sup>. When the next Provincial Assembly was framed, Abdul Raziq Khan once again brought a resolution to the Assembly in favour of renaming of the province on September 29, 1990<sup>96</sup>. In this resolution the Provincial Assembly was requested to make recommendation to the federal government to rename the province as Pakhtunkhwa according to the wishes and aspirations of the people. Abdul Raziq tried to bring the issue in the notice of the present house that the name NWFP was the legacy of the British and the name was kept due to its geographical location. . . . as it was located in the North West of Delhi. The Pakhtuns were made scatter, some of them were included in Balochistan and some were made tribals<sup>97</sup>. He even claimed that this province is located in the west of the capital, not in the North West. Moreover, not only KP was the frontier province, two other provinces are making borders with India and two with Iran and Afghanistan. Thus, based on these facts, the province should be renamed as Pakhtunkhwa. He further argued:

“I want to show the figures of 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 census, 68.30% are Pashto speakers which are in the settled areas of the province. If we include the Tribal belt, which on no grounds out of Pakistan and is 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 PhD 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 (Pakhtunkhwa) . . . This is our politics....

throughout Pakistan Pashto is having the (position) of second majority language.... Punjabi is on the top 48.17% people speak Punjabi, 2<sup>nd</sup> is Pashto throughout 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 institutions for that purpose"<sup>98</sup>.

The ANP members of Provincial Assembly particularly, supported this resolution. Undoubtedly, Begum Naseem favored the resolution and answered harsh questions of few members. Present Qaumi Watan Party (PPP- Sherpao) also supported the resolution. Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao, was the then opposition leader in the Provincial Assembly, who strongly substantiated the resolution. Some of the members the Provincial Assembly opposed the resolution. Mr. Muhammad Yaqoob Khan spoke against the resolution and declared it as impracticable. He warned the house that it may not be a correct decision to rename the province as it would lead to a division on ethnolinguistic base. However, the first resolution regarding renaming of the province was failed as 28 votes fell in favour of the resolution and 48 in opposition<sup>99</sup>. A year earlier than the above defeated resolution, Pir Muhammad Khan brought a resolution to the Assembly revealing that Sindh and Punjab are named after rivers, so, NWFP should be renamed as *Abaseen* which has no ethnolinguistic hurdles<sup>100</sup>. Then, in another resolution Pir Muhammad demanded *Nooristan*, a changed name for the province, but the resolution was withdrawn on November 29, 1990. According to Begum Naseem, "we requested Pir Muhammad and persuaded him to withdraw his resolution and support us"<sup>101</sup>.

Another resolution was moved in the Provincial Assembly of KP in 1997. In those days the ANP was in coalition with Nawaz Sharif under the umbrella of *Islami Jamhoori Ittehad* (IJI). This was presented by the ANP in the Assembly which requested to the Provincial Assembly to make recommendation to the federal government to rename the province as

Pakhtunkhwa following the names of Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan. These names were the recognition and identity of their people. In contrast, the name NWFP was only showing a geographical location. Therefore, the constitution should be amended and the NWFP should be renamed as Pakhtunkhwa<sup>102</sup>. The resolution was supported by all the ANP members including Haji Muhammad Adeel who was a Deputy Speaker of the Assembly. Najm-ud-Din had favoured the resolution from the PPP side. Aftab Sherpao was once again the leader of opposition in the Assembly, supported the resolution. The resolution, this time was passed with a decisive majority on November 13, 1997. Only the two members Salim Saifullah and Hamayun Saifullah opposed it.

The general elections of 1997 gave a tremendous victory to the PML (N). As the ANP was an ally of Nawaz Sharif, it was also benefited and won seats of National Assembly (from KP) and in KP Assembly as well. A coalition government of the ANP and PML (N) was made in KP. The two parties continued for quite some time despite their divergent and different point of views until the issue that had been swept under the carpet resurfaced. The ANP wanted the renaming of the province as Pakhtunkhwa. This was not acceptable to Nawaz Sharif because he did not want to take on the forces of establishment dominated by his constituency in Punjab<sup>103</sup>. The differences between these two allies were worsened further when after the nuclear tests on May 28, 1998, Nawaz Sharif announced that we would go ahead with the construction of KBD. This announcement made bitter the ties between the ANP and PML (N). Thus the alliance collapsed and the ANP left the coalition government in KP<sup>104</sup>.

The ANP's devotion to renaming continued even after Abdul Wali Khan quit active politics. Ajmal Khattak was now the president of the party and according to the constitution

of the ANP, he worked for renaming of the province<sup>105</sup>. Wali Khan kept himself out of active politics and was out of the political scene<sup>106</sup>. After Parvez Musharraf coup, Ajmal Khattak quit the ANP for some time and established National Awami Party Pakistan (NAPP), however, after two years he came back to the ANP which was welcomed by Wali Khan. But the leadership of the party passed into the hand of Asfandyar Wali Khan. Under his leadership the party has made government in KP after the elections of 2008 which completed its tenure and ended in 2013. In the pre-defined era, the party leadership and workers remained fix to the politics of renaming of the province and opposing the construction of KBD.

After the elections of 2008, the PPP made the federal government. Syed Yousuf Raza Gilani became the PM of Pakistan. Moreover, Asif Ali Zardari was also elected as the President of Pakistan. Soon a bill of Eighteenth Amendment containing 102 Clauses of the constitution to be amended, was presented in the Parliament of Pakistan. Till March 31, 2010 all political parties were agreed on the bill and was passed from National Assembly and Senate by April 15, 2010. The President of Pakistan gave his approval on April 19, 2010. Under this amendment the Clause of 58-2(B) ended and NWFP was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa<sup>107</sup>. The amendment reveals:

In the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, hereinafter referred to as the Constitution, in Article 1, in Clause (2), in paragraph (a), for the word "Baluchistan" the word "Balochistan", for the word "North West Frontier" the words "Khyber Pakhtunkhwa", and for the word "Sind" the word "Sindh", shall be substituted<sup>108</sup>.

Thus, the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan renamed the province as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. To avoid ethno-linguistic based problems in KP, the historic name Khyber was fixed with the word "Pakhtunkhwa". Thus, one of the great demand rather a great pillar of the majority provincial political parties was fulfilled. However, still the

renaming of the province was not popular among the inhabitants of Hazara, who at the time of referendum extended their support to AIML to win the referendum in KP at the time of partition of India.

The people of Hazara region have their distinct identity. They did not indulge in the nationalist politics in Pakhtun majority areas and kept a distance from Pakhtunistan movement. The Hazarewal protested against the passage of Eighteenth Amendment (renaming clause) and resultantly, demanded a separate province comprising on Hazara region. Tehreek-i-Hazara, Hazar Qoumi Mahaaz and Haqooq-i-Hazara were included in the main activist groups<sup>109</sup>. The people of Hazara were annoyed based on some solid facts and figures. Mostly, living in Hazara region, Hindku-speaking Hazarewal are at the position of second largest group in KP. Haripur, Abbottabad, Mansehra, Batgram, Kohistan and Torghar are the six districts of Hazara region. This region is inhabited by 87% Hazarewal. The composition of population is given below.

#### **Ethno-linguistic composition of Hazara Region**

Linguistic Group	Kohistan	Mansehra	Abbottabad	Haripur	Batgram
Hindko-speaking	95.98	72.9	94.26	88.5	18
Pashto-speaking	3.86	26.6	2.22	8.9	81.65
Others	-	0.5	3.52	2.6	0.35

Source: Muhammad Mushtaq, "Regional identities in Quest of Separate Provinces: A New Challenge for the Pakistani Federation, *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 23, Issue-1, 2016, 295.

It is a settled fact, like the rest of the three provinces of Pakistan, NWFP is no name for a province. Moreover, it is the legacy of our colonial past. Our approach regarding renaming of the province must be realistic, so, the reality is that other ethno-linguistic groups are also living in province who have their distinct identity. This will lead to distrust among the residents of KP. Furthermore, it is also a fact that the inhabitants of Peshawar

city are not originally Pakhtuns. They are Hindku-speaking<sup>110</sup>. If the province was to be renamed, a language is not enough and is not the only foundation to name an area. We have a combined history, so, historical names like that of 'Khyber' or 'Abaseen' were suitable to avoid any unrest and sense of deprivation on ethno-lingual bases.

Furthermore, the time was not right to initiate a struggle for renaming of the province. It was the time which was more appealing for unity among different ethno-linguistic sections of KP. In 2001 the incident of 9/11 had happened, and Pakistan became the front line state to fight against terrorism. The USA attacked Afghanistan and overturned the government of Taliban. Since then, a hot wave of terrorism hit Pakistan. The militants hit government and public property, mosques, funerals, railway tracks, roads, gas supply lines, educational institutions, social and welfare institutions etc. In 2005, 254 attacks were made in which 216 people were killed and 571 seriously injured<sup>111</sup>. In 2006, as compared to the previous year, an increase of 159% was recorded in terrorist activities, killings were reached to 907 and 1,543 injured in 675 attacks<sup>112</sup>. The terrorist activities were increased by 129% in 2007, killed 3,448 persons and injuries touched the figure of 5,353 in 1,503 attacks<sup>113</sup>. Next year in 2008, which was the year of general elections in Pakistan and by results of these elections the ANP was able to form its government in KP, 43% increase was observed in terrorist activities, which resulted in the deaths of 7,997 people and 9,670 injured in 2,577 attacks<sup>114</sup>. These were terrorist attacks, operational attacks, clashes between security forces and militants, political violence, inter-tribe sectarian clashes and border clashes.

In 2009, across the country, 2,586 terrorist occurrences were recorded. By result of these incidents 3,021 people killed and 7,334 wounded severely. Out of these terrorist activities, 1,137 attacks were reported in KP, which was the highest figure in any province of

Pakistan, followed by Balochistan 792 attacks and FATA 559 attacks<sup>115</sup>. Pakistan saw a decrease of 11% in terrorism and violence in 2010, out of this 60% decrease in terrorist attacks in KP was witnessed, resulted further a decrease of 42% in deaths and 49% in injuries. This was the year in which the province was renamed as KP. Still, 459 attacks were made, resulted 836 deaths and 1,832 injuries in KP. FATA was also hit by 720 attacks from the militants, led to 904 deaths and 1,433 injuries<sup>116</sup>.

The educational institutions too, were not at all out of danger. In 2008, 90 schools and colleges were targeted which included 88 institutions for girls, 1 for boys and 1 Co-education school included. In Kohat 11, Dir and Peshawar 6 each, Buner 2, Malakand, Mardan, Bannu and Charsadda 1 each, schools/colleges were targeted<sup>117</sup>. 188 educational institutions in 2009, 129 in 2010 and 142 in 2011 were destroyed by the terrorists in which mostly girl's schools were included<sup>118</sup>. Social life was also disturbed in KP. Due to military operations 2.7 million to 3.5 million people were displaced in KP and FATA, the ever-largest displacement of people in the history of Pakistan<sup>119</sup>. Apart from it, unemployment increased enormously in KP and FATA. In settled areas of KP, unemployment increased from 0.10 million in 2009 to 0.12 million in 2010-2011<sup>120</sup>.

The above facts and figures show that security situation in KP was very threatening. In such circumstances, the leadership of KP kept itself fixed to the issue of renaming of the province. The people of KP were so in a state of uncertainty that they were not safe in their mosques, in Eid prayers, in funerals, in markets and even in their daily activities. Instead of renaming of the province, if, the energies of the political leadership had devotedly been used for security purposes, it might have been very beneficial in favour of the inhabitants of KP.

## 2.3 Provincial Autonomy

Another issue which dominated the provincial politics was the issue of provincial autonomy. The notion of provincial autonomy seemed to have been derived from Lahore Resolution 1940. The resolution describes about the proposed federation that it would be comprised on complete autonomous and sovereign units<sup>121</sup>. At the advent of the creation of Pakistan, Punjab was divided into two parts by the British and the Western Punjab joined Pakistan. Sindh was the part of Bombay Presidency and in 1937 became a separate province under the Government of India Act 1935. Another province, KP, decided to join Pakistan after a referendum. Balochistan which consisted of a vast territory became a province and thus it raised the number of provinces in the Western wing to four. East Bengal became the fifth province of Pakistan having 55% population and 15% of the total territory of Pakistan<sup>122</sup>. The rest of Pakistan comprised of 85% territory with 45% population. The constitution makers were in great trouble to tackle the issues like representation of provinces in Parliament, uneven and multi-ethnic population and to guarantee the identity and interests of federating units.

There was a vast territory of India nearly one thousand miles between the Eastern and western Wings of Pakistan. There was a deadlock between the politicians. One section of population was in favour of strong provinces and weak Centre while another section was opposing and demanding strong Centre with limited autonomy of provinces. This section claimed that it was the demand of geographical fact that Centre should be specified, and residuary powers would be granted to the provinces<sup>123</sup>.

Striking balance among the provinces was a great issue for the First Constituent Assembly. It curved out a bicameral legislature to solve this problem. Under this system maximum

representation in the Lower House of the NA was to be granted to the Eastern Wing based on population and greater proportion to the West Wing by granting equal representation to all the provinces in the Upper House without any ground of population. The Second Constituent Assembly came up with the idea of One Unit Scheme and representation based on parity between the two wings. Thus, a unicameral legislature was introduced in the Constitution of 1956 in which equal proportion of seats was given to East and West Pakistan. The 1962 Constitution of Pakistan followed the principle of parity between the Eastern and Western Pakistan. In 1971 the Eastern part of Pakistan was seceded; thus, a bicameral system was adopted in the Constitution of Pakistan 1973. The Upper house of the Parliament was called the Senate with equal representation of the four provinces. The Lower House was named the National Assembly (NA). The seats of NA were divided among the provinces based on population<sup>124</sup>.

The Constitution of 1956 of Pakistan adopted three lists e.g. federal list, concurrent list and provincial list under its Fifth Schedule. The provinces were granted the power to legislate on residuary subjects. The provinces were given the powers under the provincial list to enact laws on ninety-nine subjects. Still the federal legislature was very much powerful as it was to make laws about thirty subjects of great importance. The concurrent list was comprised of nineteen subjects. These nineteen subjects of the concurrent list were seemed to be dominated by the federal legislature with the constitutional right to override the provincial law. In this respect the Centre was very powerful in the constitution of 1956<sup>125</sup>. Under the Constitution of 1956, National Finance Commission (NFC) was to be established. The Commission would be comprised of federal and provincial ministers while other members were to be appointed by the president after mutual confabulation with the

provincial governors. It was given in the jurisdiction of the Commission to distribute taxes between the Centre and provinces and 'grants-in-aid' to the provinces from Centre<sup>126</sup>. The recommendation of NFC regarding allocation of taxes to provinces would be preferred. The Constitution of 1956 provided that an Inter-Provincial Council (IPC) was to be established by the President.

The Constitution of 1962 followed the principle of parity. It followed the same power distribution between federation and the provinces under the third schedule of the constitution. The federal government had obtained the right to legislate on forty-nine subjects of great importance. The provinces were given the authority to enact laws for those items not included in the federal jurisdiction. This Constitution demonstrated a strong Centre. In case of a tussle between the Centre and provincial legislation, the law of the Centre will be preferred<sup>127</sup>. The Constitution provided for a Presidential system with a strong Centre. The Provincial Assembly would work for five years, a described term. The Provincial Assembly could be dissolved earlier than its official term by the 'concurrence' of NA and the President if the Governor or the Speaker recommends so<sup>128</sup>.

Undoubtedly, the formation of the Constitution of 1973 was a remarkable landmark in the constitutional history of Pakistan. The credit of achievement of this hallmark goes to the PPP government led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928-1979). Even those, who opposed Bhutto earlier, after his dismissal by Zia-ul-Haq (1924-1988), wanted the restoration of the Constitution of 1973. In the constitutional history of the country, it was the sacred document obtained after national consensus<sup>129</sup>. All the political parties agreed upon and signed the Constitution of 1973.

The Constitution of 1973, granted provincial autonomy though, still, the real spirit of it could not be achieved due to concentration of power in the Centre. The Centre was interfering in the provinces frequently under the pretext of the defence of the country<sup>130</sup>.

Soon, the central government and the opposition leaders were on different ways. Abdul Wali Khan, leader of the NAP and other opposition leaders believed that devolution of power is the only way of protecting the interests of the smaller provinces, on the other hand Bhutto was emphasizing on a strong Centre as a tool of national unity. Thus, the Constitution of 1973 was in fact, a centralized document<sup>131</sup>.

Actually, the Constitution of 1973 was framed after a vigorous movement of provincial autonomy launched by Shaikh Mujeeb. Apart from Shaikh Mujeeb's demand of provincial autonomy, the NAP and JUI, who were in the driving seat in KP and Balochistan, seeking the guarantee of provincial autonomy. In these circumstances some arrangements were made in this constitution to take a step towards their demands. Resultantly, a Council of Common Interest (CCI) was made. The CCI was to be formed by the President of Pakistan. It would be composed of chief ministers of the provinces and nominees from time to time by the PM. The subjects like water, railway, oil, electricity, natural gas and industrial development were to be controlled by CCI<sup>132</sup>. The purpose of this was to hear and seek remedy for provincial sufferings against the Centre or province vs province. Apart from CCI, the National Economic Council (NEC) was allowed to work with provincial representation, while in the Constitution of 1962, without any provincial representation, the President would nominate the NEC<sup>133</sup>.

To ensure the smooth and balanced supply and distribution of electricity and natural gas, special provisions were made. The right of collection of federal excise duty of natural gas

and royalty of electricity were granted to the provinces from where it was being obtained by the Centre. In the form of these things, it was considered a great achievement in provincial autonomy.

Under the Constitution of 1973, the federal list has 67 subjects of high importance; 59 of these were included in part one and 8 in part two. The concurrent list was having 47 subjects on which both the Centre and province could make legislation. The provinces were given the rest of powers. Some leaders claim that Bhutto has pledged that in ten years after the promulgation of the Constitution of 1973, 'all the powers of the concurrent list would reside in the provinces'<sup>134</sup>. The historians regarded the Constitution of 1973 more respectable in term of provincial autonomy than any other constitution of Pakistan<sup>135</sup>. However, the laws enacted by the provinces if found in clash with those of the Centre, the latter's law would override the former's law<sup>136</sup>.

In contrast to the Constitution of 1962, the Constitutions of 1956 and 1973 can be accepted as a constitution of federation. Although, the constitution as well as the Accord of 1972 did not much please the opposition, however, this constitution was the result of national consensus of the political leaders both in government and opposition, thus, it achieved due respect from all political leaders<sup>137</sup>, this was the result of this mutual coincidence that even dictators like Zia-ul-Haq and Parvez Musharraf could not abandon the Constitution of 1973.

The provinces did obtain the rights of royalties and due profit in electricity generations and natural gas which was granted to the state system for supervision and just distribution. The CCI which was constituted to look after the issues of the provinces and provincial autonomy, it mostly remained nonfunctional<sup>138</sup>. Moreover, the attitude of the Central

government was not positive and the leaders at the Centre almost did not like the idea of decentralization. Still, provincial autonomy ensured by the Constitution of 1973, ‘at least on paper’<sup>139</sup> can be regarded as a great achievement in the history of Pakistan.

### **2.3.1 Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment and Provincial Autonomy**

The Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan was a landmark and the political leaders widely welcomed this historic amendment. The Eighteenth Amendment Act was approved by the President of Pakistan on April 19, 2010 and promulgated on the following day. The Act was comprised of total 102 amendments (amended, substituted, added or deleted) various provisions of the constitution. The long-standing demand in term of provincial autonomy, the concurrent list was abolished. The provinces were at the same time given the powers of managing and utilization of their resources along with the constitutional rights in governance<sup>140</sup>.

The concurrent list was constituted of subjects on which both the provinces and federation can legislate, has been seized. However, Laws of criminal nature, Criminal procedure and Evidence were now available for provincial and federal legislation. The subject ‘boilers’ which is related to the nuclear energy remained a federal issue. ‘National Planning and National Economic Co-ordination including Planning and Co-ordination of Scientific and Technological Research’ of the federal list were now given under the control of CCI<sup>141</sup>.

The CCI was reformed and entrusted more powers to oversee federal legislative list part-II. The CCI was transferred from Cabinet Division to its own secretariat. However, under the advice of Inter-Provincial Coordination (IPC), the PM ordered to shift all the secretarial work for CCI and IPC from Cabinet Division to Inter-Provincial Coordination Division<sup>142</sup>. The CCI now have its permanent secretariat and it will effectively look after the conflicts

of the provinces. The PM can call for a meeting of the CCI on the request of a province. The CCI will play a role of arbiter on the issues of electricity between the Centre and provinces<sup>143</sup> and have a control over the reservoirs of water. The Centre will require to seek a permission of the concerned province to build a hydro-electric station in that province. The NEC was given an additional task of 'balanced development and regional equity'. The NEC was required to meet twice in a year and both the CCI and NEC have to submit their report to the Parliament. The 8<sup>th</sup> NFC Award which granted more resources to the provinces particularly to Balochistan, were brought officially in the constitution<sup>144</sup>.

Under the provisions of Eighteenth Amendment, the provinces were given more autonomy. The Governor of a province was now, required to be the resident of that particular province. The amendment granted the right to the provinces that in case of a need of emergency in a province, for its promulgation by the federal, a resolution in favour of emergency passed by the Provincial Assembly would be required. The long standing and long-awaited issue of renaming of (the then) NWFP was solved, and it was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa<sup>145</sup>. The spellings of 'Sind' and 'Balochistan' were edited and now they are written 'Sindh' and 'Balochistan' respectively. The ethnic recognition of different people was accepted which made the people and their political leaders glad.

The demand of provincial autonomy was put forward under the name of Pakhtunistan by KK before partition and then the East Pakistan political leaders after the creation of Pakistan. The East Pakistan's demand of provincial autonomy was so vigorous that it resulted the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971. So far, the demand of Pakhtunistan as a new name of the former NWFP met no success. To achieve the real ethnic identity and provincial autonomy, it took too long, and the leaders suffered great hardships. The Issue

of Pakhtunistan was considered a shameful project<sup>146</sup> as it was sensed that there was an external factor, Afghanistan, behind it. Not only this, the political and social conditions have often been highly affected by the conditions of Afghanistan, a compulsory external factor in case of KP.

## Notes and References

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 49-50.

<sup>4</sup> Rao Irshad, "Water Resource Development in Pakistan," *Roundtable Discussion on Agriculture & Water in Pakistan — World Bank*. Indus River System Authority (IRSA) (March 9, 2011): 13-14.

<sup>5</sup> "More Dams needed to enhance Water Storage Capacity," *Dawn*, October 07, 2017.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>7</sup> The water storage capacity of Mangla Dam in March 2017 reduced to 1049 feet. However a slight increase was seen in water stored in Tarbela Dam, has reached to 1380 feet. For further detail see, Sehrish Wasif. "Water Levels at Mangla, Tarbela at Lowest Points in a Decade," *Express Tribune*, March 18, 2017.

<sup>8</sup> *The Express Tribune*, March 21, 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Irshad, "Water Resource Development in Pakistan," *Roundtable Discussion on Agriculture & Water in Pakistan — World Bank*, 20

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 21.

<sup>11</sup> Rashid Aziz and Munawar Baseer, "Pakistan's Power Crisis: The Way Forward," *United States Institute of Peace*, (Special Report 375) (June 2015): 1.

<sup>12</sup> *The Daily Dawn*, June 17, 2012.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>14</sup> Khaleeq Kiani, "Electricity Shortfall getting out of Control," *Dawn*, April 03, 2013.

<sup>15</sup> Azam Amjad, "A Panel Data Analysis of Electricity Demand in Pakistan," *The Lahore Journal of Economics*, 15: SE, (September 2010): 76-77.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, 77.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>18</sup> Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)", 54-55.

<sup>19</sup> Apart from the construction of a dam here at Kalabagh, it is famous that Malik Ameer Muhammad Khan, former governor of West Pakistan belonged to this area. For detail see, Hidayatullah, *Kalabagh Dam: Aik Naqis Awr Shar Angez Mansoba* (urdu) (Mingora: Feroz Publication, 2003), 13-14.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, 16.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, 70-76.

<sup>22</sup> Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 57.

<sup>23</sup> *The Daily Dawn*, March 03, 2005.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>25</sup> Muhammad Israr, "Feasibility Study of Kalabagh dam Pakistan," *Life Science Journal*, 11 (9s) (January 2014): 462.

<sup>26</sup> Kiani, "Electricity Shortfall getting out of Control."

<sup>27</sup> Average generation of electricity touched the figure of 18,658 MW in June 2017 which was 11,804 MW in June 2013. This production reduced average power shortfall to 2,888 MW from 7,938 MW. It was hope that the country is leading towards the generation of 10,000 MW surplus electricity within a year and the shortfall might be disappeared soon. See, *The Daily News*, February 06, 2018.

<sup>28</sup> Israr, "Feasibility Study of Kalabagh dam Pakistan," 468.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Hidayatullah, *Kalabagh Dam: Aik Naqis Awr Shar Angez Mansoba*, 16.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Shaheen Rafi, "The Case against Kalabagh Dam", *Working Paper Series*, No. 48, Commission on Environmental Economic and Social Policy and Sustainable Development Policy, South Asia, (1999): 3.

<sup>34</sup> Israr, "Feasibility Study of Kalabagh dam Pakistan," 468.

<sup>35</sup> Muhammad Idris Rajput, *Kalabagh Dam and Sindh: A View Point* (Karachi: Sindh Graduate Association, April 2005), 40.

<sup>36</sup> Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 61.

<sup>37</sup> Hidayatullah, *Kalabagh Dam: Aik Naqis Awr Sharannak Mansooba*, 16.

<sup>38</sup> Israr, "Feasibility Study of Kalabagh dam Pakistan," 469.

<sup>39</sup> Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 63. Also see, Rajput, *Kalabagh Dam and Sindh: A View Point*, 45-46.

<sup>40</sup> Abdul Wahid, *Sindh Provincial Assembly Resolution No-409 Regarding Kalabagh Dam* (Unpublished), Sindh Assembly: Billing and Resolution Section, Dated, 14-6-1994.

<sup>41</sup> Muhammad Zahid, "Kalabagh Dam. Apprehensions of Sindh and KPK." *The Nation*, February 1, 2018)

<sup>42</sup> One acre feet is equal nearly to 2 lacs and 70 thousand gallons of water. For details, see, Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Muhammad Nawaz, "The Problems of Water Management in Diverse Society: A Case Study of Kalabagh Dam Project in Pakistan," *Journal of Public Administration and Governance* Vol-1, No. 2, (July 2012): 244.

<sup>46</sup> Ahmad, "Water Resources of Indus: A Case Study of Kalabagh Dam" (PhD Diss., Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 2004), 134-137.

<sup>47</sup> Sardar Akhtar Mangal, *Balochistan Provincial Assembly Resolution No- 50 Regarding Kalabagh Dam* (Unpublished), Balochistan: Billing and Resolution Section Provincial Assembly Balochistan, Dated, 6-10-1994.

<sup>48</sup> "Revisiting Kalabagh", *the Dawn*, December 16, 2010.

<sup>49</sup> Nawaz, "The Problems of Water Management in Diverse Society: A Case Study of Kalabagh Dam Project in Pakistan," 244.

<sup>50</sup> Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 64-70.

<sup>51</sup> Nawaz, "The Problems of Water Management in Diverse Society: A Case Study of Kalabagh Dam Project in Pakistan," 244-245.

<sup>52</sup> Muneer Ahmad, "Khan Abdul Wali Khan," *Express*, January 29, 30, 31 and 1, 2 February 2006; *the Daily Nizam*, (Five days consecutive in five parts), February 2006.

<sup>53</sup> Saeed Nawabi, "Wali Khan ki Zindagi say Hamein kia Sabaq Milta hai," *Jinnah*, January 30, 2006.

<sup>54</sup> Israr, "Feasibility Study of Kalabagh dam Pakistan." 469.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Hidayatullah, *Kalabagh Dam: Aik Naqis Awr Sharamnak Mansooba*, 83.

<sup>57</sup> Israr, "Feasibility Study of Kalabagh dam Pakistan", 459

<sup>58</sup> Nawaz, "The Problems of Water Management in Diverse Society: A Case Study of Kalabagh Dam Project in Pakistan," 245.

<sup>59</sup> Ramzan bin Basheer, "Kalabagh Dam ki taamir? Mulk Anarchy ka Shikar," *Mazdoor Jeddoo Juhd*, No. 9 (July 9-15, 1998): 29.

<sup>60</sup> Nawaz, "The Problems of Water Management in Diverse Society: A Case Study of Kalabagh Dam Project in Pakistan," 245.

<sup>61</sup> Bashir Malik, *Indus Water Treaty in Retrospect* (Lahore: Brite Books, 2005), 1.

<sup>62</sup> Water logging and salinity of these areas can only be recorded in case, if the ground level became lower than the maximum level of KBD reservoir's level. However, the lowest level of Pabbi is 45 feet above the water level of the reservoir. In these circumstances the submergence or blockage of the drainage system will not be happened. See, WAPDA, *Kalabagh Dam Project*, 1999, available at: <http://www.wapda.gov.pk.pdf> KBDAM pdf, 5; Malik, "The Case against Kalabagh Dam, *Dawn*, November 14, 1999.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Nawaz, "The Problems of Water Management in Diverse Society: A Case Study of Kalabagh Dam Project in Pakistan," 246.

<sup>65</sup> WAPDA, *Kalabagh Dam Project*, 1999, <http://www.wapda.gov.pk.pdf> KBDAM pdf, 6.

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<sup>67</sup> Basheer, "Kalabagh Dam ki taamir? Mulk Anarchy ka Shikar," 26-30.

<sup>68</sup> Shaheen, "The Case against Kalabagh Dam," *Working Paper Series No. 48*, 11.

<sup>69</sup> Nawaz, "The Problems of Water Management in Diverse Society: A Case Study of Kalabagh Dam Project in Pakistan," 247.

<sup>70</sup> Abdul Wahid, *Sindh Provincial Assembly Resolution No-409 Regarding Kalabagh Dam* (Unpublished), Sindh Assembly: Billing and Resolution Section, Dated, 14-6-1994.

<sup>71</sup> Ahmad Mangal, *Balochistan Provincial Assembly Resolution No-50 Regarding Kalabagh Dam* (Unpublished), Balochistan Assembly: Billing and Resolution Section, Dated, 6-10-1994.

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<sup>73</sup> Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 67.

<sup>74</sup> *The Dawn*, 25-10-2012.

<sup>75</sup> *The Mashriq*, 15-10-2015.

<sup>76</sup> Nassem Wali, *NWFP Provincial Assembly Resolution No-04 Regarding Kalabagh Dam* (Unpublished), NWFP Assembly: Billing and Resolution Section, dated, 20-12-1988.

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<sup>79</sup> Nawaz, "The Problems of Water Management in Diverse Society: A Case Study of Kalabagh Dam Project in Pakistan," 252.

<sup>80</sup> The availability of water in the Pakistan is decreasing at an alarming rate. In February 2018 the level of water at Mangla was 1050 feet and the same is its dead level. At Tarbela Dam current and dead water level is 1386 feet the lowest level since 2009. See, Sehrish Wasif, "Mangla, Tarbela dams hit Dead level after 15 Years," *the Express Tribune*, March 23, 2018.

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<sup>82</sup> Dean was only answerable to the Viceroy of India and cannot be questioned commonly. The people of the province had no considerable voice in the affairs of the province. See, Mukulika Bannerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 51.

<sup>83</sup> The North-West Frontier Province Inquiry Committee had finalized its report in 1922 which revealed that "basis of our Frontier Policy always remained as the defence of India". See, Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Shifa Khan, "Pakhtoon khwa only after Referendum," *Dawn*, December, 1997.

<sup>85</sup> Pakhtunkhwa was considered a controversial name as there is a certain non-Pakhtun population is living in KP. The name 'Pakhtunkhwa' would lead to distrust among non-Pakhtun inhabitants of the province. Thus, Nooristan, Khyber and Abaseen were suggested that non-Pakhtuns might not be disturbed. See, Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Hameed Khan, *Political Parties, Their policies and Programme* (Lahore: Feroz Sons, January 1971), 49.

<sup>87</sup> Darya Khan, "Renaming NWFP", *Dawn*, February 17, 1998.

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<sup>89</sup> James William Spain, "Pakistan's North-West Frontier," *Middle East Journal* 8(1) (1954): 30.

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<sup>94</sup> Muhammad Mushtaq, "Regional Identities in Quest of Separate Provinces A New Challenge for the Pakistani Federation," *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 23, Issue- 1, (2016): 289.

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<sup>96</sup> The resolution was initially opposed by Muhammad Yaqoob Khan, a member of the Provincial Assembly, however, Abdul Raziq Khan was allowed by the speaker to move the resolution. Many members of the Assembly including Zareen Gul supported the resolution. For details see, North West Frontier Provincial Assembly, *Debates on Renaming of NWFP* (Unpublished), Peshawar: Debates Section, Dated 29-11-1990.

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<sup>99</sup> North West Frontier Provincial Assembly, *Resolution No 11 Regarding Renaming NWFP* (Unpublished), Dated 29-11-1990.

<sup>100</sup> North West Frontier Provincial Assembly, *Resolution No. 111 Regarding Renaming NWFP* (Unpublished), Peshawar: Billing and Resolution Section, Dated 8-11-1989.

<sup>101</sup> Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 51.

<sup>102</sup> North West Frontier Provincial Assembly, *Resolution No. 50-59 Regarding Renaming NWFP* (Unpublished), Peshawar: Billing and Resolution Section, Dated 13-11-1997.

<sup>103</sup> Rahimullah, "The Family Tree in Wali Bagh", *News*, February 5, 2006.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>105</sup> *The Constitution of Awami National Party* (Peshawar: I.T. Section, Bacha Khan Research Center, 2013), 1-11.

<sup>106</sup> Not being successful 1990 elections against Maulana Hassan Jan, Wali Khan felt that he should, now, retire from active politics. In his post-retirement period he came out for the first time when the ministry of Pir Sabir Shah, a coalition government of the ANP and PML (N) was removed by a no-confidence motion supported by Benazir Bhutto led central government in 1994 'He criticized the move and remarked that

money and strong-arm tactics were the new face of democracy in Pakistan. Ailing and ageing Abdul wali Khan made another appearance in 1998 to address an anti-Kalabagh Dam rally in Jahangira, Nowshera District. Subsequently Wali Khan made two other appearances. The first was at a press conference after 9/11 US attack on Afghanistan. He indirectly justified the attack of America to oust the Taliban and Arab foreigners who had made terrorist bases in Afghanistan. Second time he appeared in 2002, to welcome Ajmal Khattak back in the ANP. See, Rahimullah, "The Family Tree in Wali Bagh," *News*, February 5, 2006.

<sup>107</sup> *The Haq Nawai Ihtisham*, (May/June 2010): 65.

<sup>108</sup> The Gazette of Pakistan, *Draft of Eighteenth Amendment, Acts, ordinances, President's Orders and Regulations* (Extraordinary Published by Authority), Islamabad: Senate Secretariat, April 20, 2010), 268.

<sup>109</sup> Mushtaq, "Regional Identities in Quest of Separate Provinces: A New Challenge for the Pakistani Federation," 294.

<sup>110</sup> Taha Manzoor, "Renaming of the province," *Dawn*, February 17, 1998, Ayaz, "Awami National Party: A Political History (1986-1999)," 52

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<sup>118</sup> Tariq Khan, "The Social, Political and Economic Effects of the War on Terror: Pakistan 2009 to 2011," *ISSRA Papers* (2013): 73.

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid, 72

<sup>121</sup> Sania Nishtar, "The Federation and Provincial Autonomy," *the News International*, December 12, 2009.

<sup>122</sup> Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 579.

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<sup>124</sup> Hamid, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 580.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid; Arif Khan, Taj Muharram Khan and Ashfaq U. Rahman, "Government-Opposition Relation Amidst the Provincial Autonomy during Bhutto Regime," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, Vol. No. 54, Issue No. 2, (July-December, 2017): 43.

<sup>126</sup> Hamid, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 581.

<sup>127</sup> Safdar, *Pakistan: Political Roots & Development 1947-1999*, 59.

<sup>128</sup> Ayub, *Friends Not Masters*, 212.

<sup>129</sup> Arif, Taj and Ashfaq, "Government-Opposition Relation Amidst the Provincial Autonomy during Bhutto Regime," 42.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid, 43.

<sup>131</sup> Sonia Tasneem, "Working Relationship between Central and Provincial Governments in Pakistan (1971-77)," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3(17), (2013): 196-205.

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<sup>133</sup> Hamid, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 582.

<sup>134</sup> Katherine Adeney, "A Step towards Inclusive Federalism in Pakistan? The Politics of the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment," *The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (2012): 547, <http://publius.oxfordjournals.org/at> Pennsylvania State University (accessed July 5-6, 2018).

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## **CHAPTER-3**

### **EXTERNAL FACTORS AFFECTING PROVINCIAL POLITICS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA**

External factors here are those political or politically motivated factors that could impact the political scene or political behaviour of people of a particular area. Among its main determinants ethnicity, nationalism, common history and to some extent communication is involved. Hence, the theory of nationalism can be applied on the ground that people of common history may follow the sense of pride on nationality. As Carlton Hayes remarked, "a condition of mind in which loyalty to the ideal or to the fact of one's national state is superior to all other loyalties and of which pride in one's nationality and belief in its intrinsic excellence and its 'mission' are integral parts". On the other hand, Cybernetic Communication Theory, of which mass communication and social interactions are major exponents of integration which are true about Pakhtuns and the state of Pakistan.

Socially and politically, Pakistan and Afghanistan generally have always been affected from the situation prevailing in either country. Particularly, Pakhtuns inhabiting on both sides of Durand Line have great sentiments of attachment. There were 42% Pakhtuns living in Afghanistan while in Pakistan it constitutes 14% of the total population. The Pakhtuns on both sides of the border have brotherly relations further strengthened by religion, Islam. Apart from religion they have a common culture and an ethic code, Pakhtunwali. These were the determinants which led to highly cordial relations among Pakhtuns on both sides. These brotherly sentiments, their attitudes, duties and responsibilities were changed later by the British and Afghan factor. The major development in this sphere happened in 1893 when Durand Line was considered as an international border between Afghanistan and the British India. Durand Line was such a factor which had left great effects on Pakhtuns of

both the countries and subsequently remained a reason of high tension between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Durand Line agreement was signed between Amir Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan and Mortimer Durand, Foreign Secretary to the government of British India<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, KP was highly affected by the policies during the rule of Amir Abdur Rahman, Amir Habibullah Khan and Amir Amanullah Khan.

Afghanistan on various occasions created problems for Pakistan e.g. Pakhtunistan issue. Afghanistan, who had not even granted the independence of public opinion to its Pakhtun population, had strongly backed the issue of Pakhtunistan which led to tense situations between the two countries. Issue of renaming of the province as Pakhtunistan remained alive till the military regime of Zia-ul-Haq. Zia pledged to settle the issue of renaming and asked Bacha Khan to come up with an alternate name. Bacha Khan put forward the name 'Pakhtunkhwa'.

During Zia's regime, the foreign policy of Pakistan was dominated by rising issue in Afghanistan. On December 24, 1979, under the pretext of upholding the Soviet-Afghan Friendship Treaty of 1978, Soviet Union entered in Afghanistan<sup>2</sup>. This intervention created tension and problems for Pakistan and KP which affected their social, economic and political condition. Thus Pakistan, KP and the Pakhtuns also entered in a new era, an era of Afghan *Jihad*.

### **1.3 Intervention of USSR in Afghanistan**

Prior to proper intervention of Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) serious development happened in Afghanistan. Noor Muhammad Tarakai became the President of Afghanistan after Afghanistan Communist Party had acquired powers after the 1978 coup. Afghanistan Communist Party was responsible for a series of quite unpopular reforms of

modernization throughout the country. The reforms had earned a bad reputation particularly among the more traditional rural population. Resultantly, vigorous rebellions broke out which led to the murder of Noor Muhammad in September 1979. Hafizullah Amin took the charge as President who soon developed differences with Soviet Union. Eventually, the Soviet government led by Leonid Brezhnev decided to deploy his Army on December 24, 1979. After staging a coup Hafizullah Amin was killed, and a Soviet loyalist Babrak Karmal was installed<sup>3</sup>.

Soviet's intentions were not to stop in Kabul as it was announced by Babrak Karmal in his first message as President from Soviet Radio Station, who threatened Pakistan that 'the terminal stop of Afghanistan would be Pakistan' to have access to the warm waters of Arabian Sea<sup>4</sup>. The Soviet invasion in December 1979 had caused worldwide anxiety and it was a shaking point in international politics<sup>5</sup>. The UN condemned the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan without mentioning the name of Soviet Union<sup>6</sup>. The installation of Communist Government in Afghanistan not only had apprehended Pakistan but also alarmed Arab countries as well as the United States of America (USA) in regard of Islam and bipolarity respectively<sup>7</sup>. Ultimately, most countries of the world asked for Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan.

### **3.2 Afghan *Jihad*, Pakistan and Pakhtuns**

The strategically important location of Pakistan had deepened the interest of great powers in the region, which had created security issues for Pakistan. It is also a settled fact that unrest in Afghanistan had affected Pakistan<sup>8</sup> generally and KP particularly. The time of uncertainty and interests of great powers in the region had witnessed an 'opportunist' US-Pakistan alliance during Afghan crisis in 1980s. Prior to the crisis of Afghanistan, Pakistan

was internationally isolated and Pak-US relations were downgraded. The region attracted the lowest or no concentration from US as the latter had sensed undemocratic values and human rights violation and Pakistan's struggle for obtaining capability of nuclear weapons<sup>9</sup>. However, crisis in the region had replaced the US non-cooperative attitude in that of notable cooperation. Jimmy Carter, the President of the USA, offered a package of \$400 million as assistance in military and economic spheres. The administration of Pakistan had found it insufficient, termed it 'peanuts' and rejected this offer<sup>10</sup>. The US newly elected President Ronald Reagan won the confidence of Zia's administration in Pakistan by satisfying him with military and economic assistance from the US. Pakistan in response played an important role in the crisis<sup>11</sup>.

Apart from military and economic assistance from the US, Pakistan got the advantage to obtain 'exception' from the US Congress through Reagan<sup>12</sup>. The disclaimer of the Symington Amendment in favour of Pakistan provided a golden opportunity to Zia government for obtaining nuclear weapon expertise. The acquisition of 'weapon-grade Uranium had been achieved by 1986<sup>13</sup>. Zia was strongly in favour of obtaining nuclear capacity and supported nuclear program. "We shall eat crumbs but will not allow our national interests to be compromised in any manner what-so-ever"<sup>14</sup>. It reveals clearly that Pakistan had obtained nuclear capacity during Zia's regime which he himself had admitted. During Afghan *Jihad* Pakistan was succeeded in the modernization of weapons as it obtained the most modern weapons from the US. The main objective of Pakistan and the US was to 'keep out the Soviet Union and Afghanistan in the north' and to save Pakistan from Indian aggression in the east<sup>15</sup>. Zia was ambitious enough to the protection of Pakistan's eastern border. However, the US needed Pakistan support towards its northern

borders. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) chief, William Casey provided the guarantee about the safety of Pakistan's eastern border. Pakistan was granted \$7.4 billion (1982-90) and thus Pakistan became the second largest receiver of the US financial assistance<sup>16</sup>. However, still Pakistan had experienced bitter circumstances resulted by Afghan *Jihad* particularly KP and Balochistan suffered a lot.

### **3.2.1 Political, Social and Economic Effects of Afghan *Jihad* on Khyber**

#### **Pakhtunkhwa**

Over the years Pakistan had experienced bitter terms with Afghanistan over Durand Line and later the Afghan support of Pakhtunsitan issue fueled the already tensed ties. Thus, one of the prime objectives of Pakistan's lawmakers was to obstruct the way of Afghan nationalism and to install a Pakistan friendly government in Kabul. Zia was expecting that recognition of Durand Line as international border would minimize to a great extent the danger of trans-border nationalism. Hafizullah Amin was conditionally ready to accept Durand Line as international border, however, he was executed, and the plan remained incomplete<sup>17</sup>. The issue of nationalism was 'countered' by Islamic figures who opposed Pakhtunistan on secular ground. This led to a sense of Pakistan's solidarity. Moreover, migration of nearly five million refugees had created problems for neighbouring countries in which more than three million came into Pakistan<sup>18</sup>. KP and Balochistan were the hubs of refugees. The influx of migrants from Afghanistan proved to a great challenge for political and socio-economic conditions of these provinces. This engagement might have discarded the matter of Pakhtunistan<sup>19</sup>. The deletion of Pakhtunistan issue and later the recognition of Durand Line as an official border between Pakistan and Afghanistan by Sibghatullah Mujaddidi had some positive effects on KP.

As an ultimate consequence of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan received three million Afghan refugees<sup>20</sup>. They were stationed in 386 camps, most of these camps were built in KP and Balochistan<sup>21</sup>. The reason of establishing camps for refugees was that since ancient time Pakhtuns have excellent ties with the Afghan. These cordial relations were based on religion, culture, common history and even blood relations. Some Pakhtun families were having their homes both in Pakistan and Afghanistan even. Thus, over three million people were stationed in KP and Balochistan. Along with social and economic complexities, the inflow of refugees brought political complications. Pakistan had found it almost impossible to stop the movement of refugees from across the border. In the flood of refugees some criminal also entered Pakistan who had carried out conspiracies and devastation<sup>22</sup>. On the other hand, Soviet fighter planes used to violate airspace of Pakistan, circling over refugee's camps near the border<sup>23</sup>.

The migrants from Afghanistan intermixed easily in the Pakhtun society of KP and Balochistan. Among them criminals were creating threats to law-and-order enforcing departments. A great number among the refugees were not registered, so, these unregistered migrants seemed destructive for KP and Balochistan<sup>24</sup>. The migrants partially controlled small businesses particularly in KP and Balochistan which led to affect local traders and businessmen. The unemployed refugees made full the streets of Peshawar and were wandering aimlessly. This led to problems of traffic in the city and apprehended the law-and-order imposing authority<sup>25</sup>.

The influx of refugees brought livestock more than 2.5 million, which ultimately affected the environment and greenery of the two provinces. According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated the number of camels 45,000, and donkeys

25,000 mostly used for commercial projects. The local people showed resentment as the animals used to graze in the fertile land and were destroying crops. The settlement of migrants led a heavy deforestation in Dir, Chitral and Hazara Division for the purpose of heating and firewood. Large scale deforestation led to cause land erosion and land sliding in mountainous areas<sup>26</sup>.

Afghan refugees were a heavy burden over Pakistan's economy. In KP and Balochistan they contributed to unemployment as they started contribution in all kind of jobs. They had created a kind of competition with local businessmen, and this led to antagonism among the local businessmen and refugees. Although they were given the opportunity and permission to work wholeheartedly by Pakistani authority, still irrespective of financial help from international agencies, donors and few Islamic countries, Pakistan alone had to bear an average \$35 Crore per year expenses<sup>27</sup>. Moreover, infrastructure of the province was badly affected. As slums were increased, it resulted bad environmental and unhygienic conditions around migrant's slums and camps in KP and Balochistan. Above all Soviet's aircraft occasionally used to enter in Pakistani territory and were bombing the area. Including KP, terrorism was started in big cities of Pakistan<sup>28</sup>. This *Jihad* gave an impetus to Taliban who were rising from *madrasas*.

Afghan refugees were the cause of illegal trade across Durand Line by Afghan transport. According to an estimation in 1990, loss of revenue reached around 4.7 billion per annum because of smuggling<sup>29</sup>. The illegal trade affected heavily the economy of KP. Apart from illegal trade across the border, during Afghan *Jihad* era, Kalashnikov culture was also cultivated in KP. This culture took roots in the province when for the armament of *Mujahideen* (holy fighters) the US sent AK-47 rifles via Pakistan. As after all this,

Kalashnikov was considered as a symbol of status in KP, there established an illegal market of arms in KP<sup>30</sup>. During Afghan *Jihad* it was found that these rifles were sold to common people by many Soviet soldiers and *Mujahideen*. This was the fruit of Soviet-Afghan war that anti-aircraft weapons, missiles, hand grenades, rocket launchers and anti-tanks ammunitions were available in Darra Adam Khel in KP<sup>31</sup>. Anti-tank mine was believed to be the cheapest weapon available in market for only Rs.25<sup>32</sup>. This Kalashnikov culture seriously threatened law and order situation in KP.

Another devastating culture was that of drugs and narcotics (Heroin). As a consequent of Afghan war Pakistan approached to the production of world's high standard heroin. Poppy cultivation (opium production) was encouraged by the CIA to create more opportunities of money to provide arms and ammunition to *Mujahideen*<sup>33</sup>. In KP alone 100-200 heroin refineries were guessed<sup>34</sup>. The drug-based trade was capable to earn \$4 billion annually by 1988<sup>35</sup>. That was the main cause that relatively unknown drug addicted society moved speedily towards addiction. The number of drug addicts increased from 1,24,000 to 4,50,000 in between 1982-1987 including 5,000 heroin addicts<sup>36</sup>. Apart from drug culture another very dangerous culture, galemjum culture was introduced in KP and then extended to other cities of Pakistan. These were hundreds young beautiful girls of Afghan, Central Asian and Russian origin to corrupt Pakistani social set up. Among these girls mostly they were the spies of Afghanistan and Soviet Union. They were successful in attracting a number of professionals, businessmen and frustrated youngsters in cities<sup>37</sup>.

Pakhtun leaders like Bacha Khan and Abdul Wali Khan were greatly concerned with the miseries of Afghan refugees. There political struggle had impacts on public opinion in the province. Bacha Khan had started struggle to solve the issue of the refugees, Therefore, he

contacted chiefs of refugees in the camps. As Bacha Khan and Wali Khan had already declared Afghan *Jihad* as the war of interests for the US and Pakistan and not for the interest of Pakhtuns. He told them that neither the rulers of Pakistan nor the US have any interest in Islam, Pakhtuns or independence of Afghanistan. They only want to defeat Soviet Union<sup>38</sup>. Bacha Khan condemned policy of Pakistan regarding Afghanistan. To him it was a conspiracy against Pakhtuns by religious scholars. By this conspiracy Afghanistan would be conquered and a confederation between Pakistan and Afghanistan might be stressed<sup>39</sup>. Abdul Wali Khan claimed that the government of Pakistan did not give any attention towards the meeting of Bacha Khan and Afghan refugee's chiefs in the camps. However, a little later, the issue was considered serious, few of the refugee's chiefs were sent to jail and the rest were given warnings<sup>40</sup>.

As far as the viewpoint of Abdul Wali Khan was concerned, this war was between the USA and Soviet Union while the land of Pakistan was used. By using the name of Afghan *Jihad*, the war was no more of Afghans. Afghanistan became the hippodrome of international 'bulls'<sup>41</sup>. When Soviet-Afghan war started, and Pakistan was not yet helped by foreign countries. Wali Khan was asked by an analyst about the present and future conditions of Afghanistan. He replied that the situation was going bitter and would become complicated. He declared Afghans as his brothers. He predicted that "Soviets might will go back from Afghanistan, but the Afghans may not..."<sup>42</sup>. This analysis of Wali Khan became true, till the present-day Afghans are living in Pakistan particularly in KP and not willing to go back home.

Abdul Wali Khan had considered that "the main reason for the entry of the USSR into Afghanistan was Pakistan's faulty foreign policy relationship with its smaller neighbour;

if we had not been so callous in frequent closures of the Pak-Afghan border in the past, it would not have forced the Afghans to look to Moscow for trade and other needs. Our actions had brought Soviet influence to Afghanistan and into our back yard”<sup>43</sup>. Abdul Wali khan seriously criticized the process of providing sophisticated weapons to Afghan *Mujahideen* and its acervation in Afghanistan. He was of the view that these weapons may become in the possession of wrong hands and possibly be used against Afghanistan or even neighbouring countries. This prediction became true when the stinger missiles were found with Iran<sup>44</sup>.

Wali Khan was strongly in favour since a long time that Afghan conflict should be solved through meaningful negotiations. However, when the reconciliation policy was announced by the Afghan President Dr. Najeebulah immediately after assuming the office as Secretary General of PDPA in 1986, Wali Khan was felt commonly the originator of this policy. When the soviet troops were near to complete their withdrawal from Afghanistan, Wali Khan had credited for his feverish efforts in this regard<sup>45</sup>.

### **3.3 Jamaat-i-Islami and Afghan *Jihad***

Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) case in Afghan *Jihad* was an exceptional although, the JUI was at the forepart of during war years. It provided and recruited thousands of *Jihadis* to the Afghan war. The Jamaat was the most disciplined and systematized as compare to any other Islamic faction. JI members were given high positions during Zia regime which provided them an opportunity to play a prominent role in policy framing by introducing reforms in religious and educational fields. The JI and its leadership labelled the Afghan combat against Soviet Union as *Jihad*. The party also provided a platform to recruit fighters, organize them with day coaching and send them in large number for *Jihad* in Afghanistan<sup>46</sup>.

The JI was at the forefront to provide trained Islamists to Afghan *Jihad*. It is estimated that almost 100,000 Muslims participated in the *Jihad*, including 35,000 outlanders came from over forty countries and “tens of thousands of Pakistani madrassa students”.<sup>47</sup> During the decade of 1980-1990, nearly seventy-two pro-JI students (offsprings of party high-ranking officials) were killed in Afghan *Jihad*. Gulbaddin Hikmatyar, Ahmad Shah Masood and Burhanuddin Rabbani were influenced by the writings of party’s founder Abul A’la Maududi (1903-1979).

Apart from other effects of Afghan *Jihad* on KP, it promoted religious extremism. For the purpose to promote Islamists, training institutions (probably madrassas) were established nearer to Pak-Afghan border. Peshawar, the capital of KP, was the centre of *Mujahideen* where they were trained on guerilla footings under the supervision of CIA and the USA to fight against Soviet<sup>48</sup>. A large number of Afghan *Mujahideen* took refuge in Pakistan during the war and admitted in madrassas in Peshawar, Akora Khattak etc. Many of these students engineered Talibanization in Afghanistan which further created problems and tension for Pakistan. The Taliban then, affected law and order situation and promoted terrorism in KP.

Soviet-Afghan conflict had fixed great effects on Pakistan in general and on KP and Balochistan in particular. These are social, political and economic kind of effects. Indeed, the inflow of refugees from Afghanistan to KP and Balochistan had brought with them many kind of evils. The Kalashnikov culture, galemjum culture, drugs and narcotics (heroin), sectarianism, economic burden, environmental issues and foreign interference were prominent issues among them. Rise of fundamentalism was also a serious issue for the province as well as for Pakistan. As the resistance of *Mujahideen* against the Soviet

troops was based on Islamic Philosophy of *Jihad*, so, the rise of fundamentalism was an unavoidable outcome<sup>49</sup>. Even today Pakistan in general and KP in particular is bearing the bad consequences of this fundamentalism which has given an impetus to terrorism.

The most important effects of this unavoidable external factor had almost closed the issue of Pakhtunistan<sup>50</sup> which had greatly disturbed the political scene of KP as well as of Pakistan. Kiramatullah Mosa Qazi has also given the assurance that Pakhtunistan issue would no more be raised with Pakistan because it played an unforgettable role in Afghan *Jihad*<sup>51</sup>. Moreover, the issue of Durand Line that had remained a strong bone of contention between Pakistan and Afghanistan since very long, was granted the official status by the Afghan President Sibghatullah Mujaddidi during his visit to Pakistan<sup>52</sup>.

### **3.4 Post 9/11 Period**

Pakistan, on many occasion paid heavily cost for its coalition with the USA. Pakistan agonized in 1980s from US and Russia Cold War. The companionship of Pak-US against USSR in Cold War era earned enmity and hostility of India and USSR. Pak-US partnership culminated in bringing a great number of refugees in the country which later on created socio-political and economic losses to Pakistan. They disturbed local demographic level, peace, compatibility and promoted sectarianism, violence, extremist sentiments and brought heroin to Pakistan. Pak-US alliance against war on terror in post 9/11 period brought social problems and violence in KP particularly<sup>53</sup>.

The 9/11 incident resulted in an American –led war against terror and combined with North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries invaded Afghanistan. This invasion created a great unrest in FATA, PATA and the rest of KP. Initially this wave of unrest was limited to FATA only but slowly it spread in most the area of KP. Immediately after the

US and NATO attack on Afghanistan, TNSM leader in Malakand Division, Sofi Muhammad announced for a *Jihad* against NATO. He gathered some 3000 to 4000 men to wage a war against NATO forces and moved across the border. This movement created problems for KP and Pakistan. There were several political causes of terrorism in FATA and KP.

The government abstracted approach to deal the situation may be regarded as the first possible reason of militancy and terrorism in KP. A section of the people suspected that Pakistan inclusion in War against terror was due to the pressure of US. Another section believes that it is the government own choice to send army on its border to fight against Al-Qaeda, Taliban and TTP in KP. The government initiated military operation to minimize the militancy. They also suspected that foreign militants were hiding there, to arrest them, military actions were taken<sup>54</sup>. The government harsh approach created misunderstandings between the common masses and the state. Moreover, in the beginning, the government was not taking a direct action but they welcomed the US actions in FATA which earned hatred from indigenous people.

The government was fuzzed on the policy of war against extremism. It was not obvious that the authority was interested in military operations or peaceful negotiations. Due to the prevalent confusion, the militants increased their activities. In Swat they conducted peace treaty with irrelevant people in 2007<sup>55</sup>.

The FCR, administrative and political flaws provided a desirable environment to the extremists. Once the Taliban entered in FATA, there was no legal and effective strategy to stop them. The *Khasadar* and *Levi* forces were incapable to meet the danger of militancy.

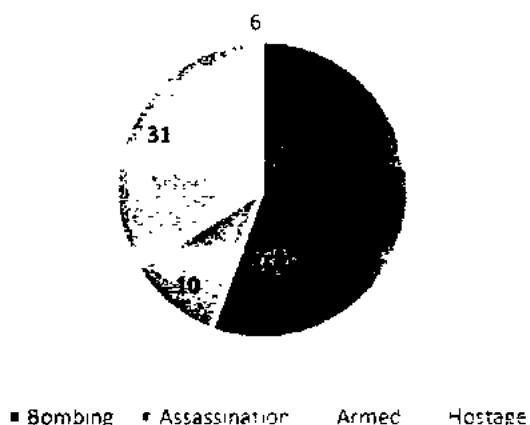
### **3.4.1 Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA) government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa**

After the fall of Taliban government, Taliban came across the border into the tribal area which resulted counter insurgency operations in the territory. Gradual effects of terrorism reached KP by 2002-2006. Increasing militancy of *Tehreek-i-Taliban* Pakistan (TTP) culminated in 2006. On the provincial political realm of KP, MMA, a coalition of six religious parties e.g. JI, JUP, JUI (F), JUI (S), Jamiat-e-Ahle Hadith and Tehreek-e-Jafria (currently known as Pakistani Islami Tehreek) came in power in 2002 general elections. During the MMA government in KP, TNSM resurfaced in Swat in 2006. In July 2007, the incident of Lal Masjid in Islamabad infuriated the people and sharply deteriorated the environment. On the other hand, the MMA government seemed to be more tolerant at the initial stage of TTP movement<sup>56</sup>. The MMA concluded a verbal agreement with TNSM/TTP to somehow quiet the tension. According to the agreement, the TNSM/TTP admitted to end its forceful stoppage of music and TV etc. In return, the government promised to release TNSM activists.

The MMA government while responding to militancy in KP, it tried to avoid encounter with the militants and tried to solve the rising phenomenon through peaceful efforts. The provincial government believed that good governance and honest and devoted leadership would lead to reduce social and political space for extremism, intolerance and militancy in KP. The government tried to restore peace in South and North Waziristan agencies and Malakand Division by signing peace accords. Among these accords are: Shakai agreement in 2004, Sararogha peace deal in 2005, Miran Shah peace accord in 2006 and Mohid-e-Sarorah agreement of 2009. The government initiated various operations against the militants e.g. Operation Enduring Freedom (2001-2002) Operation *Al-Meezan* (2002-

2006), Operation *Zalzala* (2008), Operation *Rah-e-Haq* (2007-2009), Operation *Sherdil* (2008-2009), Operation *Rah-e-Nijat* (2009), Operation *Brekha* (2009), Operation *Khwakh ba de Sham* (2009-2010), Operation *Zarb-e-Azab* (2014-2017), Combing Operation (2016) and Operation *Radd-ul-Fasad*<sup>57</sup>.

Total Percentage of Attack types of Terrorist Incidents in Pakistan



Source: Mubashra, Sana and Mariam Shafiq, "The Impact of Counter-Terrorism Effectiveness on Economic Growth of Pakistan: An Econometric Analysis," *Munich Personal Repec Archive (MPRA)* no. 84847, (2018).4-8.

### 3.4.2 Reforms of MMA government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (2002-2007)

On October 10, 2002 general elections were held in Pakistan to elect the National Assembly and four provincial assemblies. More than 70 parties contested these elections. In the National Assembly, the Pakistan Muslim League (Q) won the most seats which were 126 and the Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPP) won 81 seats. In KP, the MMA emerged as the largest party. The MMA won 29 NA and 48 seats of KP Assembly. The MMA obtained 792,949 votes (26.39 %). Akram Durrani became the Chief Minister of KP.

The provincial government introduced some reforms in KP. After claiming majority in the polls, the MMA pledged to declare Friday as a holiday instead of Sunday, to stop co-education, to cutoff impropriety from print and electronic media and reform interest-based banking<sup>58</sup>.

Although, segregation was found in MMA's policies regarding education, however, they focused on female education at primary level. Qazi Hussain Ahmad stated about education, "we do not want to stop female education but believe in the segregation of education because it is un-Islamic. We will establish further schools for females because they do not like co-education and it is also in consonance with our tradition and culture."<sup>59</sup> It was for the first time in KP that the MMA government took the initiative to give free of cost text books to the students from primary to secondary level. Moreover, the government upgraded teachers of different cadres in schools.

Another important legislation of the provincial government was Hasbah Act or Accountability Act introduced on July 14, 2005<sup>60</sup>. It provided for setting up Muhtasib offices on provincial and districts levels to ensure adherence to Islamic values at public places and during weekly Friday prayers. The government will provide the Muhtasib with a police force for law enforcement. The action taken by a Muhtasib will not be questioned by any authority or court. No court will be allowed to issue a stay order, an interim order or an adjournment of any matter under consideration of the Muhtasib office. The bill provided for adherence of prayers and *Azan* timings. Under the Hasbah bill, it was vowed to discourage misuse of loudspeakers and sectarian based speeches in mosques.

The opposition parties in KP Assembly angrily opposed the Hasbah bill and they chanted ‘unacceptable’ and tore up or threw proposed Hasbah Act copies. Farhatullah Babur from the PPP condemned the bill and termed it against the constitution, violation of the fundamental human rights and an attempt to ‘Talibanize’ the province and will push the people into the dark ages. He said that the bill allowed the provincial government to establish religious ombudsmen offices at the provincial, district and tehsil level and “raise a brigade of new Hasbah police” in the name of propagation of virtue and prevention of vice. All Pakistan Minorities Alliance APMA Chairman Shahbaz Bhatti described the bill as “unconstitutional, undemocratic, irrelevant, inhumane and religious marshal law.”<sup>61</sup> The Council for Islamic Ideology (CII) also severely criticized the bill. At last the bill was blocked by the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry declared it to be unconstitutional.

The MMA government in KP was cautious about non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the province. They were asked for registration and tough screening process was adopted. In some Union Councils, locally, women were not permitted to vote in the upcoming local body elections. Due to the perception of western influence, the Aurat Foundation’s women crisis centre was closed. Germany was the main donor of this organization which used to provide considerable funds to run the foundation.

Due to its anti-US approach, the MMA government showed considerable role in the provincial politics of KP, however, it did not succeed to set up an Islamic government in KP. The Hasbah bill was an attempt to implement Islamic principles in the province but it was quite unpopular in the province. On various occasions it opposed Musharraf’s regime and its activities in the religious institutions. In the elections of 2008, the MMA unity was

completely shattered and the ultimate fate was their failure in the general polls. The ANP this time succeeded to form government in KP after the elections of 2008.

Not only the external factors can be regarded as the sole boosting elements of ethno-lingual based nationalist politics, the Pakhtun politicians who were having nationalist kind of thinking, also played a key role in KP politics first in their separatism and then in their integration in the state system of Pakistan. The role of these politicians can be considered as internal factors. Abdul Wali Khan, Hayat Khan Sherpao, Ajmal Khattak etc are very important whose political philosophy and approach had deep impression on people's mind.

## Notes and References

<sup>1</sup> Arka Biswas, "Durand Line. History, legality & Future," *Occasional Paper Vivekananda International Foundation* (September 2013): 39, [http://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/Durand\\_History\\_Legality-Future-Final.Pdf](http://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/Durand_History_Legality-Future-Final.Pdf) (Accessed 12/07/2018).

<sup>2</sup> Juma Khan, *Bacha Khan, Congress and Nationalist Politics in NWFP* (Lahore: Vanguard, 2005), 341.

<sup>3</sup> Muqarrab Akbar, "Islamization in Afghanistan and Afghan Jihad: A Critical Appraisal," *Al-Adwa* 44:30 (2017): 76, <http://iri.aiou.edu.pk/uploads/2017/07...> (accessed 20/07/2018); Gills Kepel, Trans. Anthony E. Roberts, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*, (I.B. Tauris, 2002), 138. [http://www.ibtaurus.com/Books/Humanities/Religion/Beliefs/Islam/Jihad/The\\_Trail\\_of\\_Politics/Islam.aspx](http://www.ibtaurus.com/Books/Humanities/Religion/Beliefs/Islam/Jihad/The_Trail_of_Politics/Islam.aspx) Accessed on 29/07/2018.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 77.

<sup>5</sup> Hilali, "Costs & Benefits of Afghan War for Pakistan," *Khyber.Org* (November 2009): 2. [http://www.khyber.org/articles/2009/costs\\_and\\_benefits\\_of\\_Afghan\\_war.shtml](http://www.khyber.org/articles/2009/costs_and_benefits_of_Afghan_war.shtml) (accessed 22/07/2018).

<sup>6</sup> The UN had passed a resolution in January 1980 condemned foreign aggression against Afghanistan, however, Soviet name was not mentioned in the said resolution. The resolution was passed by 104 votes to 18, with 18 abstentions. For details see Muqarrab, "Islamization in Afghanistan and Afghan Jihad: A Critical Appraisal," 77

<sup>7</sup> Shirin Tahir, *In Search of an Identity: Islam and Pakistan's Foreign Policy*. ed Adeed Dawisha (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 75.

<sup>8</sup> Talal Hassan, "Afghanistan Complex Situation and its Implications on Pakistan," Master in Human Rights, online *Thesis* (2009), 36. <http://muse.mau.se/handle/2043/10761?show=full>, (accessed 30/07/2018).

<sup>9</sup> Hilali, "Costs & Benefits of Afghan War for Pakistan", 2-3.

<sup>10</sup> Burton, *International Relations: A General Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 46; Pervez Hoodbhoy, "The Genesis of Global Jihad in Afghanistan," *Peace Research* Vol. 37, No. 1, (May 2005): 5, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24469676> (accessed 30/07/2018).

<sup>11</sup> Richard Cronim, *The United States, Pakistan and the Soviet Threats to Southern Asia* (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, September 1985), 2-4.

<sup>12</sup> Under the Symington Amendment the US assistance was prohibited for those countries who were found involved in preparation of nuclear weapons. As the Afghan crisis were of high concern for the US administration, thus, in 1981 Ronald Reagan, regarding Pakistan's nuclear program, presented a necessary clearance certificate to allow assistance to Pakistan. See, Hilali, "Costs & Benefits of Afghan War for Pakistan," 3-4.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*; *The Daily Pakistan Times*, July 28, 1979.

<sup>15</sup> *The Dawn*, March 23, 1983.

<sup>16</sup> The US was fully aware of the fact that Pakistan lacked the expertise and capabilities to tackle the combine danger of India, Afghan and Soviet Union. Thus the deficiencies in weapons from Pakistan were taken as serious and remedied. Pakistan government was granted sophisticated weapons for the purpose to cope with the Indian threat in the east and Afghan activities in the north. By 1982, Pakistan obtained improved

warning and communication systems, aircraft of ground attack, anti-tank missiles and armoured personnel carriers. By the military aid, Pakistan was enabled to buy F-16 Hornet fighters 40 in number. The said aircraft were equipped with Sparrow and Sidewinder missiles. A modern Radar system, tank recovery vehicles, Harpoon anti-ship missiles, M-48 tanks and the AIM-9L Sidewinder missiles were also bought from the US. See, Hilali, "Costs & Benefits of Afghan War for Pakistan," 5.

<sup>17</sup> Hafeez Malik, *Soviet-Pakistan Relations and Post Soviet Dynamics* (London: Macmillan, 1994), 264.

<sup>18</sup> Talal, "Afghanistan Complex Situation and its Implications on Pakistan," 17.

<sup>19</sup> Hilali, "Costs & Benefits of Afghan War for Pakistan," 7.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 7-8; Khan, *Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari Vol-3* (Pashto), 351-354; Talal, "Afghanistan Complex Situation and its Implications on Pakistan," 36.

<sup>21</sup> Hilali, "Costs & Benefits of Afghan War for Pakistan," 8; Talal, "Afghanistan Complex Situation and its Implications on Pakistan," 36.

<sup>22</sup> Musab Yousufi, "Pak-China Joint Strategy against the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan," *Asian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* Vol.3 (3) (August 2014): 68. <http://www.researchgate.net/publication/283507529>.

<sup>23</sup> Wriggins, "Pakistan's Search for a Foreign Policy after the invasion of Afghanistan," *Pacific Affairs*, 57(2): 284-285.

<sup>24</sup> Khan, *Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari Vol-3* (Pashto), 351-355.

<sup>25</sup> Talal, "Afghanistan Complex Situation and its Implications on Pakistan," 36

<sup>26</sup> Hilali, "Costs & Benefits of Afghan War for Pakistan," 8.

<sup>27</sup> Absar Hussain, *Afghanistan: Tabahi o Barbadi kay Das Sal*, (Urdu) (Islamabad: Pengraphics Printers, 1989), 10.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>29</sup> *The News*, March 19, 1994.

<sup>30</sup> Kalashnikov was manufactured by Mikhail Timofeyevich Kalashnikov AK-47. Darra Adam Khel, a tribal village in KP, where more than skilled labour and experts nearly manufacture 100 AK-47 per day. For more details see, Hilali, "Costs & Benefits of Afghan War for Pakistan," 13. Talal, "Afghanistan Complex Situation and its Implications on Pakistan," 37

<sup>31</sup> Hilali, "Costs & Benefits of Afghan War for Pakistan," 13; Talal, "Afghanistan Complex Situation and its Implications on Pakistan," 37.

<sup>32</sup> Khan, *Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari Vol-3* (Pashto), 352.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 353; Talal, "Afghanistan Complex Situation and its Implications on Pakistan," 37; Hilali, "Costs & Benefits of Afghan War for Pakistan," 13.

<sup>34</sup> Hilali, "Costs & Benefits of Afghan War for Pakistan," 13.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 14; Talal, "Afghanistan Complex Situation and its Implications on Pakistan," 38.

<sup>38</sup> Khan, *Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari Vol-3* (Pashto), 340-341.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 342.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 272.

<sup>42</sup> *The Azkaar*, February 13, 2006.

<sup>43</sup> *The Statesman*, January 27, 2006

<sup>44</sup> Shamsher Haiwad, *Wali Khan Shakhsiyat Awr Siyasat* (urdu) (Peshawar: Ghani Printers, June 2007), 437.

<sup>45</sup> *The Nation*, January 26, 2006.

<sup>46</sup> Zahid Shahab Ahmad, "Political Islam, the Jamaat-i-Islami, and Pakistan's Role in the Afghan-Soviet War, 1979-1988 (July 2018), <http://www.researchgate.net/publication/292665430> (Accessed: 07/08/2018).

<sup>47</sup> Saira Yamin, *Peace Building in Afghanistan: Revisiting the Global War on Terrorism* (Colombo: Regional Centre for strategic Studies, 2008), 16.

<sup>48</sup> C. K. Lal, "The Mid-Summer Ferment," *Himal Southasian* 22, no.7 (2009): 26.

<sup>49</sup> Talal, "Afghanistan Complex Situation and its Implications on Pakistan," 16.

<sup>50</sup> Hilali, "Costs & Benefits of Afghan War for Pakistan," 7.

<sup>51</sup> *The Dawn*, October 15, 1992.

<sup>52</sup> Hilali, "Costs & Benefits of Afghan War for Pakistan," 7.

<sup>53</sup> K. Alan Kronstald, *Pakistan-U.S. Relations: Issue for the 114<sup>th</sup> Congress* (Washington: Congressional Research Service, 2015), 1-20.

<sup>54</sup> Umbreen Javaid, "FATA: A Breeding Ground of Extremism in Pakistan," *Journal of Political Studies* 18, no. 2 (2011): 173-186.

<sup>55</sup> Musab Yousifi and Fakhrul Islam, "Political Causes of Terrorism after 9/11 in Federally Administered Tribal Areas and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa," *The Dialogue* Vol. XIII, no. 3, <http://www.qurtaba.edu.pk.thedialogue> (accessed: 10/10/2018): 248.

<sup>56</sup> Sultane Rome, "Crisis and Reconciliation in Swat," *Pakistaniaat. A Journal of Pakistan Studies*, 3 (1), University of Karachi (2011): 53-79.

<sup>57</sup> Mubashra, Sana and Mariam Shafiq, "The impact of Counter-Terrorism Effectiveness on Economic Growth of Pakistan: An Econometric Analysis," *Munich Personal Repec Archive (MPRA)* no. 84847, (2018): 4-8, <http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/84847/>.

<sup>58</sup> *The Daily Times*, Editorial, October 23, 2002.

<sup>59</sup> Jamshed Khan, "The Rise of Political Islam in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: The Case of Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA)," *The Dialogue* Vol. IX, no. 3, 305, <http://www.qurtaba.edu.pk/thedialogue>

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. 306.

<sup>61</sup> Huma Aamir Malik, "MMA Introduces Hisbah Bill," *Arab News* (July 12, 2005), <http://www.arabnews.com/node/269904>.

## CHAPTER 4

### **POLITICAL LEADERS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA AND THEIR ROLE IN PROVINCIAL POLITICS**

Leadership can be described as a process by which an individual influences other, to obtain an objective and directs the organization in a way that designs it more adamant and coherent. Leadership is interpersonal influence, exercised in a situation, and directed through the communication process, toward the attainment of a specified goal or goals. As presented by the global context, leadership is often looked as the most eminent and effective reactions to the opportunities and challenges. Definitions of leadership are numerous and varied. However, for introduction few are necessary to reach an understanding. Rost defines leadership as “an influence relationship among leaders and collaborators who intend significant changes that reflect their mutual purposes.”<sup>1</sup> Kouzes and Posner describes it, “the art of mobilizing others to want to struggle for shared aspirations.”<sup>2</sup> Senge et al. defines leadership as “the capacity of a human community to share its future, and specifically to sustain the significant processes of change required to do so.”<sup>3</sup>

Efficient and inefficient leadership has its far-reaching consequences over a nation or a particular region. Most importantly, poor and inefficient political leadership leads to the intensification of economic weakness, political instability and other social problems. By economic point of view, in 1960s Pakistan was hoping to bring its economy on a boosting stage as Pakistan was one of the most successful economies among the developing states. Pakistan was having \$ 116 GDP per capita reasonably leading China and South Korea with

GDP per capita \$ 98 and \$ 109, respectively. This momentum was not properly maintained due to lack of devoted and efficient leadership and smooth political process. Nowadays, Pakistan's GDP per capita is far behind of China and South Korea. China's and South Korea's GDP per capita is \$ 8,123 and \$ 27,538, respectively. Whereas Pakistan's GDP per capita is \$ 1,600<sup>4</sup>. This decline was due to many reasons e.g. Pakistan as a players of global games, bitter law and order situation and sustainable stability in politics<sup>5</sup>. If a country has a system backed by political stability, the resources may be utilized properly and in response the country will lead to prosperity.

Another strong issue which was nearly enhanced by poor performance of political leadership is the prevalent and upcoming serious shortage of water. In Pakistan per capita water availability has decreased to 1,000 cubic metres. Pakistan has only water storage capacity of merely 30 days 'against the minimum requirement of 120 days'<sup>6</sup>. According to a report of the UNDP that the South Asian countries will approach severe water shortage by 2025<sup>7</sup>. Water shortage will create other relevant problems e.g. shortfall of hydro-electricity and irrigation in Pakistan. Unfortunately, in Pakistan this bursting and alarming issue was put behind mostly because of regional political leaders' opposition. The neglecting as well as irresponsible approach of regional leadership has obstructed the way to build big water reservoirs.

In this regard the political leaders of KP as well as other provinces were mostly associated with some provincial issues instead of national issues. Irrespective of the fact that the most widely accepted constitution of 1973 of Pakistan was framed in such a time when Abdul Wali Khan was the opposition leader in National Assembly. It was the cooperation of Wali Khan and other political leaders that Pakistan had obtained its permanent constitution in

1973. However, the political leadership of different provinces had created a sense of provincialism instead of a sense of national integration.

#### **4.1 Abdul Wali Khan**

Abdul Wali Khan was born on January 11, 1917<sup>8</sup> in Utmanzai village at district Charsadda. His mother Meherqanda was the first wife of Bacha Khan. At the time of Wali Khan's birth, his father Bacha Khan was leading a movement for Pakhtun awareness and social training under the umbrella of the policy of non-violence. He was admitted in one of the branch of *Azad Madrassa* system established in Utmanzai by Bacha Khan being honoured as the first student of this school. He got his matriculation in 1932 from this school. After that he was admitted in Colonel Brown Public School in Deradun, India. He completed his Senior Cambridge there. He, while playing Football got a serious injury in his left eye which became a hurdle in his formal education and therefore, he was compelled to discontinue his formal study<sup>9</sup>.

The *Azad Islamia Madrassa* of Utmanzai was a foundation for Wali Khan to learn about social life as well as educational and political activities. The British on December 17, 1921 arrested Bacha Khan under the law of FCR. The arrest of Bacha Khan culminated political mobilization in the province. Abdul Wali Khan was the main pillar and vocal orator of the demonstrations<sup>10</sup>. After the release of Bacha Khan in 1924, he set out on the inspection plan of his *madrassa* system. Wali Khan accompanied him along with Abdul Kareem and Saadat Khan. He joined Khudai Khidmatgar Movement in 1929<sup>11</sup>. On April 23 the incident of Qissa Khwani occurred which further deepened the roots of hatred among the people of KP against the British. KK's non-violent processions and demonstrations were heavily 'Lathi-charged, properties were looted, and women were insulted<sup>12</sup>. Bacha Khan and other

KKs were arrested under FCR. The British soldiers entered in Utmanzai. 'A British soldier struck him twice with the butt of his rifle'<sup>13</sup>. It resulted his unconsciousness and he fell on the floor. The office was then put to ashes.

He formally entered in politics in 1942<sup>14</sup> during the 'Quit India Movement'. In 1942 Quit India Movement was started and CWC asked the British to quit India. In the beginning KP was silent, however, to familiarize the people with the plan of the INC, Bacha Khan sent KKs to tribal areas<sup>15</sup>. The KKs were not warmly welcomed in the tribal belt due to the propaganda of pro-British Khans and *Maliks* (Chieftains)<sup>16</sup>. Even few of the tribesmen of Mohmand, Afridi and chieftains of Malakand turned down to meet with the KKs. The civil disobedience as an offspring of Quit India Movement in KP was not alarming for the British in the beginning. However, intensity came in the movement when 450 arrests were made in Bannu district during a strike. Next, lathi-charge started, and demonstrators were fired upon. Bacha Khan was arrested at Mir Wais Dherai, a suburb of district Charsadda. Wali Khan for the first time was arrested under FCR in 1943 on the allegations of collecting funds as well as registering people for picketing purpose in Peshawar<sup>17</sup>. He was also blamed that he struggled to prepare volunteers for picketing campaign on the Peshawar courts<sup>18</sup>. In 1947 he became a member of Indian National Congress Committee (INCC) and a Joint Secretary of KP. On June 15, 1948, he was arrested and sent to Haripur Jail. He was still in prison that on February 24, 1949 Wali Khan's wife Tajo Bibi was died. He was released for one month. In May 1949, he was sent to Mach Jail Balochistan, in May 1951 to Quetta Jail and in 1952 to Dera Ismail Khan Jail. After five years, five months and five days of imprisonment, he was released on March 10, 1953<sup>19</sup>.

### **5.1.1 One Unit Scheme and Wali Khan**

On the plea of delay in constitution formation, the then Governor General Malik Ghulam-Muhammad dismissed the first Constituent Assembly. Actually, the main hindrances were political differences on various issues, prominent of them were ethno-lingual issues. Likewise, the second Constituent Assembly was facing serious issues i.e. solution of representation problem in the federal legislature<sup>20</sup>. The inhabitants of East Pakistan were of the view that Bengali should be the national language of Pakistan. In fact, Bengalis were more than the total population of the West Pakistan. Moreover, the issue of representation in the federal legislature also needed to be solved.

The second Constituent Assembly had to deal with the important issue of the merger of West Pakistan<sup>21</sup>. The former NWFP, Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and the tribal belt were to be amalgamated in to One Unit with a single provincial legislature<sup>22</sup>. Muhammad Ali Bogra (1909-1963) tried hard to win over the favour of Wali Khan and to accept the seat of central minister, but he refused, however, Bogra succeeded in winning the confidence of his uncle Dr. Khan Sahib<sup>23</sup>. The bill of the merger of the West Pakistan provinces in to One Unit was passed by the second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on September 30, 1955 and thus 3, 10,000 square miles were merged in to One Unit. The bill was passed by forty-three to thirteen votes. Dr. Khan Sahib was made the Chief Minister of West Pakistan<sup>24</sup>.

Although Dr. Khan Sahib became the Chief Minister of the West Pakistan, Bacha Khan and Abdul Wali Khan opposed One Unit. In those days the issue of Pakhtunistan was a burning topic and this scheme had made the future of Pakhtunistan uncertain. They included the issue of dissolution of One Unit in their other demands like that of

Pakhtunistan. Bacha Khan and Wali Khan considered it convincing that political leaders of Sindh and Balochistan should be taken into confidence. G.M. Syed from Sindh and Abdul Samad Achakzai from Balochistan were contacted and an anti-One Unit front was set up<sup>25</sup>. The formation of the NAP was an ultimate offshoot of One Unit Scheme<sup>26</sup>.

The issue of One Unit became long and complicated. Now the movement had reached the East Pakistan after the formation of the NAP. The government was also not a silent spectator. Nearly five thousand KKs were arrested, and their properties were confiscated on the charges of movement against One Unit. Seventeen KKs were killed in prison during the movement against One Unit<sup>27</sup>. Wali Khan, under these circumstances became the President of NAP KP in the absence of Arbab Sikandar Khalil.

In the Presidential Elections of 1964, Wali Khan extended his support to Fatima Jinnah against Ayub Khan. His support of Fatima Jinnah was on the ground that the opponent presidential candidate was a dictator. Fatima Jinnah was the member of the opposition political parties. Ayub Khan although, tried to win over his confidence by offering him a ministry and then the seat of an ambassador but he did not accept the offer<sup>28</sup>. Ayub won the elections and became the President of Pakistan.

Ayub khan was a dictator and the political parties and leaders were in favour to see democratic process to be started in Pakistan. Political leaders were protesting against him. Wali Khan as a President of the NAP was busy against the military regime. First he visited the East Pakistan to mobilize mass support. He, in his detailed tour of the East Pakistan tried to spread awareness among the people about their basic rights. Later on, he was arrested on November 16, 1968. However, he was released in March 1969 under the demand of Democratic Action Committee (DAC) to have talks with the government. The

DAC demanded Ayub Khan for the dissolution of One Unit and restoration of the former provinces of Pakistan, to give the status of full province to Balochistan, to conduct general elections on the basis of one man one vote philosophy and the restoration of democratic, constitutional, lawful, political human rights and independence of press<sup>29</sup>.

Due to severe protest, Ayub Khan entrusted all his authorities of Commander-in-Chief to Yahya Khan and he himself resigned. General Yahya Khan imposed martial law on March 25, 1969. The political leaders were in contact with Yahya Khan for the dissolution of One Unit. The West Pakistan had already passed a resolution in favour to dissolve One Unit. Thus, on the ground of the resolution of the West Pakistan, Yahya Khan dissolved One Unit and restored the provinces on November 28, 1969<sup>30</sup>.

The era in which One Unit was imposed, dominated by the issues of provincial autonomy and Pakhtunistan. Furthermore, One Unit in the West Pakistan was 'purely in a military fashion'<sup>31</sup>. Bacha Khan and his followers were against the One Unit Scheme as they considered it a strong obstacle in province's renaming as Pakhtunistan, provincial autonomy and legal part in the country's affairs. Hence, the imposition of One Unit was considered a main reason of Centre-Provinces differences<sup>32</sup>. Although, Iskandar Mirza and Ayub Khan were strongly in favour of One Unit, still the untiring struggle of politicians including Bacha Khan and Wali Khan succeeded in abolishing One Unit. After the dissolution of One Unit, next was to make arrangements for general elections and the most important issue, to frame a permanent Constitution for Pakistan.

#### **4.1.2 Wali Khan and the Constitution of 1973**

First general elections in the history of Pakistan were held in 1970. The NAP (Wali) gave tickets to 39 candidates from the East Pakistan and 25 from the West Pakistan to contest

the elections<sup>33</sup>. Out of these total 64 candidates including Wali Khan six members won their seats of National Assembly. In the provincial Assembly of KP the NAP has won thirteen seats and eight seats in Balochistan<sup>34</sup>. Thus, the NAP members were to sit on opposition benches.

The results of the elections of 1970 led to uncertain situation and frontogenesis among Z.A. Bhutto, Shaikh Mujeeb and Yahya Khan. Z.A. Bhutto had won majority of the NA seats in West Pakistan and Shaikh Mujeeb got an overwhelming majority in East Pakistan. Bhutto tried to win over the confidence of Wali Khan for his cause, but he could not break the democratic principles, and stressed that the meeting of newly elected Assembly should be sit in Dhaka. The political differences, however, became severe to such an extent that Yahya decided to use the force. Wali Khan's efforts in connection that the East Pakistan and Awami League should be given their due rights, were considered valuable, although he could not succeed. Irrespective of his hard struggle, the government started a military operation against Shaikh Mujeeb and AL on March 26, 1971<sup>35</sup>. Thus, Pakistan was dismembered, and Bangladesh came into existence on December 16, 1971.

Bhutto after all this, imposed civilian martial law in the country. After that he was sworn in as the PM of Pakistan. Wali Khan became leader of opposition. He made a united opposition in the NA. The NAP, JUI, JUP, Jamat-i-Islami (JI) and Council Muslim League with few independent members. The United Opposition leaders in the NA were not happy with the undemocratic approach and attitude of Z. A. Bhutto. They decided to inform the people. For this purpose United Democratic Front (UDF) was established outside the NA. This alliance was joined by the NAP, JUI, JI, ML, Pakistan Jamhoori Party, Khaksar Party and various independent members of NA<sup>36</sup>.

The formation of the constitution of 1973 was a great achievement on the part of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government in Pakistan. Bhutto was keen to seek safe route for his party that is why he believed strategically to win over the confidence of opposition parties. This was the reason that both the government and opposition parties were successful in framing 1973 Constitution by parliamentary consensus. Although, the NAP's demand of provincial autonomy was not accepted according to the principles of a federal system<sup>37</sup>. In its true nature, Centre remained powerful as Bhutto was strongly in favour of the strong Centre by the name of 'Defence of Pakistan Rules'. In fact Bhutto used it against the opponents<sup>38</sup>.

Truly, there were differences on the issue of provincial autonomy among the ruling party leadership and the opposition leaders. Abdul Wali Khan, the opposition leader was of the view that provincial autonomy and devolution of power was the only means to provide safety to the smaller federating units. In contrast, Bhutto wanted a strong Centre as it was the only tool to protect the unity at national level<sup>39</sup>. The issue of the distribution of the subjects between the Centre and four provinces was agreed upon through the Accord of October 20<sup>th</sup>. Z.A. Bhutto urged that the concurrent list would be reviewed in next ten years<sup>40</sup> but this promise was not addressed practically.

It was the greatest moment for Wali Khan and the entire nation when irrespective of the NAP-JUI harsh ties with the PPP, signed a tripartite agreement with the PPP in connection to design a new constitution of Pakistan and to form governments in KP and Balochistan. Obviously, the passage of 1973 Constitution was the result of national consensus for which the credit goes to Wali Khan<sup>41</sup>. The main point of NAP's objection was the question of provincial autonomy. The NAP's and Wali Khan acceptance of 1973 Constitution was a

deviation from NAP's own constitution. The NAP Constitution had pledged that only four departments i.e. Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communication and Currency will remain with the Centre and, the rest of the departments will be under the jurisdiction of the provinces. The NAP did not insist on their demands, but did against their own party constitution for the sake to build a national consensus to accept 1973 Constitution<sup>42</sup>.

Wali Khan asserts that more than ninety thousand military men of Pakistan were in the custody of India and the country was going through an uncertain political condition. Pakistan needed a permanent constitution, so, they as inhabitants of the country were not in a position to prefer their own demands over the issues of national interests. "We have given a blank cheque (of confidence) for the constitution formation to the PPP", Wali Khan in the Parliament, pointed to Bhutto and said, "I am casting you the vote of confidence albeit I have no confidence in you"<sup>43</sup>. This was on the credit of Wali Khan that kept the twenty-eight members opposition united and monotone on the issue of provincial autonomy. The commitment of the politicians to the national consensus had become a signal of a new era — an era of democracy and political stability in Pakistan<sup>44</sup>.

#### **4.1.3 Hayderabad Case**

Wali Khan, in 1975 was on the tour of Punjab. He addressed a great procession in Bahawalnagar organized by United Democratic Front (UDF), the people heard him cordially. After that a gathering was held in Arif Wala. The last gathering of this tour was held in Qasim Bagh Multan, which was attended by a great number of people<sup>45</sup>. On February 8, 1975 he set out from Multan for Lahore. When he reached Lahore, he was informed that Hayat Sherpao (1937-1975) was killed in bomb explosion in Peshawar University. He immediately set out for his home town to attend his funeral. On the way at

Gujrat he was arrested and sent to Lahore Police Station, next day, he was sent to Montgomery Jail Sahiwal<sup>46</sup>.

Bhutto was on an official visit of the USA when the incident happened. He came back immediately home. The NAP was banned on February 9, 1975. Next day, a combined gathering of the PPP and Qayyum League was held in Peshawar. The procession then overran on the NAP's office and all the provincial and federal records and furniture were burnt. They attacked on the office of Shahbaz newspaper. The violent procession damaged Arbab Sikandar Khalil's office and the record was burnt. Then the shop of Haji Ghulam Ahmad Bilour was looted<sup>47</sup>.

Wali Khan after facing Federal Review Board, was brought to Sukkar Jail under Sukkar Conspiracy Case from Rawalpindi, but here no hearing was practiced. During his imprisonment in Sukkar Jail, in November 1975 National Democratic Party (NDP) was established. Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari became the President of the NDP and Begum Naseem who had joined politics in Wali Khan's absence, became the Vice-President<sup>48</sup>. Sukkar Conspiracy Case was not yet decided that Wali Khan along with his colleagues was sent to Hayderabad Jail, thus, the trial of high treason under Hayderabad Conspiracy case was started. The case was very slowly heard which was criticized by Wali Khan and others. On the other hand 1977 elections were announced, the opposition parties came under the umbrella of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). In March 1977 the elections for NA were held. The PPP got a heavy majority. The PNA rejected the results on the basis of high rigging and boycotted the upcoming provincial elections. Thus a movement was started against Bhutto government<sup>49</sup>.

Bhutto on his own conditions wanted Wali Khan to join him in government. As he was in prison therefore, Bhutto contacted Professor Ghafoor, Begum Naseem and sherbaz Mazari but found no convincing response. He sent a man to Hayderabad Jail to have a direct meeting with Wali Khan. In this meeting, Bhutto envoy told him that Bhutto was agreed to give him the governorship and provincial governments. Moreover, in Central government, he was agreed to give him half of the ministries, but 'you have to quit the PNA movement'<sup>50</sup>. Wali Khan refused to accept.

The country was going through very threatening conditions. Zia-ul-Haq promulgated martial law in the country on July 5, 1977, dismissed Bhutto's government and arrested him. Zia announced pardon for prisoners except those of Hayderabad Case and nearly eleven thousand prisoners were released<sup>51</sup>. However, later on, the court found the Hayderabad Case baseless and asked them to apply for a bail. Wali Khan turned down the offer and asked that if the case was baseless then why he should apply for a bail. Still, by a bench of three judges on December 6, 1977 bail was granted and he was released from Hayderabad Jail<sup>52</sup>.

Zia offered him the chair of PM but he refused<sup>53</sup>. Second offer was to make him a ruler with full authority. Third offer from Zia was to grant him the post of the Secretary General of South Asian Association for regional Cooperation (SAARC), but he turned down all the offers<sup>54</sup>. Contrary to Zia's offers he was made the first Convener of Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD). MRD was a composition of NDP, PPP, JUI (F), PDP, Qaumi Mahaz Azadi, Tehrik-i-Isteqlal, Muslim League (Khwaja Khair-ud-Din group), Pakistan Mazdoor Kisaan Party and Kashmir Muslim Conference. This front was made against Zia's Martial Law regime<sup>55</sup>. The MRD then boycotted non-party elections of 1985.

#### **4.1.4 Wali Khan, Renaming of the Province and Kalabagh Dam**

Slogans came to the surface from the start of May 1947 for an independent Pakhtunistan<sup>56</sup>.

After the June 3 Plan, the KK leadership demanded that the question of Pakhtunistan should be included in the referendum<sup>57</sup>. The British government of India due to the fear of the balkanization of India was not in a position to include the demand of Pakhtunistan in the referendum<sup>58</sup>. In response the KK boycotted the referendum.

After the existence of Pakistan as an independent state, Bacha Khan took the oath of allegiance to Pakistan and clarified his Pakhtunistan demand that it should be the name of their province just on the pattern of Sindh, Balochistan and Punjab with provincial autonomy<sup>59</sup>. Bacha Khan and Wali Khan always remained committed to the issue of Pakhtunistan as a new name for NWFP. After the promulgation of One Unit Scheme they both opposed the scheme strongly. Wali Khan was of the view that ‘undemocratic imposition of One Unit had darkened the perspective of Pakhtunistan’<sup>60</sup> and it had exploited the provincial autonomy. Later, One Unit was abandoned, and former provinces were restored by Yahya Khan.

Slowly and gradually, Bacha Khan and Wali Khan came to know that the demand for Pakhtunistan as a new name of the province was unproductive due to their pre-partition stand. It was the era of Zia regime. He was also not in favour to rename the province as Pakhtunistan. On the proposal of Zia to reconsider the name for the province, Bacha Khan suggested him the name Pakhtunkhwa, a new name for NWFP and thus the name Pakhtunistan was replaced<sup>61</sup>. Even after Zia’s acceptance to this new name, it took too long to rename the province. It was in April 2010 when by 18<sup>th</sup> amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan NWFP was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa<sup>62</sup>.

Another important among pillars of the ANP and Wali Khan's politics was the issue of KBD. He considered that KP would be heavily damaged by the construction of KBD. It is on the credit of Wali Khan that he changed the public opinion against KBD. In 1998 he, irrespective of his illness, participated in an anti-Kalabagh Dam Rally. It was very hot day but he did not care for his health and took part in the rally with enthusiasm and wholeheartedly<sup>63</sup>.

Wali Khan, a true Pakhtun nationalist and a straightforward politician, always followed his principles strongly. Nor could he be moved from his cause neither bought by any attractive proposal<sup>64</sup>. It is evident from history that to what cause he committed to; he did complete it. He opposed KBD which has not yet been built by even a dictator or civilian government. He urged to rename the province and the objective was achieved. He was so true to his principles that in 1990 elections when he was defeated by Maulana Hassan Jan from NA-5, he said goodbye to active politics and also quit the President ship of the ANP<sup>65</sup>. After Wali Khan Ajmal Khattak became party President.

## **5.2 Ajmal Khattak: A Revolutionary and Complacent Politician**

A full crowded section of people regarded him a great politician and another circle stages him on a high level in Pashto Literature. That is why Ajmal Khattak deserves this, because he had a prominent position in both these fields<sup>66</sup>. Ajmal Khattak was born on September 15, 1925 at Akora Khattak. His father Hikmat Khan died when his age was only eight years and thus the responsibility of household affairs fell on his shoulders<sup>67</sup>. His schooling as a beginner was started in 1936 at Akora Khattak, his village, and passed his middle school examination<sup>68</sup>. He learnt the Holy Quran with translation from Maulana Abdul Haq<sup>69</sup>.

Due to chaotic political condition in Indian Subcontinent, the political leaders were turned against the British. To oust the British from India, Quit India Movement was launched in India. Ajmal Khattak, for the first time entered in politics when he ensured his registration in Quit India Movement. Due to this he abandoned his education<sup>70</sup>, however, he did return to his education and completed his masters in Persian from University of Peshawar. When he was in Islamia College Peshawar, he put his name in the list of those pioneers who contributed a lot to bring Pashto literature on modern track<sup>71</sup>.

He has a long political history. He struggled against the British and contributed a prestigious share to the independence movement. In post partition era, Khattak remained an active member of the NAP in Pakistan. He was closely associated with Bacha Khan and had the inspiration of his philosophy. He was a secretary of a local NAP section and rose to the chair of NAP's General Secretary.

As a nationalist politician, he wanted the prosperity of his homeland. "I wish my homeland to prosper and bloom, even though my grave's trace is lost"<sup>72</sup>. The essence of his politics was to see prosperity and peace in the land of Pakistan. He on the pattern of Khushal Khattak writings, wrote for the unity of Pakhtuns. He wrote a book *Da Ghairat Chagha* in 1958 in which he has written a lot about the miseries of Pakhtuns. This book was banned by the authority of the day in the same year.

He was a faithful follower of Bacha Khan. When the NAP was established, like other KKs, he became a member of this party. He had worked as the Chief Secretary of KP's NAP for a long time. He was then, granted the chair of Joint Secretary in the central administration of the NAP. In the general elections of 1970, he contested the polls for NA from Nowshera but lost. The defeat in the elections did not discourage him even he started to play a

significant role outside the Parliament under the leadership of Abdul Wali Khan. By his timely planning, the NAP was able to grab majority in the Provincial Assembly of KP and formed the government with Mufti Mahmood as the Chief Minister of KP<sup>73</sup>.

He was made central General Secretary of the NAP after the resignation of Mufti Mahmood. Internally Pakistan was going through a political chaotic condition. When there was a general gathering of the UDF March 23, 1973 in Liaqat Bagh, he was leading the convoy of people from KP. This gathering was heavily fired upon. A great number of NAP's worker was killed in the rally<sup>74</sup>. The incident of Liaqat Bagh so much disappointed him that he went to Kabul on self-imposed exile and stayed there for sixteen years. During his stay in Kabul, he was given the status of state guest by the Afghan authority and allotted a house. Every year Kabul government used to celebrate Independent Pakhtunistan's Day. In those gatherings, Ajmal Kjattak used to address as a chief guest. Kabul residence of Ajmal Khattak was the centre of nationalists, Pakhtunistan's stunt followers, *Pakhtun Zalmy*, NAP, Pakhtun Student Federation and other Pakhtun nationalists<sup>75</sup>. Throughout Zia's regime and Afghan war, he stayed in Kabul. From 1990 to 1993 he was a member of NA from Nowshera and in 1994 he worked as a senator<sup>76</sup>.

Ajmal Khattak, for two terms, led the ANP as President of the party. Apart from an alliance with the IJI — a politically opponent party of the ANP, he brought the ANP into an alliance with Pakistan Oppressed Nations Movement (PONM). Later, due to some pressure from party critics he, left the PONM and enlisted with Grand Democratic Alliance (GDA). However, he felt that the ANP had lost its democratic character and its leadership was taken over by the family. When he saw that priorities were changed, Khattak quit the ANP after Parvez Musharraf coup and formed National Awami Party Pakistan (NAPP)<sup>77</sup>. Some

people were criticizing Ajmal that he had taken this step on the instigation of military regime. After some two years wandering in wilderness, he came back in the ANP<sup>78</sup>, he was welcomed cordially by Wali Khan at Wali Bagh. Till his death on February 7, 2010, he remained a strong ideological follower of Bacha Khan. For angstrom voiceless Pakhtuns, Ajmal Khattak was a voice for them on the base of his powerful pen. He had preferred to live and die in poverty despite of available opportunities<sup>79</sup>. He was a symbol of Paktun's unity.

#### **4.3 Hayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao (1938-1975)**

Except *Pushkilawati* (City of Lotus), *Hashtnagar* (Eight Towns) is another name of district Charsadda. It was called *Hashtnagar* because of eight towns i.e. Charsadda, Sherpao, Utmanzai, Umarzai, Turangzai, Tangi, Prang and Rajjar. Among these towns, Sherpao got popularity by political personalities. Utmanzai was popular because of Bacha Khan's family, like this Sherpao is popular due to the presence of Aftab Sherpao and Hayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao's family. Here, Hayat Sherpao's predecessors were living in Sherpao town for centuries<sup>80</sup>.

Hayat Sherpao was a nationalist with a progressive thinking approach. For youngsters, he was a symbol of positive political activities as well as a social worker. Sherpao was a vocal orator and had the capability to cope with estranged situations. At the time of his studentship, he got popularity from the platform of Muslim Students Federation. This was the actual platform from where he started his political career. After the formation of PPP, Sherpao left no room in its popularization. He was possessing great political abilities due to which Z.A. Bhutto had given strong favour to his opinions and suggestions. It is notable that before the formation of the PPP, his family was active in politics from ML's platform.

He and his family had extended their support to Fatima Jinnah in Presidential elections against Ayub Khan. He worked as a Governor of KP for some time. At the time of his martyrdom, he was senior minister in the provincial cabinet<sup>81</sup>.

#### **4.3.1 Hayat Muhammad Sherpao: Education and Entry into Active Politics**

Hayat Sherpao was the son of Khan Bahdur Ghulam Haider Khan. He was born on February 1, 1938. Due to the death of his father in 1948 he was brought up under the responsibility of his elder brother Dost Muhammad Khan. After initial schooling and religious education at village, he was educated in Islamia Collegiate School and Islamia College Peshawar. He was very active in political activities in educational institutions. He was politically trained at home as his brother Dost Muhammad Khan was a member of Provincial Legislative Assembly in 1950<sup>82</sup>. Based on his devotion and mastery, he was elected as the President of Khyber Union Debating Society (KUDS). Islamia College as well his home environment was providing him considerable political training.

Sherpao contested local elections as an independent candidate during Ayub's regime and was elected. He had joined Council Muslim League in 1961 and became party's Joint Secretary in 1963. He played a significant role against martial law regime. In the Presidential elections of 1964, he strongly campaigned for Fatima Jinnah against Ayub Khan.

After Indo-Pakistan war of 1965, country was going through chaotic condition. There was no political party fulfilling the demand of progressive approach. The NAP was divided in factions due to the differences of Wali Khan and Maulana Bhashani. Meanwhile, Z.A. Bhutto was busy in tours and to consult the matter of formation of PPP. He also came to Sherpao for Hayat Sherpao consultation. Hayat Khan had already invited Bhutto to visit

KP<sup>83</sup>. Z.A. Bhutto's enthusiasm for the formation of a new party gave a new hope and bloom to Hayat Sherpao. That time was so uncertain from political point of view that Hayat Khan found no party perfect which could successfully lead a mass movement against Ayub Khan<sup>84</sup>.

In 1967 Z.A. Bhutto made the PPP. Hayat Sherpao was assigned the task to convey the message of PPP to every nook and corner of KP. He was made the first President of PPP in KP. Z.A. Bhutto had a strong confidence in Sherpao and earlier, based on his abilities, Hayat Sherpao was given the title of *Sher-i-Sarhad*<sup>85</sup> (lion of the frontier). In those days, the NAP was the most popular party in KP and had a firm hold over the politics of KP. It was very difficult to compete with such a popular party, but Hayat Khan was also committed to the popularization program of the PPP. He successfully convened a convention of the PPP in his village Sherpao in which thousands of people had participated. Bhutto in his address to the convention praised the efforts of Hayat Sherpao.

#### **4.3.2 Hayat Sherpao: Governor of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa**

It was very difficult to win elections against towered politician like Abdul Qayyum Khan, but Hayat Sherpao did it at the province<sup>86</sup>. In general elections of 1970, from PF-1 Peshawar, he won the polls against Qayyum Khan. It was an era of Civilian Martial Law imposed by Z.A. Bhutto on December 20, 1971. After becoming Chief Martial Law administrator, Bhutto appointed him as Governor of KP<sup>87</sup>. This decision of Bhutto was highly appreciated and acknowledged by the masses of KP. He was received very warmly by people on Peshawar Airport. Common people held him up on their shoulders and were raising slogans. His oath ceremony as the Governor of KP was attended by common people

i.e. labourers, peasants and coachmen along with influential political leaders, government and military officers<sup>88</sup>.

As a governor, he had to deal with various important issues. The war of 1971 had badly affected industrial development. Several industrial units were going to be closed. In this connection the poor class was to suffer from huge financial crisis. Hayat Khan Sherpao, gave facilities to traders, industrialists and factories, which led to economic prosperity and opportunities of employment were created. In education sector, he tried to get more funds from Centre. He had announced in March 1972 for the upgradation of various schools and colleges in KP. Apart from these, he allotted 1500 Acre land for Hayatabad Township<sup>89</sup>.

#### **4.3.3 Hayat Sherpao: His Services as Federal Minister**

Hayat Sherpao had worked as the governor of KP till April 29, 1972. Then, he became Federal Minister of water, electricity, industries and natural resources. He had taken steps which resulted improvements in power and electricity production. Shaikh Manda Power Station was upgraded who was then providing extra 7,500 Kilo Watt electricity. Balochistan and KP were supplied electricity on lower rates. He issued orders to investigate the cases of unfair use of electricity. In his ministerial era, an increase of 5% was recorded in cloth production, by this the poor class was ultimately benefitted. Export Duty on sugar was brought down from Rs. 400 to Rs. 120 per ton. For economic development, he had provided facilities to the private sector of industries<sup>90</sup>.

Before his assassination on February 8, 1975, three attempts were made to kill him but he survived. On February 8, when he was attending an oath taking ceremony as a chief guest at History Department in Peshawar University, he was killed in a bomb explosion<sup>91</sup>. Due to the explosion his left side body was badly damaged. His dead body was brought in an

ambulance to his village. The bier was then wrapped in national as well as the PPP flag was brought for burial. Hayat Sherpao's funeral was attended by the Senate, NA and Provincial Cabinet members<sup>92</sup>.

The sudden death of Hayat Sherpao had affected people of all walks of life. Indeed, his family was the real loser. Apart from this, the NAP was banned and its leadership including Wali Khan was arrested<sup>93</sup>. There were common feelings of great sorrow and sadness everywhere. Black flags were hoisted as a sign of mourning on various houses throughout the country. Above all these, the furious procession marched in Peshawar, the NAP's office was attacked, and the record was put on fire. The offices of Shahbaz newspaper and Arbab Sikandar Khalil were attacked<sup>94</sup>.

Hayat Sherpao was a role model for youngsters in Pakistani politics. He is recognized as an exemplary leader of youths. His political services were based on progressive thinking. His measures were for the poor class. He never trusted the ministry, lifestyle. He considered the services rendered for common people's benefits as evergreen<sup>95</sup>. He always talked about the unity of Pakhtuns. The enemies had chosen such a time to kill him when the country was on the track of democracy. Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao is now, on the mission to complete Hayat Sherpao's ideology under the banner of Qaumi Watan Party (QWP). This party was established in 2012 by Aftab Sherpao after he quit the PPP.

#### **4.4 Afzal Khan Lala**

The veteran Pakhtun leader and nationalist, a distinguished author, the champion of Pakhtun unity Afzal Khan (1926-2015) was born in Mingora Swat. He was called Khan Lala by Pakhtuns. He was born in 1926 at village Durushkhela tehsil Matta, Swat. He hailed from an influential family as his father Habib Khan was a strong feudal of Swat upper.

Wadodia High School has the honour to educate Khan Lala. He, then, went to the University of Punjab from where he acquired his LLB Degree<sup>96</sup>.

Swat was ruled by Mian Gul Abdul Wadod (1917-1949), the founder of Swat princely state. Mian Gul had some rivalry with Khan Lala's family. However, his son Mian Gul Abdul Khaliq Jahanzeb, known as Wali-e-Swat left away the nature of feudalism, committed himself to the services of the people of Swat, struggled for the modernization of Swat for which he had given an access to modern education, health and judicial facilities<sup>97</sup>. Due to the reconciliatory policy of the Wali, Lala's family was allowed to get control of their property and status<sup>98</sup>.

Right from school and college time, he was taking interest in politics and he had a nationalist and progressive approach in politics<sup>99</sup>. Ayub Khan, when resigned, Yahya Khan come into power, he not only announced for general elections in Pakistan but abandoned One Unit and restored the former provinces of Pakistan. He also merged Dir and Swat in 1969, in KP<sup>100</sup>. As he had found his family's attachment with KK and Bacha Khan in past, Afzal Khan joined the NAP led by Wali Khan<sup>101</sup>. From this platform, he started his active political career which consisted of fifty years, firstly he was elected to the Provincial Assembly of KP. He was given the ministry of information in the government led by Mufti Mahmood. After the Bhutto's unlawful action to dismiss Balochistan government, the KP's government also had resigned in protest. Khan Lala, against the illegal stand of Bhutto, resisted, and supported Wali Khan to resist the move peacefully. Bhutto established Hayderabad tribunal against NAP's leaders in which Afzal Khan was included<sup>102</sup>. As a result of the split in NAP, the Abdul Samad Achakzai left the party. Afzal Khan opposed the rightest faction and supported Wali Khan led NAP. Till the death of Zia, he

remained an active head of the ANP. Zia's death was followed by general election which brought the PPP in power. The ANP had made a coalition government with the PPP in KP. Soon the ANP negotiated an alliance with Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI). Lala became much disappointed by this alliance, consequently he left the ANP and made his own party named Pakhtunkhwa Qaumi Party (PQP). He won the elections on his own party ticket and was made federal minister in the second term of Benazir government. He served as a federal minister from 1993 to 1997. He quit electoral politics in 1997 and attached his Services with PONM<sup>103</sup>. However, he rejoined the ANP in 2005. After the elections of 2008 which brought the ANP in power in KP, he was unhappy with a peace-treaty with Taliban negotiated by the ANP government.

#### **4.4.1 Militancy in Swat and Afzal Khan**

Muhammad Afzal Khan was one of among those politicians who were example of valor against the rising militancy in Pakistan — a new issue regarding the security of the state. In Swat, Islam was used as a tool by the militants and terrorism increased to such an extent that the Army had to take an action against militancy. Pak- Army started an operation in 2009, named as Operation *Rah-i-Rast*<sup>104</sup>. Khan Lala escaped narrowly an attack of Taliban in 2007. The Taliban led by Fazlullah, had made several attempts on his life but his enthusiasm not to leave Swat could not be minimized.

Afzal Khan was of the view that the outsiders were responsible for terrorism in Swat. Sofi Muhammad, the originator of *Sharia* movement in the region, tried to impose his ideology in Swat instead of his own territory, Dir. He also blamed the government of Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA) for its support to the militants<sup>105</sup> as the armed militants were not

checked accordingly and thus heavy weapons were brought into the region. He was sad on the fact that no one from Swat was included in the two peace treaties with Taliban<sup>106</sup>. Irrespective of the fact that Lala's grandsons were killed, his houses and markets were blown, his orchard-houses full of fruits were put to nothing with in no time<sup>107</sup>, instead of leaving his native land, he was helping the Army in Swat operation to clear his region from militancy and extremism. In the recognition of his valor and bravery against militancy and extremism in Swat, the government of Pakistan conferred on him the highest gallantry civil award, Hilal-i-Shujaat in 2009<sup>108</sup>. The PM Nawaz Sharif in his message on Afzal Khan's death occurred on November 1, 2015, recognized his services in favour of democracy in the country.

Afzal Khan Lala was great admirer of Pakhtun unity. He was deeply depressed on the issue that why the two superpowers are using Pakhtuns land for their fighting and what were their objectives and motives<sup>109</sup>. He wanted the issues of Pakhtuns on both sides of Durand Line to be solved by *Jirgah*. He was a great example of courage, straight forwardness and bravery for Pakhtuns. He had worked continuously for the ANP. He had completed his task for the party whole heartedly and earned a good name for ever<sup>110</sup>.

#### **4.5 Maulana Fazlur Rahman**

Fazlur Rahman was born on 19 June 1953 (1 September according to another report) to a religious and political family in village Abdul Khel, D.I. Khan. His early education was from Millat High School, Multan and was a student of Mussarat Baig and Syed Iqbal Shah. He attained a Bachelor's degree (B.A) in 1983 from University of Peshawar and completed his Master's degree at Al-Azhar University Cairo.

During his early religious training and education (*Ilm Us Saraf, Ilm Un Nahv*, Logic) he remained the disciple of Mufti Muhammad Essa Gurmani and Molana Abdul Ghaffor Gurmani of Shadan Lund before studying *Sharah-e-Mata-e-Aamil* and *Hidayat-un-Nahv* with Maulana Muhammad Ameer of Chudwan in a Madrassa at Jhok wains Multan. He was a student of Maulana Abdul Haq, Maulana Hasan Jan, and Maulana Dr. Syed Sher Ali Shah during his *Shahadat-ul Alamia* at Darul Uloom Haqqania. His father, Mufti Mahmud was an Islamic scholar and politician who served as the Chief Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa from 1972 to 1973. He and his family are part of the Deobandi movement.

After the death of his father, Maulana Fazlur Rahman, at the age of 27 years, took over the reins of the JUI in 1980. However, due a rift, the party was divided into two factions in the mid 80s, the JUI (F) led by him and JUI (S) led by Maulana Samiul Haq. The differences emerged on the question whether to join Zia-ul-Haq's government or not plus some personal differences. Thus, Fazlur Rahman emerged as the leader of a strong political party. Although, intra-party elections are held after every three years, Fazlur Rahman has been its *Amir* since 1980.

Zia, while implementing his agenda of Islamization, needed the help of some right-wing factions. The JI and the JUI (F) supported him and rendered their services in implementing his agenda. The time was believed to be favourable for both JI and JUI (F) because they have durable impact on masses in almost every aspect of life. Thus, both the parties influenced democratic system and political roots of the country<sup>111</sup>.

Maulana Fazlur Rahman and JUI is not only known for following the ideological commitment but he also knows 'power centric notion of politics.' He stands very near to

the political elites no matter left-wing or right-wing. The party has religious commitments to implement *Shariah* in the country but on the other hand, he desires to obtain its objective by parliamentary and democratic procedures. This is the reason that why the JUI (F) did not initiate any unconstitutional agitation for the promulgation of *Shariah*.

Although he had a soft corner for Taliban and it is believed that Taliban are disciples of two JUIs<sup>112</sup>. It is said that it was Fazlur Rahman who was succeeded to obtain Benazir Bhutto government's support by 1996. However, he kept himself away from the new generation of Taliban who brought havoc in Pakistan. This group of Taliban threatened him to hijack or kill him. Intelligence agencies of Pakistan discovered the name of Maulana in a hit list which was drafted by Afghan and Pakistani Taliban. Maulana Sahib who had once desired to introduce Taliban style rule in Pakistan, now he is trying to save the country from the same fate.

Apart from the most important designation in his party as *Amir*, he had also played a significant role in electoral politics. Fazlur Rahman has been elected to the Parliament of Pakistan four times: 1988, 1993, 2002 and 2008. In 1990 and 1997 he lost the elections. During Benazir Bhutto second term as Prime Minister, he was a more powerful figure as he was appointed Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee on foreign affairs<sup>113</sup>. He was an opposition leader of the National Assembly after the elections of 2002. In the elections of 2008, he lost NA-24 to Faisal Karim Kundi but won a seat from Bannu. He had been elected as Chairman of the Kashmir Committee of the National Assembly on September 16, 2008. He was the first parliamentarian to be elected chairman of the house committee of the National Assembly<sup>114</sup>. In the elections of 2008, a different Maulana was seen as he completely distanced himself from Taliban. As a moderate he entered the

government and desired a negotiable solution of Taliban aspect. Due to the indifferent status of Maulana, he was under attack from Taliban. There were two consecutive bomb attacks targeted him in 2011 which he escaped narrowly. Maulana Fazlur Rahman in 2012 revived the MMA. This time no serious need was felt of JI and JUI (S), probably on the pretext of lacking support in the process of MMA revival.

The JUI (F) are following democratic principles. There is a larger room and importance for minorities to give them opportunities of speech and share views at different forums. A Christian lady, Asiya Nasir remained a senator of JUI (F). Maulana had declared many times, that anyone can become a member of the JUI (F) including Shia, Sunni and non-Muslims. Previously the party was known for its extremist kind of character<sup>115</sup>.

Maulana Fazlur Rahman is a seasoned and foresighting politician in Pakistani political system. He remained very disciplined in his political career. He never tried or desired to create diffusion in the society. He served on many responsible positions but he never tried for any kind of disintegration. His party remained in government in KP since 2002-2007. Throughout the term of five years, it remained in full coincidence with the Centre. Apart from some soft corner for Taliban for quite some time in the initial stage, he was against the Taliban due to which attacks were carried on him and his party workers. Maulana was struggling to bring *Shariah* in the country but he never tried any unconstitutional and undemocratic approach in this regard. This shows his caliber, political maturity and desire for smooth process of democracy and integration of the state.

#### **4.6 Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao**

Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao (born August 20, 1944) is a Pakistani politician and leader of Qaumi Watan Party (QWP). Hayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao, his brother was a devoted and seasoned politician from Z. A. Bhutto's PPP. He worked as the governor of KP and federal minister. Thus, Aftab Sherpao had found a conducive political environment enough for his training. Sherpao was educated in Lawrence College Murree and Edwardes College Peshawar in his early phase of education. He, then joined Pakistan Military Academy with 34<sup>th</sup> long course in 1964. After passing out in 1965, he joined Pak Army where he served for 12 years and rose to Major rank. He took active part in India-Pakistan wars of 1965 and 1971.

It was the PPP, from whose platform Sherpao started his political career in 1975 on the advocacy of Z. A. Bhutto after the assassination of his brother Hayat Muhammad Khan. Aftab Sherpao has been elected five times to the National Assembly and seven times to the Provincial Assembly of KP from different constituencies. He was elected for the first time in 1977 general elections from NA-3 on the PPP ticket. During Zia-ul-Haq regime, he boycotted the elections of 1985. However, in 1988 general elections he was again elected to the National Assembly. He remained as Chief Minister of KP during 1988-1990. In the elections of 1990, he became the Leader of the Opposition. He was again elected to the Provincial Assembly of KP in 1993 elections and assumed the office of Chief Minister of KP for second time in 1994. However, then he was elected as Leader of Opposition in KP assembly. He was re-elected as MNA in general elections of 1997. Sherpao was Senior Vice-Chairman of the PPP from 1997 to 1999 and leader of the PPP in KP assembly during 1997-1999. He developed differences with Benazir Bhutto on the issue of the PPP defeat

in 1997 general elections. Benazir Bhutto suspected that Sherpao played a role in her government dismissal, however, Sherpao turned down these allegations. After Musharraf coup in 1999, he went to United Kingdom in self-exile due to several corruption charges. On return to Pakistan in 2002, he was arrested.

Few months before 2002 general elections he established his own political party, named Pakistan People's Party (Sherpao) and was elected its chairman. In 2002 general elections he was again elected as MNA. He became the minister for water and power with an additional ministry of Inter-Provincial Coordination in federal cabinet. In December 2002 Aftab Sherpao was given responsibility Kashmir Affairs, Northern Areas and state of the Frontier Region.

As a minister of water and power, ahead of less drinking water availability in certain regions of the country, he was of the view that we use 95% water for irrigation and 5% for industrial and domestic consumption. He tried water would be available for both drinking and irrigation purposes<sup>116</sup>. For irrigation purposes, the country was having 10% shortage of water but if nothing serious was done it will reach 35% by 2025. Sherpao urged that for this purpose big reservoirs would be built, new canal and rehabilitate the old canals to conserve water and institute a new drainage system<sup>117</sup>.

During Parvez Musharraf's time, Aftab Sherpao was Interior Minister. As he was taking actions and spoke against terrorist, he and his family members were attacked various times. He survived four suicide attacks. In April 2007, he survived an attack at Umarzai, Charsadda. Then suicide attempt was made on his life in Station *Koorona* (houses) in Charsadda. 31 people in this attack were killed. One of his sons wounded in the attack. Another suicide attacker targeted him in *Markazi Jamia Masjid* in his hometown Sherpao.

In December 2007, the very day of *Eid-ul-Azha*. Resultantly 55 people were killed. Sherpao survived another attack in March 2012.

Irrespective of all these attempts on his life, Aftab Sherpao was determined to work for Pakhtun's unity against terrorism. He wanted peace and prosperity in Pakistan and Afghanistan. He kept visiting the people of his area unlike the ANP chief and other candidates of 2013 elections who minimized their outdoor activities<sup>118</sup>. Probably, this was the reason of his good performance in general elections of 2013.

On October 17, 2012, QWP was made with the manifesto of promotion and protection of the Pakhtun rights both living in Pakistan and abroad. It made its top priority to combat extremism and militancy and to rehabilitate the people affected by militancy in the province. It advocates political solution to the issue of terrorism. It has also called for provisions of educational and health facilities and creation of job opportunities of the people of these areas.

As a Chief Minister and as an Opposition Leader in KP assembly, he always desired for Pakhtun unity. He was on one page with the ANP on the renaming issue of the province and he believed that NWFP was no name suitable for a province. As a federal minister for water and power he was in favour of big water reservoirs but he had also reservation on the construction of KBD. Sherpao as an active parliamentarian and active politician with responsible portfolios, proves his devotion and integration for the state and the same he propagated during his political career.

#### **4.7 Siraj-ul-Haq**

Siraj-ul-Haq (born September 5, 1962) is an Islamist politician of JI. Abul Ala Maududi (1903-1979) was the founder of JI, established in August 1941<sup>119</sup>. One of the main

objectives of the party was to establish Islamic law in Pakistan. Siraj-ul-Haq was the chief of JI. He served as Finance Minister of KP during the MMA government and again for a short period (2013-2014) in PTI ministry. He also served as a Senior Minister of KP.

Siraj-ul Haq studied Political Science in University of Peshawar. During his studies, he was the chief of Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba in the University from 1988 to 1991. He was elected to KP assembly in 2002 general elections from the MMA's platform. He was assigned finance ministry in Akram Khan Durrani's administration. However, he resigned in protest against US drone attack on a *madrassa* in Bajaur in which 86 children were killed. He condemned the US raid as "brutal and barbaric". He further said in a press conference, "This is against Islam and the traditions of the area.... they were innocent people." The JI boycotted the general elections of 2008, however, in 2013 he was elected to KP assembly on the ticket of JI and assumed the responsibility of finance ministry.

Until March 30, 2014, he remained as Deputy *Amir* of JI when he was elected as *Amir* of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan. Now, according to the constitution of the party, he has to opt for one post. e.g. finance ministry or *Amir* of the party. So, he resigned from his ministry (Finance Minister) after annual budget in June 2014. In his letter of resignation which was addressed to Chief Minister Parvez Khattak, Siraj-ul-Haq said that as a Finance Minister of KP he tried to fight for the rights of the province but the federal government was not interested and his proposal were declined<sup>120</sup>. He added that he brought reforms in finance department and set up financial discipline which resulted decrease in the provincial debt. He claimed that due to his financial reforms, the provincial budget deficit slashed by Rs. 4 billion during his ministry<sup>121</sup>.

Siraj-ul-Haq is highly popular in his constituency due to his modesty among friends and foes. He grabbed immense popularity when he remained neutral in the long march of Imran Khan and Tahir-ul-Qadri against Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. He induced government and Imran Khan to settle the issue through negotiations. Due to his sweating efforts, the government became stable. The JI and Siraj-ul-Haq has viewpoint that democracy should not be derailed. For his untiring efforts, Mamnoon Hussain, the President of Pakistan awarded him the award of "Baba-e-Jamhooriyat".

Pakhtun leaders are the example of valor, courage and bravery. They showed great enthusiasm against British in pre-partition era and against any undemocratic or dictatorial measures in post-partition era. KP had gone (still going) through strong waves of terrorism. In these circumstances Pakhtun leaders and Pakhtun nations rendered great sacrifices. These political leaders stressed heavily on Pakhtun unity under the state supervision. They, as the leaders of a strong Pakhtun ethnic group, first brought Pakhtuns to alienation in the era immediate after partition of India and then brought them from separation to national integration. They contributed their share in national integration. They were the active politician of the state and took deep interest in solving its issues. The Pakhtun political leaders played their beneficial role in the hour of need when Pakistan was dismembered. They wholeheartedly helped in framing of the state constitution. The Pakhtun political leaders had served as Governors of the province, MNAs, Senators, MPAs and Opposition leaders in the Parliament of Pakistan, while having these prestigious and responsible positions, the Pakhtun leaders could say only for integration in the state system. The Pakhtun political leaders put aside their personal differences on several occasions and let the democracy to flourish and saved the country from any undue political venture. The

waves of terrorism in the province, made their feelings of integration strong e.g. their relatives were killed, their orchard and agricultural land were destroyed, their businesses were stopped, still they supported and helped Pakistan Army and the political authority to restore peace in the country.

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## **CHAPTER-5**

### **INTEGRATION OF PAKHTUNS IN THE STATE SYSTEM AND PROVINCIAL POLITICS**

National integration is the determination of the people aimed at living together sharing traditions, ideals, culture, history, religion, language and customs etc<sup>1</sup>. In national integration diversities are recognized to create a common perception among the masses about nationhood. Thus, by national integration, culturally and socially distinct groups in a territory can be brought together and common feelings of oneness are developed<sup>2</sup>.

Pakistan is a multi-ethnic modern state. It had been facing problems in building common sense of nationhood right from its existence. Pakistani authority was busy in creating a whole-hearted common nation. Like many other issues Bengali or Urdu as national language was a serious issue. Even, it is said that Bangladesh was made on the base of language controversy<sup>3</sup>. Other obstacle in attaining the sense of common nationhood in the state of Pakistan was the issue of constitution and state representation. Furthermore, the centralized nature of the constitution, and the early state managers and less provincial autonomy created hurdles in the process of national integration<sup>4</sup>. The politics of the elite class was yet another cause of slowing down the process of national integration in Pakistan. Some mistakes like the dismissal of Dr. Khan's ministry in KP and Ayub Khuro's ministry can be regarded as undemocratic steps on the part of leadership. The state centralization of resources had also given impetus to ethnic feelings and created tension.

Pakistan has not been completely succeeded to throw the yoke of colonial legacy. The terms like rural versus urban, tribal versus settled, traditional versus modern" still had the colonial colour. The British dubbed a label of "noble savage" on Pakhtuns and kept them mostly deprive in pre-partition era. Even after the division of India, the British policies

were followed which have great impacts on the identity and politics of the Pakhtuns. The authority of the state maintained the image of the noble savage. FATA was ruled by FCR, Pakhtuns were not trusted and therefore, they were not given provincial autonomy after the independence of Pakistan till the passage of Eighteenth amendment of the constitution. After 9/11 incident, many operations were carried in the Pakhtun belt on the name of the 'war on terror' which resulted in further alienation of the Pakhtuns. The most vigorous result of those policies is the formation of PTM. Pakhtuns were suspected and considered as terrorist. Thousands of Pakhtuns were/are still under surveillance. Apart from the colonial heirloom, the constitutional issue of Pakistan is the second most important issue. Moreover, One Unit formula, which involved the integration of Punjab, Sindh, former NWFP and Balochistan into a single province, was very much disliked and opposed by the Pakhtuns as well as majority of the people of other three West Pakistan provinces. Despite of Bacha Khan and Abdul Wali Khan hard struggle to repeal this scheme and to restore the former provinces of the West Pakistan, Dr. Khan Sahib became the Chief Minister of West Pakistan province. This can be regarded as a positive step towards Pakhtun integration in the state system during Ayub Khan regime. As far as Bacha Khan and Abdul Wali Khan opposition to the scheme was concerned, they were intentionally or unintentionally moving ahead one step more towards integration by participating in the mainstream politics. The One Unit Scheme however, abandoned, and former provinces were restored by Yahya Khan in 1969.

Another step on the part of Pakhtun integration was their large-scale presence in the state Army making the second largest ethnicity in the armed forces. According to Hassan Askari Rizvi, Pakhtuns represents Pakistan Army between 15-22% among officers and between

20-25% among the regular rank-and-file. This proportion is second after Punjabis who have a share of 65% in officers and 70% among ranks in Army. Among 11 Army Chiefs four were Pakhtuns<sup>5</sup>. Two of them have imposed martial law in the country. In such situations, Pakhtuns should have very keen towards integration rather than separation. By economic point of view Pakhtuns concentration moved southwards (Karachi) rather than northwards (Afghanistan) due to the economic attraction. Thus, Pakhtun investors in different fields were seeing southwards for better opportunities<sup>6</sup>. Pakhtuns were now participating in all provincial and state level activities. They were the essential part of parliamentary and electoral process. The ANP after its formation in 1986, had participated in the electoral activities which was restarted after the death of Zi-ul-Haq in 1988.

Pakhtun leaders were looking for a loose Centre and strong provinces in the federation of Pakistan. On the other hand, the governments of Pakistan were not ready to make the Centre weak. Thus, it took too long to grant provincial autonomy. The media had not played a real positive role which widened the gaps between the state and Pakhtuns. The state should also have to play a reasonable role to bring harmony and demonstrate equity rather than to suppress ethnic diversities and ethnic cultures<sup>7</sup>.

It is believed that peace, prosperity and national harmony can be achieved through distribution of resources with justice which was not strictly observed in Pakistan. Pakhtuns were not given the royalties of hydroelectric power. There was reasonably low presence of large-scale industries and poor system of irrigation.

The effects of militant activities of *Tehreek-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi* (TNSM) started in 1990 has not yet been eliminated. The incident of 9/11 had brought a fresh wave of extremism and militancy in FATA and other Pakhtun areas. Since 2007 the Pakhtun

areas under the attacks of Pakistani military against Taliban. The area is severely hit by the terrorist activities and religious militancy. Thousands of Pakhtuns had become homeless by military operations and of the fear of militants. This issue had created some sense of alienation among Pakhtuns but there are also some sections of people who feel that all the military operations were for their security. However, what the circumstances would be, the loyalties of Pakhtuns cannot be questioned. "To question their patriotism and loyalty will be a big misjudgment and injustice."<sup>8</sup>

### **5.1 Electoral Process: Provincial Politics and the Awami National Party**

The year 1988 brought some major changes: (i) Zia-ul-Haq died in an air crash, (ii) the MRD split away and the alliance had come to an end and (iii) the elections of 1988 were announced which was the step towards democracy. On the eve of these elections, the ANP made two committees, one was led by Afzal Khan to have negotiations with Maulana Fazlur Rahman. This committee was failed to win the favour of JUI (F) for any possible political alliance with the ANP<sup>9</sup>. The second committee was led by Begum Naseem to have talks with the PPP. On the other hand, irrespective of their ideological differences, the JUI (F) and the PPP joined hands and ultimately the second committee of ANP met the same fate, however, an alliance with the PPP was made in KP.

The ANP leaders made a Parliamentary Board to make necessary arrangements for the elections. The Board had decided about eighty candidates to contest the provincial elections. On November 16, 1988 and November 19, 1988 elections for National and Provincial Assemblies were held respectively. The ANP won twelve seats out of eighty<sup>10</sup> in the Provincial Assembly of KP and three seats in the National Assembly<sup>11</sup>. Apart from Peshawar, Charsadda and Swabi, the ANP won a seat from Bannu. Wali Khan lost his seat

from (Utmanzai) Charsadda, however, he won a seat in the National Assembly. The ANP got 409,555 votes which was 2.1% of the total votes<sup>12</sup>. In KP, the PPP had contested fifty-seven seats and won twenty-one seats. In Balochistan, Pakhtuns favoured *Mullahs*. In National Assembly the PPP obtained majority by winning ninety-two seats<sup>13</sup>. Thus, Benazir Bhutto, the first woman in Islamic world became the Prime Minister of an Islamic country, Pakistan.

#### National Assembly Election Results 1988

Parties	Punjab	Sindh	KP	Balochistan	Total
PPP	52	31	7	1	91
IJI	45	-	7	2	54
PAI	3	-	-	-	3
JUI (F)	-	-	3	4	7
JUI (D)	-	-	1	-	1
ANP	-	-	3	-	3
PNP	-	-	-	1	1
BNA	-	-	-	2	2
PDP	1	-	-	-	1
NPP	1	-	-	-	-
Independence	11	15	4	1	31
<b>Total</b>	<b>113 (115)</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>25 (26)</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>194 (199)</b>

Source: M. Javed Akhter, "Politics of Reconciliation and Accommodation: A Study of Benazir Bhutto's First Era of Democratic Government 1988-1990," *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol-16 (2009), 66.

Note: Eight seats of FATA are not included. Thus, total seats are counted as 199 including one seat of federal area.

#### Provincial Assembly Results 1988

Party	Punjab (240)	Sindh (100)	KP (80)	Balochistan (40)	Total (460)
IJI	108	1	28	8	145
PPP	94	67	20	3	184
ANP	-	-	12	-	12
JUI (F)	1	-	2	8	11
BNA	-	-	-	6	6
PNP	-	-	-	2	2
PAI	2	-	-	-	2
PDP	2	-	-	-	2
NPP (K)	1	-	-	-	1
PPI	-	1	-	-	1

Watan Party	-	-	-	1	1
Independents	32	31	15	6	84
Total	240	100	77	34	451

Source: M. Javed Akhter, "Politics of Reconciliation and Accommodation: A Study of Benazir Bhutto's First Era of Democratic Government 1988-1990," *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol-16 (2009), 66.

Soon differences between the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto emerged. The differences touched a peak point, the President dismissed the National and Provincial Assemblies on August 6, 1990 on the charges of corruption, lawlessness, inconvenience and bad status. The next elections were announced to be held in next three months. The ANP condemned this undemocratic step of the President. Wali Khan declared this step as a punishment for the nation instead of the punishment of incompetent rulers<sup>14</sup>.

Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) was a right-wing conservative alliance formed in September 1988 to oppose the PPP. The alliance was comprised of nine parties. After the announcement of the elections of 1990, the ANP after some hesitation joined IJI. General elections were held on October 24, 1990 for National Assembly and three days later for four Provincial Assemblies. The IJI had claimed majority in the National Assembly by obtaining 106 seats from Punjab, 6 in Sindh, 33 in KP and 7 in Balochistan with 37.16% popular votes. The ANP obtained 6 seats in National Assembly and 23 in KP Assembly with 1.7% (356, 160) votes<sup>15</sup>. In KP six ministries were given to the ANP.

The IJI alliance was the collection of political parties with different visions and philosophies. The JI, MQM, ANP and PML had different point of views and approaches about foreign policy, Kashmir issue and Pak-Afghan affairs<sup>16</sup>. The ANP had also severe differences with PML (N) in terms of renaming of the province and the construction of KBD. Thus, the political alliance could not go smoothly and soon witnessed a

disintegration. On the other hand, tension between Ghulam Ishaq and the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was intensified. The President dissolved the National Assembly on April 18, 1993 on the charges of corruption, nepotism, maladministration and failure to work effectively with the provinces, and unleashing a “reign of terror against the opponents of government<sup>17</sup>.” Balakh Sher Mazari was installed as a Caretaker Prime Minister and next elections were announced to be held on July 14, 1993.

Pakistani people exercised another electoral process on 6 and 9 October 1993. There were 1, 485 candidates to participate in the elections of 1993, but the main contest was between the PPP and the PML (N). The MQM had boycotted National Assembly elections. The PPP managed to win eighty-six seats of National Assembly. The PML (N) secured seventy-two seats and the ANP got three seats of National Assembly<sup>18</sup> with 1.7% (335, 096) votes. In KP, the ANP, the PPP and the PML (N) won twenty-one, twenty-two and fifteen seats respectively. The ANP and PML (N) combine seats were enough to make a ministry of Pir Sabir Shah in the province. After some five months of the elections, there was political disorder in KP and Sabir Shah was asked to take vote of confidence. The President of Pakistan Farooq Laghari, however, dismissed the provincial Assembly on February 26, 1994 under Article 247 of the constitution and handed over all powers to the Governor. The opposition condemned Governor Raj. The ANP, then, remained in opposition and worked for provincial autonomy and rights of the province. Farooq Laghari, however, dissolved the National Assembly at the night of November 4 and 5, 1996. Malik Meraj Khalid was sworn in as Caretaker Prime Minister who worked till February 17, 1997. The elections of 1997 were held on February 3, 1997 for National and Provincial Assemblies. A total number of 54 political parties had contested the elections for 217 seats

in the National Assembly. The PML (N) had won 135 National Assembly and 31 seats in KP. The PPP got only 18 National Assembly seats. The ANP had won 9 seats in National Assembly and 28 seats in KP Assembly<sup>19</sup>. Nawaz Sharif was appointed as the Prime Minister of Pakistan and federal government was formed with the coalition of the ANP and MQM. The ANP and the PML (N) formed a coalition government in KP and Sardar Mehtab Abbasi was elected the Chief Minister of KP on February 22, 1997. The ANP extended its cooperation to the government in legislation. It included the termination of Eighth Amendment, Passing of Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, Ehtesaab Act 1997 etc. However, soon differences emerged on questions of the construction of KBD and renaming of the province and the ANP quit the alliance of IJI in 1998. The PML (N) government then ended after the Chief of Army Staff General Parvez Musharraf coup on October 12, 1999. Thus, another long Martial Law period had been started.

During Musharraf regime, general elections were held in 2002. The political parties were split in pro-Musharraf camp and anti-Musharraf camp. Federal government was formed by Pakistan Muslim League (PML-Q) and MQM. In KP the government of Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA) was installed. The ANP was against the military rule, however, a little later some leniency came in its policies. Asfandyar Wali had put forward some conditions to Musharraf for cooperation: (1) Provincial autonomy in health, local government, education and agriculture; (2) renaming the province as Pakhtunkhwa; and (3) political reforms in FATA. He had claimed that there is nothing in provincial autonomy “that is against Pakistan.... The provinces have better understanding of the needs of their citizens, and are better positioned to deliver services than the federal government<sup>20</sup>..”

Musharraf's declaration of "state of emergency" on November 3, 2007, postponing the already scheduled general elections for the National Assembly, dismissal of Chief Justice Muhammad Iftikhar Chaudhri and assassination of Benazir Bhutto, had made him quite unpopular among the politicians and masses. The politicians of PPP, PML (N), the ANP and JUI had attempted for Musharraf's impeachment. To avoid a possible impeachment, Parvez Musharraf announced his resignation on August 18, 2008 in a televised address. His resignation paved the way for fresh presidential elections in Pakistan and Asif Ali Zardari was elected as the President of Pakistan in September 2008.

On February 18, 2008, another general election was witnessed in Pakistan. Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf and Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami boycotted the elections. The PPP won 95 seats which later with the addition of minorities and women seats rose to 122. The MMA lost more than three-quarters of its voters as compare to those of 2002 elections<sup>21</sup>.

The ANP won 10 general and 3 women seats (total 13) in National Assembly. The PML (N) confirmed 92 seats, MQM 50 and MMA 25<sup>22</sup>. From KP, total 3,534,805 votes out of 10,660,785 registered votes with 33.21 turn out were polled for 35 National Assembly seats. In KP, the PPP got 18 general seats and after inclusion of 5 independents, 6 women and 1 non-Muslim, it reached to 30. The PML (N) and MMA had won total 9 and 14 seats respectively. The ANP had won 33 general, 9 women and 1 non-Muslim seats. Five independents also joined the ANP. Thus, their number seats reached the figure of 48 in the Provincial Assembly<sup>23</sup>. In KP, 3,559,276 votes out of 10,500,430 registered votes with 33.46 turn were polled for 99 Provincial Assembly seats.

In these elections the ANP took an absolute lead over MMA — a far-right wing coalition formed in 2002. Apart from KP, the ANP had also won seats in Balochistan and Sindh after

a long time. It got majority of seats but not enough to make the provincial government. After receiving an invitation from Governor of KP to form the government, the ANP with PPP made a coalition government. Amir Haider Khan Hoti was elected as the Chief Minister of KP. The ANP ministry (2008-2013) is very famous for several reforms i.e. police reforms, educational reforms and most of all the ANP had succeeded to rename the province as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

**National Assembly General Elections (1990-1993)**

Party	1990	1993
PPP/PDA	44	89
PML (N)/IJI	106	73
MQM	15	-
ANP	6	3
JUI (F)/IJM	6	4

Source: *General Election Reports*, Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan.

**Party Position in National and Provincial General Elections 1997**

Political Parties	National Assembly	Punjab Assembly	Sindh Assembly	KP Assembly	Balochistan Assembly
PPP	18	2	34	1	1
PML (N)	134	211	15	31	4
JUI (F)	2	0	0	0	0
MQM	12	0	26	0	0
ANP	9	0	0	27	0
PKAMP	0	0	0	0	2
BNP	3	0	0	0	9
JWP	2	0	0	0	6

BNM	0	0	0	0	2
Independents	22	22	14	8	8

Source: *General Elections Report of 1997*, Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan.

**Party Position in National and Provincial General Elections**

Political Parties	National Assembly	Punjab Assembly	Sindh Assembly	KP Assembly	Balochistan Assembly
PML	92	131	11	6	11
MMAP	45	9	8	48	13
PPP	46	63	51	8	2
PPP (P)	17	-	-	-	-
PPP (S)	2	-	-	9	-
PML (N)	14	38	-	4	-
MQM	13	-	32	-	-
MQM (P)	1	-	1	-	-
NA	13	12	12	-	5
PML (F)	4	-	10	-	-
PML (J)	2	3	-	-	-
PML (Z)	1	1	-	-	-
PML (Jinnah)	-	2	-	-	-
PAT	1	-	-	-	-
PTI	1	-	-	1	-
ANP	-	-	-	8	-
PPMAP	1	-	-	-	4

JWP	1	-	-	-	3
BNP	1	-	-	-	-
BNDP	-	8	-	-	1
BNM	-	-	-	-	3
IND	17	38	5	15	7
Total	272	297	130	99	51

Source: Mustaq, et al., "Politics of Power Sharing in Post- 1971 Pakistan," 259.

#### **Results of General Elections 2008**

Political Party	National Assembly	Punjab Assembly	Sindh Assembly	KP Assembly	Balochistan Assembly
PPP	122	107	93	30	12
PML (N)	91	170	0	9	1
PML (Q)	54	84	9	6	18
MQM	25	0	51	0	0
ANP	13	4	2	48	4
MMA	7	2	0	14	10
PML (F)	5	3	8	0	0
PPP (S)	1	0	0	6	0
Others	20	4	3	11	20

Source: Mustaq, et al., "Politics of Power Sharing in Post- 1971 Pakistan," 259.

#### **5.2 Police Reforms of Awami National Party (2008-2013)**

The ANP had obtained majority in KP in 2008 general elections. It formed the provincial government and Amir Haider Khan Hoti was elected the Chief Minister of KP. The time was very sensitive as Talibanization was at the peak in various districts of the province.

They were involved in furious regular attacks on ‘personnel and buildings’ of law enforcing agencies. In such an environment of insecurity and danger, the then ANP government rightly had decided to reform and rebuild the police department. The provincial government developed “Comprehensive Development Strategy and Post Needs Crisis Assessment Programme” with the World Bank assistance<sup>24</sup>. The budget of police was increased by the ANP, even the highest resource allocation was noticed in 2011-2012. This led to acquiring to fit and better human resources. The number of police reached to 75,000 in 2013 with 134% increase ratio. In 2006 police was 32,000 in number<sup>25</sup>. After recruitment, the question came where to accommodate this huge number of police for training. For this purpose, arrangements were made with Army to train them. As terrorism was at the peak at that time, a counter-terrorism force within no time was a serious need of the day. It is on the credit of the ANP that seven thousand equipped with modernized weapons and highly professional trained anti-terrorism force was raised. With the help of INL (US), a state-of-the-art Joint Training Centre, a main anti-terrorism training center was established in Nowshera. Due to immense terrorism, police infrastructure was badly damaged in the whole of Malakand. The ANP government issued funds for reconstruction of the damaged infrastructure. The ANP at the end of its government in 2013 had succeeded to provide a well reputed police system to the province.

### **5.3 Educational Reforms (2008-2013)**

Education sector was next in the reforms during the ANP’s ministry in KP. The circumstances were not totally in favour of the ANP right from the beginning of its ministry. Religious extremism and terrorism was at the peak and its largely hit area was KP. Many schools and colleges were attacked by the militants most of them were female

educational institutions. On the other hand, the province was not yet recovered from the disastrous effects of October 2005 earthquake. Thousands of people were killed and injured and a huge number of people became homeless. Similarly, educational infrastructure was also severely damaged. Because of earthquake, more than 300 schools were destroyed<sup>26</sup>. Bad impacts of the earthquake were not yet eliminated that the province was hit by a severe flood in July 2010. The flood overall brought havoc on irrigation, drainage and flood protection infrastructure of Rs. 23.60 billion while its rehabilitation/reconstruction with modal and safer plan would cost 83.00 billion<sup>27</sup>. In education sector, a loss of Rs, 22, 047 million (direct damages) and Rs. 4, 418 million (indirect damages), total 26, 464 million was recorded throughout the country<sup>28</sup>. A considerable number of educational institutions in KP were destroyed. The internally displaced people (IDPs) were temporarily stationed in schools. The government had issued *Watan* Cards to the flood affecters.

To make education more reflective to local requirements, the eighteenth constitutional amendment had granted legislative and executive authority over education to the provinces. ‘The amendment committed Pakistan to free and compulsory education for all children between the ages of five and sixteen<sup>29</sup>.’ Still it is very alarming that millions of children are out of school<sup>30</sup>.

In KP, the ANP-led government took initiative to introduce a considerable localized taste in the curriculum by including textbook chapter regarding Pakhtun nationalist leaders. Sardar Hussain Babak, former education minister from ANP remarked, “we didn’t mean to obliterate other content but felt it was essential for children to familiarize themselves with their own history as well<sup>31</sup>.” The ANP government of KP had passed Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Promotion of Regional Languages Authority Act 2012 to promote regional

languages including “recommend(ing) to government a curriculum and syllabus for the gradual teaching of the regional languages spoken in the province<sup>32</sup>.” The provincial government declared Pashto a compulsory subject in all public and private primary schools in those districts where Pakhtuns are in majority. For the academic year of 2013-2014, the government also decided for four other regional languages i.e. Saraiki, Kohistani, Khowar and Hindku to be taught in those areas pre-primary schools where there are these languages are spoken in majority<sup>33</sup>. The provincial government of ANP “included indigenous history, human rights, peace and religious tolerance” in the curriculum and excluded hate and harsh material which might lead degradation of any social segment<sup>34</sup>. Even the staunch opponent like Abdul Qayyum Khan was included in the social study of primary schools.

The ANP-led provincial government increased provincial budget for Elementary & Secondary Education. The revised estimated budget in 2010-11 was 410.503 million. It was increased to Rs. 545.203 million in 2011-12 with 32.81%. An increase was recorded in schools since 2007-08 from 26,247 to 27,419. Because of all these efforts, an increase was recorded in student enrolment from 3.534 million to 3.597 million<sup>35</sup>. An attempt was made to control absenteeism of teachers. Moreover, a long-standing issue of scale upgradation of teachers was solved, and thousands of teachers were upgraded. Some refresher courses and trainings were arranged to increase expertise and capability of teachers in the province. Apart from the educational reforms, some health and political achievements were obtained. Few new hospitals were made, and many were extended and upgraded. Most importantly, the eighteenth constitutional amendment was passed from the parliament in April 2010 which was the fruit of the ANP’s long-standing and hard struggle.

Among the achievements of ANP-led provincial government, there are 12 universities, 46 degree colleges, Malakand Tunnel project, establishing Pakhtunkhwa Oil and Gas Company, Baizai irrigation scheme (to irrigate 25,000 acres land), *Stori da Pakhtunkhwa* programme, around 20 hydro-power projects throughout KP, Kurram Tangi dam project for lower Pakhtunkhwa districts, Mardan Sports Complex Mardan, Abdul Wali Khan Sports Complex Charsadda, extension of different hospitals throughout the province, establishing Tor Ghar district, *Nawe Sahar* Laptop scheme, Bacha Khan *Khpal Rozgar* scheme for curtailing unemployment etc. are on the credit of ANP irrespective of the fact that its workers had some serious threats from extremists and militants.

#### **5.4 Awami National Party Sufferings from Extremism and Terrorism**

Pakistan is fighting war against terrorism since US-led NATO attack on Afghanistan in September 2001. Till 2013, more than 35,000 common people and 3,500 security personnel were killed. Pakistan bore heavy destruction of infrastructure and economic loss of \$67.93 billion<sup>36</sup>. Terrorism in Pakistan had reached to serious noticeable condition in 2009 when the terrorists attacked GHQ of Pakistan Army, Sri Lankan Cricket team in Lahore and Manawa Police Training Centre. Although, all the four provinces were badly affected by terrorism but the most affected areas were KP and FATA.

In 2009, 559 terrorist attacks killing 644 people, were recorded in FATA. In KP, 1137 attacks were made in which 1438 people were killed. In 2010, in 459 attacks killed 836 people, 2011 saw 79 attacks, 2012 witnessed 1577 attacks killed 2050 people in KP<sup>37</sup>. The terrorists attacked 119 schools in 2008, 188 in 2009, 129 in 2010 and 142 in 2011. The KP Education Department claimed that total 758 schools in different parts of the province were add to destruction list including Malakand Division where the number was 640<sup>38</sup>.

During the severity of terrorism in KP, ANP's ministry (2008-2013) was in office. The party according to the philosophy and teachings of Bacha Khan preferred peace and prosperity and stood firmly against extremism and violence in all its form. It believes that dialogue is the best way to resolve bilateral and multilateral issues. The ANP considers extremism and terrorism a threat to the very existence of Pakistan. Still, ANP was the victim of terrorism and over 1,000<sup>39</sup> party workers from Union Council to the topmost level. The ANP leadership was threatened and even attacked i.e senior minister Bashir Bilour and the son of Mian Iftikhar Hussain (Information Secretary) was killed by the militants. Apart from KP, ANP had lost more than 100 workers in West Karachi where they were systematically targeted<sup>40</sup>.

Various senior political leaders were on the hit list of *Tehrik-i-Taliban* Pakistan (TTP) and many of them survived several attacks on their lives including suicide attacks and target killing attempts. Their relatives, security guards and common people were killed in these attempts. The first ANP MPA Alamzeb Khan from Peshawar was the first in row from ANP who was killed in a roadside bomb blast in February 2009. In the same year an ANP MPA Dr. Shamsher from Swat was targeted in a suicide bomb blast. Attempts were made on the lives of Asfandyar Wali Khan, Haji Ghulam Ahmad Bilour and Mian Iftikhar Hussain, but they narrowly escaped. Aftab Sherpao was targeted by a suicide attack in his native town Sherpao in mosque during *Eid-ul-Fitr* prayer but he was safe. Special Assistant to the chief minister of KP on minorities affairs was shot dead in Buner district. Farid Khan who later joined PTI was killed in June 2013. Another MPA, Imran Mahmood (independent) was killed along with other 29 people in a suicide bombing in Takht-i-Bhai district Mardan<sup>41</sup>.

Not only in KP the ANP leaders were attacked, but they were targeted in FATA and outside KP too. Ghulam Jelani Achakzai, a prominent leader of ANP was murdered by the terrorists in Balochistan. A bomb blast at the ANP political rally occurred in Kuchlak area of Quetta killing 8 and 22 people were injured. The bomb was fixed in a bicycle exploded behind the stage in the first 15 minutes<sup>42</sup>.

On the eve of 2013 general election, ANP was a serious victim of terrorists not only in KP but also in FATA and Karachi. They could not effectively carry out their election campaign. Between January 1 and May 15, 2013, the attackers made at least 37 attacks on the leaders and workers of ANP. According to the *New York Times* “Electioneering has taken a dark twist in northwest Pakistan, where a concerted campaign of Taliban attacks against the main secular party is violently reshaping the democratic landscape before parliamentary elections scheduled for May 11.” The ANP has been the worst hit by the militants. Thus, the leaders have limited their movements and avoided public exposure. The party workers and leaders were almost attacked on daily basis. The TTP had declared the party ‘un-islamic’ and warned the people to stay away from elections<sup>43</sup>.

It is said that polling agents of nearly 30 polling stations in NA 4 Peshawar, NA 12 Swabi, NA 7 Charsadda, NA 1 Peshawar and PK 81 Swat, had received letters in the morning of polling that the polling stations of *Laltein* (election symbol of ANP) majority, votes would be destroyed. Besides, the warning letters, in PK 11 and PK 10 *fatwa* was distributed among voters persuading them not to cast their vote for ANP as it was un-islamic<sup>44</sup>. The ANP leaders and candidates were dubbed the titles of “pro-Americans” “corrupt” and they were declared anti-islamic. All types of negative propaganda would remain active against ANP, on the other hand they were not allowed to launch a counterpropaganda. In extreme

fear and state of uncertainty, elections of 2013 were held in which ANP was badly rooted out. In KP, PTI got majority and formed its government. Parvez Khattak was elected as the chief minister of the province.

The Pakhtuns never whole-heartedly integrated in the British system of India. The British had illegally occupied the land of India. Like other nations of India, Pakhtuns were also striving to throw off foreign yoke. The Pakhtuns did not integrate in British India, they were trying to win constitutional rights and then independence for their nation. There nationalism and regional politics whether independent or under the umbrella of INC was for to earn their rights.

So far, the case of Pakistan was concerned at the time of partition of India, the demand of Independent Pakhtunistan was an objectionable act on the part of KPs. However, they felt being cheated by INC and they were of the view that they would have no place in Pakistan too. Moreover, Afghanistan was also a backing power of Pakhtunistan issue<sup>45</sup>. However, soon after the independence, in the first session of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Bacha Khan took the oath of allegiance to Pakistan. Thus, his demand of Pakhtunistan converted to greater provincial autonomy within the state. Pakhtun nationalism and regional politics just focused on their goals to be achieved.

Bacha Khan, Wali Khan and their supporters turned against One Unit Scheme. But there were no motives of separatism on the part of Pakhtuns but the purpose was to win the rights of small provinces. Similarly, at the event of 1973 Constitution framing, Wali Khan as an opposition leader, brought the opposition on one page to pass the constitution. He, himself did so against the constitution of the NAP on the issue of provincial autonomy<sup>46</sup> and signed the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan.

Renaming of the province and opposition to the construction of KBD were the top priority of the ANP. Renaming was a legal demand and there was no question of separatist sentiments. Rather, the renaming in the Eighteenth amendment made regional political leaders of the Pakhtuns oblige and resulted more national solidarity. The issue of KBD is however controversial and need to build national consensus on the issue. In reality, if Pakhtuns stood for something, mostly they only used to stand to achieve their legal goals. For Pakhtuns, nationalism only means the safeguard of their rights and privileges to ensure their share in public and private sector of the state<sup>47</sup>. The present era has seen a complete and cordial Pakhtuns integration in Pakistan's state system and now, they are concentrating more on to make their place in power hierarchy in comparison with their ethnicities<sup>48</sup>.

## 5.5 Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam

Due to a general dissatisfaction between pro-Congress and pro-Muslim League in Jamiat Ulam-i-Hind before partition of India, the latter decided to establish Jamiat-Ulama-i-Islam (JUI) to support the case of Pakistan. On 22-29 October 1945, its formation was announced. Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani became its first President. The party played a considerable role in electoral victory of Muslim League in the elections of 1945-46. It also rendered valuable services in winning the referendum in KP and Sylhet on the part of Muslim League in 1947<sup>49</sup>.

After independence of Pakistan, the party was re-organized formally in December 1947. Sayyed Suleman Nadvi succeeded Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani as head of the JUI. On the persuasion of JUI, thirty-one *Ulama* including the JUP, the JI, and the Jamiat-i-Ahli Hadith convened a convention in 1951 at Karachi. The convention framed twenty-two

principles of an Islamic state. These principles worked as guideline for the makers of the constitution of Pakistan.

Mufti Mahmud and Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi joined JUI in 1956. They represented the party in National Assembly and the West Pakistan Assembly during Ayub Khan regime. In the general elections of 1970, the party won seven National Assembly seats. Mufti Mahmud defeated Bhutto from D.I Khan constituency. It had also won nine seats in the provincial assembly of KP. The JUI became a partner in KP and Balochistan provincial governments. Mufti Mahmud was sworn in as Chief Minister of KP in 1972. He introduced several reforms in the province: (i) established a board to bring existing laws into conformity with the Quran and *Sunnah* (ii) prohibited movement of unveiled women in commercial centres (iii) guaranteed interest-free loans<sup>50</sup> (iv) declared Arabic as compulsory subject in schools and (v) measures were taken to ban drinking<sup>51</sup>. However, the Central government dismissed the provincial government of Balochistan and the KP government resigned in protest. The party in the elections of 1977 was included in the PNA.

Mufti Mahmud died in 1980 and his son Maulana Fazlur Rahman became general Secretary of the party. The JUI witnessed a split into two groups during Zia's military regime: JUI (F) led by Fazlur Rahman and JUI (S) led by Maulana Sami-ul-Haq. The JUI (F) was opposing Zia regime and not participated in non-party elections 1985. In 1988 general election, the JUI (F) won six National Assembly seats and two seats of KP assembly. In 1990, it won four National Assembly seats, two KP assembly seats and six in Balochistan assembly. In 1993, it secured four National Assembly seats and Fazlur Rahman became

Chairman of the Foreign Relation Committee. The elections of 1997 witnessed winning of its 2 National Assembly, one KP assembly and five Balochistan assembly seats.

The two factions JUI (F) and JUI (S) were members of the MMA (JUI-S left the coalition in 2005). The MMA formed its government in KP after the elections of 2002. During this time, the incident of 9/11 affected the social and political environment of KP. The militancy increased in the province. The party condemned US drone attacks in FATA. When the US raid was made on May 2, 2011 on an apartment in Abbottabad which resulted in killing of Osama bin Laden. Fazlur Rahamn protested and declared it a raid over Pakistan soveriengty. In response of US drone attacks, he demanded to cut off supplies of NATO. Fazlur Rahman is still the party chief. He and his party workers are trying for Islamic system and promulgation of *Shariah* in Pakistan. However, they want *Shariah* only by constitutional means. The party and its chief played a vital role in national and provincial politics. The new form of law-making, Hasba bill was introduced in KP assembly by the MMA to enforce *Shariah* in the province. They Provided free books upto secondary level in schools for the first time in KP history. The MMA made compulsory the education of girls upto primary level. The JUI (F) refrained from any unconstitutional approach to promulgate its agenda. They have a strong desire of national solidarity.

## **5.6 Jammat-i-Islami**

Maulana Abul Ala Maududi found the party in 1941 with the objectives to 'revive Islamic values and to implement Islam as a practical code of life for the Muslims.' Its founder clarified that "it was not a religious or a political party but an ideological movement covering all aspects of life.... The JI did not confine its activities to one nation or country; it aimed at 'changing the moral, political, economic, and social system of the whole

world.”<sup>52</sup> The JI did not support the movement for Pakistan as its leaders has the viewpoint that AIML would not be in a position to establish an Islamic state.

During Ayub’s regime, the party was banned but the Supreme Court removed the ban in September 1964. In Presidential elections in 1964-65, JI supported Fatma Jinnah. In the elections of 1970, it participated under the manifesto stated the Quran and *Sunnah* as the basic sources of law. Provincial autonomy, separation of the judiciary from the executive, religious freedom of minorities, foreign policy according to the ideological foundations of Pakistan, opposition to all types of imperialism, and closer ties with the Muslim countries.

The JI won four National Assembly seats from both wings in the elections.

During Bhutto’s rule, it did not like his dictatorial style and policies, his economic programs and nationalization policy. The PPP policy of socialism was replied with Islamic ideology. In the elections of 1977, it participated from the PNA platform. The party had supported Zia and its Islamization process. Throughout 1980s, its relations strengthened in the establishment and reached to its peak in 1990s. In this period the JI launched its military wing, *Hizbul Mujahideen* to fight in Afghanistan and Kashmir<sup>53</sup>. As a part of the IJI, it contested 1988 elections under the manifesto of the Quran and *Sunnah* should be the basic source of law. It only secured very few seats in the National Assembly. In 1990, from the IJI platform, eight of its members became MNAs. Irrespective of Qazi Hussain Ahmad’s attempt to float the Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF), it only won three National Assembly seats in 1993. In KP it claimed only one seat.

The general elections of 2002 witnessed an alliance of the Islamic parties, named MMA. The Jamaat was the part of that alliance. Siraj-ul-Haq from its side became Finance Minister of the province, who brought certain reforms in the ministry. His reforms slashed

down the provincial debt by four billion rupees. However, he resigned from his ministry due to a US drone attack on a *madrassa* in Bajaur killing 86 innocent children. He again from JI platform, became Finance Minister of KP after 2013 elections but after some time he resigned again to serve his party as *Amir*. The JI believes to bring changes in national 'apparatus' through democratic process<sup>54</sup>. Despite the fact that it wants *Shariah*-based system in the society, but it always avoids unconstitutional means to achieve its objectives.

### **5.7 Qaumi Watan Party (PPP, PPP-Sherpao, QWP)**

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto founded Pakistan People's Party in November 1967. Its future program of food, clothing and shelter (*roti, kapra awr makan*) for everyone, Islamic equality, and nationalization of basic industries and land, attracted people. Hayat Sherpao from KP, had good ties with Bhutto. Sherpao, had worked as water and power, and Industries Minister. He also remained governor of KP. The PPP participated in general elections of 1970 and won majority in West Pakistan. It had secured 113 out of 184 seats in Punjab, thirty-two out of sixty-two in Sindh<sup>55</sup>. Bhutto again made government after winning the polls of 1977. He was dismissed by Zia-ul-Haq on July 5, 1977. Against Martial Law regime, Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was started in which the PPP played a considerable role.

In 1988 elections, the PPP claimed a majority in the Centre and Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. In KP, it made a coalition government, however differences emerged and its alliance with the ANP ended. The PPP performance in 1990 elections was not appreciable. The ANP made an alliance with the PML (N) who formed its ministry in KP. Mir Afzal Khan became the Chief Minister of KP. In the elections of 1993 it again formed government in the Centre and in Sindh province. In April 1994, the PPP removed

the PML(N)-ANP ministry by no-confidence. In 1997 elections, its performance was disappointing. The ANP managed to win nine seats in the NA and twenty-seven seats in KP, and a representative ministry was installed in the province.

Aftab Sherpao (founder of PPP-Sherpao and then QWP) was a prominent figure in the PPP. However, Benazir Bhutto developed differences with him in 1999, he left the PPP and made PPP-Sherpao. Aftab Sherpao, as the chief of the party, had a coincidence with the ANP over the issues of renaming of the province and the construction of KBD. The PPP-Sherpao supported these issue in the provincial assembly of KP even at the time when Sherpao was Leader of the Opposition in the provincial assembly.

The elections of 2002 witnessed 0.3% of the popular vote in favour of PPP-Sherpao and two out of 272 elected members of the NA. Sherpao remained federal Interior Minister in Parvez Musharraf era. Earlier, he also resumed the responsibility as Minister of Water and Power. In general elections of 2008, the PPP-Sherpao only secured one National Assembly seat<sup>56</sup>. It secured six provincial assembly seats in KP. The ANP, PPP and PML (N) installed a coalition ministry in KP. Amir Haider Khan Hoti became the Chief Minister of the province.

Aftab Sherpao run PPP-Sherpao till 2012. In October 2012, he renamed his party as Qaumi Watan Party (QWP). Its tri-colour flag and manifesto was changed. Sherpao clarified that QWP will work for rights of the Pakhtuns of the entire region, including KP, Karachi, Balochistan and FATA. Its manifesto for the elections of 2013 stands thus: Comprehensive and sustainable peace in KP, FATA, Balochistan and areas near Durand Line; to build a national consensus to identify root causes of terrorism; rights of the provinces regarding their resources; three-tier good governance program e.g. political, economic and civic

governance; energy crisis; economic, infrastructure development and employment opportunities; urban development; social structure development; education and health development etc. In 2013 elections, QWP won only one National Assembly seat and total 10 seats in KP assembly (out of which 8 were directly elected). The party came in the coalition government with PTI in KP, however, on the allegations of corruptions the coalition was ended and QWP parted its ways. Aftab Sherpao, the leader of QWP remained Leader of the Opposition in KP assembly and twice as the Chief Minister of the province. This is the evidence of his integration in the state that he remained a main-stream politician of Pakistani political system. As a federal minister, he cordially worked for the state.

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 98.

<sup>4</sup> Zahid Khan, Syed Wasif Azim, Wajid Mahmood and Adnan Khan, "The Quest for National Integration in Pakistan: Pakhtun Perspective," *Journal of Contemporary Studies*, Vol. IV, no. 1 (Summer 2015), 99.

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief (C-in-C) of Pakistan Army since 1951-1958. He had also ruled over the country from 1958-1969. Second was Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan who was C-in-C of Pakistan during Pak-India war of 1965. He ruled Pakistan from 1969-1971. Third in this row is Gul Hassan Khan (June 9, 1921-October 10, 1999), who was C-in-C of the Army from December 20 1971 to March 3, 1972 during Z. A. Bhutto regime. The fourth one was Abdul Waheed Kakar born on March 23, 1937, served the Army as Chief of Army Staff from January 12, 1993 to January 12, 1996.

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<sup>10</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Report on General Elections Vol-2* (Peshawar: Election Commission Office, n.d), 531.

<sup>11</sup> Zahid Hussain, *Election 1997* (Lahore: Nazir Sons Publisher, 1997), 14.

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, 115.

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<sup>16</sup> Muhammad Mushtaq, Ayaz Muhammad and S. Khawaja Alqama, "Politics of Power Sharing in Post- 1971 Pakistan," *Journal of Politics and Law*, Vol. 4, no. 1 (March 2011): 253. <http://www.cenet.org.jpl> (accessed. 26/03/2019).

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<sup>24</sup> Syed Akhtar Ali, "KP Police Reforms: Myth & Reality," *Times*, 28/07/2018, <http://dailymirror.com.pk> (accessed, 04/04/2019).

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<sup>26</sup> <http://www.google.com/amp/s/www.thenews.com.pk> (accessed, 04/04/2019).

<sup>27</sup> Government of Pakistan, "Annual Flood Report 2010," Islamabad: Ministry of Water and Power, Office of the Chief Engineering Advisor & Chairman, Federal Flood Commission, 5.

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<sup>29</sup> Asia Report, "Education Reforms in Pakistan," *International Crisis Group* (June 23, 2014), <http://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/Pakistan> (accessed, 04/04/2019), 2.

<sup>30</sup> Some over nine million children do not attend primary or secondary education. This is the second highest ratio in the world. Therefore, the literacy rate is not encouraging. Allocation of federal/provincial budget is the lowest (2 per cent of GDP) as compare to the rest of Asia. See, Ibid, 2-3.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 9.

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<sup>46</sup> Zeerak, *Khan Abdul Wali Khan. Zindagi Awr Jiddo Juhd* (Urdu), 59-60.

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## Conclusion

Politics means “any persistent pattern human relationships that involves, to a significant extent, power, rule or authority.”<sup>1</sup> Politics is about how decisions are made and how people believe they should be made. It is the art or science concerned with guiding or influence governmental policy. Provincial politics is a tool to enter into the mainstream politics of a state, to find out a way to influence decision-making process and to safeguard its rights and resources.

Provincial politics in KP has a taste of nationalism, signs of which might be found in Bayazid Ansari, *Pir-i-Roshan*<sup>2</sup> or *Pir-i-Rokhan*, who fought against Mughal emperor Akbar to counter his *Din-i-Ilahi*. Khushal Khan Khattak was another champion of Pakhtun nationalism on the ground of his rebellious activities against Mughals<sup>3</sup>. However, Pakhtuns count their ethno-nationalist roots in pre-partition era in Bacha Khan and his KKs. Bacha Khan initiated his social reformation program firstly, by establishing *Azad Madrassa* System to eradicate social evils. Then, *Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina, Zalmo Jirga* (Youth League) and finally KK had provided a track to Pakhtuns to fight against British Imperialism. The most important slogan of KKs was ‘the British withdrawal from India’<sup>4</sup>. A significant change was witnessed when KK was affiliated with the INC in August 1931. By this affiliation, KK came in active politics. The INC on the other hand cashed the affiliation of KK and formed its ministry through Dr. Khan Sahib after winning convincingly the elections of 1937 and 1946<sup>5</sup>. On March 23, 1940 Lahore (Pakistan) Resolution was passed and the nationalist history of India generally and that of AIML particularly, took a new shape.

The passage of June 3, 1947 Plan and its acceptance by the Congress, annoyed the Khan brothers. They felt it as an act of treachery on the part of INC and put forward the demand that the proposed referendum in KP should include the question of Independent Pakhtunistan instead of India. The ultimate rejection by the three sections in India, the KKs decided to boycott the referendum. However, they could not stop the referendum and it was held between 6 to 17 July 1947 and KP joined Pakistan<sup>6</sup>.

As an external factor, Afghanistan played an important role as a back-up power to enhance Pakhtunistan issue. This attitude was witnessed as they were hoping that the British demarcated Durand Line would be ceased after the British withdrawal, but when it did not happen and Pakistan inherited the same location, as an ultimate reaction Afghanistan cast her vote against Pakistan in the UNO and fueled the fire of Pakhtunistan issue. For some time, the issue was creating tension between Pakhtun political leaders and the central government of Pakistan in post-independence era. However, the demand of Pakhtunistan was replaced by the demand of greater provincial autonomy within the state<sup>7</sup>.

Although, One Unit Scheme on one hand intensified the nationalist sentiments as it has grabbed the rights of smaller provinces and it was the main theme of Wali Khan agitation against One Unit. However, in post 1960 period, the increasing share of Pakhtuns in military and bureaucracy, their control over local resources and economic integration had loosened the Pakhtuns staunch nationalist feelings<sup>8</sup> somehow before the start of the second phase of ethno-nationalism in Pakhtuns.

In the constitutional history of Pakistan, the framing of the Constitution of 1973 was an important achievement of the Bhutto government. As it was approved by all the political parties including Wali Khan, the opposition leader in National Assembly. Although, the

NAP's demand of provincial autonomy was not fulfilled according to the constitution of the NAP<sup>9</sup>, but Wali Khan accepted and signed the constitution of 1973 as the country was just recovering from the secession of the East Pakistan and the state was not in a position to bear any political venture.

The renaming issue of the NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa was very vital and certain factors made it so imperative. It was a strong demand of the ANP and other Pakhtun political leaders. It was a long-standing issue since the independence of Pakistan needed a suitable solution to ease certain ethnicities in KP (both in favour of renaming and against the renaming). It was a bone of contention between the Center and the province. Even on the issue of renaming of the province, ANP had left the alliance with the PML-N in 1998. The KP Assembly had passed various resolutions appealing to the federal government to rename the province as Pakhtunkhwa. The politics of ANP was mainly dominated by the renaming of the province and the construction of KBD since 2000. The renaming issue earned the favour of a great number of Pakhtuns and intensified the nationalist sentiments. The workers and followers of the ANP and other Pakhtun nationalists followed their leaders' rhetoric regarding their demand of renaming of the province. At last, the Eighteenth Amendment to the constitution of Pakistan was passed and NWFP was renamed as KP and thus one of the ANP's main demands was fulfilled.

The second issue, on which almost majority of political parties and their leaders were agreed, was to stop the construction of KBD. The issue got momentum in 1984 when the KBD project was designed with the assistance of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) under the supervision of World Bank<sup>10</sup>.

Irrespective of its benefits e.g. 3600 Mega Watt hydro-electricity of low cost, storage of 6.1 MAF water, timely supply of water for crops and to alleviate downstream flood damages<sup>11</sup>, national consensus was not achieved. The ANP and other nationalist parties in KP, Sindh and Balochistan in coincidence with these two provinces, are against the construction of KBD. Some short comings of KBD are noted by the critiques. First of all its capability is postulated by water availability to fill the dam every year. In low rainfall seasons, the dam will witness severe scarcity of water. Second, the dam will further lead to exacerbate the ecosystem. Third, by the ecosystem degradation would lead to the loss of mangrove and those species which have depended on the resources of ecosystem. Fourth, on the base of historical proofs, it is considered highly supportable. Fifth, the hydel energy would not be desirably cheap<sup>12</sup>. The ANP and other like-minded political parties had its own apprehensions that the dam would result the displacement of a large number of people, inundate the fertile lands, Mardan, Swabi, Charsadda, Pabbi, Kharmato and Dhoda would become victim of water logging, Nowshera would be drowned, and sweet water of Peshawar would be affected highly<sup>13</sup>.

The KBD's benefits are more than its losses. This is a fact that big dams are highly recommended and prove useful for the development of countries economy. The dams just store water which is seriously desirable to strengthen water storage capacity especially in the present circumstances of climatic change. They do not consume water. The apprehensions of KP and Sindh are proved baseless by various studies. The reservations of these two provinces were enquired by the international panel of experts (IPOE) during Parvez Musharraf (1999-2008) regime. It is noticeable that both the provinces had given

their consent for this panel. The IPOE reached the conclusion that the dam was fruitful for the economy of Pakistan<sup>14</sup>.

The KBD should be built because it is feasible from geotechnical and design point of view. There is no problem of surface flooding at the upstream level and important from economic and power generation point of view. The Army of Pakistan, PML-N, PTI and WAPDA are in favour of its construction. Majority of the experts considered it beneficial to remove the load shedding and shortfall of electricity in the country<sup>15</sup>. However, the apprehensions of KP and Sindh should be addressed.

Pakistan Council of Research in Water Resources (PCRWR) has predicted that preservation of water is intensively needed in Pakistan. If the government of Pakistan fails to store water on emergency basis, Pakistan will become barren by 2025. Pakistan had crossed Water Stress Line in 1990. The most formidable sign of water scarcity has been recorded when in 2005 Water Scarcity Line was crossed but nothing practical was done. Pakistan has only the storage capacity of water enough for just thirty days. According to a report of the UNDP that due to the formidable water crisis in Pakistan, there is a great danger to the survival of the country and the government is not serious<sup>16</sup> about this serious issue. In these circumstances not only KBD is needed, Bhasha and Mohmand Dams should be given due importance. Diamer Bhasha dam will generate 4500 MW electricity and may store 8.5 Million Feet water. Mohmand dam on the other hand will produce 800 MW cheap electricity with 1.2 Million Feet water storage capacity<sup>17</sup>. More opportunities are available in Dir, Chitral and Swat. These opportunities should properly be utilized. If there is lack of national consensus on controversial KBD, in these circumstances the above chances should be availed. Furthermore, the central government should work to achieve national consensus

on KBD. Any action without national consensus may result in fatality and will lead to deterioration.

The Durand Line issue which affected the political and social structure in KP, was at last somehow eased by Sibghatullah Mujadedi during his visit to Pakistan who recognized Durand Line as a border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. In recognition of important role of Pakistan in Afghan *Jihad*, said that the issue of Pakhtunistan would no more be raised<sup>18</sup>. Due to the war a huge burden of Afghan refugees affected the economic, social and political condition of KP and Balochistan particularly. Approximately 307 Million refugees were stationed in 386 camps in KP and Balochistan. The huge influx of refugees brought various evils like unemployment, smuggling, Heroine, Kalashnikov culture, galamjam culture, corruption, sectarianism, economic deficiencies and other moral evils. The nationalist politicians of KP were opposing Pakistan entry into the war. Wali Khan had declared Afghan *Jihad* as a fight between two bulls.

The Afghan aspect had greatly affected the political environment and attitude of the leaders right from very beginning. This factor is still affecting Pakistan. The USA attacked Afghanistan after 9/11 incident. Pakistan generally and KP particularly was highly targeted by the terrorist activities. The province was hit by severe political, economic and social disturbance. The operation against terrorists by law enforcing agencies displaced millions of people from Swat and Waziristan as well as psychological, political and economic sufferings to the people of KP. Terrorism had shaken law and order, peace and stability of KP particularly. Politically, the image of Pakhtuns was badly misunderstood at regional and international level. From 2001 to 2013 more than 35, 000 common people and 3, 500 military men were killed. Infrastructure and other economic loss reached to \$67.93 billion.

National integration was affected negatively as the war on terror resulted in misunderstanding between federation and federating units<sup>19</sup>. Thus, the external factor (Afghanistan) not only affected politics and social system of the people of this region in the near and remote past, but also affecting still KP particularly and Pakistan generally. The issues of provincial autonomy and decentralization of power was among the great pillars of politics of Pakhtun political leaders. After the oath of allegiance in the first session of the First Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Bacha Khan demanded more provincial autonomy within the state. The introduction of One Unit intensified the demand of provincial autonomy and decentralization of Power. Although, the leaders have no ambitions to secede from the state, but they were strongly demanding the dissolution of One Unit, which was dissolved in 1969 by Yahya Khan and former provinces were restored.

By constitution point of view, the Central government kept concurrent list under its jurisdiction in 1956 constitution with the authority to override the provincial legislation on the same matter. In 1956 constitution Federal List was comprised of 30 items, Provincial List 94 and the Concurrent List has 19 subjects. The Constitution of 1962 had given 49 subjects to federal and all residuary powers to the provinces while financial resources distribution was controlled by the Centre. The Constitution of 1973 of Pakistan provided for 67 subjects in Federal List while 47 in Concurrent List. The provinces were given all the residuary powers and no Provincial List. Moreover, the federal has the right to override any provincial legislation from the Concurrent List. The provincial autonomy was not granted in the real shape which was demanded by the NAP. However, Wali Khan accepted and signed the constitution as it was the demand of the day.

The adoption of Eighteenth Amendment was a significant step in the constitutional history of Pakistan. A great majority powers of the Concurrent List were granted to the provinces with residuary powers within the provinces control. The 7<sup>th</sup> NFC Award maximized the resources amount of the provinces. The NFC during Musharraf regime allocated 45% of “devisable pool” to the provinces. The 7<sup>th</sup> NFC allocated 57.5% to the provinces and 42.5% to the Centre. Thus, the provinces secured a huge share. Along with this, the NFC went further to address the issues of the provinces. According to the formula, 82% resources allocated to the provinces was to be divided on the base of population, 10.3% for poverty/backwardness, for generation of revenue and collection 5%, and for population density 2.7%. The share of KP was increased by 1.1% reached to 14.6%.

The most important and appreciable section of the Eighteenth Amendment was renaming of the frontier province as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It was a long-standing issue of the Pakhtun leaders and political workers, which was at last addressed by the Eighteenth Amendment to the constitution of Pakistan. The amendment pleased the political leaders by provincial autonomy point of view, and it has a positive impact on their political approach. It can be regarded a very positive step which further strengthened the ties of integration.

What ever the issues of provinces e.g. renaming of the province, the construction of KBD, provincial autonomy, sources distribution issue etc., they only followed constitutional ways to attain solution. The provincial political parties are fully cooperating with the Centre. If there are any ideological differences, they do not create any problem for the state. It is prved by certain steps on the part of political parties like *Milli Yakjahi* Council, established in 1995, brought religious tolerance and harmony among religious parties. The

JUI (F) and JI are Islamic parties and want an Islamic-based society, but they did not try any unconstitutional venture.

Side by side with the KBD and renaming of the province issues, most of the era of 1986-2013 was dominated by terrorism and its aftermath on the province. This influenced the political parties and its leaders. Leaders of the ANP were targeted. They were not allowed to make a campaign for elections. They suffered heavily in the process to eliminate militancy from the province. JUI (F) had made it clear that party leaders and workers are being attacked for supporting Pakistan, democracy, and for the welfare of the people<sup>20</sup>. Every political party including Islamic parties, provide training and instructions to its workers to follow guidelines of the state. Other political leaders of KP were also attacked by the terrorists. Amir Muqam, Bashir Bilour, Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao and his son Sikandar Khan Sherpao, Asfandyar Wali Khan, Akram Khan Durrani, Maulana Fazlur Rahman etc., were attempted to target, but instead of hiding, they fully cooperated with the state. The Pakhtuns, except from the opposition of referendum in KP in pre-partition era and the dismissal of Balochistan ministry by Bhutto and subsequent resignation of KP's ministry by 1973 (having separatist sentiments), their struggle was meant to obtain their rights. They were sharing the power hierarchy in the state of Pakistan. In real, they have no separatist sentiments except demanding their rights within the jurisdiction of Pakistan.

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