



Original Article

Bhutto's Political Strategies: A Challenge to the Prospects of Leftist Politics in Sindh

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Abstract

Former Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, a prominent figure in Pakistani politics and the founder of the Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP), introduced a unique blend of socialism, Islam, democracy, and nationalism in his electoral campaigns during the late 1960s. He progressively succeeded in instrumentalizing nationalist rhetoric, ethno-national politics, and social and economic policies to reach the corridors of power. Bhutto's political narrative and program policies absorbed the Leftist narrative and effectively hampered the prospects of radical movements in Sindh. On the other hand, the Left-wing political forces found themselves in a state of decline, unable to withstand the political power of Bhutto's government. Consequently, Leftist groups in Sindh were increasingly losing their battleground and never posed a serious threat to Bhutto's dominance. This research investigates the factors that contributed to Bhutto's successful weakening of Leftist politics in Sindh. This paper explores Bhutto's journey to power and the intelligent, diplomatic strategies to diminish the political influence of the Left in Sindh.

Keywords: Bhutto, nationalism, politics, Left, Sindh.

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Introduction

In Pakistan, the general population is poor and powerless, while state institutions have been ineffective. Being a client of a patron is the sole method to receive public sector positions, protection from powerful government licenses, and other perks. It is understandable and intuitive why the public would not favor a candidate who lacks patronage connections or cannot provide jobs. Scholars have often attributed the decline of Leftist parties to patronage and landed politics. The patronage politics seriously undermine the prospect of Leftist parties rising and attaining power. Leftist parties often aligned with forces such as the National Awami Party (NAP)² and the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD)³ that challenged the status quo and military interests. Hence, these parties did not find favors with the military elite. A slew of research on Pakistan illustrates how a landed class achieved its grip over the political system even during the first years of independence. It explains why the class still maintains its influence over state institutions today. The Leftist parties in Sindh called for the redistribution of the land owned and controlled by a powerful feudal class. Left-wing parties tried to mobilize the least potent section of rural society against the most influential people, those who control local state institutions while maintaining a close connection with the most powerful institutions. The leadership of Left-wing parties came from the lower middle class with no connection to patronage networks; the party also lacked any strong organization, sufficient human resources, and capital.

Bhutto (1928-1979) came from the landlord cum political family of rural Sindh. He started his political career by joining the Cabinet as a member under Iskandar Mirza's presidency. During Ayub Khan's martial law, he held various administrative posts, including as a foreign minister. It was the same period when Leftists and nationalists of Sindh were struggling against the military regime of Ayub Khan and the One-Unit Scheme. The NAP was already formed

²The NAP was formed in 1957 as a coalition of Pakistan's various nationalist and Leftist organizations. NAP was the country's first Left-leaning party. However, other groups, such as the Communist Party, the Azad Pakistan Party, and Ganatantri Dal, were older left parties than the NAP. Participants came from all regions of Pakistan, including nationalists and politicians of Bengali, Pashtun, Baloch, and Sindhi origin. Mian Iftikhar Din, G. M. Syed, Bacha Khan, Ghaus Bux Bizenjo, and Moulana Bashani were influential NAP leaders. NAP self-identified as a socialist democratic party aimed at regional autonomy and democracy reforms. Several socialists from Punjab and Sindh also attended the NAP (Shah, 2015).

³The MRD formed with the collaborative efforts of nationalists, rightists, and Leftist parties following the ousting of the Bhutto government in 1981.

by regional Leftists and nationalists in 1957 to challenge the One-Unit Scheme in West Pakistan. Because of the heavy crackdown by the military regime of Ayub Khan, the NAP disintegrated and splintered into pro-Moscow and pro-Peking groups in the late 1960s. According to Khan, (2014) the split of the NAP provided an excellent opportunity for Bhutto to effectively use the socialist narrative to promote his party, which he finally established in 1967. The political assembly of the people during 1967-1968 around the socialist narrative of “*roti, kapra, aor makan*” (bread, cloth, and shelter) showed Bhutto that the objective conditions for a socialist movement were good.

Leghari (1979) argued that the Leftist movement failed to take advantage of the conditions conducive to radical politics. For Khan (2014), the Pakistan Peoples’ Party (PPP) filled the gap because of the failures of the NAP. Such a rapid rise in mass politics had not been seen in the checkered history of Pakistani politics, and the NAP squandered the opportunity. Even worse, the prominent Leftist leaders, including J. A. Rahim from Karachi and Mubashir Hassan from Lahore, joined the PPP and provided legitimacy to it. Instead of the NAP, the PPP was quickly recognized as the actual Leftist party among the masses. Because of the economic and political change promised by Bhutto, people believed him to be an agent of social transformation. Bhutto never intended to bring socialism to Pakistan, even though he rose to socialist ideas.

Leghari (1979) has referred to the comments of Professor Khalid Hussain and identified three types of group members in the PPP. First, feudal lords made up the majority; they were opportunists and had little faith in socialism but joined the party because it was rising. Second, petty-bourgeois Leftists believed in socialism and thought that the PPP would bring socialism to Pakistan. Third, the scientific socialists believed that the PPP would achieve little, yet they argued that little is better than nothing. However, the conditions were conducive to the rise of Bhutto rather than socialism. Bhutto used the term “socialism” as a political strategy. People wanted social change and hoped for the end of the military dictatorship of Ayub Khan. Hence, no other leader or party except Bhutto attracted the masses on socialist lines. On the other hand, socialists such as Leghari were suspicious of Bhutto’s commitment to socialism. One of the reasons for this suspicion was Bhutto’s feudal background.

Bhutto was born in Sindh and recognized the significance of Sindh as the focal point for his political support. Bhutto consolidated his power base strategically and marginalized the Left-wing political parties in the province. His appeal to socialism, democracy, and ethnicity resonated with various groups, including socialists, Islamists, feudal lords, the business community, and Sindhis. This

multi-faceted approach allowed Bhutto to solidify his support and hinder the future prospectus of Leftist groups in Sindh. During Bhutto's tenure (1972-1977) as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, the hope of workers and the radical Left movement gradually faded. Bhutto's government aimed to mold the workers according to his vision, which often deviated from the radical aspirations of the Left. The Bhutto administration adopted repressive measures, such as widespread arrests and dismissals, curtailing Left-wing parties' influence. Bhutto's rules and policies diminished Left-wing political parties' prospects in the province. Over the years, there has been a notable decline in the influence of Left-wing political parties in Sindh. The legacy of Bhutto's rule and his successful marginalization of the Left movement have impacted the province's landscape. The Left-wing parties of Sindh suffered badly and declined under the guise of the Bhutto political narrative. Despite occasional efforts, the Left-wing parties have failed to rally broad public support and effectively challenge the dominant political parties in the region.

Methodology

This research proposal employs a qualitative and inductive approach to investigate the impact of Bhutto's political narrative on Leftist politics in Sindh. Both primary and secondary sources, including books, journal articles, research theses, newspaper essays, and online resources, will be used to explain the subject matter.

Electoral Politics 1970: Bhutto's Hegemony Over the Left

According to Butt (2017), three political actors played important roles before and after the 1970 elections. The first was Pakistan's army, which had been in power since 1958 under Ayub Khan and then Yahya Khan. These two dictators were suspicious of and did not trust politicians. The second was the PPP, which surprised many observers with its outstanding electoral performance in the 1970 general elections. The third was the Awami League (AL), headquartered in East Pakistan and headed by Mujib-ur-Rahman. The AL was unwavering in its conviction that East Pakistan deserved more autonomy. In October 1970, General Yahya Khan announced the general elections and pledged to devolve authority to newly elected members and civilian leaders. For Rashiduzzaman (1970), all political parties welcomed the announcement except the NAP (Bhashani, 1978). However, some members of the Bhashani group decided to participate in the elections, as they argued that the National Assembly could be an appropriate forum for the NAP to address populist concerns. Later, Bhashani recognized elections under these conditions: First, seats must be reserved for representatives of workers and peasants in the

National Assembly. Second, provinces must be given autonomy as conceived by the Lahore Resolution of 1940. Third, the government must constitutionally acknowledge the fundamental rights of the workers and peasants. These demands could not be met before the polls. Hence, Bhashani remained undecided about his party's participation in the elections.

The general election was conducted on December 7, 1970, in East and West Pakistan. The main contesting parties were the Awami League (AL), the PPP, the NAP, Jamaat-i-Islami (JI), and various factions of the Muslim League (ML) and Jamiat-i-ul-Ulema (JU). Bhutto and Mujeeb were prominent political figures from West and East Pakistan. Bhutto was popular in the West for his socialist and nationalist stand, while Mujeeb was popular in East Pakistan for his six-point program.⁴

The critical point is that no Leftist leader could win a single election seat. Left-wing groups needed to be more cohesive, organized, and unpopular among Sindhis and Pakistanis alike. The split of the NAP into pro-Peking and pro-Moscow factions before the election was a significant setback. The NAP's split undermined the widespread opposition and disappointed Leftist organizations. Bhutto had sensed this political vacuum and set up his own political party, the PPP, in 1967. Several disillusioned communist factions left the NAP and allied with Bhutto. On a socialist narrative, the PPP mobilized all segments of society. For Khan (2014), the NAP's split allowed Bhutto to organize communist groups in Punjab and Sindh. Hamyatullah (2015) argues that the NAP (Wali Khan group) blamed Bhutto for the disintegration of Pakistan's Leftist forces. Wali Khan alleged that Bhutto was a counter-revolutionary force, aided and abetted by colonial powers to distort socialist

⁴ First, the system of government will be federal and parliamentary; It will choose the main governing body from Commonwealth states using voting by universal adult franchise. The number of representatives in the Central Executive Council will depend on the population of each province. Second, the federal government would be responsible solely for defense and international affairs, with federating states deciding on all other issues. Third, introduce two distinct currency systems for East and West Pakistan that can easily be exchanged between the regions. Alternatively, a monetary system with the requirements of creating a central reserve system could be established, forming both East and West Pakistan reserve banks. Fourth, East Pakistan would be responsible for taxes and revenue collection. At the same time, the portion of collected income required for national defense and foreign affairs will be allocated to the central government. Fifth, East and West Pakistan would have separate accounts for foreign currency revenues, with each side empowered to develop commercial relations with other nations. Sixth, East Pakistan would have its military or paramilitary forces to ensure the national security (Karmaker & Manaker 2023).

ideals. However, Bhutto moved forward, and his political and ideological narrative cultivated a picture of him as a popular leader. Bhutto capitalized on the anger of the middle class and parts of the lower class against the Ayub government. As a result, the PPP offered an alternative to the people and filled the political vacuum left by the NAP (TA, 1973).

Despite being internally divided and disorganized, the NAP contested elections in Sindh. The NAP could only field six candidates in the national and provincial assemblies and failed to win a single seat at the national and provincial levels.

Results of National Assembly, 1970

| Party | Punjab | Sindh | NWFP | Baluchistan | West Pakistan | East Pakistan | Total |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|---------------|---------------|------------|
| AL | - | - | - | - | | 160 | 160 |
| PPP | 62 | 18 | 1 | - | 81 | - | 81 |
| PML(Q) | 1 | 1 | 7 | - | 9 | - | 9 |
| CML | 7 | - | - | - | 7 | - | 7 |
| JUI (H) | - | - | 6 | 1 | 7 | - | 7 |
| MJU | 4 | 3 | - | - | 7 | - | 7 |
| NAP (W) | - | - | 3 | 3 | 6 | - | 6 |
| JI | 1 | 2 | 1 | - | 4 | - | 4 |
| PML (C) | 2 | - | - | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| PDP | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Independent | 5 | 3 | 7 | | 15 | 1 | 16 |
| Total | 82 | 27 | 25 | 4 | 138 | 162 | 300 |

Source: (Baxter 1971)

Results of Sindh Assembly, 1970

| Party | Punjab | Sindh | NWFP | Baluchistan | West Pakistan | East Pakistan | Total |
|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|---------------|---------------|------------|
| AL | -- | - | - | - | - | 288 | 288 |
| PPP | 113 | 28 | 3 | - | 144 | | 144 |
| PML(Q) | 6 | 5 | 10 | 3 | 24 | | 24 |
| NAP (W) | | | 13 | 8 | 21 | 1 | 22 |
| CML | 15 | 4 | 1 | -- | 20 | | 20 |
| MJU | 4 | 7 | - | - | 11 | | 11 |
| JU (H) | 2 | | 4 | 2 | 8 | | 8 |
| PML(C) | 6 | - | 2 | - | 8 | | 8 |
| PDP | 4 | | | | | 2 | 6 |
| JI | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Others | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Independent | 28 | 14 | 6 | 5 | 53 | 7 | 60 |
| Total | 180 | 60 | 40 | 20 | 300 | 300 | 600 |

Source: (Baxter 1971)

These elections were one of the major causes of the events in 1971 that led to establishing an independent Bangladesh (East Pakistan). However, it is beyond the scope of this paper to go into detail about the separation of West and East Pakistan. The PPP won 18 out of 25 of Sindh's National Assembly seats and 25 out of 28 in the provincial legislature. The NAP's abysmal electoral defeat demonstrated that the Leftists had no future in electoral politics. The fragmented Left could not sustain itself despite Bhutto's political and electoral strategies. Bhutto attracted all segments of society, including nationalists, socialists, and religious groups. The ultra-nationalist party, the Sindh United Front,⁵ founded by Ghulam Mustafa Sayed, praised Bhutto and his electoral victory. Even Palijo (2006), head of the Awami Tahreek (AT), lauded Bhutto's ability to mobilize the masses. Palijo even showed confidence in the PPP, which would bring economic reforms for the poor. Such praise from the rural Sindh's Leftist party exposed the Left's weakness in opposition to Bhutto's political acumen. Mir Muhammad Talpur, the ex-head of the Sindh Hari Committee (SHC), joined the PPP because of its pro-peasant standpoint (Solangi, 2007, n.d.). In urban Sindh, the Tufail Abbas faction of the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) supported Bhutto. Vice President Hafeez Qureshi resigned from the NAP, alleging the party abandoned its support for the nationalities. Hence, Leftist groups were either disbanding or joining the PPP.

Bhutto's Vision: Absorbed Leftist Narrative

Bhutto held numerous government positions from 1958 to 1966 and was also a part of Ayub Khan's cabinet. He was foreign minister from 1963 to 1966. Although he was close to the government and the military, he publicly criticized Ayub Khan's foreign policies in general and the Tashkent Agreement⁶ in particular. He used the flaws of the Tashkent Agreement to

⁵ G.M. Sayed was the leader of the Sindh United Front (SUF), founded in 1967 in opposition to the One-Unit Scheme. The SUP sought maximum provincial authority while limiting federal government authority in such areas as currency and foreign affairs. The Sindhi language is recognized as the province's official language. The restoration of agricultural land grabbed under the One-Unit Scheme. The SUP was renamed *Jeay Sindh Mahaz* (JSM) in 1972 (Amin 1987).

⁶ Following the Sino-Indian conflict in 1962, the United States hurried to provide India with a heavy supply of weapons. In order to restrain China, the United States began pressuring Pakistan to accept Indian rule. However, Pakistan rejected American pressure and bluntly informed her that normalizing India's relations was not conceivable unless fundamental differences between the two nations were resolved. Bhutto, the Foreign Minister at the time, 65

mobilize the masses against the government. For example, Bhutto sought to include a commitment to finalize a solution to the Kashmir problem, which Ayub declined (Altaf 2019, p.19). The political opposition was at its peak between 1968 and 1969 in both East and West Pakistan. Bhutto's political savvy, using powerful slogans such as "*roti, kapda aur Makan*" (food, clothing, and shelter) and numerous mass-based initiatives helped him establish himself as a popular leader in Sindh and West Pakistan. The people were convinced that the time had come for a new progressive party in West Pakistan. Because of Bhutto's rising popularity, he received an invitation from all political parties to join them. A Bengali Marxist, Jalaludin Akbar Rahim,⁷ Mairaj Muhammad Khan⁸ from Karachi, and Mubashir Hassan⁹ from Lahore, approached and encouraged Bhutto to set up his socialist party instead of joining existing parties (Khan, 2014, p. 338).

In addition, the PPP's progressive and Leftist components contributed to the party's reputation as a socialist party in Pakistan. Bhutto's socialist discourse became a source of inspiration for the people during and after the election campaigns. The working class and peasants alike saw Bhutto as a redeemer. The political background of these people was embedded in the politics of socialism and Marxism. Bhutto outwitted the Left, infused his party with socialist rhetoric, and embraced disillusioned communist members. The recruitment of the communist cadre benefited Bhutto by securing the backing

was instrumental in rejecting American pressure. As a result of Pakistan's developing ties with China, the United States has suspended arms aid to the country. On the initiative of the USSR, Pakistan and India signed the 'Tashkent Declaration' in January 1966. Bhutto saw through the Russo-Indian deception and expressed dissatisfaction with the deal. He publicly condemned the arrangement after resigning (Zaman & Aman, 1973, 38).

⁷Jamaluddin Abdur Rahim was one of the PPP's founding members. He was a Bengali communist who drafted the People's Party's Interim Constitution. The Interim Constitution's fundamental principles included the following: full authority to the people; democracy as our government, socialism as our economy; and Islam as our religion. Because of his influence, Bhutto's Islamic Socialism included the nationalization of businesses, labor reforms, and reorganization of Pakistan's health and education systems (Chengappa, 2002).

⁸Mairaj Muhammad Khan was associated with National Students Federation (NSF) during his studentship in mid-sixties. He resigned NSF and Joined Bhutto's Pakistan People Party and became the minister in Bhutto's Cabinet in 1971. However, he quit the PPP in 1973 due to a disagreement with Bhutto, claiming that Bhutto had compromised his socialist philosophy (Khan, 2009).

⁹Dr. Mubashir Hassan was A founding member of the PPP. He was an economist who helped shape the PPP's manifesto. He was instrumental in organizing the PPP and rallying the populace throughout the nation. He was elected to the National Assembly in 1970. He served as finance minister in Bhutto's government from 1971 to 1974 and quit the PPP over policy disagreements with Bhutto (Gabool, 2020).

of trade unions (Khan, 2014). Bhutto gave important portfolios to famous Leftist figures such as J.A. Rahim, Mubashir Hassan, and Meraj Muhammad Khan. For example, Mubashir Hassan was named finance minister while J. A. Rahim was appointed an industrial production minister (Burki, 1988). Eventually, Bhutto accommodated prominent Leftist figures in the country and found a solid foundation to propagate socialism.

Bhutto's Political Strategy: From Socialism to Islamic Socialism

Bhutto took the stage when the global Left was rising across the world. He claimed that the PPP would transform Pakistan into a socialist state because socialism, he believed, was the only system capable of eradicating class distinctions. Syed Akmal Hussain Shah (2018) explained that, unlike the NAP, the PPP succeeded in connecting the people with its socialist narrative. Ordinary tenants and working-class people were convinced that the PPP would abolish feudalism and end exploitation. The NAP and the political Left had imploded intellectuals were invited to conferences and political gatherings to promote the party's philosophy and its programmatic policies. Pakistan's population has different social and economic compositions, including feudal, tribal, religiously conservative, and liberal. Such divergent socioeconomic characteristics require a well-calculated political program accommodating major power stakeholders and a larger population.

Islamic socialism attracted the poor and lower sections of the population that usually did not participate in the electoral process and political campaigns (Chengappa, 2002, p. 28). Amin (1987) explained that Bhutto believed in neither Islam nor socialism. While sympathetic to socialism, he was not fully committed to it. Bhutto came from a feudal family, and the landed aristocracy played a crucial role in his rise. Although he introduced land reforms, he never truly challenged the system of landholdings that pushed peasants into permanent dependency. He introduced the idea of Islamic socialism for political reasons. He rightly knew that a large section of Pakistan's population was conservative, traditional, and religious. Thus, anti-religious and anti-traditional socialism would not work in Pakistan. Bhutto successfully rallied the people via various political strategies. He promised to abolish feudalism and bring economic reforms to ease financial pressures. In one of the most politically charged speeches, Bhutto stated, "Islam is our religion, democracy is our policy, and socialism is our economy" (Abbas, 2015).

In reaction to the popularity of socialism and the PPP, religious groups and parties underscored the anti-religious doctrines of socialism. Bhutto recognized that he could not achieve political power only by evoking socialist

rhetoric. Hence, he attempted to reconcile the disparities by coining the phrase “Islamic socialism.” Although Bhutto was not religious, he effectively used the religion for political purposes. He stated that Islam, in its true spirit, was socialist, as Islam did not believe in the social classification and division of human beings. Islam propagated equality, and so did socialism. Bhutto endorsed the combination of Islam and socialism by Masawat-i-Muhammadi (Prophetic Equality) (Sayeed 1975). Against this endorsement, the clerics issued a religious edict declaring socialism un-Islamic and labeling Bhutto a non-believer.

Like religious scholars, Marxists argued that Islamic socialism would not solve the country’s economic problems (Shah 2016, p. 168). Leftists such as Leghari and Palijo questioned Bhutto’s commitment to socialism. They argued that aligning socialism with Islam showed that Bhutto did not know about socialism. To defend Islamic socialism, Bhutto drew support from the writings and speeches of Muhammad Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan (Chengappa, 2002).

The PPP maneuvered the compatibility of socialism with Islam, recognizing that widespread support could not be gained while challenging religion in Pakistan. Bhutto’s idea of achieving equality through socialism and Islam proved a politically successful strategy as many of the populous, primarily peasants and workers, responded to Bhutto’s speeches. The masses supported Bhutto in the hope that he would redistribute land among peasants and nationalize industries (Shah, 2016). To garner support from the religious parties, Bhutto agreed to incorporate several Islamic injunctions into the constitution of Pakistan of 1973 (Choudhury, 1974). For example, the constitution states that every law should adhere to the principles of Islam as outlined in the Holy Qur’an and Sunnah. No legislation should be framed that contradicts the basic tenets of Islam. In contrast to earlier constitutions, the 1973 constitution has many Islamic laws and regulations. Pakistan was officially named the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and Islam was declared its official religion (Rabbi & Badshah 2018).

Bhutto’s Feudal Pir Alliance: The Left Marginalized

According to Rashid (1985) , the feudal lords have remained the masters of the people’s fate through electoral politics since the foundation of Pakistan. They infiltrated the PPP, which advocated for a socialist reform of the country. They have continued to dominate the party and its government. Along similar lines, Ewing (1983) writes that in Pakistan, the origination structure of shrines is traditionally maintained by hereditary living *pirs*, spiritual advisors. The

PPP maintained control over local religious and mystic institutions and their leadership structures. The government's relationship with ordinary people was mediated through the *pirs* and powerful landlords. The government's support for the shrines ensured the ruler's legitimacy among the people. Governments did not outlaw them, as Ataturk did in Turkey, to advance the cause of secularism. They also did not demolish them, as Saudi Arabia did, for the opposite motive of reverting to a more fundamentalist view of Islam.

Besides the popular support of the masses, Bhutto efficiently used the feudal lords and *pirs* to mobilize the masses. Landlords who were not favored during the Ayub administration supported Bhutto. In return for their support, Bhutto allocated electoral tickets to the most notable landlords, such as Darya Khan Khoso, Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, and Mumtaz Ali Bhutto. Alongside the support of the landed aristocracy, *pirs* in Sindh also supported Bhutto. For example, *pir of Ranipur*, Syed Abdul Qadir Jilani, and *pir of Hala*, Makhdum Talib Ul Mola, joined the PPP (Shah, 2016). Based on their shared interests, Bhutto's partnership with the landowner and *pir* families was inevitable. Under these circumstances, the collaboration with leftists was uncomfortable.

The image of the PPP as a socialist party received endorsement when several leftists joined it. Leftists provided popular legitimacy to the PPP. The PPP used the participation of leftists and its image of being a socialist party to its larger political ends. The PPP's political strength in Sindh was bolstered by the involvement of *pirs* and feudal lords. Feudalism grew in strength after the rise of the PPP, putting more challenges to the leftist parties in Sindh. Communist groups had to oppose feudal and *pir* dominance at the regional level and the ascent of Bhutto at the national level. Leftists were fragmented, disorganized, and scattered. The SHC could not sustain its political existence in the face of landowners' growing dominance (Hussain and Mohyuddin, 2014).

Conclusion

Ironically, the country gained independence from colonial control, but the methods and instruments of colonial power remained in place. The Pakistani people were defined by their religion and ethnicity. Ethnic and religious diversity, socialism, and other alternative philosophies were ruled out as viable options. Pakistan has never been a suitable place for the ideals of the left. The Pakistani state has accommodated all sorts of ideologies, including rightist, religious, and nationalist, but not leftist ideology. The leftists used local

politics as a reductive strategy and tried several times to galvanize the people, but they could never overturn the current order.

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